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Contents

Page

EDITORIALS

Our Director of Seminary Relations 1

What Kind of Seminary? 1

NEGLECTED FACTORS IN THE STUDY OF
MEDIÆVAL REFORM 4

CARL VOLZ, St. Louis, Missouri

CHAPEL ADDRESS 25

RAY MARTENS, Springfield, Illinois

PROBLEMS IN ESCHATOLOGY: THE SECOND
COMING OF CHRIST.
THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY 28

HOWARD TEPKER, Springfield, Illinois

Book Reviews 42

Books Received 62

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Neglected Factors in the Study of Medieval Reform

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HISTORIANS, particularly Church historians, are rediscovering the Middle Ages. For centuries this period of history, covering roughly the millennium between 500 and 1500 A.D., has suffered unjustly from the odium cast upon it by the Renaissance. In recent years this attitude has been receiving corrective attention. Both Yale University and the University of Chicago are offering concentrations in medieval history which are correlated with their divinity school programs. The Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies in Toronto has gained renown under the leadership of Etienne Gilson. The University of California recently introduced an impressive Medieval Studies Institute which includes theology within its core. Western Michigan University two years ago initiated its Medieval Institute which has attracted hundreds of scholars from across the nation and beyond, and many other schools have introduced courses designed to correct a long-standing gap in historical studies.

Protestant Church historians, who traditionally have been little inclined toward work in this area, are also awakening to its possibilities. Many Luther scholars concede that a proper understanding of the 16th century Reformation demands a thorough acquaintance with 13th century thought. Certainly a prime moving factor in this renaissance of interest lies in the ecumenical movement, since dialoguing theologians have discovered that the roots of their differences lie far beyond the Reformation of the 16th century. In the past two years scores of books have appeared which suggest the necessity for a reappraisal of the medieval Church. John Dolan's *History Of The Reformation* (New York: Desclee Co., 1965) begins with the Early Church, tracing the idea and process of renewal up to the 16th century. Gerhard Ladner, *The Idea Of Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) has offered a massive (553 pp.) work on reform up to 600 A.D. In the last six months two significant works by Jeffrey Russell have appeared from the University of California Press (*Dissent And Reform In The Early Middle Ages* and *Rebels And Reformers Of The Middle Ages*). Brian Tuerney of Cornell last year produced an excellent source book for the study of medieval Church-State relations (*The Crisis Of Church And State 1050-1300*, Prentice-Hall) and Edward Synan late last year published a pioneer work entitled, *The Popes And The Jews*

In The Middle Ages (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965). These titles suggest the variety of avenues a Church historian might pursue, especially if he seeks to understand the contemporary attitudes, organization, and structure of the Church.

We shall consider one aspect of the medieval Church which has often been ignored by post-16th Century Christians, and that is *ecclesia semper reformanda*. The title of the presentation itself fairly bristles with historical difficulties. What is meant by reform? And what is the Church? Ladner claims that the Church was not conscious of itself as a structured organizational entity until the 11th century, and until that time all attempts at reform were really attempts to restore individual Christians to the *imago Dei*. The reason for this was the idea that the true *civitas Dei* (i.e. Church) actually never requires reform. Thus one's concept of reform will be dependent upon the accepted ecclesiology of the period under study. Renewal or reform presupposes a return to some original model. What was this model? In early, pre-Augustinian times, the Eastern Church tended to stress the perfection of the individual, and this they believed could best be realized within monasticism. Reform therefore tended to become identified with sanctification. In the West, the Church borrowed from Cyprian's concept of unity and from Irenaeus' apostolic succession to stress its institutional and organizational aspects (Ladner notwithstanding). The result of this thinking is best exemplified in Augustine's identification of the Church with the earthly manifestation of the *civitas Dei*. Therefore reform in the West usually refers to the renewal or refashioning of the Church as an institution. However, it is not our purpose to discuss the nature of reform. In this paper I propose to offer the thesis that *ecclesia semper reformanda* is a characteristic of medieval Christianity. Reform in this context refers to the Church's continuous preservation of the *sola gratia* principle as well as her concern for holiness of life. These twin emphases, faith and life, have often been discussed with reference to medieval Christianity. However, I suggest ten factors which historians have tended to neglect in reviewing this question. Since none of the factors can be treated here at length, I suggest them to you as possible areas for future study in your own reappraisal of medieval Christianity.

1. Council of Orange 529 A.D.

The concept of the 16th century Reformation standing at the end of a millennium of neglect of *sola gratia* can no longer be held, at least not in such absolute terms. The notion that men prior to the coming of Luther (or possibly Wycliffe and Huss) were spiritually as well as intellectually decadent is a Renaissance dictum which requires serious and responsible reappraisal. Fifth and sixth century Gaul was the scene of the Church's earliest full scale debate on the doctrine of grace, with the Provencal theologians generally ranged against St. Augustine. Men, eminent for their contributions to the life of the Church, were found to be opposed to the idea of

salvation by God's gratuitous gift. The center of Provençal theology was the famous school of Lerins founded by St. Honoratus about 410 A.D. on a small island just off the coast of southern France. For over a century this monastery produced the leaders of the Gallican Church, including numerous bishops, abbots, and theologians. The most famous of these sons of Lerins were Cassian, Hilary of Arles, Vincent, and Faustus of Riez. All were agreed that man's will since the Fall was not dead to God but merely weakened. Man was thus capable of cooperating with God's grace and so contributed toward his own salvation. Perseverance in the faith was also an activity of man's will. The question *cur alii prae aliis* was explained by asserting God's prevision of man's merits.¹ Augustine was well aware of these attacks upon his position, and he refuted them in two works, *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseverantiae*.² Although Pelagianism was condemned by the third ecumenical council at Ephesus in 431 A.D., the Semi-Pelagians in Gaul apparently took little notice of it. It was at this juncture that Prosper of Aquitaine requested Pope Celestine of Rome to vindicate Augustine and to suppress his opponents. Celestine sent his famous *Monitorium*, to which Leo, the future pope, added ten chapters on grace, *Praeteritorum sedis Apostolicae episcoporum auctoritates de gratia Dei*.³ In these ten chapters, Leo insisted, with Augustine, that grace is necessary for all, that all good works are inspired by God, and that God alone can turn a will enslaved to sin toward faith.

Rome's voice did not succeed in stilling the tempest, and during the next generation Faustus of Riez became a strong proponent of the Semi-Pelagian school of southern France. The free will, he claimed, could desire God's grace, and grace was the reward for such effort.⁴ Although Faustus was a staunch Trinitarian, sternly opposing the endemic Arianism of southern Gaul, and although he was an exemplary shepherd of souls, his concept of grace was not such as could be allowed to gain ascendancy in the Church. A large number of disciples of Augustine emerged, including a few from Lerins itself. Among these second generation Augustinians were Marius Mercator, a correspondent of Augustine, Claudius Mamertus, Julianus Pomarus, and Prosper of Aquitaine. Upon the death of Augustine, Prosper almost singlehandedly carried on the defense of the Augustinian doctrine of grace. He taught that those who are saved are so through God's gratuity, and those who are lost are condemned by reason of their sins. Another Augustinian, Fulgentius, opposed the Pelagianism of Faustus of Riez. He considered the human race a *massa damnata* on account of original sin. Left to himself man is unable either to will or to do any good. Grace, which is freely God's gift, is necessary, and man can in no way earn it. But towering above all other sixth century Augustinians was Caesarius of Arles, who finally succeeded in persuading the Gallican bishops of the total depravity of man and his absolute dependence upon God's gift in Christ. The end of the controversy came at the Council of Orange in 529 A.D. in which Caesarius played a de-

cisive role. The results of this council are embodied in eight canons extracted by Caesarius from the writings of Augustine. Seventeen propositions were added to the canons. Some of the significant pronouncements of this council include the following:⁵

1. Adam's Fall cast all men into physical death as well as *mors animae*.
2. Grace is necessary for the *initium fidei*, and all of man's efforts toward believing, seeking, knocking, and asking are the result of God's grace.
3. It is false to say that man can be saved *per liberum arbitrium*.
4. Man of himself has nothing but evil and sin.
5. Without us or with us, God produces all the good which we accomplish.

The confession of faith which was appended to the decrees rejected the idea of predestination to evil, thus correcting an Augustinian aberration.

This significant controversy which was concluded at Orange in 529 A.D. took place while Western Europe was preoccupied with the barbarian invasions and the three-way struggles of Theodoric the Ostrogoth, Clovis the Frank, and Alaric II of the Visigoths. Earlier historians have sometimes referred to these years as dark, but at their center lies a great reforming council, led by astute theologians who recognized the centrality of the grace of God in Christian theology. This important controversy has yet to receive adequate treatment and interpretation.

2. Penance

About the same time as the Council of Orange another development was taking place which was to exert a profound effect upon the life of the Church—the practice of private confession and absolution. Unlike most ecclesiastical institutions which originated in the Mediterranean basin and then moved out toward the fringes of the empire, the practice of private confession originated on the fringes, in Ireland, and ultimately became the accepted practice in the empire.⁶ Although in later centuries it became associated with abuse, in its origins it can be identified with a genuine concern for individualizing the Gospel of forgiveness in Christ. Penance in its earliest form was limited to gross and public sins—murder, adultery, and apostacy—to be administered but once in a lifetime and that by the bishop. Taking their cue from Augustine, “Those sins are to be reprieved before all which have been committed before all; those are to be reprieved more secretly which have been more secretly committed.”⁷ Finnian, Columbanus, and other Irishmen introduced the concept of the availability of forgiveness for the average Christian who had not sinned flagrantly but who nevertheless realized his sinful condition. Private confession and absolution answered to the pastoral needs of the time, and its emergence can

be identified with a serious concern for the application of Christ's Gospel to the individual's needs. The sinner was henceforth to scrutinize his entire life to search out not only gross sin but inward evil desire as well. Thus the seriousness of sin was recognized. God was offended by man as sinner, not only by its gross manifestations. Sin was henceforth associated with man's nature and not limited to individual acts. Although confession led to a deepening of religious life, it also was lamentably abused in its practical application. When the concept of penance entered Germanic law, or became closely identified with it, certain tariffs were proposed for individual sins which corresponded to the German *wergild*, and the Gospel was transformed into a legal system of purchasing forgiveness.⁸ But granting this abuse, the private confessional with its pastoral overtones introduced something new into the West—the concept of motive and intention. The Roman and barbarian laws, based on the Theodosian Code, considered infractions of the law in absolute terms, whereas the Church took into consideration the circumstances surrounding the act. This is no doubt one reason for the popularity of ecclesiastical courts in medieval times, and it partially explains the friction between Henry II and Becket. The civil courts won the populace back by emulating ecclesiastical procedures which had their origins in the confessional. As with all of God's gifts, private absolution carried with it the possibility of abuse and corruption, but where used with knowledge and understanding, it served to bring God's forgiveness in Christ to penitent sinners through the absolution pronounced by the pastor.

3. Council of Kiersey 853 A.D.

A second reforming council of early medieval times was also associated with an Augustinian controversy, just as was the Council of Orange in 529. This second council was occupied with the doctrine of predestination, which if held in a strictly double sense would deny the availability of forgiveness of sin to all men. Gottschalk of Orbais apparently insisted that:

just as the immutable God before the foundation of the world through His gratuitous grace immutably predestined all His elect to eternal life, so in like manner all the reprobate who will in the day of judgment be condemned on account of their evil deserts has this same immutable God through His righteous judgment immutably predestined to death justly everlasting.⁹

Hincmar of Rheims, one of the most influential theologians of the ninth century, strenuously opposed such a dilution of God's grace. At the council of Kiersey in 853 A.D. he succeeded in reaffirming the Augustinian doctrine of grace. The four chapters of the council can be summarized as follows:¹⁰

1. Through Adams Fall the race became a *massa perditionis*. "A good and just God elected from this same mass of perdition according to His foreknowledge those whom He

through grace predestined to life, and He predestined eternal life to them. He foreknew that the others, whom by the judgment of righteousness He left in the mass of perdition, would perish. But He did not predestine that they should perish, but because He is just, He predestined to them eternal punishment. Hence they (fathers of the council) acknowledge but one predestination."

2. Grace has made our will free, "by grace set free and by grace healed from the corrupt state."
3. God wishes all men to be saved. "That some perish is the desert (*meritum*) of those who perish."
4. Christ died for all. That His death does not set all free, "is the fault of those who are unbelieving, or who do not believe with the faith that works by love."

Here we see, emerging from the period of later Carolingian decadence, a strong affirmation by the Church of God's grace and its absolute necessity for salvation.

4. *Carolingian Christology*

Another significant controversy associated with the doctrine of grace occurred under the later Carolingians of the ninth century. It has become famous as the Eucharistic controversy between Radbertus and Ratramnus, with the former stressing a materialistic conversion idea in the sacrament and the latter upholding a spiritual or sacramental interpretation. In the final analysis the issue was Christological, since their differences concerned the nature of the Christ who was truly received. The issue revolved around the use of the terms *veritas* and *figura*, and may have been precipitated by the iconoclastic controversy taking place simultaneously with the Eastern Church. The precise issue at stake in the latter conflict was also the use of *figura* and *veritas* as it applied to images and the person represented by them. Christology was also the issue between the famous Alcuin of York and Felix of Urgel in Spain in the adoptionist controversy which had preceded the Eucharistic discussions. The orthodox victory at Frankfurt in 794 A.D. was due largely to Alcuin's theological acumen and to the fact that few persons really understood Felix. In these Christological debates the real issue also concerned the doctrine of forgiveness. If Jesus Christ was not truly present in the sacrament, there could be no true forgiveness, and if He was not true God, man was still in his sins. The ninth century theologians, though they may not have articulated the issue in this way, responded by reaffirming Scriptural truth and orthodox tradition.¹¹

5. *Monasticism*

An account of medieval reform and dissent cannot ignore the crucial centrality of monasticism as an institution. The positive contributions of the monks toward the growth and spread of the Church can hardly be exaggerated. With few exceptions, the Fathers

and Doctors of the Church up to the time of Augustine were drawn from the monasteries. Indeed, it is not until the emergence of the cathedral schools in the 12th century that the theological centers shift from rural monasteries to urban schools. It may be significant that the great reformer of Wittenberg spent his formative years within an Augustinian cloister. Important as monasticism was to the positive growth of the Church, it also served in a reform capacity by its posture of protest. We can view monasticism *per se* as a reform movement in four areas.

A. It was a protest against the laxity and luxury of the Church following the mass influx of pagans in the 4th century. To be sure, anchorites and hermits had already gained renown much earlier, as witness Anthony, Pachomius, Schenoudi, and what Rufinus describes as the "multitude" of hermits living in the Nitrian desert.¹² The religious life was born with an attitude of living protest against the secularization of the Church. As Herbert Workman has said, "The hermit fled not so much from the world as from the world within the Church."¹³ Critics might suggest that the monks could have served a better purpose by remaining as a leaven in the dough instead of fleeing to the desert. They explained their conduct in terms of Luke 10:11 ("shake off the dust from your feet.") Their corporate life was a continuous judgment upon the indifferent morality of the Church. Even those who remained "in the world," men such as Athanasius, the two Gregorys, and Augustine, had all lived and trained within monasteries. This same reforming and energizing function of monasticism reached even greater importance during the age of the Merovingian kings and during the chaotic tenth century. It was from Cluny that an aggressive monasticism rallied the Church to do battle against the forces of decadence and the secularization of the Church. Dolan makes the claim that, "Cluny had little attention to spare for the secular Church," since it was preoccupied with the reform of monasticism *per se*.¹⁴ In its origins this is no doubt true, but ultimately the reform spread to include the secular Church as well. Indeed, the Cluniac reform movement was an extension of monastic reform to include the Church universal and reshape it in the monastic image.

B. Monasticism was also a protest against the bureaucracy and ineffectiveness of the Church and its entrenched hierarchy. Far from being an arm of the Church, in its origins monasticism opposed the Church in its institutional aspects. To read the history of the 5th and 6th centuries is to read of a continual struggle between monks and bishops.¹⁵ Although the Benedictine Rule places all of its houses under a diocesan bishop, it is extremely careful to limit the bishop's jurisdiction, and in later centuries the privilege of exemption from episcopal controls were highly prized and often sought. In almost every case, monastic Orders have been established by those Christians who sought forms of expression which could not be found within the established structure of the Church. Not one religious

Order has ever been founded by official administrative action or conciliar decision. Usually the Church has given its sanction only after a community has been organized and is flourishing. Monasticism was a form of protest against an indifferent hierarchy and an insensitive bureaucracy.

C. Monasticism was a protest against the domination of the Church by the clergy. Until at least 500 A.D. the monk was a layman, and the Benedictine Rule (529 A.D.) is extremely cautious about receiving ordained priests into its houses (Canon 62).¹⁶ St. Anthony was not only a layman, but according to Duchesne, he probably did not receive the Sacrament or priestly ministrations for 20 years.¹⁷ Cassian's well-known comment, "a monk ought by all means to flee from women and bishops," indicates the low esteem in which monks held the clergy.¹⁸ This attitude was reciprocal, however, for by the twelfth century when many priests had entered the cloister, the secular clergy refused them permission to preach or engage in pastoral functions. For centuries monasticism constituted a grass-roots lay movement which was often a living protest against the domination of the Church by a lax and indifferent clergy.

D. A fourth protest embodied in communal life opposed the rigidity of the Church and the all-pervading tyranny of the empire and secular princes. "The dominating principle that pervaded Egyptian monachism . . . was a strongly marked individualism."¹⁹ The monk recoiled from the growing conception of the kingdom of God as an organized society. It is true that by joining a community the monk submerged his individuality, but it does not discount the fact that in the communal life there lay a vigorous protest of individuals against the monolithic structures of state and Church. The monk, by losing himself in a community which represented to him the *civitas Dei*, found his true identity in a society which was often barbaric, impersonal, and callous.

In this way monasticism served to call the Church back to its original purposes. It was especially concerned with the life of sanctification. In this respect we feel constrained to add a caution for contemporary Protestantism. The most repeated criticism of the Religious life is often phrased in terms of "work righteousness," "supererogation," and "treasury of merits." Although it is undoubtedly true that monasticism by the 16th century had in many places deteriorated to the level of crass Pelagianism, monasticism in its origins and during the high middle ages cannot indiscriminately be charged with this heresy. One of history's clearest witnesses to the Gospel of forgiveness in Christ, Augustine, came from the cloister, as did Anselm, Bernard, and numerous other evangelical Doctors.²⁰ The monk was usually a Christian layman who interpreted New Testament injunctions to mean that, with God's help, he should strive to emulate His Master, and this could best be done through humble service to his fellow man within the cloister. A Benedictine prior wrote to me on November 23, 1965, "Put out of

your head the notion of merit in the sense which is objectionable to Lutherans. The closer we get to the early Church concept of the monk as one who takes his baptism seriously, the sooner all of us will appreciate this form, one of many, of following Christ." (Fr. Columba Cary-Elwes, O.S.B.). A skeptic may retort by avowing that, "saying so doesn't make it so." It is possible that a certain amount of Semi-Pelagian thinking still undergirds the monastic attitude, but in view of such disclaimers as offered by Fr. Cary-Elwes, Protestants would do well to withhold judgment until all the facts are in.

Thus, in terms of the reformation of the Church, monasticism served a four-fold purpose:

1. It protested the laxity and luxury of an imperial Church
2. It protested the growing bureaucracy of the Church
3. It protested the clerical domination of the Church
4. It protested against the indifference of the monolithic Church toward the individual as a member of Christ's Body.

6. *The Role Of The Papacy*

The foregoing discussion concerning monasticism brings us to the tentative conclusion that reform was generally a centripetal movement. That is, it proceeded from the fringes of the Church, the grass-roots, and moved to the center. Throughout the history of the Church reform movements have seldom been initiated by The Establishment. Today, for instance, the position of the Roman Curia vis-a-vis Vatican II is a well known case in point. Another contemporary illustration of this truth is the Ecumenical movement with its roots in the mission churches. In medieval times the reason for this was not necessarily the vested interests of the hierarchy but rather the decentralized (feudalized) condition of the Church. The medieval papacy has often been pictured as a powerful office, containing within itself the *plenitudo potestas*, forcing kings and emperors to do its bidding. At best this picture is a caricature. There are exceptional popes who attempted aggressive programs, to be sure, but in terms of actual fact, I propose the thesis that the medieval papacy was a relatively weak institution. Because of this, it was not possible or practical for the papacy to initiate reforms or realize success when reform was attempted.

Up until the coronation of Charlemagne the popes were under the domination of either Ostrogoth, Lombard, or the Eastern emperor. It was this intolerable situation which prompted Leo III to seek new political allies, and he crowned Charles, thus substituting old Byzantium for the Franks. The tenth century (*saeculum obscurum*) witnessed a papacy controlled by the Italian nobility, not to mention the sinister influence of the mother-daughter team, Theodora and Marozia. It was this situation which prompted Loescher in 1704 to coin the term "pornocracy," an unfortunate description

which Protestant polemicists have ever since employed to serve questionable ends. Under these circumstances reform could hardly be expected to proceed from a kept institution. Rather must it proceed from the keepers, who were little inclined toward renewal, or it must proceed from the grass-roots, represented by the monasteries and schools. As a matter of record, reform ultimately came from the latter. There are notable exceptions to this rule. The Frankish control of the Church, especially by Charlemagne, witnessed far-reaching ecclesiastical reforms. Likewise the German domination of the papacy beginning with the Council of Sutri in 1046 under Henry III saw the imperial appointment of at least five successively good popes. Yet the general statement appears nonetheless valid, that the guilt for lack of reforming zeal by the papacy cannot consistently be laid at the door of the Curia. It was not until Hildebrand sat in Peter's chair that anything like a reform movement originated within the Holy See, but even this man of iron will realized limited success.²¹ The famous incident of Canossa in 1077 has been interpreted by most modern historians as a sign of papal weakness, since Henry IV thereby succeeded in preventing a union of his opponents. Hildebrand made imperious claims upon William I of England which were summarily dismissed by the Conqueror, and the Archbishop Lanfranc for years refused the pope's insistent demand that he fetch his pallium in person. Just as Canossa cannot be used to illustrate papal power in medieval times, so also must the famous capitulation of John of England to Innocent III be reassessed. Without doubt Innocent made extravagant claims to papal prerogative, but his success in bringing theory into practice was another matter. The threat of excommunication in no way deterred the signers of Magna Charta (Lanfranc himself being a party to its formulation), and while King John was himself under the papal ban he managed to subdue the Scots (1209), Welsh (1211) and Irish (1210) with little danger of rebellion at home. Innocent sponsored the travesty of the Fourth Crusade, the tragedy of the Children's Crusade, and his excommunication of Phillip of France had no appreciable effect upon either Phillip or the loyalty of his vassals. Innocent's limited success in making the pope master within his own household is best illustrated by the fact that within 20 years of his death, Raymond of Penyaforte's *Decretales* (1234) were aimed against archbishops who were exercising papal prerogatives. We propose the thesis that the papacy was not in a position to effect reform, and for this reason one must exercise caution in assessing its role in reformation. It was not until the Avignon papacy (1309-1377) that the popes began to exercise real *potestas*, but this was again dissipated during the ensuing schism.

One more factor must be mentioned. The medieval popes exercised their jurisdiction together with the bishops. The principle of collegiality is firmly entrenched in medieval ecclesiastical thought. The pope issued decretals together with and counselled by the consistory. The notion of papal infallibility emerges occa-

sionally in the middle ages, but it was not fully articulated until Vatican I (1870). The historian must be careful not to judge the medieval papacy according to the power which a modern pope exercises within the Roman communion. The medieval Church up to 1300 was also struggling with the feudal system of power, which was characterized by decentralization. By the time of Luther, this was no longer true, of course. The papacy of the 16th century was far more powerful than that of the 13th, and for this reason Leo X can hardly be classified as medieval.

7. *Episcopal Visitation*

Reform, as stated earlier, was usually a movement from below rather than a program initiated from above in the stratified organization of the Church. For this reason the concept of reform usually had to do with the local church organization. Abbots limited their concerns to specific houses, and bishops concentrated their attentions on their *parochia*. The demand for a reform "in head and members" is relatively late, coming as it did in the 15th century. For the local diocese or monastic house the institution of canonical visitation is a prime witness to the Church's awareness of the need for continuing reform. Visitation is at least as old as the eighth century when Charlemagne instituted the *testes synodales* to report infractions of Christian life and faith within a given parish. Out of this grew not only the inquisitorial procedure but our modern jury system as well.²² Episcopal visitation, where carried out conscientiously and with evangelical rigor, served to remind the churches of their responsibilities over against the faithful Christians. A recent translation of the record of such visitations made under Bishop Eudes of Rouen between 1248 and 1269 indicates the thoroughness and care with which a dedicated prelate administered his charge. (Trans. Sydney Brown, N. Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1964). A caution for medievalists is in order when considering such records. In this translation it soon becomes apparent that throughout the diary of 780 pages only infractions are recorded, and most of these are minor. For instance, many priests are unable to conjugate their verbs, and a number of monasteries are lax in enforcing dietary regulations. When all was found to be in order, a simple notation was made to this effect. Consequently some of our prime sources for medieval church life are in effect police court records, and the historian must exercise extreme caution in reading the records of episcopal visitations as a mirror of the times. G. G. Coulton, a severe critic of the medieval Church, has relied heavily upon such records, with the inevitable result of presenting a distorted picture gleaned from the soiled linens of diaries. This leads us to ask whether the medieval Church was actually less in need of reform in life and morals than we have often assumed. Any account of reform and evangelical concern for the life of the Church must deal with the institution of visitation and the records which are available. The very existence of such records indicates that

many bishops and abbots discharged their pastoral responsibilities with diligence and evangelical concern.

8. *Theologians*

Monasticism and canonical visitation have been suggested as instruments for reform in the Church. These institutions, however, were concerned primarily with morality and life. They were not necessarily interested in the preservation of orthodoxy—that is, not until an obviously heretical movement threatened the peace and unity of the diocese. It was left to the reforming theologians to articulate the Church's teaching on sin and grace, and this was done usually in response to heresy. That is to say, the emergence of an Abelard, Gilbert de la Poree, or Joachim of Flora, challenged the Church to articulate more clearly the Scriptural teaching on grace.

A. Probably the most influential monastic theologian between Augustine and Aquinas was Anselm of Aosta, later the archbishop of Canterbury. The famous subtitle of his *Proslogion*, *fides quaerens intellectum* or *credo ut intelligam* has ever since served as a guide for many Christian theologians as expressing a proper relationship between Faith and Reason. Its ontological argument for the existence of God has been refuted countless times, but nonetheless it has so captured the imagination of philosophers as to cause the young Bertrand Russell to affirm its truth.²³

For Lutheran theology, however, his *Cur Deus Homo*, written to refute Roscellin and the school of Laon, is most interesting. He categorically denies any rights of Satan over man. Anselm stressed the satisfaction motif in Atonement theology. Satisfaction was due to God by man for having disobeyed God's will. Only man ought to make satisfaction, since it was man who sinned, but man was incapable of doing so. Only God could make full satisfaction, for He was holy, but according to justice He ought not. Therefore only a God-Man could make satisfaction, even though He ought not, but divine love surmounted the "ought not." It was this view of the Atonement which gave the sacrifice on the cross a central place in his theology. He succeeded in harmonizing divine mercy with justice and provided a blueprint and a vocabulary which is still dominant of Christian theology today. Anselm ranks as a reforming theologian inasmuch as his Atonement theology was called forth in response to Roscellin's neo-Sabellianism, Laon's contract-with-the-devil theory, and the London Jews' attacks on the credibility of the cross. Thus Anselm stressed the forensic aspect of the crucifixion, Christ's manhood, and man's total incapacity for working out his own salvation. Anselm's *De libero arbitrio* repeats in substance the Augustinian concept of free-will. Since man has lost freedom of the will, it must be restored by grace, and once restored, this freedom consists in the power of not acting contrary to the will of God. Without doubt Anselm influenced the mysticism of the twelfth century which stressed the centrality of the cross and the humanity of Christ.

B. A second monastic theologian who repeated Augustinian thought in anticipation of the 16th century Reformation was Bernard of Clairvaux. Melanchthon wrote that the following passage in one of Bernard's sermons deeply influenced Luther:²⁴

In addition, you must also believe that through Him your sins are forgiven. This is the testimony that the Holy Spirit has put into your heart when He says, "Your sins are forgiven you." For this is the meaning of the Apostle, that man, without merit, is justified through faith.

Melanchthon added that Luther was enlightened and strengthened by this statement, and that it clarified for him the meaning of Romans, "The just shall live by faith." Bernard's learning was drawn from an intensive study of the Scriptures, but the actual occasion for his doctrine of the Atonement was his attack upon the ideas of Abelard. Whereas Abelard looked to Christ as teacher and moral example, Bernard strongly affirmed man's need for forgiveness and justification and release from the bonds of Satan.²⁵ Just as it was incorrect to say that the mere example of Adam made us sinners, so it was false to say that Christ's example made man righteous. The crucial question for Bernard was not Christ's example but His shed blood, which he calls, "the price of our redemption."²⁶ Again he writes that, "it was Christ's suffering which appeased the offended Father."²⁷ Bernard was also opposed to Abelard's superficial concept of sin as being acts and not nature. Indeed, we see in this controversy a strong refutation of Pelagianism. Abelard insisted that the love which is awakened in our hearts is the ground of the forgiveness of sin. Bernard responded by affirming that Christ's sacrificial death is the only ground for forgiveness. Since the cross was central for Bernard, he emphasized Christ's humanity. "What is so efficacious for the curing of the wounds of conscience and for the clarifying of the vision of the mind as sedulous meditation upon the wounds of Christ."²⁸ A clear witness to objective justification is found in Bernard's tractate against Abelard:²⁹

Therefore, where there is reconciliation, there is remission of sins. And what is that but justification? Whether therefore we call it reconciliation, or remission of sins, or justification, or again redemption, or liberation from the chains of the devil, by whom we were taken captive at his will, at all events by the death of the only-Begotten we obtain that we have been justified freely by His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace.

It was no doubt such contemplation upon Christ's suffering which prompted hymnologists to credit Bernard with the well-known *Salve, caput, cruentatum*. Although its authenticity is an open question, the text is nonetheless at least as old as the 13th century.³⁰

Be Thou my Consolation, My Shield when I must die;
Remind me of Thy passion, When my last hour draws nigh;

Mines eyes shall then behold Thee, Upon Thy cross shall dwell;
My heart by faith enfold Thee, who dieth thus, dies well.

C. In the interests of brevity we shall pass over many others who offer a clear witness to the Gospel in medieval times. These include the luminaries of the School of Chartres—Bernard, Gilbert, William of Conches—all of whom are deep in Augustine's debt for their theology. Likewise we shall omit the 12th and 13th century mystics who reacted against the secularization of the Church by seeking reform through renewal. The most outstanding representatives of this new piety were the Victorines—Hugh, Richard, and Walter—who also looked to Augustine as their guide. But it is not possible to escape mention of the "Angelic Doctor," Thomas Aquinas. In the last two years a number of significant books have appeared which invite theologians to reassess Aquinas' doctrine of justification. The first is Robert Scharlemann's, *Thomas Aquinas And John Gerhard* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), and a second is S. Pfürtners *Luther And Aquinas On Justification* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965). Neither of the two authors makes Aquinas out to be a Lutheran in spite of his explicit statements on justification by grace alone. According to Aquinas, justification is not a judicial act of God. It is rather the infusion of divine grace which enables a man to earn his salvation. Salvation ultimately is due to God's grace alone, since it is only with the help of grace that man can earn eternal life, and such grace is given gratuitously. However, the work of Christ is not organically joined to man's salvation, and Aquinas follows Abelard in stressing the moral example and didactic role of the Redeemer. Thus Aquinas can hardly be adduced as an example of Pauline doctrine in the 13th century. However, the revival of interest in Aquinas has called into question the oversimplified outline of his teaching as given here, which has served as staple fare for Protestants ever since the 16th century. Each of the authors cited above see striking parallels between Aquinas and Luther which have heretofore remained unnoticed or at least unexpressed. This is especially true for the scholastic methodology employed by both 13th century Latins and 17th century Lutherans.

9. Hymns

Much of the evidence for evangelical thought in the medieval period so far has come from conciliar decrees or from individual theologians. A valid question at this point might be — are these merely isolated examples which over a thousand year period are bound to arise where the Gospel is preached? Is there any evidence that such evangelical concepts of grace ever reached the people, or reaching them, influenced them? Evidence of any kind which reflects the thinking of the masses in medieval times is rare, since this segment of society seldom was represented by articulate spokesmen. It is impossible to give a final answer. At the same time our own pastoral experience underscores the fact that in spite of ortho-

dox statements by clergy and councils, on *sola gratia*, many modern Christians are capable of holding distinctly Semi-Pelagian notions. A hint of medieval folk piety might be found in the hymnology of the pre-Reformation period, for we know that hymns were frequently sung, often from memory. Texts of hymns undergo frequent revisions, and it is hazardous to offer modern versions as documentation for medieval thought. Those offered here, however, have been authenticated as far as possible.

One of the most loved of all medieval hymns was the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Although it is hardly a conclusive statement on justification, in the third stanza we read:³¹

Tortured, scourged, in expiation
Of the sins that marred His nation.

From the 11th century comes the well-known plainsong:

Kyrie, O Christ our King,
Salvation for sinners Thou didst bring,
O Lord Jesus, God's own Son,
Our Mediator at the heav'nly throne,
Hear our cry and grant our supplication.

The Lutheran Hymnal contains no less than 56 hymns which were composed prior to 1500, some being more precise than others in expressing evangelical doctrine. Venantius Fortunatus' famous 6th century *Vexilla Regis Prodeunt* was an annual Good Friday favorite:³²

The royal banners forward go, The cross shines forth in mystic
glow,
Where He in flesh, our flesh who made, Our sentence bore,
our ransom paid.

The 11th century *Veni Veni Emmanuel* also speaks of "ransom" from Satan's tyranny and the grave. From the 8th century, the heart of the so-called dark age, come two hymns which reflect *sola gratia*, "Christ, Thou are the sure Foundation," and "Christ is our Cornerstone."³³ Mention has already been made of the 12th century, "O Sacred Head Now Wounded," and from this same period comes the stirring Easter proclamation, "Christ, the Lord, is Risen Today." *Veni Creator Spiritus* is from the pen of 9th century Rabanus Maurus, a hymn which was often sung at Sunday worship. *Dies irae, dies illa*, a well-known solemn dirge, contains within its heart these lines:³⁴

Think, good Jesus, my salvation
Caused Thy wondrous Incarnation;
Leave me not to reprobation.
Faint and weary, Thou hast sought me,

On the cross of suffering bought me,
 Shall such grace be vainly brought me?

It is not difficult to proceed in this way through volumes of medieval hymnody and discover strong evidence for the preaching of *sola gratia*. One of the best sources of such hymnody is the *Analecta Hymnia Medii Aevi* (Leipzig: 1915) which offers the texts and critical apparatus of medieval hymns in no less than 55 volumes. There is little evidence, to my knowledge, as to the impact these verses made upon the belief of the people, but their existence testifies to the fact that the Gospel was available. Of equal significance is the fact that these hymns were composed at all. A poet invariably reflects his own soul in his creations. There is ample evidence, therefore, that many medieval poets understood the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

10. *Sola Scriptura*

What was the medieval Church's attitude toward the Scriptures? Or to rephrase the question, where did authority lie? The medieval concept of "Scripture" was apparently more flexible than is ours, for it included not only the canonical writings, but the various commentaries of the Fathers and Doctors as well. The apostolic writings were supplemented by the homilies and treatises of the Fathers.³⁵ Today we would call such later interpretations "tradition". To the medieval mind, however, they were all considered in one harmonious unit. No ultimate contradiction between canonical Scripture and the Church's interpretation was conceivable. They were the two eyes, the two breasts, and the two shoulders upon which man's hopes rested. Thus it is permissible to say that the medieval theologians held to the principle of *sola Scriptura* without wavering, but *Scriptura* included *ecclesia*. It was not until the 14th century that the twin authorities were considered separately.³⁶ The controversies of Scripture vs. Church were also precipitated by the Great Schism, as was the issue of papal primacy. Up until 1300, however, the issue of *sola Scriptura* did not enter theological discussions. As George Tavard has written, "Authority in the Church was inseparable from the authenticity of apostolic doctrine. (But from the 14th century on) the voice of the Church, rather than growing from the contents of the Scriptures, is superadded to them."³⁷

When the question finally emerged, and Church began to be considered apart from Scripture, theologians were found who supported the primacy of each. Strong *sola Scriptura* sentiments are expressed by Henry of Ghent:³⁸

In itself and absolutely speaking, one must believe Holy Scripture rather than the church, because the truth as such is always kept in Scripture without alteration or change and nobody may add to, subtract from, or change it. . . . In the persons who are in the church, the truth is variable and changeable, so that the multitude of them can dissent from faith and re-

nounce it by mistake or malice, although the Church remains always in a few just men.

This same theologian wrote further:³⁹

Thus indeed a believer, knowing Sacred Scripture and having found Christ in it, believes the words of Christ in it rather than any preacher, rather even than the testimony of the Church, since he believes in the Church already on account of Scripture. And supposing that the Church herself taught contrary to Scripture, he would not believe her.

These are significant words, written about 1275 A.D. by a theologian who was accepted and recognized as being an orthodox spokesman. From the 14th century we read in William of Ockham's *Dialogue Against Heretics*:⁴⁰

The only truths that are to be considered Catholic and necessary to salvation are explicitly or implicitly stated in the Canon of the Bible. . . . All other truths, which neither are inserted in the Bible nor can be inferred formally and necessarily from its contents, are not to be held as Catholic, even if they are stated in the writings of the Fathers or the definitions of the Supreme Pontiffs, and even if they are believed by all the faithful. To assent to them firmly through faith, or for their sake to bind the human reason or intellect, is not necessary to salvation.

Although these are clear witnesses to the *sola Scriptura* principle, the general statement nevertheless holds true, that medieval theology accepted both Church and Scripture as twin and harmonious authorities.

It was the tragedy of the 14th century that many Church politicians and theologians were unaware of the cleavage that was being wrought, by the former in facts, by the latter in thoughts. Not all were thus blind to the issue at stake, but these were the trends that became the most influential in the next two centuries.⁴¹

It may not be unhistorical to say that the 16th century Reformation was the explosion which resulted from the 14th century cleavage between Church and Scripture, a crisis precipitated by the question of authority prompted by the Great Schism. Today theologians appear to be seeking a restoration of the medieval synthesis, with the Roman Church stressing Scriptural study and the non-Romans involved in the search for an authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures. Perhaps the Middle Ages may yet prove to be a helpful model.

A final observation is in order concerning medieval theology. All too often students of the 20th century tend to label "medieval", in a pejorative sense, theological notions which can trace their origins

back no further than the Council of Trent, at least in the form of dogma. It is my hope that this essay has served to point up the fact that in medieval theology we can find evidence for strong affirmations of *sola gratia* as understood by Luther. Allow me now to enumerate three conclusions which I have drawn from these studies.

1. The Church is *ecclesia semper reformanda*. It has always been in the process of reform. There has been no period of her history when reform, in one shape or another, was not taking place. Together with this conclusion is the implied imperative for our generation. Where can we serve as the Spirit's instrument in the renewal of the Church's faith, life, and mission today?

2. Reform and renewal has usually originated from below, from the grass roots of the Church. It is seldom that those with vested interests in maintaining the *status quo* have encouraged reform, at least in its initial phases.

3. The doctrine of salvation by God's grace alone has always been present in the Church, although in some generations it has received more emphasis than in others.

Thus the Holy Spirit continues to call, gather, enlighten, and sanctify the whole Christian Church on earth, and keep it with Jesus Christ in the one true faith.

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NOTES

1. Our prime source for knowledge of Provencal theology comes from Augustine's two letters cited in n. 2, *infra*. Cf. discussion in Joseph Tixeront, *History Of Dogma* (St. Louis; Herder, 1923-30) III, 279-283.
2. In *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Series Latina (Ed. J. P. Migne), 45, cols. 9 and 1677. Hereafter Migne will be cited as PL.
3. Leo's *Capitula de gratia Dei* are found in H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum* (Freiburg: 10th ed. 1908), pp. 129-142. The authorship of these *capitula* has been questioned, some attributing them to Prosper of Aquitaine. Cf. discussion in *Revue Benedictienne* (1927) pp. 198-226, (1929) pp. 155-170.
4. Faustus of Riez, *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, PL 58, col. 815.
5. Council of Orange 529 A.D. in *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Et Amplissima Collectio*. Ed. Mansi (Florence: 1762), "Concilium Arausicanum" II, 711-724. Hereafter this work will be cited as *Mansi*.
6. "The outstanding significance of the Celtic monastic systems of penance for the historian is that whereas on the continent of Europe the rule throughout the West is public penance and public reconciliation, in the Celtic procedure the public character has been taken away from penance and reconciliation alike. The change is of momentous importance. It marks the beginning of the modern revolution in penitential procedure." O. D. Watkins, *A History of Penance* (London: 1920), II, 609.
7. Augustine, Sermon, 82, PL 38, col. 511, "Ergo ipsa corripienda sunt coram omnibus, quae peccantur coram omnibus; ipsa corripienda sunt secretius, quae peccantur secretius."

8. August Neander, *General History Of The Christian Religion And Church* (London: 1852), V, 191, holds that the penitentials came as a result of the wergild system. T. P. Oakley, "Medieval Penance And Secular Law," *Speculum* VII (October 1932) 515-524, makes it clear that it is practically impossible to determine the order of dependence. Cf. R. C. Mortimer, *The Origins Of Private Penance In The Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939); Hermann Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abländischer Kirche* (Halle: 1851).
9. Hincmar of Rheims, *De Praedestinatione* 5, PL 125, cols. 89-90.
10. Mansi 14, cols. 920-921. Cf. Carl J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* (Freiburg: 1879) IV, 186-188.
11. Radbertus indicates the effect one's attitude toward the Eucharist will have upon other Scriptural doctrines. "For this reason therefore this mystery is far different from all those miracles which have occurred in this life, because they all occurred so that this one may be believed, that Christ is truth, yet truth is God, and if God is truth, whatever Christ has promised in this mystery is the same way truth. Therefore the true flesh and blood of Christ, which anyone worthily eats and drinks, have eternal life abiding in them, but in corporeal appearance and taste they are not on this account changed, as long as faith is exercised for righteousness. And because of faith's desert the reward of righteousness is achieved in it. For the other miracles of Christ confirm this one of His Passion, and so the elements are not outwardly changed in appearance on account of the miracle but inwardly, that faith may be proved in spirit. Most truly we confess that because 'the just man lives from faith,' he should have the righteousness of faith in the mystery, and through faith receive the life abiding in it." *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, PL 120, col. 1271.
12. The reference is to Rufinus' exaggeration, "the multitude of monks in the desert equals the population of the cities," *Historia Monachorum* 5, PL 21, col. 408.
13. Herbert B. Workman, *The Evolution Of The Monastic Ideal* (Boston: The Beacon Press, rev. 1962), p. 10.
14. John P. Dolan, *History Of The Reformation* (New York: Deslee Co., 1965), p. 67.
15. The Fourth Ecumenical Council (Chalcedon 451 A.D.) addressed itself to this problem by insisting that the monks be subject to bishops. "Monks in every city and district shall be subject to the bishop, and embrace a quiet course of life, and give themselves only to fasting and prayer, and they shall meddle neither in ecclesiastical nor secular affairs, nor leave their own monasteries to take part in such (Canon 4)," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, ed. by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids: Eerdmanns, 1953) Series Two, 14, p. 270. The fact that seven canons of Chalcedon stress the bishop's jurisdiction over the monk indicates the extent of the tension between them.
16. In Canon 2 of the Council of Chalcedon a distinction is made between monks and ordained clergy (*Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers* 14, p. 268), although as early as Gregory of Tours (d. 597) monks began to be classified as *presbyteri*, *De Gloria Beatorum Martyrum* 76, PL 71, col. 772.
17. "We cannot see how Anthony, during his 20 years of seclusion, can ever have been enabled to receive the Eucharist," L. Duchesne, *Early History Of The Christian Church* (London: 1910), II, 390.
18. Cassian, *Institutes* 11:18, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series Two, XI, p. 279, "A monk ought by all means to fly from women and bishops, for neither of them will allow him who has once been joined in close intercourse any longer to care for the quiet of his cell, or to continue with pure eyes in divine contemplation through his insight into holy things." In PL 49, col. 418, "omnimodis monachum fugere debere mulieres et episcopos."

19. E. C. Butler, *The Lausiac History Of Palladius* (Cambridge: 1898) I, 237.
20. Cf. James Pragman, "Bernard of Clairvaux and Luther On Monasticism." Unpublished S.T.M. dissertation, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1965.
21. But even Hildebrand represented the Cluniac ideal, and so was inspired by a grass roots movement. The entire question of papal power in the Middle Ages is subject to various interpretations. Perhaps the best recent accounts are by W. Ullman, *Medieval Papalism. The Political Theories Of The Medieval Canonists* (London: 1949), and *The Growth Of Papal Government In The Middle Ages* (London: 1955). Cf. M. J. Wilks, *The Problem Of Sovereignty In The Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 1963). The point being made in this essay is that the nature of medieval papal sovereignty is still an open question. The possibility exists that it was less formidable than some historians have led us to believe.
22. The idea of communal responsibility for the behavior of its constituent individuals is at least as old as Greek civilization and came into Roman law through Cicero's *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*. It also corresponded to certain Teutonic tribal customs. From these sources it entered into ecclesiastical law via Charlemagne's capitularies. William I of England used this method in compiling the Domesday Book. The jury system was therefore an established usage long before Henry II incorporated it into his laws in 1166, and its immediate antecedent was the church's use for purpose of reform. The famous Inquisition was originally a bishop's privilege within his diocese. Only in the 13th century (c. 1234) did it become papal as well. The flagrant and odious abuses attaching to "inquisition" were characteristic of the Spanish era under the notorious Torquemada in the 15th century, but the institution as such served a useful reforming purpose in its earlier days.
23. Bertrand Russell, *My Mental Development*, in P. A. Schilpp, *The Philosophy Of Bertrand Russell* (1944), p. 10, writes, "the precise moment one day in 1894, as I was walking along Trinity Lane, when I saw in a flash that the ontological argument is valid. I had gone out to buy a tin of tobacco. On my way back, I suddenly threw it up into the air and exclaimed as I caught it, 'Great Scott! The ontological argument is sound.'"
24. E. G. Schwiebert, *Luther And His Times* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1950), p. 171. Cf. *Corpus Reformatorum*, VI, 159.
25. Bernard, Ep. 190, PL 182, cols. 1067-1068. This epistle is also given the title, *Tractatus de Erroribus Abelardi*.
26. Bernard, Sermon 20, PL 183, col. 867.
27. *Ibid.*, col. 864.
28. Bernard, Sermon 62, PL 183, col. 1079. Cf. Theo. Dierks, "Justification According To Bernard of Clairvaux," *Concordia Theological Monthly* VIII (October 1937), pp. 748-753.
29. Bernard, Ep. 190, PL 182, col. 1069. Bernard's statement on subjective justification is equally clear. "The great fragrance of Thy righteousness is spread abroad upon every side, inasmuch as Thou art not only righteous, but also Righteousness itself—yes, a righteousness which renders righteous him who is unrighteous. And as powerful as you are to justify, so bountiful also are you to forgive. Therefore let him who is touched with sincere sorrow for his sins, who hungers and thirsts after righteousness, believe without hesitation in you, who justifies the ungodly, and being justified by faith alone, he shall have peace with God," Sermon 22, PL 183, col. 881.
30. The original Latin text is a poem of seven hymns addressed to the several members of Christ hanging on the cross. The hymn was translated by P. Gerhardt (1656 and set to a tune by H. Hassler (1601).

Dum me mori est necesse
Noli mihi tunc deesse;
In tremenda mortis hora

Veni Jesu! absque mora
 Tuere me et libera
 Cum me jubes emigrare
 Jesu! Care! tunc appare,
 O amator amplectende
 Temet ipsum tunc ostende
 In cruce salutifera.

From *Historical Companion To Hymns Ancient And Modern*, ed. by Maurice Frost (London: Wm. Clowes and Sons, 1962), p. 198. F. A. March, *Latin Hymns* (New York: American Book Co., 1874) gives the texts of six hymns by Bernard, including *Salve, caput, cruentatum*. Others cited carry a strong evangelical message; *De passione Domini*, *Ad Cor*, *Vanitas Mundi*, *De Nomine Jesu*.

31. Joseph Connelly, *Hymns Of The Roman Liturgy* (New York: Longmans Green and Co., 1957), p. 188. "Pro peccatis suae gentis, Vidit Jesum in tormentis, Et flagellis subditum."
32. *Ibid.*, p. 80. "Vexilla regis prodeunt, Fulget crucis mysterium, Quo carne carnis conditor, Suspensus est partibulo." Although in this verse the ransom idea seems to have been added in the English translation, "redemptionis gratia" appears in v. 2.
33. Frost, *op. cit.*, p. 276. "Angularis fundamentum, lapis Christus missus est, Qui conpage parietis, In utroque nectitur, Quem Sion sancta suscepit, In quo credens permanet."
34. Connelly, *op. cit.*, p. 254. "Recordare, Jesu pic, Quod sum causa tuae viae, Ne me perdas illa die; Quarens me sedesti lassus, Redemisti crucem passus, Tantus labor non sit cassus."
35. Cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *De Scriptura et Scriptoribus Sacris*, 6, in PL 175, col. 16, "As the prophets follow the Law and the historians the prophets, so the Apostles follow the Gospels and the doctors the apostles. The wonderful plan of the divine dispensation is such that while the full and perfect truth resides in each Scripture, none of them is superfluous."
36. Henry of Ghent, *Commentary On The Sentences*, n. 4, "Concerning the things of the faith, the fact is that the Church and Holy Scriptures agree in everything and testify to the same thing, namely to the truth of the faith, in which it is reasonable to believe both of them: Scripture on account of the authority of Christ which true reasons show as obviously residing in it; the Church on account of what is seen in it by man."
37. George H. Tavard, "Holy Church Or Holy Writ: A Dilemma Of The Fourteenth Century," *Church History XXIII* (September 1954), pp. 195-196.
38. Henry of Ghent, *op. cit.*, n. 5.
39. *Ibid.*, n. 10.
40. William of Ockham, *Dialogue against Heretics* 2:2.
41. Tavard, *op. cit.*, p. 205.