

Concordia Theological Monthly

Volume 1
Issue 1 *Januaru*

Article 62

7-1-1930

How Peter Become Pope

W Dallmann

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis

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



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Dallmann, W (1930) "How Peter Become Pope," *Concordia Theological Monthly*. Vol. 1 : Iss. 1 , Article 62.
Available at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/ctm/vol1/iss1/62>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Print Publications at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Concordia Theological Monthly by an authorized editor of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

How Peter Became Pope.

II. From Constantine to Leo the Great.

"The Papacy, such as the West knew it in a later age, *had not yet been born*" — in the fourth century, says Duchesne. For stating this historical truth the French Catholic scholar's *History of the Church* was placed on the "Index."

Julius I, 337—352, called a synod to Rome in 340, but the Orientals sent an insulting refusal. When he, in 341, reproved some Eastern bishops for calling a synod at Antioch without his permission, they laughed and told him Christianity arose in the East, and if there were any question of superiority, such belonged to the elder, Oriental, rather than to the younger, Western, branch. (Schick, p. 67.) The synod strictly forbade another synod to try a deposed bishop. Julius rejected the twenty-nine canons of Antioch, the first Pope to claim papal confirmation necessary to the reception of canons. Pope Innocent I, about sixty years later, rejected these canons, yet they were accepted *de facto*, and by the Council of Chalcedon *de jure*, and embodied in the code of the Roman Church itself. So, then, papal confirmation is not necessary to the reception of canons.

Julius took up the case of Athanasius, but felt forced to justify such a step. He said the Council of Nicaea had authorized one synod to review the acts of another. This is *not* in the canons of Nicaea.

In 343 the emperors Constantius and Constans called a council at Sardica, in Illyria, over which Hosius of Cordova presided, not Julius of Rome. It was composed of about 95 Western and two Eastern bishops. It was a local council, not general; 74 (or even 76) Oriental and 5 Occidental bishops seceded and held a council at Philippopolis, in Thrace. The third Sardican canon, proposed by Hosius, forbids bishops to call in other bishops to judge in their differences, but "if it please your charity," let a condemned bishop ask Julius, Bishop of Rome, to appoint judges from the neighboring bishops for a new trial.

The local Sardican Synod voted this right to Julius; he did not have it before. He could act only when the case was freely brought to him; he could not draw a case before his forum. Only very definite, limited cases could be brought before him. He could not try the case in person nor have any voice in the decision. The power was conferred "in honor of the memory" of St. Peter, and hence it was soon claimed as an inherent prerogative of the Apostolic See of Rome; the Pope took power previously possessed alone by the emperor.

The Popes used these Sardican canons, 1. as if they were Nicene, 2. to claim supreme rule over the whole Church. In 1875 the Roman

theologian Aloysius Vincenzi confessed these Sardican canons are not Nicene.

This limited jurisdiction of the Roman bishop was revolutionary in character and disastrous in its effect on the Church in course of time. (Puller, 154; Robertson, *Growth*, 70.)

In 355 Bishop Liberius sided with Athanasius for the Godhead of Christ and was banished to Berea, in Thrace. He longed for home, in Rome, and in 357 signed on the dotted line against the deity of Christ, "subscribed to heresy," says Jerome, "for fear of threatened death," adds Athanasius. "Anathema to thee, renegade Liberius!" writes Hilary of Poitiers. Jerome says, "The whole world groaned and was amazed to find itself Arian."

Liberius killed many rivals to regain the Holy See.

For the first time Christmas was celebrated on December 25 in 354. Liberius built Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline.

Felix II swore to own no one as Bishop of Rome during the life of Liberius; before a year he broke his oath and became Pope in 355. In the same year he secured from the emperor an order to try all clerics before the Pope and forbidding an appeal to the civil courts.

Damasus I, son of a Spanish priest, was elected in 366, but seven priests and three deacons headed a party that on grounds of conscience objected to "the ladies' ear-tickler" and elected Ursinus in S. Maria in Trastevere, where some were killed by the followers of Damasus. Street riots followed. The prefect Viventius sided with Damasus, who besieged the Ursinians with axes and fire in the barricaded S. Maria Maggiore and killed one hundred and thirty-seven of them in October, 366. The "murderer" was also accused of adultery, and things looked bad for Damasus before the prefect of Rome, but suddenly the child-emperor Gratian was induced to transfer the suit to himself at Milan, where Ambrose secured an acquittal.

Such things should not be brought before ordinary judges, still mostly heathen, and so in 378 a synod asked the nineteen-year-old Emperor Gratian to compel rebellious bishops in Italy and Illyricum to be tried at Rome. By one stroke of the pen he gave to Pope Damasus patriarchal jurisdiction over the whole Western empire and placed the civil power at his command. This rescript made the Pope a sort of spiritual prefect of the pretorium throughout the West. As the prefects had their vicars, so Damasus appointed Bishop Archolius of Thessalonica the first Apostolic Vicar.

Emperor Theodosius I, on February 27, 380, decreed: "All the peoples over whom we rule with mildness and clemency must—such is our will—accept the religion transmitted by the divine Apostle St. Peter to the Romans." This was also the preface to Justinian's code of civil law.

Heretics could no longer give the name church to their places of meeting.

This law greatly increased the power of the Bishop of Rome, and in September 381 the Council of Aquileia thanked the emperor for the law; the power came not from Peter.

The Second General Council, at Constantinople, in 381, was called by the Emperor Theodosius alone, and he alone ratified its actions. Meletius of Antioch, excommunicated by Rome, was the president of the synod. Neither the Pope nor his legates were present. It decreed: "Let the bishops who are over a diocese not invade churches which are beyond their bounds nor cause confusion in churches." Also: "Let the Bishop of Constantinople have the precedence of honor next to the Bishop of Rome, forasmuch as it is New Rome (*Junior Roma*)."

Pope Leo the Great rejected this council. Forty years later Pope Felix omits Constantinople from the general councils. Gelasius gives it no recognition; and yet it is reckoned as a true General Council by Popes Vigilius, Pelagius II, and Gregory the Great.

Bishop Gregory Nazianzen said in his concluding speech: "To thee, O emperor, we owe what has been decided in this holy council. For at thy call we gathered here," etc.

When Theodosius, in 381, chose Nectarius to be Patriarch of Constantinople, the Italians complained about not having been consulted. In 382 Theodosius declared the Manicheans guilty of death and confiscated their goods.

In 382 another council at Constantinople addressed Damasus of Rome, Ambrose of Milan, and five more named and other unnamed bishops as "most religious brethren and fellow-ministers"—all equal. No Pope yet.

Damasus got his friend Jerome to revise the old Latin translation of the Bible or to make a new translation from the Hebrew and Greek into Latin, which version is now known as the Vulgate. The Pope made it the authority, and the authority it is to this day for all Romanists. "The Pope of the Catacombs" restored, inscribed, and embellished the catacombs, and pilgrimages to them began.

While Jerome and his friend Bonosus were studying rhetoric, they used to visit the tombs of the martyrs.

Damasus placed the chair which tradition, from the second century onward, alleged to be the veritable chair of Peter, into the baptistery which he himself had added to old St. Peter's; it became the episcopal throne of Roman bishops and gave objective expression to their now growing claim of being the successors of Peter; it is still shown to the public in St. Peter's.

St. Basil calls Damasus vain, haughty, and superstitious. He tried in vain to rule the Eastern Church. (Puller, 128—176.)

Epiphanius gives a list of 43 distinct heresies in his day among the Eastern bishops, but the Bishop of Rome stood consistently for the orthodox, the winning, side, and that lent great influence to the Bishop of the West. St. Jerome besought the "Sun of righteousness—in the West" to teach him the true doctrine, because "here in the East all is weed and wild oats."

In later life he wrote: "If it is a question of authority, the world is greater than the city [Rome]. Wherever there is a bishop, at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, or at Alexandria, or at Tanis, he has the same worth (*meritum*), the same priesthood. The power of wealth or the humility of poverty does not make a bishop higher or lower. They are all successors of the apostles." (*Ep. 146. Gore, R. C. Claims*, p. 116.)

The *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Canons of the Holy Apostles*, and the decrees of the councils of Elvira in 306, Arles in 316, Neo-Caesarea in 314, and Nicaea in 325, all reveal the worldliness of the clergy in the laws passed against their engaging in worldly pursuits against frequenting taverns and gambling-houses, accepting usury, habits of vagrancy, taking bribes, and immorality. Hilary, Basil, and other Fathers deplored the vices of the clergy. Jerome's *Letters*, especially 22 and 125, draw a dark picture of conditions; he forbids young ladies ever to remain in a room with a priest.

In the fourth century people broke into churches to steal the oil for extreme unction to heal the sick.

From the conversion of Emperor Constantine, in 312, and still more from the time of Theodosius the Great, 379, the Church made great strides forward in power and wealth. Jerome writes: "The Church under the emperors was greater in power and wealth, but she was less in virtues." Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln wrote: "In the ante-Nicene age the world had been arrayed *against* the Church; but in the next period the world worked *in* the Church, and it caused more injury to the faith than when arrayed against it." (Puller, 181.)

The State had to check the rapacity of the Church:—

"We forbid clerics, or those who say they have taken vows of chastity and celibacy, to enter the houses of widows and wards, and they shall not be permitted to profit by the liberality of these women, into whose graces and familiarity they have insinuated themselves, under the guise of religion. We ordain that, if such woman have given them anything, even in her last will, it shall be null, and they shall be unable to acquire anything, either by gift or testament, not even through the intervention of a fiduciary or other third person; and if it should happen that after this decree they should capture either by gift or testament of such woman any property, that property shall be confiscated." (*Cod. Theod.*, lib. XVI. B. Willard-Archer, p. 37; Gibbon's *Decline*, chap. XXV.)

Jerome writes to Nepotianus: "The priests of idols, players, charioteers of the circus, harlots even, can freely receive legacies and donations, and it has been necessary to make a law excluding clerics and monks from this right. Who has made such a law? The persecuting emperors? No; but Christian emperors. I do not complain of the law, but I complain bitterly that we should have deserved it. But our avarice has not been restrained by it. We laugh at it and evade it by setting up trustees." St. Ambrose also implies that such a law was needed. (Puller, 137.)

Even the rich patricians envied the wealth of the higher clergy. Pope Damasus tried to convert Praetextatus — "If you will make me Bishop of Rome, I will at once become a Christian." Evidently Rome, too, was worth a mass, as later Paris to Henry IV.

Ammianus Marcellinus, a heathen historian of about 390, writes: "No wonder that for so magnificent a prize as the bishopric of Rome men should contest with the utmost eagerness and obstinacy. To be enriched by the lavish donations of the principal females of the city; to ride, splendidly attired, in a stately chariot; to sit at a profuse, luxurious, more than imperial table — these are the rewards of successful ambition." "No savage beasts were more ferocious than Christians to each other."

Lord Macaulay writes: "The whole history of Christianity shows that she is in far greater danger of being corrupted by the alliance of power than of being crushed by its opposition. Those who thrust temporal sovereignty upon her treat her as their prototypes treated her Author. They bow the knee and spit upon her; they cry 'Hail!' and smite her on the cheek; they put a scepter in her hand, but it is a fragile reed; they crown her, but it is with thorns; they cover with purple the wounds which their own hands have inflicted upon her and inscribe magnificent titles over the cross on which they have fixed her to perish in ignominy and pain."

About 363 Optatus of Mileve told the Donatist Bishop Parmenian of Carthage he was not in the Church of Christ because not in communion with Rome, pointing to the promise to Peter, and thus connects the Chair of Peter with Rome.

"As Peter represents the one apostolic power, from which the apostolic power of the others are only various effluences, so the power of the bishops of the other churches sustains a similar relation to the one Roman episcopal power." (Schick, 58.)

When the New Testament canon was fixed at Hippo, in 395, none of the Fathers dreamed of going to ask the Roman Pope, the infallible teacher of the Church, the one man in all the world divinely qualified to decide what is canonical, what not. "What fools these mortals be!"

We read of the theological schools of Alexandria, of North Africa, of Asia Minor; we do not read of any Italian school.

"Pope" comes from *papa*, father, and from the earliest times all Greek presbyters and Latin bishops were honored by that title; but Siricius was the first Roman bishop to claim that title for himself alone. In 386 he wrote to Himerius of Tarragona the first extant papal decretal—

"We bear the burdens of all that are heavy laden; nay, rather, the blessed Apostle Peter bears them in us, who, as we trust, in all things protects and guards us, the heirs of his administration." He expects the Roman usage as to clerical celibacy and heretical baptism to be followed, and directs him to communicate the rescript to all Spanish churches. To these papal decretals the Roman canonists afterwards attached as much importance as to the Bible. The Popes were ashamed to base their asserted legislative power on the rescript of the Emperor Gratian, and so they fell back upon their vague claim to be successors of Peter in his chair and of Peter living in them and acting through them. (Puller, 183.)

This first authentic papal decretal is also remarkable because of the fact that it lays down the rule for the celibacy of the clergy. Celibacy detached the clergy from their families and other orders of society and attached them to the Pope and thus gave a vast increase to his power.

In 390 the clergy of Milan addressed Siricius as the successor of Peter, to whom Christ gave the care of the flock.

Of the nine Roman councils in the fourth century one canon, of 386, forbids the consecration of a bishop without the *knowledge* of the Roman patriarch.

The Council of Milan was presided over by St. Ambrose, and he spoke of "having recourse to the judgment of the Roman Church, of Italy, and of the whole West."

Ambrose of Milan (died 397) gave the Bishop of Rome the same position in the Church that the emperor had in the empire, but at the same time called Peter's primacy one of confession and faith, not of rank, and put Paul on an equality with Peter.

The Greek Fathers also held Peter's primacy one of honor.

In 391 the Council of Capua "committed the judgment of the [Antioch] case" to Theophilus of Alexandria, not to the Pope at Rome.

In 401 the Gallicans appealed to Venerius of Milan, not to the Pope at Rome.

About this time Christianity gained the victory over paganism, but "in this great contest the Bishop of Rome filled only an inferior part; it was Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who enforced the final sentence of condemnation against paganism, asserted the sin, in a Christian emperor, of assuming any imperial title connected with pagan worship and of permitting any portion of the public revenue to be

expended on the rites of idolatry. It was Ambrose who forbade the last marks of respect to the tutelar divinities of Rome in all public ceremonies," says Milman in *Lat. Chr.*, I, 101.

Innocent I, 402—417, according to Jerome a son of Pope Anastasius I, greatly enlarged the power of the Popes. Writing to Bishop Ducentius of Eugubium in Italy, Innocent claims plenary authority over all and for the first time bases it directly upon the bequest of Peter to his successors in Rome. He is "the one single fountainhead which fertilizes the whole world by its manifold streamlets"; he has the right to legislate for the whole Church by his own fiat. (Beet, pp. 1—61.)

"The Rector of the Church of God" claimed rule over all the West because the Western churches were founded by Peter or his disciples; he claimed rule over the East since Rome, the city of Peter's main work, was greater than Antioch, the city of his temporary work; he claimed rule over Alexandria because it was the city of Mark, a disciple of Peter. He claimed the right to create new church offices, "the vicar of the Pope." He claimed to be the supreme judge of all doctrines. He got Honorius to persecute heretics by the edict of February 22, 407. He went to Ravenna to get the court to change its anti-Goth policy—the first papal political work.

Teachers like Jerome and Augustine denied his claims. When he tried to interfere in the East, the Greeks told him in plain Greek they could very well get along without his help. (Theodoret's *Eccl. Hist.*, V, 10.)

Though Innocent refused communion with Atticus of Constantinople and Theophilus of Alexandria, the Eastern churches communed with them.

At the celebrated conference at Carthage, in 411, neither the 286 Catholic nor the 279 Donatist bishops have any inkling of the existence of any Pope with supreme authority in matters of doctrine and practise. (Schick, p. 59.)

The strong arm of Stilicho lying in the grave, Alaric the Goth, in 408, sacked Rome for three days. The statues of Rome's old-time gods were sent to the melting to raise the ransom demanded by the barbarian. The seemingly impossible had happened—*Roma aeterna* had been conquered, and the world seemed to be going to pieces before the eyes of wondering and trembling nations. In far-off Palestine, Jerome gasped with horror. The Spoiler of the world was spoiled, the Ravager of the world was ravaged by the barbarian Goth.

In this crash of matters and wreck of worlds the Roman Church alone loomed up large and strong. The emperor living at Ravenna, the Bishop of Rome became Caesar in the garb of the priest.

Even Alaric spared the Christian churches and gave sanctuary

to all who were in them; he dispersed the pagans and destroyed their remaining temples.

On the ruins of the Roman Empire rose the Roman Papacy. Hobbes calls the Papacy the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned on the grave thereof. (*Leviathan*, c. 47, p. 313; Morley's ed.)

Theodosius II, 408—450, with his wife Eudocia, at Jerusalem received the iron chains, adorned with gold and jewels, with which Peter had been bound, Acts 12. Eudocia sent this relic to her daughter Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III, who brought it to the Pope. He showed her the chain with which Peter had been bound by Nero,—and the two chains jumped together and became one chain! For this reason the Church of St. Peter Ad Vincula was built on the Esquiline Hill and dedicated August 1, once a pagan festival, now Christian. The chain worked many miracles, for instance, it cured Count Otto, vexed by an unclean spirit. "From henceforth arose the cult (*religio*) of the holy chains."

The British monk Pelagius taught man is not saved by the grace of God alone, but also by his work, be it ever so little, which teaching is called Pelagianism. In 417 Pope Zosimus, a Greek, endorsed this false teaching, for which over two hundred bishops in a General African Council at Carthage, in Canon 17, sharply rebuked him and gravely warned: "Whoever appeals to a court beyond sea [Rome], may not be received into communion with any in Africa." No popery! Honorius banished Pelagius on April 30, 418, and then the Pope also condemned him. A Pope fell into false teaching; not yet infallible!

In 418 Zosimus sent a *tractoria*, or circular letter, to be signed by all bishops as a test of orthodoxy in condemning Pelagius—the first example of such a document issued from Rome.

When the deposed African Apiarius, in 418, appealed to Zosimus, the Roman interfered on the basis of the *local* Sardican canons of 347, which he tried to palm off as those of the *General* Council of Nicaea of 325.

In his letter to the Africans he makes the broadest assertion yet made of the Roman pretensions. He declares the authority of the Roman See to be such that no one may dare question its decisions and that the successors of St. Peter inherit from him an authority equal to that which our Lord gave to Peter himself. (Robertson, *Growth*, p. 88.)

The Africans could not find the canons quoted by Zosimus as Nicene in the archives of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople and wrote him accordingly:—

"We find it enacted in no council of the Fathers that any persons may be sent as legates of Your Holiness. . . . Do not therefore,

at the request of any, send your clergy as agents for you, lest we seem to introduce into the Church of Christ the ambitious pride of the world." (Gore, p. 115; Littledale, p. 120.)

This sharp African rebuke of the Pope's insolent conduct was also signed by Augustine, who is wrongly quoted as a supporter of the papal claims. In his 131st sermon this great African writes: "Already the decisions of two [African] councils have been sent to the Apostolic See, and a rescript has reached us. The case is settled"—plainly by the *joint* action of Africa and Rome, not by the Pope alone.

The French Catholic Père Gratry says Augustine did not write, *Roma locuta est, causa finita est*. It was "put in circulation by the ignorance and audacity of a school of error." (*Second Letter to the Archbishop of Malines*.)

Augustine writes: "You ask me where the Church is? I answer: Search the Scriptures."

The Scriptures are the supreme rule of faith, not the Pope.

"Go, you are dismissed—*Ite, missa est*," was used at the close of the service in the temple of Mithra, and Augustine says the pagans held the Christian "mystery of bread and wine" was the same as the mystery of Mithra. Firmicus Maternus, *On the Error of Profane Religions*, was struck by the likeness between Christianity and pagan religions. (McCabe, *The Popes*, p. 159.)

In 424 Bishop Celestine I "unhappily absolved" the notorious Apiarius and again tried the trick of passing the forged Sardican canon as Nicene, a fact the African council forced on him in its synodical letter, warning him against introducing "into the Church the smoky arrogance of the world" in accepting appeals to Rome.

In 428 he wrote the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne: "Inasmuch as I am appointed by God to watch over the whole Church, . . . my pastoral superintendence . . . extends to all places where the name of Christ is known and adored."

The Patriarch Nestorius of Constantinople would call Mary the mother of Christ, but not the "mother of God," denying Christ was true God.

In a council at Rome, August 11, 430, Pope Celestine ventured upon a bold and unprecedented step toward Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, the prelate next in dignity to himself. He announced that, unless Nestorius, within ten days after the receipt of the Roman letter, renounced his errors and conformed to the faith of Rome and Alexandria, he was to be cut off from the communion of the Universal Church, and his flock was to avoid him as one excommunicate. Certainly a very startling pretension.

Emperor Theodosius II took the matter out of the hands of the bishops by calling the Third General Council to Ephesus on June 22,

431. Bishop Cyril of Alexandria presided and said the delegates represented not only "the Apostolic See" [Rome], but "all the holy synod of the bishops of the West." The synod looked into the charges against Nestorius and condemned him according to the canons, not according to Pope Celestine of Rome, who, strange to relate, says the apostolic teachership "descended in common to all bishops."

The emperor bade the bishops depart; the emperor restored Cyril and Memnon; the emperor ordered the writings of Nestorius burned. As yet Peter was no Vicar of Christ.

Augustine died during the siege of Hippo in August, 430. The Arian Vandals became masters of Northern Africa, and in their distress the orthodox Christians sought the Pope's help on any terms, and his interference, erstwhile so stoutly resisted, was now admitted without objection, and so the Pope's power made another long stride forward.

Having a Christianity of its own, Ireland was independent of Rome. In 431, however, Celestine consecrated deacon Palladius as first bishop of the Christian Irish and thus forged the first link that chained Ireland to the Pope.

The historian Socrates says under Celestine the Roman episcopate "extended itself beyond the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and degenerated into its present state of secular dominion." (*H. E.*, VII, 11.)

Sixtus III, 440, felt that the burden of the care of all the churches rested upon him. To celebrate the victory over Nestorius, Sixtus restored and adorned the basilica of Liberius to the "Mother of God," likely the first time a Roman church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. He was accused of violating a consecrated virgin, but as a Pope can be judged by no man, he had to pronounce sentence in his own case, and he gravely pronounced himself "not guilty."

Sixtus, in his tenth epistle, *To the Illyrian Synod*, was the first Pope to put his own authority above that of a General Council, that of Ephesus.

In his *Commonitorium* Vincent of Lerius, writing three years after the Council of Ephesus, thought to render his own argument unassailable by an appeal to the recorded decision of the Popes.

Leo I, 440—61. Hitherto preaching seems to have had little, if any, place in Roman church-life; but Leo was a great preacher. In five remaining sermons on the anniversary of his accession he teaches that Christ appointed Peter directly as prince of the Universal Church, the primate, to whose authority all bishops must defer. The Bishop of Rome is Peter in St. Peter's Chair, the heir of Peter's power and prerogative. (Beet, pp. 170. 171.)

On the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, on June 29, Leo preached in his cathedral: "Because of St. Peter's Chair thou [Rome] art

become the holy nation, the chosen people, the priestly and royal city, the head of the world." 1 Pet. 2, 9.

Leo tried to overrule the manly bishop Hilary of Arles, but the Gaul had the gall to use "language which no layman even should dare to use," as lofty Leo complains. (Ep. X, 3. McCabe, *The Popes and Their Church*, p. 24.) In order to crush the independence of Hilary, Leo, on July 8, 445, got the dissolute boy emperor Valentinian III to decree, likely by Leo's dictation: "Then only will peace continue throughout the Church when the Bishop of Rome is recognized by all as Lord and Master. . . . Henceforth it shall not be permitted to dispute over church matters or to oppose the orders of the primate in Rome. . . . What is ordered by the Apostolic See, by virtue of its authority, shall be law to all, so that, if a bishop refuse compliance with the judicial sentence of the Roman primate, he shall be compelled by the provincial government to appear before him."

This makes the Pope a sort of coemperor, makes the Pope's mere wish a part of the law of the land, makes opposition to the Pope a sort of *crimen laesae maiestatis*, places into the Pope's hands the "big stick" of the emperor's whole power. This is the starting-point of the medieval Papacy; its charter is not Christ's commission, but Caesar's edict, "that which our august ancestors have granted to the Roman Church." Much power to Peter's elbow!

More and worse — fraud was coupled with force. Leo bases this right on a "Holy Council," the spurious addition to the sixth canon of Nicaea: "The Roman Church has always enjoyed the primacy," which appeared at this time. (Beet, pp. 178—193; Puller, 214; Little-dale, *P. R.*, 240.)

Leo himself said, "The wide extent of the Roman realm served the expansion of the Church." Well, we should say so!

The Alexandrian presbyter Eutyches taught two natures in Christ before His birth, and to settle this heresy the emperor, in 449, called a council to Ephesus, though Leo wanted it in Italy. The Pope sent delegates with his "tome," or letter, to Flavian of Constantinople. The synod abused the aged Flavian, so that he died, and rejected Leo's "tome" and decided in favor of the heretic Eutyches. One of Leo's legates bowed to the majority, but Hilary opposed and was forced to leave the city in secret. Leo called this the *Latrocinium*, the Robber Synod, and it is called so to-day.

Dioscurus and ten bishops banned Pope Leo.

Leo asked Theodosius II to call another council in Italy and quoted the forged Sardican canon on appeals as Nicene, "decreed by the priests of the whole world."

In 451 Emperor Marcian called a council to Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople, though the Pope wanted none or wanted it in Italy. The council was directed by the emperor, not by the Pope. Patriarch

Anatolius of Constantinople presided as well as the legates of Leo. The legates tried to impose Leo's "tome" as the standard of doctrine. The emperor and the council opposed. The "tome" was compared with the earlier documents of the faith and then adopted. In addition, the council drew up its own definition of the Incarnation, though Leo's legates objected. They produced the forged sixth Nicene canon: "The Roman See has always had the primacy." It was forthwith rejected by the council, but it is still quoted as genuine in Di Bruno's *Catholic Belief* (p. 112; Littledale, p. 122).

The council decreed in the 28th canon: "The fathers properly gave privileges to the throne of old Rome because it was the imperial city, and the 150 bishops [at Constantinople], being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of new Rome [Constantinople], judging with reason that the city which was honored with the sovereignty and senate and enjoyed equal privileges with the elder imperial Rome should also be magnified like her in church matters, being the second after her."

The Roman legates were absent when this canon was passed, and the next day they protested. They were curtly told the matter was settled.

At Chalcedon the Pope's legates for the first time obtained the presidency of a general council, though the Patriarch of Constantinople was joined with them, and they had no privileges beyond the other members. Here also a party of Alexandrian bishops for the first time called the Pope "*Ecumenical* Archbishop and Patriarch of the great Rome."

The same title was taken by the bishops of Constantinople.

The emperor confirmed the acts of the council in 452. As yet Peter is no Vicar of Christ.

Leo put his *imprimatur* upon usages which point in the direction of clerical celibacy, and he confirmed private confession as an ecclesiastical institution.

Leo introduced an important novelty in establishing a bishop at Constantinople as his representative to overlook and coerce the patriarch of that city and interfere in the internal affairs of that church, and only the death of Anatolius, in 458, prevented an open breach. Du Pin writes: "Leo extended his pastoral vigilance over all churches of the East and West."

Raffael, in the Vatican, painted Leo at the head of an imperial embassy meeting Attila, the Hun, threatening Rome; in the sky above the Pope are Peter and Paul with drawn swords. We know other reasons led Attila to withdraw, but in the eyes of the people, Leo was their savior from "the Scourge of God." Once more, after many centuries, Rome had her *pater patriae*, her Father of the Fatherland, the Pope-King.

The Vandal Genserich plundered Rome, even the Temple vessels Titus had brought from Jerusalem; but Rome was spared the horrors of fire and sword by the pleadings of Leo.

Harnack and others call him the founder of Papacy. He is the first Pope to be buried in St. Peter's.

Bishop Gore writes of Leo: "Saint as he was, he was wonderfully unscrupulous in asserting the claims of his see and strangely blinded in conscience to the authority of truth when he quoted as a canon of Nicaea what had been shown to demonstration to be a canon of Sardica and not of Nicaea." (*Rom. Cath. Claims*, pp. 78. 110.)

Milwaukee, Wis.

WILLIAM DALLMANN.

Marburg: Der Sieg über den Unionismus.

(Schluß.)

Diesenigen, die die Schweizer und ihre Genossen als die Nothelfer der armen, zerrissenen Kirche bewundern und Luther als den Friedensförderer verdammen, wissen nicht, was zu Marburg vor sich gegangen ist. Sie wissen nicht, wie unermüdet, wie geduldig und großmütig Luther am Werk der Einigung gearbeitet hat.

1. Luthers Sinn stand auf Einigung. Es lag ihm viel daran, gerade auch mit den Schweizern und ihren Genossen eine gottwohlgefällige Union herbeizuführen. Er arbeitete darauf hin auch nach dem traurigen Ausgang des Marburger Kolloquiums. Er schrieb 1538 an den Rat zu Straßburg: „Es soll, ob Gott will, an mir nichts mangeln, soviel mir möglich ist, was ich tun und leiden soll, zu einer rechten, gründlichen, beständigen Einigkeit. So hat uns die Erfahrung fast wohl gelehrt, was Uneinigkeit der Kirche fromme, leider!“ (17, 2119.) Im nächsten Jahr schrieb er an die Städte Zürich, Bern usw.: „Und zuvor will ich ja demütig gebeten haben, wollet euch zu mir versehen als einem, der es ja auch herzlich meinet, und was zur Förderung der Concordia dienet, soviel mir immer möglich, an mir nicht mangeln soll. Das weiß Gott, den ich zum Zeugen auf meine Seele nehme.“ (17, 2144.) In dieser Gefinnung war er zu Marburg erschienen. „Denn ich freilich auch Lust und Liebe zu Frieden habe, des sich andere so hoch rühmen.“ (17, 1936.) Etliche Monate nach dem Gespräch erklärte er zu Koburg Bucer gegenüber: „Ich wünsche, daß diese unsere Uneinigkeit beigelegt werde, wenn ich auch mein Leben dreimal daransetzen müßte.“ (17, 1975.) Krauth urteilt darum richtig: „If Luther's life seemed largely one of warfare, it was not that he did not love peace much, but that he loved truth more.“ (*Cons. Ref.*, 138.)

2. Und weil Luther von ganzem Herzen die Einigung der Kirche begehrte, darum bestand er so entschieden auf Einigung in der Lehre.