

The

DOCTRINE of INDULGENCES

to the

REFORMATION

THE DOCTRINE OF INDULGENCES TO THE REFORMATION

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DEDICATED

to

MY WIFE

FOREWORD

The purpose of this thesis is not to portray the fallacy of a doctrine of a church. In so far as possible it is an unbiased treatment of a church tenet. The effort of this writer has been to take the doctrine of Indulgences and trace it in its origin and its growth, historically and theologically. He has endeavored to give the reasons advanced for it and the objections to the same. Many opinions have been quoted but an effort has been made to give the reasons for those opinions in so far as possible.

One great handicap encountered has been the scanty treatment of the subject by those who discussed it. In almost every instance the doctrine of Indulgences has been treated supplementary to some other theme. Many historians have treated it very incidentally. Maurel and Lea write on this subject as a subject separate unto itself but each from a biased viewpoint. The writer has endeavored to follow this stream in its development in an unbiased manner letting the facts

speaking for themselves.

The very nature of the subject in its origin and growth naturally makes the treatment most difficult and yet most interesting. No part of this doctrine has been incorporated as a part of the doctrine without having first been severely attacked in its theory or practice. There is not universal agreement on any phase of this subject. Therefore to find the stream of truth and to follow it was not an easy task.

The foot notes of this thesis, as a rule, refer to volumes only of the authorities quoted. All volumes with very few exceptions, have full table of contents and are well indexed. The pages could not be given because the research for this thesis has been done in five of our largest libraries in the South. In these libraries it has been necessary often to use different editions of an author's work. For instance, the works of some of the historians, such as Mosheim, D'Aubigne, and Milner were found bound differently, in fewer volumes in one library than in another. The same was true of encyclopedias. It will be found that two methods were used in referring to Migne's voluminous

collection of the writings of the Latin Fathers. While in Louisville using the library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, I referred to the volumes because the name of the Latin Father did not appear printed on the back. While using the same work found in the library of Loyola University of the South I have referred to the author because in this edition of Migne's work the name of the author is very prominent on the back of the volume and the citations more easily found by the author than by the volume. The edition of Migne in the library in Louisville is old while that in the library in Loyola is recent and one of the finest editions to be found anywhere.

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to all who have been of assistance to me in the writing of this thesis. There are many who have contributed their time, counsel and the use of their libraries to make this thesis a possibility. I express my unlimited gratitude to Dr. F. M. Powell, Professor of Church History in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, for his wise counsel and guidance and his sympathy and patience on many occasions. The following have rendered valuable assistance:

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The librarians and assistants of the following libraries have been most courteous and obliging in assisting the writer while working in the libraries named: The New Orleans Public Library, The Howard Memorial Library, and the Library of the Baptist Bible Institute, New Orleans, La. The deepest gratitude of my heart goes to the one who has sacrificed most for this accomplishment. She as a helper has been sacrificial, uncomplaining and a source of inspiration and strength when the way was difficult. As an expression of gratitude this volume is dedicated to her.

Louisville, Ky.
September 14, 1928.

Ben Clayton Ingram.

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INTRODUCTION

The Doctrine Defined

The definition of a subject is largely dependent upon one's viewpoint or the period in which it is defined. The small stream, swollen by the heavy spring rains bears a torrent of water on its bosom. Bursting the bounds of its natural confines it rushes over the fields leaving waste in its wake. In mid summer heat and drought have laid bare much of its rocky, uneven bed. Its power is null, its water that of a brook. As I write, Taylor's Creek, flowing through Okeechobee, Florida, is one half of a mile wide. Its normal width is fifteen feet. Two persons may see this stream, each at different seasons of the year. Their conceptions of the stream would be as different as the seasons.

The subject of Indulgences was born centuries past; it is still vital with the vigor of youth, an outstanding doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church. Variousl̄y has it been defined. Nearly every century through the seventeenth added to or subtracted from

this subject. The doctrine has its friends; it has its enemies. In a measure, each class defines it according to its attitude.

The subject defies sentence definition. Its growth rejects the limits of academic interpretation. Many efforts to define the subject in the above manner have been made, as we shall see from the following pages. By study and comparison of several definitions given we shall be in position to understand better the doctrine in its origin, nature, and growth.

The Catholic Church has defined the subject void of its unattractive features. A thorough study of Indulgences must convince us that it is a definition to justify a practice, not a natural outgrowth of a New Testament principle. The practice of indulgences was universal before anyone had clearly defined it. Though phrased differently by different writers all Catholics concur in the inclusion of the principal things in an indulgence. Cardinal Gibbons gives us a full definition: "An Indulgence is simply a remission in whole or in part, through the superabundant merits of Jesus Christ and His saints, of the

temporal punishment due to God on account of sin after guilt and eternal punishment have been remitted. Again, it is: "The remission of the temporal punishment due to God for sins already forgiven as to guilt, a remission granted by ecclesiastical authority to the faithful, from the treasury of the superabundant satisfactory merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, of Mary most holy, and the Saints.

The latest edition of the Americana gives a most comprehensive definition of the subject as follows: "An Indulgence is a partial or total remission by the Church through an extra-sacramental channel, of the temporal punishment due for sin after its guilt and eternal penalty have been removed by the sacrament of penance." The theological basis upon which the doctrine rests, continues the Americana, is the theory of the treasury which will be discussed in a later chapter. "In a theological sense it means clemency and mercy, a remission, a condonation, a pardon granted by the Church." The Catholic Encyclopedia before discussing what an indulgence is not and is, briefly states that it "Is a remission of the temporal punishment

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- 1.---Gibbons:-Faith of Our Fathers.
 - 2.---Shaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, Vol. V.
 - 3.---The Americana, Vol. XV--1922.
 - 4.---Maurel:-Indulgences.

due to sin, the guilt of which has been forgiven." We notice these eminent authorities are in accord as touching remission of temporal punishment, sin, guilt, and forgiveness. The discussion of Indulgences in the Encyclopedia and other Catholic writings is in full agreement with the definition of Cardinal Gibbons. The devout Catholic claims there is remission of temporal punishment only due to God for sin. Others have stated there^v to be "The remission of penance inflicted by Church authority on confession of¹ sin."

Whether we accept the strict Catholic or the broader Protestant definition it is difficult to evade becoming involved in a labyrinth of mental confusion. Indulgentia² originally meant condescension, courtesy, kindness, or favor. In post classic Latin it came to mean a remission³ of a tax or a debt. In Roman law it expressed release from captivity or punishment. In this sense it is used in the Theodosian Code, to designate the law of clemency by which, every five or every ten years lesser criminals had their punishment remitted. It is therefore inadequately expressed by our modern word Indulgence. However, it

1.---Froude:--Council of Trent; XIX Century and After.
February 1901.
2.---Latin Dictionaries--Leverett et al.
3.---Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume VII.

may be said without fear of contradiction, that the practice of Indulgences in the later middle ages admirably supported the full idea of our modern word. We shall see in the following pages that the definition was one thing, and in a large measure, practice another.

Roman
The Church, in its effort to substantiate a church practice and not condone the evils of that practice was confronted with an enormous task. It must phrase a definition of this practice and find justification for the same. The definition must be complete, all inclusive. Its most striking feature¹ is the exemption from some penalty, but what? Temporal punishment. But what is the meaning of temporal punishment? If punishment remains due to sin after guilt has been forgiven, just what does the Church mean by guilt and forgiveness? Such questions bring us into warmly debated territory. Catholics are not in agreement among themselves on some of these questions. One doctrine is interlocked with another; indulgence may have as its value a year's penance. No one can know. "The whole subject of purgatory is obscure."² We can define our subject; we cannot clearly grasp our definition. We shall find other features of this subject equally as hazy and vague as the definition itself.

1.---The XIX Century and After, February 1901.
2.---The XIX Century and After, January 1901.

DIVISION I

ORIGIN AND EARLY GROWTH

Penance and Indulgences

In much that has been written on the subject of Indulgences the term has been used in a lax manner. Its broadest usage has been a synonym for penance. Again, less broadly to include the whole of satisfaction. In a more restricted way it included forgiveness, temporal and eternal, in purgatory; yet, again, punishment and guilt. In order for a person to understand better the birth and growth of Indulgences he must know in a general way, at least, the rise and growth of penance in the early Church.

In the early period of the Christian church there arose two differing conceptions of religious life, one making prominent the inward and spiritual, the other the formal and external. Though emphasized and clearly differentiated in the days of Augustine, they are not the outgrowth of the Augustinian age. They belong to

no time; they are not strictly Jewish, Protestant or Catholic. They are human. Sometimes one conception has been stronger, then again the other. Often they have moved along side by side, the existence of the two being realized only when one collided with the other. However, when there was anything to quicken and intensify them the difference was clearly marked, and two sharply defined parties produced. The institution and growth of the sacrament of penance was a signal victory for the formal and external conception of religious life.

The sacrament of penance was a growth, the slow¹ development of centuries. There was no part of it about which there were not differing opinions. All agreed there must be contrition, but how much would suffice? Did the priest forgive or pray God to forgive? Did the priest remit guilt alone or guilt and penalty? Such questions for centuries, were points of heated controversy.

The code of morality taught in the Gospels was wholly different from that of the society from which converts to Christianity came. Consequently, some effort was made to test the conversion of the applicant. In

1.---Seeberg:-History of Doctrines, Vol. II.

earliest times a two days' ¹fast preliminary to baptism was required. This proved insufficient. By the end of the second century this period of probation was extended to two months. The seeker mourned over his sins; the congregation fasted and prayed with him. He was born again, a regenerate being, and it was his duty to maintain a new life in purity. If he failed the congregation through its leaders summoned him to repentance and ammendment. In simple Ebionitic society of Palestine this was done by segregation from the congregation. In the more complex organizations of the Gentile churches with their tendencies to Sacerdotalism the means of correction lay in the Eucharist. The person was suspended, and if he remained impenitent he was rejected from the church. Already it was a belief that outside the church there was no salvation, therefore, ejection from the church was the loss of heaven and eternal happiness.

Gradually there grew up Episcopal courts the function of which was to determine the relation of the sinner and his congregation. However, these were not spiritual courts, but had to do only with the external nature of the case. The Church was simply framing a system in its penitential functions adapted to its needs. It was supplementary to

civil Jewish prudence. Through this system the church would punish sin when it was expressed in some outward way. When the sinner was repentant and readily performed the penance enjoined on him the church received him back to peace and reconciliation. He was invited to a voluntary confession of his sin by a mitigation of the penalty incurred. This confession was public for the first four centuries of the Christian era. The first allusion to private penance occurs in the first of the fifth century. Leo I accords this as a special privilege to some priests and deacons who were governed by different rules from those for the laity as regards penance. Harnack tells us private penance began in the Iro-Scottish Church, probably due to its being eminently monachist. Flick credits Theodore of Canterbury with originating the principle of penance and the institution of Indulgences. "Regulations for penitential confession, so far as we know," says Harnack, "were first drawn up for the laity who were directed to confess their sins to the priest." Books on penance from Ireland came to the Saxons, thence to the Franks and Romans. However, this practice did not establish itself without running the gamut of strong opposition. After becoming a settled institution, offence soon arose because directions to the penitent were more and more external and questionable.

1.---Lea:-Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

2.---Harnack:-History of Dogma, Volume V.

Watkins:-History of Penance.

The new conceptions of sin, attended by new attitudes toward it soon supplanted the early Christian ideas. These and laxity in Christian life were immediate evils of the transition from public to private penance.

Public confession had found its root in Hebrew tradition for it prescribed certain outward manifestations of the internal change of the heart.¹ However, the prophetic school made light of such observances.² So did Christ in His efforts to spiritualize the materialism of Judaism. With Him a change of heart was the one thing needful. The woman taken in adultery, forgiveness of Peter for denying Christ, the Prodigal Son, and many other teachings of Christ show that externals were of no importance to Him; that man dealt directly with God and that love, humility, repentance, and faith were essentials to forgiveness.

From the simple clear teachings of the Master, emphasizing the inner life, the early church in its earliest organizations swings to the writings of John, James, and Paul. To the writings of these men the church turned for³ direction. Here much material is found, seemingly, which

1.---Lea:-Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

2.---Joel 2:13.

3.---James 5:14-16; First John 1:9;5:16; I Corinthians 5:5.

was later used for the gradual growth of the sacramental system. The early Christians however, adhered to the early teachings of the Master. Near 100 A.D. we find St. Clement of Rome assuming that repentance and prayer to God suffice without priestly intermediation, although he recommends intercessory prayer for those who have fallen in sin. St. Ignatius¹ speaks of repentance as the only requisite for reconciliation to God. The Shepherd Hermas, about the middle of the second century knows of no other means of remission.

As the church grew and extended itself, taking in men of every race and every degree of moral and intellectual fitness, its old forms of organization gave way to a more complex system; its simple faith disappeared. Men seek to explain the relations between God and man. Converts came from every walk of life, many with weaknesses because of past life or present environment or both. Some system of discipline, some rules of order were necessary. Each church had to determine its own conditions of fellowship, its own means of discipline. Speedily among Christians admission to the Lord's Supper came to be the test of fellowship. As stated above, the Church through its leaders, assumed the right to bar the individual from the Lord's Supper

1.---Quoted by Lea:-Confession and Indulgences. Volume I.

if he had committed a sin known to the congregation or had confessed to sin in his life and the period of penance [✓] not yet ended.

At the end of the first century there was not yet a very highly organized system of discipline. The elaborate machinery of this part of the church life came into being during the second century. New Testament truths begin to be lost in the maze of theological speculation. Baptismal regeneration and other like divergences from the New Testament teachings are born. The church organization must be enlarged to meet the demands of such ideas. It is in the De Poenitentia of Tertullian (c 200 A.D.) that we have the fullest description of penitential procedure. No one before him gives so elaborate a system. He witnesses to the African practice; and almost certainly to the Roman as well. In the penance which Natalius¹ performed in Rome there is found the same procedure as that elaborated in the Tertullian writings, e. g. (1) Sackcloth and ashes, (2) Fasting, (3) Lamentation, (4) Prostration before the presbyters, and (5) Kneeling before the faithful.

Was the confession private or public, to a priest or

a congregation? This question is not one of debate before Tertullian and Cyprian, it being an accepted fact that in early Christendom the penit¹ confessed his sins openly. Watkins thinks there is strong likelihood of private confession as early as the end of the second century. However, I have found no other writer in agreement with him. He says, "It is not clear whether a confession in words particularizing the offence committed was before the whole congregation or only before the priest or bishop who assigned the penance; but the whole subsequent evidence of church practice goes to show that the verbal particularization of offence before the congregation at no time formed part of the exomologesis which was required by the church." Yet, just before the above quotation he tells us the Greek word "exomologesis" is now used as a technical term in the Latin churches to indicate the outward procedure of penance. Evidently there is an inconsistency in the quotation from him and the meaning of the Greek word that has come to be used in relation to Penance. Thayer states in his Greek-English Lexicon that to confess openly, joyfully is the meaning of ἐξομολογέω. In full accord with him is the New International Dictionary in its definition of exomologesis. It seems the work he discusses is in disagreement with his position. Exomologesis may have

implied the manifestations named by Tertullian but the¹ very use of the word shows that public confession was the prevailing practice.

By the time of Tertullian public penance--as we have seen--was of the severest kind, and we can readily understand why the early church took cognizance of only the three crimes, adultery, idolatry, and homicide. From Tertullian and Cyprian we learn of the rigorous prescriptions for the penitent. And these prescriptions were not always accepted gladly. There were those who were for laxer discipline. The church was torn by the rise of parties opposed to these requirements. They were for the readmission of those abjuring Christianity. And popular² opinion was with them; for more had abjured than had remained faithful. Also, they wished the readmission of the adulterers and the murderers after due penance. The Rigorists regarded the three capital sins of adultery, idolatry, and homicide as irremissable on earth. The shame of public exposure was felt to be almost intolerable. In view of the austerity and shame involved it is not surprising to learn that many offenders already sought to evade the humiliation. Sinners now prefer to conceal their sins. The inconveniences of penance often kept them away.

1.---Anti-Nicene Fathers.

2.---Harnack:-History of Dogma, Volume III.

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Tertullian, though unwilling to readmit those who had committed capital crime contended that if they practiced penance there was pardon for them through the mercy of the Lord at the judgment. Here we have one from among many illustrations of the absence of a fixity of doctrine and practice on this matter. Though the church was fast winning its victory for salvation through the church alone there were some within the church unwilling to accept the teaching. However, Tertullian admitted that martyrs, though capital offenders, would affect their reconciliation at once. Rigorism was the demand of many of the leaders of this period. Tertullian stood not alone. Others concurring with him were Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and Origen. In finding Origen in the group of those who called for strict penance we see that it was the universal demand, East and West in agreement.

In the two decades following the Decian persecution (252-270) the procedure of penance received an interesting and remarkable development in the provinces of the Asian peninsular. Gregory, the Wonderworker, missionary bishop of Pontus, instituted what came to be known as graded penance. There were five grades through which the penitent

passed, that of a mourner, hearer, faller, bystander, and the restored or faithful. In reality, however, there were only three grades, as the mourner was a suppliant for penance, and the faithful was a restored penitent. This system spread rapidly to the neighboring provinces of Cappadocia and Galatia; in fact, throughout the East it met with much favor. In this system the bishop is shown supreme over his flock with a divinely given commission. The work of binding and loosing is a part of that commission. He may cast out; he may reconcile. It is interesting to notice that, though rigorism is still abundant in the East, there are no long terms of penance. This system found no favor in the West. The demand for laxity was too strong. Early in the fourth century, in the days of Marcellus and Eusebius, (307-309) a serious conflict of parties arose, causing riot and bloodshed. This was the result of a demand of the Pontiffs for penance in the case of the lapsed. They were opposed by a party of laity. Church councils (Council of Arles, 314) soon came to be dominated by the proponents of laxity in penance. The requirements of the church continue to be real and definite but never excessive and less rigorous. Few movements have been more effective for loosening the bonds of church discipline.

An event of far reaching effect on the life of the church was what is generally known as the conversion of the Empire. The vast influx of persons into the ranks of the baptised was not an unmixed benefit to the church. Some came with mixed motives; others from pressure; still others with no great earnestness or impelling sense of a regenerate life. The inevitable result was the loosening of the bonds of Christian discipline. So singularly various are the developments of penance in the different parts of the Christian world that it is difficult to make a satisfactory survey without including a more or less detailed account of the practice of churches in various parts of the world Christian. However, such a detailed study is without the province of this chapter since its purpose is to give in bold outline only a background for the birth, early nurture and growth of Indulgences.

During the Middle Ages it was a point of debate whether sacramental confession was a divine law or merely a precept of the church. To some of the school men the idea of it being a divine law was foreign and unknown. Others say it has a divine origin and cite us to Scripture. The earliest school men advanced human reasons only for their

1.---Matthew 4:17.

belief. Many lines of argument flashed from the pens of the scholars. Aquinas was the first who boldly declared confession of divine origin. Having no Scripture to support him he says it can not be of human law because it is a matter of faith; faith and the sacrament being beyond human reason they must be of divine origin. Aquinas gave force to this view and many succeeding writers accepted it. No canon prescribes it prior to the Lateran council. Prierias and Saneis² tell us that the canonists hold that confession was of human precept; the theologians declare it to be of divine law. Wycliff, Erasmus, and Luther assumed that it was human in origin. The Patristic literature contains but very few passages that even indirectly bear on the subject. Those found are allusions or exhortations. The Apostolic Constitution embodies the practices of the Church toward the end of the third century; they are silent as to confession. So is St. Augustine. Councils prescribed penances for the grosser sins but have no command as to confession. "It is not till about the seventh century the Penitentials begin to afford indications of the kind and these are of a nature to show how rare as yet was confession. It would be idle to argue that such a literature existed and has utterly perished."³ After the command of the Lateran

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.
2.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.
3.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.

Council, making confession at least once a year obligatory, everywhere the Church is seen organizing the new system, enforcing it, and devising means to make it successful. Instructions are given to the priests unaccustomed to these new duties. These instructions presuppose the densest preexisting ignorance.¹ It is impossible for us to imagine that men like the Ante-and Post-Nicene Fathers would have so overlooked in their day what was so in evidence in the thirteenth century; that they would have been so voluminous in their writings on other subjects and said so little about the most delicate work of the penitent.

There is Scriptural support for the confession of our sins one to another.² Evidently among the early Christians it was deemed very salutary to acknowledge sin. *Exomologesis*, meaning in the New Testament to confess sin to God, came, in time, to include the outward manifestations of penance. Watkins and Lea agree here. Both quote Tertullian in support of their belief. In the primitive Church confession to God was the only form of confession enjoined.³ The Didache shows, however, that public confession in the Church was the custom, and each believer was expected to confess his sins on Sunday before joining in celebrating the

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.
2.---James 5:16.
3.---Watkins:-History of Penance.

Eucharist. The practice of public confession is shown also in the writings of Irenaeus. However the custom seems not to have been universal. Polycarp, in his letter to the Philippians makes no references to confession. Neither does Dionysius of Corinth in his instructions to the Amas-trians concerning the reception of sinners. Up to the early part of the third century hearing confessions of penitents formed no part of the sacerdotal functions. We come to the middle of the third century before we find the sinner baring his sin to the priest. It is true that from the beginning the person burdened with a deep sense of his sin would often seek out a man learned in the Scripture and deeply spiritual for counsel but this was not enjoined by the Church nor was it a part of his discipline. This practice seems to have been largely by those who had committed sins of some magnitude.¹ Early in the fourth century Peter of Alexandria, like Origen, recommends confession to a priest as part of the means of pardon, though it is the penitent then, who with amendment and almsgiving, cures himself, and not the priest that cures him, so that it was merely a whole-some act.² However, with the development of sacerdotalism the custom of private confession spread. The sinner

1.---Watkins:--History of Penance.

2.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.

welcomed it so as to evade the humiliation of public confession.

The development of Church discipline from the simpler to the more complex form, the rise and growth of sacerdotalism, and the institution of private confession, hastened the establishment of private penance. Penance included a Godly sorrow for sin, or contrition, confession, satisfaction and absolution. Later, when the priest had taken unto himself much authority and corruptions in procedure crept in, absolution preceded satisfaction. This was another innovation that at once did not meet with the approval of all the leaders.

Satisfaction, or the fourth part of penance, assumed many and varied forms of expression. And herein lies the seed germ of indulgences. This was the particular part of penance that gave occasion for much controversy. In earliest Church life when one confessed his sin a pilgrimage, season of fasting, body punishment or some other like measure was recommended by the leaders. Later we see the bishop assuming authority to prescribe, still later we find it in hands of the priest. Absolution or remission of the sinner's guilt was still with God, the priest only

praying for the sinner. But these matters--the assumed authority of priests or bishop, or the prescriptions of the church such as fasting, pilgrimages, ---, had to do with readmission to the Church. After confession and absolution they were works of satisfaction. After the remission of sin, according to current thought, the sinner¹ was not free from some measure of suffering due God, for infringement of his law. This penalty must be paid here or in Purgatory. This measure of suffering due God was the works of satisfaction or payment of the penalty.

There were those, however, because of physical infirmities who could not bear a prescription of fasting or a pilgrimage, or body flagellations. What was to be done? Just here we get back to the primal meaning of the word used. An indulgence was granted. The person unable to go on a pilgrimage was permitted to substitute some² form of penance other than that ordinarily prescribed, such as to bear the expenses of another's pilgrimage, contribute so much to charity, or to the papal treasury. Or, for some reason, the prescribed satisfaction was lightened. "The inseparable connection of indulgences and penance³ is, therefore, as clear historically as it is dogmatically."

1.---Gibbons:-Faith of Our Fathers.

2.--McGiffert:-Life of Martin Luther.

3.---Vedder:-Reformation in Germany.

The claim for the authority of the priest to follow this course rests on the Theory of the Treasury which will come under discussion later. This seems to be the best explanation we can find for the origin of the practice of indulgences.

1.---After reaching this conclusion I find the following in Volume VI History of Dogma by Harnack:- "The practice of indulgences has its root in the commutations. The exchange of more arduous for easier penitential acts was called indulgence."

OLD ROMAN LAW AND INDULGENCES

Was there any relation between the early growth of Indulgences and the old Roman Law? There seems to be a similar and parallel development. While the Church was commuting the months or years of fasting or other forms of doing penance enjoined by the Church for sin to other forms of satisfaction than that generally prescribed by the Ecclesiastical codes to proportionate fines, etc., many of the punishments enjoined by the Roman criminal code were being gradually commuted by the Medieval legislators for pecuniary fines. This practice came from England,--found in the Theology of Canterbury¹--and spread over the continent. Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury is the reputed author of this commutation of penance for a money payment. The charge, frequently made against the papal courts in the Middle Ages that it had a regulated scale of prices for indulgences has some grounds for being true. The Roman Catholic writers say that the taxes were merely fees charged for defraying expenses of the court, meeting other financial demands, and payment of the officials, but they cannot deny the greed for gold manifested by several popes.

1.---Schaff:--Church History, Volume IV.

Harnack states definitely the Roman law was taken over by the Church and underwent modifications in its hands.¹ The one system was easily dovetailed into the other. The idea of the right of the Church to punish which had originally been of a public character becomes more and more a private right. The idea gained more and more scope that the transgressions of God's law should be regarded as injuries done to God--not the violation of public order, and the divine law; accordingly they were to be treated like private complaints. As regarded satisfaction,, all the liberties inherent in the conception, such as the injured party himself, or the Church as his representative could indulgently lessen the amount of punishment or commute or transfer it. It is easy to see how easily this view could fuse with that of the old Roman law. Although the development in these two fields² is simultaneous and in the same cities and states, only few writers mention this fact. It would be beyond the reach of data in hand to say one was a reaction on the other or vitally influenced by the other in any way. The best is only and inference.

1.---Harnack:--History of Dogma, Volume V.
2.---Encyclopedia Britannica.

WEHRGELD AND INDULGENCES

What must be our conclusions regarding the old German customs, "Wehrgeld," or "blood-money," and its relation to Indulgences? Is it in any way related to the system of penance? Was it borrowed from the Church or did the Church borrow from the old barbaric customs of settlement? Apparently there is too little data regarding the kinship of the two or of the reaction of one upon the other for one to be dogmatic in his conclusions. Only a very few writers mentioned in the bibliography speak of the analogy of the barbaric custom and this phase of penance. Lindsay says that in the practice of commuting prescribed penance of fasting or pilgrimage to fines "the analogy of the 'Wehrgeld' of the Germanic tribal codes was frequently followed." This is the position of Lea also who says this principle coincided with the customs of the converts, further stating that the Church was really forced to follow this practice. The new converts in the Germanic territory, being accustomed to settling their breach of the law with a fine, and unaccustomed to punishments of such humiliating character

1.---Lindsay:--History of the Reformation.

2.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume II.

which the Church imposed, could hardly be expected to submit at the bidding of the priest. A strong inference here can be drawn from the views of Lea that the old Germanic custom is older even than the practices of Indulgences. Dr. Gardner, professor of Homiletics and Sociology in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, says that the old German custom--Wehrgeld--is earlier than Christianity. That is, it's entrance into Germany. And that, though it may have been unconscious, there was more than likely, a reaction of this custom on the growth of commutations. Another writer holds the view that this principle of commutation of penance "originated in German conceptions, but had latent roots even in ancient times." In agreement with Lea, is he, that the institution of this Germanic custom antedated indulgences in any form and that in all probability the Church was the borrower; the Church acquiescing to a demand little expecting the outgrowth of a universal Church practice. But as the other parts of the Church world learned of these mitigations they began to make like demands. The wedge had been entered and it was the matter of only a short while till the practice was widespread.

1.---Harnack:--History of Dogma.

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Harnack says the Church, though hesitant at first, finally adopted the German institution. The German idea was outlawry or penance for crime. The Church said excommunication or works of satisfaction for the crime. Another German law was that vengeance did not require to be executed on the evil doer but could be borne by a member of his "clan." The Church looked upon Christians as forming a clan with the saints in heaven and thought the performance of penance, to a certain extent, could be passed from one to the other. Another German law stated a fine or compensation could be divided. According to the practice of the Church the Saints interceded if prayed to and presented their merits to God in behalf of the suppliant. In one respect however, the action of the Church had a softening and beneficial effect. It restricted to an extraordinary extent the capital punishments connected with outlawry. Even in the Roman period the Church in Gaul exerted a like beneficial effect. The same was true in the Merovingian period.

The financial gain is another factor of weighty moment claiming some consideration in connection with the advance of this custom. Although the pressure for this practice first came from without the Church yet the

financial gain to the Church gave the movement impetus.¹ These commutations interested the Church financially and made it into a great banking institution. It was---if not the sole---at least, the customary recipient. For instance, if a period of penance was permitted to be redeemed by a financial contribution the direction of the priest was for it to be given to some object of charity or to the Church. Since a spokesman of the Church is the one giving the orders there can be no doubt which alternative will be followed.

1.---This is the position held by Smith, Neander, Gieseler, Lea, Kostlin, Harnack and others.

FIRST STEPS TO CRUSADE INDULGENCES

As one reads the narratives of wars occurring from the beginning of the fourth century A.D. to the Reformation he finds promises of heaven from the leaders as reward to those falling in battle. This is true of both pagan and Christian leaders. Shall we say these form the background for the Crusade indulgences of the eleventh century?

The attacks of the Mohammedans on the Christian world had gone on for centuries before the idea of the promulgation of religion through war had taken root in the West. The claim that the Crusade idea originated in the conviction that Christianity was to win the world is not the real explanation. The inspiration of the Crusades in the West was an outgrowth of local battles of defense or protection against the attacks and robberies of the Saracens especially along the Mediterranean coasts. The later Crusades, however became aggressive and offensive. The idea of religious advancement through war was really very strange and objectionable in early times. The early Church objected to war in general and felt it contrary to Christian principles. The Christians would cite Matthew 26:52.

Augustine was the first to sanction war when he declared a certain war to be righteous. He said, "No war is righteous except to punish a breach of righteousness." St. Ambrose permitted war against the Barbarians. Gradually there came about a change in conceptions of war both on the part of the leaders and the people. In early times war was looked upon as horrid, evil, and contra-Biblical; but later as something glorious. The dying Roman Empire, being Christianized hated war. But it has changed in the Middle Ages, and, dominated by the Germanic influence, is always ready and glad to fight. This idea grew apace. Leo III writes to Charlemagne supporting war against the Greeks in Sicily, telling him it is pleasing to God and saying he would be victorious. "Being victorious" was at first taken literal, later interpreted as spiritual. There is no promise of salvation yet, however, by the Church.

But as yet there has been no religious wars or crusades. Even the wars against the Moors were not considered such. Neither are there yet to be found promises of salvation to those taking part in said wars. We find Pope Hadrian I, greatly interested in war against the enemies of the cross, hoping for victory and promising to pray for victory but not in the slightest sense is there a promise

of salvation in his letters to the king of France and to the soldiers in the Crusade. In the writings of Gregory IV, who was deeply interested in the repulsion of the Moors who poured in after the death of Charles the Great, we find not the slightest promise of spiritual blessings to the fighters. However Gregory seemed to recognize no eminent peril to the Church.

It took the great tragedy of 846 A.D., the robbery of St. Peter's and the tombs, to arouse a passion for defense and kindle a fire for crusades. A tremendous impression was made on the world by the capture of Rome in 846. The ruins of the Leonician walls in the Vatican gardens and the fortifications around St. Peter's church are results of those events. Pope Leo IV erected these fortifications. Lothair and his son Louis made collections for this purpose throughout the whole realm. This destruction of Rome by the unbelievers played a large part in songs and stories among the Lombards and Franks for centuries. The extent of the songs and stories however, did not go further than the glorification of the heroic defenders. But such is proof that these attacks on the mother church had touched the young nation at heart. Now there arose the realization of what the Christians had in

common in the defense against Islam and the realization made possible the collections of Leo IV. And to this was added a motive for the fight--the elevation of the spiritual interests.

The capture of Rome was different from that of Carthage and Rome in former times. There was more at stake than just the cultural and political. Not only was Lombardian and Frankish freedom at stake but also the city owning the Christian name, and Christ's earthly vicar, a danger for many lands and countries, provinces in the West, the loss of Christianity itself.

Pope Leo IV witnessed the pillage of St. Peter's Church and the battle over Paul's tomb. Though a preacher of love, he becomes the one who gives authority for and sanction to religious wars. In 849 he prays for the sailors fighting the African pirates who had gained a foothold on Sardinia. However, this prayer occurring from this time on in the liturgy of the Church, according to ¹Gottlob, does not breathe the true crusade spirit. Leo in 853 fortifies Rome by the restoration of the Aurelian walls, and new walls, and calls the Franks to an open war against unbelievers, giving to the fight, clearly and plainly, the higher stimulation in speaking of religion,

1.---Gottlob:-Kreuzablass and Almosenablas.

fatherland, and Christianity which were to be defended. Then he spoke for the first time about a reward awaiting them on the other side. "Put off fear," he says, "and try to fight as men against unbelievers. God knows if you fall you die for the faith, fatherland, and protection of Christianity, and therefore shall receive the heavenly reward." Heretofore this thought has been only a wish, but now it is a statement that they will receive a heavenly reward. Gottlob and Smith interpret Leo's statement as a definite promise of salvation to the soldiers. This position is strengthened by the far reaching effects of Leo's statement in all countries. However the political conditions of the times lead us to believe it was prompted by political motives. Disastrous was the war with the Saracens; for it now assumed a religious character only for the political strength of the pope. Gottlob thinks Leo went back to Islam as a basis for the promise of salvation, and if he did go back it is a gift that Christianity should not have accepted, a curse and not a blessing. But we cannot be sure the Mohammeden practice was brought over by Leo. It may be that Leo went as far back as the first chapter of the Maccabees for ground or support in this action. An inscription found by Alverius

1.---Smith:--Martin Luther.

says that Leo built a church over the tomb of those falling in battle for the church. Readily can we see this was a great incentive for fighting, all soldiers feeling sure their souls went to heaven. These thoughts are found also in the writings of Anselm of Canterbury.

This promise by Leo IV was still very vague. Any promise from him based upon his official position is not yet found. As man he spoke of it, but not as pope. He makes no claim of it being vicarious for Christ. In the writings of Leo IV we find the seed-germ to crusade indulgence. In all wars the Latin Church has held this view and the Church has come to be a military establishment.

This innovation did not get a foothold in the Greek or Oriental Church. In 969 Phocas claimed the heavenly reward was a gift to those fallen in battle but the Eastern Church refused to accept this view. Its conception of a martyr was one faithful to death--not a fighter. And whether he was a real martyr or saint depended on the individual not the occasion. The Latin Church never had this conception. This separates the two churches on the question of indulgences. The Eastern Church has

1.---Gottlob:-Kreuzablass and Almosenablass.

never received indulgences. In 877 the Pope needed aid against the Mohammedans and turned to France. Then there arose the question about the authority of the Church and the people of west France could not agree about the state of those dying in battle for the Christian religion. The question facing the bishops of France was whether the fallen could get forgiveness for the past. Some believed there was forgiveness because of the writings of the prophets and the prayers of the successors of St. Peter, these successors having the power of binding and loosing. As far as we can learn this is the first time the Church claims the power of binding and loosing on earth.

The question is raised as to whether we should take this as the first crusade indulgence. The pope here claims the power of absolution, but what kind? Absolution from sin or the punishment of sin? The best evidence is for absolution from the punishment of sin, because he claims God has promised salvation to those falling in war. The pope's absolution deals with penance. He quotes Ezekiel 33:12 and Luke 23:43, saying God forgives in the last moments of life, inferring the soldier repents always. The pope claims as yet no connection between his act of absolution and the forgiveness of God. Because forgiveness

1.---Gottlob:-Kreuzablass and Almosenablass.

is granted in heaven he claims the right to absolve on earth and not vice versa. The character of the person is of little concern but the pope grants absolution largely because forgiveness is granted in heaven. This is one among the many places that scholars disagree. Smith¹ says: "John VIII proclaimed absolution for all sins and remission of all penalties to the soldiers in the holy war, and from this time on the 'Crusade Indulgence' became a regular means of recruiting." He further states that by this time the practice of regarding an indulgence as a remission not only of penance but of the pains of purgatory also, had arisen. Gottlob is equally sure, also, that the proclamation of John VIII does not constitute crusade indulgences, but only steps toward the same. It is an important turning point. What had been declared a gift to the fallen was also a gift to those prepared to give themselves.

A few of the differences, as listed by Gottlob, between the early and later indulgences are noted:

1.-At first those receiving the indulgence were dead, not living.

2.-Absolution, at first, came after entrance into eternal life. Later it was a means to eternal life and rest.

1.---Smith:-Martin Luther.

3.-With the early indulgence, the appeal to fight was really given more in defense and protection of the faith than to stimulate to fight offensively and in the future.

4.-Pope John VIII does not claim to have a new means of grace.

A century passed before there were further developments in the field of indulgences. There were no wars involving the popes; all the succeeding popes were very low intellectually and morally, for several centuries. Again, the political concern of the commonwealth had been looked after by Otto the Great. Also the popes in Rome were not in touch with the religious life of the Church--a heavy accusation but one that was true. Little concern did they have for the unbelievers. No real papal appeals are found in the tenth century. The Crusade sermons of Silvester II, 999 and Sergius IV, 1011 though not considered authentic, show us the absence of indulgences; for neither mentions any promise of salvation. A letter of consolation by Wilhelm Schmitz in the Neuen Archive (page 605) 1890, also shows the attitude of the time toward, and the absence of indulgences. Once more, the expedition became longer thereby making it more difficult for soldiers to

keep the vows of the Church, do penance, make pilgrimages, and keep the customs.

Are there not some contradictions to be found between the conceptions of the monk and those of the soldier? The one weak; the other strong. Public penance by the sinner is necessary. A public notice of his sin is given; the excommunicant is barred from the Eucharist. This was impossible with the soldier on the battle field. Nevertheless reconciliation sometimes was accomplished through the penitents taking up arms for Christ. These, if they died were saved, but if they returned were required to do penance, undergo suffering for the Church, and manifest a real conversion. Many soldiers who went to battle paid no attention to penance customs. Proof of this is found in the letter of Wilhelm Schmitz cited above.

Some writers, Pope Alexander II among them, have put very little emphasis on the confessions of soldiers, saying there was little need because the devil could have no power over them. Pope John VIII gave a decree taking away penances of those who had died in the war. Indulgences for the living now became the only efficient means of enlisting soldiers for the Crusades. Urban II, keenly

realizing this fact, acts upon it in the enlistment of soldiers for the first crusade, 1095.

I am indebted almost wholly to Smith, Gottlob, and Koehler for the fourth section of the first division. Koehler lists several known documentary writings on the indulgence controversy, the most important of which are given below.

1.--The oldest indulgence document, probably as far as known, is by Archbishop Pontius of Arles.

2.--First papal indulgence as far as known, by Urban II, October, 12, 1091.

3.--The Crusade indulgence by Urban II.

6.--The Crusade indulgence by Innocent III.

8.--The change in the doctrine of penance during the twelfth and thirteenth century.

14.--The indulgence "a poena et culpa" of Thomas of Chautimpre about 1260.

15.--Pontincola indulgence--remarks on this by Peter John Olivius about 1279.

18.--The grant of indulgences "A poena et culpa" to the Church St. Maria in the capital of Koln by Boniface IX, 1393.

21.--Indulgences for the dead according to Thomas Aquinas.

23.--First papal indulgence for the dead, as far as known, 1457.

24.--Indulgence bull for the Dead, of Sixtus IV, granted to the Church of St. Peter 1476.

26.--The oldest printed indulgence letter, as far as known, 1454.

30.--Sermons by Luther concerning indulgences, about the year 1516.

HOLY SCRIPTURES AND INDULGENCES

As this theme has to do with the practice and theory of a doctrine of a denomination claiming the Bible as one of the sources of its authority we should ask just how much Scriptural authority there is for this specific doctrine. In this matter, as in some others there is a clearly drawn division between Catholics and Protestants because of a difference of interpretation. As we have concluded that indulgences grew out of penance we must first seek a scriptural basis for the latter. Catholics claim there is, although centuries of the practice of indulgences passed before the Church leaders formulated a theory to substantiate it. And some of the earlier defenders of indulgences said a Scriptural basis was unnecessary, that reason alone was sufficient justification for the practice.¹

In building his argument for temporal punishment for sin due to God after sin has been forgiven Cardinal Gibbons goes back to the Old Testament. He states there are several examples in the Old Testament narrative to prove there always remains a temporal punishment after sin has been forgiven. This once great leader in the Catholic faith cites

1.---Harnack:--History of Dogma, Volume III.
2.---Gibbons:--Faith of Our Fathers.

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the instance of Mary, the sister of Moses who murmured against her brother. Though God remitted the sin still she was to bear the temporal punishment for sin which was leprosy for seven days. For another illustration to support his proposition he uses the instance of the great sin of David.² After Nathan announced to David that his double crime was forgiven he states that he will suffer many chastisements from the hand of God.

In an effort to construct a Scriptural basis for indulgences proper all Catholic writers are in agreement³ in the use of Matthew 16:19; 18:18; I Corinthians 5:5; John 21:17; and II Corinthians 2:6-10. When we speak of the agreement of Catholic writers we refer to the later writers, those who found it necessary to build a theory for the practice that long since had engulfed the Church. The greatest support these writers have lies in the statements of Christ to his disciples in Matthew 18:18 when He said to them: "What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven; and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Also, a more weighty consideration is given to Christ's statement in Matthew 16:19. In this

1.---Numbers, Chapter XII.
2.---II Kings, Chapter XII.
3.---Gibbons, Laun, Amort, Grone.

passage he makes the same solemn declaration to Peter. The Church affirms that in these two passages of Scripture Christ delegates his authority to the Church, its leader becoming the vicegerent of Christ on earth.

This is the power of binding and loosing which the Church claims was given to the Apostles and specifically to Peter. To him was given the keys of heaven. Yet we read that Origen¹ ridiculed the idea that the power of the keys had been transmitted. Another instance of an early leader who rejected what later became the corner stone for the Church's claim for many of its practices. The later writers² state that Christ in his commission to the disciples and Peter gave to them the power on earth to bind and loose the individual of his sin and temporal punishment also. Ease on earth--freedom from the results of sin--and entrance into heaven were granted or restrained by the voice of the disciple. And since the Pope is the successor of St. Peter in him has been through all succeeding centuries and is today, vested this power. Earlier writers were not willing to say Christ had empowered His disciples with such unrestricted authority. While in a somewhat vague way, saying there was given to the Church the

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.
2.---Gibbons:-Faith of Our Fathers.

power to bind and loose, they still contended that God alone remits and retains sins. The following statement of Peter Lombard¹ gives the sentiment of the first writers on indulgences: "This we may safely say and think: that God alone remits and retains sins and yet that He has given the Church the power of binding and loosing. But He looses and binds in one sense, the Church in another. For He, by Himself alone remits sins, for He cleanses the soul from its inward stain and frees it from the debt of eternal death. Such power he has not given to the priest, to whom nevertheless He has given the power of binding and loosing, that is, of showing that men are bound and loosed."

The theory of the power of the keys was, just like the practice of indulgences, a gradual growth. Origen ridiculed the idea; Peter Lombard would not commit himself wholly to it; and Cardinal Gibbons accepts it in toto. In regard to the passages in the letters to the church at Corinth he says Paul exercised the prerogative of granting indulgences and that it has been exercised by the "teachers of the Church from the beginning of her existence." To be perfectly fair we quote the passage and his reasons why it is an indulgence: "St. Paul

1.---Peter Lombard:--Sentences, Book IV, Division 8.

exercised it in behalf of the incestuous Corinthians whom he had condemned to a severe penance proportioned to his guilt, 'that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord.'¹ And having learned afterwards of the Corinthians's fervent contrition the Apostle absolves him from the penance which he had imposed: 'To him, that is such a one, this rebuke is sufficient, which is given by many. So that contrawise you should rather pardon and comfort him, lest, perhaps, such a one be swallowed up with over much sorrow---And to whom you have pardoned anything, I also. For, what I have pardoned, if I have pardoned anything for your sakes I have done it in the person of Christ.'² "Here," says the Cardinal, "we have all the elements that constitute an indulgence. First--a penance, or temporal punishment proportioned to the gravity of the offence, is imposed on the transgressor. Second--the penitent is truly contrite for his crime. Third--this determines the Apostle to remit the penalty. Fourth--the Apostle considers the relaxation of the penance ratified by Jesus Christ, in whose name it is imparted."

To the other side--- We have seen that indulgences is an outgrowth of penance. The references above cited

1.---I Corinthians 5:5

2.---Gibbons:-Faith of Our Fathers.

deal with indulgences as such in the Bible. Where do Catholics find Scripture upholding penance? It is one of the sacraments, and the parent of our theme. If one reads the discussions of penance by Catholic writers, with a full knowledge of the subject in hand, he is forced to feel they beg the question and evade facing the issue squarely. They bring into play several quotations from the New Testament, and some from the Old, but not one is the command of Christ to do penance. Nowhere does he request the penitent soul to undergo the oppressive exactions that have been prescribed by the Medieval Church. In its final analysis the Roman Church has only a very few passages of Scripture that bear with any force on these mooted questions, and the Scripture used to prove one is used to uphold the other. Eliot says that as we consider the Scripture basis for Catholic doctrine "it is only necessary to state, that these passages, as interpreted and quoted by Roman Catholics, are made to support almost every doctrine, usage, and rite of the Catholic Church." Pedro de Soto, who was papal theologian in the first convocation of the Council of Trent, admits that there is no positive evidence in scripture and the early Church, and warns the debaters not to advance

1.---Matthew 16:18,19; Ibid 18:18; Isaiah 1:18; John 20:21,23;
I John 1:9 etc.
2.---Eliot:-Delineation of Roman Catholicism, Volume I.

uncertain proof.¹ What difference of opinion! What far-fetched conclusions some have drawn! A learned disputant² about 1550 tells us that Moses striking the rock signifies contrition, and the water that flowed was indulgences.

In a study of the Greek text of the New Testament there is found no command to do penance. Though some are claimed for such by Church writers who refer to the Scriptures listed below³ to substantiate their claims, Cardinal Gibbons ignores them, probably because his scholarship will not permit him to meet the issue and follow the conclusions of his colleagues in the matter. Those who make such a claim usually are those who are content with the Douay and Vulgate versions of the Bible. In translating the Greek Testament into Latin, the language of Rome and many of her dependencies, *μετανοειν* was rendered "poenitentiam agere". Hence, our word "penitence" finds its origin not in the Greek, but the Latin word "poenitentia"; and this is derived from "poena", giving us the meaning of satisfaction, compensation, punishment. Jerome retained this in the Latin Bible for *μετανοειν*. And so when the Douay is made we have no longer *μετανοειν* but the Latin "poenitentiam agere", to do penance. The

1.---Quoted by Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.

2.---Pauliano:-The Jubilee and Indulgences.

3.---Matthew 3:2; 4:17; Luke 13:3-5; Mark 1:15; 6:12; Acts 2:38.

word repentance or penitence is an insufficient rendering for the corresponding Greek "which means a radical change of mind,¹ or conversion from a sinful to a Godly life, and includes negatively, a turning away from sin in Godly sorrow, and positively, a turning to Christ by faith with² a determination to follow him."

In the Latin Church the idea was externalized and identified with acts of self-abasement or self-punishment for the expiation of sin. It magnified what should have been the effect to the detriment, and often, to the death of the cause. Augustin, Lombard, and other Catholic theologians connect the term, "poenitentiam agere", with the penal idea and make it cover the whole penitential discipline. This is altogether foreign to the Greek, the original language of the Scriptures, and gives no ground for the system of penance as known in the Roman Catholic Church.

1.---Thayer:--Greek--English Lexicon.

2.---Shaff:-History of The Christian Church; Vol. IV.

DIVISION II

LATER DEVELOPMENT

Power of the Keys

Thus far we have tried to locate the parentage of and trace the earliest life of the practice of indulgences. We have discussed in connection with indulgences those secular forces with which the church practice came in contact and by which it may have been influenced.

At this stage of the theme a division is made not because a distinct line of cleavage can be drawn but for the sake of convenience. This subject being one of growth cannot be divided except with the recognition of the fact that one division shades into the other. Because of this fact there will be, of necessity, some repetition. More than one topic relating to the general theme may have its birth in one division, and its mature or full development in another. So it happens to be, with slight exception, with the subject of the Power of the Keys.

This subject came under discussion incidentally in

the first division. Around this one tenet, in a large measure, revolves the whole sacramental system of the Church. In this doctrine is lodged the authority for its exactions from the believer.

We have seen that in Apostolic days and the early centuries following, "except under the baleful shadow of predestination," the sinner appealed directly to his Creator and was taught to earn his salvation through his own prayers and sorrow, save what he might gain through the intercessory prayers of the faithful. No special powers were attached to the prayers of the clergy. Those of the laity were equally efficient. Naturally one would judge the prayers of the righteous more effective than those of the wicked. Nowhere do we find it stated that ordination to a sacred office gave to the prayers of the ordained any special control of the mercy and grace of the Lord. Early was it considered, however, that martyrs, confessors, and saints were valuable intercessors, and soon came to occupy a prominent place among the Christians as mediators. Some of the early writers tell us this tendency began early, but it met with strong opposition. Tertullian¹ opposes it, stating "It is sufficient for a martyr to purge himself of his own sins, and asks who

1.----Migne:-Patrologiae --Latinorum Patrum:-De Pudicitia.

except Christ has saved another by his own death." A
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passage from Cyprian shows us that by his time it was
a prevalent practice for sinners to seek the aid of
martyrs and confessors in obtaining forgiveness for their
sins.

This was only the expression of a human instinct
old as history; and that instinct lives today. Often to-
day the minister kneels with and prays for the individual
sinner. How often the clergyman is heard in the room
of the sick praying for both soul and body! A practice
of early Christianity not to be condemned except when
found in its anti-Scriptural expressions. Martyrdom was
a thing courted by many early Christians and it was
natural for people to judge that those who sought such
horrible death in the name of Christ must be in very close
communion with Him.

After persecution subsided and the Church discounten-
anced martyrdom the intercessory office was transferred to
the saints. A period of two hundred years stands between
the attitude of Tertullian and the conceptions of the
early years of the fifth century. From the simple to a

1.---Migne: Patrologiae Latinorum Patrum: Epistulae
Cypriani XIX.

more complex had developed the religious life of the Church. From a full faith in Christ to forgive to a faint belief had grown the faith of the sinner, accompanied with a greater reliance on the prayers of the saints. Yet direct prayers to the saints do not seem as yet to be recognized. In the earliest Sacramentaries, attributed to Leo I prayers are still offered only to God. "When the mediator could only be addressed through God it was difficult evidently to shake off the primitive idea that God, as the sole source of pardon, was to be approached directly." With much difficulty could the mind come to feel that to anyone, in heaven or on earth, God had entrusted the dispensation of his mercy.

In considering the supreme intercessory power ascribed to the Mother of Jesus in medieval and modern times, it is of no little interest to see what an insignificant place she was given in this early period. In the calendars of the fourth and fifth centuries there are no feasts for her. It is true St. Gregory of Nyssa refers to the feast of Purification, but that seems to be only a local custom, instituted to avert a pestilence. In the Leonine Sacramentary she is alluded to three or

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.
2.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

four times as the mother of Jesus, but not once as an intercessor. Not once is her suffrage sought. Her cult has not yet commenced. In the early allusions to the pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and the relics brought back no mention is made to any shrine of the Virgin. Her exaltation is slow. She comes to be mentioned along with the saints but given no more prominence. In the later sacramentaries she is mentioned before the saints, as if deserving some peculiar honor. Not until the eleventh century is she regarded as the chief intercessor. After this the progress was rapid.

Alongside the gradual growth of this idea the saints came to occupy a place of prominence as intercessors. There was gradually developing a claim that God had committed to the Church a mysterious and undefined power over the forgiveness of sins. This claim was founded on the passages of Scripture on "binding and loosing" referred to in the previous division. As we recognize the grant of power we are deeply convinced the early Church regarded it as personal, to those men whom Christ had chosen as His immediate representatives. The disciples did not expect to have any successors; for they were looking for the Day of Judgment before their generation

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should pass away. How slowly the idea of the investiture of supernatural power got hold on the disciples themselves is shown when Philip refers Simon Magus to God for forgiveness after repentance. 2 The early Christians would have been astounded at the suggestion that any man, fit or unfit, who, by some means should be ordained would be given such authority and power by God.

The Early Fathers

There is a strong inference from the silence of the Early Fathers that they knew nothing of this theory. True it is, this is only negative evidence and proverbially difficult to prove, but it shall be given full consideration nevertheless. It seems strange that writers so voluminous on every other subject of the Church should have purposely ignored this one; or could have been so negligent as to overlook one so intimately related to the sacerdotal system of the Church. The Early Fathers were the thinkers and writers of the Church. They treated on other methods of obtaining pardon for sin. For them to make no allusions to a power of forgiveness lodged with the Church and its leaders "is inconsistent with the existence of a contemporaneous belief in it." St. Clement

1.---Matthew 24:34; Mark 13:30; Luke 21:32.

2.---Acts 8:22

3.---Lea: History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

of Rome, the Didache, Barnabas, St. Ignatius, and the Shepherd of Hermas make no reference to an authority under God. However, each of these advise¹ the sinner as to how he may obtain forgiveness. Ignatius, though he magnifies the bishop's office, does not ascribe to it any unusual authority. Irenaeus evidences an ignorance of any intermediary functions of priest or bishop by asking how sins can be remitted unless God who has been¹ offended remits them to us. Also he says: "He (God) the same against whom we had sinned in the beginning, grants² forgiveness of sins in the end." According to Eusebius, St. Dionysius of Corinth orders the returning sinners to be received kindly but he says nothing about absolving them. He was making this request of the Churches of Pontus and Crete. The order met with strong opposition. There was still in these churches a rigid discipline. Does this condition and incident tell us the idea of "binding and loosing" was a contemporaneous growth with lax church discipline? The epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians is an exhortation as to conduct and practice: He enjoins on them the duties of fasting, prayer, hope, patience, and other Christian virtues. If confession or absolution were customary or recognized surely he would have referred to them. But he says nothing about them. In his paragraph³

1.---Migne: Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum:--Irenaeus. Against Haeresies, liber V. c. XVII. # 1, 2.

Also--Ante Nicene Fathers, Volume I.

2.---Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, Volume I.

3.---Ante-Nicene Fathers Volume I.

dealing with the duties of presbyters there is no allusion to such functions or to mediation between God and man. In this epistle he speaks of the presbyter Valens and his wife, who had sinned and brought shame to himself and his office. Of them he says only, "May God grant them true repentance." The letter gives us the picture of a Church simple in discipline and organization, in which, man deals directly with God. The fact that Valens, a presbyter, was not required to do penance showed that the penitential system of the Church in that day had nothing to do with the relation between the sinner and his God.

The first reference to the power of pardoning sin, in so far as we are able to ascertain, occurs early in the third century. On hearing that it was proposed at Rome to remit the sin of fornication and adultery to those who had performed penance, Tertullian protested vehemently. Whether this was carried out it is impossible to say positively. It seems the matter was dropped. No subsequent document tells us adultery was treated with less severity than homicide or idolatry. In some of the African churches, and Eastern, the person guilty of it was not received even as a penitent. That the subject had

become one warmly discussed and was attracting much attention is shown by Tertullian's argument that the grant to Peter was personal.¹

The idea gradually pushed itself into many of the churches under varying conditions and with varying results. In the Eastern church it made little or no headway. In the West it found its most fertile soil. Not long after Tertullian the canons of Hippolytus show that prayer was made to God to bestow on the bishop the power of remitting sins, and the Apostolic constitutions, based on these canons² have nearly the same formula at the close of the third century. However, there is no universal custom. In some churches the bishops were claiming the power of the keys; in others their pretensions were ridiculed. Origen in speaking of the power to bind and loose claimed by the bishops says it is fitting, provided they can perform the works for which Christ made the grant to Peter but it is absurd for a bishop to make such claims if he is bound by the chains of his own sins. No grounds has he for the claim just because he is a bishop. To Origen ordination³ conferred no special power.⁴

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum:--Tertullian:--
De Pudicitia, Cap. 1.

2.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

3.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum:--Origen's
Commentary on Matthew, Volume XII # 14.

4.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum:--Origen in Leviticus
Hom VII, n 2.

Cyprian is very clear in his statements on absolution and reconciliation. The church could condemn by refusing fellowship; but if there should be reconciliation then the restored was referred to the judgement of God to affirm or annul the decision. None but Christ is able to pardon, he says. Nor can the servant condone an offence against his master.¹ In this regard he goes back to the New Testament. The only evidence of laxity² is his admission that intercession by a priest or martyr may incline God to mercy and cause him to stay the condemnation. But shall we say this was evidence of the beginning of laxity with Cyprian? Did not the disciples pray one for another? Yea. Jesus prayed for those crucifying Him. The early Church often prayed for sinners. Very emphatic is He in his position regarding the theory of binding and loosing. It is the height of arrogance he asserts for man to assume he can do what God did not concede even to the apostles--to separate the grain from the chaff and the wheat from the tares.³

St. Peter of Alexandria in his instructions to the church for reconciliation of the lapsed in the persecution of Diocletian is ignorant of any earthly power to

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- 1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum: Cyprian:-De Lapsis n, 17; n. 18, 29 Epist. 4, 55, 56.
De Unitas Ecclesia.
 - 2.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.
 - 3.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Cyprian:-
Epist. 55.

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remit sins. His conclusion is that the church can only pray that Christ may intercede in behalf of sinners with God.

Yet when there began to appear here and there inferences and mild statements about the delegation of power to men by God to bind and loose on earth the idea rapidly grew, largely due to the plastic state of doctrine and practice, and developed with increasing power. The Church is emerging from its sieges of persecution to find itself soon the state religion of a vast, though decadent empire. She becomes intoxicated with the possession of civil power. She is blinded by the almost sudden elevation to supervision of body as well as soul. The rapid change so dazes her she loses, at least temporarily, her sense of discrimination between right and wrong. In so many instances the persecuted becomes the persecutor. Many things she once hated she now countenances, then fondles, and finally clasps to her breast. "Appetite grows by what it feeds on and it would have required abnegation not often predicable of human nature for bishops not to grasp at such authority after it had been advanced and exercised by a few."²

1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; St. Peter of Alexandria, Canon XI.

2.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

However many writers of the second half of the fourth century ascribe no pardoning power to the Church or its leaders. Lactantius knows nothing of the priest as an intermediary, the sinners still dealing directly with God.¹ St. Hilary of Poitiers, in his commentary on Matthew, seems ignorant of the claim that power of binding and loosing was conferred on the Apostles to be transmitted to their successors.² He treats it as a personal grant to them. It is well to notice that one Catholic writer admits St. Hilary does not assert the grant of power was to be transmitted while another boldly quotes him as though he concedes transmission.³ These ascribe no pardoning power to the Church, the fate of the sinner depending wholly on God.

The rise of the several sects gave impetus to the growth of the idea of binding and loosing. The Novations fought vehemently the continued encroachments of sacerdotalism on the simpler types of Christianity. This protest would naturally lead the advocates of a more formal Christianity to defend their position. On the other hand, the Manicheans seem to be strong advocates of the power of the keys. Their leaders, not permitted to handle money, undertook to remit sins for bread.

1.---Migne:--Patrologiæ--Latinorum Patrum; Lactantius:--
Divine Institutes, Liber 4c 17; Lib. 6 c 13, 23.
2.---Migne:--Patrologiæ--Latinorum Patrum; St. Hilary of
Poitiers;--Com. on Matthew c XVI, n 7; c XVIII, n 8.
3.---Lea:--Confession and Indulgences, Note 3 Volume I.

By the time of St. Basil the Great it is claimed the power to bind and loose lies with the bishops¹. In certain of his writings St. Ambrose asserts, in an unqualified manner, the power of the keys is in the hands of the bishops. In these he is trying to meet the attack of the heretics. But at other times he assumes that this power is lodged in the Church at large, clearly stating the power is that of intercessory prayer². He denies the priest can exercise any power. In a letter to Theodosius he says he himself does not possess it and attributes it solely to God³.

In his expositions of Psalms XXXVIII he finds grounds for binding and loosing; David realized this power could be and was conferred. The idea was an old belief (*imp haec erat vetus sententia*) that one who had bound himself in earth would wander around bound in body. Frankly he states, previously, that what was bound in earth will be bound in heaven (*Quod enim in terra ligatum manserit, ligatum manebit in caelo;*). Therefore the power is spoken to Peter, it is spoken to the apostles. "We (bishops) do not usurp power, but serve the king." In his treatment of Psalms CXVIII he carries on, or develops the same thought. We receive the Holy Spirit who not

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum:--S. Basil
Epist. Canon III, c 74.

2.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum:--S. Basil:--
De Poenitent. Liber I c. 2.

3.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum:--S. Basil:--
St. Epist. LI c II.

only forgives our sins but makes us priests to dismiss the sins of others. Other instances in his sermon and commentaries on Scripture could be cited showing him a supporter of this rapidly growing child of the plastic, unsettled, theology of this period.

In a study of the works of St. Ambrose we find equally as strong authority against the principle of binding and loosing as for it. In his De Poenitentia,¹ second chapter, he says the power of remitting sins is of the Master only; Yea, those do a great injury who wish to do this.² He goes on to say this power is lodged in the Church at large, limited to intercessory prayer, and that the priest exercises none of this power. In section seven and eight of the chapter just mentioned St. Ambrose states very clearly that the priests being human are not endowed with this heavenly prerogative. Again, in his De Spiritu Sanctu, book III, Chapter 18, note 137,³ he is opposed to the theory of binding and loosing. It is here he is sure the Holy Spirit forgives and that men are intercessors in behalf of this forgiveness. Paulinus, his biographer, also tells us he considered himself an intercessor only. In a letter to Theodosius he says he

1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum Volume XVI.
2.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum Volume XVI.
3.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum Volume XVI.

himself possesses no super-power and attributes it to God.

These citations are conclusive evidence of the writer's inconsistency in his treatment of this part of the theme in hand. Hardly is it more than a conglomeration of contradictions. But St. Ambrose was not alone in this position. St. Chrysostom's writings bearing on the subject are equally incongruous. In his epistle to the Hebrews he emphasizes intercessory prayer, saying those are forgiven who seek God with a contrite heart. Elsewhere he gives to the priest higher position than he had hitherto known; his power is indeed vast. Their decisions ratified by God. They regenerate us in baptism and pardon our subsequent sin.

St. Jerome does not touch this subject so fully. He speaks of the bishops as successors to the Apostles but does not stress the thought of Apostolic succession. Ordination conferred no power on the ordained, and God is mindful of the sinner, not the sentence of the priest. Stating the clergy have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, "they judge men to some extent before the day of judgment." Also, "if a monk fall, a priest shall intercede

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- 1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum Volume LXIII.
 - 2.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum; De Sacerdotis Lib. III c,5,6.
 - 3.---Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, Volume VI.

for him.*

Readily do we see from the writings of these men that the priesthood were freely claiming the power of the keys. The claim had by no means become universally accepted, but was gaining momentum with each passing year, and through every controversy. St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom in all probability, would have said little on the subject but for the religious controversies that arose and demanded their attention.

St. Augustin, a voluminous writer would almost of necessity, treat this subject. He does so, and with like inconsistency to that of Ambrose and Chrysostom. According to his De Doctrina Christiana and treatises on certain Psalms the power granted to St. Peter was transmitted to the Church at large. Faith in Christ as Savior and a turning from sin is all that is necessary to salvation and forgiveness. Peter is a figure of the Church. The power of the keys is not mentioned but faith is magnified in De Agone Christiano. In many of his sermons and commentaries, especially on the Psalms, faith and repentance are the essentials to forgiveness. Yet, when he comes

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 37.
2.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 40.

to treat of the power of binding and loosing it seems to be vague and mysterious with him. This power, to him is the judgements of the martyrs;¹ again, it is the power of the Church as exercised by administration of the ordinance of baptism,² or a contrite heart. On the other hand in Sermon XL he gives to the church a power of inflicting punishment worse than death by fire or sword.³ However, he still will not say the priest has any power and "God pardons or condemns irrespective of what the priest may do or say."

Thus we have many and different views in the writings of these four leaders of the Church. Those of greatest mental acumen differ and are inconsistent in many of their own utterances. The many instances in which this subject comes up in the early writings and the ways it is treated prove for us that first, it was a debatable question, secondly, that it was receiving universal attention, thirdly, that it was by no means settled as to just what was meant by the power of the keys, and fourthly, that the Church had not taken it in as a fixed practice.

1.---Migne:--Patrologiæ--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 41.
2.---Migne:--Patrologiæ--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 42.
3.---Migne:--Patrologiæ--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 38.

For the following few centuries the question remained largely as it was at the close of Augustin's period. It was in a state of fluctuation. One leader in the Church will confer in his writings unlimited power on priest and bishop. Another to bishop only. Still another will claim Christ gave to no person the power to bind and loose in heaven or on earth.

Toward the close of the sixth century opposition to the theory begins to pass away. There is no denial of the power but it is quietly ignored. Nearly all the writers assert the capacity of the sinner to deal directly with God. Most of the functions of the priests are treated as subordinate. The function of the priest is to aid the sinner in reaching God. Gregory the Great¹ says the power to bind and loose depends on the use the priest makes of it; if it is abused they forfeit it. However, in another place he shows this power is being used in a large manner in Rome.² About the middle of the seventh century the bishop Eloi, though emphasizing the importance of the imposition of hands in the ceremony of reconciliation, tells the penitents God will not absolve them unless they are contrite.

1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Homill, in
Evangel. Lib. I C XVII.
2.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Homill, in
Evangel. Lib. II C XVI.

The conditions of this period, greatly enhanced the position of the priest. The use of penitentials had become general among those scattered throughout the territory of the newly converted Barbarians. The large dioceses, the almost inaccessibility of some districts, bad roads, and the prevalence of highway robbery, rendered it impossible for the bishops to hear all penitents. Consequently much of this work fell into the hands of the local priest. Many of these were ignorant men; a change of practice was inevitable, and so eventually there came about a change of doctrine. The blind were leading the blind and a complete modification of the theory of the power of the keys was the outcome.

The forgers of the False Decretals of the ninth century show this claim of power is rapidly spreading among the priests, and largely among those north of the Alps since there the Decretals were likely written. The bishops are becoming jealous of it. At the Council of Pavia in 850 they strictly prohibited priests from reconciling penitents, except on the death bed, or by special instruction, for the reason that it was exclusively an episcopal function. Even at the close of the eleventh century we have evidence that special permission of a

bishop or pope was necessary to enable the priest to perform the functions of a confession. ¹ This, of course was the legal or official status of the struggle between priest and bishop. The priests in large numbers were exercising this power without any permission of a higher earthly authority. In 1095 the councils of Piacenza, ¹ presided over by Urban II, and Clermont, ² repressed the aspirations of the priests by prohibiting them from administering penance except when requested to do so by their bishops. Other synods took like action.

In the ninth and tenth centuries there is very little real development of the doctrine. The Church, much of the time, is wallowing in its own filth and debauchery. What time there is any manifestation of life it is too busily engaged in an effort to be political sovereign to give any consideration to the development of doctrines or the practice of its leaders. The eleventh century is about equally as void of illustrative material on the subject. Toward the close of the century Lanfrance ³ of Canterbury evidently holds that the power of the keys is lodged in the Church at large. This power is to be exercised by any member of the Church in case of necessity.

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.
2.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. I.
3.---Migne:-Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum, Vol. 150.
Page 651.

St. Bernard knows little of the powers of the keys. In his counsel to his sister he lays much stress on the value of confession but nothing about confession to a priest and receiving penance. To him God alone forgives sins.

The three centuries prior to the age of the Schoolmen may be, in all fairness to the subject, looked upon as a period of uncertainty. Some of the outstanding writers, as we have noticed, were inconsistent in statements about the power of the keys. Others seemed to evade it purposely. When the subject comes into the hands of the Scholastics it is given a decided bent toward becoming a Church dogma. Sacerdotalism was placed on the throne by these men and the one jewel glittering in its crown was the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven.

The Scholastics

As Europe began to emerge from the Dark Ages with its superstition and mental servitude men began to think again. In this age the Church had been the thought center for everyone. No one dared think contrary to the mind of

1.---Migne:-Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum, Vol. 150.

the Church. It is not so any longer. Here and there one even dares defy church polity and tenets. Once more men begin to debate the question of man's relationship to his Creator. However all the culture and intelligence of the period were practically under the control of the Church and the answers to these questions did not fail to be given in favor of sacerdotalism. "The race of schoolmen arose, whose insatiable curiosity penetrated into every corner of the known and of the unknowable, framing a system of dialectics through which their crudest and wildest speculations assumed the form of incontrovertible logical demonstration." With untiring energy and subtle skill they worked through the years, and from the mould of their minds there came the structure of Catholic theology.

But what a change Christianity had undergone! Not the same that entered the Scholastic period. From its clearer, simpler, form with Christ as its center it has gone to a more complex, and mechanical form with ecclesiasticism as the center.

Hugo of St. Victor is the first to treat the subject

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

at length. We learn from him that there are still those who argue that God alone remits sin. However, he is sure man has no share in it and with the priest there is full control over the soul.¹ Hugo of St. Victor, though uncertain about the limitations of this power is nevertheless a strong believer in it. He recognizes the fact that the priests are subject to error, some priests have this power; others have it not. Some exercise this power correctly; others even bind those whom God has not bound. Again, this power must be exercised always in conformity to the will of God.²

Aberlard does not let the theory go by unchallenged. Original thinker as he was, a free lance, he contends that God has not delegated such power to the Apostolic successors, that the early Fathers had not such authority. He reverts to the works of Origen and Gregory for his authority.³ And he was the exponent of the views of many probably who, through fear of the disfavor of the Church, were silent. In a measure, a questioning age is on. Almost every conceivable question about this power is asked: can a priest bind a righteous man, remit the sins of an impenitent man? Even those willing to acquiesce

1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 176.
2.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 176.
3.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 178.

to this would-be tenet of the Church wish to know more about it. There was by no means a universal feeling of certainty about the absolution of priests and the guidance one could expect from them.

Peter Lombard gets into a predicament in his effort to harmonize the various contradictory views of the Doctors. He concludes that God alone binds and looses, and so does the Church but in a different way. God alone forgives sin and purifies the heart, but the sinner in some way, still owes a debt to the Church. God has given to the Church the work of showing to the world men are bound and loosed. When God has liberated one from his sins he cannot be considered so in the fact of the Church until the judgement of the priest is given. The priest makes manifest the judgment of God. This reduced the priest to a subordinate position but, Lombard is trying to be true to Scripture and at the same time harmonize his teaching with the demand of sacerdotalism. He is trying to find a position where he will not do too great violence to Scripture and show himself a good Churchman also. This gave rise to much discussion and was later cast aside; too little authority was vested in the Church.

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, Volume 192.
Also Neander:--History of Christian Church.

It is in Lombard's writings that we first find reference to the theory of culpa et poena.¹ He brings it forward as an opinion of others that God remits the sin and allows the priest to remit the punishment of eternal damnation.² (solus enim Christus, non sacerdotus, animam resuscitat.....debitum vero aeternae poenae solvere concessit sacerdotibus.). Like all the earlier writers, he uses the resurrection of Lazarus to illustrate his assertion showing just how the priest was given the authority in that act. This point, whether God remitted the sin and the priest the punishment or whether the priest had power over both, was settled only after long and heated discussions. As we expect to treat it separately we turn our attention now to the other point of importance advanced by Lombard, namely whether the priest was merely the declaimer to the world of God's act of remission.

The postulate of Lombard that God absolves and the priest manifests that absolution for Him was not original with him. The writers had recourse to the early Fathers and often showed themselves thorough students of their writings. In fact, it is largely through the Schoolmen that we learn just what our forefathers really believed.

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.
2.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum Volume 192.

This theory had as its basis a passage of St. Jerome and when Lombard quotes it he is only giving expression to the prevailing sentiment of the time. However, the opinion is hardly expressed before it is vigorously attacked by Hugh of St. Victor. Richard of St. Victor, also is an opponent of it, but runs into a serious difficulty in his effort to defend his own position.¹

Toward the close of the twelfth century several leaders accept the position of Lombard which held its place in the schools for a long period. Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventura, though not willing to admit it, approaches it very closely. They say that as to culpa the priest manifests it; as to poena he grants it. Aquinas endeavors to show the priest to some extent has control over both culpa and poena. However, he says that power can be exercised only by those who are properly prepared.² Don Scotus tries to evade the manifestation theory. All the writers of the period wrestle with this question only to find after the struggle it as unsettled as before. The keenest minds realized it impossible to construct a theory out of this mixture of the divine and human elements that would stand the careful investigative, analytical, mind of the day.

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, Vol. 196.
2.---Aquinas:--Summa Theologica part III, Vol. 16.

This theory of the Schoolmen giving to the priest only a subordinate position gave food for thought to the scholar but dissatisfaction to the sacerdotal class. It is only a matter of years till bishops and priest through claims of absolute power over soul and body, bring the Church to the place it formally brands as heresy what once was orthodoxy. The practice of the priest in the day of the Schoolmen was not in agreement with their theory. The more conscientious leaders recognized this. That which the Council of Trent in 1515 rejected had been orthodox to the Schoolmen. It approached too nearly the view of the heretics as well as limited the power and popularity of the bishops and priest. Also such a theory put in practice would decrease enormously the revenue of the Pope.

Among the thinkers of the Church it remained a question of debate until the Council above named closed it. Men were not thinking alike but the constant tendency was to give prominence to the priest and what the priest did. In the fourteenth century Peter of Palmero says that in conferring absolution the priest is superior to the Angel and Virgin Mary for they cannot do what he does.

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.

THEORY OF THE TREASURY

Thus far indulgences have been commutations of canonical penance, in the discretion of the priest, for some form of work, crusading, or pilgrimage or contribution in some way for the good of the Church. The authority to commute a part or all of canonical penance in this manner the Church found in the theory of binding and loosing. But as time went on the authority of the Church in this regard was questioned, or more nearly, its procedure could not be understood. People were inclined to ask how was this temporal debt to divine justice paid. In the course of time when the vague theological conceptions of the early Christians began to take a clearer form in the hands of the Schoolmen there came to prevail the idea that the sinner's debt was discharged through what was termed the superfluous merits of Christ and the Saints. Thus there arose the theory of the treasury or thesaurus meritorum. This theory was not invented by Alexander of Hales but was elaborated and brought into relief by him in his teaching. It was an outgrowth of the doctrine of the atonement.

1.---Harnack:--History of Dogma, Volume VI.

The learned Doctors of the Church, Anselm especially, said the death of Christ, an infinite being, was of infinite worth, and more than sufficient to atone for the sins of the world. Christ by the infinite worth of his person accomplished through his suffering a store of merit more than sufficient for the salvation of the world. We have seen already how the early Christians believed the martyrs had special power with God, and the sinner for whom the martyr prayed was highly blessed. Also, there was strong belief that the saints had special power with God. There are yet extant archaic formula of prayers to God to induce the saint to intercede for the sinner. Certain of the early writers include the merits of martyrs and intercession of saints as one of the means whereby sin is pardoned. This belief in the intercession of saints is seen in writings late as the eleventh century.

Mosheim thinks this theory was born in the first years of the twelfth century (1100-1150). He contends that the Roman pontiffs began the practice of issuing indulgences after they had noticed the large advantage the inferior bishops were deriving from them. And in their issuance they very soon went beyond the

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume I.
2.---Mosheim:--Ecclesiastical History, Volume III.

publication of common and ordinary, to entire and absolute also, of plenary remission of all finite or temporal penalties, going so far as to cancel punishments, to be endured after death. They practiced this power not only for the common good, such as crusades, but also for their private emolument. This being such a subversion of the ancient system of canonical and ecclesiastical penances, the pontiffs realized the necessity of some doctrine to support their practice. Therefore, there was devised this doctrine that holy men have performed over and above what duty required; and that the Roman pontiff is the keeper and distributor of the treasures of the Church both temporal and spiritual.

This power was delegated by the pope to the bishops and clergy, especially the Dominican and Franciscan
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friars; "and as the pontiffs had the power of canonizing new saints at will, the fund was ever growing. So long as this system could maintain its credit the riches of their church, thus secularized under the appearance of
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religion, became a sea without a shore."

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Another prominent author states that it was near

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- 1.---Milner:--History of Christian Church, Volume II.
 - 2.---Milner:--History of Christian Church, Volume II.
 - 3.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

the middle of the thirteenth century the discovery was made, that in the Passion of Christ the Church possessed an inexhaustible treasure which it could apply at will to satisfy for sinners. Once more the learned doctors disagree. However, we may safely say that the root ideas in this doctrine go centuries back when, as mentioned above, there was such a prevalent belief of special power in the intercession of the saints and martyrs. This teaching and practice was not a novelty in the days of St. Cyprian where we find it so in vogue during and after the Decian persecution. We find it in vogue "as early at least as the persecution under Severus in 212." Ter-¹tullian is cited by the writer as giving full recognition in his writings to this practice.

Albert Magnus further elaborated this idea by linking it with the doctrine of the "power of the keys," given by Christ to Peter as head of the Church. A more recent² writer, in a discussion of St. Cyprian and the "Libelli Martyrum", states the martyrs rich in merit were eager to transfer those merits not needed to friends and that the Church made such a grant "by the power of the keys".

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- 1.---American Catholic Quarterly, 1907, Volume 32; January-October.
 - 2.---American Catholic Quarterly, 1907, Volume 32; January-October.

Yet there were those unwilling to admit there was any superabundant merits of the saints which they could place at the disposal of the Church.¹ Their contention was based on the ground that the prayers were the individual actions or prayers of the saints and offered not in any official capacity or while in any special relationship to the Church.

Its place as a doctrine was uncertain as late as 1300 for we find a Roman Ordo omitting it.

Thurston, a Catholic writer, says, in a way, a saint has no superfluous merits; whatever he has he wants for himself. The more he merits on earth by Christ's grace the greater his glory in heaven. "But speaking of mere satisfaction for punishment due there cannot be a doubt that some of the saints have done more than was needed in justice to expiate the punishment due to their own sins."² Yet in the face of this assertion St. Salvianus and St. Leo I tell us the saints are debtors, not creditors³ to Christ.

Hedley, writing for the Nineteenth Century, February

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.
2.---Thurston (Quoted by Lea, Volume III).
3.---Migne:--Patrologiæ--Latinorum Patrum; St. Leo Sermones
LXIV, Cap. III.

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1901, makes an attempt to harmonize the two statements that it is impossible for a saint to do more than he "owes" God and that every saint has a superabundant supply of merits. He takes Thurston's statement almost word for word which I have just quoted. He harmonizes the two--to his own satisfaction--by saying that after "we have done what we ought then we are all unprofitable servants. That is, because no man, nor all men together, can ever repay almighty God for what He has done for us in our creation and redemption. We are here speaking of a particular manifestation of God's will,--that a sinner must often or generally make some satisfaction or endure some expiatory punishment, after God has forgiven him. And we say, in this particular, many of the saints do more than is required."²

I give this quotation because to me, his argument for the existence of super-merits is not all conclusive. I am yet unable to see how a man is able to pay his own debt to God and at the same time lay up a store to pay the debts of his fellowman to God.

In the February issue of the XIX Century Herbert

1.---The XIX Century and After, Volume, XLIX, January 1901.
2.---The XIX Century and After, Volume XLIX, January 1901.

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Paul does not attempt to clarify but to show the confusion that follows the more we attempt to explain this origin of the theory of the treasury and the lack of logic to support it. He, in clear reasoning, meets Bishop Hedley's proposition of "secondary agencies." The Bishop says the merits of Christ are all-sufficient; but that He has imparted that efficacy of satisfaction to the works of saints--present and yet to be--as "secondary agencies." To illustrate this position he states God is the final cause and that the laws of nature are secondary agencies under Him. But, says Paul, a law of nature, in the proper sense of the term, is no law at all; only does it sum up the results of observing how the will of God operates in the natural world. It would be absurd to say no sparrow falls to earth without the Father and the law of gravitation. Real cause, as Hume showed long ago, is beyond us. Sequence is all we see. The Bishop clearly states the all-sufficiency of the merits of Christ. Nevertheless, he is very loyal to the doctrine long established before him--that though the merits of Christ are capable of covering every sin of every man, still the Church is custodian of the merits of the Virgin Mary and many saints, and does dispense these to cover the sins of men for whom Christ died. Apparently the "all-sufficient" means with

the aid of the Church, according to Hedley.

The Pope, being the successor of Peter was the holder of the keys. The conjunction of these two theories made the Pope overseer of the Treasury. The merits and sufferings of Christ and the saints were at his disposal, to be assigned to those who needed them whether living or suffering in purgatory. This was another forward step by the Church to its absolute control of the soul. Unless the sinner met every demand of the Church his soul must suffer without the benefits of these merits. True it was, the Church did not claim to forgive sins and remit penalties but it could guarantee such remission because it offered a consideration that God was compelled to respect.¹ It was later the Church assumed the absolute power to forgive sin.

The idea of the community of merits which was in the air must necessarily have formed an interesting subject of debate in the schools, gradually being moulded into a doctrine of the Church as the theologians elaborated their views of the Church Triumphant with the papacy at its head, the mouth piece of God on earth. If the merits

1.---Vedder:-The Reformation in Germany.

of saints in heaven and the superabundant merits of the Virgin Mary could be relied upon to relieve the sinner from the burden of satisfaction and if the transcendent merits of the Christian formed an inexhaustible treasure for the redemption of the lost race how could these merits be applied except through the power of the Church?

Such, we may imagine, was the prevailing tendency of the arguments of the doctors in the centers of learning. This subject of merits was a novelty which had sprung up too insignificant to gain very much recognition from the schoolmen who had built the sacramental system. Though alive during the period of the schoolmen it gained little or no recognition from them because they were involved with the deeper aspects of the theology of the Church. Such men as Hugo of St. Victor, Gratian, Cardinal Pullus, Peter Lombard, Richard of St. Victor took no account of the superabundant merits of Christ and the Saints and made no place for them in their systems of theology.

Alexander of Hales, though receiving the credit for

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- 1.--Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.
 - 2.--Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

being the first to formulate this tenet in accordance with the dialectic methods of the schools, does not present it as a new discovery of his own but assumes its existence as an accepted fact. Therefore he does not have to defend the theory; he only develops and elaborates it, giving to it a more theological slant. Like some of his contemporaries, he looks upon the "thesaurus meritorum" as an established part of the doctrine of indulgences.

Alexander brings in something new when he sets out with the postulate that there are three kinds of merits¹ --those of the penitent, those of Christ who assigns His passion to us, and those of the Church as a whole. There naturally follows a triple remission of punishment, the eternal penalty is changed to temporal in the remission of the "culpa"; the temporal which is beyond our strength to that which we can endure by the absolution of the priest; and this is reduced to a still smaller infliction by the indulgence in which the merits of Christ satisfy for us.

This vicarious satisfaction is the pivot on which the whole theory turns. The Church is a mystical body and as one member of the human body often exposes itself-- so say the theologs in upholding this theory--to protect

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

another, so the Church supplies the needed strength from its reserve made possible through the sacrifice of Christ, the martyrs and saints, and the delegated authority of the power of the keys. This theory gained rapid headway, and in the days of the Mystics commended itself as a solvent of many of the perplexing questions raised by the use of indulgences. The new theory was eagerly accepted by the leading Schoolmen such as Henry of Sousa, Aquinas, Bonaventura, Dons Scotus and others.

It was in 1350 before the theory received papal sanction. Boniface VIII in instituting the Jubilee in which he lavished plenary indulgences for pilgrimages to Rome, abstained from making any reference to a treasury of merits controlled by the Church. It was in 1350 when a new jubilee was proclaimed by Clement VI that the grant of plenary indulgences was based on the theory of the treasury. In the argumentative way, however, that he presents it there is found conclusive evidence that he is propounding a doctrine not yet incorporated in the faith, though as stated above, heartily accepted by many Church leaders. After this papal sanction the existence of a treasure was almost universally accepted as the most plausible basis for indulgences. I say

almost, because there were a few who yet refused to accept the theory. There still were discussions about it, especially what constituted the treasury. The leaders of the Church are still at variance as to this one point. In so far as becoming a component part of the doctrine of indulgences, this was settled in 1350.

This theory is no more than an aspect and a consequence of the Communion of Saints. Maurel¹ speaks of this as a source of indulgences before treating the treasure² of the church. Christians prayed one for another. And while merit was not directly communicable between members of a Christian society, there was a satisfaction transferred that developed more and more a common interest and mutual sympathy. Chrysostom³ seems to have been the first to suggest a community of interests through which all might profit. Like needs drew them together. There had been in the Church for centuries prior to the Scholastic period a practice that some form of penances might be vicariously performed, "and bringing together the several thoughts that the faithful are members of one body, that the good deeds of each of the members are the common property of all, and therefore that the sinful can benefit by the good deeds of their more saintly brethren," there

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- 1.---Hastings:--Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Volume VII.
 - 2.---Maurel:--Indulgences.
 - 3.---Lindsay:--History of the Reformation.

evolved as a logical deduction, through theological minds eager to advance the interests of the Church, this Theory of the Treasury. The elaboration of Alexander was pleasing to the realist spirit of the Scholastics and readily accepted by the majority. This was the theory of the Schoolmen.

After there had been uncertainty till far on in the thirteenth century as to whether indulgences did not relate merely to ecclesiastical penalties imposed by the priest Aquinas advanced the theory that they applied in general to temporal penalty on earth and in purgatory. If man did not fully meet the demands of the righteousness of God as to penalty while living purgatory awaited him. There he remained until the prayers and penances of interested ones in his behalf on earth liberated him. - He is obliged, although absolved, to discharge the temporal penalties of sin. The surplus merits of Christ and the saints must fall necessarily to the benefit of the Church as the body of Christ since neither has further need of the supererogatory works. But the application of these "merits" by the Church alongside the Sacrament of Penance moderate or cancel the temporal penalties of sin. They can be applied only to

those who in penitent spirit have been absolved after making confession, and it is administered in the first instance by the Pope as head of the Church.¹ As we have learned already, theory and practice did not go together always. Such was the case regarding this one put into form by the Scholastics. Moreover, the theory was subject to modifications, it could be conceived of in a more strict or more lax way. When was one in a contrite frame of mind? After all, was attrition or contrition producing the confession, and was it necessary that the priest make the distinction, absolving only the contrite?

The Schoolmen had given theological form to this practice and it had become a doctrine, believed in, taught and accepted. The work of the Schoolmen as to "thesaurus meritorium" increased the vague sense of supernatural spiritual powers attached to the person of the Bishop of Rome. These writers were loyal members of the Church; naturally they would do all possible to enhance the position of the Pope.

There was one important consequence of this theory on the doctrine of Indulgences. Heretofore they were

1.---Harnack:--History of Dogma, Vol. VI.

substitutions of one form of penance for another, or relaxation of the penance enjoined. Now they become the payment out of the treasury of an absolute equivalent of the satisfaction due by the penitent for his sins.

POENA et CULPA

Probably no one point of subsequent importance bearing upon the doctrine of indulgences has been debated so warmly as the question of Poena et Culpa. The line is rather clearly drawn between Protestant and Catholic.. Among the Catholic writers of the latter part of the Middle Ages there are a few who claim this power for the bishop of Rome. However, the more recent writers of the Church in meeting the accusation of Protestant writers that this power has been claimed by the Church say their citations are to spurious writings, or that the author cited was not claiming for the Church all the expressions signified. We know that an indulgence is the remission of temporal punishment due God for sin after the guilt has been removed. It is noted at once that if the Church has power to remit punishment and guilt (poena et culpa) an addition to indulgences has been made and a new definition necessary.

This is a question about which the modern Romanists are rather sensitive. No claim to "a culpa et a poena"

1.---Thurston:--Indulgences for Sale-Inquire Within.

is made by the Modern Church writers. The universal answer given by all defenders of indulgences who have written on the subject since the Council of Trent is that guilt (culpa) and eternal punishment (poena aeterna) are dealt with in the sacrament of penance and indulgences have to do only with the penalty of sin, or temporal punishments, those of earth and Purgatory. We must grant also, after a thorough examination of data on this point that this modern opinion is confirmed by the most eminent authorities of the Medieval Church.

But was there not a time when remissions were made by the Church which included "a poena" as well as "a culpa?"

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Lea holds that for ages there was widespread popular belief that plenary indulgences were "a culpa et a poena" and that this belief was a big factor in contributing to the immense revenue which the papacy drew from their sale throughout Europe. Up to the eleventh century and including it the powers claimed by the pope were vague and undefined. The masses of the people were superstitious, illiterate, and ignorant. Many of the priests were very poorly educated. The sacramental theory had not yet been invented and few were able to draw any distinction

1.---Lindsay:-History of the Reformation.

2.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

between "a poena" and "a culpa." The masses could not grasp the idea that absolution by remitting the guilt change the pains of hell, temporary sufferings in Purgatory, and that this again could be commuted to penance. Purgatory was still a speculation with them. Absolution might mean anything from a prayer to a pardon. The sinner could be received back into the bosom of the Church for any service he might be called upon to perform. And the vagueness of some of the promises made to the penitent, and remissions of priest only served to excite the popular imagination of the age.

It is impossible to say just when this expression was first used by any leader of the Church in absolution for a penitent. We do know however, that this phrase "a poena et a culpa" was used from the thirteenth century¹ to the Reformation to signify a plenary indulgence. It is found again and again in papal bulls from the famous Portincula indulgence of Honorius III to the Franciscans, "to the last hours of undisputed sway of the Pope in the West."² It was an expression in use in tracts and in the common talk of the day. It was used by Piers Plowman.³ An eminent Catholic writer states that the laity cared

1.---Encyclopedia Britannica.

2.---Schaff. History of Christian Church, Vol. V, Part 2.

3.---Dublin Review, 1900.

little about the theological phase of it; yet to them this expression was the name for the biggest thing the Church could give in the nature of an indulgence and that was what they wanted. The prima-facie meaning of the phrase is that the indulgence itself frees the sinner not only from the temporal penalty but from the guilt of all his sins. Though the unlearned could not understand the phrase in its analysis he understood it to mean complete freedom from all the effects of sin. This phrase however was not confined to the realm of the unlearned. As we have noted it is found in papal bulls, and in the writings of the canonists of the Middle Ages. However it may have originated, the phrase undoubtedly contributed to enhance the prevalent misconceptions as to the intrinsic value of indulgences, especially in regard to repentance and confession.

It is very difficult, after a thorough study of the whole doctrine of Indulgences not to believe that each of the two most voluminous writers on this subject-- Lea and Thurston--approach it with ready made cases, hoping to find some facts to substantiate them. In more than one instance each seems to pass up the true and weightier facts in the case just in order to build an

argument.

Both Protestant and Catholic writers agree that the expression "a poena et a culpa" was frequently used, and by the most authoritative writers. Lea condemns the use not only because it reaches beyond the scope of an indulgence, assuming the power of the Church to release from guilt, but also because the writer using the phrase failed to state repentance and confession were prerequisites to the grant. He cites some semi-official writings--according to his words--that omit the request for confession and repentance. Nevertheless there were papal bulls to which he had access distinctly requiring repentance and confession. It is true however, that confession did not mean what it does in modern Protestant use. Of course it is impossible for a Protestant to see how a person can be in a state of grace in the sense it is used by the Catholic Church. Forgiveness with the Church was a process; with the Protestant it is an act of divine mercy. With the former it is a progressive measure of an institution; with the latter a perfected act of God. The penitent was required to repent but an intentional confession in due season was sufficient cause to

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.
2.---The Dublin Review, 1900.

restore to a state of grace.

Lea in his discussion of this specific element of an indulgence would lead us to believe that "a poena et a culpa" was a most unlimited grant; that it was a highly popular and lucrative spiritual commodity which relieved the purchaser of all need of contrition, confession, or reformation of life, and in which the pardoners consequently drove a roaring trade. This impression is in part true, in part false. It is true a lucrative business in indulgences was, in a measure, due to the acceptance and use of this theory by the priests and bishops as well as the Pope. It should be held in mind, however, that it was these salesmen-priests who had such a low conception of their Church. Many were uncrupulous. As a natural consequence the true teaching of the Church was buried--purposely or through ignorance--in their efforts to increase the sale of indulgences. Principle is foreign to unprincipled men. Such are not true representatives of the Church and the Church should not be judged by their deeds.

As to origin it would not be easy to determine the exact epoch at which the term "indulgentia a poena et a

culpa" first made its appearance. Certain are we it was used in the thirteenth century. We can affirm nothing positively, says Thurston,¹ about its origin. We shall find other authorities positive that the expression is much older than the thirteenth century, though Thurston says only it is possibly older.

All writers of later centuries on this question who tried to explain it were reduced to conjectures, and all these are not in agreement. It is probable, according to the Catholic viewpoint, the phrase originated with the Confessional letters which, at an early period, were conceded by the popes to favored applicants. These conferred the privilege once or twice in a lifetime of choosing a confessor who by virtue of this special favor would have special powers of remitting all punishment for sin,-- in other words, the power of granting a plenary indulgence. An ordinary absolution was from guilt (a culpa) only; the special absolution was from punishment (a poena) also, since it was a plenary indulgence. Once the expression "indulgentia a poena et a culpa" had established itself among the people it would have been an easy matter to extend the phrase from the absolution itself to the papal

1.---Thurston in Dublin Review, 1900.

grant which conceded it, and to talk of this kind of an indulgence coming from the pope. As stated before the less instructed could talk freely about an indulgence, "a poena et culpa." But about all they knew of cared to know about it was that it was the highest spiritual blessing the pope could bestow.

There were a few defenders of the faith among the most learned of the fourteenth century who said the Church never used such a statement as "a poena et a culpa." Among them was F. Mayron, the Franciscan professor of Theology in Paris. But Thurston says this is too sweeping a statement and will not stand in the light of facts. He then cites Pope Celestine V who resigned the papacy after having used it.

It is now that Catholic authorities spin a few theories to relieve the popes of their responsibility for such a statement, or phrase. Paulus, in an effort to meet Brieger the German Lutheran writer on the subject, says "it appears that the Bull," containing this phrase, "was drafted by a layman, while the Pope himself was so completely ignorant of the forms and usages of papal documents that he signed whatever was submitted to him." Others reject the phrase

1.---The Catholic, 1899.

2.---The Dublin Review, 1900.

though they say it is capable of explanation.

Explanations were given by several who saw the inconsistency and sought to harmonize the use with the more established doctrines of the Church. One explanation popular with the devotees of the Church was that an indulgence "a poena et a culpa" was nothing more than an ordinary plenary indulgence with the added circumstance "that the confessor received full faculties." Another says the purpose of Boniface in 1300 in using "indulgentia a poena et a culpa" was that he wanted to give the fullest indulgence it was possible to give, as far as the power of the keys extended. Catholic writers go so far as to say this was the idea which remained consistently attached to the phrase in the popular mind. One weighty argument in favor of the above statement that this expression was frequently used and only to designate the grant of a plenary indulgence, is that Pope Pius granted an indulgence "a poena et a culpa" to any soul in purgatory for whom a certain alms should be offered. There could be no question of remitting the guilt of a soul in Purgatory and upon whom God had already passed judgement. With him in this instance at least, we must confess the expression was used ignorantly or as the common or popular phrase for plenary indulgences. It still remained, nevertheless

that intelligent men like Dante believed the grants were
for both penalty and guilt.¹

Medieval theology did not create indulgences. It only followed and tried to justify the practices of the popes and of the Roman Curia--a rather difficult task. We have little evidence that any defense for this phrase was necessary before the latter part of the eleventh century. Lea tries to make the grant, of all the phrase implied if not the use of the phrase itself, come much earlier, but he is proceeding on some broad assumptions. He finds grants of this nature made as early as 1054. It may be this is true but there is no conclusive evidence. On the whole, it is a question whether some of the popes knew just the scope of their own grants. Though many discrepancies were seen, it is impossible to charge the Church with the use of the phrase so early. It is true, however, that conditions political and spiritual were such as to form a most fertile soil for the growth of this idea when once planted. Political conditions alone often were such as to cause the pope to use his every resource in an effort to meet an impending crisis. The papacy was often at war with Saracens, German princes, and others

1.---Lindsay:-History of the Reformation.

who questioned his right to temporal power, or wished to add the papal domain to his own.

That even in theory there were defects in the Middle Ages is acknowledged by Catholic witnesses themselves. They speak of letters of indulgences that remit both temporal punishment and eternal guilt. But according to Benedict XIV many of these are spurious and must be ascribed to those collectors of alms who proclaimed indulgences and at the same time collected alms previous to the synod of Trent. On the Catholic side the appeal is readily made to the circumstance that "peccatum" was also used for "penalty for sin," "atonement for sin," and like expressions. This was the situation.

The meaning can really be proved. The first time we find "indulgentia a poena et a culpa" is 1080 when Gregory boldly makes such a grant. It was about this time that many grants were made without stipulating the conditions of repentance and faith. Catholics say it was always implied if not expressed. When Arnoul of Flanders despoiled Theodoric, Bishop of Verdun, Gregory stimulated the faithful to come to the Bishop's assistance by granting to all the Apostolic benediction, and promised pardon.

1.---Harnack:--History of Dogma, Volume VI.
2.---Harnack:--History of Dogma, Volume VI.

of sins, without conditioning it on repentance and confession. Many other citations of this kind can be made. For instance, Gregory grants absolution of all sins to all who will support Rudolph of Suabia, Henry's competitor, imposing on them no other condition. In 1087 Victor III recurs to the remission of all sins apparently without conditions, to stimulate an expedition against the Saracens. In like manner Urban II grants the grace and benediction of God and the Apostles and the remission of sins to Count Roger of Sicily and all his family. These papal grants continue through the following centuries. In 1253 Innocent IV offers in great detail plenary indulgences to those who go and full pardon of sins to those who contribute to aid Louis IX king of France but at that time a prisoner in Egypt in his crusade. The greatest argument one can deduce for these grants being "indulgentia a poena et a culpa" is that they are unlimited. No conditions are prescribed. No requirements are stipulated. It is difficult for the Protestant mind to imagine these conditions were always implied. These grants were made to men in all walks of life, the high the low, the rich, the poor, the illiterate, and learned. Did every one know the grants were conditional, and that penance must precede the fulfilment of the grant?

After once getting a foothold this kind of grant was popular until the Reformation. In view of the financial advantages of such a doctrine it would, in all probability, have established itself, and the sacrament of Penance would have become obsolete had the Church been left to its own devices and not been forced to a reform by the Protestant Reformation.

INDULGENCES

KIND--SCOPE--EXTENT

There are many kinds of indulgences, local and universal, or specific and general, perpetual and temporary, plenary and partial, apostolic and apocryphal, "toties quoties," real and personal, and many others that may be termed special indulgences such as those to religious orders, confraternities, and those granted in behalf of the dead.

The local indulgence is one that can be gained only in a specified place. The popes often granted certain specified indulgences to people of a certain city, town, or locality. If any place had come under the censure of the Church and repented, upon fulfillment of certain prescribed conditions it was granted an indulgence peculiar to its own needs, or a local indulgence. Also an indulgence was termed local when it was given in Rome or Jerusalem to those making a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre or to the tombs of Paul and Peter. The general indulgence could be gained in any part of the world and is termed a universal indulgence by some writers. A perpetual indulgence may be gained at any time. They are for the use of anyone any time he may need them and is willing

to meet the requisites for them. These indulgences are better understood in contrast to the temporary, which are available only on certain days, or within certain periods. These lines are being written in the reference library of Loyola University, New Orleans. A few months ago a Saint's Day was observed here and all who, on that specific day, visited a certain church here in the city were granted a plenary indulgence for each visit. Temporary indulgences are given on July 31, and August 1, each year, in honor of the Society of Jesus and the Order of St. Francis, respectively. Real indulgences are attached to the use of certain objects in worship such as a crucifix, rosary, or medal. Personal indulgences are those which do not require the use of any material thing or which are granted to certain classes of individuals, members of an order, or confraternity.

The most important distinction, however, is that between plenary and partial indulgences. A plenary indulgence is the remission of the entire temporal punishment due to sin so that no further expiation¹ is due in Purgatory. Accordingly a person who may have been fortunate enough to gain such an Indulgence, and receive its full application, would be like a newly baptized adult--free from sin

and its penalty, so that if he were to die in this happy state he would mount up directly to heaven without passing through the fire of Purgatory.¹ The principal plenary indulgences are those of a Jubilee. These extend to the faithful at large, and may be obtained indiscriminately in Churches everywhere. More imposing ceremonies accompany them, calculated to inspire a deeper devotion. Furthermore, the Jubilee brings in its train special privileges, as powers conferred on ordinary confessors to absolve from all reserved cases and censures, commuting simple vows, agreeable to the clauses contained in the Bull.

A partial indulgence is one that remits only a part of the penalty due to sin. Often such an indulgence is spoken of as one of a hundred days, weeks, a year, or other periods of time. The explanation of this definition is difficult to be understood by the Protestant. It is closely related to the system of canonical penance of the ancient Church. To say an indulgence of so many days or years is granted does not mean there is a corresponding abridgement of the pains of Purgatory. Such phraseology has reference merely to the penance enjoined by the ancient rules or canons of the Church. "Wherefore, an indulgence of a hundred days or a year--is the remission of as much

1.---Maurel:-Indulgences.

temporal punishment as would have been formerly atoned for, before God, by a cononical penance of a hundred days or years.¹ So it is impossible to ascertain just how much purgatorial pain is redeemed, or remitted by a partial indulgence. A partial indulgence is most indefinite, inexact. The penitent cannot know just how much relief he is to receive through the indulgence. The real specific value of the penalty, in relation to the life to come, according to the Catholic viewpoint, is wholly unknown.

If we accept this doctrine of indulgences as held by the Catholic Church then we would say there were Apostolic indulgences, granted by the Apostles. This is a firm belief of the devout Catholic today. It is one of the strongest points of argument for the existence or practice of the grant of indulgences the Catholic Church is able to find. If the Church could prove the grant of indulgences by the Apostles it would close the argument about the right to grant indulgences. The most popular citation by the proponents of Apostolic indulgences--and everyone uses this instance--is that in St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians. Here, they say, he imposed punishment on the incestuous Corinthian and subsequently remitted it. It is insisted

1.---Maurel:-Indulgences.
2.---Gibbons:-Faith of Our Fathers.

upon that "the penalty was not merely an ecclesiastical censure of excommunication inflicted primarily for the purpose of safeguarding the flock of Christ;" that the Apostle expressly states that the chief motive which actuated him was anxiety for the individual salvation of the transgressor. Further, contends the Catholic scribe, it could not have been an act of discipline merely to impress on the sinner the gravity of his crime. Since it had no organic relation to confession, public or private, and no connection with contrition, it was not a part of any conceivable Christian ordinance for the remission of the guilt and eternal punishment for sin. Therefore it was an exercise of the power of the keys to remit temporal punishment due God for sin.

A treatment of apocryphal indulgences takes us more widely afield. These were forged indulgences and constituted one of the greatest sources of abuse the Church knew. Spurious indulgences appeared very early in the life of the Church. One and about the most feasible explanation for their appearance was the scarcity of indulgences in the early Church. In 1600 Baronius was frank enough to call attention to the fact that the popes of the twelfth

century made no grants for more than a year except for Crusades. Another explanation was the attempt on the part of one church to rival or outclass the neighbor¹ church in its inducements to the worshipers.

The Catholic writers have little to say about the origin and nothing in detail about the abuse. The Church recognized the abuse in the past and made some effort to curb the evil but the severity of the Church strictures were not in proportion to the abuses. Realizing this to be a danger of the present it calls upon its members to give their cooperation to prevent their circulation and use.² It is not easy to define the limits of this reckless inventiveness of the fabricators, nor difficult to explain the prevalence of these false grants.³ The Church had long been accustomed to the use of forgery by its leaders in substantiating their claims. Nothing seemed easier than the fabrication of suppositious documents. Factories had sprung up in Rome and elsewhere for the publication of papal letters whose counterfeits readily passed as the genuine in a superstitious and uncritical age. The eagerness for gain was universal and if there was any compunction of the conscience it was quickly soothed by the

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.
2.---Maurel:-Indulgences.
3.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

assumption that the end always justified the means. No church felt it could afford to be behind its competitors in attractions for the pilgrims and whatever one professed to have its rivals immediately set about to secure, and if not obtainable by fair means, foul were used. To illustrate, very meagre grants were being made to the English churches at the close of the thirteenth century. Nevertheless, about this time the clergy of Ely, desiring to rival those of Norwich who had obtained an indulgence for Trinity Sunday, applied to the pope and obtained a plenary for Trinity Sunday for their Church. ¹ Lea thinks all evidence points to this as a typical case of forgery. Many of these cases passed uncontested; others persisted until they finally gained the sanction of the Pope. Such was true especially in the early life of the Carmelite, Franciscan, and Dominican Orders. The excesses now and for sometimes past have been curbed by the Congregation of Indulgences. The Counter Reformation was a great factor in restraining this scandal.

One question closely associated with fictitious indulgences has been whether they are valid to those who gain them in good faith but ignorant of their nature.

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume II.

In earlier times when local indulgences were rarely perpetual, but were issued for a term of years the priests who profited by them, if failing to secure their renewal, often would not proclaim the fact, but rather would allow the faithful to continue to win them. Some of the Doctors think the indulgence is gained because God looks upon the heart while others hold it is not gained. Many doubts and questions arise about the validity of indulgences for just such causes as the presence of fraudulent indulgences.

A "toties quoties" indulgence is one gained as often as the penitent chooses to perform the work enjoined in it. "Toties quoties" generally are plenary indulgences and several may be gained the same day; only one, however, for self. Others gained are to be for the benefit of those departed and still in need of the mercy of God in Purgatory.¹ This kind of indulgence was the subject of debate for years among the theologs of the Church. It is found as early as 1145. In this year Eugenius III makes a grant of seven days' indulgence to the Oratory of St. James at Pistoria as often as it should be visited.² After much variance of opinion among the Church men as to the validity and advisability of such an indulgence the debate was closed

1.---Dr. O'Brien:-Librarian of Loyola University,
New Orleans, La.

2.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

in 1882 when the Congregation of Indulgences decided them to be meritorius and gave definite instructions as to how they might be secured.

CONFRATERNITIES AND INDULGENCES

The development of the confraternities or sodalities as they are sometime known, is so closely related to indulgences that this treatise would be incomplete without some account of them and the part indulgences played in their growth.

The existence of these associations can be traced to earliest times. "They seem to have derived their initial impulse from England, where, it appears, there were as early as the beginning of the eighth century associations for mutual intercession among the members of a monastic community." On the whole, it seems the model on which these societies were founded goes farther back than the eighth century and is found in the little bodies of converts in the Roman Empire. As the number of Christians increased the more zealous members formed themselves into organizations for the purpose of uniting in pious exercises and paying a small sum into a common treasury for the relief of the poor. As these organizations grew and flourished it became very difficult for the Church to

1.---Schaff-Herzog:--Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge,
Vol. III.

restrain them in their proper bounds, and for a long period they constituted a source of anxiety to the rulers of the Church. Since it was assumed that the Church controlled everything religious, it soon asserted its authority to supervise and control the confraternities also. The bishop was instructed to closely supervise them and see they were conducted properly.

Throughout the Middle Ages we hear very little of the confraternities, though they were in existence throughout the whole Western Church. Laymen have joined in order to share the spiritual advantages of these systematic intercessions. Here and there in the literature of the period references to them are found, some favorable, others unfavorable. There was one confraternity known as the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin, which, in 1195 held in Paris annual services on the after Trinity Sunday. In 1258 and 1259, in Piacenza, Alexander IV conceded a hundred days remission of enjoined penance on condition of their obeying their statutes and attending monthly service in honor of the Virgin in the Dominican Church. Similar references are made to other confraternities existing in this period. Many however, which assumed to have originated in the thirteenth century

were organized in later years.

The more modern system dates from the period of the rise of the cities and their industries. There was a simultaneous development of the trade guild and the mendicant orders, and this system received its first real development under the influence of the mendicant orders. The purpose was the union of people for some definite spiritual exercise. Yet, some of the confraternities were hardly more than guilds or trades unions absorbed by the Church and adapted to its purposes.

We find the scribes and copyists of Rome organized into a society in 1449 which was approved by Nicholas V. This became a confraternity having its seat in the Church of St. Tommaso in Parione. To the members of this association in 1561 Pius IV granted a "toties quoties" plenary jubilee indulgence for visiting their Church on Annunciation day and the feasts of St. John the Evangelist and St. Nicholas. This grace was confirmed by Clement IX¹ in 1668. Another like confraternity was that of the journeymen tailors in Rome, the summary of whose indulgences was approved in 1779. There were those confraternities established for the furtherance of the political

1.---History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

and temporal interests of the Church. In 1860 when there arose attacks on the temporal power of the papacy a confraternity was organized in Vienna to defend this claim of the pope. It received the warm, approval of Pius IX. It differed from most of the confraternities in that the presiding officers were not necessarily priests.

It is possible the Carmelites were the first to crystalize this universal tendency, by forming those who wished to unite with them in devotion to the Virgin Mary and to receive the Scapula supposed to have been revealed in a vision to St. Simon Stock, into the Confraternity of the Scapula of our Lady of Mount Carmel. However, the priority of this Confraternity is challenged by some others. Soon other like organizations were striving under the leadership of the friars, to attain greater holiness and were encouraged by the expectation of the spiritual advantages of the papal indulgences. They had their real development in the fifteenth century when almost every mendicant house had its special association, with a special altar for it in the Church before which the members assembled at least once a month.

1.---Schaff-Herzog:-Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,
Volume, III.

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A notable Catholic author states that the confraternity was born as a result of waning charity and zeal of a great many Christians. The Church realized the necessity of devising a means for rekindling the zeal and fervor of its members. This view makes the confraternity a direct outgrowth of efforts of the Church to build up the spiritual life of its membership. Other writers speak of the Church as only giving its sanction to that which sprang into being apart from any special encouragement from the Church.² Those thoroughly acquainted with Medieval history will be somewhat favorable to the latter view because of the low tide of spiritual life in the Church at this time. The souls of men were hungering for food and to satisfy a need un-met in the Church they began to band themselves together for spiritual exercise and worship.

There is much difference in the accounts of the Catholic writer and the records of the Protestant chronicle. I speak of the Catholic and Protestant writers, each as a class to themselves because I have reached the conclusion it is impossible to find anyone who approaches all phases of the doctrine of indulgences without some preconceived ideas. No Catholic writer--Herbert and Thurston excepted--

1.---Maurel:--Indulgences.

2.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

nor Catholic Encyclopedia assumes the doctrine of Indulgences has ever been challenged. They proceed in their discussions as though history records everything as their account shows it to be. Such is the attitude of Maurel in his treatise on Confraternities. He states the Church gave its endorsement to the growth of the confraternities, while the facts in the case readily show the Church realized it had a problem on its hands in their growth in the last half of the Middle Ages. "It was natural that the Church," says a prominent writer, "should not be disposed to encourage these associations, for they were, for the most part, a source only of scandal, and the effort throughout the Middle Ages was rather to suppress than stimulate them." In 1234 the council of Arles regards them as conspiracies and prohibits their organization except with consent of the bishop. In 1238 the Council of Champigny repeats the command and describes confraternities as covering impiety with a cloak of piety. In 1248 the council of Valence states they have been dissolved by the papal legate and threatens to excommunicate all who do not abandon them within two months. The action of this council is confirmed by that of Arles in 1251.

1.---Lea:-History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

Other councils raise complaints, one being that they seek to abridge ecclesiastical authority. Efforts are made to reform them by putting them under the priesthood. Exceedingly hectic was the course of the confraternity of the thirteenth century. In 1282 the Council of Avignon considers them hopeless, incapable of reform and orders them dissolved.

It was natural in this period of development that the Church should oppose their organization on other grounds than that of corruption. As noted above some were little more than trade guilds. Other confraternities bound their members one to another by vows to protect each other at the common expense when cited before ecclesiastical courts. Less intelligible and without just cause was the opposition shown by the Church to the associations of Alexian Brothers, Cellites and Lollards which sprang up about this time. These devoted themselves to the care of the sick, insane, and the burial of the dead. They were persecuted by the ecclesiastical authorities but protected by the magistrates who recognized their value to the community.

The most prevalent complaint brought against Confraternities was that they assembled under the pretext of pious exercise, only to spend the time in feasting and debauchery. So general was the complaint that secular authorities deemed it necessary to exercise supervision over them. The banquets which, evidently were the chief attraction of the associations, raised the question whether the entrance fees and monthly dues were simoniacal or not and on this the doctors disagreed; but Avgiolo da Chivasso decided that if the money was used for pious purposes there was no simony. The entrance fees, to say nothing of monthly dues, ranged from four to eight dollars. Thus it can be seen readily how highly the people valued these religious privileges and what vast sums of money were gathered in the treasury of the confraternities.

The abuses must have been many; for it becomes a serious question between the Church and the reformers. Huss, Wyclif, and Luther sternly rebuke these abuses. They say there is only one real confraternity--that is Christ's Church. All other associations are only corruptions and destroy rather than build up the spiritual life. Erasmus offered a compromise in 1533 when he put forward a scheme on which the heretics and orthodox might unite.

In this he proposed that the secular powers should suppress not only the feasts of the brotherhoods but the brotherhoods themselves. It is only a short while until the secular powers do interfere. In 1546 Charles V suppresses the Confraternity of St. Lievind. Henry II disbanded all those of Dauphine and the Marguisate of Saluces, for wasting their money, and ordered all their funds confiscated, to be given to the hospitals and the poor. However, there may have been political motives behind one or both of these actions.

Clement VIII is the outstanding reformer of the first part of the seventeenth century. In 1604, complaining that certain evil customs had caused many undesirable results, he issued an elaborate order to bring all confraternities into a general system and to subject them to the approbation and rigid supervision of the bishops. This, however, was nothing more than had been decreed by a council of the past. In general, all confraternities were endowed with indulgences. By this time they were all sources of gain and largely expended their resources in course debauchery.¹ Clement ordered all chests, tables, and basins, to be removed from the churches, and all collections to be used for repairs and other pious

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

works. All confraternities and congregations were required to secure confirmation of their privileges within a year if in Europe, or two years if abroad. When a confraternity failed to do so their indulgences and graces were declared to be revoked and annulled.

From the legislation of Clement VIII we learn the method by which the funds were gathered, the misappropriation of which was so vigorously denounced by local authorities. An Arch confraternity, one organized in Rome, would secure from the Curia or some religious Order certain graces or indulgences. Subordinate confraternities would be organized wherever possible, to which would be apportioned letters of indulgences. The sale of these letters by the subordinate confraternity would supply the treasury of the central body, while these affiliated associations would obtain their profit from the "alms" contributed by the faithful. The decrees of Clement VIII and Paul V were aimed primarily against this practice.

We now enter upon a new phase in the development of the confraternity. When they ceased to be agencies for peddling out indulgences and were brought more directly under Episcopal control, their power as a means of influencing the people was clearly recognized. They were placed

under the leadership of the parish priest. Their development is greatly stimulated by the lavish bestowal of indulgences on their members. This is no longer the game of bargain and sale, and they gradually come to be one of the most efficient instrumentalities for bringing the absolute control of the Church over the individual.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, partly through the recovered power of the Jesuits, confraternities took a fresh start and ultimately reached a height never before attained. Whereas in the Middle Ages, so many were little more than social clubs with the chief duty of the members to pay dues, the devotional exercises being incidental, now little or no money contributions are required, the primary requisite for membership being pious works, exercises of devotion, and fidelity to the pope.

The modern confraternity is far different to that of pre-Reformation days. The associations which are strictly called confraternities must be established by competent ecclesiastical authority and attached to a definite Church. Arch-confraternities are sometimes established today by the pope provided a need of the Church

universal in its scope has arisen. They are organized in Rome and given the power to affiliate with confraternities of like aim and name in other cities and countries imparting to them the privileges already granted to the Archfraternity. Sometimes these are limited to a definite country. Usually only the Roman arch-confraternity is given the privilege of unlimited aggregation, though there are exceptions, such as that of the Immaculate Heart of Mary in Paris. Greatest extension has been given those dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

To become a member of a confraternity, it is necessary to be received by the priest acting as Director, and especially deputed for that purpose, and also to be enrolled in the register of the Confraternity. The admission ought to be gratuitous. It would be desirable not to receive one as a member who did not know the rules of the association and who also had full intention of observing them; to be present at the meetings, festivals, processions, etc. Each member is expected to manifest a high regard for his association and endeavor in every way to promote its well-being and prosperity thus tendering himself a worthy member. By neglecting to observe the rules of the

confraternity of which he is a member,¹ the person deprives himself of the privileges annexed to the society.

The requirements for admission into some of the confraternities seem to be more rigid than others. For instance, the confraternity founded at the Collegio Romano by John Lean of Liege in 1563, and confirmed as an arch-confraternity by Gregory XIII in 1584, required the applicant to pass through a period of probation under rigid supervision, after which he was received into the society with fitting ceremonies. He took a solemn obligation of special devotion to the Virgin Mary, made the Tridentine confession of faith, and pledged himself to spread it among all those who were in any way in his charge.

All confraternities are under the jurisdiction of the Diocesan. Therefore it lies within his power to authorize, approve, and erect them should he deem it wise to do so. The bishop has the right also of visiting them and counseling with them in the use of their privileges and indulgences. The immediate inspection of a confraternity in a parish however, is delegated to the priest who is Director, and whose duty it is to maintain interest, the observance of the rules of the association, and to take precautions

1.---Maurel:-Indulgences.

against any abuses that might creep in.

It is true The Protestant of today can see ground for the existence of the confraternities, only as he sees the same for the existence of the Catholic Church. These associations are only another cog in the wheel, link in the chain, branch of the tree. Once badly corrupt, they have been forced to "clean house" by the widespread effects of the Counter-Reformation and the pressure and constant vigilance of the Protestant Church. Today their sole aim, according to the teaching of the Church, is the deepening of the spiritual life of the members, and an abiding fidelity to the head of the Church--the Pope.

PURGATORY--INDULGENCES FOR THE DEAD

Among the several causes, which gave stimulus to the growth of the doctrine of indulgences, is found the teaching of the Catholic Church that the soul of a person who, at death, does not receive a plenary indulgence, passes to an intermediate state there to be purged by torture for the temporal punishment yet due for sin. And that this soul, though unable to do anything of itself for relief, could be aided and removed from this intermediate place of purgation by the prayers of friends and loved ones. The faith of the Church concerning Purgatory is clearly expressed in the decree of the Council of Trent: "Whereas the Catholic Church, instructed by the Holy Ghost, has from the sacred Scriptures and ancient tradition of the Fathers taught in Councils that there is a purgatory and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, but principally by the acceptable Sacrifice of the altar; The Holy Synod enjoins on the Bishops that they diligently endeavor to have the sound doctrine of the Fathers in Councils regarding purgatory everywhere taught and preached, held and believed, by the

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faithful." Further than this in definition the Church did not go. The Council studiously abstains from specifying the nature of the expiating sufferings to be endured and the period of duration; nor does it give directions for the release of the soul except in a general way. The Council of Trent, in giving this definition seemed to realize very keenly that the many theological problems of such a doctrine could not be solved in a council.

The doctrine of Purgatory was developed in the lap of controversy. This explains why the Council of Trent had so little to say upon the subject. Primitive eschatology gave no clear leading on this problem. Giving only the alternatives of heaven and hell for the life beyond, there arose doubts and questions as to the fate of those whose imperfections seemed not to merit the reward of endless joy of the faithful, yet for whom the never ending torments of hell seemed too severe and merciless to be ascribed to a benign and just Father. This problem was more seriously complicated by the presence of the doctrine of the resurrection and the day of judgement, under which the destiny of the soul was not to be determined until the second advent, this doctrine having been derived from Mazdeism

through Judaism. It was found impossible to reconcile this teaching with Christ's statement to the thief on the cross, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," and the parable of Dives and Lazarus. The Church was forced to face the incompatibility of these but, as she has in all cases, to her own satisfaction, found a way to harmonize them.

In an endeavor to uphold this doctrine of Purgatory the Church asserts that both the Old and New Testaments teach and strongly insinuate the existence of an intermediate state of those dying in grace but still having penalty of sin due God for sin unremitted. An eminent writer on this subject passes over Scripture as a ground with the lone statement that "As men trained in the culture of the age began to build up a body of theology they could scarce avoid considering the subject, to which, despite its tremendous importance, they could find no word of guidance in Gospel and Epistle."

In just treatment of the subject it is necessary to show the argument of those who think there is a Scriptural basis for the doctrine of Purgatory.

Cardinal Gibbons, writing on "Purgatory and Prayers
for the Dead¹" cites the incident recorded in II Machabees
12:43-46. Here Judas Machabeus, at the close of an en-
gagement with the enemy, ordered prayers and sacrifices
offered up for his slain comrades. "And making a gather-
ing he sent twelve thousand drachmas of silver to Jerusalem
for sacrifice to be offered for sins for the dead, think-
ing well and religiously concerning the resurrection.--:
It is therefore a holy and wholesome thought to pray for
the dead." To the Cardinal II Machabees was a part of
the Old Testament; to the Protestant it is not. Moreover,
the Cardinal contends that, though II Machabees be not
ranked with the canonical books of Scripture it is a truth-
ful historical monument and as such demonstrated that it
was a prevailing practice among the Hebrew people to offer
up prayers and sacrifices for the dead. As far as he can
go in the use of the New Testament is to say it strongly
insinuates there is an intermediate state. He also uses
the argument of silence, that Jesus knowing the prevalent
belief in this doctrine among His people did not condemn
it. He gives a quotation of our Lord found in Matthew
12:32: "Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of
Man it shall be forgiven him. But he that shall speak

1.---Faith of Our Fathers.

against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him neither in this world nor in the world to come." Again, he cites Paul as telling us that "every man's work shall be made manifest," "The fires shall try every man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abides he shall receive his reward. If any man's work burns he shall suffer loss; he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire." His own interpretation is, naturally, that the soul of the man will be ultimately saved, but he shall suffer, for a temporary duration in the purifying flames of Purgatory. The reader can draw his own conclusions regarding this claim of Scriptural grounds for Purgatory by such an eminent leader in the Catholic Church. On the whole, it yet is difficult not to agree with Lea that there is no Scriptural authority whatever for this doctrine.

The Doctors once more disagree in the discussion of this doctrine when they approach the Fathers for their verdict regarding it. Gibbons readily finds their sanction. Others find it not. In fact, some of the Fathers condemn the teaching. Moreover, the weight of the matter leans heavily, just here against the doctrine. Those quoted universally by the Church folk use exactly the same references; that is, there are very few citations that can

1.---I Corinthians 3:13-15.

be given to uphold their view. When one has read one Catholic authority well he has read all. The field is well exhausted by any one recognized authority. Maurel, whose work on Indulgences is referred to as a classic in this field, uses the same illustrations as those of Thurston, Gibbons, and others. True quotations from Tertullian, Eusebius, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Ephrem, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine are given by these men as Fathers who, by their teaching, clearly showed their belief in Purgatory and the efficacy of prayers and suffrages, alms, fastings, and pilgrimages in behalf of the souls there. The Church teaches that these souls, though suffering the horrible torments of this abode, are in a state of grace and in the favor of God.

The difference between the Catholic and Protestant viewpoint lies largely in the interpretation of the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers. In all probability few, if any, have written on this question without approaching it from a biased angle. This strong likelihood makes it the more difficult to find the truth often embedded beneath the polemics and controversial writings of the two groups of writers.

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- 1.---Dr. O'Brien, Librarian of Loyola University,
New Orleans, La.
 - 2.---Maurel:-Indulgences.

The apocalyptic and apocryphal writings of the early centuries, though not canonical, surely represent the thought, in a large measure, that was current among the Christians. These writings reflect their effort to explain what was uncertain or left out of the Scriptures. In these writings there is not found a belief in an intermediate state; a firm belief in immortality, God, heaven and hell, but no conception of a place of purgation. According to this literature the soul is judged as soon as it leaves the body. References to the resurrection are in keeping with this idea. If the soul is righteous it is admitted at once to bliss; if wicked, it is given to the avenging angel Tartaruch and carried immediately to eternal punishment. Cleansing after death as yet formed no part of the belief relating to post mortem existence.

A tract, ascribed to Justin Martyr but belonging to the third or fourth century, declares that at death the good are at once conducted to paradise while the evil are thrust into hell to wait the resurrection and judgement. During the interval the soul has consciousness but not the bodily senses. Lactantius, on the other hand, postpones the judgement to the last day, at least for the Christians. This question of immediate judgement or postponement refused to be settled--with a gesture. Different writers continue to

discuss it with even differing views. St. Hilary of Poitiers¹ assumes that the punishment of the wicked begins at once while the glory of the blest is reserved until the resurrection. Chrysostom² holds that at once the good go to Christ and the wicked to torment, and that there is no place for repentance and cleansing after death. Others are of like belief that no provision is made for the purification of any in an intermediate state.

Nevertheless it was impossible for the minds of all thinkers and writers to submit to this division into the good and the bad, the elect and the reprobate, the righteous and the wicked. Some were seeking a middle ground where they could reconcile divine justice and mercy with the varying stages of human imperfections. Early as the second century Irenaeus suggests that after the resurrection the righteous will dwell upon the earth, in paradise, or in heaven according to their deserts. There is also a faint suggestion of some kind of preliminary discipline which is to fit man to live in an incorruptible state.³ The Shepherd of Hermas speaks of a purification by torment after death of those who have not justified themselves in life. Their degree of repentance is to determine whether the punishment is to be

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum--In Psalms I n. 17-19; (Hilary).

2.--Migne:--Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum; Epistles ad Philippens.

3.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Irenaeus; Contra Haered Lib. IV Cap. 35, 36.

temporary or eternal. ¹ Origen is more or less speculative, and not wholly consistent. He states in one passage that at the day of judgement every one will be sent to a place fitted for his merits and demerits. In another passage he asserts no man is perfectly pure, and that even Peter and Paul require purification after death. God will set in judgement to purge all souls with fire. ² Hilary of Poitiers, in a measure, follows Origen; after the day of judgement there will be a purging fire to destroy our sins. The body of the good will be glorified. The final state for both good and bad begins at the moment of death. ³ St. Ambrose and St. Jerome deal with this subject, the latter ⁴ more or less inconsistent in his utterances. He tells us there is no opportunity for repentance hereafter--"the tree lies as it falls." But when trying to find a neutral ground or point of compromise between those who held future punishment to be temporary and those who regarded it as eternal, he leans to the belief that the Devil and the impious who deny God will suffer forever, while Christians ⁵ will be purged by fire and find God gracious to them. ⁶ Origen and Ambrose held kindred views on this speculative, unsettled, perplexing question.

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- 1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Hermae Pastor: Lib. I, vis. III.
 - 2.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Origen on Psalms 36m Homil III 1; In Numeros: Homill XXV, #6.
 - 3.---Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers--Volume IX.
 - 4.---Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers--Volume X.
 - 5.---Migne:-Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum; ad. Ephes. lib. II., cap. VI, V. 13.
 - 6.---Migne:-Patrologiae Patrum Latinorum; ad Ephes. lib. II; cap. VI, V. 13.

Thus far there has been no definite acceptance of the doctrine of purgatory, a place between heaven and hell where the redeemed are to be purged of remaining penalty for sin due God at death. Speculation nevertheless, had been tending in that direction and received much impulse from St. Augustine who in his discussions of faith and morals treated eschatology from every point of view. He is the authority most frequently quoted by the supporters of this doctrine who wish to establish a just claim to the antiquity of this modern doctrine of purgatory. Like Origen, however, he found it difficult to be consistent. In a discussion on the future life he asserts positively there are only two places for the soul after death, the kingdom of God and the damnation with Satan. Yet, he continues, the period of time between death and judgement requires some place of abode for disembodied spirits. To supply this, he says they are received into various hidden receptacles, where the good enjoy rest, the wicked tormented until the resurrection, when the joy of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked will be increased by re-¹incarnation. In this there is no trace of cleansing by fire through which the soul is purified and fitted for heaven. However, in another place, he gives the opinion² that such purgation is not incredible but is debatable.

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- 1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, St. Augustine, Echiridion, cap. CIX.
 - 2.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum, St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei. Lib XX. Cap. XXV,

These citations must convince us that among many by this time, there was a belief in some kind of a post mortem purgation, not so much as a church tenet or point of faith but as a pious Christian belief. Gregory of Tours refers to it; Gregory the Great in 593 gives the teaching a Church sanction by his official position when, in his Dialogues he answers the interlocutor's question, whether there was a purgatory, in the affirmative. But he still is unwilling to go the fulness of the modern idea. He says this purgation is for trifling sins, such as idle talk and laughter, those things which are inseparable from our human infirmities.¹ It cannot be denied that Gregory's teaching wielded considerable influence in establishing this belief as a doctrine and perfecting it in its details.

The liturgies of the day also give us not only rudimentary but some rather fully developed conceptions of expiatory punishment after death. Though the Sacramentaries may not have seemed to attract very much attention, yet the doctrine had come to occupy a large place in them. Prayers for the dead, which practice could reflect a belief in future purgation, had passed into the liturgy of the Church as early as the fourth century.³ From that time on it grows and

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Patrum Latinorum; PP I Dialogue, Lib. IV, Cap XXXIX, and XL.

2.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

3.---The Americana, Volume XII.

soon comes to be a common practice.

From the sixth through the tenth century there is little development of the doctrine, except for slight emphasis given it during the Carolingian revival. During this period it took more definite shape. Yet some of the theologians of the ninth century pass over it in silence, while others express only a crude conception of it. The teaching of a future purgation of souls has not attained sufficient importance to be alluded to in the Greek Schism. Lea seems to be in error when he states purgatory has been confined to the Western Church and never has been accepted in the East. There is authority for the statement more recent than Lea, that it has been accepted and is a doctrine of that Church. The Eastern Church however does not consider the fire of Purgatory material, while this is the belief of the Western Church. The New International Encyclopedia says: "The Greek Church holds to an intermediate state in which the soul is fitted for heaven, and may be benefited by the prayers of the living, but refused to affirm material fire."

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- 1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.
 - 2.---Gibbons:--Faith of Our Fathers.
 - 3.---The New International Encyclopedia; Volume 19; also The Americana, Volume XII.

We come to the middle of the eleventh century to find the modern conception of purgatory, and it is found in the writings of Peter Damiani. He tells us that "those who live as though the body were a prison go to heaven, those who persevere in sin until the end go to hell, while those who commit mortal sin, but repent before death, go to purgatory, where they are duly punished." About 1100 Anselm of Laon, foremost theologian of his day, refers to the ideas of Gregory I, saying purgatory was for trifling sins only. On the other hand Hildebert of Le Mans holds to the newer theory.

When we come to Scholastic theology the conceptions of purgatory are more defined and firmer. Hugo of St. Victor believes that those who die with some sins but are saved, the guilt having been removed, are punished for a period and purged, but he also follows Gregory in the point that this is done on earth. St. Bernard treats purgatory as a matter of course, as an established doctrine. The difference mostly found between the Scholastics on this subject is their views as to the nature of the place. St. Bernard thinks cold and fire are used in the purgation. About the middle of the twelfth century a vision accredited to a dead man that came to life related that purgatory was a

1.---Migne:-Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Hugo of St. Victor:
De Sacramentis, Lib. II P XVI, cap. 4.

large and deep valley with fire on the one side and ice on the other; the souls there are tossed from one side of the valley to the other; and this continues until doomsday. Cardinal Pullus urges confession and penance as a means of relieving the sinner of a part of the purgatorial punishment of the future. However, in his day there was yet a strong belief that purgatorial pains endured until the resurrection.

Once having established the belief in purgatory the Church found it fitted in well with the sacramental theory which taught that by contrition and confession the guilt and eternal punishment were removed and there remained only the purgation for temporal venial sins. This could be removed by satisfaction or certain prescriptions of the Church. Purgatory is now moulded into the doctrinal system and becomes an article of faith "indispensable in the divine order which apportioned retribution to offense and committed to the Church the power to bind and loose." With the evolution of theology in the hands of the Scholastics, all the major beliefs regarding this doctrine became stabilized and purgatory assumed the character and proportions it holds today.

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

Though it has come to be an accepted belief that the period of purgation could be shortened by the prayers and suffrages of loved ones on earth there was another closely related idea that continued to perplex the Church. It had come to be accepted that the bliss of the righteous ought not to be delayed. To the question whether the souls of the just are received into heaven before the resurrection Gregory I says it cannot be affirmed or denied. "Some go there at once while others are kept waiting and pass the intervals in various mansions."

To harmonize this belief with the accepted teaching of a final judgement a place of abode was assumed which was Abraham's Bosom. This figurative expression was nothing new. The Church, just as it took over from other religions and nations beliefs and practices, received this idea from the Jews. It was current among them as early as the period of the Maccabees. Josephus speaks of Abraham, Issac and Jacob receiving the dead into their bosoms. Prayers, reflecting this as a current belief, were offered that souls might pass to Abraham's Bosom, where there was neither suffering nor sorrow. In the liturgies of the Church from the seventh to the eleventh century there are found prayers

that the souls for which masses were celebrated should pass to Abraham's Bosom, a subordinate heaven. To many Abraham's Bosom was virtually heaven. Hugo of St. Victor asserts positively the righteous go at once into¹ the presence of Christ and the wicked are plunged into hell. With the growth of the doctrine of purgatory and sacramental absolution the idea of a judgement postponed until doomsday disappeared and an intermediate state became unnecessary. Aquinas asserted judgement was at once and that Abraham's Bosom is the same as the Limbus Patrum. Others agree with him in this view. In 1254 Innocent IV asserts that the souls of the baptised infants and of adults dying with all temporal punishment remitted go at once to heaven. All Europe gladly accepted this pronouncement.

Naturally as this view of the destiny of the soul came to be established the importance of the day of judgement shrank. It was recognized as being clearly set forth in the Scriptures but it was quietly ignored. So does the idea of the immediate reward of the righteous grow and become established but in this establishment is buried a clear Scriptural teaching--the final day of judgement.

1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Hugo of St. Victor:-De Sacramentis Lib. II P XVI. Cap. 4.

More readily do we see the relation of this teaching of purgatory to indulgences when we realize the Church had added to its system of doctrine a means whereby it may succor the dead. "That there is such a place (purgatory), and that the souls detained there can be assisted and relieved in their sufferings by prayers or suffrages of the living, by their fasting, alms-deeds, and other good works, particularly by the oblation of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, is an article of faith founded on Sacred Scripture, the tradition of the Fathers, the teaching of Councils, notably on that of the Council of Trent." It is noted the Church claims three sources of authority, Scripture, the Fathers, and council decrees. However, the principal stress is laid on Scripture and the saying of the Fathers. The Church further believes and teaches that one of the earliest Christian teachings was that those on earth are in communion with the souls in Purgatory and that the living aid the dead by their prayers and satisfactions. Maurel clearly states that the souls may be totally released from their pains by means of indulgences. Like other Catholic writers, he takes in a broad field when he says the Church has never had a doubt on this point.

1.---Maurel:-Indulgences.

2.---Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume XII.

The Roman Church has few apologists in this field. Everything necessary to this doctrine is assumed. Those who state the position of the Church on the succor for the dead do so with the assumption, seemingly, that no one will question the grounds for such teaching.

The earliest instance cited by the Church when Holy Sacrifice was offered for the departed was in the days of Tertullian and Cyprian.¹ Augustine is quoted as saying that such assistance given by the faithful to the dead was a practice of the universal Church in his day. Some questions as to method and nature were always pushing themselves to the front. Whether the works of satisfaction in behalf of the dead, prayers, fasting, alms-deeds, etc., were effective purely out of God's benevolence and mercy, or whether God obliges himself in justice to accept our vicarious atonement is not a settled question.² The Church scribes were divided on this one point. Maurel, in a measure, evades this question when he instructs as to how an indulgence is applied. There is a difference between an indulgence for the living and one for the dead. For the former the Church applies it by way of judgement or absolution; for the dead by way of suffrage, or intercession, or succor, or offering. In the former it is direct, in

1.---The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume XII.
2.---Maurel:-Indulgences.

the latter it is indirect. As the dead are no longer under her jurisdiction they are not subjects of her realm, but belong to the empire of God. Those things brought for the succor of the dead are, more strictly speaking, "offers." In consequence of an indulgence gained by the living and applied in behalf of the departed, the Church draws from her treasure a portion of its store of merits of Christ, the Virgin and the Saints, which corresponds to that indulgence, and presenting it to God, beseeches him to vouchsafe so much relief to the suffering souls.

The above teaching of the Church as to the method used in the application of indulgences for the dead gave the theologians no little ground for dissension. As stated above, the dead being from under the direct supervision of the Church, the Church could only "offer" to God a portion of its store of merits in behalf of the dead. The Lord was not bound by any express promise to accept the offered price, and therefore there was no absolute certainty that an indulgence applied to some soul in purgatory by a living friend had its desired and full effect. It could not, accordingly, be asserted by the Church that the plenary indulgence applied by a loved one in behalf of the dead leads that soul out of purgatory directly to heaven.

Several uncertain conditions enter in. The acceptance or rejection by the Father could depend on His divine will, or the amount of care the dead may have taken to render themselves worthy of such relief. Again, the person desirous to gain the indulgence for the dead may have omitted through ignorance or forgetfulness, some of the prescribed conditions or may have fulfilled them negligently. Several theologians disagree just here. Suarez¹ thinks that the acceptance by God of the offer of the Church is one of justice. This assumed as true, there² would be no question but that there was a full application of the suffrage of the Church by God for the dead. Those of the opinion of Suarez maintain that the effect in their regard is infallibly certain, even "ex justitia et condigno", as the Scholastics have it. St. Augustine states the departed souls of the faithful are not separated from the Church and for that reason prayers and works of the living avail for the dead. So does he (Augustine) argue, but does not state a view as to just how far the prayers and works of the living reach. This above view is also that of St. Thomas Aquinas. It is for St. Bonaventura to bring out the idea stressed above, that there is a difference between indulgences for the living and for the dead.

1.---Maurel:--Indulgences.

2.---The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XII.

He goes further to state that God does not absolve juridically. Bellarmine develops this position more fully when he says: "The true opinion is that indulgences avail as suffrage, because they avail not after the fashion of juridical absolution. The pope does not absolve the soul in purgatory from the punishment due his sin, but offers to God from the treasure of the Church, whatever may be necessary for the cancellation of this punishment.¹

Readily is it noted that this view brings into question the value of a plenary indulgence for the dead. As God is not obligated to accept the offer of the Church there is no way to know it has been accepted and punishment of a loved one remitted. The only comfort given is that "we should entertain strong hopes that such is the case."

Such is the view of the Roman Catholic Church as to one of her cherished doctrines. This doctrine is a strong link in the chain which the Church has forged to bind its communicants more closely to it. Summarizing its claim for the doctrine we find little Scripture was cited, and that its main reliance was upon the statements of some of the Fathers and the decrees of councils, especially that

1.---The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume XII.

of Trent. We now look to see if there is anything to refute the doctrine. In an effort to be fair both sides of the question are given.

One of the chief arguments for the belief in purgatory is the custom--probably as old as the human race--of endeavoring to aid the souls of the departed. Various methods have been used among different peoples. The idea was that the living might be able to appease an offended God by offerings, prayers or sacrifices and thereby secure a greater measure of mercy in the final doom. This idea was preceded by a belief in a coming judgement day. The Church very early begins training her converts to believe the dead could be assisted by the living. All races of the ancient civilized world except the pre-exilian Hebrews were agreed on this. After the Pharisees came to be the dominant party and the Sadducees with their disbelief in immortality overthrown, there was instituted among the Jews the practice of praying for the dead. This was an appended belief from heathen Persia to their Jehovah worship. Gibbons, in citing the incident from II Machabees omits stating this was not the belief of the Jew before the exile and that it was brought from Persia. This practice of offering prayers and suffrages for the dead

held a large place in the belief of the Hindus, Greeks, Etruscans, Persians, and other surrounding nations. No Catholic writer gives any significance to this fact, the widespread belief in succor for the dead and so little in the Old Testament or apocryphal literature to support it. When we read the interpretations given of passages in the New Testament said to support the teaching there we find a massive conglomeration of inconsistencies. Surely a teaching so vital to the life of the Church would not have been passed over with such little recognition by our Lord. The word "Purgatory" is not used in our Bible and therefore is not treated in any of our Bible dictionaries. It is wholly a creation of the Catholic Church and finds no word in Scripture to correspond to it--the word "Hades" not excepted.

It is true the word used in the parable of Dives and Lazarus is Hades, not Gehena. But Hades means only the invisible world where disembodied spirits go whether good or bad. The idea of hell is not in the word Hades but in the torment and flame into which the rich man enters.

"There is no purgatory from which souls may ascend after purification into heaven, or becoming confirmed in wickedness pass on to hell."

- 1.---Carroll:-Interpretation of the English Bible; The Four Gospels--Volume II.
- 2.---Carroll:-Interpretation of the English Bible; The Four Gospels, Volume II.

This doctrine, taken over from heathen practices of surrounding nations is diametrically opposed to the Scriptural teaching of justification by faith. This fact hastened the break between Luther and the Pope. According to the Catholic church, the persons detained in purgatory are the dead in Christ, -just men. How long they are to be punished no one, not even the Church knows. After the grant of a plenary indulgence for the Dead it (Church) still insists on Masses being celebrated for that soul for fear the plenary indulgence has not expiated for the venial sins unremitted at death. The place of purgatory is unknown and it was centuries before the Church could definitely declare material fire the substance for punishment. Purgatory was the creation of speculative minds.

No warrant for it can be found in Scriptures. From Matthew 12:32 the Church infers that sins may be forgiven in the world to come. The Scripture knows only two times when sins may be forgiven, one here upon earth (Matthew 9:6) and the other at the day of judgement when Christ shall declare the sentence of absolution to all the faithful. The phrase found in Matthew 12:32, "Neither in this world nor the world to come" may be rendered "in the dispensation to come." There is Scripture that warrants a distinction

being made between the age or dispensation of Christ and that of the Jews which then was. See Hebrews 2:5; 12:27-28.

This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the phrase is a Hebraism current among the Jews, therefore it ought to be interpreted according to the idiom of the language which means that sin shall never be forgiven.¹

The other writers of the Gospel are in agreement with this interpretation. Mark states the blasphemy shall never be forgiven: "But he that shall blaspheme against the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of eternal damnation."² Luke also states this blasphemy "shall not be forgiven him."³ Sins forgiven are not punished and sins punished are not forgiven. The Church faces the problem of teaching that purgatory is a place of purgation; yet the soul's every sin of which it is being purged, can be remitted by an indulgence granted another to be applied to that soul. Purgatory then is transformed from a place of purgation to that of remission. This the Church denies in its teaching but upholds in its practice. She has much to say about the fact that God rewards men according to their works but hastens to say this would be impossible without purgatory. Here the Church of Rome gives another proof of her gross perversion of Scripture. Such declarations of Scripture have nothing to do with purgatory. A

1.---Bible;--Volume I.

2.---Mark 3:29.

3.---Luke 12:10.

man's works are only evidence of his state before God. The judgement of the great day will proceed according to evidence. Those who have done evil will receive the condemnation which they deserve. Those who believe in Christ are created anew to good works. It is true that God will render to man according to his works. But there is a distinction that should be drawn between "according to works" and on "account of works."

The declarations of Scripture as to the future state of man are against the doctrine of purgatory. The Bible gives only two characters applicable to men, the righteous and the wicked; those who believe and serve God and those who neither believe nor serve Him. Regardless of man's speculative theology these two characters remain. This view given us of men in this world is also the picture the Bible gives us in the other world, the good and the bad, Lazarus and Dives. And the final destinies of men exactly correspond to this picture.

Christ promised to the thief on the cross that on that day he should be with Him in Paradise. Paradise being a state of happiness, whether it be heaven or an intermediate state of the redeemed, cannot in any way

whatsoever, be compared to purgatory. No one Biblical incident so overwhelmingly refutes this heathen belief. Surely if there were anyone deserving unremitted temporal penalty it was this man. But we have no record that he made satisfaction for his sins as to their temporal punishment, since he died after a very wicked life, with only a short and sudden repentance. The teaching of our Saviour in the story of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke 16:22, truly represents the state of man in the other world and unquestionably destroys the claim for an intermediate state of purgation. There were only the two places, the one of enduring happiness, the other of enduring pain, eternally separated so that there was never to be any passage from one to the other. If this were a parable, this fact would only make the truth the more striking. The picture can never be as real as the object itself.

It seems needless to give any lengthy review of the attitude of the Fathers on this question, as studied from the Protestant viewpoint. In other places it has been shown that the Catholic writers, in looking for support for the doctrine of purgatory, found statements in the writings of the Fathers they thought were in support of the doctrine.

Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians discusses the resurrection of the dead but wholly omits the doctrine of purgatory.¹ Ignatius asserts that there are only two states in the world to come, a state of life and a state of death; so everyone departing this life goes to one or the other.² Cyprian, living in the third century, said: "When once we have departed hence there is no longer any place for repentance, no longer any effectiveness of satisfaction. Here life is either lost or held; here we may provide for our eternal salvation by worship of God and the fruitfulness of faith.--To a person, while he remains in this world, repentance is never too late.--To him who confesses, pardon is freely granted; to him who believes, a salutary indulgence is granted from the divine pity; and immediately after death he passes to a blessed immortality."³ Gregory Nazianzen clearly states "after life there is no purgation."⁴

Augustine debates this doctrine in his own mind, consequently he is apparently inconsistent in some of his utterances. However, the weight of his opinion is for this rapidly growing belief. It is interesting to notice that the Fathers closest to the Apostolic period

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- 1.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Polycarp: Epistle to the Phillipians, Sec. II, III.
 - 2.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Ignatius: Epistle Magnes. Sec. V.
 - 3.---Migne:--Patrologiae--Latinorum Patrum; Cyprianus ad Demetrianum.
 - 4.---Eliot:--Delineation of Roman Catholicism. Vol. I.

had little or no use for such a doctrine. Not until Gregory the Great, through the sweeping innovations of his rule, throws the influence of his position and power to this idea does it become firmly grounded and fixed. The unsettled conditions of Southern Europe, the superstition and ignorance of the masses, the unsatisfied hungerings of the hearts of men in a time of a corrupted and decadent Christianity--these furnished a fertile soil for this doctrine much needed by the Church to give it its desired power over the soul here and hereafter.

INDULGENCES AND THE REFORMATION

The dogmatism of all the writers who treat the subject of indulgences reaches its consummate expression here. Those for and those against the doctrine readily agree that there have been abuses; that many corruptions in practice have arisen; that many evils under the name of indulgences have been perpetrated on an unsuspecting and innocent public. But the camps divide when they seek the cause of these evils.

The devotee of the Church says these evils were due to the weakness in human nature, to the power to grant indulgences unfortunately falling into the hands of unscrupulous men, to the erroneous teaching, sometime of honest but ignorant leaders, and other like causes. Always, it is claimed the enemies of the doctrine exaggerate the abuses. Neither side, those for or against it, have a monopoly on the dogmatic attitude. Of the ten or twelve writers I have found touching the subject of the effect of indulgences more than two thirds express their views as being unquestionable and as though everyone disagreeing is doing so without a scintilla of reason for it. Especially is this true of the Catholic writers.

Occasionally one boldly breathes anathemas against everyone daring to take issue. On the whole, it is the writer's opinion that the evil effects of the practice of indulgences were and are due to the weakness of the theory. It has been built without an enduring foundation and is propped up today by such teachings as the infallibility of the pope and the inerrancy of the Church.

In defense of the doctrine and for instruction to the faithful the Church teaches that indulgences are a useful stimulus to repentance and amendment, for these are indispensable conditions for gaining them. Different writers of the past have disagreed as to just what was necessary before a person could obtain an indulgence, but it is now the declaration of the Church that contrition, confession, and a willingness to make satisfaction are necessary. The phrase "make satisfaction" is used with a purpose; for the satisfactions of today have come, as a rule, to have little likeness to penance of the early Church. It has lost its spiritual significance, in a large measure, and has been superseded by the ceremonial idea. It is more a form of ritual than of worship. It is conformity to the wish of

an institution holding in its hands the destiny of the soul; not an exercise of spiritual devotion. Being in a state of grace at the time the application is made is unnecessary, but such a state must have been attained before the full benefit of the indulgence has been obtained.

Lepicier claims that "The apex of the perfection of indulgences and the highest standpoint from which it behooves us to judge of their worth is the stimulation of Charity by enabling us to rescue the souls of our suffering brethren in purgatory.¹ However, this writer who regards them as a powerful aid in the spiritual development of the faithful has little belief in them as a force making for righteousness, for he admits them to be a concession to the diminished faith and charity of modern times. It is much more difficult, he asserts, to withstand the assaults of the tempter now than it was of old, that the Church has wisely multiplied the means of obtaining remission from penalty of sin even as she has multiplied the means of obtaining, in the sacrament, remission from the guilt of sin. Thurston, in his defense for the prevalence of indulgences,² makes a like concession. Maurel, in his little book on Indulgences, enumerates the salutary effects of the same as follows: "Thus, for example, they invite us to contribute

1.---Lepicier:-Indulgences.

2.---Thurston in Dublin Review, 1900; January-October.

towards the Propagation of the Faith in distant pagan countries, to take part in so charitable and holy a work as the baptism of children belonging to the Chinese or Indians, to procure the conversion of sinners through the intercession of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, to induce the people to enroll themselves in the association of the Sacred Heart, of the Blessed Sacrament, or in the confraternities of Holy Mary, to encourage devout pilgrimages, to frequent the Sacraments, to assist the poor souls in Purgatory, etc." Such is the declaration of a devoted son of the Church. He is a modern writer. Today a writer can only stress the salutary effects of any doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. When he questions one pronouncement of the faith he places himself beyond her protecting care and under her curse.

For finding the real effects of indulgences the subject must be studied in the period of its development. The opinion of a few modern writers cannot be taken as the final and conclusive word.

When this system had become organized it was not long before its results aroused questions and inquietude in the minds of many. In the thirteenth century the evils had become so numerous we find the Church making an

effort to protect the clergy. There was a custom of requiring the ecclesiastics to swear they would not endeavor to secure indulgences or use them. Only a few instances of this nature occur, however. The Church gave itself only spasmodically to the correction of the evils of indulgences before the Reformation. One of the most damaging evidences as to the good of indulgences is found in the naive admission of those in their favor that they are particularly useful to those who are prone to lapse into sin and would likely not be able to abstain from it during the term of penance from which an indulgence relieves them. For penance to be effective it must be performed in a state of grace. Cardinal Caietano takes virtually the same view when he says indulgences satisfy but are not medicinal like penance. Man has no merit from them; they do not make him good. He only pays for the punishment he would satisfy in penance. Even more significant of the evil tendencies of the practice of the doctrine is the admission of other writers of this period. Bold claims are made regarding sins committed in expectation of indulgences. Writers unhesitatingly aver that such sins are none the less entitled to indulgences. They acknowledge that many commit sins which they would not but for the assurance of forgiveness through an indulgence.

The growth of such a conception and the public pronouncement of the same in the writings of some leaders gave cause for concern on the part of a few popes and several councils. The appearance of these evils only emphasize the weakness of the theory. The Church has always tried to portray them as abuses only, not evils as a natural outgrowth of the application to life of a false teaching. The popes, a few times, condemned the demoralizing influence of profuse and indiscreet indulgences with vigor and denunciation of a saint against sin, but profusion and indiscretion continued. Pope Pius V in 1570, calls upon the Council of Trent to return to the ancient moderation lest the discipline of the Church should be relaxed by too great facility. Another writer takes advantage of this papal request to say that indulgences do not affect the conscience or liberate from anything, but only touch ecclesiastical discipline. In answering such charges the faithful attempted to justify the increasing laxity which was so completely disregarded by the Council of Trent. Defenders of this Church tenet admitted that the ancient use of indulgences was restricted, but it now being impossible to enforce the canonical penances, "indulgences afforded a pleasant and efficacious aid to lead men to pious observances and to satisfy God by pious works." Continue they, it would be most

troublesome for confessors to have to inquire of the sinner whether he was ready to accept a penance fitting for his sins. Consequently the device of indulgences has been found necessary for the relief of both confessor and penitent. For such reasons the popes have been led to grant indulgences more liberally than in times past. Bianchi and Lepicier are in full agreement with this apology for the prevalence of indulgences. A more modern apology for this laxity is by Thurston, in the Dublin Review, 1900. By this increased laxity and tendency toward relaxation the popes have shown their wisdom.

Though there was a lax distribution of indulgences to the laity we find it more restricted in the Orders. To these men who had no occasion to humor the beliefs of the faithful, an indulgence bore some kinship to the ancient system of penance. This is reflected by the restrictions laid upon the members of the Order for obtaining the indulgence. In one crusade indulgence--that of 1564---there was a clause permitting the members to gain indulgences without the permission of the superiors but this was soon withdrawn and it became a general rule that permission was necessary. Experience had probably taught them that monastic discipline also was likely to suffer by too great facility in gaining these pardons. The

Jesuits, while they made ample use of the confessional in the internal government of the society, objected strenuously to that phase of the crusade and jubilee indulgence granting absolution in reserved cases and the selection of a confessor. As early as 1551 the Jesuits obtained from Gregory XIII a brief forbidding any of its members from availing themselves of these concessions. In 1595 Clement VIII confirms this brief. This was repeated by Gregory XV, and in 1629 Urban VIII emphatically declared that the privilege of choosing confessors was most pernicious in the religious orders and therefore withheld this privilege from the members. The same was true in absolution for reserved cases.

It is interesting to note that this attitude of the orders was finding expression after Luther had started the Reformation and the Roman Catholic Church had awakened to the realization that some counter reformation was necessary within its own walls in order to hold many who would otherwise leave it. Many had done so already. Again, this movement for restrictions seemed to be almost within the orders. Unfortunately the pope gave no explanation as to why that which would be so beneficial to the laity--choice of a confessor and absolution in reserved cases--should be

so injurious to the men of the Orders.

In the full application of this doctrine there arose several distinct evils. Often some faithful son of the Church had the boldness to decry them. Felix Hemmerlin, in anticipation of the Jubilee of 1450, wrote a pean of rejoicing urging the faithful to take advantage of this opportunity, but his experience gained by participating in the pilgrimage led him to utter a palinode in which he reviewed the evildeeds of Boniface VIII to prove that no good could arise from such a source. He asserts that the pope's main object was to make money. He states that female virtue suffered especially. The common people took all promises of the Church literally. On these pilgrimages they were crowded together with no distinction as to sex and as a consequence it had the worst effect on their morals. ("Ex parte-regis Franciae illustris fuit propositum coram nobis, quod nonnulli Crucesignati regni sui, cum deberent ab excessibus abstinere, propter liberatam eis indultam fuita, homicidia, raptus mulierum, et alia perpetrant destestenda.") Not only was the virtue of men and women jeopardized by crusades, pilgrimages, and other like efforts to secure indulgences, but morals in general

1.---Quoted by Lea in History of Confession and Indulgences, Volume III.

2.---Gieseler:-Ecclesiastical History, Volume III.

3.---Albertus Stadensis, quoted by Gieseler, Volume III.

were greatly corrupted.¹ The Church did not deem it wise to define clearly in what consisted the benefit of an indulgence. The faithful were not to inquire too curiously into it but must be content with the simple belief that they were useful and beneficial. Grone, Palmieri, and others are indefinite in many of their statements as to just what constituted an indulgence. In reviewing the vague and various theories of the leaders we need scarce wonder that their natural effect is that many Catholics have incorrect conceptions as to indulgences, some attributing to them a magic, which through some miraculous way, will restore the most sinful to innocence, and relieve him at once of the consequences of his sins. Such views can only make for the corruptions of morals.

Although indulgences are not granted directly for financial considerations there was a period in the history of the Church when this was true. The subject of indulgences is treated by no one in any detail but that this fact is stressed. In fact, had it not been for this great evil the Reformation would, at least, have been delayed for years. It may have been generations before this discontent with the corruptions of the Church would have gained sufficient force to express itself in a successful revolution. This one evil was condemned more vehemently

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

than all others. It was primarily an outgrowth of the papal necessities. The popes were constantly involved in political wars. The Saracens, and invaders from the North were ever encroaching upon papal territory. In order to protect himself and the lands given him by temporal rulers it was necessary to keep a standing army. Memorable are his struggles with the kings of France and Sicily and the Ottos and Henry IV of Germany. The luxury of the papal courts and often the profligacy of papal life were great drains on the Church exchequer.

Thus at the opening of the sixteenth century through the attacks of the heretical bodies and individual reformers there was a widely diffused tendency to deny the efficacy of indulgences, while at the same time the necessities of the thoroughly secularized Holy See were leading to the distribution of the spiritual treasure with ever-increasing lavishness. Alexander VI was in dire need of money to aid the ambitious designs of his son, Caesar Borgia. Julius II, more a warrior than a spiritual leader, needed money to carry on war in an effort to extend the Patrimony of St. Peter. Then, when he conceived the project of demolishing the venerable Basilica of St. Peter and erecting in its place a

magnificent church, which should fairly represent both the spiritual and temporal domination of the Catholic Church, after soliciting funds for this purpose throughout all Europe and failing in securing the needed funds, he had no other recourse for meeting the anticipated enormous expense than by issuing, in 1510, the bull, *Liquet omnibus*, destined to have results not foreseen by Julius himself. In that same year the states of Germany formally presented to Emperor Maximilian a list of grievances among which was listed the issuing of new indulgences with revocations of the old for the mere purpose of extorting money. This procedure was leading to complaints of the laity against the clergy. The scholars of the day--Erasmus among them--were expressing their contempt for the frauds of the pardoners and the traffic in pardons. The popularity of their writings shows how a large part of the upper and lower classes of society was discontent with present evils and unwilling to endure longer these increasing burdens. "The enormous influence of Erasmus and the dread which he excited are seen in the secret dispatches of Alexander the papal nuncio in 1521, who repeatedly alludes to him as the originator of the whole trouble."

Julius made no attempt to publish the St. Peter's indulgence in Germany. To his successor, Leo X, fell this burdensome enterprise. Not only was Leo engaged in political movements demanding large sums of money, but he was recklessly extravagant also, always in debt. Naturally, he gladly seized upon this new expedient for raising money. The Roman curia composed at this time of men steeped in greed, with little or no principle, excited the angry remonstrances of Europe, Germany especially. Its demands were becoming more and more oppressive and its exactions harder to endure. All the officials of the Church had, apparantly, an insatiable greed for money. The corruptions had become so great that the seats in the curia were bought and sold as merchandise. Councils and people alike realized a reform was needed and that it should begin in Rome. The following briefs taken from Hegenrother's Regesta illustrate the reckless disorder of Leo's finances and the expedients resorted to to meet his extravagance:

August 4, 1512--75,000 ducats borrowed from Andrea Bellanti on the pledge of his pecotral, with a large diamond and other Jewels (n. 3954).

August 14, 1513--Bellanti ordered to pay 2,500 ducats to Francesco de la Fonte for a diamond purchased by Leo (n. 4114).

September 3, 1513--Leo borrows 4,000 ducats from Niccolo de Calcagni and sells to him for five years the export of corn from Ancona for 2,700 ducats a year (n. 4350).

October 10, 1513--Leo sells to the Genoese house of Sauli the octroi on cattle in Rome and the Patrimony for five years, for 20,000 ducats in cash and 1,000 per annum (n. 4920).

January 9, 1514--Acknowledges receipt of 10,000 ducats from Simone de Ricasole, for which the income of the camera is pledged (n. 6198).

1514--Privilege of grain trade in the Patrimony granted to Piero Doganiere for five years and receipt acknowledged of 3,000 ducats advanced (n. 7386-7).

1514--sells for 3,000 ducats to Piero del Bene all claims for unpaid annates accruing under Julius II (n. 7388).

1514--Buys from Fran. de Baroncelli an emerald for 2,500 ducats, and pays with a property in Comtat Venaissin for 1500 and an order for 1000 on the treasurer of the Comtat (n. 7563).

May 2, 1514--Buys from Simone de Ricascoli clothes to the amount of 3,000 ducats on a credit of six, twelve, and eighteen months (n. 8436).

June 1, 1514--The gabelle of Todi are farmed out to an association, 400 ducats to be paid in advance (n. 9281).

June 3, 1514--To obtain the forbearance of a loan of 1,302 ducats from some merchants, Leo grants them the "Nolas Ripae et Ripettae" for two years, of which they are not to be deprived until the loan is repaid (n.9361).

September 10, 1514--Leo borrows 5,000 ducats from Leonardo de Bortoline, and assigns to him all the ordinary income of the camera and the annates of all French benefices (n. 11819).

January 15, 1515--Ricasoli is requested to advance 1800 ducats to Troilo Savelli for pay in arrears which Leo promises to repay (n. 13693).

These instances are sufficient citations to illustrate the improvidence of Leo's methods and his constant need of money. Alive only to his political schemes and to the ever pressing need of money, he was blind to the signs of the times. Not able to sense the fact that crusades were of the past, he launched one against the Turks, pledging to lead it in person, only to have the project fail before being launched.

It was not until the close of 1514 and the beginning of 1515 that Leo organized, on a large scale, for collections for St. Peter's. His eyes were centered on

Germany. Commissioners were sent into all the provinces of this empire. Spain, France, and England are conspicuous for their absence from the territory into which he sent his men. England was an unpromising field. William the Conqueror had broken friendly relationships with the papal representatives in his kingdom four centuries before, and other kings following him, had imposed rigorous conditions on the admission of papal collectors. A special license under the government seal was required before money could be transmitted to Rome. In France Leo was engaged in an earnest effort to break the Pragmatic Sanction and obtain a Concordat. The Sorbonne was ever endeavoring to defeat his plans and was always ready to curtail the abuses of indulgences. So Leo thought it wise to avert fresh antagonism there. In Spain there was a significant contest over the permission to preach St. Peter's indulgences. A Church historian attributes the opposition of Ximenes to his repugnance to see the discipline of the Church so enervated by it. This is however, an admission of the writer of the demoralizing influence of the system. The greater reason for the opposition of Ximenes was that he was wanting to drive as great a bargain as possible for the Spanish crown which was enjoying the indulgence

of the crusade. Leo was finally forced to content himself with 24.000 ducats a year and not wage an intensive campaign in Spain.

The most important commission proved to be that of North Germany, granted to Albert, Archbishop and Elector of Mainz. The pope was holding the political reins in Germany at this time and the electorates were bought from him without regard to fitness for office. It was not a question of whether the person applying to the pope was capable to rule. It was whether he could pay a bigger price for the office. In the transmission of indulgence money out of Germany to Rome the house of Fuggers figure conspicuously. Sometimes it appropriated amounts not strictly calculated on a fixed percent basis. The custodianship of the papal chests into which the indulgence moneys were cast was a matter of vital importance and here the Fuggers figured prominently. This powerful banking firm always responded gladly to any request made of them. The cost of the pallium of Mainz was 20,000 gulden to be raised within the territory of the See. Already within a decade this monstrous sum had been twice exacted of the people, and when the see again fell vacant, Albert who was already Archbishop of Madgeburg secured a unanimous election by pledging to pay the

amount himself. He borrowed the money from the Fuggers who arranged to reimburse themselves out of the Indulgence by retaining one half the proceeds and paying the other half over to the Holy See.

Thus, in Germany at this time, we see indulgences turned into a money making scheme with little or no regard for the spiritual benefits accruing to the purchaser. The main idea and desire was to get the money.

This bargain between the Pope, Albert of Mainz, and the Fuggers was concluded in 1515 but its execution was deferred until 1517. Albert then put the business of preaching the Indulgence in the hands of John Tetzel. Different pictures are given us of him by different historians. He is characterized as being insolent, imprudent and corrupt in his living. Such charges seem to have little fact to support them. It is true he gave to indulgences their broadest application but still he was within the power granted him by Albert and Leo. He was a Dominican whose position as an inquisitor shows his good standing in the Church and whose success in similar enterprises for several years had eminently

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- 1.---Gieseler:-Ecclesiastical History, Vol. V.
 - 2.---Milner:-Church History, Vol. II.
 - 3.---Note in Lea, Vol. III.

fitted him for his present task. He had been employed by Alexander VI in the jubilee of 1500. He had been engaged in a crusade indulgence sale for the Teutonic Order, which he pushed with so much energy that in 1507 in the little town of Frieburg, then consisting of only 6,000 inhabitants he collected 2,000 gulden in two days. At Dresden the crowds flocking to hear him were so large the churches could not hold them and it was necessary to preach to them in the courts. The pecuniary returns corresponded to the crowds. Returning to his native Leipzig, he was received with a solemn procession. The churches again were too small for the crowds and the pecuniary returns were equally pleasing. Such work with like success he continued for the Teutonic Order and Frederic the Wise of Saxony until 1515 when he was engaged by Albert of Mainz to preach St. Peter's indulgences.

2

Tetzel was no mere vulgar pardoner. He had proven himself to be no man of mediocre ability. In every instance where he has been engaged by men or Orders to sell indulgences he has met with marvelous success. And it took a man gigantic in power to succeed in this work where there was so much opposition. The indulgence

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.
2.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

question was never so much a question of controversy as in his day. Tetzel was a trained theologian and an eloquent preacher. His misfortune was that he became the scapegoat of his employers. When we think of the evils of indulgences of this period and link them with Tetzel we should also think of Julius and Leo and Albert of Mainz. Tetzel was only wielding a master hand in the accomplishment of the task assigned him by another. As commissioner of indulgences he was received everywhere with distinguished honors. When he reached a town he was received in pomp and dignity. The officials came out to meet him.

The instructions drawn up by Tetzel for his subordinates contain no objectionable features except those inherent in the system. In these contrition and absolution are referred to as necessary for securing the indulgence, but the supreme and infallible efficacy of the indulgence is asserted in most absolute fashion, and the general course of reasoning shows how both parties, preacher and purchaser, recognized the transaction as one purely mercantile.¹ The attitude of the purchaser shows how prevalent had come to be the idea among the people that the value of an indulgence could be

1.---Lea:--History of Confession and Indulgences, Vol. III.

measured by a pecuniary standard. The current doctrine finds a clear expression in the instructions issued to govern the distribution of indulgences. These explicitly name "the four principal graces conceded by the Apostolic bull." They include not only the opening of a confessional endowed with the greatest and most important and hitherto unheard of faculties, the sharing of all the treasures of the Church universal¹ in the way of merit, the plenary indulgence for the departed, but even before these, the first grace is the plenary remission of all sins, than which no greater grace could be bestowed, seeing that by it man, a sinner and deprived of divine grace, obtains perfect remission and the grace of God once more. "By this remission of sins the pains which would have to be suffered in purgatory on account of offenses against the divine majesty are most fully remitted and absolutely done away."²

When this unrestricted declaration of the reach and scope of these indulgences was put into the hands of the vendors it was naturally elaborated. Tetzel and his deputies probably did not confine themselves to moderate formulas of model sermons but indulged in whatever extravagant rhetoric seemed best calculated to reach and

1.---Schaff-Herzog:--Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Vol. V.
2.---Schaff-Herzog:--Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Vol. V.

move the popular mind. The declaration of the bull alone was sufficient to lead the "common man" to think it loosed him from the guilt and penalty. It is not surprising ^{that} the common people made the mistake--if mistake it was--and saw in this plenary indulgence the promise of remission of guilt as well as penalty. It was this practical moral effect of indulgences and not the theological explanation of the theory, which stirred Luther to make his protest.

Up to this time Luther had not been inclined to doubt the value of indulgences. When in 1510, he was sent to Rome to plead the cause of the German Augustinian convents against the vicar of the Order he said that while there he almost regretted that his parents were not dead in order that by masses in those privileged churches he could release their souls from purgatory. However, since his return he had been led more and more to the doctrine of justification by faith, and his conception as to the value of indulgences and the application of the treasure was weakened.

There seems to be no reason to doubt the truth of Luther's assertion that at first he had no intention of creating a heresy or even a schism. There is an air

or verisimilitude in his own account of the manner in which he was led, step by step, to advance from a simple protest against the evils growing out of the system to a denial of the principles on which it rested, involving a rejection of the papal autocracy. To make this break he was obliged to insist on the sole authority of the Scriptures and to cast aside all the claims of tradition. When he reached this point he was in reality attacking the whole system of Scholastic theology and sacerdotalism.

Luther seems to have been aroused first by the extravagant claims in the preaching of Tetzels. He addresses a letter October 31, 1517, to Albert of Mainz. In this letter he deplores the lies promulgated in Albert's name and under his authority; he mourns the errors which are becoming current among the common people; that sinners who purchase indulgences are sure of salvation; that souls fly from purgatory as soon as the money is thrown into the Chest, that the indulgence releases from both guilt and punishment.

Luther then posted his theses, six of which touched upon indulgences. The theses appealed irresistably to all those who had been brought up in the simple evangelical

faith which distinguished the quiet home life of so many German families. The effect of the theses was almost immediate; the desire to purchase indulgences cooled and the sales almost stopped. The Ninety-five Theses made six different assertions about indulgences and their efficacy:

I.--An indulgence is and can only be the remission of a merely ecclesiastical penalty; the Church can remit what the Church has imposed; it cannot remit what God has imposed.

II.--An indulgence can never remit guilt; the pope himself cannot do such a thing; God has kept that in his own hand.

III.--It cannot remit the divine punishment for sin; that also is in the hands of God.

IV.--It can have no efficacy for souls in Purgatory; penalties imposed by the Church can only refer to the living; death dissolves them; what the pope can do for souls in Purgatory is by prayer not by jurisdiction or the power of the keys.

V.--The Christian who has true repentance has already received pardon from God altogether apart from an Indulgence and does not need one; Christ demands this true repentance from everyone.

VI.--The Treasury of Merits has never been properly defined, it is hard to say what it is, and it is not properly understood by the people; it cannot be the merits of Christ and His saints, because of the intervention of the Pope, having the power of the keys, can remit ecclesiastical penalties imposed by the Church; the true Treasure-house of merits is the Holy Gospel of the grace and glory of God.

The Archbishop of Mainz, finding that the publication of the theses interfered with the sale of indulgences, sent a copy to Rome. Tetzel hurries to his former teacher and friend Wimpina, for advice. They published a set of counter theses. Everywhere there arose opponents of the Ninety-five Theses. Luther found the opposition to his views much stronger than he expected. His book, Resolutions, probably the most carefully written of all his writings, was a detailed defense of his Theses. Under pressure of controversy Luther was gradually advancing and his antagonist were determined to force him to the ultimate conclusions of his premises. The controversy widened and deepened. As Luther grew in popular favor he advanced step by step until he threw off all allegiance to the Holy See.

Everywhere his writings were very popular. The printers were glad to print his works, knowing they would find a ready sale for them. On the other hand, the writings of papal legates found little sale, and the printers charged high prices for the publication of the same. In spite of papal bulls and imperial edicts the number of followers of Luther increased daily. It soon came to be rare to find a layman who favored the clergy, while a large part of the priests were for Luther and most of them ashamed to support the Roman Church.

One cannot repress a feeling of sympathy for Tetzel who was pitilessly sacrificed by his employers, although he was no worse than thousands of pardoners whom the Church had employed for centuries. He had become so unpopular he was living in retreat at Leipzig, fearing to come out. The population had come to be so inimical to him he feared for his life. He was thoroughly broken in spirit. It was said he died of a fever; another report in circulation said his fellow friars threw him into a sewer. Luther's attitude toward his defeated antagonist was worthy. Just before his death he wrote Tetzel a letter of consolation.

All this popularity accorded Luther and his writings manifests too deep seated a popular feeling to admit of the easy explanation of the Reformation by the abuses of indulgences alone. These played their part well in hastening on the inevitable. They are only one of the several causes. Along with the excessive abuses found in Germany as a consequence of the preaching of St. Peter's indulgence by Tetzel and his subordinates must be placed the condition of the Church, its relations with the German nation, and the spirit of independent inquiry fostered by the printing press. There was ample reason why there should be a revolt against indulgences and their abuse, and they may fairly be considered the occasion of the Reformation, but the cause of a movement so momentous in human development lay deeper and was to be found in a general hatred of Rome by both classes, clerical and laity. And among the causes for this hatred was the abuses attendant on the preaching of indulgences and the oppressive papal exactions.

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F. S. P.

J. R. S.

W. O. C.

A. H. D.

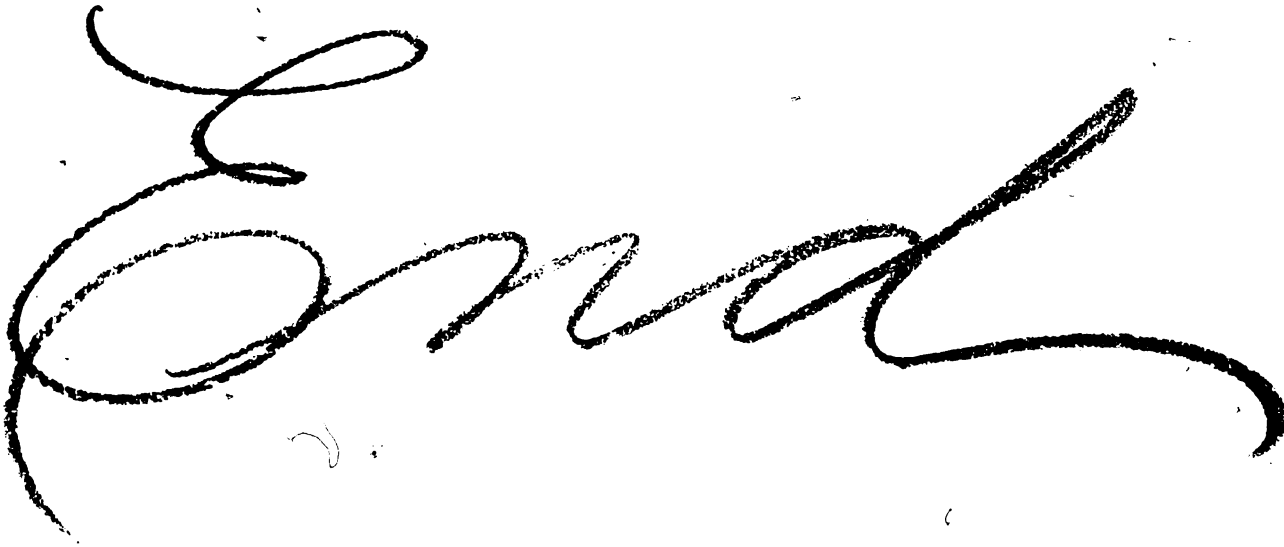
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