

\* \* \* \* \*  
\*  
\* CLERGY BULLETIN \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

Published by authority of the General Pastoral  
Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod.

Edited by the Theological Faculty of the ELS Seminary

Geo. O. Lillegard, Editor-in-chief. c/o Bethany Lutheran College and Seminary

Vol. XX, No. 1. (Published Quarterly) September, 1960 Mankato, Minn.

A NEW VENTURE

At its last meeting, (April, 1960) the General Pastoral Conference of the ELS decided to publish a theological journal, replacing the Clergy Bulletin which has served us for many years. The Theological Faculty was asked to take charge of this project. We have been uncertain as to what to name\*this journal and what form the publication should take. In the meantime, we owe at least an informal beginning of this task to our fellow-clergymen, and ask their indulgence with our first fledgling efforts.

It is our aim to make this new quarterly become a place where we can give the literary productions of our brethren a more adequate organ than we have had hitherto in the old Clergy Bulletin. Conference papers, theological studies, anything of general theological interest will be welcomed by the editor for possible use in our next number, (December, 1960). Book Reviews of current publications, historical data, the present critical situation in American Lutheranism all would be welcomed. Let us seek to make our "Theological Magazine" worthy of attention also outside of our immediate circles.

G. O. L.

IN JESUS NAME

In Jesus' name Our work must all be done  
If it shall compass our true good and aim  
And not end in shame alone;  
For every deed which in it doth proceed,  
Success and blessing gain: \*Til it the goal attains  
Thus we honor God on high  
And ourselves are blessed thereby;  
Wherein our true good remains,

( L. H. "247)

\*WHAT NAME?

The Editors would like to receive suggestions from our pastors as to what name or title we should give our publication. The old name: "The Clergy Bulletin," would hardly indicate what the contents of the magazine are to be hereafter. We have also considered some other method of printing and binding it, so that it may be more readily preserved. We hope that all these matters can be settled by the time the second number is due, in December.

KING SVERRE'S ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIES

A Starred paper presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School, University of Minnesota  
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree, Master of Arts.

by Rudolph Edgar Honsey, June 1954

"King Sverre was the personified conflict with the church."<sup>1</sup> Thus the German scholar, Philip Zorn, briefly but aptly characterizes Sverre Sigurdsson, one of the most remarkable of all the men who during these many centuries have occupied the throne of Norway. From the small and insignificant Farøe Islands came this remarkable man to claim the throne of Norway, and to fight stubbornly and successfully against kings and clerics for the throne that he was convinced belonged to him.

Sverre was to dominate the last quarter of the twelfth century, a period probably unmatched in the entire history of Norway for its controversy, turmoil, war and bloodshed. It was a period in which, largely because of the work of one man, the trend was turned from the centralization of power in the hands of the clergy to the centralization of power in the hands of the king. In the middle of the century there was strong evidence of the growing power of the hierarchy; this power Sverre curbed. Furthermore, he curbed the power of the aristocratic nobility, and created an order in which the king was king in deed as well as in name. Truly significant are the words which, according to The Saga of King Sverri, he spoke at the burial of his opponent, Erling Jarl, father of King Magnus, his rival for the throne: "Times are greatly changed, as you may see, and have taken a marvelous turn, when one man stands in the place of three--of King, of Earl, of Archbishop--and I am that one."<sup>2</sup>

Sverre Sigurdsson was a remarkable man whose personality left a lasting impression on those with whom he came into contact. Although not remarkable or outstanding physically, he possessed a strong will and a forceful personality which to a great extent accounted for his achievements. In his biography of Sverre, Fredrik Paasche asserts:

"He stood as one alone; but he was himself a swarming multiplicity (vrimlende mangfoldighed) . . . abilities which otherwise are divided among many, were collected in him. Although he came to Norway without ever having stood before an army, he became a commander-in-chief without equal. Although he had grown up far away from anything which resembled Norwegian government, he became a ruler of high quality. Although he had seen little of the world, he was early 'a man of deep counsels.' He had never been outside of the boundaries of the north; yet crusaders could find it to be wise to listen to him before they ventured out on their journey, and receive exactly those admonitions which were the most useful for a company of crusaders . . . He was pastor and physician and lawyer; he had opinions about that art which rose forth with the cathedral at Nidaros; he was familiar with the sagas (sagaforteller), and just as learned in the Eddas (Edda-kyndig) as he was well versed in the Bible (bibelsterk)."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Philip Zorn, Staat und Kirche in Norwegen, bis zum Schlusse des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. (Munich, 1875), p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> The Saga of King Sverri of Norway, (London, 1899), J. Sephton, pp.49 f.

<sup>3</sup> Fredrik Paasche, King Sverre (Oslo, 1948), p. 259.

That gives us an idea of the versatility of the man. His exploits as a general are in themselves interesting, and read like a make-believe adventure story. Likewise many of his other achievements are noteworthy. One could write a paper many times the length of this present series if he were to include everything that is known about that man. How much could be written if the facts were known about the first twenty-five years of his life! But it is not the purpose of this writer to attempt a biography of Sverre. Rather, we shall concern ourselves with the subject of his ecclesiastical controversies, as stated in the title.

Before we take up the matter of the ecclesiastical controversies of King Sverre, we must briefly consider his claim to the throne of Norway. He claimed to be a son of King Sigurd III, called the Mouth, one of three kings of Norway who ruled simultaneously for a few years during the first half of the 12th century, and one of two kings who ruled for about twenty years. Sverre said that he was brought up as a son of Unas Kambari, a brother of Bishop Roe of the Faroe Islands, and thought himself to be his son until he was twenty-four years of age. At that time his mother, Gunhild, allegedly went to Rome where she made the confession that Sverre was not a son of Unas but of King Sigurd Mouth, who died soon after the birth of Sverre. According to the story, the Pope commanded her to inform her son of his real parentage. This she did and Sverre was convinced that he was a son of Sigurd, and therefore a claimant to the throne of Norway.<sup>4</sup> Sverre appealed to St. Olaf's Law of Succession, which stated that one must be a son of a king in order to be eligible to the throne of Norway. Even an illegitimate son would be eligible before one who claimed the right on his mother's side. That clearly put Sverre ahead of the present incumbent, King Magnus, in eligibility, for Magnus was a maternal grandson of King Sigurd, the Crusader. Sverre insisted on his own right to be king, and considered Magnus to be a usuper, since his father was not of royal blood.

Whether Sverre himself was of royal blood is a question which will probably never be answered. In spite of Sverre's own insistence in the matter, there is no way of knowing whether he was a true king's son or only an imposter. R. Keyser states that it was a question that could hardly be settled in his own day, and is still more difficult to settle now.<sup>5</sup> Others also refrain from expressing definite views. Gjerset lists several historians, some of whom held the opinion that Sverre really was a son of Sigurd, and others who doubted or denied that he was of royal blood.<sup>6</sup> Among the points that the latter have raised in objection to his claim is the fact that Sverre studied for the priesthood and was ordained priest. At that time the minimum age for such ordination was 30 years. In order to be 30 years old by 1177, when he made his appearance in Norway, Sverre must have been born in 1147 or before. It is known that Sigurd Mouth was born in 1133, and so he could not possibly have been Sverre's father if the latter was the required age for ordination. Fredrik Paasche, who is inclined to believe Sverre, replies, "There is no reason to doubt that Sverre actually was ordained priest. To be sure, he was not of canonical age; but exceptions were constantly made to that age limit throughout Europe."<sup>7</sup> Besides that objection, Alexander Bugge lists as objections that Sverre's enemies were convinced he was not a son of Sigurd Mouth; that his supposed relative, Erik Jarl, refused to carry hot irons as ordeal to prove Sverre's birth; and that Sverre based too much on his dreams, as may be seen from the opening

---

<sup>4</sup> The Saga of King Sverri, Ch. 4, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> R. Keyser, Norges Historie, (Kristiania, 1870), II, p. 166.

<sup>6</sup> Knut Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People, (New York, 1915), I, p. 377

<sup>7</sup> Paasche, op. cit., p. 299.

chapters in Sverre's Saga.<sup>8</sup> Regarding the alleged trip of Gunhild to Rome, Edvard Bull raises a doubt. He thinks that it is rather far-fetched to believe that an obscure woman from a far-away island would gain an audience with the Pope. Furthermore, he claims that it would be a dangerous policy for the Pope to take a political position opposed to those in power in Norway, viz. Eysteinn, Erling and Magnus.<sup>9</sup>

On the other hand, Paasche defends the position of Sverre. Besides citing contemporary historians, such as Roger of Hoveden and the anonymous author of the History of Henry II (of England), both of whom refer to Sverre as the son of Sigurd, Paasche lists the following arguments in favor of Sverre's position: 1. There would be no advantage for Gunhild herself to tell a lie and say Sverre was illegitimate if he really was not. 2. Sverre himself seemed to be so convinced that it hardly seems plausible that he was lying. 3. Erling Wryneck, the father of King Magnus and the real ruler of Norway, was powerful and unscrupulous enough to make any attempt to oppose him very dangerous to the person. Sverre had to be convinced that he was right before he dared oppose Erling. 4. It hardly seems possible that Sverre would fabricate the story of his mother's trip to Rome. 5. Regarding the difficulty of an obscure woman's gaining an audience with the Pope, such an audience could well be arranged by the clerics who usually went along on pilgrimages in those days. They knew Latin, and could communicate with the people in Rome, and make such arrangements. 6. It is believed that the one whom she saw was the Anti-Pope, Victor IV. That might possibly explain why the Pope was not so much concerned about the political dangers involved in having her divulge Sverre's identity.<sup>10</sup>

It seems doubtful that anyone will ever be able to prove Sverre was a son of Sigurd Mouth or that he was an imposter. Whatever the facts were, however, Sverre appeared to be convinced that he was a son of the King and throughout his life he seemed never to waver in his belief.

With that conviction he came to Norway in the year 1177. First he acquainted himself with the general situation and mingled with the people. He visited Erling Wryneck and learned to know the general sentiment, but did not disclose his plans or his identity.<sup>11</sup> At about Christmas time, he visited Jarl Birger Brosa, whose wife was a sister of Sigurd Mouth, and hence an aunt of Sverre, if he was the king's son. He told of his plans, but received little sympathy or help from Birger Brosa. Then he went to his supposed sister Cecilia, the wife of Folvid Lagmand. She received him with great joy, and he stayed with them a while. Meanwhile a group of rebels against Erling and Magnus heard of Sverre and his claims to be a son of Sigurd. These men, called Birkebeiner (Birchlegs), had lost their leader, Eysteinn Meyla, who was a claimant to the throne. They asked Sverre to become their leader. He suggested Birger Brosa. After consulting him, and upon Birger's advice, they returned to Sverre and gave him the choice of becoming their leader or being killed. He chose the former, and became their leader and king.<sup>12</sup> The many hardships they endured together and the numerous miracle victories they achieved in battle made their history read like an adventurous novel. Some of the weaker fell away, but others replaced them, and this hard band is most intimately connected with Sverre during his entire twenty-five year reign as King.

---

<sup>8</sup> Alexander Bugge in Norge's Historie Fremstillet for Norske Folk, Vol. II, Part II, p. 123. (Kristiania, 1916).

<sup>9</sup> Edvard Bull in Det Norske Folks Liv og Historie Gjennem Tidene II, (Oslo, 1931) p. 213.

<sup>10</sup> Paasche, op. cit., pp. 276 f.

<sup>11</sup> Gjerset, op. cit., p. 377.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. pp. 377 f.

It was the lot of Sverre to experience controversy and war during the greater part of his reign, and to his dying day he was denied the peace which he would have preferred. We shall not treat of his many battles in detail in this paper, but rather concentrate on his ecclesiastical controversies, in which both religious and political questions are interwoven. We shall treat of the controversies in connection with the major figures with whom Sverre became embroiled in controversy: Archbishop Eystein; Archbishop Erik; Pope Celestine III; Bishop Nicholas; and Pope Innocent III. We shall include the controversy with Celestine under the controversy with Erik, since they are closely connected. After a treatment of those controversies, we shall discuss Sverre's Speech Against the Bishops, in which his views are clearly and forcefully set forth. Then will follow an evaluation and the conclusion.

#### SVERRE'S CONTROVERSIES WITH ARCHBISHOP EYSTEIN

The church in Norway underwent a change during the middle of the twelfth century. From the time of St. Olaf (died 1030) until about a century later, the church was in the hands of the Norwegian rulers and the Norwegian people as a whole, and could therefore well be called a national church or a folk church. Although formally connected with the Roman See, it was really an independent church. It had no archdiocese, and so its connections with Rome were rather loose.

By the time of Eystein, however, there was an important change. There was a strong movement toward hierarchy in Norway such as had not been much in evidence before. With that came closer relations with Rome. When, in the year 1152, the archbishopric at Nidaros was established, the strings that held the Norwegian church to Rome were pulled more tightly, and the church in Norway was rapidly losing its national character. With this attachment to Rome came more pronounced hierarchial tendencies, with more power being centralized in the person of one individual, the newly-created archbishop. During the first years of Eystein's rule as archbishop, his power increased greatly. "Until 1152 the church is a folk church, in all respects dependent upon the state. In 1164 the state becomes a fief, dependent upon the church, and not much time would have passed before it would have become clear that not the king, but the church primate would be the most powerful man in the land also in temporal respects."<sup>13</sup> The man who checked that movement was, of course, Sverre.

This movement toward hierarchical power in Norway was in no small measure aided by the weakness of the Norwegian kings, particularly after Sigurd the Crusader (died 1130). During the period from 1130 to 1150, no fewer than six kings, excluding Sigurd the Crusader, ruled. At times there were three kings ruling at once. Furthermore, there were others who claimed the throne. There was also misunderstanding and difference of opinion regarding what constituted eligibility for the throne. As we shall see, that led to a compromise with Eystein on the part of Erling Wryneck and his son, Magnus so that when Magnus was crowned king in 1162 he was placed under the power of Eystein, who for several years was to be the most powerful man in Norway.

Before we consider dealings between Eystein and Erling, we shall briefly trace the background and character of that remarkable prelate, Archbishop Eystein. He sprang from a noble family in Trondelagen. He was related to the powerful Arnunge family, and through them also with the royal family itself. He was well educated, and undoubtedly he had studied in foreign lands for years. Gifted and ambitious, he set his mind on accomplishing great things. In the year 1157, he was chosen archbishop and went to Italy to get the pall from the Pope, it seems. He must have encountered difficulty, for he

---

<sup>13</sup> A Chr. Bang, Udsigt over den Norske Kirkes Historie under Katholicismen (Kristiania, 1887), p. 97.

was not consecrated until in 1161. The delay may have been caused by the struggle between Alexander III and Victor IV, rival candidates for the papal throne. In southern Europe, Eystein had seen the Roman Church in all its outward splendor. He returned to Norway with the firm resolve that the cathedral church at Nidaros should betoken by its outward appearance the dignity and power of the Church of Norway.<sup>14</sup>

It was the building of the cathedral at Nidaros (Trondheim) which was to be the most important event of Eystein's career, and in its proud Gothic splendor it stands a monument to the great prelate. In order to finance the building of the cathedral, Eystein had to increase the revenues of the church greatly. Erling and Magnus had to agree to Eystein's means of obtaining the revenues because of the agreement which they had made with him in connection with the coronation of Magnus.

Because of the dubious nature of Magnus' claim for the throne, since he was not son of a king, Erling and Magnus entered into negotiations with Archbishop Eystein. Eystein drove a hard bargain, and as a result both the power and the dignity of the Norwegian crown were destroyed.

The result was that the power of the archbishop was vastly increased, whereas the king became merely a puppet in his hands. Not only was it a victory for the archbishop but it also strengthened the power of the aristocracy. We could sum it up by stating that the movement was one of political decentralization and ecclesiastical centralization. Gjerset describes the limitations under which Erlingsson was to rule:

King Magnus had to subscribe to the following conditions: He surrendered himself and his kingdom for all times to St. Olav (i.e., to the church), and promised to rule as his vicar and vessel. As a sign of submission, his crown, and those of his successors, should be placed as an offering on the altar of the cathedral in Nidaros, at their death. By this agreement the king virtually became a feudal tenant under the church. But his influence and independence would be still further limited by enforcing the new rules of succession which were now adopted. These almost shattered the old principles of an hereditary monarchy, since the king in many instances was to be elected, and the church was given full control of the election. When the king died, a council of magnates should be summoned to meet in Trondhjem to determine whether the heir to the throne possessed the required qualifications. This assembly should consist of the archbishop, his suffragan bishops, the abbots, the hirdstjorar and the hird, and twelve men from each bishopric, to be appointed by the twelve bishops. The king's eldest legitimate son should succeed to the throne, as sole king, but if the assembly found him to be unworthy, or otherwise disqualified, that legitimate son which the assembly considered best qualified should become king. If the king had no legitimate son, they might choose the nearest heir, or any one else whom they consider well qualified. The choice should be decided by a majority vote, provided the archbishop and the bishops consented. The arrangement that the king's oldest legitimate son should inherit the throne was a good feature, as it did away with the most flagrant fault of the old system, that any illegitimate son, or any bold adventurer, might aspire to the crown. But this single good feature was vitiated by giving the assembly, or in fact the clergy, the power of deciding who was worthy or qualified to become king. This enabled them to exclude at will any legitimate heir to the throne, while the election of a new candidate was delegated to them. The king of Norway, the successor of Harald Haarfagre and St. Olaf, could scarcely be reduced to a more

---

<sup>14</sup> Gjerset, op. cit., p. 365.

important shadow. The aristocracy and the clergy, who had now joined hands in their effort to divest the crown of all real power, could rejoice in a complete triumph.<sup>15</sup>

Eystein was without question one of the outstanding churchmen in the history of Norway. Surely he was the most highly gifted and the most brilliant of the Norwegian churchmen with whom Sverre had to deal. Bang states: "One cannot but see in him a typical representative of the ecclesiastical religiousness of that time. He is of pious disposition (sind), he is versed in the Holy Scriptures such as few are, he is an enthusiastic worshipper (dyrker) of St. Olaf, the national martyr."<sup>16</sup>

Eystein combined the theoretical and the practical; he was alike a believer in a definite ideology in ecclesiastical matters, and a statesman who could generally carry out what he held in theory, and who administered the duties in his archdiocese efficiently. In his ideas of church polity and of the comparative power of church and state, Eystein was a Gregorian,<sup>17</sup> i.e., he held the view set forth by Pope Gregory VII, that the Pope received his authority and power directly from God and was accountable to God alone, that he held in his hands two swords (the spiritual and the temporal), and that his power was greater than that of any king, also in temporal matters.

During the first part of his reign, Eystein was able to carry out in his diocese his ideas regarding the supremacy of the archbishop over the king. As mentioned above, he levied taxes in order to increase the revenue necessary for the building of the cathedral. However, from the outset, Sverre challenged the right of the archbishop to levy such taxes, and especially after 1184, when Sverre was sole ruler, he allowed him the right to levy the taxes only on the condition that he, Sverre, would have at least equal rights to levy taxes. This Eystein denied, and so a controversy was waged on the matter.

In connection with that controversy, one of the chief objections of Sverre, as well as of a large number of people, was that Eystein demanded that the taxes paid to him (largely for the building of the cathedral) were to be paid in pure silver, not in the coin of the time, which was debased. That meant that the taxes were virtually doubled. Sverre demanded the same right as Eystein had.

Sverre also objected to Eystein's continued policy of shipping grain to Iceland without paying export duty to do this early in Magnus' reign, and continued also during the early part of Sverre's reign while Magnus was yet alive.

More important than those controversies, however, was the difference between their ideas regarding the power of the archbishop and the king. The two opponents had completely opposing views on that. Eystein held the position of the supremacy of the church, particularly the papacy and the hierarchy, the view which Gregory VII had so powerfully proposed a century earlier, and which was soon to be carried out so forcefully by Innocent III. According to that view, the temporal rulers were subordinate to the spiritual rulers even in temporal matters. On the other hand, Sverre firmly believed in the theory of the divine right of kings. That is clearly set forth in the Speech Against the Bishops, of which we shall treat later in this paper. In setting forth his views, Sverre quoted both the Bible and the Church Fathers. It was Sverre's conviction that the agreement of 1164 made between Eystein and Erling (Magnus' father and regent) was invalid for two reasons: First, Magnus had no right to be king; second, eve

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 363 f.

<sup>16</sup> Bang, op. cit., p. 94.

<sup>17</sup> Paasche, op. cit., p. 171.

if he had a right to be king he would have no right to hand over his authority to someone else, for the king is responsible to God for everything which has been entrusted to him. In the following quotation, Sverre's views in this matter are presented. The people to whom he refers in the opening sentences are his opponents, the clergy.

They bring these charges against the King, that they, who in themselves are inferior to the King, may deprive him of rule in matters which holy books declare to be under his management. They proclaim to men that Christianity has been profaned, and assert that the king wishes to make all the land heathen, because he desires to maintain and preserve what God Himself bids him, and kingly rule; and if he neglects God's command he must answer for it. It may be seen by what has been said, that they have seductive falsehoods in their mouth, and proclaim that to be wrong which is right, and that right which is wrong. We have often heard these men say, and put forward as their excuse, that the King has renounced authority which was his, and made it over to them, but all in whose breast God has placed understanding may perceive that if the King were willing to renounce his authority to them, they could not accept the gift in such a way as to be bound to answer for it before God, according to what has been expounded already; because of all those matters which God has placed under kingly rule He will require an account from the King, and of all that He has placed under episcopal rule He will require an account from the Bishop. Two men may not exchange duties, either by giving or accepting, for this is contrary to what God has ordained and commanded. And if Kings have been so ignorant as not to know these written commands, and have through ignorance consented to give that which they could not give, those who asked of them what is contrary to Gods ordinance would none the less have committed sin and wickedness, knowing beforehand the invalidity of their request as well as of a gift and a consent contrary to God's ordinance and holy law.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, Sverre condemned the agreement of 1164, which was a distinct victory for the archbishop, and stated that Eystein had none of the temporal powers which he claimed to have. Eystein claimed to have power over all the churches in Norway, even the churches built by the king and the yeomen on their own estates. He claimed that they were under his jurisdiction and that the clergymen serving them were accountable to him. Sverre objected vehemently, and opined that such private churches were not under Eystein's jurisdiction at all, but under the jurisdiction of whoever built, owned and supported them. It seems that both men were partly right and partly wrong in that controversy. Inasmuch as Sverre built certain churches or chapels, one must concede to him the right of governing the external matters pertaining to the churches, since they were his property and on his private grounds. On the other hand, inasmuch as Eystein was the archbishop and the acknowledged head of the church of Norway, and as matters of teaching, preaching, and the general services in the churches were under his jurisdiction, one must concede to him the right of supervising the spiritual and religious functions of all churches in Norway, also those privately endowed and operated. For, according to the system of the Roman Catholic Church, he was the head of the church of Norway, and accountable to the Pope of Rome for the manner in which he discharged his duties.

Sverre was unwilling to concede so much power in temporal matters as the archbishop and the higher clergy in Norway enjoyed and exercised. From the year 1164 on, the archbishop and the bishops in Norway had an important part in many political affairs, including the election of the king. On the other hand, Eystein maintained that he rightfully

---

<sup>18</sup>Speech Against the Bishops (Anecdota Sverreri), translated by J. Sephton, in appendix of Sverrissaga (The Saga of King Sverri), p. 254.



possessed and exercised that authority. He based his claims on the new code of church laws called Gulifjodhr or Gulifjaer, a revision of the older laws, completed under his supervision. In this code many privileges were accorded to the church. The father of King Magnus, Erling Wryneck, conceded many temporal powers to the clergy, as seen above. This code gave the clergy much power in temporal matters, and even allowed them to interfere in matters that concerned the king. Sverre refused to acknowledge these laws and appealed to the laws of St. Olaf as they were found in the old code Graagaas, from the time of Magnus the Good (ruled 1035-1047).<sup>19</sup> This code provided that even an illegitimate son of a king could succeed to the throne, but that one must be a son of a king in order to be eligible for the throne. The Graagaas code obviously ruled out Magnus as a rightful heir to the throne, for he was not a son of a king, but could trace his ancestry to a king only on his mother's side.

The controversy in this matter was far more heatedly waged between Sverre and Eystein's successor, Erik, who was a more impetuous and polemical spirit than was Eystein. It was during the archbishopric of Erik that the trouble between Sverre and the church leaders broke out in the most violent manner.

However, this was probably the heart of the controversy between Sverre and Eystein. And although the theoretical played its role, it was chiefly a personal controversy through and through. It is true that Sverre and Eystein had their distinct ideological differences. However, Sverre felt himself to be the rightful heir to the throne, and he felt Magnus to be in the wrong. Eystein, on the other hand, insisted on Magnus' right and supported him not only on ideological grounds but primarily because through the agreement with Erling and Magnus his own position was exalted and his powers were increased. Hence, Eystein unequivocally supported Erling and Magnus against Sverre, and after the death of Erling he supported Magnus as long as he safely could. Then he went into exile for the year 1180 and stayed in England until 1183.

His exile in England was rather the result of Eystein's being on the losing side than of his ideological difference with Sverre. Eystein revealed himself to be both cautious and prudent in leaving Norway. He saw that it would be useless for him to support actively the losing cause of Magnus, even though he wholeheartedly preferred Magnus to Sverre and indirectly supported him. There can be no doubt that while he was in England Eystein closely observed the English Gothic architecture, for he adapted it for his own cathedral at Nidaros when he returned for a few years before his death. By that time Eystein had decided to concentrate on the building of the cathedral and other constructive work, and to avoid any further hostility between himself and Sverre.

In the fall of the year 1187, Eystein became ill and he lived only until January, 1188. In The Saga of King Sverri, Eystein's supposed reconciliation with Sverre is mentioned. Since that saga is written from a prejudiced point of view, it must be treated with discretion. The account follows:

The following winter a great event happened in Throntham. At the beginning of autumn, Archbishop Eystein fell sick, and lay ill during the winter until after Yule. When his strength was passing away, he sent word to King Sverri to come to him. The King did so, and they talked together of many things in which they had aforesaid been engaged; and at their parting the Archbishop begged the King to forgive him for God's sake all the wrongs he had done him while the strife lasted between King Magnus and King Sverri. They were then reconciled anew, and forgave one another all that had caused dissension between them. Archbishop Eystein died the night after Pal's Mass, and a grave was prepared for him in the vestry

---

<sup>19</sup> Gjerset, op. cit., p. 390.

of Kristskirk. Shortly afterwards King Sverri made a speech to the choir in Kristskirk, and related what had happened in his conversation with the Archbishop the last time; and said that the Archbishop had admitted that in his opposition to the King he had gone beyond what he knew to be right before God, and that other things had not weighed against his feeling that he could not withdraw his support from King Magnus. <sup>20</sup>

Since The Saga of King Sverri was at least in part dictated by Sverre himself, as the rest (including the above quotation) was written by a person greatly prejudiced in favor of Sverre, the statement quoted above must be taken with a grain of salt. Whether or not Eystein asked for his forgiveness, however, it does seem to be in accord with the facts that the two men were reconciled, for both men were, in spite of their great ambitions and their love to dominate, of a magnanimous spirit. There was nothing of the arrogant or insolent in either of the men such as could be found in Eystein's successor, Archbishop Erik, or even to a more pronounced degree in Bishop Nicolas. Regarding the two men, Eystein and Sverre, Halvdan Koht states: "One would have to search through the entire Norwegian history to find a pair of opponents that would equal Eystein and Sverre . . . . A controversy between two such eminent (storfelte) men had to make use of the best weapons that were available at the time." <sup>21</sup> After Eystein's death, it did not take long for the storm to break out, for his successor, Erik, entered the fray with no punches drawn. His battles with Sverre will be described in the next section.

---

<sup>20</sup> The Saga of King Sverri, sh. 107, pp. 133 f.

<sup>21</sup> Halvdan Koht, Innhogg og Utsyn i Norsk Historie (Kristiania, 1921), pp.167 f

( to be continued ) (End of first installment)

BOOK REVIEW  
by B. W. Teigen

The Riddle of Roman Catholicism

by Jaroslav Pelikan. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1959,  
272 pp., \$4.00

This book is an award-winning volume which netted the author \$12,000.00. It has been reviewed far and wide, both in the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Press, and according to reports has gone to a second printing. The title is catchy, and the material it presents arouses considerable interest, especially in this presidential year when almost every voter has some opinion about whether a Roman Catholic should be elected president or not.

The book is divided into three parts: "The Evolution of Roman Catholicism", "The Genius of Roman Catholicism", and "The Theological Approach to Roman Catholicism". The first part gives an historical summary of the development of the Roman Catholic church, the second part discusses the central teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic church and the third section analyzes the theological problems underlying the division of the visible church. Here Dr. Pelikan discusses "the unity we have" and "the unity we seek". He offers several starting points and methods of procedure for a rapprochement between Protestants and Roman Catholics. It will be readily seen from this outline that the book touches, or should touch, upon the very heart of Christian doctrine and life.

This book purports to be "a Protestant discussion of Roman Catholicism" (p; 227) and since Prof. Pelikan is a member of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, it is not entirely unreasonable to assume that the vantage point from which Roman Catholicism is to be analyzed is the historical doctrinal position of that Synod. Briefly summarized, this position is that the Holy Scripture is the sole source of Christian doctrine and the supreme, infallible and sole authority in the church. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod confesses with the entire Lutheran church in the Formula of Concord; "We receive and embrace with our whole heart the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the pure, clear fountain of Israel, which is the only standard by which all teachers and doctrine are to be judges." (F. C., Th. D., Compr. Sum. 3; Trig. p. 85)

But when the reader seeks to find a criterion by which the Roman Catholic system is criticized in this dissertation he is hard put to nail it down. The Principium Cognoscendi is vague and fuzzy; it appears to us that the source of doctrine for Prof. Pelikan is not solely the Holy Scriptures. As a matter of fact, his view of Scripture is rather low. He would hardly be ready to confess that all of the Bible is the "Scripture of the Holy Ghost" and that the Holy Ghost "spoke by the prophets" (Nicene Creed). If we are not mistaken we note a faint sneer for those who cling to such a position in the words.

"At a time when fundamentalist Protestantism was insisting upon creation days in six days of 24 hours each and damning Darwinism, Rome permitted considerable academic freedom and spoke of how the Spirit had accommodated himself to the worldview of the Biblical writers." (p. 16) When Dr. Pelikan speaks of "the word of God in the Bible" as "sovereign over any tradition" (p. 211), he certainly indicates again that his view of the Word of God is different from that traditionally held by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, that "the Lutheran confessions identify Holy Scripture with the Word of God." (Popular Symbolics, p. 26)

Prof. Pelikan states that Catholicism and Protestantism have a unity in Christ which "does give us a base of operations". He believes that it is possible to have a new and deeper unity, and he further believes that the basis of our agreement would be a

willingness to have the rightness of all our positions examined in the light of the allegiance we have to Christ and the unity we have in Christ. He then becomes more specific by stating: "Gathered together by our common loyalty to him, we speak to one another as the Holy Spirit enlightens us through our several traditions; and we listen to one another as the Holy Spirit enlightens us through alien traditions" (p. 181). We are not sure what all the implications of these statements are, but they are hardly saying what the authors of the Augsburg Confession said: "This is about the sum of our doctrine in which, as can be seen, there is nothing that varies from Scriptures" (Trig., p. 59).

As one reads further in the book one becomes more and more convinced that Dr. Pelikan's Principium Cognoscendi is not the principle of Sola Scriptura, for he asserts that Protestantism must "find devices for symbolizing and carrying the living tradition of the Christian past that are truly meaningful to the general church public" (P. 234). But he feels that the only way for Protestants "to make their theology meaningful to contemporary thought" is to adopt the theology of Schleiermacher, which "is Catholic in the best sense of the Word" (p. 229). Schleiermacher is "one to whom Protestant thought to day needs to listen again" (p. 229). Dr. Pelikan urges that we make this return to Schleiermacher because, as he so innocently puts it, he gave an "exposition of the Christian faith in a form that could be mediated to the culture of his time". In case the unwary or forgetful reader does not readily recall the doctrinal position of Friede Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834), let us quote Dr. Vergilius Ferm's summary of it: "His theology is grounded in religious feeling. In his chief work The Christian Faith Schleiermacher departed completely from traditional orthodoxy with its emphasis on objective claims and from sheer rationalism with its reliance on deductive method. Man's own experience, his immediate self-consciousness, is the new base of operation for a Christ theology" (Classics of Protestantism, p. 278). Schleiermacher held that the source of revelation and doctrine was a mystical subjectivism, the self-consciousness of man, and it was the duty of the theologian to express this consciousness in terms of the "culture of his time" (The last phrase is Pelikan's). Schleiermacher is the father of modern liberal theology, and Paul Tillich is his chief disciple, whose work, Prof. Pelikan states "represents a continuation of the work of Schleiermacher in formulating an interpretation of reality that is truly catholic" (p. 230). Prof. Pelikan modestly confesses that his book has drawn on the thought of Tillich "for many of its insights". Dr. J. T. Mueller a former colleague of Prof. Pelikan at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, recently wrote in the periodical Christianity Today (Dec, 7, 1959), "Schleiermacher denied Christ's essential deity, as a careful study of his Christlicher Glaube shows. According to his teaching, Christ is divine only inasmuch as in him was found the highest consciousness of God. I wonder that he denied also our Lord's supernatural conception, vicarious atonement, resurrection, ascension and second advent". (Christianity Today, Dec. 7, 1959, p. 180).

To recapitulate: the fundamental difference between Roman Catholicism and Pelikanism is really not so very great, since both have abandoned the principle of Sola Scriptura. Both believe in some kind of development of doctrine, but the one finds this development coming through the shrine of the Pope's heart, while the other finds it developing through Protestantism's creative power in refashioning the symbols of the catholic tradition (p. 236). This refashioning of Protestantism is apparently to be done by modern critical historical scholarship (9, see pp. 196, 237, etc.) With these two sources of revelation it should not be too difficult to get the two camps together since both their sources would be of human origin.

With such a low view of the source of revelation, it is not surprising to note that Prof. Pelikan passes over many critical points of doctrine that have made for that great gulf fixed between Romanism and Lutheranism. Dr. Pelikan states that he wants his study of the unity and disunity to be "in depth" as a "guarantee against the fuzzy-minded idea that all our differences are a matter of semantics or of sentiment or of mere doctrine" (p. 178). This point of view is indeed praiseworthy; but it seems to us that the good Doctor skims over very lightly some tremendous semantic differences in the key-words of Biblical doctrine, such as "grace" and "justification". Possibly when Scripture is no

longer the norma normans, these differences do not loom as being so important, but at any rate they ought to be acknowledged as being there.

"Grace" is defined as "something in God which makes man pleasing to him" (p. 49). So far so good. But one wonders whether this definition distinguishes clearly enough between the Scriptural and the Roman Catholic concepts. Is "grace" really the favor and mercy of God towards the sinners by which He forgives sin for Christ's sake, or is it an infused ability of man to perform good works for his own salvation? After all, Session VI Canons 11 and 12, of the Council of Trent are pretty clear.

Justification as a forensic act is not spelled out. Pelikan states that what the Reformers "saw in the teaching of the Roman Catholic church was the undue stress upon works, and the answer to this was the justification of the sinner by divine grace through faith alone" (p. 49). Not only does such a statement put very mildly the objections of Luther to the Roman Catholic system, but it leaves completely unanswered the question of what each side meant by the word "justification". Prof. Pelikan in criticizing the Decrees of the Council of Trent does not clarify matters any by stating that before the Reformation both "trends" (that is, "justification by faith plus works" and "justification by faith alone") had been permitted, but that with the Council of Trent what had been permitted was now required and what had been permitted also was now forbidden" (p. 52). This is all well and good, but if, for example, justification in both Lutheran and Roman Catholic doctrine means "to make righteous", then the difference is not so very great, and the possibility of bridging the gap should not seem very remote. And one's feelings of uneasiness regarding this fundamental point are not allayed when one reads this question on page 238, "Is there, for example, any sense at all in which Protestants are ready to say that a man is justified by faith and works, or that Scripture and the traditions belong to the corpus of Christian authority?" (The italics are Pelikan's).

Mr. Pelikan could have done a real service for both Romanism and Protestantism in coming to grips with the semantic differences of the word "justification". It is still true, as the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) states under the entry "justification": "Protestant theologians regard justification as an act of grace in which God accounts man righteous, not owing to any merits of his own but through imputation of Christ's righteousness, as apprehended and received by faith. Roman Catholic theologians hold that it consists in man's being made really righteous by infusion of grace, such justification being a work continuous and progressive from its initiation."

The Riddle of Roman Catholicism reveals its glaring weakness by neglecting to face up to the real problems that separate. The one major issue between us and Rome is still the Sola Gratia: whether man's salvation is due solely to the grace of God and the Savior's merits, or whether man has a share in achieving it. This book does not come to grips with these issues and hence it can only serve to confuse and distract. In this connection it should be noted that Prof. Pelikan meticulously avoids any reference to the fact that the Lutheran reformers, together with the Genevan, in explicit terms called the Papacy the very Anti-Christ because of its rejection of the Sola Scriptura principle and the Sola Gratia.

Prof. Pelikan, scholarly and exact as he often is has apparently not been able to avoid certain discrepancies in his work as a whole. For example, his slip shows a little in dealing with the interesting problem of whether a Roman Catholic bishop's power belongs to the Apostolic office as such, or whether it derives from the Pope. As co-editor of the Works of Luther, in volume 40, Church and Ministry, he permits one of the contributors to say: "In the Roman doctrine the power of the priest to forgive sins and give absolution was a result of his ordination, which also gave him the power to administer the Sacraments. His ordination was by a bishop who stood in relation to the Pope, from whom came the Apostolic power through Peter" (p. 323). However, in The Riddle of Roman Catholicism Prof. Pelikan declares that "according to official Roman doctrine the bisho

powers belong to his episcopal office as such and are not merely delegated to him by the Pope, although the Pope does confirm the election of the bishops" (p. 84).

This book it also must be reported, is not without its share of trivia. The south side Chicago Professor in describing Roman Catholicism's interest in making use of all the arts in the liturgy, details at some length the contents of a Roman Catholic cookbook entitled "Cooking for Christ", which book Prof. Pelikan informs us contains "a collection of recipes for the entire liturgical year". He then solemnly lets it be known that not only are the foods "interesting and delicious", but that "they have a symbolic association with the liturgy, an association explained with cleverness and theological sophistication in the text of the cookbook" (p. 167) One can only hope (since that information was not vouchsafed) that the recipes are satisfactory from a dietetic point of view, having a low cholesterol content. This is the weak part in the interesting cookbook put out by Salem Lutheran Church with its emphasis on Scandinavian Christmas recipes. But then, as Prof. Pelikan admits, "much more needs to be done" (p. 167).

In conclusion we are forced to say that a second reading of the book eliminates some of the feeling that it is well written. As a matter of fact, it seems to be somewhat hastily written, and one wonders whether or not the good professor was hurried a little to meet a dateline in order to qualify for the grand prize. The title is provocative, but we hope that for the sake of the truth, a more solid book will soon be written, one which in all respects will live up to Paul's title, "THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY".

## ROMAN CATHOLIC STATEMENTS

### Concerning Church and State

Collected by Rev. T. N. Teigen

Pope Leo XIII on Freedom of Worship: "In the first place, then, let us consider with reference to the individual persons what is spoken of as freedom of worship, which is a matter highly detrimental to the salutary influence of religion ....

"The meaning of this same liberty as considered with regard to states is this, that there is no reason why the State should exercise divine worship or desire its public exercise; that no religion should be preferred to another, but all be held as of equal right."

Libertas, p. 35, Encyclical of June 20, 1888

"Justice and reason forbid that the state should be godless, or, which amounts to godlessness, that the State should, as they express it, maintain the same attitude toward the various religions and grant the same rights to all of them promiscuously."

Libertas p. 37.

"That the so-called freedom of conscience is also highly praised; which, if there by is understood that everyone shall be free to worship or not to worship God as he may choose, is sufficiently vanquished by the arguments above advanced."

Libertas, p. 47

Leo XIII on Separation of Church and State: "This is the origin of that most pernicious consecration that the affairs of the State and those of Church should be separated. But how absurd such doctrine is can be easily understood."

Libertas, p. 33

"From this doctrine, as from its fountain-head and principle, flows that pernicious opinion that the affairs of the Church and of the State should be separated, while it is plain that both powers, though unlike in purpose and unequal in dignity, must yet agree in harmony of action and in mutual services."

Libertas, p. 55

Leo XIII on Union of Church and State: "For God, the ruler and builder of the world, who most providently placed the civil and the religious power at the head of the society of men, would have the two remain distinct, but prohibited that they should be separated and conflicting. Yea more, the will of God himself as well as the common good of human society demands that the civil power should rule and govern in unison with the ecclesiastical power."

Praeclara gratulationis, p. 27 (June 20, 1894).

Leo XIII's argument on State and Religion: "Therefore, as no one is free to neglect his duties toward God, and the chief duty is with heart and life to embrace religion, and not any religion as one may please, but which God has commanded and by certain and most indubitable signs established as of all religions the true one: thus likewise states may not without gravely offending deport themselves as if God did not exist, or cast aside the care of religion as not their business and of no use, or indifferently adopt out of many kinds that which they please; but they must by all means adopt that mode or manner of worshipping God whereby according to his declared will God would be worshipped"

Immortale Dei, p. 13 (Nov. 1, 1885).

The true religion? Which?

Pope Leo XIII: "Since, therefore, it is necessary that there should be in the State the profession of one religion, that religion should be professed which is the only true one and which, especially in the Catholic states, is without difficulty recognized, as the marks of truth appear, as it were, stamped upon it. Hence it is this religion to whom are at the head of states should preserve and protect if they would wisely and profitably, as they should, provide for the welfare of the political community."

Libertas, p. 37

Leo XIII on rights of non-Catholics: "Indeed, when the Church judges that it is not right that various kinds of divine worship should enjoy equal rights with the true religion, she does not on that account condemn those rulers of states who, in order to secure some great benefit, or to prevent some great evil, according to custom and usage patently permit them severally to exist in the state."

Immortale Dei, p. 41

Leo XIII sums things up: "Hence, from what has been said, it follows that there is no such thing as the right of asking, defending, or granting freedom of thought, or writing, of teaching, or of religion promiscuously, as so many right by nature conferr upon man."

Libertas p. 57

Leo XIII on the duties of Catholics: "These are the precepts of the Catholic Church concerning the constitution and government of states."

Immortale Dei, p. 41

"Hence in this difficult course of affairs, Catholics, if they but hear us as they ought, will easily see what are their respective duties concerning both what they should think and how they should act. As to their opinions, it is necessary that they should in each and every point hold with firm conviction and, whenever the case demands, openly profess, what the Roman Pontiffs have taught or may in future teach. And especially concerning the modern acquisitions called liberties, it behooves every one to abide by

the judgment of the Apostolic See and make its opinion his own.

Immortale Dei, p. 47

"This disposition and order must obtain all the more in the Christian commonwealth the more numerous those things are which are within the scope of political wisdom of the Pontiff; for it is his business not only to rule the Church, but in general so to regulate the acts of Christian citizens, that they fitly agree with the hope of obtaining eternal life. From this it appears that besides the utmost harmony of thoughts and acts it is necessary to act in accordance with the political wisdom of the ecclesiastical power."

Sapientiae christianae, p. 29 (Jan. 10, 1890).

Duties of Catholics:

"It is, therefore, plain that Catholics have just cause to apply themselves to politics. They do not, and should not do this with the intention of approving what is not at the present time praiseworthy in public affairs; but to apply these affairs to the best advantage for the true and sincere welfare of the people, with the purpose fit in their minds to infuse the wisdom and virtue of the catholic religion as a wholesome sap and blood into the veins of the State."

Immortale Dei, p. 49

"It is necessary that all Catholics who are worthy of this name should be, first of all, desirous of being in fact and appearance loving sons of the Church, to reject without hesitation whatever is inconsistent with this title; to use political institutions, as far as it can honorably be done, for the protection of truth and justice; to strive to exercise their freedom of action within the bounds prescribed by the ordinances of nature and the law of God, and to exert themselves toward bringing over the entire state to the Christian likeness and form which We have described.... The one and the other will be best achieved, if every one deems the precepts of the Apostolic See the law of his life, and obeys the Bishops, whom the Holy Ghost has made overseers to govern the Church of God."

Immortale Dei, p. 51 f

"The defence of the Catholic name demands with necessity that in professing the doctrines set forth by the Church all should be of the same judgment with the utmost constancy, and in this respect everyone must beware lest he in any way connive at false opinions or withstand them less mildly than truth will permit.... In like manner it is not permitted to follow one form of duty in private, and another in public, so that the authority of the Church were observed in private and rejected in public life."

Immortale Dei, p. 53

"If, however, because of peculiar political circumstances it is, for the time being expedient that the Church should acquiesce in certain modern liberties, not because she herself has approved of them, but because she deems it expedient that they be permitted she would, of course, if the times have changed for the better, make use of her freedom and, by advice, exhortation, and obsecration, strive, as it behoves her, to perform the duty assigned to her by God, to care for the eternal salvation of men. This, however, is at all times true, that the freedom of all things promiscuously granted to all is, as we have often said, not in itself desirable, because it is repugnant to reason that what is false and what is true should be of equal right."

Libertas, p. 51

A SYNOPSIS OF CANON LAW prepared in 1870 (upon appointment) by Dr. G. T. von Schulte, professor of Canon Law. Prof. Schulte later abandoned the Pope and ultramontaniam and joined the OLD CATHOLIC Movement.

Synopsis:

- I. All human power is of evil and must, therefore, be subject to the pope.



- II. The temporal powers must act unconditionally in accordance with the orders of spiritual.
- III. The Church is empowered to grant, or to take away, any temporal possession.
- IV. The pope has the right to give countries and nations which are non-Catholic to Catholic regents, who can reduce them to subjection.
- V. The pope may make slaves of those Christian subjects whose prince or ruling power is interdicted by the pope (i.e., imprison them).
- VII. The Church has the right to practice the unconditional censure of books.
- VIII. The pope has the right to annul state laws, treaties, constitutions, etc., and to absolve from obedience thereto, as soon as they seem detrimental to the rights of the Church, or those of the clergy.
- IX. The pope possesses the right of admonishing - and, if need be, of punishing - temporal rulers, emperors, and kings; as well as of drawing them before the spiritual forum in any case in which a mortal sin occurs.
- XI. The pope has the right to absolve from oaths and obedience to the persons and the laws of the princes whom he excommunicates.
- XII. The pope may annul all legal relations of those in the ban, especially their marriages.
- XIII. The pope can release from every obligation, oath, vow, either before or after being made.
- XIV. The Execution of papal commands for the persecution of heretics causes remission of sins.
- XV. He who kills one that is excommunicated is no murderer in a legal sense.  
(Quoted by Gohdes, "Modern Papacy etc." p. 200.)

Leo XIII in Encyclical Libertas (page reference missing)

"It is absolutely unlawful to demand, to defend, or to grant unconditional freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, of worship."

(Converted Catholic, March 1945, p. 58, reported that the above was quoted by Pius XII in his Christmas Eve message in 1944 and endorsed by him.)

Leo XIII, in Encyclical, Præclara Gratulationis Publicæ, June, 1894: "We hold upon this earth the place of Almighty God."

The following is from Farraris' Ecclesiastical Dictionary under "Pope." The book was issued by the "Press of the Propaganda of Rome" in 1899, indicating accordingly that it has the approval of the Roman Hierarchy. The Catholic Encyclopedia speaks of it as "a veritable encyclopedia of religious knowledge" and "a precious mine of information."

"The pope is of so great dignity and so exalted that he is not a mere man, but as it were God, and the vicar of God."

"The pope is of such lofty and supreme dignity that, properly speaking, he has not been established in any rank of dignity, but rather has been placed upon the very summit of all ranks of dignities."

"Hence the pope is crowned with a triple crown as king of heaven and of earth and of the lower regions."

"Moreover, the superiority and the power of the Roman pontiff by no means pertain only to heavenly things under the earth, but are even over angels, than whom he is greater."

"The pope is as it were God on earth, sole sovereign of the faithful of Christ, chief king of kings, having plenitude of power, to whom has been entrusted by the omnipotent God direction not only of earthly things but also of the heavenly things."

"The pope can modify divine law, since his power is not of man but of God, and he acts as vicegerent of God upon earth with most ample power of binding and loosing sheep."

Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) in his Bull Unam Sanctam: "In this church in its power are two swords, to-wit, a spiritual and a temporal, and this we are taught by the words of the Gospel. Both, therefore, the spiritual and the material swords, are in the power of the church, the latter indeed to be used for the church, the former by the church, the one by the priest, the other by the hands of kings and soldiers, but by the will and sufferance of the priest. It is fitting, moreover, that one sword should be under the other, and the temporal authority subject to the spiritual power. We, moreover, proclaim, declare, and pronounce that it is altogether necessary for salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

Cardinal Gibbons said in "Faith of Our Fathers": "The Roman Catholic church is not susceptible of being reformed in her doctrine."

#### "THE CATHOLIC PRINCIPLES OF POLITICS"

The late Monsignor John Ryan of the Catholic University of America, in his book, "The Catholic Principles of Politics," speaks as follows: (1940)

"Pope Leo.... declares that the state must not only 'have a care for religion,' but recognize the true religion. This means the form of religion professed by the Catholic Church." p.313

"In his encyclical on 'Catholicity in the United States,' the same Pope gave generous praise to the attitude of our government and laws toward religion, but immediately added: 'Yet, though all this is true, it would be very erroneous to draw the conclusion that in America is to be sought the most desirable status of the church, or that it would be universally lawful or expedient for state and church, to be, as in America, dissevered and divorced. The fact that Catholicity with you is in good condition, nay, is even enjoying a prosperous growth, is by all means to be attributed to the fecundity with which God has endowed His Church, in virtue of which, unless men or circumstances interfere, she spontaneously expands and propagates herself; but she would bring forth more abundant fruits if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the favor of the laws and the patronage of public authority.' " p. 315.

"All that is essentially comprised in the union of church and state can be thus formulated: The state should officially recognize the Catholic religion as the religion of the commonwealth; accordingly it should invite the blessing and participation of the church for certain important public functions, as the opening of legislative sessions, the erection of public buildings, etc., and delegate its officials to attend certain of the more important festival celebrations of the Church; and it should protect the rights of the church, and religious as well as other rights of the church's members" p. 316

"Should such persons (the nonbaptized) be permitted to practice their own form of worship? If these are carried on within the family, or in such an inconspicuous manner as to be an occasion neither of scandal nor of perversion to the faithful, they may be

properly tolerated by the state. At least, this is the approved Catholic doctrine concerning the rights of the non-baptized." p. 317

"Constitutions can be changed, and non-Catholic sects may decline to such a point that the political proscription of them may become feasible and expedient. What protection would they then have against a Catholic state? The latter could logically tolerate only such religious activities as were confined to the members of the dissenting group. It could not permit them to carry on general propaganda nor accord their organization certain privileges that had formerly been extended to all religious corporations, for example, exemption from taxation." p. 329

(Msgr. Ryan's book has been widely used as a college text-book. He died Sept. 18, 1945. He was one of the founders of "The National Catholic Welfare Conference." He was professor of political science in the Catholic University at Washington. "America" said that Msgr. Ryan will rank with Leo XIII and Pius XI as the architect of a new social and economic order.)

The Catholic Position

\*\*\*\*\*

The Supreme Court's Position

1. The idea of the separation of church and state as a "wall of separation" between the church and state is only a metaphor, a figure of speech, a slogan, or a shibboleth which is not a part of the American tradition of constitutional history.

2. The first Amendment was not intended to divorce religion from government or to impose government neutrality between believers and disbelievers but to meet in a practical manner the problems raised by a multiplicity of sects by prohibiting Congress from adopting any one religion.

3. There was no intent on the part of the drafter to bar a general support of religion by the federal government, and therefore the limitation does not prohibit the non-preferential expenditure for religious purposes of funds raised by federal taxes.

4. The First Amendment does not bar preferential treatment of a particular religion or sect short of according it monopolistic recognition.

Thus, since the constitutional provisions were only for equality among believers, the Constitution does not in any way guarantee freedom of nonbelief.

(Catholic Lawyer, Winter, 1960, p. 65)

The "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance.

No tax in any amount large or small, can be levied to support any religious activity or institutions, whatever they may be called or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organization or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect "a wall of separation between Church and State" (Everson vs. Board of Education, 330 U. S. 1)

Separation means separation, not something less. Jefferson's metaphor in describing the relation between Church and State speaks of a "wall of separation" not of a fine line easily overstepped. . . "The great American principle of eternal separation"--Elihu Root phrase bears repetition--is one of the vital reliances of our Constitutional system for assuring unities among our people stronger our diversities. It is the Court's duty to enforce this principle in its full integrity

(Concurring opinion of Justice Felix Frankfurter in McCollum vs. Board of Education, 333 U. S. 203)



\* \* \* \* \*

# CLERGY BULLETIN

\* \* \* \* \*

Published by authority of the General Pastoral  
Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod.

Edited by the Theological Faculty of the ELS Seminary

Geo. O. Lillegard, Editor-in-chief. % Bethany Lutheran College and Seminary  
Vol. XX, No. 2. (Published Quarterly) December, 1960 Mankato, Minnesota

\* \* \* \* \*

## SEMINARY OPENING SERVICE

Sept. 20, 1960

by Prof. Milton Otto

Prayer: Gracious Savior, as we stand at the threshold of another school-year in our Seminary, we are most conscious of our many short-comings for this necessary and noble work and of our utter dependence on Thee if there is to be any real blessing attending our labors. We therefore pray Thee, do Thou by Thy Holy Spirit through Thy Word enlighten and quicken both teachers and students to see the responsibility and glory of their work, and comfort and strengthen them with the assurance that what is done in Thy name and according to Thy Word shall have Thy gracious blessing. We ask this for the sake of the souls that will be won, preserved, and saved through the ministry of Thy Word and thus for the glory of Thy Savior-name. Amen.

Text: "And the things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." II Tim. 2, 2.

There are church bodies which frown upon and do not really have what we call a trained ministry. They are of the opinion that anyone who has been converted and is moved by the Spirit can go out and preach the Gospel. The results are what you would expect — instead of proclaiming the whole counsel of God, such preachers are frequently found to be grinding away on just one small area of doctrine, to the distortion of the rest of the truth; instead of maintaining a proper distinction between Law and Gospel they usually confound the two, so that the Law is diluted, to lose its severity and convicting force, and the Gospel is made into another Law, to lose its regenerating power.

Our church very definitely believes in a trained ministry. That is the reason for our maintaining a Seminary, which today begins another school-year. That such a properly trained ministry is both necessary and demanded by Scripture we shall see, as we on the basis of our text consider:

### THE ESSENTIAL AND PRACTICAL NEED OUR SEMINARY FILLS

In the first place, IT PREPARES MEN TO BE LABORERS IN THE CHURCH WITH US AND AFTER US. No man is born a pastor. He may indeed be a Christian, that is, know the way to salvation, and know it well. However, he must not only be acquainted with "all the counsel of God" (Acts 20, 27); he must, in the words of our text, "be able to teach others also." This is the same thing the Apostle Paul requires in his list of qualifications for a pastor when he says the latter must be "apt to teach". (I Tim. 3, 2).

As a teacher, a pastor is to be faithful to the Word of God. Of His Old Testament teachers, the prophets, the Lord said, "He that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully." (Jer. 23, 28) The ability to teach and to do so faithfully is of the utmost importance, because it is through the preaching of God's stern Law that people are convicted of their sins, and through the proclamation of the sweet Gospel that they are led to believe on the God-man, Jesus Christ, as their Savior from sin, which faith is the only thing that will grant one an entrance into the everlasting bliss and glory of heaven. It is the function of our Seminary to prepare young Christian men to be such teachers.

Since we Christians, as disciples of Jesus, have been given the commission to preach the Gospel to every creature, the church's labor force must be preserved as well as extended. As a Christian pastor, Timothy was himself both to preach the good news of salvation, and he was instructed: "the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also". Unless other Christian men are constantly being recruited and trained as pastors, the church's teachers will eventually die out. The failure to provide ministerial training facilities which would supply men both to replace pastors who fell out of the ranks and to augment their number for the extension of soul-saving work — this caused the Lutheran Church during its early days in this country to degenerate so pathetically that it all but lost its glorious heritage and unique identity. And how can any church grow at home, or be a witness to the ends of the earth, if it does not also train men to extend the frontiers at home and to bring the Gospel to foreign heathen shores?

Here, then, is one very essential and practical need which our Seminary fills. It becomes a training school for a steady supply of men "able to teach", who can follow after those whose day of labor must sooner or later end, and who in addition can go out into new territories to expand their field of labor. If we want such available laborers in days and years to come, we shall have to train them today. Yes, since this world's day of grace is fast drawing to a close, we should be feverishly occupied with providing pastors and teachers who have the one and only thing to give men that can save them when the day of the final accounting dawns, the story of the Savior slain for the sins of the world.

## II.

Another very essential and practical need our Seminary fills is this — TO PRESERVE OUR LUTHERAN HERITAGE FOR THE GENERATIONS TO COME. The truth that saves will not automatically remain with our church. If we are, under God, to insure its preservation, we shall have to relay it to others, and the only effective way to do that is to follow the inspired Apostle's injunction, "And the things thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall teach others also." Notice how Paul says that Pastor Timothy, who had had a good training under him, under Paul, was in turn to train other faithful men, to "commit", or "hand down", this precious body of truth. The church, its present pastors, teachers, and lay people, must itself be concerned about the handing down of the truth that can set men free; no one else can or will.

This is what we are trying to do in our Seminary — preserve for the church of tomorrow our Lutheran heritage whose glory is its central teaching that man is justified alone by grace through faith in the crucified and risen Savior Jesus Christ. Unless we make such a provision for the future, our church will have no future. Because the Last Great Day is getting closer and closer, and because there is such a pressing need for more pastors and teachers to rescue men from an otherwise inevitable catastrophe, will not many of you who are in your high school and college years give serious thought to becoming part of this force of noble laborers who will preserve and continue to hold high the banner of our Lutheran heritage, a free and unconditioned saving Gospel?

Furthermore, the specific and, according to Scripture, important facets of the truth which need emphasizing in just our day will not automatically remain the possession of our church either. As the Apostle did not shun to proclaim all the counsel of God in his day, so we should do no less in our day. - - One of the doctrines that is being assailed from almost every quarter today, yes, even from within the Lutheran Church itself, is the Scripture's clear and basic teaching that it is the pure, verbally inspired, and inerrant Word of God. To preserve this teaching which forms the foundation for all other saving truth, we must train our pastors accordingly, lead them to see that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God." (II Tim. 3, 15)

Another area that needs special emphasis today is the scriptural injunction to combat error when and wherever it raises its ugly head, and to avoid all associations with errorists that can lead to a loss of the truth. We so often hear people say that we should not criticize what other churches teach -- "after all, they are working towards the same goal we are." But what if their teaching is contrary to Scripture and undermines the truth that can save -- and there is only one Truth! --? It is with an earnestness made all the more serious by the gravity of the situation that the Lord through His Apostle asks a pastor and teacher "to hold fast the faithful word as he hath been taught that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayer." (Tit. 1, 9) For the sake of our own soul's salvation we cannot run the risk of being overtaken by any unscriptural teaching, for it might eventually cause us to become indifferent to even the most fundamental articles of faith -- and where would that leave us? -- To that end, our pastors should also be well acquainted with our Lutheran Confessions, which are a true exposition of the Scriptures. But, people do not become such pastors by themselves, for which reasons we have a Seminary, to train men to be such well-equipped and faithful guardians of the truth, alert watchmen on the walls of Zion.

Our Seminary, a true school of the prophets, very definitely has a place in our church -- for it fills a very essential and practical need. We might be able to get some kind of pastors and teachers elsewhere, but our pastors and teachers are to proclaim and practice in accordance with the pure Word of God -- they must then be trained by such as have that Word in its full truth and purity. We might even get such otherwise able and truly faithful loyal-to-the-Scripture laborers who could help us preserve our heritage of a pure Word; but would they appreciate the necessity of upholding and defending certain aspects of that Word, which we from sad experience in the past recognize as being in great jeopardy again today? Our future laborers must be recruited from within our own circles if they are to have the inclination and conviction that what we have and strive for must be maintained and defended at all costs. What Paul told Timothy we must demand of every pastor we send out today, which is what we seek to inculcate in them in our Seminary, "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee." (I Tim. 4, 16)

May we all, students and instructors, and those who support this institution, ever be encouraged in our labor and support it with the knowledge that our Seminary does fill a very great need. God grant us the grace to make and keep it a school that will enjoy His blessings in both the training of those who attend it and in the serving of the people among whom they will later labor. We ask it in the name of Jesus, for Whose promises' sake we dare so labor and hope. Amen.

SOLI DEO GLORIA!

#####

PAUL'S SECOND LETTER TO TIMOTHY

Commentary by Rev. Julian Anderson

(Continued from the May, 1960 issue of The Clergy Bulletin)

I. INTRODUCTION. 1:1-5

B. Thanksgiving. 1:3-5

"I am thankful to God, Whom I serve, as my forefathers did, with a clear conscience, as I remember you unceasingly in my prayers. Night and day I long to see you, remembering your tears, in order that I may be filled with joy! I have just received a reminder of your genuine faith, the kind of faith which dwelt first in your grandmother Lois, and then in your mother Eunice. And now I am, indeed, convinced that it dwells also in you!" (II Tim. 1, 3-5, literal translation by J.G.)

One thing in particular came to Paul's mind as he remembered Timothy and their past associations — namely Timothy's tears, of which he here makes mention (*ΜΕΜΝΩ* - *ΜΕΜΝΩΣΙ* *ΟΟΙ ΤΙΣ ΕΝΕΜΕΝ*). The difficulty which confronts the modern reader at this point is really a two-fold one. The first arises from the fact that we are reading a highly personal letter, filled with highly personal and intimate references, but without any knowledge of that particular incident to which Paul here alludes — namely that which occasioned Timothy's tears. Added to this is the further difficulty that we are reading this letter after a lapse of 19 centuries of time, so that we have no possible way of ascertaining exactly what this incident was to which Paul refers. Whatever it was, the memory of Timothy's tears was a vivid one in Paul's mind, and surely also in the mind of Timothy, so that no more had to be said between these two friends beyond this casual reference. We, on our part, however, are reduced to conjecture, of which the most probable one is that the tears to which Paul alludes were those which Timothy had shed at their last parting, when Paul passed through Ephesus on his way to Rome in the hands of his captors. We can well understand that that would have been a tearful farewell, indeed, for both must have known that the great apostle was going to his death! Tears of love and friendship and devotion, tears of sadness and sorrow, tears which had burned themselves into the memory of the aging apostle. What a friendship, indeed, these words unfold to us!

No wonder, then, that Paul writes, "I long to see you...in order that I may be filled with joy!" (*ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΘΡΩΤΩ*). If their parting had been such a tearful one, would not their reunion fill their hearts with joy? Here, in the most poignant way, Paul sets forth the deep joy of Christian fellowship, for underlying this whole sentence is the concept of Christian *κοινωνία* which exists among the disciples of Christ — a fellowship based on a common faith in the same Lord and on a true community of interests; a fellowship which fills the heart of every such disciple with real joy. Here is love and affection which goes far deeper than mere sentimentality. This is the one "last" request, so to speak, of the apostle Paul as he sits in his cell awaiting execution — simply that he might see his young friend Timothy once more — look into his face, grasp him by the hand, talk with him about their work and their plans and their common Christian hope. If only he might have this one request granted! — then his heart would be filled with joy!

Quickly, however, Paul's thoughts run on, tumbling over themselves, so to speak, as he pours them forth. In the original Greek there is no pause for punctuation, no break in this flow of thoughts. As each thought calls forth another, so each one is simply appended to what precedes by a participial phrase — "...*ὑπομνησθῆναι ἀχθῶν τῆς ἐν σοὶ ἀντιθέκτου πίστεως* ...". In English, however, we are almost forced to pause to catch our breath and begin afresh with a new sentence.



"I have just received a reminder of your genuine faith..." ἔχω ἀμείνω ...  
 μνηστικῆς... ὑπομνήσιν ἁγίων. How completely thoughts of Timothy  
 fill Paul's mind at this moment! Here, perhaps, was the immediate reason for the  
 writing of this letter at this particular time -- a "reminder" (ὑπομνήσιν) which  
 Paul had just received. But here again the details are unfortunately shrouded in  
 darkness, and we are forced to grope about in the semi-darkness of conjecture as to  
 what this newly-received "reminder" was. This word ὑπομνήσιν derives its special  
 meaning principally from the prepositional prefix ὑπό, which bears its full meaning,  
 denoting agent or agency. Strictly speaking an ὑπομνήσιν denotes a reminder  
 which is caused or brought to mind by some outside event or incident, or by the  
 actions of someone else; and in this respect it differs from ἀνάμνησιν, which is  
 rather a spontaneous remembrance which one calls up, so to speak, out of his own  
 mind and memory of the past. We are thus surely correct in saying that this par-  
 ticular word suggests some particular thing which Timothy had done recently and  
 which served as a reminder to Paul of his young friend's genuine faith. But what  
 was it? Was it a letter that Paul had just received from Timothy, bearing witness  
 to his faithful devotion to their common task? Was it some gift that Timothy had  
 sent? Was it something that Timothy had done recently there in Ephesus which had  
 recently been reported to Paul -- some heroic act of faith in the face of the  
 current persecution? Here again the intimate personal nature of this letter pre-  
 cludes our ever getting any closer to the truth and finding out just what this  
 "reminder" was.

Whatever it was, however, it had just arrived, the aorist participle denoting  
 a simple, momentary act just completed. Here it might be noted that the Textus  
 Receptus, from which the Authorized Version was translated, has a clearly inferior  
 reading -- ἁμ βάνων -- present tense; and that the A.V., perhaps trying to retain  
 the present aspect, renders the phrase "calling to remembrance," which makes the  
 confusion complete by substituting ἀνάμνησιν for ὑπομνήσιν. No, in addi-  
 tion to "remembering" Timothy's tears and "remembering" him unceasingly in his  
 prayers, Paul had just now received some definite reminder of Timothy's faith; and  
 it was this, as we have conjectured, which probably led him to write this letter.

The "faith" of which Paul speaks here is obviously the personal faith in  
 Timothy's heart. As such, it would refer first to Timothy's wholehearted trust and  
 confidence in Christ as his Savior from sin; and secondarily to that special quality  
 of faithfulness to Christ which such trust engenders. Whatever it was, then, this  
 reminder was a shining testimonial to young Timothy's faith as a disciple of Christ.  
 It was a visible proof and demonstration of the genuineness of that faith. The  
 adjective which Paul uses here (ἀνυπόκριτος) is a word with a strictly Biblical  
 flavor, being used six times in the New Testament (4 times by Paul, once by Peter,  
 once by James), and nowhere else in extant Greek literature. The basic noun  
 ὑπόκριτος is formed from the verb ὑποκρίνομαι, meaning "to reply or answer."  
 In the Greek world, however, this common verb had acquired a secondary connotation  
 as a technical stage term in connection with the drama. In this sense the word  
 meant "to recite an actor's lines;" hence "to be an actor" -- "to wear a mask" (which  
 all actors did) -- "to personate or play a part." From these latter shades of  
 meaning the word soon took on a third connotation in everyday life -- namely "to  
 pretend or simulate in one's actions, words or behavior" -- thus "to be a hypocrite"  
 in the modern sense. And since a hypocrite is one who thus wears a false front, the  
 addition of the alpha-privative gives the sense of being "not false -- un-feigned --  
 un-disguised" -- or more simply "genuine." This was the quality of Timothy's faith  
 which his recent action or actions had shown -- that it was ἀνυπόκριτος -- "un-  
 hypocritical" -- genuine. It was a faith which would stand the test of Judgment Day,  
 when every false and hypocritical faith will be unmasked. What a precious posses-  
 sion, indeed! -- a faith which matches its good profession with corresponding good  
 deeds and actions. What about our faith? Could the same thing be written about us?

In Timothy's case this fine genuine faith had been "inherited," so to speak, from his mother and grandmother, whom Paul singles out here for the most singular praise. "This genuine faith which you have just demonstrated," writes Paul, "is of exactly the same kind (ἥτις) as that which dwelt first (ἔνωκεν πρῶτον) in your grandmother Lois (ἐν τῇ μάμῃ σου Λωΐδι) and then in your mother Eunice (καὶ τῇ μητρὶ σου Εὐνίκῃ). ἥτις stresses the quality of this faith. It is "the kind of faith which..." And the πρῶτον...καί, in which πρῶτον is the adverbial neuter singular, has the sense of "first...and then." The word μάμη, which is formed by onomatopoeia from an infant's cry, is common to almost all Indo-European languages. In the older Greek dialects it meant "mother," but in later times it was used for "grandmother;" as here. The noun μήτηρ (mater, mother), is from the same root — MA-, which in the Indo-European prototype meant, apparently, to "measure or mold," with the common suffix — τρη denoting agent.

The picture of Timothy's early home life which Paul sketches for us here is a most touching and worthwhile one for all Christian parents to ponder over. What a pity that we do not know more of these two pious Jewish women, Lois and Eunice! All that we know about them is given us here, and in a later passage of this same letter (3:15), and in Acts 16:1. From these meagre materials we know that they were Jewesses, brought up in the traditional Jewish faith, that they made their home in the Galatian city of Lystra, and that Eunice, the daughter, had married a Greek. From this marriage had issued at least one son — Timothy; although there may well have been other sons and daughters as well. From what Paul tells us of these two women, here and in 3:15, they were typical of that pious, God-fearing "remnant" among the Jews whose lives were rooted and centered in the Old Testament scriptures, and who, like Zacharias and Elisabeth, Simeon and Anna, were waiting faithfully for the advent of their Messiah and the Consolation of Israel. When the Gospel reached Lystra through the efforts of Paul and Silas, these two pious Jewesses, Lois and Eunice, were among those who received the Good News gladly and joined the circle of Jesus' disciples. We are left with the impression that Eunice's Greek husband (Timothy's father) did not share their faith, however, so that the home in which Timothy was raised was a "mixed" home, religiously speaking, but one in which the dominant religious influence was that of the mother, as is so often the case. From Timothy's earliest years, long before the arrival of Paul and Silas in Lystra, Lois and Eunice had been zealously instructing him in the Old Testament scriptures, bringing him up in the fear and nurture and admonition of the Lord, implanting that genuine and simple faith in the coming Messiah in his heart. What a fine picture this is of a truly Christian home, where the parents — or one of them, at least — takes the time and effort to instruct their children in the Scriptures! And what a dividend that instruction paid in this case! Without it there would have been no Timothy in the life, history and work of the early Church. Yes, indeed, these two Jewish women — Lois and Eunice — will always hold a high place in the history of the Christian Church!

For the modern Christian parent this picture of Lois, Eunice and Timothy is surely a most inspiring one. It emphasizes first the importance of instructing our children in the Holy Scriptures from the earliest possible moment; and secondly the blessed fruit which such instruction may produce. Who knows from what simple home another Timothy may arise?

After this remarkable encomium to Timothy's mother and grandmother, Paul now completes his thought with another laudatory word about Timothy himself, and thus brings his "thanksgiving" to a close. "And now I am, indeed, convinced," he writes, "that it (this genuine faith) dwells also in you!" (πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί). How terse and emphatic the Greek idiom could be! ΠΕΠΕΙΣΜΑΙ Δὲ — "and now I am convinced." Here we feel the full sense of the perfect tense, depicting, as it always does, a present condition arising from some past action. Here it is the

perfect passive form of the verb *πειθω* - "to persuade or induce one to believe," which is properly rendered "I am persuaded, confident, sure, convinced." The *δε* also adds its slight emphasis - "and now, indeed." The verb is omitted in the usual elliptical Greek idiom, but is easily supplied from the preceding phrase - *εὐχάρησεν*. How pleased and proud Paul was of Timothy, his child in the faith! What infinite satisfaction is mirrored in these words - "and now I am convinced that this genuine faith dwells also in you!" Never was there a parent who looked upon his own natural offspring with greater pride and satisfaction than this! And here was a feeling of satisfaction which looked to eternity for its full consummation, to the Day of Judgment, when that genuine, unhypocritical faith of Timothy's would be revealed in its full splendour. How happy, indeed, is the Christian pastor who can look upon one of his young pupils in this way! - or the Christian parent who can comfort himself with such thoughts about one of his children! Yes, we can see why Paul's heart was filled with such thoughts of thanksgiving; why he began this letter to Timothy in this way!

(To be continued)

#####

## KING SVERRE'S ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIES

by Rudolph E. Honsey

### Part II

#### SVERRE'S CONTROVERSIES WITH ARCHBISHOP ERIK

It was especially Archbishop Erik who was Sverre's opponent in the most heated controversies involving the church in Norway. Though lacking Eystein's all-around abilities, Erik was a very capable man and one to be reckoned with. Perhaps even more so than Eystein, Erik was a dedicated man - dedicated to the proposition of raising the power of the church to even more exalted heights than in the past.

There were many personal differences between Eystein and Erik, as we shall see below. Not all the differences were personal, however. Erik grew up in a new generation, one which more than Eystein's was conscious of a clash between the power of the church and that of the state. That was more evident during the latter part of the twelfth century than it had been during the first decades of it, when Eystein grew up, although, of course, it was there then too. Along with the trend toward a challenging of the power of the church by the state came a strong reaction on the part of the church, an attempt to hold on to and, if possible, dominate the state even more than before. The best example of that can be found in the case of Pope Innocent III, Erik's and Sverre's illustrious but unscrupulous contemporary. On the difference between the generations of Eystein and Erik, Alexander Bugge writes:

Eystein was both priest and chieftain. He had grown up during a time when western churches still possessed considerable independence and produced statesmen who thought of the needs of both church and state. Erik on the contrary was from a time when the waves of controversy raged anew and one had to choose between pope or emperor... Erik became more one-sided and thought only of Rome and the needs of the church.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Bugge, op. cit., p. 188.

Similarly, Paasche states concerning Erik:

He is first and foremost the steadfast defender of the freedom of the church, where it is openly endangered. He operates more narrowly than Eystein, but more roughly and strongly. He is more intense in his struggle. He also belongs, to be sure, to a younger generation, when the church more and more powerfully steps forth as a supernational organization.<sup>23</sup>

Halvdan Koht remarks:

Erik was certainly an even more devoted disciple of the great warring Pope Alexander III than Eystein had been. If one compares these two archbishops, one cannot come to any conclusion other than that Eystein was a greater and richer personality than Erik. The desire to fight was certainly stronger in Erik; but he was a narrower spirit. He indeed recognized himself to be the heir and successor of Eystein, the man who was to initiate the program from the year 1164. But for other things he had no view, and in the controversy he became inflexible and stiff. Because he met with opposition from Sverre, he came to hate his opponent, and he wanted to make use of those ecclesiastical weapons against him just as far as they could reach. There can surely be no doubt that when he left the country, it was with the plan of excommunicating Sverre and deposing him.<sup>24</sup>

Erik had considerable ability, however, in spite of his lack of some of those aesthetic and cultural gifts which Eystein so richly possessed. As a practical church politician and as a man dedicated to a cause, Erik was greatly gifted. It was his misfortune to become embroiled, even more deeply than his predecessor, in a controversy with a man of such ability and determination as Sverre. It must be understood that Erik looked upon the state as a threat to the church. He did not see any danger connected with the subjection of the Norwegian Church under the Pope of Rome, as did Sverre and many of the lower clergy in Norway, as well as a majority of the people of Norway.

The year of Erik's birth was about 1130. In his youth, Erik had studied in Paris, as had also Eystein. In 1150 he entered St. Victor's monastery. The famous theologian and teacher, Hugo of St. Victor, had died a few years before Erik went there. In 1171, Erik became Bishop of Stavanger, a position which he held until he was elevated to Archbishop at Nidaros in 1188.<sup>25</sup> Erik was a Gregorian in his views of church polity and ecclesiastical power, even more extreme than his predecessor, Eystein. Long before Erik became archbishop, he violently opposed Sverre. During Sverre's battles against Magnus, Erik firmly and openly sided with Magnus, as did also Eystein. Both of those churchmen considered the cause of Sverre and the "Birchlegs" to be reviled, and both saw Sverre to be a great threat to the supremacy of the high ecclesiastics and the aristocracy, which were in power and were closely allied. Sverre checked the power of those two classes, as we shall also see below.

<sup>23</sup> Paasche, op. cit., p. 174.

<sup>24</sup> Koht, Kriseaar i Norske Historie, Oslo, 1954, Vol. III, Kong Sverre, p. 90.

<sup>25</sup> Bugge, loc. cit.

After the death of Eystein, Erik was elected archbishop. Sverre strongly protested his election, but to no avail. In the summer of 1188, Erik went to Rome to get the pallium. The following summer he returned and began his work as archbishop of Nidaros. Erik was an avowed opponent of the king, and a most determined advocate of church supremacy.<sup>26</sup> From the very beginning, Erik made extravagant claims re his own privileges, rights and prerogatives, and did what he could to oppose the king. Some of the points of controversy were the same as those between Eystein and Sverre; others were new. We shall consider eight points of controversy, as follows: (1) The law which they were to follow as the highest law of the land. (2) The right of Magnus to have ruled. (3) The election of bishops in general. (4) The election of a successor to Erik at Stavanger. (5) Under whose jurisdiction parish churches on the private estates of the king and yeomen were to be. (6) Taxes and fines received by the archbishop. (7) Sverre's request to be crowned by Erik, and Erik's refusal. (8) The number of men in the archbishop's bodyguard.

One of the most significant controversies between Sverre and Erik was the one concerned with which law was to prevail. Erik based his claim on the code of church laws which was a revision of the older laws. This code, known as Gullfjodhr or Gullfjaer, was completed under the supervision of Archbishop Eystein, as stated above. Sverre refused to acknowledge these laws as having binding power, and instead he appealed to the code of laws called Graagaas, also mentioned above. This code embodied the laws of St. Olaf, and stated that one must be a son of a king in order to be eligible for the throne.

That naturally brings us to the specific controversy regarding the right of Magnus Erlingsson to have ruled. The agreement of 1164 between Eystein and Erling provided that Magnus could rule. However, as stated above, the powers of the king were greatly limited by that agreement. From what we know of the above-mentioned codes (and we do not know much), the Gullfjaer allowed one to rule even though he was not a king's son. Erik, like his predecessor, Eystein, vigorously defended the right of Magnus to rule. His reign was defended on the grounds that he was a son of the daughter of Sigurd I (the Crusader). They looked upon Sverre as being an imposter, and even though Eystein and Sverre were reconciled, as it seems, Eystein still did not accept him freely as king. Erik opposed Sverre to the end. Sverre felt convinced that he was the rightful king, and explained that it was his duty to rule as king. Sverre insisted that Magnus had no right to rule. That is mentioned in The Saga of King Sverri:

King Sverri... declared that Erling Skakki ought not to have broken the laws of King Olaf, the Saint, to have his son anointed King. For Magnus was not rightly chosen, inasmuch as never before, since Norway became Christian, had one been King who was not a king's son; nor yet in heathen times; it was also forbidden in the land's law ordained by King Olaf, the Saint. "There was a bargain between them," said King Sverri, (between Archbishop Eystein and Earl Erling)"that the Archbishop should anoint Erling's son King, and Earl Erling should permit the Archbishop to carry out all that unlawfulness as far as his authority prevailed with the yeomen. It seems to me as if it had been done neither in accordance with God's nor land's law."<sup>27</sup>

That represents Sverre's viewpoint. Erik, however, would not yield. In addition to the Gullfjaer, he appealed to papal decrees and laws. Always a strong advocate of the power of the Pope and of centralization in ecclesiastical matters, Erik

<sup>26</sup> Gjerset, loc. cit.

<sup>27</sup> The Saga of King Sverri, Ch. 112, p. 140.

refused to have his and the church's powers curtailed. He felt he owed his allegiance to the Pope, not to King Sverre. As we shall see below, he fled to Denmark and from there conducted his campaign against Sverre. This controversy, like the others, was not settled between the two men.

Another dispute centered around the manner of electing bishops without any intervention or interference on the part of the king. Sverre claimed that the king had the right to participate in their election. Gjerset gives the following account of it:

Sverre claimed the right to control their election, and maintained that in early Christian times the bishops were chosen by the king. This practice had been adhered to in the time of St. Olav, and even in the days of Eystein, Sigurd, and Inge, the sons of Harald Gille. The concessions made by King Magnus he wholly disregarded, and the right of the clergy to elect the bishops, which had been conceded in principle even in the reign of the sons of Harald Gille, he interpreted to mean that in case two or more kings ruled jointly, and could not agree on a candidate, the clergy might elect.<sup>28</sup>

Then follows a part of the quotation referred to by footnote #18 (See previous installment, p. 8). The implication of Sverre's statement therefore is that the king had already given the archbishop sufficient authority to have a hand in the election of the bishops, more authority than the highest churchman had possessed and exercised in the times of Eystein, Sigurd, Inge and before. Erik, of course, wanted full authority, and so this argument also ended in an impasse.

Out of the controversy regarding the election of bishops in general grew the specific controversy regarding the election of a successor to Erik as Bishop of Stavanger. Sverre had strongly objected to the election of Erik as archbishop, as mentioned above, but finally yielded. Now he insisted on opposing the choice of Erik and others as his successor as Bishop of Stavanger. The man whom they chose was Nicolas Arnesson, a half-brother of King Inge and Orm Kongsbroder. Although Sverre opposed the choice partly on the basis of the person and character of Nicolas, he objected chiefly because he, the King, had not been consulted.

In this case, Sverre prevailed, according to the saga. The story goes that Nicolas heard of Sverre's objection and prevailed upon Queen Margaret to try to influence her husband, the king, in a way favorable to Nicolas, and that Nicolas was then appointed Bishop of Oslo.<sup>29</sup> There are those who question whether Nicolas was really a candidate for the position of Bishop of Stavanger. Among them is Edvard Bull, who remarks:

The only thing which is certain is that King Sverre mixed into the election of the Bishop in Stavanger and demanded that he should decide it, while the archbishop demanded that the bishop be elected by the ecclesiastical authorities, according to canonical law, and that this became one of the reasons for the final break between the king and the archbishop.<sup>30</sup>

If, as it seems, the man proposed by Erik to be his successor at Stavanger was Nicolas, then so far as Stavanger is concerned it was a victory for Sverre. However, the fact that Nicolas was chosen Bishop of Oslo soon thereafter nullifies the

<sup>28</sup> Gjerset, *op. cit.*, pp. 391 f.

<sup>29</sup> *The Saga of King Sverri*, Ch. 111, pp. 139 f.

<sup>30</sup> Bull, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

victory that Sverre had gained regarding Stavanger. Of Nicolas himself, we shall hear more later.

Another point of controversy between Erik and Sverre concerned parish churches on the private estates of the king and nobles who had such holdings. Sverre insisted that they did not come under the jurisdiction of the archbishop; Erik insisted as strongly that they did, since in his capacity as spiritual head of Norway he also had authority and responsibility over them, he claimed. This is stated as follows in The Saga of King Sverri:

One subject of dispute between them was the old law and practice by which the king and the yeomen should build churches, if they wished, at their own homesteads and their own cost, and should themselves have the control of the churches and appoint priests thereto. But the archbishop claimed rule and authority in each church as soon as it was consecrated, and over all those whom he permitted to officiate there. The King requested that the law should hold, but the archbishop refused.<sup>31</sup>

This same issue was an object of controversy between Sverre and Eystein. The remarks made concerning that controversy apply also here.

There was also a clash between the king and the archbishop in the matter of the revenues received by the archbishop. These revenues were in the form of taxes, fines, and other means of income. This, as well as the controversy described in the second paragraph below, began during the rule of Eystein, but became more pronounced at the time of Erik. Eystein was occupied with the building of the Nidaros Cathedral, and so needed much more revenue than he ordinarily would. Eystein insisted on having the revenue he collected paid by actual weight in silver, not in ordinary coin of the day.<sup>32</sup> In that way it was twice as high in value. Sverre then insisted on having the same arrangement apply to his own revenue. The struggle continued and waxed stronger under Erik.

One of the most personal controversies was the one concerning the request of Sverre to be crowned King of Norway<sup>33</sup> by Erik, and Erik's refusal to accede to the request, since he did not have the consent of the Pope to do so. The result was that Sverre and his whole army became angry. Sverre claimed that in such an affair he was not dependent upon the favor of the Pope, since kings might let themselves be anointed whenever and by whomever they pleased.<sup>34</sup> By that time Erik had fled to Denmark where he was well received by Archbishop Absalon.

The controversy which led to the archbishop's flight to Denmark was the one concerning the number of men in the archbishop's bodyguard. Sverre insisted that there ought to be no more than thirty men in his bodyguard, and that the maximum number of shields should be twelve, all white (meaning no fighting, and only peaceful ventures). Erik wanted several times that many.

The incident is reported in some detail in the saga. It reads:

The king then caused the law-book to be read aloud at the assembly and it was stated in the book that the Archbishop when on a tour

<sup>31</sup> The Saga of King Sverri, Ch. 117, p. 144.

<sup>32</sup> Bull, op. cit., p. 238.

<sup>33</sup> Sverre first claimed the throne in 1177, while Magnus was still King. Both claimed the throne as long as Magnus lived. When Magnus died in 1184, Sverre was sole ruler. He was not crowned until ten years later, however.

<sup>34</sup> Gjerset, op. cit., p. 391.

in his diocese should have thirty men with him, and his ship should carry twelve shields, all white. And King Sverre requested that the law should hold in this matter, and thus spoke: "The Archbishop has no need of a body-guard, or warriors, or of a ship all bedecked with shields; and he so far exceeds what the law says, that he sails in a smack having twenty benches, manned by ninety men or more, and bedecked with shields from stem to stern. We Birkbeins will call to mind the ship sent by the Archbishop to attack us under Hattarhamar, and that we thought the same far too hardily manned with his House-carles. So too in Bergen, when we attacked the fleet, the Archbishop's ship and his company were much readier with their weapons to fight against us than were the King's company. I should think it more righteous before God if the Archbishop had no guardsmen beyond what is lawful, for no one will plunder him or the church property, and if he used the cost to set men to the quarries, to transport stone, to do mason's work, so as to advance the building of the minster, for which preparations have already been made."

The Archbishop thus replied: "The Pope of Rome set me to manage this see; therefore, I have rightful control over the property; moreover, it is God's property and holy men's. Of a truth, Sire, it will seem better to most upright men to side with me in peace than with you in evil deeds, for few nowadays attain rest in life. And though my men possess weapons and good clothes, the property is their own; and they have robbed no one of a single penny for it, and wherever they go they behave peacefully. It will not seem honourable, when told in other lands, that the Archbishop may not decide for himself to whom he shall give his meat or clothes; while your bailiffs, whom you have raised from beggary, may have as large companies as they like, fall upon the yeomen and take meat and ale from them unlawfully, and yet the owner shall be fain that he is not robbed of more." King Sverre now demanded the law, and called upon the yeomen to declare judgment and decide according to the law of the land how many House-carles the Archbishop should have. The King next summoned those of the Archbishop's men who were in excess of the number permitted by the scroll, to appear in five days, when they should all be outlawed, have their safety and property forfeited, and be slain wherever they were found. When the Archbishop heard this, he prepared in the utmost haste to leave the town, and took with him all his men and all the property they could. The Archbishop then sailed all the way south to Denmark to visit Archbishop Absalon. He was well received, and abode there in comfort for a long time. Archbishop Erik caught an illness whereby he lost his sight and became totally blind.<sup>35</sup>

There were other clashes between Erik and Sverre, too. Below we shall mention the announcement of the excommunication of Sverre which Erik made weekly. In fact, as long as the two men lived they had one long controversy. It was basically a clash between two stern and unyielding men, each espousing a theory of church-and-state relationship and unquestioningly believing it: Erik the Gregorian theory, Sverre the Divine Right of Kings theory.

When he reached Denmark, Erik was well received by Archbishop Absalon, a kindred

---

<sup>35</sup> The Saga of King Sverri, Ch. 117, pp. 144-146.



spirit. While there he was busily engaged in carrying on his battle against Sverre. Later, Erik and Absalon were joined by Bishop Nicolas, who became the leader of the Bagler party, the group which fought against the Birkebeiner (Birchlegs) in a long and bitter struggle which did not end with the death of Sverre. That struggle will be briefly discussed under the next section: Sverre's Controversies with Bishop Nicolas.

While in Denmark, Erik wrote a letter to Pope Clement III, appealing his case to him and hoping to get support which would ultimately lead to Sverre's excommunication and deposition and Erik's restoration as active archbishop in Nidaros. The Pope, too busy to bother with far-away Norway, neglected to answer the letter, and before long he died. His successor, Celestine III, was too much occupied with affairs in Germany and Italy to devote much attention to Norway. Furthermore, his advanced age (about 90 years) prevented him from working at the pace of other popes, notably his young successor, Innocent III.

Being dissatisfied with receiving no answer, in 1193, the two Archbishops, Erik and Absalon, sent men to Rome with a new letter and now the Pope issued a bull in which he placed Archbishop Erik and his successors under his apostolic protection, confirmed all rights and privileges of the Norwegian clergy, and made new regulations. The bull concludes with the threat that whoever resists it shall lose his authority, his title of honor, and shall be excommunicated.<sup>36</sup> In that bull, dated June 15, 1194, Celestine III proclaimed the "Freedoms and Rights of the church". They are as follows:

1. The possessions (goods) which the church has legally acquired, shall remain in the hands of the archbishop and his successors and not be seized or divided.
2. All those liberties which earlier kings, namely Magnus Erlingsson, had given to the church, shall be confirmed.
3. The archbishop and his successors shall have the right to appoint priests without the consent and proposal of the king, to all the chapels which the kings have founded as well as to the other churches and chapels in the kingdom, since the earlier kings had yielded their right of calling the priests.
4. Neither the king nor any other temporal prince should meddle with the election of bishops and abbots within the kingdom; neither should any consent be required of them.
5. No ecclesiastic should be duty bound to go alone in warfare or furnish men for warfare, unless he possessed royal grants.
6. The archbishop should have the right to export a quantity of grain to Iceland annually.
7. Pilgrims who desire to visit St. Olaf's sanctuary should at all times be assured of safety.
8. Ecclesiastics must not subject themselves to temporal courts of justice in cases where the canonical law forbids such.
9. No consecrated church may be vacated or moved without the consent of the bishop concerned.
10. No king or prince may, without the consent of the bishops and the counsel

---

<sup>36</sup> Gjerset, *op. cit.*, pp. 393 f.

of the wisest men, alter the accustomed and written law of the land or the fines appointed therein, to the detriment of the churches and the churchmen; neither may he require any oath of allegiance from any bishop or abbot who does not have royal fiefs, either before or after ordination.

11. In the payment of the tithe, the kings should follow the common canonical stipulations with regard to their lands and estates.
12. The archbishop and his successors should be permitted to possess falcons and hawks not for their own amusement but for the good of the church.
13. No one may in any manner injure the church at Nidaros or remove, withhold, limit or burden its possessions. But everything should be preserved for their benefit and use, to whose management and maintenance it is given, yet in all parts with the exception of the authority of the apostolic see (seat).<sup>37</sup>

Thus reads the proclamation of the "Freedoms and Rights of the Church" as stated by Pope Celestine III. In all of these one can clearly see the controversy of Erik and Sverre in the background. The finger points most clearly at Sverre. A number of these statements are concerned with points of controversy which we have already mentioned above. Others, e.g. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 12 concern themselves with questions which have not been discussed. Regarding point #5, Erik demanded immunity or exemption from warfare on the part of the ecclesiastics. And yet he insisted on having a large bodyguard accompany the archbishop wherever he would go, and frequently these men were very active in fighting. Point #6 is a continuation of the demand of Eystein, who needed extra income for the building of the cathedral. Erik was apparently interested in the cathedral, and yet he insisted on the continuation of his rights of export. Point #8 is a continuation of the claim of benefit of clergy. Perhaps better than any other point does #10 reveal the Gregorian theory of church and state. The churchmen, according to Celestine III, owe their allegiance to the Pope, not to the king. Only if they own royal fiefs do they owe allegiance to the king. This is contrary to the old feudal idea which demanded allegiance to the king, even if he was only a figurehead, for in theory all of the land belonged to him. It was this internationalism against which Sverre fought. He used Scripture and the Church Fathers to show that the king is to be honored and obeyed, even by the clergy. Finally, Point #13 is an expression of the arrogant claims of the Pope in which he considers himself the owner of all of the holdings of the Norwegian clergy, and they are only under the "management and maintenance" of the clergy there. Such was the expression of the papacy.

It is generally believed that in the same letter, Celestine III excommunicated Sverre, although Koht does not believe that in it he directly excommunicates him.<sup>38</sup> He does believe, however, that he must have been excommunicated before he was crowned, and some time in June or before, for Erik announced Sverre's excommunication from a church in Denmark every Sunday. The letter of Erik and Absalon to the Pope, his answer, his excommunication of Sverre, Erik's announcement of it, and Sverre's reaction to the announcement and his reply concerning Erik (who was by now blind) are contained in the following account from the saga:

Archbishop Erik and Archbishop Absalon sent messengers south to Rome with a letter to the Pope. In this letter there was written all about King Sverri, according to the testimony of Archbishop Erik and his men; also about all the dealings they had with one another

<sup>37</sup> Øverland, O. A., *Illustreret Norges Historie* (Kristiana, 1889), Vol. III, pp. 229 f.

<sup>38</sup> Koht, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

before the Archbishop went away from his see. The archbishops obtained from the Pope the answer which they requested: The Pope pronounced King Sverri excommunicated if he did not allow the Archbishop to have all he asked and claimed. This letter was read aloud in Denmark by order of the Archbishop, and every Sunday the ban upon King Sverri was proclaimed in the chancel. When King Sverri heard of this, he spoke often about the affair in Assemblies, saying that it was an invention of the Danes, and not a message from the Pope, and that he did not suppose Eirik Blindi would put an end to his rule with lies, "The ban and curse," he said, "which he had uttered against me have fallen upon his own eyes, and he is now blind through them. Those who do the work of banning will fall under (the) ban. I am a King's son, and lawfully chosen to this land and realm. I suffered many troubles and worries before I acquired this kingdom, and I will not lose my hold on it because of this ban. Let Eirik return to his see, though he is blind, if he is willing to keep the law of the land, as it is bound here to be held. But if both his eyes were whole, as surely he is now blind of both, and blind also in the judgment to recognize what is right, yet I would not for his sake violate the law of King Olaf, the Saint, though he would ban and curse forever."<sup>39</sup>

It is significant that Sverre blames Erik and the Danish hierarchy for misrepresenting him to the Pope, and that he does not place a great share of blame on Celestine III. Shortly after the letter of the archbishops, follows the incident of the visit of the papal legate to Norway. Sverre asked him to crown him, but because of pressure from the clergy, the legate refused. This angered Sverre, and he dismissed the legate. His remarks to him reveal Sverre's strong dislike of interference from without. The saga account follows:

Shortly after Easter, King Sverri sailed East after Sigurd Earlsson, for he would scatter the band that held together. He sailed all the way to Konungahella in the spring, and a messenger from the Pope came there, a Legate, and his companions. King Sverri invited them to stay with him, and entertained the Legate for several days. They discussed together of many things, and the King sought from the Legate that he would consecrate him King and crown him. The Legate received the request favourably; but when other clergy became aware of the design, they informed the Legate that the King was at enmity with the Archbishop, who had gone away from his see, and they said that the Legate should not consent to consecrate him. They laid these charges against the King: That he had been ordained priest formerly; also that he had taken to himself a wife, having already legally married one who was still alive; and they brought up many other matters to slander the King. The next time that King Sverri and the Legate talked of the matter, the Legate refused to consecrate him King, and bade him make peace with the Archbishop, who ought then to consecrate him. The King answered, "I see on what errand you have come to this land; 'tis to act like many others -- deceivers. They hasten hither from other lands to get money for themselves, and when they have gone away they turn our kingdom into ridicule. I desire that you leave this land." After that, the Legate went away.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The Saga of King Sverri, Ch. 121, pp. 152 f.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., Ch. 122, pp. 153 f.

Sverre, disappointed by this, did not give up hope of being crowned. Soon he was able to persuade several clergy to participate in the coronation. The chief clergyman was Nicolas Arnesson, whom the king had at his mercy because of Nicholas' implication in a plot against the king on the part of the "Eyskjegger". This will be briefly discussed below under the controversies with Bishop Nicolas.

Erik had succeeded in getting the Pope to excommunicate Sverre, and this had considerable effect on the higher clergy of Norway. In fact, as we shall see below, the bishops who had participated in the coronation of Sverre were threatened with excommunication in the month of November of the same year (1194), unless they would renounce their allegiance to Sverre and join Erik in Denmark. The lower clergy as a whole supported Sverre, however, as they also did under the even more trying circumstances four years later, when Pope Innocent III excommunicated Sverre and his adherents and threatened Norway with the interdict. Herewith we shall conclude our treatment of the controversies between Erik and Sverre.

#####

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AMONG NORWEGIAN AMERICANS: A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. By E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. Vol. I, 357 pages. Vol. II, 379 pages. Price: 12.50.

Reviewed by Rev. T. N. Teigen

This two-volume work does not presume to present a history of all Norwegian American Lutheranism up to the present day, as one might expect from the main title. It is, rather, a history of the ELC, as the sub-title indicates. For that reason the Norwegian Lutheran Free Church gets attention after 1900 only in as far as it was connected with the ELC in the American Lutheran Conference, and as it was involved at the beginning in the idea that culminated in the formation of TALC in 1960. The Norwegian Synod is not treated after 1918, and the Lutheran Brethren and the Eielson Synod get lost somewhere along the way. The first volume and two thirds of the second go into the background of the synods that formed the ELC in quite a thoroughgoing way. The volumes contain a vast amount of authentic information, documented with some over three thousand footnotes.

The authors are professors of history at Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul. The Preface to Vol. I states that the books were written at the request of the Board of Publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the intention being "to have a documented history of the church published before the ELC lost its identity in the forth-coming Lutheran union to be known as The American Lutheran Church." The ambition and the philosophy of the authors is indicated in the following from the Preface to Vol. II: "That there can be no absolutely impartial presentation of history is generally admitted today. It is wishful thinking to imagine that one can get an objective view of 'what actually happened' (Ranke). History, and not least church history, is accessible only as it is interpreted; it becomes a living thing only when the historian is himself deeply concerned as a person in that with which he deals. The historian's involvement, therefore, militates against an objective detachment. At the same time he must be aware of his own standpoint and make allowances for his possible prejudices, exercising a constant self-criticism in relation to them. This principle of controlled involvement has guided the writing of this and the previous volume.

"...The writer has tried to see a tiny segment of church history - the history of the Evangelical Lutheran Church - as an evidence of God's activity and as a vivid witness to His grace and patience. It cannot be gainsaid that the witness of the Spirit has often been corroded and frustrated by the perversities and parochialisms

of God's people among the Norwegian-American Lutherans. The so-called 'non-theological factors' in church history have too often been merely a polite way of disguising original sin. The writer, however, has taken heart in the knowledge that the Spirit's presence in the church is not proved by the absence of sin but in the willingness to confess sin. When the Evangelical Lutheran Church has exhibited this attitude, it has been blessed; and there are evidences of such blessing in the story. On the other hand, there have been some unpleasant, even ugly, episodes in the life of the church. The telling of them has given no pleasure - is it ever pleasant to confess sins and foibles? Some events, which one might prefer to omit and forget, have been included in order to present a balanced picture. The result has been that the history of the church is not a self-congratulatory narrative designed to please the faithful, but a serious attempt at honest historiography. It is hoped that the reader will remember that God often turns the strange and perverse ways of men to His praise." Vol. II, pp. vii, viii.

The work is based in the main on two Ph.D. dissertations: "Norwegian-American Lutheranism, 1870-1890" (University of Chicago, 1951) by Eugene L. Fevold, and "The Union Movement among Norwegian-American Lutherans, 1880-1917" (Yale University, 1952) by E. Clifford Nelson. Dr. Nelson is the main writer of the two volumes.

One may get a fair idea of the material covered and a further idea of the line of direction the authors take from the following outline: Volume I, Part I: FROM NORWAY TO AMERICA. I. Nineteenth Century Norway; II. Hans Nielsen Hauge and Haugeanism; III. Hersleb, Stenersen, and Grundvigianism; IV. The Johnsonian Era; V. Norsemen: From Mountains to Prairies. Part II: TRAIL BLAZERS FOR THE CHURCH: VI. Elling Eielsen, Evangelist; VII. C. L. Clausen, Pastor; VIII. J. W. C. Dietrichson, Churchman. Part III: THE CHURCHES EMERGE. IX. Haugeanism Organizes; Eielsen's and Hauge's Synods; X. Tradition and Orthodoxy: The Norwegian Synod; XI. The Middle Way: The Augustana Synod and the Conference. Part IV: THEOLOGY, MISSION, AND UNITY BEFORE 1890. XII. Theological Warfare; XIII. The Churches at Work, 1870-90; XIV. The Union Movement. VOLUME II: Part I: FORMATION OF THE UNITED CHURCH. THE AUGSBURG CONTROVERSY (1890-1900). I. Planning the Union; II. Achieving the Union; III. The Augsburg Controversy. Part II: THE CHURCHES MERGE (1900-1917). IV. The Expanding Church; V. Forward to Opgjør; VI. The Union of 1917; Part III: A HERITAGE MEETS A NEW ERA (1917-1959). VII. An Interpretation of the Heritage; VIII. The Church Discovers America; IX. The Church Discovers Other Churches.

One writing the history of Norwegian American Lutheranism must naturally deal with the theological controversies, such as on Lay Preaching, Sunday Question, Slavery, Absolution, Justification, Conversion and Election. In all of these the Norwegian Synod was on one side of the question and one or the other and several at a time of the other Norwegian bodies were on the other side. The authors of this work are generally sympathetic to the opponents of the Norwegian Synod, and of course, take the view that particularly Lay-ministry, Absolution, Justification, Conversion and Election were adequately and fairly happily settled with the Union of 1917. Even so the authors are able to make this comment on the Madison Agreement: "The Opgjør itself can best be described as the instrument of an ecclesiastical rapprochement rather than as an astute and flawless display of theological finality with regard to the doctrine of election. Both sides, eager for union and weary of conflict, sought desperately to find a way in which they could be delivered from the clutch of bitterness and each could join the other without giving up his own views. It was a case of the victory of heart over head." II, p. 181.

The appendices contain reprints in translation of the following historic documents: "The Old Constitution" of the Eielsen Synod; The 1853 Constitution of the Norwegian Synod; The Constitution and Articles of Union of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church (1890); The Union Documents (1906-1912) on Absolution, Lay Ministries

in the Church, The Call, Conversion, Election (The Madison Agreement), and the Constitution of the 1917 Merger.

The final document in the Appendix of Vol. II is "An Interpretation". This is the famous "Forstaaelse", accepted by the Norwegian Synod and the United Church at the "last minute" insistence of the Hauge Synod, as an interpretation of No. 3 of the Articles of Union ("The three bodies promise one another in all seriousness to observe the rule not to carry on churchly cooperation with the Reformed and others who do not share the faith and confession of these bodies.") The "Interpretation" reads in part: "The word 'cooperation' we understand to mean organized and continuous activity of a churchly character or also incidental and occasional reciprocal relations in the preaching of the Gospel and administration of the Sacraments. On the other hand, we do not regard it as cooperation or unionism, when one occasionally takes part in weddings, funerals, Decoration Day programs, Chautauquas, graduation festivities at public schools, and the like, where ministers of other confessional groups also take part. Furthermore, we do not consider it contrary to this section to participate in such movements, which while they indubitably are of a religious nature, but embrace the whole Christian Church, as for example, ecumenical mission conferences, Student Volunteer Movement, Student Federation and Laymen's Missionary Movement. We consider these Christian religious movements more in the nature of practical enterprises than activities of a pure churchly character." Vol. II, p. 370 - The writers of the history discuss "Interpretation" on p. 328 of Vol. II and call it "ecumenically oriented", and add, we sense from the context, regretfully "that although the 'Interpretation' was accepted, no alteration was made in the wording of the original article. For reasons difficult to document, the church in subsequent years was guided by the substance of the article rather than by the 'Interpretation' of the article." - The last part of the sentence may come somewhat as a surprise to observers of the ELC from the outside.

It is a matter of some significance, we think, that the Appendices do not contain a reprint of the Austin Agreement. The negotiations leading up to the Austin Agreement are discussed on pp. 218-220 of Volume II and wind up with this comment: "In this way, the churches prepared the way for the acceptance of the Synod minority into the new church, thus allowing the minority to fulfill its real desire for union without losing face." Particularly since such men as President Emeritus J. A. Aasgaard, President F. A. Schiotz, and Seminary President A. N. Rogness are listed as counselors on manuscript, it is safe to conclude that it is admitted that the Austin Agreement has had no standing in official ELC. It occurs to one to wonder why no "Old Synod" man was "in on" the manuscript.

Of the number of themes that run through this history, there is one, - and we may call it the main theme - that will be of interest also to people who are not particularly interested in the history of Norwegian American Lutheranism otherwise, this, namely: That in all the union movements involving Norwegian American Lutherans, including the one culminating in TALC in 1960, the "theology of repristination" came out on top. - This again will no doubt be a surprise to some observers, but that is the point of view, and in the mind of the writers, this is not all to the good.

"Repristination Theology" is characterized - or, to an extent, caricatured - as being concerned with "restoring the treasures of Lutheran theology (cast aside by rationalism) by concentrating on the seventeenth century orthodoxist interpretation of the Reformation. It emphasized (1) verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, and (2) legalistic use of the confessions. Out of this grew a subsuming of the Material Principle of the Reformation (sola fide) under the Formal Principle (sola Scriptura)", II, p. 283. This is said to be in general the ruling theology of TALC (e.g. II, 315). The versus of the "Theology of Repristination" is said to be "Erlangen Confessionalism" characterized by main emphasis on "(1) fidelity to the Lutheran Confessions historically understood; (2) exposition of the Bible, not as verbally-inspired proof

texts, but as witness to God's redemptive activity in history (Heilsgeschichte); and (3) holding to justification by faith as the controlling principle in theology," (II, 283). This is reported to be generally speaking the theology of the ULC, Augustana, Suomi, and AELC (e.g., p. 315). Unfortunately, in the authors' view, the TALC Merger and the ULC, Augustana, Suomi, AELC Merger brought things to somewhat of a standstill. But there is hope: "One of the most hopeful signs for future unity, despite the freezing of organizational forms, is the fact that at no time in American Lutheran history have the various seminary faculties been so theologically congenial, especially in their general uneasiness with and critical evaluation of the theology of re-creation." II, 287 - We expect that there will be any number of people who will take up and discuss the implications of that point of view. And when they do, they will want to give some attention to the last paragraph in this two volume history: "Thus, in the concluding years of The Evangelical Lutheran Church, a historically conservative church body has committed itself to the chief non-Roman organization (World Council of Churches) which seeks to manifest before the world the unity of the members of the Body of Christ. It has taken its place in the ecumenical movement, as other Lutherans have done, without renouncing its confessional convictions, but at the same time it has sought consciously a way in which it may witness to its belief that Jesus Christ has created a New Israel, the one, holy, and catholic church. Increasingly, it realizes that such a witness is an inescapable evangelistic necessity in the divine economy, 'so that the world may believe...so that the world may know.'" II, p. 331.

With the theological presuppositions indicated in what we have seen thus far, it is not surprising that the authors give the old Norwegian Synod the unsympathetic treatment they do. "The historian's involvement militates against an objective detachment," as they said in the preface. And it comes out in three other themes in the work: 1) The pietistic Hauge Synod and the orthodoxistic Norwegian Synod represent two extremes. The good ecumenic middle way was found first in the Norwegian Augustana Synod, then in the Norwegian Danish Conference, and then in the United Church (For a crystallization of this position see the Chapter on "Interpreting the Heritage," II, pp. 229-240); 2) The Norwegian Synod was a sort of big bad wolf in the history of Norwegian American Lutheranism, but behind it stood a bigger, badder wolf, the Missouri Synod; 3) The Norwegian Synod was little more than a carbon copy of the Missouri Synod, having derived most of its theology from it.

We submit now a few statements that have a bearing on Themes 2 and 3 above. The Norwegian Synod and its leaders characterized: "Synod Orthodoxism", I, 151 & II, 236 et al.; "Outspoken advocates of strict Lutheranism," I, 158; "Rightists," I, 158; Having a "naive confidence in clerical authority," I, 175; "Ultra-orthodox clergymen," I, 177; "The Synod's fundamentalistic view of Scripture," I, 178; "For the Synod's clergy the question was the authority of the Bible which must be literally interpreted," I, 179; Synod argued with "logical consistency," I, 179; "Synod clergy hostile to the American public school," I, 184; "This, then, was the 'mind of the Synod,' theological orthodoxism bordering on uncharitableness and clinging firmly to traditional practices," I, 190; "It was quite clear from the testimony of the leaders of the Synod that they considered themselves the champions of Lutheran orthodoxy. Correct doctrine was a necessary prerequisite for saving faith, a God-pleasing life, and effective witnessing. This point of view resulted in dogmatic censoriousness resented by other Lutherans, whose Lutheranism was frequently called into question." I, 188; "State church traditionalism was represented by the Norwegian Synod with its increasing emphasis on the necessity of 'pure doctrine'", I, 191; "The Norwegian Synod, possessing remarkable leadership and a unity of purpose, tolerated no deviations from its doctrinal standards and tended to identify its understanding of Holy Writ with Holy Writ itself." I, 221; "Such vitriolic statements as Preus' 'bull'". I, 253; "Now a segment of the church had spoken officially; and its tones were harsh and cold." I, 253; "Where there was such unabashed equating of the truth with the position of the Norwegian Synod, etc." I, 314;

"The equating of inspiration and inerrancy was the foundation for the position assumed by the Synod theologians in most of the doctrinal controversies." II, 235; "But some of its opponents - less logical, less legalistic over against the Scriptures and the confessions, etc." II, 235; "The general position assumed and defended (i.e. "as the champion of an uncompromising orthodoxy") was supported and significantly colored by the Synod's fateful alliance with the Missouri Synod," I, 161; "Missouri's conservative theology overrode all other considerations, and soon the Norwegian students were enrolled at St. Louis." I, 163; the slavery controversy came upon the Norwegian Synod through its "fateful connection" with the Missouri Synod, I, 172; "The scholastic orthodoxy typified by the Missouri Synod and reflected in the Norwegian Synod," I, 237; "The Norwegian Synod followed the Missouri Synod in translating the Greek word *ἐκκλησία* by the word 'congregation' (menighed, Gemeinde). Unfortunately, both the Norwegian Synod and the German Missourians interpreted Gemeinde to mean local congregation. Actually, according to New Testament usage *ἐκκλησία* meant the church in its universal as well as local aspect." I, 308, Footnote 25.

Quite a spectacle, these and other statements! Our blood pressure goes up a few degrees because of good things described in bad terms, of half-truths, of the exaggerations.

Indeed, there are many places in both volumes where a reader with a little acquaintancè with the history of Norwegian American Lutheranism pauses, puts a mark, and says to himself: "That ain't the way I heard it." Examples: That Dr. Walther got the "emergency principle" from Gisle Johnson, I, 168; that the Norwegian Synod in the years after its organization "moved to modify their synodical-council polity to a congregational-synodical form," I, 181; that the "congregationalism" of the Norwegian Synod can be "traced to the writings of Walther on polity," II, 236; "Asperheim was henceforth persona non grata in the Synod - even F. A. Schmidt opposed him," I, 258; "Koren stated that any attack on Walther and the Missourians was equivalent to an attack upon himself," I, 260; that the "Aaben Erklåring" of Oftedal and Weenaas is "partially to be understood against the background of the 'Banbulle' which H. A. Preus hurled against the Conference," I, 247; that in saying that "Cur alii prae aliis?" was a question the Scriptures do not answer and a mystery, "Walther and the Missourians were actually transcending their theological method without knowing it." II, 163; that Dr. Laur. Larsen "had been pressured out of the presidency" of Luther College "by the ultra-orthodox leader of the 'Decorah Ring', U. V. Koren," whose "candidate was C. K. Preus." II, 169.

To maintain such things is to perpetuate some myths and to create a few more, to play up some facts and leave out others, and to do some "romanticizing" in the bargain. And "just for fun" we shall take a closer look at one or two:

#### "Romanticizing"

Background: P. A. Rasmussen and several other Haugean pastors, unhappy with the Eielsen Synod, were attracted to the Norwegian Synod, but could not agree to its position on lay-preaching, where the Synod operated with the principle in Article XIV of the Augsburg Confession. Discussions went on for several years. Meanwhile it developed that the Synod ministers were not seeing entirely eye-to-eye on the matter either (Our historians describe this situation as the "first crack in the orthodoxy of the Synod".) From here on we will let our historians tell the story: I, p. 167. 168.

"For two years the deadlock continued. Then in 1862 the church council called the first extraordinary meeting of the Synod to be held at Holden Church, near Kenyon, Minnesota. As at previous conferences, a representative of the Missouri Synod was present, having been invited with the hope that he might bring the opposing factions together. This time the imported



theological catalyst was Prof. C. F. W. Walther, who offered a statement which was satisfactory to both sides, and which has been described by a Walther-enthusiast as a 'masterly presentation...of...historic interest...'

"What was this Waltherian stroke of genius which solved the insoluble? It was basically a repetition of the Nødprincip ('emergency principle') which had been enunciated in Norway by the teacher of Larsen, Koren, Ottesen, Muus, and others, namely, Professor Gisle Johnson. The Norwegian ban on lay preaching had been lifted in 1842, but during the awakening of the fifties the question had been raised with renewed vigor. Was lay preaching really theologically, or confessionally, legitimate even though permitted by law? Johnson, the strong confessionalist, skirted the problem by asserting that, where there is 'need' or 'emergency' lay preaching was permissible. At Holden Church in 1862 Walther sensed the critical nature of this question for the Norwegian-Americans and also the fact that its disposition was not assured by quoting Article XIV. Since lay preaching involved the relation of the office of the ministry to the Lutheran doctrine of the priesthood of believers, Walther suggested that the ministry was to be seen from three viewpoints: (1) as belonging to the universal priesthood, (2) as being the special office of the ministry in the congregation, and (3) as conditioned by necessity which knows no law, i. e., as an emergency ministry. The first two points were interpreted according to the traditional pattern. The third, however, was nothing more than Johnson's justification of lay preaching undergirded by a quotation from the Smalcald Articles. Today the question naturally asked is: was this 'masterly presentation' by Walther produced without any knowledge of Johnson's position? It is hardly reasonable to make that assumption, knowing the close relationship between Walther and Laur. Larsen who had been trained by Johnson. Very likely in discussing Norwegian church life with Walther, Larsen had referred to Johnson's 'emergency principle' which now appeared on American soil with a Missouri halo about it.

"In any event, the opposing factions were brought together by this analysis and exposition and in short order a set of theses - the customary Lutheran method of resolving theological questions - was formulated and signed by all. With this done Rasmussen and his colleagues, Nils Amlund and John Fjeld, joined the Synod."

All quite dramatic. Lacking some history, though, it takes on some features of the historical novel. It would have been a little water on the authors' mill if it were really so that the "church council" called the extraordinary Synod meeting at Holden in 1862, and if it were really so that all "signed". The facts are that the Synod Convention of the year before decided the meeting, time and place, and there is no record of any "signing". The authors made water for their mill in these particulars. The fact that C. F. W. Walther was not present at the Synod Convention in Holden isn't so very important, but it does make it necessary to drop a few lines of the dramatic. The writer may have gotten the impression that Walther was present from Magnus Rohne (the "Walther enthusiast", by the way) who seems to say that Walther was there. But Walther was at the Pastoral Conference at Spring Prairie the year before, and it was there that he made his "presentation". His presentation was read and made the basis of the discussion at the Synod at Holden in 1862. More important is the fact that the "emergency principle" had been around for quite awhile. In fact, the material that Dr. Walther presented to the Norwegians, including the "emergency principle", is all spelled out in his book "Kirche und Amt" (pp. 354-385) published in Erlangen in 1852, long before there was any contact with the Norwegians. The "emergency principle" was around before Walther, too, of course. He quotes the Scriptures, the Smalcald Articles, Luther otherwise, Gallus, Heshusius,

Fecht, and others. A real "restitutionist"! It is not easily established when our synodical fathers or Gisle Johnson became "wise to" the principle, but if we are allowed to guess how, we would say that they arrived at it the same way as Walther did, by diligent study of the Scriptures, Luther, the Confessions, and the early dogmaticians. (Human interest note: In checking the point again, this reviewer had occasion to use the copy of "Kirche und Amt" which had been the personal copy of P. A. Rasmussen. His signature is in the book, and the date of acquisition in the same hand is 1854. All very interesting in view of the fact that Rasmussen (who, incidentally, comes out quite a hero in this history) was the man who needed most of the convincing. Not much can be made of the fact that the book looks quite un-used.)

Playing Down the Facts - "Even F. A. Schmidt..."

In Volume I, p. 258, the Asperheim story is briefly told. Ole Asperheim, a professor at the Norwegian Synod Seminary at Madison, Wis., at a Pastoral Conference at Milwaukee in 1878, had criticized the Missouri Synod for a number of things, including its doctrine of election. Our historians say: "Asperheim was henceforth persona non grata in the Synod - even F. A. Schmidt opposed him." The fact is that F. A. Schmidt was the first and most vehement critic of Asperheim. He drafted four fire-eating resolutions against Asperheim. The Synod pastors in general thought that Schmidt's statements went too far and they criticized both Asperheim for the unjust attacks on the Missourians and Schmidt for his extreme statements against Asperheim, and wound up by adopting a more moderate resolution (offered, by the way, by H. A. Preus, the "un-irenic" and "vitriolic" "orthodoxist", according to our books) criticizing Asperheim. In turn Schmidt attacked the whole conference for being so lax and even threatened to leave the Synod if it continued in such a course. Not so long later Schmidt was "ringing the storm bell" and attacking the Missourians in a way that put Asperheim in the shade, and became the father of the Anti-Missourian movement that created such havoc in the Norwegian Synod, and later he became one of the guiding spirits in the United Church in which our historians see the good, ecumenic middle way. The story can be reviewed in "Nødtvungent Forsvar" in the article by J. B. Frich, "Nogle Historiske Betragtninger", May, 1882, pp. 81-95, and Rev. Christian Anderson's essay, "Friedrich Augustus Schmidt", Norwegian Synod Pastoral Conference, 1947.

"THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AMONG NORWEGIAN AMERICANS" - an amazing work! Not only because of the amount of material that had to be handled to produce it and the amount of authentic information it contains, but also because of the conclusions it comes to on the basis of its sources. One is reminded of the remark Dr. Ed. Preuss, who defected to Roman Catholicism from Concordia Seminary in St. Louis in the 1870's, is said to have made: "Give me the sources and I will prove anything." - A stimulating book, too. It makes you sit up and take notice, and to want to take the next bus to a good library to check the sources. We recommend it to anyone who is willing to read more than is actually in the books, e.g., one should actually read fully Weenaas' "Wisconsinismen Belyst ved Historiske Kjendsgjæringer" and H. A. Preus' answer, "Oftedal's og Weenaas' 'Wisconsinisme' Betragtet i Sandhedens Lys". We would not recommend the books to anyone who is inclined to swallow everything whole because there is a mass of footnotes.

As for this reviewer, the more he has read and re-read, the more he is inclined to agree with the comment of a well-known and well-informed layman who has a reputation for "sizing up things" and who has read these books: "A bunch of propaganda".

#####

## NEWS AND COMMENTS

TALC will have its first general session in 1962. One of the issues to come before the assembly will be that of continued membership in the World Council of Churches. There is no doubt a strong pull within this new church body to maintain its membership in the WCC, but there is a small group of pastors and laymen who are putting up a valiant battle to get TALC to throw its ecclesiastical engines into reverse and thus possibly escape the fateful maelstrom of the modern ecumenical movement.

This group within TALC publishes a magazine called "THE WORD ALONE". We would suggest that all our pastors subscribe to it since it carries information and comment on the WCC which one will not easily get any other place. Write to: The Rev. Allan R. Blegen, "THE WORD ALONE", 130 West Liberty, Wheaton, Illinois. There is no subscription price, but we suggest that you send along a dollar, asking for these two back issues: the one with Dr. Herman Sasse's essay, "Can a Lutheran Church be with Good Conscience a Member of the World Council of Churches?"; and issue No. 7, which contains, among other articles, one by Dr. C. F. Wisløff of Menighetsfakultetet, Oslo, Norway, "How Shall We Appraise the World Council of Churches?" (Translated from the Norwegian)

These two essays are well worth reading. After a careful study of the basis of the WCC, Dr. Sasse comes to this conclusion: "The WCC cannot even confess the Apostle's Creed. It pretends to express the unity which actually does not exist. No Lutheran church can join an organization which thus misuses in its basis the sacred words in which the Bible expresses the truth of the Christian faith." Dr. Wisløff urges as his last of four points against the WCC the fact that "the WCC in a definite way is used to create a certain 'ecumenical' spiritual climate in which people are enamored by unity but forget to ask for the truth of God's Word... It is unpopular to speak about the difference between true and false teaching; a person is not supposed to 'judge' but just love and show understanding. The strong warnings of the New Testament against false teaching and false teachers (Romans 16, 17; II Thessalonians 3, 14; II John 10; Galatians 1, 8 ff.) are not mentioned or are brushed away as unimportant." -- We hope that this kind of testimony will be heard.

B. W. Teigen

#####

## FROM THE EDITOR

We have received several suggestions for the name of our periodical, --- Lutheran Sentry; Theological Commentator, Lutheran Observer. We are not sure that these names would fit our magazine, and shall wait till the next (Spring) issue to make the final choice.

And please send in to us conference papers or other theological materials, which might be of interest to the brethren. We cannot make this Quarterly what it should be, if the editors are left to do most of the writing.

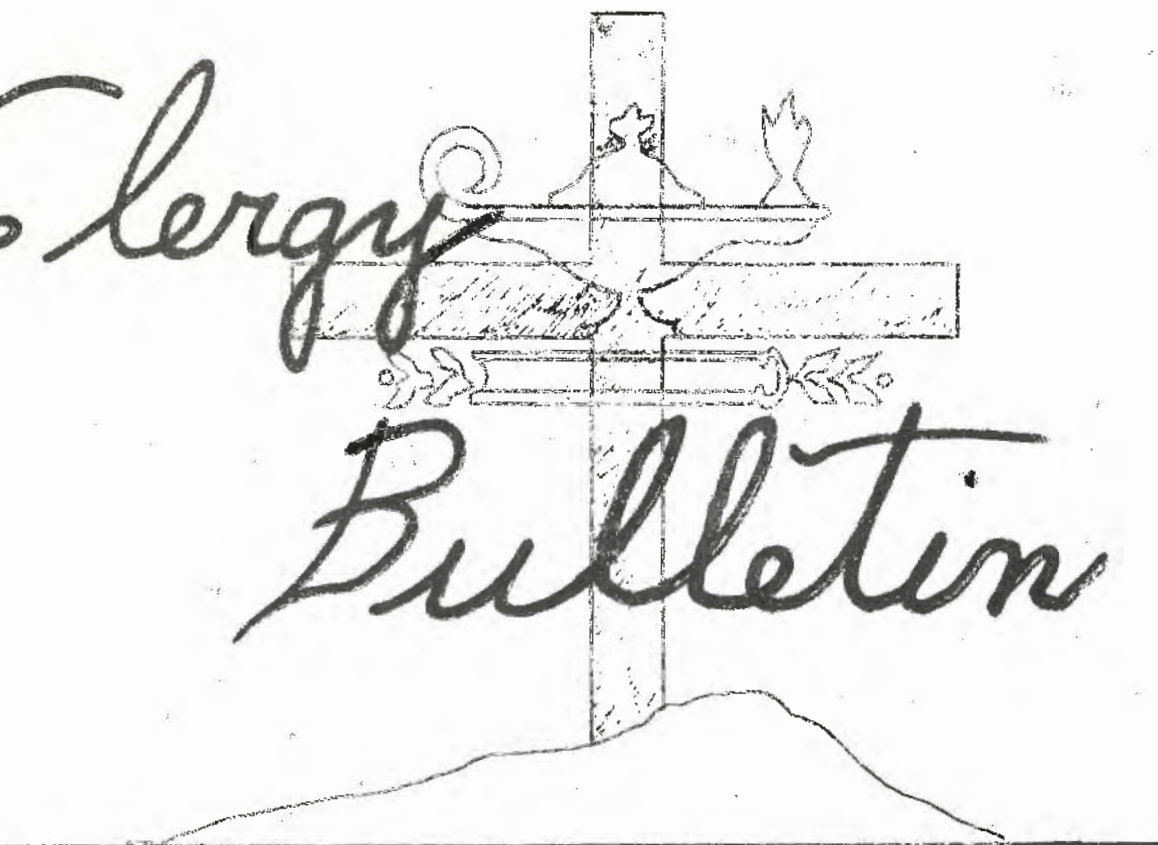
G.O.L.

#####

## SUBSCRIPTIONS WANTED

For the time being, the subscription price of this publication has been set at \$1.50. This will be included in the Pastoral Conference travel fees for all members of our Conference. Others may send their subscription money to Prof. B.W.Teigen, Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, Minn. Kindly send us also names of people who you think will be interested in our publication, so that we can give them sample copies.





*Clergy*  
*Bulletin*

THE INSPIRATION OF SCRIPTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. H. GEBHART

THE PERSONALITY AND WORK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH

GEORGE ORVICK

KING SVERRE'S ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSIES

R. E. HONSEY

50 cents

VOLUME I

NUMBER 3

MARCH 1961

17711

## CLERGY BULLETIN

Published by authority of the General Pastoral  
Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod.

Edited by the Theological Faculty of the ELS Seminary

Geo. O. Lillegard, Editor-in-chief. % Bethany Lutheran College and Seminary  
Vol. XX, No. 3, (Published Quarterly) March, 1961 Mankato, Minnesota  
Subscription Price: \$1.50 per year. Single copy, .50

### INSPIRATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

A Glimpse into "Lehre und Wehre" of the 19th Century. \*

"Lehre und Wehre" (Doctrine and Defense), the German theological periodical of The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States (now The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod), made its appearance in 1855.

This periodical contains articles on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures which are not only soundly Scriptural but are still highly useful in our 20th-Century controversies regarding the Holy Scriptures. A few samples are herewith offered for consideration.

#### I. "What Are the More Recent Theologians Who Wish to be considered Orthodox Teaching Regarding Inspiration?"

This is the name of a longer article running through four issues of "Lehre und Wehre." The name of the author is not given. While this article appeared ninety years ago, it covers the basic phases of the questions which we must answer out of Scripture when we today deal with somebody who wishes to be considered orthodox but who nevertheless will not agree that Scripture is God's Word, correct in every detail, not subject to error of any kind. A brief summary of the article is herewith given.

##### A. Our Christian Faith Is At Stake.

"In fact, the people abroad have given up their faith over this; the faith of the Apostles and of Luther; the faith which all Christians from the beginning have had regarding the Bible.

"That faith they are supposed to have lost? Martensen and von Hofmann and Kahnis? Impossible!" Why, they and their associates are seeking to explain Inspiration. Come, now, scientific people cannot keep quiet at expressions like: 'pens of the Holy Spirit', 'flutes of God'. Therefore they strive to solve the process of Inspiration internally. They wish to show how the Holy Ghost overpowers the human mind, how He purifies it and makes it competent, and how He finally guards it against all error.

"Good! But that is the way to destroy faith itself. For just this how, God's wisdom has concealed from us. Whoever is not satisfied with the that, but seeks to go behind the curtain behind which the how is hiding itself, he just does not want to believe."- Lehre und Wehre, 1871 (Vol. 17), pp. 33,34.

##### Folly of Trying to Explain the HOW

DOCTRINE OF CREATION "For what else do the geologists want? They are not satisfied with the fact of the creation of the world

by God, but want to find out the how. Some say: First gas condensed itself; the others: At the beginning there was fire. But by thus playing with reason they have lost the faith in the simple: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth'." - Ib., p. 34.

DOCTRINE OF CHRIST'S TWO NATURES "And don't things go the same way with the doctrine of the two natures in Christ?

We remain with the simple Scripture-word only so long as we confine ourselves to the fact itself. He was and is God and man in one person; that is all. How it was possible that the Godhead personally united itself with the human nature we do not know... The Babylonian nonsense, called newer Christology, came from this that people did not content themselves (as did the Fathers of Chalcedon) with refutation of error, but supposed they could eavesdrop upon God in His workshop, yes, even be masters over Him. The one said: 'Oh, that is real simple. God simply relinquished all His super-worldly attributes.' The other: 'Oh, no! He relinquished all His attributes.' And in the end both had lost their faith." Ib., p. 34.

DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY "So long as people content themselves with the simple fact that there is one God, yet there are

three Persons, things are all right. As soon, however, as they attempt to make the inner relationship of the Essence to the Persons explainable, they destroy the doctrine which by its nature is a mystery and retain in their hands nothing but Schleiermacherish and Hegelian nonsense. What happens to them is like that which happens to children who tear a butterfly apart in order to see how it happens that it flutters its wings. They have destroyed the divine work of art, but in the hollow of their hand they have nothing but a few miserable shreds. Or like the anatomists who dissect the brain of a man in order to see how the soul works upon the nerves and the muscles. For when these loyal disciples of science began to cut, the soul had already taken its departure." Ib., p. 34.

The Method of Our Orthodox Fathers

"For this reason our orthodox fathers limited themselves in the doctrine regarding Christ as well as in all other doctrines to setting forth the facts of faith out of Holy Scripture and to warding off error. Or has any one of them ever tried to find out how the body of Christ in the Holy Supper is combined with the bread? They do indeed say: not substantialiter, and also not personaliter or significantive; neither impanatione nor consubstantiatione. Upon the question: But then how? they answer: sacramentaliter, that is: just as the dear Lord in this case wanted it to be." - Ib., p. 34.

Our Lutheran teachers speak of eating of Christ's body in, with, and under the bread as a sacramental eating. They mean by this that only in the Sacrament is there this kind of eating; but by calling it sacramental they are not trying to explain how Christ's body is combined with the bread. They reject the notion that there could be a mixture of Christ's body with the bread; that the body of Christ is included in the bread; that the bread signifies Christ's body; that the whole Person of Christ is united with the bread; that the bread is changed into the body of Christ.

MORE EXAMPLES? "Shall we give you still more examples? Does anyone perhaps know how Christ at Cana changed the water into wine?

Or how He walked upon the sea without going under? And yet we believe that all this happened. Those, however, who always want to see in order to be able to believe lose one piece of their confession after another. They lose Christ's

Miracles, they lose His body and His blood, they lose his glorious Godhead and everything." - *Ib.* pp. 34,35.

#### WOULD-BE-ORTHODOX LIBERALS HAVE LOST THEIR FAITH IN THE WORD OF GOD

"So they have also lost the belief in the Word of God. For these new-style theologians are one and all far from considering Holy Scripture in full and in detail to be the real Word of the living God. Therefore, naturally, they are no less far-removed from humbly subjecting themselves to it." - *Ib.*, p. 35.

#### B. Cases of This Kind of Theologians

1) Schleiermacher - "Under Inspiration he does not understand the dictating activity of a divine Person, but 'the activity of the common-spirit in the will of an individual for the production of a definite work' (Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube*, Reutlingen, 1828, II, 426). - 'By no means may we look upon the act of production of a sacred book, or upon the preceding and underlying thought-production in the soul of the author as an act of divine revelation' (S., *Der Chr. Glaube*, Reutl., II, 426)." - *Ib.*, p. 35.

For Schleiermacher all pious people are inspired. "It is clear that therewith the difference between man's word and God's Word is completely removed. According to his view we may call Holy Scripture God's Word only in a highly unreal sense, or rather in an abusing manner; about as people designate water with the name goose-wine; not as though it were wine, but it does have a certain similarity to wine." - *Ib.*, p. 35. (Note: The Germans often speak of water as the wine which geese drink - goose-wine). Friedrich Schleiermacher, who so viciously influenced theologians against Scripture, lived from 1768-1834.

2) Hase - "'Every appeal to the Holy Spirit in this manner that elevation above all human error is traced down from Him is without Biblical foundation.'... In the final analysis our aesthete really considers the so-called Inspiration only as a popular picture for the fullness of the spirit which is to be found in Holy Scripture (as also in other books, e.g., in the books of Hase)." *Ib.*, p. 36 (References to Hase, *Evangelische Dogmatik*, Leipzig, 1842. pp.408,410).

3) Schenkel - "'One of the effects of revelation that is richest in consequences and wonderful is Inspiration' (Schenkel, *Die christliche Dogmatik*, Wiesbaden, 1858, I, p. 266)." - *Ib.*, p. 37. He says that Inspiration does not bring about infallibility in the inspired person, but that there are rather "different degrees of higher or lesser conditions of being inspired" (Sch., *Die Chr. Dogm.*, Wiesb., 1858, I., p. 266,267). Two things in every part of the Bible must be kept apart, says Schenkel: (1) that which has come forth out of immediate divine working of the Spirit; (2) that which has come forth out of the activity of human reason and the human will - "its divine and its human side" (Sch., *Die Chr. Dogm.*, Wiesb., 1858, I, p. 307. He claims that the oldest document of the Old Testament must necessarily lead you back to the time when people were creating myths. "The sacred myth lets God speak where He could not have spoken with a physical mouth; it lets him come down from heaven where he could not really have made a move from one place to another..." Sch., *Die chr. Dogm.*, Wiesb., 1858, pp. 312,313). He thinks it unreasonable that some people insist that they ought to believe also the human substance of Scripture, whereas faith, in his opinion, can only relate to that part of Scripture which is God-given. - *Ib.*, p. 38.

4) Friedrich Nitzsch, 1832-1898 - He claims that much harm was done to the authority of Scripture and to Bible-belief when astronomy, physics, geography,



the ethnography of the Bible, in brief, the scientific element of the Bible, were all taken as revealed content of the Bible. Still, he talks of the Bible as a revelation-document!

"So, then, God's Word is as much as a revelation-document! A beautiful *quid pro quo!* So, then, when Sulla caused certain things, and these things are recounted by Plutarch, the the book by Plutarch is: the word of Sulla. Strange what silly stuff otherwise intelligent people get into when they hesitate roundly to reject certain sentences that have been handed down to us! For in the end Mr. Nitzsch is far from believing that the whole Bible is God's Word. But because of certain pious old mothers in his congregation and because of a few other people he does not want to say it straight out." - *Ib.*, pp. 39,40.

5) Julius Mueller, 1801-1878 - He claims that for the writing of the Holy Scriptures no specific inspiration was necessary, only Christ Himself being without error, and nobody else, not even the Apostles. For this reason he thinks it would be better to say: "The Word of God is contained in Holy Scripture", not: "Holy Scripture is God's Word." (Julius Nueller, *Prolegomena zur Dogmatik*. MS. Halle, 1843-44, pp. 79,80).

"Very modest indeed! So, then, Holy Scripture has little advantage over the Koran of the Mohammedans. For the Koran contains a goodly number of Bible citations, and the Talmud still more....For if the Bible is not God's infallible Word, then it is ridiculous to demand that we should believe just so much of it as Mr. Mueller deems it acceptable to believe." - *Ib.* pp. 40,41.

6) Lange, in Bonn (Cf. Schwarz, *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*, Leipzig, 1864, pp. 379,380) - He thinks the main emphasis should be placed upon the human side of the Bible. He denies that the Bible is God's Word. - *Ib.*, p.41.

7) Friedrich Tholuck, 1799-1877 (Cf. Tholuck, "Die Inspirationslehre." *Deutsche Zeitschrift fuer christliche Wissenschaft u.s.w.*, 1850, p. 346) - He claims that the Bible is not verbally inspired; looks down upon those who believe that also the New Testament books are without error; does not believe that Ex. 3:6 really speaks of the resurrection of the dead (Matt. 22:31f.), and, despite Christ's words, he thinks this gives the impression that it is rabbinical subtlety. He also "interprets" Is. 7:14 as a reference to the virgin whom Isaiah took to wife. - *Ib.*, pp. 41,42. (Cf. also Tholuck, *Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament*. Gotha, 1861, pp. 24, 42,43).

8) Herman Olshausen, 1796-1839 - He distinguishes literal inspiration from Verbal Inspiration. He claims to maintain Verbal Inspiration, rejecting literal inspiration. (Olshausen, *Biblischer Kommentar ueber saemtliche Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. Konigsberg, 1853, I, p. 28). He distinguishes again between that which deals with the kernel of doctrine and that which does not; and he thinks that which deals with the kernel of doctrine should be considered essential and should also be brought into relation to Inspiration (*Ibidem*).

"So, then, the Bible has a double form, an essential form and an unessential form. Man does the deciding....Just like in the newspapers. Only that the percentage of truth in the newspapers may perhaps be somewhat smaller, and that of lies somewhat bigger. Otherwise we are facing the same thing with the Bible - according to Mr. Olshausen - as with a political paper. It comes to this that we must exercise criticism; separate that which holds good from that which does not hold good. We must not immediately believe the reports of the French cable boy! Must wait to hear what is telegraphed from Versailles!! Then we can depend on finding out whether the French have really

won a victory!" - *Ib.*, p. 43 (This was written at the time of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71).

9) Heinrich Meyer, 1800-73 - He did not believe that the Bible is God's Word. He criticises the Holy Spirit's method of proof in Gal. 3:16, where the singular of "seed" is referred to Christ. - *Ib.*, pp. 44,45 (Meyer, *Kritisch exegetisches Handbuch ueber den Brief an die Galater*. Gottingen, 1862, Preface, p. vi, vii; 134,135).

10) Johann Beck, 1804-1878 - "But without a doubt Mr. Beck must be teaching correctly regarding Inspiration? At least, all his admirers say that the Bible for him is the beginning and the end; that out of it he draws his whole doctrine; that he believes in it with all the strength of his heart." He speaks of "the mind of the Apostles" as being "dynamically united with the mind of the Lord" where revelation-activity is concerned (Beck, *Einleitung in das System der christlichen Lehre*, Stuttgart, 1838; p. 240). He claims that Inspiration does not extend to things "like chronological, topographical, purely secular subjects. The Kingdom does not come and consist in such external observations" (Beck, *Einl. in das S. d. chr. Lehre*, Stuttg., 1838, pp. 241,242).

"But doesn't the Bible mean more for us than the Aeneid or the Odyssey? Isn't it our highest rule in faith and life? our solid-rock comfort in trouble and in death? And why is it our solid-rock comfort in trouble and in death? For this reason that from beginning to end it comes from the infallible and veracious God. One single error - and it has ceased to bind us under penalty of damnation; has ceased to comfort us amidst the assault of wave after wave of the forces of death. Just this is the heaven-high difference between all other books and this one: all other books are more or less good products of the mind...This book, however, is the rope which rescues me through the roaring torrent of this world and out of the jaws of the devilish shark onto the beach of Jerusalem...Everything depends upon this that the rope is not too short, which is intended to bring me through the waves breaking against the shore; for if it is too short, or rotten, or not fastened on the other side, why, I shall drown." (*Ib.*, pp. 65,66).

11) Dorner - He believed as much of the Bible as suited him (*Ib.*, pp.66,67).

12) Twisten - He says that Inspiration applies to the words; but he limits this to things spiritual. He claims that those who ascribed infallibility to everything in the Bible went too far (*Ib.*, pp. 67-70).

13) Martensen - With him, Inspiration is an aesthetic experience. Accordingly, if this were correct, it would not be God speaking in the Bible. So, Martensen does not consider it sufficient to prove a doctrine out of the Bible; he insists that it is necessary to point out the philosophical meaning of the individual doctrine (*Ib.*, pp. 70-72).

14) Johann von Hofmann, 1810-1887 - He rejects Inspiration, denies the Vicarious Atonement, and says there are no direct prophesies regarding Christ in the Old Testament (*Ib.*, 72,73).

15) Gottfried Thomasius, 1802-1875 - He claims that by reading the books of the NT writers one gains the conviction that these writings are not dictated by the Holy Spirit, but that they have flowed forth from the reflective consideration, from the very own spirit of the Apostles (*Ib.*, 73-76).

16) Christoph Luthardt, 1823-1902 - His position: Inspiration is outmoded; we must operate with the whole of Scripture; admits the possibility of errors in the Bible; criticises the old position on Inspiration because an attack upon one point had to be looked upon as an attack upon faith itself (*Ib.*, pp. 97-100 -

See Luthardt, *Compendium der Dogmatik*, Leipzig, 1866).

17) Franz Delitzsch, 1813-1890 - He taught that the Five Books of Moses are a mixture gotten from the most diverse kinds of workshops; and he speaks of parts of Genesis as being by a Jehovist author and an Elohist author (Ib., pp. 100-105).

18) August Dieckhoff, 1823-1894 - He also left the faith of the fathers (Ib., pp. 105,106).

19) Johann Kurtz, 1809-1890 - He thinks that in the science of physics Moses could have held to many false notions about the heavens of the stars and about the inside of the earth. He claims that the holy men of God in the Old and the New Covenant could very well have been entangled in the popular scientific errors of their times. (Kurtz, *Bible und Astronomie*, Berlin, 1858, p. 8).

"As though that were the question!! Of course, holy men from of old could be entangled in error! And, no doubt, often were! Here, however, the question is this: whether the Bible contains errors. For if it does contain errors, it cannot possibly be God's Word; for the Holy One of Israel does not lie, and the Fountain of Knowledge does not make a mistake." (Ib., p. 106).

20) Karl Kahnis, 1814-1888 - He is one of those who wished to be considered orthodox, but who denied Inspiration. Regarding Daniel he writes: "The visions apply, with intentionalness and historical accuracy, to the era of Antiochus, while the prophecy which goes beyond this time, inclusive of the death of Epi-phanes, stands there deserted of history, so that whoever pays closer attention to the higher origin of the accepted prophetic predictions cannot but consider these visions to be the work of a zealous man who lived in the times of the persecution under Antiochus" (Kahnis, *Die Lutherische Dogmatik*, Leipzig, 1861, I, p. 325).

"That means, without flowery language: the Book of Daniel is not by Daniel, and, indeed, by no prophet; but an unknown falsifier had the effrontery to fabricate visions and to get them amongst the people under the forged name of Daniel...In any case, Mr. Kahnis by this statement of his has proved that he believes on the Lord Himself just as little as he believes on the writings of Daniel. For He - yes, the Lord - has said to His Christians (Matt. 24:15) : 'When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel (9:26,27) the prophet, stand in the holy place (whoso readeth, let him understand); then let them which be in Judaea flee into the mountains.' Here Christ not only attests the genuineness and truthfulness of Daniel's prophesyings, but he also draws an important conclusion out of them. I do not know what kind of a fellow Mr. Kahnis thinks the Lord is. Whoever considers Him to be the Son of God, must consider Mr. Kahnis' statement to be blasphemy. Yes, blasphemy. Don't say that this expression is too strong! For if a pope seeks to corroborate his title to certain rights by means of the forged Donation of Constantine, we pour out our contempt upon him. And the Son of the Living God is to be accused of having committed this same low-down rascality! - to be accused of having based His admonition to His disciples upon the fabrication of an unscrupulous deceiver! "But enough and more than enough! The reader will already have become aware, up to the point of vomiting, that we are here faced with the crassest unbelief" (Ib., pp. 134,135).

20) Friedrich Philippi, 1809-1882 - "We are deeply pained that we must also add Philippi to the ranks of the innovators in the area of the doctrine of Inspiration" (Ib., p. 135). This stricture was in place. Later, however, Philippi recanted this false position of his and confessed the Scriptural position, (Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, I, 339).

II. "What John Gerhard Teaches regarding Scripture, especially Regarding the Inspiration of Scripture."

This article runs through two issues of "Lehre und Wehre," 1871, pp. 225-236, 257-265. The name of the author is not given.

III. "Lehre und Wehre," of 1885, contains an article by Walther titled, "Something on the Question of Holy Scripture." This runs from p. 275 to p. 279.

In 1884 two professors of Dorpat by the name of Nuehlau and Volk had published attacks upon Scripture. Dr. Theodore Harnack tried to pacify the people who had become aroused by this attack upon God's Word. In a report on this by Luthard in a Leipzig theological periodical God's Word again was short-changed.

We note that Dr. C. F. W. Walther did not have the false notion that he must go over to the Russian Baltic Provinces and meet the two erring professors face to face before he could say anything about their aberration; neither did he labor under the misconception that he must first write a letter to them in Dorpat before he could take up this public matter in his St. Louis publication. No, public error may be publicly reproofed. "Where the sin is public, the reproof also must be public" (The Large Catechism, Eighth Commandment - Triglot, p. 661).

Walther writes, "The most frightening thing in this business moreover is this that the new prophets wish to delude the Lutheran Christian people into thinking that the doctrine that the writings of the Prophets, Apostles and Evangelists are really, according to content and form, inspired by the Holy Ghost and consequently free from every error - this is not the Lutheran, but the "Pietistic-Reformed" doctrine. This is a most horrible swindle perpetrated upon the Lutheran Christian people... To uncover this swindle - it is high time for that. God willing, this shall be done in due time. For this time let it suffice to have reminded you that Satan is profoundly in earnest now at last to destroy all foundations of the Christian faith by men who pretend that in this last decisive battle they are saving these foundations by means of science." (Lehre und Wehre, 1885, pp. 278, 279).

- IV. In "L. u. W.," 1885, pp. 329-333, Dr. Francis Pieper defends Luther against the charge of admitting that there may be errors in the Bible. He successfully refutes the charge of Kahnis and Cremer.
- V. The foreword of the 1886 "Lehre und Wehre" takes up Scripture again and runs a longer discussion on Inspiration, using Luther quotations with telling effect. This is by Walther.
- VI. Dr. Francis Pieper takes up the subject of Old Testament quotations in the New Testament, pp. 77-82 of "L. u. W.," 1886.
- VII. Dr. George Stoeckhardt follows this with an article on "What Does Scripture Say of Itself?" "L. u. W.," 1886, 161-168, 205-215, 249-257, 281-288, 313-323, 345-355.

In this long essay Dr. Stoeckhardt takes up particularly the questions raised by the Dorpat professors who stepped before the public with their attacks upon the doctrine of Inspiration.

- VIII. In the foreword to the 1887 "L. u. W." Dr. Francis Pieper once more takes up the subject of Inspiration, pointing out that theologians are robbing the people of the assurance that the Bible is God's Word.

IX. In 1888, Dr. Francis Pieper published an article in "L. U.W." on "Walther as a Theologian." In this article the doctrine of Inspiration is referred to in various places.

One of the things that is violently attacked by those who object to the doctrine of the Inspiration of Scripture is the use of certain comparisons when speaking of the Holy Spirit's influence upon the writers of Scripture. Regarding "hands, pens, secretaries, etc." Dr. Walther wrote: "Let the neo-believers scoff at these expressions, but they do express the doctrine of Holy Scripture." (L. u. W., 1888, p. 194).

**HUMAN SIDE** Did the old theology fail to do justice to the human side of Scripture? Dr. Pieper cites a longer passage from Walther's "Evening Lectures on the Doctrine of Inspiration." Walther refers to the charges made by the modern-type of theologians that, while emphasizing the divine aspects of Holy Scripture, the human side is not given due consideration, yes, is completely set aside. To this charge Walther replies: "But all of this simply is not true. The old dogmatics, too, does indeed in a certain sense give recognition to a human side of the Bible. It recognizes that the Bible was not, like the Ten Commandments, immediately written by the finger of God Himself, but through human beings, namely the Apostles and prophets." (Ib., p. 195).

**DOCETISM** In the early days of Christianity there was a sect called the Docetae. In the Apostolic age the sect of the Docetae denied that in Christ God had become true man, and taught that all that was alleged to be human in Christ had only been so in appearance - a make-believe body, a phantasm. Modern theologians charge that the old Lutheran dogmatics is doing the same thing with the Bible; they claim that the old dogmatics treats everything human in the Bible as though it were nothing but mere appearance.

Walther takes note of this and says: "But the old dogmatics, and we along with it, teaches that just as the Son of God became true man in Christ, yet without sin, just so God's Word became a true human word in the Bible, but without error. Now, just as a man, because he is without sin, is not therefore a mere appearance of a man, but a true man, just so a human word which is without error is not therefore a mere appearance of a human word, but a genuine human word." (Ib., p. 195,196).

**RATIONALISTIC LEAVEN** Walther says, "If we concede that even the most insignificant error could occur in the Bible, then man must apply himself to separating the Truth from error. Therewith man is placed over Scripture, and with that the Scriptures have ceased to be the source and norm of faith. Human reason is made the norm of Truth, and Scripture drops down to a norm that is subject to another norm. The very least deviation from the old Inspiration-doctrine brings a rationalistic germ into theology and leavens the whole doctrinal structure" (Ib., p. 196).

**FOUNDATION DOCTRINE** Why is it absolutely necessary to hold fast the doctrine of Inspiration? Walther points out: "With the doctrine of Inspiration the truth, certainty, and divinity of Holy Scripture stands and falls, and with it that of the whole Christian religion and church. It is not just one doctrine alongside the others, but all other doctrines rest upon it, as upon their foundation." (Ib., p. 196).

**BELIEVING THEOLOGIAN** Stand up and be counted! That is what Walther asks of every believing theologian. He writes: "Now, it truly is the duty of every believing theologian that, if he would not lose his salvation, with the profoundest earnestness he join in the battle for the highest jewel of the Christians which God, after the gift of His Son, has given to man.

Woe unto him who wishes to be counted among the theologians and yet does not want to recognize that before everything else it is his call to preserve for the common Christian that whereon the Christian's faith, and therewith his welfare and his salvation, rest: "the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone!" (Ib., p. 197).

CONTINUE WARNING Dr. Pieper writes of Walther: "Therefore it is his wish that "Lehre und Wehre" in future also warn against the deniers of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture 'as against the worst false prophets of our time'." (Ib., p. 197).

THE WORST FALSE PROPHETS OF OUR TIME! Yes, this judgment of Dr. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther must stand; for these deniers of Inspiration rob "Bible Christians of the Bible itself, the lamp unto their feet and the light unto their path, their rod and staff in the dark valley of tribulation, in brief, of God's Word, and therewith of their comfort in the anguish of sin, their hope in the night of their hour of death"(Ib., p.187- See "L. u. W., 1886, 76).

We shall do well to take the same position Walther took, realizing full well that we shall not be acclaimed for it. Says Walther: "Well do we know what awaits us upon this our seemingly immoderate declaration. People will despise it and laugh it to scorn as a manifestation of zeal without knowledge, if they do not find something even worse in it. But woe unto us, if here, where not only this or that faith-doctrine of Scripture is at stake, but where the cry is: "They are destroying the foundation" (Ps. 11:3), (See Luther's German Bible), "Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof" (Ps. 137:7), if we, although we do not belong to the learned, but wish to be Christians, remain silent at this! Then the stones would have to cry out. - May God have mercy upon His poor Christendom in these last troublous and perilous times." (Ib., p. 77).

\*Translated from the German by Rev. A. E. Gebhardt.



A Good Confession

Friedrich Adolf Philippi, 1809-1882, a Jew who became a Christian, found in the Lutheran Confessions the true doctrine of Scripture. He served as a theological professor at Dorpat and at Rostock. He was one of the few learned men in Germany at that time who at the same time professed to be Lutheran and also upheld the doctrine of the Inspiration of Scripture; for most of them considered themselves too modern and too educated to believe in the Inspiration of the Bible.

When Philippi lay on his deathbed, he desired the Lord's Supper. In preparation for the Lord's Supper he made confession of his sins, joining in the Confession that is commonly used in the Lutheran Church; and then he continued in his own words:-

"I shall enter into heaven; for I have never depended upon the rag of my own righteousness, but only upon the merit of my blessed Savior. I have confessed Jesus in my life, and will confess Him in my death. This shall be my testament that before God nothing avails but the righteousness of Jesus Christ alone. I will have nothing to do with Synergism, nothing with Kenosis of the Logos, nothing with those who say that they intend to develop further the doctrine of our Church, God's Word and the Confessions of our Church - nothing under them and nothing over them. All this is easily said, but to keep the faith in death, that is difficult..."

## "THE PERSONALITY AND WORK OF JEREMIAH"

### Part I

Rev. George Orvick

#### Introduction

We are living in a fantastic age in which scientists are able to hurl giant missiles high above the earth. It is believed that one of these missiles will soon reach the moon. Loaded with instruments they are able to send back data to the men below about the strange conditions in outer space.

Some 2600 years ago, about 650 B.C., a man was born whose name, Jeremiah, literally means "Yahweh hurls or shoots".<sup>1</sup> God had chosen this man to be a "guided missile" to bring information about the will of God to a rebellious people on earth. As our earth missiles require years of preparation and experiment, so we are told that God had specially prepared Jeremiah, "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet of nations." Jer.1,5. As the strange creatures from Cape Canaveral will not overcome the pull of gravity unless they are propelled by the powerful fuel that man has placed in them, so Jeremiah rebelled at the thought of his mission. He said, "Alas, Lord God, lo, I know not how to speak, for I am a boy." And as the Atlas or the Thor may someday carry an atomic warhead bent on destruction, so Jeremiah was commissioned: "I have appointed you today over nations and kingdoms, to uproot and demolish, to destroy and to tear down". And finally as the burning heat of friction with earth's atmosphere causes the complete disintegration of man's invention, so he whom Jehovah hurled forth was doomed to perish from the hot anger aroused by his friction with those who opposed him.

Before we attempt to present some facts about the personality and work of Jeremiah we would like to quote what B. W. Anderson says in his book, "Understanding the Old Testament". "Before turning to Jeremiah's career let us glance briefly at the book itself. The reader who turns to it for the first time may find himself in a maze of confusion, for there is no clear principle of organization or development....a modern novel on Jeremiah, like Franz Werfel's, "Hearken Unto The Voice" would tell the story in a more orderly fashion, following a chronological time line throughout the prophet's career from beginning to end....But in the book of Jeremiah everything seems jumbled together. The compiler is disconcertingly indifferent to our curiosity about chronology, and has not always bothered to date materials in sequence or to give dates at all. Nor was he governed by our desire to arrange subjects in a neat and logical manner. Hence the reader gets the impression, as he forges ahead chapter by chapter, that the book gets nowhere and that the same things are said over and over again to the point of monotony." <sup>2</sup>

#### THE TIMES DURING WHICH JEREMIAH PROPHESED

The first three verses of the book of Jeremiah set the time of his work. We quote, "To whom the word of the Lord came in the days of Josiah the son of Amon King of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign". Jer. 1,2. "It came also in the days of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah, unto the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah the son of Josiah king of Judah, unto the carrying away of Jerusalem captive in the fifth month." Jer. 1, 2-3.

1. Smith, Geo. Adam, Jeremiah, p. 66

2. Anderson, B. W., Understanding the Old Testament, p. 327

The Scripture mentions only three of the five kings who reigned during Jeremiah's time. This is probably because Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin held the throne for only three month reigns. The five kings, then, are Josiah (639-609); Jehoahaz (609); Jehoiakim (609-598); Jehoiachin (598) and Zedekiah (598-587). Jeremiah then began his work as prophet in 626 and continued until some time after the fall of the Judean state in 587. Some authors place it one year later, from 625 to 586.

#### MORAL CONDITIONS DURING THIS PERIOD

To understand the vehement preaching of Jeremiah it is necessary to take a look at the moral conditions of the day and to see to what depths of idolatry and wickedness the people had descended. Josiah had come to the throne when he was eight years old. His grandfather, Manasseh, had ruled for 52 years and under him there had been a marked political and religious retrogression. In the second book of Kings beginning at chapter 22 we find the account of the conditions under Josiah. In the 18th year of his reign while they were repairing the temple, the "Book of the Law" was discovered. The high priest, Hilkiah, found it and gave it to Shaphan, the scribe, who read it to the king. When the contents of the document were read to Josiah, he tore his garments -- an oriental gesture of mourning or despair. Urgently he demanded that the high priest verify the authenticity of the manuscript. This was done, not by trying to determine its age and authorship, but by consulting Huldah the prophetess. Huldah quickly pointed out the sins of the people and the inevitable punishment that was in store for them. Josiah therefore began a reform. Anderson sums up the reform this way, also giving us an indication of the moral conditions: "Accordingly, the paganism against which Zephaniah had protested (Zeph. 1,4-5) was abolished; the Canaanite Baal worship, the Assyrian astral cult, and the worship of other deities such as the Ammonite Milcom. Into the ash heap went all foreign objects found in the temple. The appurtenances of the male god Baal and the mother goddess Asherah, the horses dedicated to the sun, and the astral altars on the roof. The practices of sacred prostitution, child sacrifice in the Valley of Hinnom, and the consultation of mediums and wizards were discontinued. And Josiah's reform did not stop with the cleansing of the Jerusalem temple. The outlying sanctuaries, or "high places," which had been hotbeds of pagan religion, were destroyed and defiled, and their idolatrous priests were deposed." Anderson, p.306.<sup>3</sup>

However, the reform affected externals and it was not quite so easy to change the hearts of the people. Josiah was killed at the battle of Megiddo when he went out to fight against Pharaoh-Necho of Egypt to prevent them from joining forces with the Assyrians. The successors to Josiah allowed the moral conditions to return to a worse state than they were before.

#### POLITICAL CONDITIONS DURING JEREMIAH'S TIME

From the period of Manasseh's accession to the throne till the beginning of Josiah's reign, Judah was subject to the empire of Assyria. The Assyrians had not entered into the gates of Jerusalem, but all of the country had been over-run and many of the inhabitants had been carried off. The only way Judah could maintain its existence was by submission to the conqueror. This meant also that they would have to recognize the god of the Assyrians. An altar was even set up in the temple at which King Ahaz offered sacrifices according to II Kings 16,10-16.<sup>4</sup>

Assyria began to weaken after repeated battles with Egypt. Later they became allies with Egypt, as a new power was coming on the scene - Babylonia.

3. Ibid., p. 306

4. Welch, A. A., Jeremiah, His Life and His Work, p. 3 ff.



Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, was overthrown in 612 by the Babylonians with the help of the Medes and the Scythians. When Josiah sought to prevent the Egyptians from joining forces with the Assyrians he was killed, as we have mentioned before, at the battle of Megiddo.

Josiah was replaced on the throne by his brother Jehoahaz. He lasted three months and was deposed by Pharaoh-neco and exiled to Egypt where he died. His brother Jehoiakim was appointed his successor by the king of Egypt; presumably he was pro-Egyptian.

Assyria was no longer the dominant power, and we have the rise of Babylon. In 605 Nebuchadnezzar became king of the new empire. Jehoiakim saw that Egypt was no longer powerful enough to protect him so he joined with Babylon. After three years he broke with Babylon and was immediately attacked. He was killed in battle in 597. His son Jehoiachin continued the struggle, but lasted only three months and then surrendered and was deported to Babylon, accompanied by his court, the nobility, 7000 citizens together with their families, 1000 craftsmen. This was the first breach in the Judean State which was to lead to its ultimate collapse.<sup>5</sup>

Zedekiah succeeded Jehoiachin on the throne. At first he went to Babylon and swore by an oath that he would ally himself with Babylon. But he soon turned against them and joined with other states in battle. In 586 a breach was made in the wall of Jerusalem. Zedekiah fled but was captured at Jericho. Taken to Riblah, the enemies' headquarters, he was compelled to watch the execution of his sons, his eyes were put out, and he was put into chains and taken to Babylon.

Thus in 586 Nebuzaradan, the Babylonian commander in chief, destroyed Jerusalem. The temple, and many other fine buildings were burned and razed to the ground. A large part of the population was deported to Babylon. This completed the overthrow of the Jewish state.

In the 25th chapter of II Kings we are told that Gedaliah was made ruler of those who were still left in Judah. He advocated peaceful co-existence with Babylon. But Ishmael, who was prompted by Baalis, king of Ammon, took ten men with him and slew Gedaliah. The people who still remained feared vengeance on the part of Nebuchadnezzar, so they fled into Egypt.

#### THE CALL OF JEREMIAH

Jeremiah was the son of Hilkiah, who was one of the priests that were in Anathoth in the land of Benjamin. In the 21st chapter of Joshua we are told that four cities of Benjamin were to be Levitical cities - Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth, and Almon. Elmer A. Leslie in his book on Jeremiah says that "The roots of Anathoth as a priestly community go back to the family of Eli, who was priest of the temple of the Lord in Shiloh, where the ark of God was. (I Sam. 3,3)" He also points out that it is possible that Jeremiah is a descendant of Abiathar, the last of Eli's line of Priests. (I Kings 2,26) Leslie concludes, "No prophet of Israel was so deeply rooted in the historical knowledge of his nation's past as Jeremiah. Since one of the chief functions of the priesthood was to preserve knowledge (Mal. 2,7), Jeremiah's detailed information of his nation's history and his spiritual insight into its meaning were due in no small part to this priestly inheritance."<sup>6</sup>

5. Freedman, Rabbi Dr. H., Jeremiah, p. x ff

6. Leslie, Elmer A., Jeremiah, p. 20

The call to Jeremiah came in a simple way. God spoke to him saying, "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee; and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations." Jeremiah was reluctant to accept such a call. Like Moses he at first rebelled saying, "Ah Lord God! behold, I cannot speak; for I am a child". Jeremiah was probably not yet 20 years old and he felt that the task was too great for him. But God assured him that He would be with Him and grant him power to speak. We read, "The Lord said unto me, Say not, I am a child; for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak. Be not afraid of their faces: for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord."

In addition to his call Jeremiah was given to supplementary psychological experiences. They were ordinary sights but God used them to teach a spiritual truth. The first experience was this. The Lord asked Jeremiah what He saw; He replied, "I see the sprig of an almond tree". In Hebrew there is a close similarity between "Almond" and the participle "Watching". (shaqed) and (shoqed). Thus in a play on words God promises that He is awake, or watching, over his word to accomplish it. The second sight is that Jeremiah sees a seething pot. A pot cooking on a fire sending forth a column of steam. The wind blew upon the steam. This the Lord compared to the wind from the nations of the north which were going to blow upon the inhabitants of Judah.

Jeremiah, unable to escape the Lord's will, and strengthened by His promise, "They shall fight against thee; but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee," took up the work of being the Lord's messenger to a rebellious and idolatrous people.

#### THE PROPHET IN THE REIGN OF JOSIAH 626-608 B. C.

This period of the prophet's career may be taken in three divisions: First, His earliest Oracles or sermons against the wickedness that was prevalent before the reformation of Josiah which came in 621. He therefore preached for about 5 years before Josiah began his reform.

Second, his oracles on the Scythians, whose invasions also preceded the reform. Third, Oracles which imply that the enforcement of the Law-Book had already begun, and reveal Jeremiah's attitude to it and to the course of the reforms which it inspired.

The oracles before the reform are now contained in Chapters 2, 1-4, 4. Here he uses several pictures often similar to those used by Hosea. He pictures Israel as a faithful bride loyal to her husband during the time that she was being led out of Egypt by Moses. But when they came to the land of Canaan there were many temptations for the bride in the form of other gods. Then Israel played the part of the harlot. In 3, 20 we read, "Surely as a wife treacherously departeth from her husband, so have ye dealt treacherously with me, O house of Israel, saith the Lord". In Chapter 3 verses 1-15 we read that there now had to be a divorce between God and Israel and Judah. "The Lord said also unto me in the days of Josiah the king, Hast thou seen that which backsliding Israel hath done? she is gone up upon every high mountain and under every green tree, and there hath played the harlot... And I saw, when for all the causes whereby backsliding Israel committed adultery I had put her away, and given her a bill of divorce; yet her treacherous sister Judah feared not, but went and played the harlot also." Then he goes on to say that "Back-

sliding Israel hath justified herself more than treacherous Judah."

He uses several figures of speech that surely must have been plain to the people. One is that of a wild ass in the wilderness, which is a young camel. When this animal is in heat it runs this way and that with no restraint strong enough to withhold it from its satisfaction. This is how Judah has run after other Gods and has given itself over to sensual rites.

Another picture used is where Jeremiah says in a beautiful section, that his people had committed two evils, they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and have hewn them out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water.

He tells them to repent, to "remove the foreskins of their hearts" and to return unto the Lord. He always holds out the promise of forgiveness to them if they would only repent. 2. Oracles on the Scythians. The invasion of Western Asia by the Scythians happened sometime between 627 and 620 B. C. In Chapters 4 to 6, 29 there is a series of brief poems which unfold the panic caused in Judah by the advance of these marauding hordes. It is indeed doubtful that Judah was visited by the Scythians, who appear to have swept only the sea-coast of Palestine away. (Smith, page 110) Jeremiah in these poems warns of the destruction that God is sending upon Judah as a punishment for her sins. It is not definite who Jeremiah meant by the foe from the north. Some commentators believe that Jeremiah himself did not know for certain who this was, whether it was the Scythians or the Assyrians.

The third period of Jeremiah's ministry under Josiah comes after the discovery of the law book in the temple and the reformation which took place as a result of it.

We are not told when or why Jeremiah left Anathoth for Jerusalem. His early poems denouncing the citizens reveals (V. 1-13) a close observation of their morals but no trace of the reforms begun by Josiah soon after 621 B. C. Some therefore hold that he had settled in the City before that year. Anathoth, however, lay so near Jerusalem that even from his boyhood, Jeremiah must have been familiar with the life and trade of the capital; and as his name is not mentioned in connection with the discovery of the law-book on which the reforms were based, and neither he nor his biographer speaks of that discovery, it is probably that as yet he had not entered upon residence in the Temple-precincts. A natural occasion for the migration of his family and himself would be upon Josiah's disestablishment of the rural sanctuaries and provisions for their priests beside the priests of the Temple. (II Kings 23, 8-9) In any case we find Jeremiah henceforth in Jerusalem, delivering his Words in the gateways or courts of the temple to all classes of the citizens as well as to the country-folk, who under the new laws of worship thronged more than ever the City with her great Shrine.<sup>8</sup>

There is general agreement that the book of the law discovered in the temple is the Book of Deuteronomy. Chapters 12-26 of Deuteronomy contain certain specifications which correspond to the reform measures of Josiah. Since the early church fathers of the fourth century A.D. (Athanasius, Chrysostom, Jerome) and especially since scholarly advances made during the nineteenth century, it has been held that Josiah's reform was based on the Code of Deuteronomy in some form. For this reason, it is called the Deuteronomic Reformation.

Jeremiah's attitude toward this reform is not as clear as we might wish, although it would have been in keeping with his concern for Mosaic tradition if he supported it. In Jer. 11, 1-13 we are told that the prophet went through the streets of Jerusalem appealing for the acceptance of "this covenant". Verse six reads, "Then the Lord said unto me, Proclaim all these words in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant, and do them." This suggests that he

8. Ibid, p. 134

was a strong supporter of the reformation. In the same chapter (verses 18-23) we are told that Jeremiahs' kinsmen of Anathoth plotted to take his life. The reason may have been that this priestly family, which was associated with the local shrine, resented Jeremiah's support for a program that would put them out of their jobs by centralizing worship in Jerusalem, where the royal priesthood was in control. (Deut. 18,6-8) Later in his career Jeremiah held Josiah in high esteem for his vigorous administration of justice (Jer. 22, 15-16).

It seems, however, that Jeremiah later turned against the reform because it did not produce the desired results. It had not affected their hearts. Centralizing worship in Jerusalem only made people think that they were secure because Jehovah was dwelling in their midst, and a Torah written in a book was no substitute for Yahweh's law upon the heart. cp. Jer. 3,8.<sup>9</sup>

Josiah lived for twelve years after the reformation was launched. Jeremiah had accordingly observed the total official career of the monarch who at his tragic death was only thirty-nine. There is a seeming period of silence from Jeremiah during these twelve years. This is very likely because Jeremiah supported the reform. Leslie says, "That the "reign of Josiah represents a remarkable period in Judah both from the angle of religious progress and from that of national brilliancy. Freed from the heavy hand of Assyria, especially after 612, when Nineveh had fallen, Josiah was able to extend his rule over Judah". In all probability Jer. 30-31 were written during this period of Jeremiah's life. Since Josiah had accomplished the reform Jeremiah was led to brood over the fate of the northern kingdom and in these chapters he expressed the hope that the exiled members of the northern kingdom might be able to return to their homes.<sup>10</sup>

Josiah was then killed in battle at Megiddo in 608 or 609, and his great reign came to a tragic end. The prophet calls his successor Jehoahaz. "Weep not for the dead, neither bemoan him, but weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall return no more, nor see his native country". 22,10. This referred to Jehoahaz who reigned only three months and then was taken to Egypt never to return again.

#### THE PROPHET DURING THE REIGN OF JEHOIAKIM (609-598)

During the early part of the reign of Jehoiakim, Jeremiah preached a sermon in the temple recorded in Jer. 7, 1-15. It is well known as his "Temple Sermon". With this utterance he emerged from the period of silence during the last of Josiah's reign. His scribe Baruch speaks of the same sermon in Chapter 26, "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah came this word from the Lord saying..." In this sermon Jeremiah called for true repentance and for amending of their sinful lives. After the sermon the priests and the prophets seized him saying, "You shall surely die." He was put on trial before the nobles with the priests and prophets demanding the death sentence. He was fortunate in having a friend by the name of Ahikam, son of Shaphan, who prevented his being put to death. (Jer. 26,24).

Jehoiakin was not at all like his father Josiah. He was rather a typical oriental tyrant, cruel, selfish and indulgent. He forced his people to build his magnificent palaces and recklessly oppressed them and shed much innocent blood. In the meantime the people were returning to the paganism that his father had tried to get rid of.

In the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim (605) an interesting event takes place (Chapter 36); the burning of a scroll of sermons. Jeremiah had dictated the sermons that he had preached during the first 23 years of his ministry. They were copied down by his faithful secretary, Baruch. (Chap. 45). He copied them in ink on a scroll.

9. Anderson, op. Cit., p. 313  
10. Leslie, op. cit., p. 93-94

Jeremiah was barred from the temple at the time, Baruch was sent in his place to read the scroll before all the people who had assembled for a fastday. Jeremiah's warning that Yahweh would manifest his wrath against Judah by sending the Babylonian invaders must have sounded like high treason. Alarmed, the royal officials advised Jeremiah and Baruch to go into hiding while the scroll was read to the king. The king sat in his palace before a fire burning in a brazier. As each few columns of the scroll were read the king would reach over with his famous pen-knife, slash off the portion of the manuscript that had been read, and contemptuously toss it into the fire. This went on until the whole scroll was burned. Jeremiah would not let the matter drop, but began his literary work all over. This time we are told, he not only dictated the contents of the original scroll but produced an enlarged edition, for "Many similar words were added". (36,32)

From this event we also are helped to understand how the book of Jeremiah took shape. The nucleus of the book is the enlarged scroll which is written in the first person by Jeremiah, dictated to Baruch. We may also imagine that Jeremiah paused from time to time to dictate more oracles and narratives. This makes up the first part of the book, chapters 1-25.

During Jehoiakim's reign, Jeremiah kept on preaching against the false prophets, the wickedness and hypocrisy of the people, and the deceitfulness of the human heart. After the battle of Carchemish in which Babylon gained power over Egypt the foe from the north clearly emerged. Some place his poems in the reign of Jehoiakim. In these poems he warns about the advance of this foe from the north.

Jeremiah also used signs to illustrate the coming doom. He bought a linen waist cloth and was commanded by the Lord to wear it to the Euphrates and hide it in a rock. Then he went back to get it and it was marred and good for nothing. The Lord told him that thus he would spoil the people even though they had been as close to him as the garment. On another occasion he was commanded to buy a clay flask and to break it publicly in the valley of Hinnom, the place where human sacrifice was practiced. In this way he dramatically demonstrated that Jerusalem would be broken into fragments.

When Babylon seemed weakened from the battle with Egypt at Charchemish, Jehoiakim made a reckless bid for independence by withholding tribute to Babylon. He was therefore attacked by Nebuchadnezzar about 600. Jehoiakim died during the attack and left his 18 year old son, Jehoiachin, on the throne. Nebuchadnezzar made a full scale invasion around 598. Jehoiachin was forced to capitulate after only three months on the throne, and he and his mother were taken captive to Babylon. Josiah's youngest son, Mattaniah, now became king, changing his name to Zedekiah.<sup>11</sup>

11. Anderson, op. cit., p. 343

by Endolph E. Honsey

## Part III

## SVERRRE'S CONTROVERSIES WITH BISHOP NIKOLAS

Next to Archbishop Erik, the man with whom Sverre engaged in the most hostile conflict was undoubtedly Bishop Nikolas of Oslo, more of a politician than a theologian, and leader of the Bagler party which engaged in a bitter war against the Birkebeiner for several years.

Nikolas was born some time before 1150. His mother was Ingrid, the widow of Harald Gille, and his father was her fourth husband, a lendermann from Norfjord. He was therefore a half-brother to King Inge Hunchback and Orm Kingsbrother.<sup>41</sup> He was related to the royal families of all three Scandinavian countries: Denmark, Norway and Sweden. He had grown up as a temporal chieftain and lendermann long before he became a bishop, and, in the words of Bugge, "Through his whole life he battled more with temporal than with spiritual weapons."<sup>42</sup> Koht remarks: "He had perhaps been better taught in the use of weapons than in book learning, and it is likely that he was a layman when he was chosen bishop. According to the church law, a layman could then become bishop when he had arrived at the age of thirty years."<sup>43</sup> Bugge mentions that Nikolas' training and culture was more European than that of the majority of Norwegians at that time.<sup>44</sup>

A man of apparently no conscientious scruples, Nikolas did not hesitate to use whatever means would further the end he had in mind. He was through and through a worldling, not at all a spiritual-minded man. His character is described by Paasche as follows:

At the death of Nicolas Arnesson in 1225, Sverre's grandson, King Haakon Haakonsson, said that the deceased had hardly had his equal in the wisdom of this world. And Nicolas belonged to his world; he was not first and foremost a Catholic priest as was Archbishop Erik. He had a warrior's career behind him when he stepped into his ecclesiastical position, and the traditions of his family and his own desire constantly constrained him to use politics. Therein he could set up high goals, but also be satisfied with the lesser goals. His "wisdom" was of the kind which takes into account realities.<sup>45</sup>

That was the kind of man who allegedly was chosen Bishop of Stavanger by Erik and his followers, but whose election was blocked there by Sverre. Whether or not that is true, it is unquestionably true that Nikolas was elected Bishop of Oslo. His means of gaining the favor first of the Queen, and then of King Sverre, is stated in the following selection from the Saga:

41. Bull, Det Norske Folks Liv og Historie Gjennem Tidene, Vol. II, p. 245  
 42. Bugge, Norges Historie Fremtillet for det Norske Folk, p. 196  
 43. Koht, Kriseaar in Norges Historie, p. 118  
 44. Bugge, loc. cit.  
 45. Paasche, King Sverre, p. 185

At the election of a Bishop for Stafangr, the general choice fell upon Nikolas Kings-brother, son of Arni of Stodrein. King Sverre spoke against him; and when Nikolas heard of it he sent a letter to Queen Margret, in which he wrote many fair and smooth things of King Sverri and also of her, and made mention of his kinship to her. Whereupon Queen Margret sought King Sverri, and told him of Nikolas' fair promises: but the King answered that he was unwilling to make Nikolas a greater man than he was. "If Nikolas," he said, "should obtain any more rule than he already has in Norway, I expect he will retain the same feeling towards me: his fidelity will not increase when he has reached a higher dignity than he now has." The Queen begged the King not to oppose him, and mentioned the great losses sustained by Nikolas in the death of kinsmen during the contest between King Sverri and Magnus. To raise him to high estate would be the best compensation, she said, and he would not show unfaithfulness if he laid aside his weapons and was ordained. The King replied that he would grant her desire; "but I don't expect," he said, "that a long time will elapse before both we and others will repent." Afterwards a letter was obtained from the King that Nikolas should be consecrated Bishop. And so, it came to pass; the Archbishop consecrated Nikolas Bishop. At that time the Bishop in Oslo died, Oslo died, and Nikolas obtained permission from the Archbishop to occupy the see in Oslo. Bishop Nial was then consecrated to Stafangr, and was Bishop there.<sup>46</sup>

Sverre had reason to be cautious in regard to Nikolas. The latter had in the past opposed Sverre, and he was destined to do so far more in the future. Time and again revolts sprang up against Sverre. In 1188 occurred the Kuvlung uprising, so called because its leader was Jon Kuvlung ("Cowl wearer"), who had been a monk, but upon being asked by the rebels he discarded the cowl. That uprising did not last long. A few years later, in 1193, a new uprising occurred, this time in the Orkney Islands. For that reason they were called "Eyskjegger," and the rebellion is known by that name. One of the men implicated in this rebellion was Bishop Nikolas. Sverre learned of it, and was very angry, and confronted him, threatening him with the most severe punishment. When the bishop saw that the complaint was just and there was sufficient proof that he had been guilty of treason, he begged for mercy and promised under oath to be loyal to the king in the future.<sup>47</sup>

The fact that Nikolas very soon forgot about his promise, continued even more persistently in his opposition to Sverre, and joined Erik later in Denmark and from there led the Bagler rebellion against Sverre, indicates what kind of person he was: untrustworthy and mean. Sverre once characterized Nikolas as follows: "Although Bishop Nicolas is skillful and clever in his speech, he is nevertheless as brave as a rabbit and as trustworthy as a fox."<sup>48</sup>

Nikolas' activity in the revolt against Sverre placed him at the mercy of Sverre and made him beg for mercy, as stated above. He was therefore in no position to refuse when Sverre asked him and other bishops to crown him. The coronation took place on June 29, 1194. Nikolas placed the crown on Sverre's head. The occasion was marked by a friendly spirit. Says Falsen: "The king presented to both him and the other bishops good gifts, and they parted in friendship and love; Nikolas in particular knew how to place himself in such great favor with the king, that he was among the most prominent counselors."<sup>49</sup>

46. The Saga of King Sverri, Ch. 111, pp. 139 f.

47. Keyser, Norges Historie, Vol. II, p. 145

48. Christian Magus Falsen, Norges Historie under Kong Harald Haarfager og Hans Mandelige Descenderer, (Christiania, 1824

49. Ibid., p. 135

This was just sham and hypocrisy on the part of Nikolas. Soon he opposed Sverre again. He would have done it of his own free will, but another incident helped to hasten his opposition to the king. The Pope learned of the coronation in the summer of the same year he excommunicated Sverre. On November 18, he furthermore published a bull of excommunication against the Norwegian bishops, which should take effect if they continued to show obedience to the king. Sverre summoned the bishops to meet at a council of magnates assembled in Bergen to confer with him about the situation. They all promised to remain faithful to him, and it was decided to send messengers to the Pope. Bishop Nikolas Arnesson seemed to have protested his faithfulness to the King, like other bishops, but returned to Oslo, then to Denmark, was absolved by Erik, and joined Sverre's enemies.<sup>50</sup> Nikolas completely broke his promise and oath of loyalty to Sverre.

In Denmark Nikolas, together with Erik and Absalon, took the lead in the opposition to Sverre. They plotted together how best they could defeat Sverre, both verbally and in actual warfare. Their common hatred of both Sverre and the Birkebeiner party gave them the idea of forming an opposition party. This party stood for and defended the aristocratic-hierarchical principle. It was the party of the nobility and the higher clergy; and its symbol was the bishop's staff (Latin baculus, from which the Old Norse words bagall, bagler are derived), and it was therefore called the Bagler party. Archbishop Erik's blindness prevented him from taking as active a part as he otherwise would have, so Bishop Nikolas became the soul and real leader of the new party.

This was at the time when the Third Crusade had just ended, and many men who had gone on the crusade were available to fight. Richard the Lion-Hearted, had made a truce with the Turkish leader, Saladin, so there was no use staying in the Holy Land to fight. One of the men who had recently returned from the Holy Land was Reidar Sendemand. He had intentions of returning to the Holy Land, however. In the summer of 1195, he had come to Sverre and asked for men to help Emperor Alexius defend his throne. Sverre said he would think about it. But because of his own troubles he refused the next year. Reidar did, however, get permission to get men from the peasant and merchant class. He did so and left Norway. In Denmark he met Nikolas, who made use of him for his Bagler party. This party hailed as a king a little boy named Inge, said to be a son of Magnus. With Nicolas and Sigurd Jarlsson as the chief leaders, the Bagler party arose and began its war against the Birkebeiner, the party which represented the lower classes and hailed Sverre as its leader. Later, Reidar joined them, and became their chief military leader.

The war between the Bagler and the Birkebeiner lasted from 1196 to shortly before the death of Sverre in 1202, and then was resumed again after his death. Gjerset has the following to say about the war:

No bloodier civil war had ever been fought in Norway than the struggle which now began between the Bagler and the King's party, the Birkebeiner. King Sverre was in a most trying position. He had gained the throne by the aid of the common people, the Birkebeiner, but he now found himself opposed by the most opulent and powerful aristocracy as well as by the Pope and clergy. The people were, moreover, divided geographically. The Bagler gained the support of the southern and western districts, while the Birkebeiner controlled only

50. Gjerset, History of the Norwegian People, Vol I, p. 396



Trøndelagen and the northern districts. The struggle between the Birkebeiner and Bagler is a parallel to the contest between Welfs and Ghibellines in Germany, the only difference being that Sverre was opposed by nearly the whole nobility.<sup>51</sup>

The Saga of King Sverri is, of course, prejudiced in favor of Sverre and therefore paints Nikolas rather black, and must therefore be read with some discrimination; however, judging from what we know of Sverre and Nicolas, it seems that the conversation recorded in the paragraph quoted below could well have taken place, and is illustrative of the men involved.

It happened one day while King Sverre lay in Seimsfiord that his men were rowing him on a cutter, close under the land, and the Bagals came forward on a rock and shouted at them. And Sigurd Earlasson said, "Is my meat-giver, Sverre, on the cutter?" Liot Haraldsson answered him, "King Sverri is here on board, and I may say with truth, he never gave meat to a worse man, and you now show it." Then Bishop Nikolas explained, "Why don't you come on land, Sverri? Are you not willing to fight now, you renegade? You think no life equal to that of robbing and harrying. Now I will wait for you here. Behold my sleeve" (and with that he held up his shield); "the mitre and staff which by the Pope's command I bear against you are this helmet and sword; I will carry these weapons until you are slain or driven from your realm." As he spoke, the Birkebeins ever broke in with cries, and said, "We should find it no hard task to land, if there were only such opponents as you, dastard; you will carry those weapons till the day of doom." Others spoke thus, "you will carry your weapons to your own hurt, as you have done in the past." The King bade them cease, and not waste breath talking to him. The Bishop again called out, "You ever question my courage, you Birkebeins. Now do you Sverri, come on shore alone, and I will meet you alone. We shall then see whether the Apostle Peter and Saint Hallvard will afford me more aid than you will get from that Gautish ogress in whom you trust." King Sverri's reply was addressed to his men: "If Nikolas and I had a duel, men would call it a dog-fight, in which neither combatant showed pluck." The King then rowed away to his force.<sup>52</sup>

One wonders how much Sverre's last statement may be attributed to a lack of courage in personal danger. It is true, Sverre was not very strong physically. Nevertheless, it is rather difficult for us, considering all the dangers through which Sverre had passed, to believe that he was actually afraid of meeting Bishop Nikolas in a duel.

The fighting went on, at times becoming very violent. Sverre was denounced, and so were his enemies. In the fall of 1197, Sverre denounced the rebellious bishops and their supporters. In turn, he was excommunicated a year later by the new Pope, Innocent III. We shall treat of their controversy in the next section.

51. Gjerset, op. cit., p. 397

52. The Saga of King Sverri, Ch. 131, p. 162

In the summer of 1198, Bergen was burned. And although for the most part Sverre and the Birkebeiner were victorious, there were times when they were in desperate straits. The fact that Pope Innocent III had taken action against him, only made things worse. In 1199, Sverre stayed in Trondheim during the winter where he was busily engaged in building a new fleet.<sup>53</sup> Then a violent conflict broke out, in which Sverre was the victor though he suffered heavy losses. The next day there was an uprising of peasants against Sverre, but they were poorly organized, and Sverre defeated them easily.<sup>54</sup> Fighting kept on through another year. The Baglers were persistent in spite of many defeats. Gjerset relates that they made their last stand in Tunsberg, where one of their ablest leaders, Reidar Sendemand, entrenched himself in the citadel of the town, which was erected on a steep mountain height. Sverre could not take this strong citadel by storm, and in September, 1201, he laid siege to the place with 1,000 men. After five months, Reidar had to surrender, and Sverre, who was always ready to show clemency to his defeated enemies, pardoned the whole garrison, and cared well for the half-starved men. Reidar was ill for a long time, and Sverre kept him at his court, and gave him the best care and medical attention.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, the Birkebeiner won the victory over the Bagler.

Reasons for the victory of the Birkebeiner and the defeat of the Bagler have been given. Bugge suggests as a reason for the failure of the Bagler the fact that there were too many in charge who were of about equal ability and who held about equal authority: Nicolas Arnesson, the Bishop; Reidar Sendemand; Sigurd Jarlosor, a son of Erling Wryneck and a brother of former King Magnus; Hallvard of Saastad; Philippus of Veigen; and, though he was blind, Archbishop Brik.<sup>56</sup> In contrast, we see point to only one real leader on the other side, one whom no one of the Bagler could match in military genius, bravery and ability to inspire his men to do their best: King Sverre himself. Another important factor was the skillful fighting of the hardy Birkebeiner, who seemed to thrive on warfare. Furthermore, the cause espoused by Sverre and the Birkebeiner had the support of a large part of the common people.

It is true that Sverre had the backing of most of the common people, especially in the region of Trøndelag; it is true that a majority of the lower clergy stood by him even during the hardest days when the threat of the interdict was hung over the country by the most powerful of all Popes, Innocent III; it is true that King John of England sent him some men at about the turn of the century; yet we cannot help feeling that it was Sverre himself more than any other factor that made it possible for the Birkebeiner to emerge victorious. Sverre never once seemed to doubt his right to be king; as king he never once seemed to doubt that God had given him his authority, that God would preserve it for him, and that Sverre must therefore not yield it; in fact, he felt he had no right to do so. A strong believer in dreams, in fate, and in divine intervention in human matters, Sverre hung on even during the most trying times. And trying times indeed they were when Pope Innocent III became Sverre's opponent. Of that controversy we shall now treat.

53. Gjerset, op. cit., p. 407

54. Kobb, op. cit., p. 121

55. Gjerset, op. cit., p. 406

56. Bugge, op. cit., p. 197

## BOOK REVIEW SECTION

(All books reviewed may be ordered through the Lutheran Synod Book Co.,  
Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, Minn.)

WALTHER AND THE CHURCH, Engelder, Th., (Editor); St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938. 140 pages, \$1.25

On October 25, 1811, God gave to the Lutheran Church one of His greatest gifts, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. On that day, 150 years ago, Dr Walther was born in Langenchursdorf, Saxony, Germany. When one looks at the life of this great saint of God on this anniversary year, what can be said except "The Lord hath done great things for us." Psalm 126:3

Who could have foreseen that that child born so far off in Germany would some day cross the Atlantic Ocean and become the father of conservative Lutheranism in the United States, the father of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and the father of the Synodical Conference? Any one of these accomplishments would have given him a place of honor within the Lutheran Church in America; all three are credited to him. Moreover, when one considers the volume of quality theological material which flowed from his pen - the books, the sermons, the essays delivered at various Missouri Synod district conventions and general conventions, and the letters of advice and counsel - it seems impossible that one man could have done so much. Yet he did.

The Evangelical Lutheran Synod also claims the right for itself to celebrate this anniversary of a great saint of God. Many of the fathers of the old Norwegian Synod studied under Dr. Walther before the Synod had its own seminary. It claims this right, furthermore, because it considers itself an heir to the rich theological heritage of Dr. Walther. Just as Christ could point beyond the physical relationship between Himself and His mother and brethren to the spiritual relationship He had with His disciples and say, "Behold My mother and My brethren," Matthew 12:46-50, so also Dr. Walther, were he walking on this earth today, could say to the clergy of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod, "Ye are my disciples." The mark of a great Christian teacher is his Christ-centered and Scriptura-centered work. The mark of a disciple is continuing in those teachings, not because of the man, but because of the Savior he held forth and the book he led his disciples into.

What a privilege it is to celebrate this 150th anniversary of Dr. Walther's birth!

But such an anniversary should also cause the Lutheran Church to pause and appreciate the writings of Walther, the books which make him a teacher in the Lutheran Church today. Unfortunately for many, the teachings of Dr. Walther are locked up in the German language. Only his great classic, Law and Gospel, is available in a complete English translation. The bulk of his other writings is still in German.

Fortunately there is available in English an abridged edition of his three major books. The first of these is Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt, in which Dr. Walther not only answered the high-church tendencies of the old Buffalo Synod, but also set forth the true Scriptural doctrine of the Holy Christian Church and the office of the holy ministry. The second of these is Die rechte Gestalt einer vom Staat unabhängigen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Ortsgemeinde, in which Dr. Walther outlines the form of a Lutheran congregation in a country which has no state church. The third of these is Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche die wahre sichtbare Kirche Gottes auf Erden, in which Dr. Walther championed the conservative

Lutheran Church as the true visible church, since it alone teaches God's Word in its truth and purity.

The title of this abridged English translation of Dr. Walther's three theological classics is Walther and the Church. The editors were the sainted Drs. Dallmann, Dau, and Engelder. This book was published in 1938 by the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in observance of the 100th anniversary of the Saxon emigration to Perry County, Missouri. The book is still in print, though it was printed in 1938 and should be in every pastor's library. It is a very good substitute for the originals. What adds further value to this book are the three introductory essays by the editors, containing an appreciation of Walther, an evaluation of Walther as a Christian theologian, and an appraisal of his views on the Christian congregation.

As one begins to read Walther and the Church, it becomes very clear that Dr. Walther was no religious philosopher. So often today as one hears sermons or reads theological literature, one is compelled to ask where the references to the source book, Scripture, are. At best passages are often used to buttress the religious philosophizing of some writer. This is what makes the modern theologian so pliable. Since much of his theology is based on his reasoning, in one way or another, the argumentations of someone else are just as valid basically. But this very fact also makes the modern theologian very dogmatic against those who do not follow reason, but rather rely simply on the Word. Modern theology is man-centered, and this must be said even of Neo-Orthodoxy, which claims that it has made God into God again in its theology. Modern theology is man-centered because it makes man the judge of God's book, it glorifies the so-called spiritual powers of man, it brings in man's ideas on how God should have done things, etc.; it makes God into less than He is.

Walther was never guilty of this. He stood in the Word and words of God. Bible passages used him. His concern was not that God be on his side, but that he be on God's side. This attitude towards the Word of God also made Walther stiff and unyielding in doctrine. Where God had spoken, there was no debate. Yet that did not make him into a legalistic preacher, for no man could preach Gospel in the Lutheran Church in America as did Walther. Furthermore he also quoted the Lutheran theologians and other witnesses from previous centuries, not to be blindly led by them, but to show that his message was only a part of the continuous stream of witnesses within the Christian Church. Such a position drew men to him and still draws men to him. He was a faithful watchman on the walls of Zion.

The Foreword to Walther and the Church was written by the sainted Dr. F. Pfotenhauer, former president of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. The note which he sounds makes Walther and the Church relevant for today.

The treasure of the pure Gospel committed to the Lutheran Church was esteemed by our fathers above all else in the world, and it was their ardent wish and prayer to transmit this treasure intact to their posterity. How appropriate therefore that in our centennial year we should give ear to the voice of Walther as he unfolds the glory of our Church! Grateful appreciation of our treasures will safeguard us against the temptation to surrender aught of our inheritance; it will cause us to shun the unionistic movements so popular in our day which seek to build the Church through external fellowship and internal discord; it

will serve to increase our eagerness to apprehend and our zeal in the pursuit of our great task, that of carrying the pure Gospel to the nations. (p. XI)

Dr. Pfotenhauer's words are true. Before one can appreciate Walther's teachings, one must become acquainted with them.

The introductory essays are great aids in learning to know Dr. Walther better. The first essay, by Dr. Dau, is a biographical eulogy. The second essay, by Dr. Theodore Engelder, is entitled "Walther a Christian Theologian". Through quotations and citations Dr. Engelder shows that two thoughts were dominant in the thinking of Dr. Walther, the inspiration, infallibility and inerrancy of Scripture and the grace of God in Christ Jesus. In the third essay Dr. Dallmann sketches briefly Dr. Walther's views of the Christian congregation.

As was said above, the books of Dr. Walther in this book are abridged. The majority of the quotations of the church fathers and Lutheran dogmatists are omitted. Certain sections are almost too brief in their abridged form. But the passages are cited for anyone who wishes to study further.

The first section by Walther is "Church and Ministry - Our Doctrine". Walther shows on the basis of Scripture that the Holy Christian Church is a communion of saints and is invisible. Yet the term "Church" can also be applied in an improper sense to visible organizations, gathered about the Word and sacraments. While there are many kinds of such "churches", the Christian is to seek out the church which has God's Word in its truth. Walther continues by showing that the office of the pastor is a divine office, in which God's Word is preached and the Sacraments administered. There is nothing new or startling about Dr. Walther's presentation, for it is very simple in its presentation. Yet it is like a breath of fresh air after all the hot air so evident in the church today.

The second section by Walther in this book is "The Proper Form of an Evangelical Lutheran Congregation Independent of the State". It is a simple explanation of the purpose, the rights, the duties, and the organization of a congregation in a country such as the United States. It would be very profitable for study in congregational meetings.

The third section is entitled "The Evangelical Lutheran Church the True Visible Church of God on Earth", in which Christian fellowship is discussed both positively and negatively. Its relevancy for modern church conditions is obvious.

Much more could be said about the contents of Walther and the Church. It is the purpose of this review to call to the attention of the readers of the Clergy Bulletin this excellent book. Many kind words will be said and have been said about Dr. Walther on the 150th anniversary of his birth. The best compliment to Dr. Walther as a teacher of God's truth is to follow his lead into the Word of God. Therein lies his greatness. Would we be members of a great church body, then we must follow his lead. He lives in his books, and the book Walther and the Church offers a fine opportunity to know and grow.

PROPHETS, IDOLS, AND DIGGERS, Elder, John, Indianapolis: Bobbs, Merrill, Inc., 1960, 240 pages, \$5.00.

Every pastor could well purchase this book so that he would have a conservative, up-to-date, summarization of recent archaeological findings in the Biblical lands.

Dr. John Elder, a member of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions and a pastor serving in Iran since 1923, compiled the material for this volume in preparing to teach a course in Biblical Archaeology for members of the American Advisory Group stationed in Teheran. Dr. Elder, although himself an amateur archaeologist, has drawn most of his material from sources such as the books of Dr. W. F. Albright, Jack Finnegan, Ira M. Price, Dr. Millar Burrows, etc. The result of Rev. Elder's labors is a well organized and interestingly written book of twenty chapters with titles such as these: "The New Finds in Genesis"; "The Fall, the Patriarchs, and the Flood"; "Joseph and the Exodus from Egypt"; "Moses and Contemporary Codes"; "The Last Days of the Kingdom of Judah"; "The Scenes of the Ministry of Jesus"; "The Pathways of St. Paul"; "The Seven Churches of Revelation".

In addition there are nearly fifty excellent photographs illustrating the material of the book. We noted the following as being of unusual interest: "The Ruins of Babylon", "The Pool of Gibeon", "The Walls of Jericho", "The Ruins of Philippi", "The Synagogue at Capernaum", "The Isaiah Scroll", "The Canaanite Temple of the god Mekal", "An Aerial View of the great Ziggurat at Ur".

Dr. Elder states that "Nowhere has archaeological discovery refuted the Bible in history", (page 18). This testimony is most encouraging to hear, especially in these days when there is again so much propaganda aimed at destroying the inerrancy of the Bible. It has been noted that Old Testament scholars of a liberal persuasion are not particularly interested in archaeology (see Christianity Today, Feb. 13, 1961, pages 12 ff.). Despite the fact that archaeological discoveries have rendered more untenable than ever the old Graf-Wellhausen theories regarding the Pentateuch, the old-fashioned liberals still quite often cling to the old party line that archaeology has revealed nothing in conflict with regard to their theories concerning the late origin of the books of the Old Testament. In actuality, however, as Dr. Elder again sets forth, the evidence of Moses and the patriarchs have largely been rehabilitated and the antiquity of the Mosaic Law is now generally recognized.

We, of course, a priori, accept by faith the fact that the Scripture is what God says it is; word-for-word God-given. Because we accept the authority of Christ, we are bound to acknowledge the authority of Scripture. Christ teaches us to do so. We shall therefore not overestimate a book such as Dr. Elder's, as though we were basing our faith on it but we certainly can make good use of it to note how the Bible has during these last one hundred years of research, well withstood the attacks of liberal higher criticism. This book, it should also be noted, will do much to make your sermon and Bible History backgrounds interesting and vivid to your congregations.

B. W. Teigen.

We are thankful to Rev. A. H. Gebhardt for the article on "Inspiration" which he has quarried out of old copies of the Missouri Synod's "Lehre und Wehre". It is an example of the fact that our 'research' should be carried out in the records of the past, if we are to understand and evaluate the present-day trends and theories. The ideas of the so-called "neo-orthodox" and of the followers of a pessimistic philosophy called "existentialism", have not come with anything really new, but are simply re-hashing ancient heresies, while disregarding the answers brought by conservative scholars. They would profit by studying Luther and the Confessions, instead of searching for "insights" which may or may not have been intended by the respective authors.

Rev. Gebhardt has translated this material from the German, and has condensed much of it to save space. References have been given to guide the reader into further study of the views of leading theologians of a century and more ago.

The article by Rev. George Orvick on "The Personality and Work of the prophet Jeremiah" was prepared as a Seminar paper at the University of Wisconsin, 1st semester 1958-59, in the Department of Hebrew studies.

This number of our Clergy Bulletin brings the third installment of Prof. Honsey's paper on King Sverre of Norway and his incessant controversies with the Roman Pope and his hierarchy. There is a lesson for us today in the story of Romanism's determined reaching out for power even over the fiercely independent Norsemen.

\*\*\*\*\*

#### "THE WAYS OF A UNIONIST

Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg governed a part of Germany which was Lutheran. After the death of Luther, in 1546, troublous times came over the Lutheran lands. The Emperor of Germany went to war against the Lutheran princes.

In this war Margrave Albrecht turned Judas and switched to the enemies' side. The Emperor won the war; and some time later the city of Magdeburg, a STRONGHOLD OF PURE LUTHERANISM, was put under the ban. Albrecht of Brandenburg and another Judas, Duke Maurice of Saxony, received orders from the Emperor to carry out the terms of the ban upon the city of Magdeburg.

Although Albrecht was an extremely wicked man, he nevertheless kept a Lutheran court preacher, a man by the name of Otto Koerber. Pastor Koerber warned the Margrave against waging war for the purpose of inflicting punishment upon the city of Magdeburg because of its loyalty to the cause of the pure Gospel. To his face he told the Margrave that, if he did not desist from his preparations for war, then he wished that the Margrave might receive an eternal scar in his conscience. The Margrave, however, remained obstinate.

At Culmbach a pastor by the name of Wolfgang Rupprecht in a sermon publicly declared that the siege of Magdeburg was persecution of Christ and of religion, and that whoever would die in this sin would surely go to hell. "Parson," shouted Albrecht, "if we are going to hell, you've got to go along." Then he grabbed him and appointed him a chaplain of his army. A strange action! Rupprecht continued to preach that it was a sin to punish Magdeburg and admonished all to desist from this undertaking. The Margrave treated Pastor Rupprecht harshly, but kept him on.

Ex.



THE CLERGY BULLETIN  
% Bethany Lutheran College  
Mankato, Minnesota

The College Library  
Bethany College  
Mankato, Minn.