

THEOLOGY LIBRARY—VOLUME I

**INTRODUCTION
TO
THEOLOGY**

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INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY

By a group of theologians
under the editorship of
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CHAPTER II	Introduction to Holy Scripture
CHAPTER III	The Liturgy
CHAPTER IV	Canon Law
CHAPTER V	The Fathers and Doctors of the Church
CHAPTER VI	The Creeds
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VOLUME ONE

Introduction To Theology

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INTRODUCTION

Schools of theology for members of religious communities and for the laity have been established throughout the United States in recent years. This phenomenon is a sign of a real thirst among the faithful for a deeper and fuller grasp of the religious truths which Christ confided to His Church, not for safekeeping but for the enrichment of life. The trend towards theology schools undoubtedly has a relationship to the revision of curricula in elementary, secondary, and even in college and university religion programs.

Catholic laymen, particularly those involved in Catholic Action movements, are asking for a religious formation which will equip them for the task of bridging the gap between religion and life. A richer understanding of religious truths is needed in the apostolate than that which is gotten from a simple catechism instruction. A laity which is growing into adulthood in the life of the Church needs theology. It needs a diet of religious truths commensurate with its new responsibilities.

In surveying the field, we find Latin manuals available for seminary training in theology. We find that professional theological works are scarcely within the competence—or even within the handy reach—of the great majority of those searching for theological formation. And we find that textbooks used in colleges and universities are elementary. Between the simplified textbook and the systematized theological manuals used in seminaries, there is a wide gap.

The Theology Library is an effort to fill the gap. The plan of the work is drawn from St. Thomas Aquinas, as Father A. M. Henry, O.P., who is the architect of this monumental theological synthesis, declares: "From St. Thomas we draw the plan and the inspiration, which is an intellectual thing. But taking this for granted, each contributor has tried to rethink the questions and to present them under a form and in terms, nay, even in categories, which are accessible to the modern reader."

The plan of the *Summa Theologiae* of St. Thomas is adhered to, not merely because he is the Master of Theology approved by the Church, but also because he offers an unsurpassed synthesis, and

his logic is not one of cold abstraction but a logic of life which progressively unfolds God's intervention in the history of the salvation of man.

Thus *The Theology Library* considers, first of all, God and His Creation, then Man and His Elevation, and finally, God's intervention in man's history through the Incarnation and the Church. It avoids the more or less arbitrary division so familiar in religion manuals: truths to be believed, commandments to be practiced, and sacraments to be received.

In order to keep students in contact with the sources of theology, the first volume of *The Theology Library* begins with a systematic presentation of all the elements which must be consulted in theological research: Tradition, Holy Scripture, the Liturgy, Canon Law, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, the Creeds, Tradition in Oriental Churches, the Ecumenical Councils, and Christian Art and Gregorian Chant. These sources speak to us of God and of the way Christians believed and lived their faith throughout the centuries of the Church. Thus, theology is not cut adrift from its living sources and from its organic unity, which is the Church, the recipient of God's revelation. *The Theology Library* is in touch with the sources and is faithful to the vital development of Christian Tradition. It reveals God unfolding Himself through His Mystical Body.

It is inevitable that certain chapters will appear difficult. This fact should not discourage the student from delving further. *The Theology Library* intends to introduce the student to new perspectives; it is essentially, as its title in the original French so well indicates, an Initiation into Theology. Some parts will seem obscure and difficult at first. Despite this, the great value of this study is as an introduction to the theological world of divine truths. It goes deep into the life of faith. It is a search surging with life as it starts with the development of divine truths from the historical origin of Scripture through the elaboration and explication of the Fathers of the Church and the Councils, and sees its flowering in acts of worship and apostolic activity. All of man is intimately involved in this vital discovery. The student is not a stranger to this progressive development of God's thought and God's will and God's nature. It is the unfolding of God's salvation of man, and since the student is very much a part of this unfolding, the study of theology should take him and make him a part of this discovery.

To whom, then, is *The Theology Library* addressed? First, to

priests and seminarians. Theology is not something someone studies once, then leaves on the shelves. This may be true of the manuals used in seminaries, but it certainly should not be true of the subject itself. This projected set of volumes recommends itself to every priest who wishes to continue to grow in the subject of his specialty and for whom the manuals of theology have outgrown their usefulness. It provides what the different manuals of theology do not possess, namely, a principle of unity—the plan of God for man's salvation as conceived by St. Thomas. *The Theology Library* has the advantage of unity as well as diversity, in that the contributors, who have been selected because of their specialized competence, handle the different topics within a master plan.

Secondly, *The Theology Library* makes a special appeal to religious, both men and women, who desire a deeper understanding of the divine truths they frequently must teach. The numerous schools of theology for Brothers and Sisters testify to the need for a more systematic theological formation. Whereas a philosophical training is required in following the seminary manuals, this is not quite as essential in following the plan of *The Theology Library*, since it relies on the historical development of dogmas more than on theological conclusions logically drawn from general moral and dogmatic principles. As a matter of fact, the present work tries to avoid arriving at fixed conclusions, but leads to further thought and study of the subject matter. Dogmas are not cut and dried truths that rely upon one's ability to prove their genuineness. They are sources of thought and meditation and fruitful investigation. They follow the logic of life more than the logic of dialectics. Today, in the words of Frank Sheed, the world needs not so much a proof of God's existence as a knowledge of God Himself. It is in this spirit that *The Theology Library* is conceived: exposition of the truths of faith and their development, rather than a defense of their legitimacy.

Finally, *The Theology Library* should be a Godsend to those of the laity who, for apostolic reasons or for professional reasons, wish to discover a systematic theology but without the benefit of formal training in theology. There are a great many men and women in the professions who are seeking Christian answers to the problems of life, of man, of the universe. Only Revelation, presented in a systematized way, with all the elaboration with which Revelation has been enriched by the divinely guided Church, can serve that end. Even without formal teaching, theology can thus become the

possession of every informed Catholic. It is sincerely hoped that even our Protestant brethren will learn to appreciate Catholic doctrine through this dynamic presentation of the Church's beliefs.

In conclusion, it is hoped that *The Theology Library* be a guide, a teacher in the best sense of the word. The young clerics of the twelfth century studied their theology from the book of one Master, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Imperfect though it was, it had the distinction of giving the student a principle of unity and a harmonious development of the whole of theological knowledge. Without this guiding principle, without this synthesis, the students might very well have retained the theses, but they would not have become theologians. This, I would say, is the greatest merit of *The Theology Library*. Inspired by the great synthesis of St. Thomas Aquinas, a team of modern theologians have conceived and presented a work destined to be a teacher for the men and women of our times, a real initiation into theology, in view of the day when a more perfect synthesis will be created in line with the great wish expressed by the late Emmanuel Cardinal Suhard, Archbishop of Paris: "What is needed is a vast synthesis, and one which will provide Christians with the double answer they are awaiting: action upon society which will be successful, and a doctrine which is fully Catholic . . . The hour has struck when the greatest service that can be rendered to the Church and her sons is the making of a *Christian Summa* of the world now taking shape."

Louis J. Putz, C.S.C.
The University of Notre Dame

Chapter I

THE SOURCES OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

by A. Liégé, O.P.

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Chapter I

THE SOURCES OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

I. The Word of God and Tradition

1. THE LORD HAS SPOKEN

There are numerous religions. The specific character of Christianity lies in the nature of the personal relationship of friendship and familiarity which unites the living God and the believer; or, in other words, in the fact that Christianity proceeds entirely from the benevolent initiative of God, from a Word addressed by God to mankind. The natural or cosmic religions, whose origin is the fear of man in face of the mysterious and impersonal forces which surround him, (all those religions which rest on a sacred emotion without a personal object), present a completely different religious attitude from that of Christianity. When the Old Testament speaks of God, it is of a living God, of a God Who is living because He is a person, one who stands in opposition to the non-living gods, those who cannot say: "I."

The closest religious attitude to that of Christianity is not to be found in these religions, but rather in what one may call the religion of the moral conscience: that encounter made by a man of good will who, because of a sense of the seriousness of his destiny, has given up fancy in order to live faithfully. Faithful to what and to whom? To the gift of self, to the reception of the true, to a personal Being as yet unknown who receives the homage of all authentic spiritual values without possessing their limitations. Such a man has already heard a word of God; he has already answered a call by faithfulness. He is already involved at the fringes of the Christian dialogue.

However, God has spoken more explicitly to men than in the obscurity of their conscience where He only allows Himself to be guessed at without giving an assurance of His friendship. The living God has turned towards men in order to mingle with them and become, with a certitude beyond any pursuit of happiness within their power, their essential good. He has done so by His word.

2. WHAT THE WORD OF GOD IS

In the Old Testament one must not first think of this word as a communication of knowledge, but as the manifestation of a living presence at the heart of a people's existence. And this manifestation can just as well take the form of actions as that of words: "To whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" (Is. 53:1). It was for the men of God, the prophets, to expound the meaning of these actions, to make known by their means God's point of view concerning the history and life of the people. Thus Yahweh revealed by His word less what He is in Himself than what His people should be for Him and what He is for His people: the plan of adoption, or as Jeremias says, "the thought of His heart" (Jer. 23:20).

For the people who hear or see it the Word of God is an attack, a challenge, an active manifestation which wants to be accepted and which converts; which also judges him who has not accepted it; a word which brings about what it announces in him who has accepted it. "As the rain and the snow come down from heaven, and return no more thither, but soak the earth, and water it, and make it to spring, and give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater: So shall my word be, which shall go forth from my mouth: it shall not return to me void, but shall do whatsoever I please, and shall prosper in the things for which I sent it" (Is. 55:10-11).

"God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, last of all in these days has spoken to us by his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world" (Heb. 1:1-2). We have in Christ the definitive revelation of God's plan. The presence of God which His word brought about in the midst of the Jewish people has become a total presence in the person of the risen Christ whose mystery summarizes God's purposes. The whole of mankind discovers itself dynamically inscribed by grace in this mystery of Christ. From the beginning God's plan was to befriend men and to gather them together into a community of divine destiny. This plan has been wholly realized with the coming of Christ. Henceforth, the Word of God is both the reality of Christ as God and as risen man, and the promise of a glory like His for all mankind. We cannot go beyond the mystery of Christ, and consequently, revelation is closed. We can only await its entire accomplishment while keeping faith with the Word.

Throughout the New Testament the Word of God is qualified by

terms convertible with the mystery of Jesus: word of salvation (Acts 13:26); word of reconciliation (II Cor. 5:19); word of love (Acts 14:3); word of life (Phil. 2:16, I Peter 1:23); word of truth (II Cor. 6:7, Eph. 1:13, Col. 1:5, II Tim. 2:15); word of the kingdom (Matt. 13:19); word of the Cross (I Cor. 1:18). All these expressions can be summarized in one: the mystery of Christ; the plan of the heart of God become Christ and His work of salvation. "God has deigned to reveal me his Son," writes Saint Paul, "so that I might preach him among the Gentiles" (Gal. 1:16. Cf. Rom. 16:25-26, I Cor. 2:7-10, Eph. 1:8-10, 3:3-7, 8-12, 6:19, Col. 1:26-27).

In the Old Testament, the presence of the Living God was still an exterior manifestation realized in a people, in its temporal history, and the prophecy of One who was to come. In the New Testament, the immanence of God reveals itself as having to attain the very heart of the personal destinies of *all* men. The flooding of the humanity of Christ by the glory of God was but a prelude to the divinization of all the sons of men. The purpose of sacred history has been already realized in Christ: it only remains to spread it to all men. The totality of the revelation concerning Christ has been given us. The Old Testament revealed only a picture—yet a real one—of what was to come about; the New Testament reveals the truth about what has been accomplished and what continues to happen in those who believe.

Nevertheless, this definitive revelation still remains prophetic for the present Church. We must still await the Revelation of Jesus, although it has already been accomplished: "the revelation of his glory, the glory that is to be revealed in time to come" (I Peter 4:13, 5:1. Cf. Luke 17:30, I Cor. 3:13, II Thess. 1:7) which will also be that of all "the children of God which we now are, although it has not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when he appears, we shall be like to him, for we shall see him just as he is" (I John 3:2. Cf. Rom. 8:18). "The eager longing of creation awaits the revelation of the sons of God" (Rom. 8:19).

It is towards this eschatological vision, "God all in all," the total presence of the Living God and the gathering together of all men in the fullness of Christ, and in the preparation for it, that all Revelation is ordained from the beginning.

So that all apostolic preaching has a normative value, one must not separate the revelation that Jesus gave of His mystery and the apostolic testimony (Cf. John 16:12-13, Gal. 1:8-9, II Tim. 1:13-14).

But, after the apostles, there is no further place in the Church for true prophecy. What remains is to preach Christ, to live and interiorize the Revelation of grace while awaiting the Revelation of glory. This is the Church's task: the ministry of the Gospel in the name of Christ.

Revelation certainly contains doctrine. God "attacks" us as intelligent beings to whom He gives Himself by an objective determination of the mind's assent. But, more than truths about God, it brings us the very Person of God and His Person through His plan of salvation: Theology through Economy, to use the vocabulary of the Greek Fathers. God wants us as disciples only that He may save us. Likewise, when the Church teaches, it is always in order to bring souls to the life of God; also in order to cause the Living God to be born in them.

Even more than in the Old Testament, the Word of God in the New is asserted to be sovereign, powerful, and efficacious in every man who accepts it by faith. To believe in the Word and to keep it in one's heart is already to interiorize the very content of the Word; it is to enter into the mystery of Christ as a real participant. The word of salvation falls on every man as a summons from God in Jesus Christ. A few texts to illustrate this: "We give thanks to God without ceasing, because when you heard and received from us the word of God, you welcomed it not as the word of men, but, as it truly is, the word of God who works in you who have believed" (I Thess. 2:12). "The word of God is living and efficient and keener than any two-edged sword, and extending even to the division of soul and spirit, of joints also and of marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the heart" (Heb. 4:12). "Thus mightily did the word of the Lord spread and prevail" (Acts 19:20).

3. WHERE CAN WE FIND THE WORD OF GOD ?

It is evident that the Christian religion is first of all the Word of God. But the Christianity of today presents us with a multitude of beliefs, rites, and customs. Is all of it the Word of God, or is one obliged to unscramble its many affirmations in order to find the Word?

How can one be sure of the continuity between the act of divine revelation and the religious teaching given in the Church? These are important questions for a man who wants to rely on the Word of God and not on a human word. Any authentic Christianity must

constantly refer back to that sovereign Word which establishes the new creation in Christ. The following pages will attempt to say precisely where to find the Word of God.

4. THE WORD OF GOD, AN EVER PRESENT REALITY

For every man in search of its ultimate meaning, the Word of God, a reality which historically speaking seems to be situated in the past, in fact remains always present, contemporaneous, like God in His eternity.

Revelation was closed with the apostolic age. There will be no more prophets in the Church. From the beginning, then, we can exclude from an interpretation of the expression "always present, contemporaneous" any idea that God might enrich or modify the objective content of His revelation. The only word with which we have to deal is that addressed to men in Jesus and proclaimed by the apostles.

If, then, the deposit of faith remains ever the same, that supposes a transmission, a *tradition*. This notion of Tradition is important to retain. The closed Revelation becomes Tradition. Where can we find the Word of God? *In Tradition*.

However, in order that his answer have the sense it should for us, we must strip the idea of Tradition of whatever habitual, static, passive, or conformist notions it may contain. The phrase "traditional Christianity" can possess great meaning. Generally, however, we use it in a derogatory fashion.

What, then, shall represent the evangelical Tradition?

Could it be the act of transmitting, as it were from hand to hand, a text, a holy book, or a creed? This way of putting it is not false; but we must introduce a richer, more comprehensive content into it, since such a tradition would remain only that of a juridical society founded on legislative texts. But where is the Spirit?

It is in the Church,¹ in today's Church, that we shall find the Word of God. But we shall find it there not like a collection of objects on display in a museum, but as living and effective as it was in the beginning. The Church is a living, spiritual Body whose soul is the Holy Spirit: that is, to believers, for whom the Church is a con-

¹ *Important remark:* When we speak here of the Church, it is without distinguishing between the believing community and the hierarchical institution. Such distinctions will appear later.

tinuous Pentecost, the gift of God received, interiorized, and made fruitful.

God continues at this present moment to speak the Word first published in the prophetic and apostolic eras. The Church's faith is not limited to a purely exterior adhesion, since it is concerned with a living, personal, interiorized truth. The Church knows Christ and His mystery from within as that which constitutes its very essence: it is the rich, realistic knowledge of two beings united by love. The Church is faithful to Christ by a fidelity based on love, rather than by a juridical fidelity alone. And it is the Spirit of Christ bestowed upon believing mankind which constantly creates this presence: a presence and a consciousness of this presence prior to any formulation; one possessing a depth greater than all expressions (deeper even than Scripture itself, because it wells up from a more interior source); one which will at last judge all the expressions of itself.

Thus it is that Tradition means at once and indissolubly the content of Revelation and the power to recognize and judge this content. As bearer of this deposit of God's Word, which is her very life, the Church is invested with a power of awareness which permits her to formulate and express that Word throughout the course of her life, to understand it with ever new freshness, to make it more explicit through a progress of subjective penetration of what she had not yet perceived (as in all personal relationships where expressions of friendship are laden with far more meaning than is at first perceived). The Church's memory of Christ springs from the heart, not from pure intellectual memory.

5. TRADITION: THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHURCH

I have used this word *consciousness* several times already in order to designate Tradition. I think that this personalist notion of the consciousness of the Church expresses very well the reality in question. This consciousness designates here at once and indissolubly the object of consciousness and the active power of judgement: consciousness-object and consciousness-subject.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, let it be understood: 1. that the consciousness in question is not that of a blind life force, but one of an intellectual nature capable of objectifying itself, of even formulating itself; 2. this consciousness has an integral possession of its object within itself from the beginning; 3. one can only lay hold of the content of this consciousness in the measure that it

is formulated, but this formulation does not exhaust its content, and ultimately, it is this lived content which remains as essential and permanent throughout the successive formulations which may manifest it.

6. THE THEOLOGY OF TRADITION

In order to illustrate this brief exposition, let us present the great stages of theological reflection concerning Tradition.

Three stages:

a) The notion of "paradosis" possessed great importance in the *thought of St. Paul*, where it already meant both the act of transmitting and the object transmitted. Witness these texts:

"So then, brethren, stand firm, and hold the teachings that you have learned, whether by word or by letter of ours" (II Thess. 2:15).

"Hold to the form of sound teaching which thou hast heard from me, in the faith and love which are in Christ Jesus. Guard the good trust through the Holy Spirit, who dwells in us" (II Tim. 1:13-14).

We can see that St. Paul insists on the exterior transmission, the continuity from Jesus to the Apostles, from the Apostles to their disciples—a continuity without innovation.

b) At the end of the second century *St. Irenaeus*, bishop of Lyon, was the great theologian of Tradition. The discussion was occasioned by the struggle against the Gnostics who interpreted Scripture by a self-styled secret tradition. Our tradition is not secret, replied Irenaeus: it is the teaching of the Apostles transmitted orally from generation to generation of Christians by preaching, and possessed in each local Church through continuity with the word of its apostolic founder.

. . . The Church, having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the entire world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points (of doctrine) just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth.²

Irenaeus kept the insistence of St. Paul on the verifiable continuity by means of apostolicity, but he insists in addition on the living and contemporaneous character of evangelical truth in the Church. He says that it is a Tradition of the living word rather than one of written letters (*non per litteras tradita, sed per vivam vocem*).

² *Adversus Haereses*, I, 10; Migne, P. G., 7, 551; *Against Heresies* (The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. I). New York, 1926, p. 331.

c) In the context of a new discovery of historical duration, several Christian thinkers of the nineteenth century were to deepen the notion of living Tradition as a source of faith in the Word of God. It was a deepening in two directions: 1. an opening to the reality of a certain organic development of the transmitted deposit; 2. an appreciation of the role of the Holy Spirit, soul of the Church, as the living principle of all salutary knowledge and of all continuity, of hierarchical continuity itself. Whoever wants to reflect on Tradition cannot ignore these three thinkers. Moehler, at Tubingen, in the framework of German Romantic thought, Cardinal Franzelin, at Rome in the midst of an entirely different type of thought, Blondel, a little later and in reference to his philosophy of action:

"Since the birth of the Church," wrote Moehler, "Christ and His Spirit are at work in the community. The Church in its development is an uninterrupted continuation of His first appearance, an ever new creation of Christ. The Church does not grow old. Generations and men may pass away, but Christ and His Spirit abide in her and assure the permanence of the Word and the continuity of teaching with a true understanding of this Word and this teaching. One can only remain in communication with the teaching of Christ and the faith of the Apostles by remaining in communion with the universal teaching of the Church, since this teaching propagates itself in a living manner within the Church through the Spirit of Christ, by means of an ever active spiritual generation in uninterrupted continuity. It is the Church alone which brings about spiritual birth into divine life, without which the meaning of the Gospel remains closed. It is also the Church alone which assures the uninterrupted and incorrupted development of Christian teaching through her living tradition. . . . As a moral person the Church bears within her the consciousness of her being in the possession of a single faith." (Quoted in the collection of J. R. Geiselman, *Geist des Christentums und des Katholizismus*, XIV, pp. 450-451.)

To the question: where can we find the Word of God?—this word upon which we as Christians have risked our life and our death—we can, while awaiting further precision, already reply in a general fashion: in the living and present Tradition which makes up the realistic consciousness of the Church of Christ animated by the Spirit.

II. The Scriptures and Apostolic Tradition

THE PRESENCE OF THE LIVING GOSPEL IN THE CHURCH

We are engaged in a search for the Word of God, the summons to all moral existence, the absolute reply to every question embracing human destiny, the life-giving presence and renewal of grace

for those who receive and keep it. We can believe in no other in the absolute fashion in which we can believe in this Word. Now the Word of God rests and lives in the Church. We can already speak more precisely: in the living and ever present Tradition which makes up the realistic consciousness of the Church of Christ animated by the Spirit of Truth.

Spiritual consciousness is the possession of an object, the dwelling of another being in oneself, and the power to recognize, the power of becoming aware of this object or this person. There are, then, these two aspects which imply one another: on the one hand, when we speak of an object, we always implicitly include the affirmative power with which we are gifted in regard to this object; on the other hand, when we speak of this power of affirmation itself, we must always realize that it is the power of recognizing such and such an object. In speaking, then, of the Tradition as the consciousness of the Church, we can have reference either to the objective aspect (the content of the Word of God), or to the subjective aspect (the power of recognizing and of affirming this same word), or to both aspects combined. We shall successively analyze both these aspects. However, it must be understood that for methodological reasons several of the questions raised in the present chapter can only be resolved later.

1. THE OBJECTIVE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE CHURCH

It is the Word of God as has been said, but that hardly advances our understanding of its reality. Let us look again at the analogy of human consciousness: in order to understand the concepts of a mind we must have recourse to the expressions of this thought. What, then, are the expressions which Tradition uses to manifest itself? A text of the Council of Trent will give us an answer. It is an answer composed in reply to Lutheran difficulties over the place that the Church gives to Scripture: a text of great importance and one that was to be repeated by the Vatican Council. Here is a complete translation:

The most holy, ecumenical and general Council of Trent, legitimately assembled in the Holy Spirit, under the presidency of the three legates of the Apostolic See, keeping constantly in mind the proposal to set aside errors and to conserve in the Church the purity of the Gospel promised *formerly* by the prophets in the Sacred Scriptures, *first* promulgated by the Son of God, Our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, who *then* ordered that it be preached by His Apostles to all men as being the source of every salutary truth and of all moral

discipline; considering, moreover, that this truth and this discipline are found contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions which, having been received by the Apostles from Jesus Christ Himself, or transmitted as though from hand to hand by the Apostles themselves at the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have come down to us; following the examples of the orthodox Fathers receives and venerates with equal piety and reverence, both all the *Books* of the Old and New Testament since both have for Author the one and the same God, and also the *traditions* themselves whether having to do with faith or morals, in so far as they have been dictated orally by Christ, or by the Holy Spirit, and conserved in the Catholic Church with uninterrupted continuity. . . (Fourth Session, April 8, 1546).

2. SCRIPTURE AND TRADITIONS

This text demands a commentary:

1. What we have named Tradition, the Council calls "the Gospel conserved in the Church, the source of every salutary truth and of all moral discipline." This Gospel is the Word of God confided to apostolic preaching.

2. The Holy Books themselves are not the living Gospel purely and simply; they contain it and are its written form—one expression of it. Tradition remains the source.

3. Besides the Holy Books, the Word of God is also expressed in the unwritten *traditions* (which we must not confuse with Tradition), in the institutions of Christian worship or practice founded by Jesus Christ or by the Apostles at the dictation of the Spirit, which have been faithfully transmitted in the life of the Church from the beginning.

4. These traditions are concerned with essential faith and morals and, therefore, are not to be confused with all the pious customs and diverse practices which appear and disappear according to time, place, and culture in the life of the Church (ecclesiastical traditions).

Consequently, it is not Scripture alone which contains the Word of God. This Word also lives in the Church under the form of practices of worship and morals (of which the sacraments may be considered prime examples). Such is the first conclusion. The second is no less important: the Scriptures and apostolic traditions are judged in the light of the living Tradition, the living, conscious communion which binds the Church to Christ. A question still remains: namely, to know whether Scripture and the traditions are complementary expressions of God's Word, or whether Scripture alone already contains the whole Word. If we conceive the mystery of Christ as a living whole and not as a collection of principles to

be believed and practiced, we have many reasons to think that the apostolic preaching which was consigned to writing transmits to us the entirety of the mystery. Such was the thought of the Fathers of the first centuries, on condition, evidently, that Scripture was read in the Church. *In the Church*, means first with the active commentary provided by the worship and moral practices of the Christian community: thus it is that the reality of the communion of saints expressed in the epistles of St. Paul was better perceived in the light of the spontaneous practice of the cult of the martyrs. *In the Church*, also means in the loving contemplation of the Body of Christ, its Head and in the conformity of its life to the spirit of its Saviour. The Scriptures and traditions, as two expressions of the one Word, constantly refer to each other: the living traditions receive an explanation from Scripture. What is contained by way of outline in the written Gospel has light thrown upon it by traditions which are in their own way also bearers of the mystery of Christ. When the life of the Church points up an aspect of this Mystery which has until then lain implicitly in Tradition, this new dogma will be linked to one or the other expression of the Word of God in the Church. In many cases we can show why this new aspect has become explicit. For example, the dogma of original sin was affirmed principally because of the practice of infant baptism; without this practice the dogma could hardly have been read out of St. Paul so easily. We can also understand why Pius XII, in defining the Assumption of Mary, affirms that this dogma "rests on the Sacred Scriptures" although, historically speaking, it is not by a penetration of such or such a scriptural text that this aspect of the Christian Mystery has been manifested.

3. THE BIBLE AND THE CHURCH

"Do you want to know how heresies are produced?" writes St. Augustine. "The Scriptures, which are good in themselves, were badly interpreted, and it was precisely this bad interpretation that men supported with audacity and assurance" (Exposition of St. John's Gospel, XVIII, ch. 1; P.L. 35, 1536). The heretic's mistake is to treat Scripture as though it were a self-sufficient and didactic text. Now a non-didactic text like the Bible must always be read in a synthetic context: a synthesis of expression and a synthesis of thought. After all, any text has to be read in the thought context from which it has proceeded. The Church of Pentecost contains

the living thought of Christ. It is by communion with her that we are assured of finding Christ in Scripture; of understanding what is said there obscurely or only in passing without stumbling over the narrownesses and the archaic condition of an ancient text; of making the separation between the sociological expression and the absolute expression of the writing. The Church does not pass judgement on the Word of God since she is contemporaneous with and witness of that Word; but she has power over the interpretation of the written word in order to insure a greater interior fidelity, and she judges an interpretation of the Word: whether it is a too exterior reading of the Scripture, rather than the Word itself. We must see Scripture *in* the Church, not Scripture *and* the Church or the Church *and* Scripture.

4. THE SCRIPTURE AND OUR FAITH

I find Christ, the object of my faith, in the expressions of Tradition, expressions which are constantly evaluated by their unique source. Can it then be said, since the expressions are relative, that I may bypass them in order to attain their source? Not at all! The assurance of the Spirit which maintains the living Tradition in no way dispenses us from attachment to its authentic expressions. God, who communicated the thought of His heart, is also the Author of Scripture and the traditions. No one knows better the normative value of these expressions than the Church which shows forth her faith and practice by perpetual reference to Scripture and traditions. It is comparable to the manner in which disciples disclose the living thought of their master, discovering beneath the words all the intellectual richness in which they had shared. We often ask at once both too much and too little from Scripture. On condition that it is read in the Spirit which animates it, Scripture presents the advantage of the stability of an ideally and integrally fixed text. The charism of inspiration (distinct from Revelation) assures us of its fidelity as a transcription of the Word. In addition, the Word of salvation is presented in an edifying and exhortatory form suitable to its content. This expresses sufficiently the necessity for reading Scripture in order to encounter Christ, in order to recognize Him there by the light of the Spirit present in the community of believers. Certain Catholic theologians in attacking heretical bibliolatry have said that the personal reading of Scripture is not necessary for salvation, but that is an awkward, one-sided, and, in the long run,

If you visit the Cathedral of Chartres, you will notice the different days of the creation of the world portrayed in sculpture high above in the center of the arch of the Northern Portal to the Cathedral.

The art piece reproduced here is taken from the Northern Portal of Chartres. It shows the figure of God on the fifth day of creation when He created the birds of the air (they are to the left of God but not visible on the photograph). God's thoughts are on man, whom He will create on the sixth day. Hence, we notice man, appearing in the image and likeness of God, in the background of the photograph. This is man as he appeared in the mind of God.

Like the sculptor of Chartres, so also the theologian strives at all times to see all things as God sees them—from His point of view and in His mind.



paradoxical affirmation of the non-sufficiency of Scripture. After all, is not Catholic worship made up of Scripture reading for the most part?

Any Catholic reading of Scripture, even if it is done alone, is reading in communion with and from within the Tradition; "without the Church the man of faith would not decipher the true Scripture of God in the Bible and in his soul."

Already at his time, Tertullian had to oppose the heretics of Scripture alone: "Where one finds true teaching and true Christian faith (in the Church) one will also find at the same time true Holy Scripture, its true explanation, and the true Christian traditions" (*De Praes. Haer.*, 19). It remains for us to make further precisions as to the role of the Church—teaching and taught—in the recognition of the Word of God; in other words, the criteria of the Church's consciousness.

III. The Eyes of Tradition

Until now Tradition has appeared to us as the living and ever present consciousness of the Word of God in the Church of Christ. But we must be able to recognize this presence without ambiguity, affirm this Word in its purity and its distinction from every purely human word. Tradition, the consciousness of the Church, has a power of discernment; it "has eyes."

1. AMBIGUITY OF THE TERM CHURCH

Up to the present we have left certain imprecisions in the usage that we have made of the complex notion of the Church. Are we speaking of the Church as an institution, or of the Church as the mystical body? Of both, which form only one and the same Church of Christ on earth. Christ is the founder of the Church in a double sense. In the first place, because He is, since His resurrection, He in whom God has realized, as first-born among mortals, His eternal plan of making creation the Church of His glory: the Lord is the foundation upon which the Church is built (Cf. Eph. 2:21-22). In the second place, because He has left, for the period of time which separates His Ascension from His final Return, an Institution of salvation: through it the successive generations are rendered contemporaries of His saving activity by which God will achieve the realization of His eternal plan inaugurated in the person of the risen Jesus.

The Church comes from Christ and is His continuator in an ever present dependence, both as regards His divinized humanity, and as regards His power as mediator. She is the community of grace and of new life *in* Christ. She is the instrument of grace *through* Him. She has within herself the Word and the truth of God—the external word is first received through the Church's official teaching. The same Spirit of Christ animates these two united aspects of the one Church which, while already possessing the pledge of its definitive and eternal stature, remains in a process of growth.

2. THE CHURCH TEACHING AND THE CHURCH TAUGHT

This is a well known distinction. It means that the hierarchical Church has received a mission to preach the Gospel, and that she alone is assisted by the Spirit of Christ in objectively determining what forms a part of Tradition. Does this mean that such an active role relegates the community of the faithful to pure passivity?

Confronted with a conception of the teaching Church which was too juridical and one-sided, many a conception of the prophetic type appeared during the course of history. This tended to put the judgement of Tradition in the inwardness of the faith and love of the Christian community. Russian theology of the nineteenth century, in particular, conceived the whole Body of Christ as a Council dispersed throughout the world but always actually convoked (what it called "sobornost") in the unity of the Holy Spirit. The teaching Church, then, would be merely the mouth-piece through which would be expressed the truth of Christ already recognized by His entire Body.

3. THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE FAITH OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD

Jesus left His Spirit and His institution to the people of the New Covenant as a testimony to His presence and His fidelity. Now, without neglecting in any way the charism of truth belonging to the institution animated by the Spirit, we must recognize this same Spirit of truth to be the source of discernment and of interior knowledge in the faithful. Jeremias had already prophesied, as a gift of the messianic times, this same interior knowledge of God which St. John announced as partially realized in the Spirit of Pentecost—until the time it is fully realized in the beatific vision (Jer. 31:33-34; I John 2:20, 27). But since the Spirit of Truth is also the Spirit

of unity, only the unanimous confession of faith of the believing community constitutes the authentic subjective consciousness of Tradition.

Therefore, we must say that the first infallible criterion of Tradition is the *unanimity of Christian feeling*, a unanimity which does not constitute a teaching authority (magisterium.) It is difficult to establish concretely, and expresses itself best in worship and piety. Besides, in it we have only one of the criteria of Tradition, and its function in the Church's earthly phase remains always closely united to the criteria of the magisterium of which we are going to speak.

4. THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE COMMUNITY AND OF THE HIERARCHICAL MAGISTERIUM

The hierarchical Church has Jesus' mission for preaching and explaining the Word of salvation. The faith is the joint work of outward preaching and of the inner light of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, we must in no fashion oppose the two criteria of truth, the magisterium and unanimous faith. The same Spirit assists the magisterium and enlightens hearts. In the concrete life of the Church, the two criteria are in perpetual interaction, with, however, an objective priority given by teaching and judgement being accorded to the hierarchical function. The magisterium assures itself of the harmony of its preaching with the common faith; the common faith is itself controlled by the preaching of the hierarchy. It is to be carefully noted that this does not make the magisterium only a declarative organ of the believing Church. It possesses within itself the fidelity of Christ independently of the Church's consent, although claiming communion with her. For example, there is nothing more normal than that the Pope consult bishops and faithful before defining a dogma—a fact which in no way implies a doubt concerning the infallibility attached to his teaching power.

5. THE ORDINARY AND UNIVERSAL MAGISTERIUM

There are three ways in which the magisterium of the Church expresses itself: the ordinary *and* universal magisterium, the extraordinary magisterium, and the simply ordinary magisterium. Only the first two enjoy infallibility. The Vatican Council teaches: "One must believe by divine and Catholic faith all things contained in

the Word of God whether written or traditional, and which are proposed as divinely revealed belief by the Church, either by a solemn judgement or by the ordinary and universal Magisterium" (Session III, chap. 3).

The ordinary and universal Magisterium is constituted by the *unanimous* preaching of the bishops, the successors of the apostles. Only the episcopal *College* in communion with its center, the Bishop of Rome, enjoys the charism of infallibility promised by Jesus to the Apostolic College with Peter at its head (Cf. Matt. 28:20). The term *universal* envisages precisely the unanimity of the teaching of the local churches. This Magisterium is the axis of Tradition expressed in the Church. It bears upon the totality of the living deposit of the Word. It is expressed in the catechesis and in the liturgy. The Fathers of the Church possess their doctrinal importance from the fact that they are its primitive witnesses in writing. Very often the papal encyclicals of our times are the echo of this ordinary and universal teaching. In the third century Irenaeus wrote: "Those who want to see the truth can, *in each church*, consider the Tradition of the Apostles manifested throughout the whole world. . . . Behold the full demonstration that there exists a single and same life-giving faith, conserved in the Church and transmitted truthfully."

6. THE EXTRAORDINARY MAGISTERIUM

The unanimity of episcopal preaching throughout the Catholic world is a fact sufficiently assured to constitute the ordinary rule of Tradition in the current life of the Church. But if a dispute should arise concerning any point of this Tradition, it is difficult to proceed to an incontestable verification of this unanimity. It is then that appeal is made to an ecumenical council so that the dispersed voice of apostolic witness might clearly show forth its divine harmony. The ecumenical Council, which in principle gathers together the whole episcopal College in communion with the sovereign Pontiff, possesses the infallibility of the ordinary and universal Magisterium with an additional solemnity in the way of expression. Particular Councils (of ecclesiastical provinces, of nations) obviously do not possess this guarantee. Each heresy of any importance has obliged the consciousness of the Church to express itself through an ecumenical Council: the latest, that of the Vatican, in 1870,

upheld the faith against the errors stemming from modern naturalism and rationalism.³

The ecumenical Council is not the sole criterion of the extraordinary Magisterium of the Church. From the simply practical point of view it is difficult to handle. The infallible consciousness of the Church has also another method of expressing itself with the same advantages as by the voice of a Council, namely, through the personal voice of the Sovereign Pontiff. In virtue of the Saviour's promises (Matt. 16:16, John 21:15-17, Luke 22:32) the Pope possesses the same charism of infallibility for the proclamation of Catholic truth as that with which the ecumenical Council is endowed. The Vatican Council stated it in these terms:

The Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals: and that, therefore, such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irremovable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church (Session IV, Const. Pastor aeternus, in Denz., 1839).

It is to be noticed that all the conditions laid down by the Council are strictly necessary in order to have an infallible papal definition. Hence, the frivolity and ignorance of certain Catholics who would like to attribute this quality to any papal intervention whatsoever. In fact, the Pope speaks *ex cathedra* very rarely.

7. MAGISTERIUM AND DOGMA

When it faces errors or imprecisions in the confession of the Word of God, the extraordinary Magisterium seeks to express the

³ *Remarks:* 1. One must read conciliary documents according to precise rules, the chief of which are these: a.) the *canons* are always infallible declarations of faith; b.) the texts of the *chapters* do not of themselves possess such value, unless it clearly appears from the use of solemn and explicit formulas, or unless the text is presented in the form of a creed; c.) the *motives* of the definition do not become of faith as such, even if they rest on a doctrine of faith.

2. It may happen that papal or conciliary definitions covered by infallibility go beyond what is formally revealed and make affirmations connected with revelation and absolutely necessary for the integral conservation of Tradition. Canonists consider these "safeguards of Revelation" as the secondary object of infallibility. The principal examples of it are: the condemnation of certain philosophical theories ruining the foundation of the faith; and certain facts presupposed by dogma, such as the historicity of Peter's residence in Rome.

latter in as precise terms as possible: *in defined dogmas*. Thought and its formulation are, in human knowledge, intimately connected qualities in which the words fix thought for a time and permit further penetration. The saving truths to be found in the Church also obey this elementary law of pedagogy. The Church knows the Mystery of Christ in her consciousness and memory constituted by Tradition, and this knowledge is superior to all formulation. Notwithstanding, the Church began very early to fix its belief in liturgical formulas, creeds, and oral teaching: we can even find traces of such formulations in the New Testament itself. Here it is a question of dogmas of faith expressing the ordinary and universal magisterium in living communion with the inner faith of the Christian community. This dogmatic activity is obviously justified by the religious life of the Church. This is also apparent when there is question of already defined dogmas: the solemn dogmatic definition has a principally social purpose of precise and universal affirmation. The Church uses it in cases of social need. At other more ordinary times, she relies on the unanimous preaching of the Bishops and the common interior faith of the Body of Christ, esteeming that more technical formulation is not a benefit *in itself*. The Church cannot define simply for the pleasure of exercising an act of authority, nor in order to complete her religious "system" by possessing the saving Word in more learned terms. She would be acting in bad conscience in affirming her social nature for its own sake without the justification of a service to the inner community. As Cardinal Deschamps remarked at the Vatican Council: "The Church never proceeds to define dogmas except when revealed truths are denied or doubted; she does not condemn errors against the faith except when these errors have in fact been propagated" (Collect. Lac. VII, p. 397). The declarations of the Fathers of the same council are unanimous in this regard and echo the constant practice of the Church. It is important, for pastoral reasons, to remark that defined dogma retains in its formulation only the objective and enunciative aspect of revealed truth; it abstracts from the personal and dialogue fashion which characterizes Revelation; it is a kind of quintessence of truth to which we can refer for doctrinal security, but which points back to the living and personal Word. Besides, it is by its very nature partial, fortuitous, concerned with only a *given* aspect of the mystery in question. Consequently, there is always a risk of giving a controverted matter such attention that it would seem to be of paramount

importance. This danger necessitates a situating of each definition in a dogmatic setting, in such a way that the unique mystery of Christ is seen in its totality.

The multiplicity of dogmas must be conceived as an organic multiplicity: the mystery of Christ is a many-faceted one, and each dogma shows us one of these facets in the unity of the whole. The distinction of objects serves a union of knowledge and love of the Church with her Spouse. In this regard, a fruitful meaning can be given to the distinction between the fundamental or secondary dogmas—or articles—according as the hierarchy of Christian dogmas are implied more or less immediately in the fundamental confession of Jesus as Son of God, the Saviour. However, Protestants give another meaning to this distinction which renders it ambiguous and runs the risk of favoring misunderstandings in ecumenical relations.

8. THE NATURE OF DOGMA

The dogmatic quality of a religious assertion is constituted by two elements: 1. its belonging to the Word of God known by Revelation; 2. its proposal in and by the Church. Dogma adds nothing objective to the Word of God; it is the Word of God as presented in time by the Church. When the Vatican Council qualifies the assent of the believer to the preaching of the Church as of divine and Catholic faith, it does not intend to add anything whatsoever either to the objective content or to the formal motive of purely divine faith in the presence of the Word of God. It only wants to point out that this Word of God is heard and received in the Church (*Const. De Fide*, chap. 3; cf. *Denz.*, 1792).

The intervention of the Church in the Word of God poses the acute question: how can the Word of God be put into human words? It is a question which concerns the dogmatic *affirmation*, first of all, and then its *formulation*. Before any reflection, let us put ourselves in the place of the believer who, with spontaneous certitude, trusts in the realism of his adherence. He knows that *in* the Word of God that is presented to him, and not just in some occasional way, his adherence links up with the mystery in a conscious fashion. God has deigned to speak to us in human words, and these words are not totally inept for making known the Mystery. The simple believer is convinced that he escapes both anthropomorphism and agnosticism.

Reflecting on this lived conviction, we are led to posit that divine

reality must not be completely dissimilar from that reality which lies open to our understanding as created spirits. We must admit that universal reality manifests a certain invariant quality and a certain likeness of metaphysical structure over and above the finite and infinite differences between created beings and between the created and the uncreated. Being is this universal reality. A certain similarity remains in the dissimilarity of the concrete realizations of being—first between its absolute and unique realization, and its participated relation—so that we can intrinsically refer them one to another: being is analogical, and the mind thinks within the realm of being.

This ontological implication is not an invention of philosophers. The biblical affirmation of a certain unity of the two creations ordered to one another comes to support it: we have only to examine John's prologue, the prologue to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and Col. 1:15-16. In His first creation God prepared the possibilities of knowing the world of faith, provided there were a revelation of this world by the Word.

Consequently, when God manifests the Mystery of His will in the world of human spirits, He does so by relying on these possibilities, by addressing the realist and universal affirmations of the mind. Within the Word of God, human words assume a proper meaning which only the believer really knows, but which, to speak in a purely terrestrial way, rely on the mind's human experience. We have to do with an *analogy within the faith*, not with a simply philosophical analogy, and every religious thinker must be constantly put on guard against a too habitual handling of analogy cut off from the ever present affirmation of the Word of God, where it finds an exterior guarantee, and from the understanding of faith which permits its interior exercise. "We see now through a mirror in an obscure manner," as St. Paul says (I Cor. 13:12). The fact remains that our affirmations objectively encounter the revealing act by which God communicates Himself to us; they are more than non-representative symbols.

Although it seems somewhat fallacious to separate the affirmation of faith from its formulation, it must be recognized that the preceding explanations need to be completed with regard to the apparently technical language introduced by the Church into her dogmatic definitions. Has she not compromised the Word of God by translating it into dated and particular languages? Has she not, by her

multiple and successive formulas, given rise to historical relativism and delivered up dogma to human evolution?

These questions can even be asked of the first editors of the Word, notably St. Paul and St. John. Many difficulties will disappear if we admit that these prophets, like the Church today in her prophetic mission, knew by divine inspiration the thought of God and of Christ in a realistic, coherent, personal fashion. He who knows his own thought as welling up from within his own being is able to express it in many convergent ways, to re-express its ever inadequate, but never truly inexact, formulation.

For believers, the Church is Pentecost continued; she is guaranteed as being the temple of God's Word concerning Christ. Her mission consists in the service of the Word by proclaiming it faithfully and by translating it for the salvation of men. That is why: 1. without attaching herself to words for their own sake, the Church makes use of them as contingent instruments to express the absolute character of her normative thought. Certain formulas may be better than others; several formulas are possible simultaneously in expressing complementary aspects of the unique aspect of the mystery. 2. No dogmatic formula becomes obsolete with time, even if the ordinary words used have evolved; the progress of dogmatic formulation is not brought about by substitution but by integration. The formula appropriated by the Church remains the bearer of the mystery which determined it (e.g., the expression of *transubstantiation* which succeeded that of *conversion*). 3. The Church introduces into her formulas only those words which have universal and collective meaning and never a whole philosophical system (not even the Thomist system). If she uses words of technical appearance, she only canonizes their popular meaning; the technical meaning must have already lost some of its particularist feeling (e.g., the *matter* and *form* of the sacraments; the soul, *form* of the body; *substance*, etc.). 4. The Church can accept or refuse a formula according as she judges it apt or not for expressing her truth at a given moment. She generally delays acceptance of words until they have a certain history behind them, until they have lost their particularist sense (e.g., the present day word evolution which is still too linked with a particular type—"transformism").

The position of the Church in regard to philosophical systems is obviously related to the problems just examined. A system which denies that the intelligence can make any absolute realist affirma-

tions cuts it off from the possibility of receiving God's Word; a system dominated by a notion of becoming which does not permit the affirmation of metaphysical invariables free from relativistic influences runs the risk of contradicting a dogma representing the Absolute. The Church can only warn us against such thoughts. She does it for the sake of the deposit of God's Word and not in virtue of any intrinsic philosophical competence. What has been said on the objective value of dogma clearly leaves a place for metaphysical relativism of simply analogical knowledge and for historical relativism of the dogmatic formulas: absolute affirmation is only possible at present amidst these relativisms. St. Augustine remarks: "God is truer than anything we can think about Him, and what we think about Him is truer than anything we can say about Him."

9. DOES THE CHURCH MAKE NEW DOGMAS?

The Church can add nothing to the Word of God. Neither one nor the other has any true priority, but rather each is inscribed in the other; prophetic revelation is closed and we only await the eschatological one. The Church has always defended this notion of revealed faith against all the pseudo prophets (Montanus in the second century, Joachim of Flora in the twelfth century), and against radical evolutionism (Renan and Loisy). In spite of this, the history of the Catholic Church shows certain changes which seem to touch the Word of God itself. It is not just a question of secondary changes of a disciplinary or pastoral kind, nor just of new formulations of the deposit of faith, but of new dogmatic affirmations. We have only to compare Marian dogma or the exercise of the Roman primacy in the Church of the first centuries to what they are today: the evidence lies before us.

The Church's awareness of this fact does not hinder her affirmation of the identity of such developments with the Word of God. In truth, she doesn't even seem to worry about proposing conciliatory theory as to the principle and the fact. She maintains the former as of basic value, and she recognizes the latter in perfect assurance of its fidelity, without fear of contradiction.

It is only by defending herself against transformist or historicist theories, and under the influence of a new discovery of the historical dimension by secular authors, that in our days she advances towards a reflective awareness of development (Vatic., *De fide*; cf. Denz. 1800 and 1818). From the beginning, however, the Church felt that

her tradition was a living reality, and that, although her own particular moment was no longer creative as in the apostolic era (John 21:12-13), nevertheless, it had a no less fruitful knowledge of Christ: the Gospel parable of the mustard seed (Mark 4. 30-32), as well as the truth—function attributed to the Spirit by Jesus gave support to this conviction.

In the fifth century St. Vincent of Lerins wrote:

Hence it must be that understanding, knowledge, and wisdom grow and advance mightily and strongly in individuals as well as in the community, in a single person as well as in the Church as a whole, and this gradually according to age and history. But they must progress within their own limits, that is, in accordance with the same kind of dogma, frame of mind, and intellectual approach.⁴

In a matter where error is so close to truth vocabulary is important. The expression *development* of dogma is, therefore, preferred to that of *evolution*, since it indicates better the unchangeableness of the revealed data and the homogeneous character of its becoming. For the sake of precision, it is also to be noted that this is dogma which develops and not Revelation—this emphasizes the churchly character of development. We can speak of new dogmas which does not at all mean that every development must end in a solemn definition, but simply that the Church expresses a new aspect of the mystery for herself (Marian dogmas). In certain cases, moreover, development is limited to forming a more precise formulary in view of understanding a primitive dogma more exactly (Christological and Eucharistic dogmas).

In each case of development acquired, the further work of theology is to try to link up the aspect of the mystery newly brought to light to a major aspect explicitly contained in one of the expressions of Tradition: Scripture, divine or apostolic Institution, oral tradition. Such a historical search will make apparent the many factors which concurred in the dogmatic development in question: the belief and piety of the faithful in the first place, various attempts of theologians, the refutation of a heresy, the diverse circumstances of the Church's life, and even certain secular factors, although in an indirect way. All are instruments of the Spirit of Christ guiding the Church unto all Truth which is Christ Himself.

⁴ *Commonitoria*, XXIII (28); P.L. 50, 668; trans. by R. E. Morris, *Vincent of Lerins, The Commonitories* (The Fathers of the Church, A New Translation, Vol. 7), New York, 1949, p. 309.

10. THE ORDINARY MAGISTERIUM

The province of truth in the Church does not coincide with the extent of the charism of infallibility. The ordinary magisterium, by which each bishop in his own diocese, and the Pope for the whole Christian people, proclaims the Word of God, constitutes a criterion of Tradition *on the pastoral level*. The simply ordinary magisterium diffuses the teaching of the infallible magisterium, protects it and adapts it to circumstances.

(a) *The Teaching of the Pope*: To this magisterium belong in the first place the pontifical encyclicals. The Pope could use encyclicals to proclaim infallible teaching. In fact, however, until now the encyclicals have only served the simply ordinary papal magisterium. They remind the faithful of the common faith of the Church while joining a modern note to it; they propose theological doctrines connected with the faith; they condemn certain errors which would imperil the faith. By these circulars the Pope maintains the unity of doctrine and government with his brethren in the episcopacy in a way adapted to the present time. The papal encyclical represents the highest degree of the simply ordinary magisterium. Putting aside what is of common faith in it, a simple reminder of the common teaching, which is the proper object of the infallible magisterium, it has the guarantee, in the prudential and pastoral order, of the help of the Holy Spirit. Because of that assistance, the teachings of an encyclical, without being irreformable as such, possess a more than indicative value. The man of faith must follow them and can neither write nor approve anything opposed to them, although his faith is not directly involved. In the harmony of general apostolic preaching the voice of the Pope is a particularly authorized one by reason of the very preeminence of his apostolic power among the bishops.

Further precisions are called for. In doctrinal matters only what the general preaching of the episcopal College by the voice of its head promulgates through the encyclicals is addressed to the *faith*, properly so called, of believers. The other doctrinal affirmations or condemnations pronounced in the encyclicals are to be accepted as *certain* in virtue of the bond which unites them with the faith, and by reason of the confidence that the faithful owe to the Church. As for the theses of common theology contained in the encyclicals, it would be *rash* to depart from them: "If the Supreme Pontiffs,"

writes Pius XII, "in their official documents purposely pass judgement on a matter up to that time under dispute, it is obvious that the matter, according to the mind and will of the same Pontiffs, cannot be any longer considered a question open to discussion among theologians" (*Humani Generis, The Catholic Mind*, Nov., 1950, p. 688).

If it is a question of disciplinary decisions touching the very structure of the Church or Christian morals, it goes without saying that the same attitude is called for as in the case of doctrinal affirmations. But the encyclicals are often concerned with derived points having in view the safeguard of the revealed deposit or the organic practice of charity in the Body of Christ in a given situation. These dispositions, in themselves relative, must, however, be obeyed by the faithful until such a time as authority itself may otherwise decree. When a later encyclical renders certain dispositions of a former one outmoded, it does so, of course, without touching the immutable principles which inspired them.

The voice of the Sovereign Pontiff has many other ways of varying importance to express itself. The decrees of the Holy Office approved and signed by the Pope himself ("in forma specifica") come immediately after the encyclicals and even before allocutions and discourses. The authority of the Sovereign Pontiff is involved in a much lesser degree in the ordinary acts of the Holy Office or in the acts of other doctrinal Congregations of the Roman Curia. Such acts are all reformable; nevertheless, they demand the obedient and religious assent of the faithful who are anxious to protect their faith. As for the Index, it promulgates disciplinary measures without directly passing any doctrinal judgement: it forbids the reading of such and such a book judged to be dangerous to the faith or morals of the generality of the faithful.

(b) *The Teaching of the Bishops*: As individuals the bishops in their pastoral letters, preaching and instruction, promulgate an ordinary teaching which is covered by the prudential but fallible help of the Spirit. This teaching must be accorded a respectful, religious, but not necessarily definitive, assent in regard to all those matters left undecided by the infallible magisterium. The authority of such teaching is not in the same line as that of the Pope and depends on the authority of the episcopal see from which it issues and on the insistence with which it is taught.

The theologians that the Sovereign Pontiff or the bishops may

employ have only the authority that is delegated to them by the Sovereign Pontiff or bishops, or by the unanimous belief of which they are the informed spokesmen. Simple priests only preach and teach by delegation of their bishop or of the Pope.

Conclusion

This multiplicity of declarative organs for Tradition ought neither to surprise us nor diminish their authority. The Word of God lives in the Church. The unanimous faith of believers and the infallible magisterium guarantee its integrity and its absolute continuity with Jesus; but this Word lives among men and must necessarily enter into contact with human doctrines for better or for worse. In the daily life of the Church it is the pastoral task of the multiple forms of the ordinary magisterium to provide for what may best favor the integrity of the revealed message. This peripheral service of God's Word implies approximations and adaptations: in the midst of these it is essential to keep intact and living the eternal message, the Tradition of the Word of Salvation which is no other than Jesus Christ Himself.

RESEARCH ORIENTATION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Revelation and Christian Mystery*

a) Study the biblical notion of *μυστήριον*, especially in St. Paul, where greater stress is laid on what is unveiled by the revealed Mystery than on what is still unknown in it. For St. Paul the mystery is the whole Christ, the full realization of God's plan. Cf. D. Deden, "Le Mystère Paulinien," in *Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses*, 1936, pp. 410-443.

b) The best analogy which theology can use in its reflections on Mystery is that of the secret of human conscience as it is revealed in and through friendship. There is no mystery, strictly speaking, in the order of physical nature. Cf. *Cahiers universitaires cathol*, suppl., 1949, "Le Mystère."

c) We can distinguish three closely connected acceptations of the Christian Mystery: 1. *the doctrinal mystery*, the object of Revelation; 2. *the historical mystery*, an historical fact in the life of Jesus, one possessing universal salutary value because accomplished by the Incarnate Word; 3. *the liturgical mystery*, an act of Christian

worship in which the saving Mystery of Jesus is made present for and applied to the faithful and through the sacraments. *The Mystery of Christ* was realized in time in the mysteries of His Life which had been previously prefigured in the mysteries of the history of Israel; the Mystery of Christ continues to be realized for the benefit of believers in the mysteries of Christian worship which are the prolongation of the Lord's mysteries. On the liturgical mystery read Volume XIV of the *Maison-Dieu* dedicated to Dom Odo Casel, O.S.B.

2. Tradition

No synthetic study concerning Tradition exists in English. In French there is a short article "Tradition," in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, by A. Michel; in German, a treatment by A. Denifle, S.J., *Der Traditionsbegriff*, Münster, 1931.

For anything like a good study on the theology of Tradition, three steps would be required:

a) Locate in St. Paul all his uses of the word and parallel texts. The principal texts are: Rom. 16:17; I Cor. 11:23; 15:1 ff.; Gal. 9; Phil. 4:9; I Thess. 4:1-2; II Thess. 2:14; I Tim. 6:20; II Tim. 1:13-14; 2:2, where it will be seen that tradition for the Apostle designates both the act of transmitting and the object transmitted.

b) The monograph of D. Van den Eynde, *Les Normes de l'enseignement chrétien dans la littérature patristique des trois premiers siècles*, Louvain, 1933, is an excellent introduction to the patristic theology of Tradition. This should be followed by a close study of St. Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, Book III, of which there exists a translation by J. Keble, *A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church*, vol. 42, Oxford, 1872. Of help also is an article by H. Holstein, "La Tradition des Apôtres chez Saint Irénée," *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXXVI (1949), 2, pp. 229-270.

c) For the thought of the Council of Trent on Tradition, consult E. Ortigues, "Écritures et traditions apostoliques au Concile de Trente," *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXXVI (1949), 2, pp. 271-299.

The thought of J. B. Franzelin is to be found in his *De divina traditione*, Rome, 1882, and that of J. A. Moehler in *Die Einheit in der Kirche*, Tübingen, 1825. On this latter author, a series of articles concerning Tradition were published in *L'Eglise est Une, homage a Moehler*, Paris, 1939.

The articles of M. Blondel, "Histoire et dogme" in *La Quinzaine* 1904-1905 (pp. 146-167; 349-373; 443-458), bring out well the dynamic and vital meaning of Tradition.

3. *The Problems of Dogma*

General work: L. de Grandmaison, *Le dogme chrétien*, Paris, 1927. On the development of dogma: H. de Lubac, "Le problème de développement du dogme" *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXV (1948), I, pp. 130-160; the article "Dogme" in *Catholicism* ^e (P. A. Liégé); R. Draguet, *Historie du dogme catholique*, Paris, 1947.

4. *Questions relating to the Magisterium will be documented in the chapter on the Church in a subsequent volume.*

5. *The Dogmatic "Locî"*

The detailed study of the expressions and rules of Tradition which we have just presented in brief outline will be found in the following chapters:

A. The Expressions of Tradition:

1. Introduction to Holy Scripture
2. The Institutions
 - a. The Liturgy
 - b. Canon Law

B. The Criteria of Tradition:

1. The ordinary magisterium and its representatives:
 - a. The Fathers of the Church
 - b. The Creeds
 - c. Tradition in Oriental Churches
2. The Ecumenical Councils

(Notice: The *Institutions* are both the expressions and the criteria of Tradition, and can, therefore, be located under both A and B. For practical purposes both functions will be found treated in the same chapter.)

Chapter II

INTRODUCTION TO HOLY SCRIPTURE

by A. M. Dubarle, O.P.

I. WHAT IS HOLY SCRIPTURE?

1. The progressive formation of the biblical collection
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter II

INTRODUCTION TO HOLY SCRIPTURE

I. What Is Holy Scripture?

1. THE PROGRESSIVE FORMATION OF THE BIBLICAL COLLECTION

Like a good number of other religions, Christianity possesses sacred books containing the sketch of its history, the exposition of its belief, the law of its practical conduct, and to which are attributed a divine origin. Writing is an indispensable means for conserving complex thought in a precise manner, and it was normal that Christian Revelation should have recourse to it. Just as God willed to speak to us by His Son, becoming like to other men in all things save sin (Heb. 4.15), so also He willed that His word should remain among us according to the ordinary modes of human thought.

The collection that the Church recognizes as canonical, that is to say, as regulative of her faith and practice (canon means rule in Greek), was slowly established during the course of fourteen centuries, from the legislation given by Moses to Israel departing from Egypt during the thirteenth century before our era, down to the end of the first century of the Christian era. All the books do not date from the same period, and all have not enjoyed from the beginning the authority that is now accorded them.

This collection of books is divided into two great parts: the Old Testament and the New. The word testament comes to us from a Latin translation of a Greek word which can mean covenant as well as testament. The old covenant includes a whole series of divine initiatives from the patriarchs to Moses and the prophets; the new covenant is that inaugurated by Our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Old Testament

In the Jewish canon the Old Testament includes three smaller collections corresponding, at least partially, to a logical arrangement and to their more or less recent dates of reception as inspired Scripture.

1. The *Law* (in Hebrew *Torah*, or according to a Greek word meaning five recipients, five books, *Pentateuch*) is a collection at once historical as well as properly legislative; it goes from the beginning of the world to the death of Moses. It includes *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*. Its official recognition as the normative book for the Jewish religious community dates from the reform of Josias (622) which was occasioned by the discovery of a book of the Law, Deuteronomy surely, and must have become a definitely accomplished fact by the time of Esdras' mission (around 457).

2. The *Prophets* include a subdivision: the earlier prophets are in reality historical books going from the entry into the Promised land (about 1200) until the taking of Jerusalem by Nabuchodonosor (587); they include *Josue*, *Judges*, *Samuel* and *Kings*. The later prophets are truly the echo of prophetic preaching: *Isaias*, *Jeremais*, *Ezechiel* and the Twelve lesser prophets: *Daniel* is not included among them.

3. The *Historical and Sapiential Books* form a class of books which are a great deal less unified in composition and accepted at a later date. We can distinguish: the poetical and sapiential books—*Job*, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Qoheleth* (or *Ecclesiastes*), *Lamentations*, *Canticle of Canticles*; the narrative books—*Ruth*, *Esther*, *Esdras*, *Nehemias*, *Chronicles*; and a prophetic book—*Daniel*.

The copies of the Greek translation, called the Septuagint, have kept other books and have not followed exactly the order of the Hebrew. They added, besides some apocrypha, the following canonical books: narrative—*Tobias*, *Judith*, I and II *Machabees*; prophetic—*Baruch*, added in an appendix to *Jeremias*; sapiential—*Ecclesiasticus* (or *Ben-Sirah* according to the Hebrew original), *Wisdom*, and some additions to *Daniel* and *Esther*.

The New Testament

The properly Christian Scriptures are divided in this way:

1) historical-legislative books: the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the first three being called synoptic because their close resemblance generally permits a synoptical arrangement. That of John is of a later date (end of the first century), and is more independent of the oral catechesis.

2) an historical book: the *Acts of the Apostles* goes from the

Resurrection of the Saviour to the captivity of St. Paul at Rome (towards 60–62);

3) the apostolic epistles: thirteen epistles in which St. Paul is named in the introduction, the epistle to the *Hebrews*, derived indirectly from the teaching of the same St. Paul, and seven epistles called *Catholic*, although some of them are addressed to particular communities: *James*, I and II *Peter*, I, II, and III *John*, *Jude*;

4) a prophetic book: the *Apocalypse* of St. John.

The Formation of the Canon of Scripture

An essential part of this double collection has always been regarded as sacred and canonical by the Christian communities. Nevertheless, certain books were for some time the subject of doubts and discussion in the early Church. Such books are called *deutero-canonical* as opposed to the *proto-canonical* ones which were always unanimously admitted. There were not two successive lists, the one long, the other short, officially promulgated by authority. From the beginning, the essential core of Scripture was accepted by universal consent without any solemn judgement of the Church. Then, after a period of hesitations, certain apocrypha which had enjoyed favor in certain limited circles were definitively eliminated, and some contested books were received beside those which had never been doubted. These deutero-canonical books are, for the Old Testament, those that the Septuagint Bible added to the Hebrew collection of the Jewish rabbis; for the New Testament, the epistle to the *Hebrews*, the epistle of *James*, the second epistle of *Peter*, the second and third of *John*, and the *Apocalypse*.

A complete list of the scriptural canon is already to be found in the acts of African provincial councils in 393 and 397, then in a private letter of Pope Innocent I in 405. This list was taken up and solemnly sanctioned at the councils of Trent (1546) and of the Vatican (1870).

For more details on the content of the different books, their date, author, literary type, admission into the canon, one should refer to specialized works of Introduction to Sacred Scripture. (See the Bibliography at the end of this chapter.)

Here only properly theological problems will be treated: Scripture as an inspired book and as a rule of faith.

2. THE NATURE OF INSPIRATION

The Church regards the books of Scripture as sacred and canonical not because, having been composed by human industry, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation without error, but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their author, and as such, were handed down to the Church herself.¹

Data of the Problem

In order to understand, as far as possible, the nature of inspiration solemnly affirmed by the Vatican Council, two complementary truths must be taken into account: the first, which rests more properly on the faith, is that God is the author of the sacred books; He has spoken by the prophets or other sacred writers. "For not by will of man was prophecy brought at any time; but holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Spirit" (II Peter 1:21). The second truth, on the other hand, and one which issues from the study of the books themselves, is that the human writers whom God employed did all that men do when they compose a written work, and that, consequently, they are also truly the authors of the sacred books.

The sacred writers (also called hagiographers) devoted themselves to a work of composition which can in no way be reduced to writing down dictation. As they expressly bear witness, or as can be seen by examination, they consulted historical documents or questioned eye witnesses concerning the facts they wanted to relate. They read works relating to the subjects they were treating, and they reflected at great length on the problems already raised by their predecessors. At times, they took particular care to do their best in arranging and expressing the ideas or memories that they proposed to communicate to their readers.

By reason of all this human activity of information, thought, and formulation to which the inspired writers devoted themselves, they are truly the authors of the books which issued from their pens; they are not just secretaries taking dictation. Their work bears the mark of the individual temperament of each one, of the habits of thought and of language of his time or place. It is the expression of a religious message which is theirs as well as God's.

¹ Vatican Council, Constitution on the Catholic Faith, ch. 2; cf. Denz. 1787.

Because the sovereign, divine influence in no way reduces the share of human work necessary for the production of an original work, inspiration is not exactly comparable to any method of collaboration between men: neither to a word for word dictation in which the secretary has no need to understand the general sense of what he is writing; nor to instructions or directives given to another so that he can properly draw up a document whose essential ideas were indicated to him; nor even to a complete communication of doctrine and spirit to a disciple who will himself expound it after having deeply assimilated it.

In these different cases, it can be said that the more the role played by one of two parties increases, the more that of the other diminishes. In the last of the foregoing comparisons, the master can assuredly propose exteriorly the ideas to be put in writing; he cannot help interiorly to understand them nor make of them the principle of a vital and practical reaction. The divine action on the mind of the inspired writer is a great deal more profound.

The Instrumental Causality of the Hagiographer

Inspiration causes the book to be entirely of God without withdrawing any responsibility from man: the whole book also belongs to the sacred writer. In order to express the total causality of the two authors—God and the sacred writer—and their necessary and constant cooperation in the production of a work, theologians have recourse to the notion of instrument and say that God was the principal cause of Scripture, while the inspired writers were its secondary and instrumental cause. All of the last three papal encyclicals concerned with the biblical question have used and sanctioned the theological expression.²

An instrument handled by man exercises its influence on the result finally attained and leaves on it its proper mark. On the other hand, neither the man who moves it (principal cause), nor the instrument put in movement can alone produce an effect: only their concurrence is fruitful. In speaking, therefore, of God as the principal cause and of man as the instrumental cause of Scripture, their constant collaboration is to be expressed. Ideas, sentiments, images, style, etc., all come from the man; and, on the other hand, there is not a single passage which is not penetrated by the divine

² Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. no. 110; Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, *ibid.*, no. 461; Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

influx, and in which the human activity is not dominated by Him.

Nevertheless, this notion of instrument, which expresses so well the sovereign motion that God exercises over human faculties, is not adequate from every point of view. An instrument concurs with a man for the total production of an effect: the cleft in the wood is entirely from the axe and entirely from the woodcutter; the touch of color on the canvas is entirely from the brush and entirely from the painter. But in these examples the effect is only one of detail. What belongs to the artisan or artist alone is the skillful assembling of these particular effects in view of obtaining a whole result: cutting down a tree, producing a picture. The instrument does not cooperate at all in this assembling which is the work of a mind. Inspiration does not work this way. Under its influence the human author collaborated in the whole work as well as in its parts. Undoubtedly, the plan and meaning of the whole biblical collection is the work of God alone. But in a determinate book it is not just each sentence in isolation which has come forth from the heart of the hagiographer, but also the impression and lesson of the whole which results from the arrangement of its parts and the coordination of ideas and sentiments expressed.

As an instrument of God, the inspired writer depends more intimately on Him than a secretary taking dictation or drawing up a document depends on an employer. In this dependence, however, all his powers of conception and execution are more completely active than ever. As a conscious instrument, he cooperates more fully in the work than does an inanimate instrument only capable of partial realizations and unable to participate in the whole project.

The Psychological Nature of Inspiration

A man can exteriorly propose ideas to be written down and then check them afterwards; he cannot help interiorly to understand them or to express them in a suitable fashion. The divine activity on the mind of the inspired writer goes much deeper. It can touch the "heart," which means, in biblical language, not only the intelligence which knows abstractly, but also the will which reacts affectively and experiences fear, adoration, and love in the presence of its God. Inspiration is a word of God to a privileged individual, making him the bearer of a message destined for a more or less extensive group. It manifests God, but it is also a practical call which brings about what it desires without, however, suppressing his freedom.

The books are not sacred "merely because they contain Revelation without error." They consist at once in a teaching (rarely given, moreover, in an exclusively theoretical form) and in a powerful invitation to a better religious or moral life. One must not consider in Scripture its intellectual aspect alone but also its saving power. In it there can be heard the echo of an authentic religious experience, the reply of a man to the divine initiative: one which only God can stir up, since only He can touch the heart of man. There is, then, place for the successive consideration of the action of inspiration on the intelligence and on the will.

Action on the Intelligence

God is not content to furnish ready-made ideas which he could afterwards correct in case of errors or lack of skill. He enlightens and directs the whole work of intelligence. Without dispensing His messenger from any natural operation of information, reflection, putting in order, or search for proper choice of words, God aids him in such a way during the course of this activity that he arrives at a result superior to all his human powers. Inspiration does not suppress effort but makes it fruitful.

The sacred writer, then, receives from God a light which gives his intelligence an insight and sureness that he would not have had by himself. He must be able to penetrate into a religious domain where reason separated from sensible facts quickly grows feeble, and do this with unaccustomed certitude. Individual Christians can certainly receive lights from God sufficient for their personal salvation, but these lights ordinarily suffer temporary eclipses which expose such individuals to error. The hagiographer is not for an instant abandoned by the divine light in that collection of activities which will result in the composition of his book. Consequently, he can judge rightly of things, and the judgements that he passes are infallibly true.

This light is not always a revelation properly speaking, i.e., a formal statement of entirely new knowledge for the subject; indeed, most often it seems not to be. Such revelations have happened, notably in favor of the prophets, but it is not a general condition for inspiration. At the very least the divine light permits the perception of the conduct of Providence in historical facts normally known by way of direct experience or by the witness of others. It enables the author to penetrate more profoundly into the religious truths already current in his environment and received by him from community

traditions. Finally, this light determines the essential act of the mind which is the judgement passed from the religious point of view on the objects offered to it either by way of revelation or by way of ordinary information.

This hidden influence of the Holy Spirit on the faculties of the sacred writer is not limited to furnishing him, or rather causing him to discover and understand, the ideas that he will express. It accompanies him throughout the whole work of composition, ordering of materials, and choice of appropriate expressions. The inspired author undoubtedly transmits the divine thought, but this thought has become his very own, and it is only on this condition that he can transmit it to others. In such a case the conception of the ideas cannot be separated from their expression. Inspiration is, therefore, total, i.e., it covers the whole book, substance and form, words and thought.

Although it penetrates the whole psychological activity of the hagiographer, the light of inspiration is not destined to produce positive effects in every element of this activity. It bears directly on the religious knowledge whose truth and proper expression it assures. It does not influence the exercise of intelligence in the profane sphere, nor as regards literary skill, save in what is indispensable to the transmission of the religious message. Consequently, there is no use looking for the data of the natural sciences in Scripture. As for artistic perfection; it can be found there, or be lacking, according to the individual genius of the author.

Action on the Will

While he is receiving this light for his intelligence, the inspired writer also receives a certain help of grace acting on his will. Thus there is produced in him a practical religious or moral attitude which will later have to be expressed in the sacred book. Clearly the Bible is not always theoretical teaching; very often it is anything but that. The psalms are above all a pouring forth of religious sentiments; in many passages of St. Paul's epistles we hear, not a learned doctor expounding truth, but a father and apostle pouring forth his affection for his little children. The word of God is addressed to the whole man. If it enlightens his intelligence, it also arouses his will, all the while respecting his freedom. The writer who receives it transmits it by putting forth the ideas that he has conceived, but also, and no less importantly, by expressing the sentiments which filled his soul.

In Scripture, therefore, we always find simultaneously a certain

objective (which is not the same as an abstract one: consider, e.g., the historical accounts), and the portrayal of a religious or moral attitude of evocative or suggestive value. The proportion of these two elements varies greatly in different passages. Scripture is not sacred "merely because it contains Revelation without error," but because it is the Word of God enlightening and transforming hearts. When it is first received by a privileged individual, this word at the same time moves him to communicate the divine gift to others. It therefore determines his will to write a book.

In the Old Testament, the graces accorded to the inspired writer were not always superior, nor even equal, to those which Christians enjoy under the New Covenant. Such graces no more assured them of infallibility or personal impeccability than they do Christians. They did insure that the book composed under their influence would only affirm true and useful ideas and express only wholesome and legitimate sentiments, although not always heroically generous and fervent ones. An inspired book, in contrast to all other books, is one which has benefited from the efficacious influence of a Word of God in all the psychological acts which contributed to its composition.

Scriptural inspiration does not necessarily imply what is ordinarily understood as inspiration in the poetic or literary field: a particularly vivid emotional state which brings with it extraordinary clearness and facility for conceiving and rapidly realizing a work, as if the artist had only to throw together in writing the poem or book already completely formed in him without apparent labor. The inspired writers may have known these privileged states at certain intervals, but the divine influx was not always felt in this conscious fashion, and, normally, they must have labored over their productions, just as profane authors ordinarily do outside their inspired hours.

This divine influx, which does not suppress human activity but, rather, sets it in motion, is not to be confounded with the general concurrence of God without which creatures cannot exercise their operations. In the case of biblical inspiration God reveals Himself through His word and incites man to reply: it is a special grace of a religious kind accorded to an individual; it determines certain reactions of the intelligence and heart in him, reactions which have to be communicated to others by way of writing.

God is not, therefore, the author of Scripture in the same way that He is the Author of any masterpiece whose existence is determined by His creative causality through the interplay of secondary causes.

He is the author of Scripture because the word which is heard is His word, reaching men through the instrumentality of him who was its first beneficiary.

The inspired books are the work of God because, on the one hand, He personally intervenes in order to enter into relations with His creatures through them, and because, on the other hand, everything in them works towards this one end in a more or less proximate fashion. Although this masterpiece is not preserved from all artistic error, and even though no collection of masterpieces can claim to be the supreme and "classical" model for all subsequent attempts, nevertheless, in Scripture as a whole, God presents us with a series of authentic forms of religious life and with the supreme norm by which we should measure every thought and practical attitude.

3. THE EFFECTS OF INSPIRATION: SCRIPTURE IS THE WORD OF GOD

St. Paul gives us a general idea of the properties of Scripture when he speaks of "the Sacred Writings which are able to instruct unto salvation by the faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is inspired by God and useful for teaching, for reproof, for correcting, for instructing in justice; that the man of God may be perfect, equipped for every good work" (II Tim. 3:15-17).

In this passage we can immediately discern a double element:

1) an element of intellectual truth; we are presented a teaching, a wisdom, and it is the reader's task to find out what judgements are passed by the sacred book, what doctrines are proposed and, consequently, guaranteed by the divine veracity, what conception of the world, what view of wisdom, can be gathered from the whole.

2) an element of religious efficacy; Scripture is specially apt for arousing in hearts the religious life that it describes or recommends; the word of God is as active in Scripture as it is in nature.

These two elements are closely united: the power of suggestion and the objective teaching do not exclude one another. In literary form the Bible does not present itself as a work of pure intelligence; it more closely resembles those freer works (poems, accounts, essays) designated by the general name of literature in contrast to the more rigorously technical productions of thought (science, philosophy, erudition). It shares in the evocative power of literary compositions, and its content cannot be reduced to the mere enunciation of abstract truths.

In order to have a complete idea of the effects of inspiration, one must take into account these two, ever-present factors, although only one or other of them may be clearly felt in different passages. In reading Scripture one must avoid both seeing in it a collection of abstract theses, in which each grammatical sentence would be an express affirmation, and considering it as a simple testimony of religious enthusiasm which has lost all directive value for us and is only good for temporarily arousing our fervor.

Religious life in its highest representatives, direct contact with an invisible and transcendent Being who calls forth affective reactions of fear, respect, and love tend spontaneously to translate themselves into intellectual expressions: it is not just the inevitable discharge of intense emotion, but a means of establishing communion between believers on the intellectual level, as they already have on that of sensible rites or practical morality.

These formulas, deficient though they may be, are not necessarily pure symbols of what is inexpressible reality. Divine grace can penetrate this exercise of intelligence and enable it, at least partially, to attain its object. So it is that these formulas, born of particularly rich experiences, are capable of both calling forth new experiences and of guiding them. They can have life-value and truth-value at one and the same time. Thanks to inspiration, in the case of Scripture, this double result is always attained, to an exceptionally high degree.

The effects of inspiration can, then, be put under two headings: on the one hand, the power of edification and on the other hand inerrancy, that is to say, preservation from any erroneous affirmations. These two properties mutually condition one another.

The Edifying Power of the Word of God

Scripture is commonly called the word of God. The expression comes from the prophets, and it would be helpful to go back to those beginnings in order to understand its full meaning. The prophets were aware that they were the spokesmen of Yahweh. They had been sent by Him to transmit to the people His reproaches, His calls to repentance, His promises. Many a time their oracles began by the words: "Thus speaks Yahweh." The major portion, however, of their writings is not received from God in so direct a fashion. Nevertheless, all the preaching and activity of these divine envoys was charged with virtue like that which essentially belonged to the word of God: several biblical texts bear this out. "Are not my words as a

fire, saith the Lord: and as a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" (Jer. 23:29). "So shall my word be, which shall go forth from my mouth: it shall not return to me void, but it shall do whatsoever I please, and shall prosper in the things for which I sent it" (Is. 55:11). "The word of God is living and efficient and keener than any two-edged sword, and extending even to the division of soul and spirit, of joints also and of marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the heart" (Heb. 4:12).

The intimate familiarity of the prophets with the invisible world conferred a particular authority and efficacy on their words and gestures. Through their struggles, the persecutions they had to endure, the decisions they had to make, the results of their activity, God never ceased to speak. The account of all this activity was just as capable as were the divine oracles of putting the people in the presence of God, nourishing faith and stimulating piety. So it was that in a very natural way, thanks to the gradual unfolding of the characters presented by the different parts of the prophetic writings, the whole seemed to possess what had been at first the attribute of only some passages. What the prophets had said, no longer in directly reporting the divine message, but in speaking on their own authority or in relating the difficulties of their ministry, was also the word of God, that is, the beginning of a dialogue between God and man. When God speaks, He incites a response, and it is for this reason that we can compare Scripture to a sacrament: it, too, begins the realization of what it signifies.

The Bible is the word of God, inasmuch as it brings about what it says and not in the sense that it is always a discourse pronounced by God in person. It is a collection of authentic religious experiences ever tending to be renewed today. The men who speak to us in it were in communion with God. They entered into a covenant with Him: they practiced a religious life which can still inspire ours and serve it as a model. When we are in contact with them, God can speak to us as formerly He spoke to them, that is, He can arouse in our hearts the same religious reactions portrayed in their writings. The whole of Scripture is the word of God because each of its parts is a summons from God to men, and a witness of how men responded to this summons in times past.

The chronicles, for example, deal with past events, describe the social relations that God was pleased to form with His people, because divine Power and Mercy are not enfeebled but desire to con-

tinue the work once begun: history contains both a promise and an invitation.

If we are told of Abraham that he believed and that it was credited to him as justice, "now not for this sake only was it written that 'It was credited to him,' but for the sake of us also, to whom it will be credited if we believe in him who raised Jesus our Lord from the dead" (Rom. 4:23-24). If the books of the Pentateuch relate the punishments which fell upon the Hebrews during their march through the desert, after the exodus from Egypt, it is not simply to provide food for our curiosity, but to suggest a practical lesson in personal conduct for the believer: "Now these things came to pass as examples to us, that we should not lust after evil things even as they lusted. And do not become idolators, even as some of them were. . . . Now all these things happened to them as examples, and they were written for our correction" (I Cor. 10:6-11).

Through the past we can, then, attain a truth which does not pass. That is the most astonishing characteristic of the Bible. There is hardly any human book, no matter how beautiful it may be, which does not grow old and appear at least partially outdated after a certain length of time.

Indeed the people is grass:

The grass is withered, and the flower is fallen:

But the word of the Lord endureth forever. (Is. 40:8).

Although the different parts of Scripture were first addressed to readers of a determined period, they keep a sort of eternal youth, thanks to divine inspiration. Once the original circumstances of time and place have been taken into account, it is always possible to find in them a lesson of permanent interest. Undoubtedly there are antiquated things in them, resulting from a Covenant which has passed away to be replaced by a better one: circumcision, bloody sacrifices, dietary prohibitions, and many of the prescriptions contained in the Mosaic code. If only the material details are considered, there is no doubt but that it is abrogated. The Law had sanctioned all sorts of customs of the Hebrew people in the name of God, and these customs no longer concern us in their literal sense. Despite such abolition, the Law possesses a permanent value: the moral virtues that it professed are no less binding on Christians. There is nothing useless or unhealthy in it. Those forms of religious life, which are now outmoded from certain points of view, contain certain germs of life and thought that we ought to cultivate, after having disengaged them

from the envelopes which were necessary at the time of their institution. Certain viewpoints could only have been transmitted to us under a very humble form.

St. Paul provides us with a suggestive example when making use of a passage of Deuteronomy (25:4): "For it is written in the Law of Moses, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treads out the grain.' Is it for the oxen that God has care? Or does he say this simply for our sakes? These things were written for us. For he who plows should plow in hope, and he who threshes, in hope of partaking of the fruits" (I Cor. 9:9-10). One must not stop at the strict letter of the Law; God who inspired it could not have limited his intentions to petty details. If the code commands a humane attitude towards the ox who treads out the grain in order to separate the wheat from the chaff so that he will not have to undergo the tortures of Tantalus, how much more humane ought we to be towards the preachers of God's word by granting them a liberal portion of our goods. Kindness towards animals has meaning only as a lesser manifestation of an attitude which must be even more carefully observed in human relations.

When one can read the Old Testament in a spirit of faith by rising above the peculiarities proper to the environment in which the different books were composed, in order to seek out the moral and religious directives it contains, it will be found that nothing is made void in it, although the Christian Good News has thrown more light on a number of points and demands higher religious and moral ideals. That is why Our Lord insisted upon the enduring character of the whole legacy of holy books venerated by the Jews: "Do not think that I have come to destroy but to fulfill. For amen I say to you, 'till heaven and earth pass away, not one jot or one tittle shall be lost from the Law' till all things have been accomplished. Therefore whoever does away with one of these least commandments, and so teaches men, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; but whoever carries them out and teaches them, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:17-19).

The Christian who understands better the sense of the divine plan, because he has seen its fulfillment in the person of Christ, cannot consider anything in the Old Testament as negligible. Every detail takes on value once this center of perspective has appeared. Shadows bring out the light, many sketches render manifest the perfection of the one resultant figure in which are concentrated all the scattered

traits. Our weakness, ever ready to be discouraged before too high an ideal, finds in the Old Testament preparations more accessible rungs, as it were, by which to climb little by little towards the heights of the evangelical maxims. The imperfect precepts of the Law were for the Israelite people, and can still be today for individuals even after their adherence to the Good News, a primary expression of the divine will, a first call which renders possible other more exacting ones.

Thus, the Bible, the religious book inspired by God, possesses an incomparable power of edification. There is no part of it which is not rich in practical lessons: living expressions of piety, virtuous examples to imitate, accounts of divine judgements throughout history, recollections of the divine promises made to the faithful. All that is marvelously disposed to both promote and guide our zeal. Hence St. Paul could extol the rich plenitude of the sacred books in these terms: "Whatever things have been written have been written for our instruction, that through the patience and the consolation afforded by the Scriptures we may have hope" (Rom. 15:4).

Such spiritual fruitfulness is the effect of inspiration. Human genius would never be able to produce a book at once adapted to a given environment of time and place and yet capable of nourishing all men of any period, a book full of teaching adapted to any level of the religious life, from that of the beginner to that of the most perfect, a book able to produce living faith in hearts by reason of the paternal solicitude of God for His own.

The Inerrancy of God's Word

With unshakeable firmness, the Church teaches us that there is no error in the Bible.³ This clear stand is of great importance: it implies and suggests a very high idea of Scripture. The whole of it is a word of God, an appeal from God to our souls. What it was in the past for its first recipients, it remains. The believer cannot pick and choose from among its contents under the pretext of a progress in the human sciences which would oblige the rejection of certain parts of its message.

Not only can it not propose any religious error, but it cannot contain any profane matters extraneous to its religious aim in which

³ Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. no. 109-112; Pius X, *Pascendi*, no. 272-273; Biblical Commission, Reply of June 18, 1915, no. 432-433; Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, no. 463-476; Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

errors could eventually be found. Nor can the objective teaching it offers us, nor the religious experiences it expresses, be organically linked to any error, even as regards natural or historical facts coming from the human author. It cannot propound to have the truth of an important point accepted. Undoubtedly, in the ordinary course of life, there can be harmless errors which do not affect the essential truth of things, or which accidentally produce a good effect. But to admit that an error in profane matters could be directly useful to or necessary for the spread of religious truth would be contrary to the optimistic humanism of the Bible, of the sapiential books in particular, whose full development of human values has been assured by the divine blessing. God can never have recourse to deceit or permit it, even with a good aim in view.

Consequently, there can be no error in Scripture, that is, in the real affirmations of Scripture. The word of God comes to us through the living reactions consigned to writing by an inspired man. Only those affirmations which express a judgement resulting from a positive act of intelligence in the course of the book's composition enjoy inerrancy. The personal convictions of the human author resulting from habitual assent, but which are not the object on his part of direct and present consideration in the book, do not necessarily enjoy the same privilege, although they may be occasionally reproduced in the particularities of language.

The principal cause has not done away with all the deficiencies and limitations of His instrument, and these can show up in the literary product. The positive activity alone of the instrument has been always penetrated and directed by the superior influx in such a way that the goal in view, the written expression of thought, benefits from this divine attribute of inerrancy.

Inerrancy is a delicate matter. It calls for developments whose length may seem to weaken the force of the accepted principle that there is no error in the Bible. In reality, however, there is no question of limiting the principle but of delineating the point of application.

In order to do so, we must arrive at a refined psychology of discourse. Instead of limiting ourselves to the consideration of the material content of what is said in order to arrive at the author's convictions—something we may ordinarily do in dealing with a writer who is not the instrument of a higher Thought—we must take into account his intentions at a given moment of composition, in order to

determine in what measure there is, in a given context, a real judgement, an effective and actual intellectual commitment behind a certain phrase which allows us to grasp something of the mental horizon of the author. That being so, we are led to recognize that, in certain situations, an expression which is very precise when materially taken can only correspond to a much vaguer affirmation. It is this affirmation only that is guaranteed by inerrancy.

Inerrancy in Regard to Natural Facts

When the psalmist invites us to praise Yahweh for His great deeds in nature and history by singing unto Him "who established the earth on the waters, for His mercy endureth forever" (Ps. 135), his praise is not directly conditioned by the particular form it takes. He perceives the power and goodness of God in the visible world. This sentiment can certainly abstract from the question whether or not the earth is a sort of island floating on a liquid abyss. In expressing things as he imagined them, there was no intention of expounding cosmographical matters. The inspired author may have been in error personally, but he does not affirm error in the inspired book.

From the outset, then, the convictions of the author can be distinguished from his effective affirmations in a given situation. Thus we can avoid confusing the teaching of the sacred book with some perhaps erroneous conception indicated by the use of a particular expression. The role of inspiration is not to teach the sacred writer everything that can be known about the objects which he may mention in passing, but only to assure the living and efficacious statement of salutary truth. In profane business especially (and perhaps even in religious matters at times) the divine influx did not teach anything to the inspired writer that those of his environment did not know. It only preserved him from affirming error in his book. This result was obtained very naturally by keeping his mind fixed on his religious goal and by preventing him from clumsily mingling profane curiosities with his inspired thoughts of the religious and moral order. Inspiration was able to prevent error in the book without dissipating that of the author, by orientating his literary activity towards a goal higher than a scientific explanation of nature.

In such matters the biblical writers did not aim at propounding scientific theory. They do not try for anything like the pretentious astronomy that the apocryphal book of *Henoch* ascribes to an angel. Whenever they may touch upon such subjects, they state nothing

more than the most obvious sensible facts which will always remain incontestable, no matter what theoretical explanations may be in vogue. They do not pretend to say what are the profound causes or the hidden mechanism of sensible phenomena. Their aim is above all religious, not scientific. Consequently, without having had to make this dissociation either expressly or even consciously, there was no identification between the material content of the expressions employed and the real content of such affirmations made in a definite psychological and literary context.

Such unconscious dissociation is not a special consequence of inspiration. Everyday language also uses many terms without dreaming of affirming on every occasion what they abstractly signify. Everybody says: "The sun rises, the sun sets," without, for all that, affirming the real movement of this heavenly body. And this was already true when public opinion still unhesitatingly accepted the geocentric theory.

Inspiration took as an instrument human language with all its laws, notably with the constant divergence between the meaning of an expression considered by itself and its particular significance in a context, and it did not confer an unusual assertive power on this instrument.

Inerrancy in Historical Matters

Analogous remarks would apply to historical facts. One must avoid taking for an affirmation of the author any expression he may use and especially those that he borrows from his environment.

When St. Paul writes: "Just as Jannes and Mambres resisted Moses, so . . ." (II Tim. 3:8), the whole weight of his argument was at that moment directed towards the resemblance between present heretics and the adversaries of Moses. Their names mattered little to him during the course of the diatribe in which he was engaged. St. Paul simply took what the rabbinical tradition offered him. Even if he himself had been really persuaded, and wrongly, that such had indeed been the names of Pharaoh's magicians, it is obvious that he affirms nothing on this subject in his epistle.

This example immediately leads us to the question of the guarantee that the inspired author confers on the information taken from his sources. If every affirmation, in virtue of the divine influx, enjoys the privilege of inerrancy, it is not always easy to determine in what measure an expression constitutes an affirmation.

To start with the simplest case, just because a statement or written document is quoted does not mean that its whole content is declared rigorously true because of this. It may even happen that they are formally disapproved of.

The question is more delicate in the case of tacit citations, that is, more or less lengthy borrowings from older sources, which are not expressly designated. The case is met with notably in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* where very general references to royal annals or to prophetic writings do not indicate precisely what passages are taken from them. It cannot be admitted, as a general thesis, that in this case the inspired author was content to relate what he found in his documentation without in any way making the contents his own. That could only be accepted in an extreme case whose reality was solidly proved.⁴

But it may be reasoned that in such tacit quotations the divergence may be notably wider than ordinary between the means of expression utilized and the core really affirmed. The biblical writer can respect a traditional manner of presenting the facts without, however, claiming to guarantee each and every detail of the narrative he reproduces. Especially when he combines, often in a very material fashion, two or several earlier accounts (a familiar procedure to Oriental historians), approbation is probably only given to their essential elements or to the basic material they have in common.

The inspired author follows the usual manners of speaking of his time. He can give a personage a name conformable to custom, although it has arisen from an erroneous opinion, as when St. Luke calls Joseph the father of Jesus, despite the fact that he had related the mystery of the virginal conception shortly before. Likewise, in describing and pointing out events which have a real foundation, the biblical historian follows current usage fixed in oral or written tradition for his details. His contemporaries, for whom his book was immediately destined, were cognizant of such habits and could judge more easily than we what were the author's own opinions or what he had taken over from others. When it was a question of very important facts from the point of view of the story of salvation, the grace of inspiration determined the author in such a way that no danger could result from this conformity with usual names or ways of presenting things, e.g., the Virgin Birth. But such precautions against a too materially literal and therefore erroneous understanding of the

⁴ Biblical Commission, Reply of February 13, 1905; Ench. Bib. no. 153.

text were not always taken. The Bible, like any other book written by men incapable of foreseeing and especially of preventing all the possible misunderstandings of their readers, is exposed to errors of interpretation in historical matters, just as it already is in doctrinal matters. Our contemporaries, being more aware of the literary habits of the ancient Orient, have more means of avoiding such errors than the immediately preceding centuries. They can at least suspend judgement.

Finally, Scripture may contain some narrative passages which are in no way historical, but which depend upon other kinds of literature than history. The gospel parables are the most evident and best known examples. They are but freely invented comparisons set in a plausible framework in order to throw light upon the ways of Providence relative to the Kingdom of Heaven. What happened in the case of these short accounts may be considered to have occurred on a wider scale for whole books.

Only an attentive study resting on a comparison with other uninspired productions which issued from the same ancient Semitic environment, or its surroundings, can permit a judgement to be passed on a question which cannot be decided *a priori*. The Church is reserved on this point because she knows that divine Revelation is intimately bound up with historical facts. She cannot permit the Bible to be treated as a work of pure imagination containing a message from legendary sources whose doctrinal content alone would matter. In case of doubt she invites us not to suspect too quickly the historical reality of a part of the sacred Books. Nevertheless, she has never rejected the principle of literary types (and therefore the possible existence of non-historical accounts), and after having insisted on the prudence with which such a theory should be handled,⁵ she has positively recommended its application.

The exegete must, therefore, envisage the possibility that the inspired writer may have had recourse to means of expression proper to antiquity, but which are less received in our time, such as approximations, hyperbolic or paradoxical ways of presenting events in certain historical passages in order to engrave them more surely on the mind.⁶ He should also envisage the possibility that entire accounts might have no intention of relating real facts but be a kind of

⁵ Biblical Commission, Reply of June 23, 1905; Ench. Bib., no. 154; Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, Ench. Bib., no. 474.

⁶ Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

simple morality play in the form of a historical novel. By way of example, without, however, settling their case in any way, we might cite the book of Tobias or that of Judith.

There is no question, in all this, of rejecting the testimony of the sacred writer, but rather of scrutinizing him more closely in order not to confuse the religious lesson that he gives us with a too material interpretation of his words.

Inerrancy in Religious Matters

The Bible enjoys the privilege of inerrancy as regards natural or historical facts. It has the same privilege, *a fortiori*, in the religious and moral sphere. It is a plain fact and results from the dogma of inspiration for anyone who is convinced, as the Bible puts it, that the "heart" is at once the intelligence which knows God and the will which surrenders to Him. Fervor and light are inseparable in the divine influx: sentiments of adoration or of love are inseparable from intellectual activity in the authentic religious experiences presented us by Scripture. We shall, then, find both a divine power capable of awakening religious life and, at the same time, a communicable truth conveyed, at least in part, by human words and ideas: a doctrine delivered by way of judgements.

Here again the affirmations really made by the inspired author in his work are preserved from error. Normally, also, inspiration in this religious sphere assured those favored by it of a degree of superiority over their environment and produced a greater rectitude and richness of thought. It is important, however, not to have an exaggerated idea of such superiority and of the doctrinal inerrancy which flows from it.

The teaching given by a particular sacred book, especially in the Old Testament, is not always so complete that nothing is to be added to it. On the contrary, the Bible portrays for us the progressive education given by God to His people in order to lead them from idolatry to Christianity. It is a long road with numerous stages, and we must not look to find everywhere the same perfection or loftiness. Certain truths which seem to us elementary, and which sometimes were not completely absent from neighboring pagan peoples, were long ignored by the Israelites. It seems that God wanted to lead them to discover for themselves the whole capital of truth He had destined for them, and not have them lazily borrow it from others. The inspired writings, which were first addressed to the chosen people in a given circumstance of its history, make no allusion in the beginning

to ideas foreign to their readers. They enable us to assist at their slow elaboration and at their progressive penetration into the consciousness of the mass of people.

So it was that belief in the resurrection and in sanctions after death were almost unknown to Israel up till the second century before the Christian era. It was only then that God began to unveil the compensations that His justice had prepared for all the disorders here below, and the eternal life that He would give to His faithful ones. Until then believers had only been able to rely on the often very inadequate but real manifestations of Providence in the events of this world and on the blessings promised to observers of the Mosaic Law.

The silence kept for long centuries on important truths does not constitute their negation, but testifies to the condescension of God towards a profoundly ignorant people whom He elevated little by little to the knowledge of His plans. This providential conduct throughout the Old Testament throws light on the nature of inspiration: it is not a brusque revelation dispensing its beneficiaries from all work but rather a gradual, quiet movement which promotes human activity and efficaciously helps it to attain the desired result.

There is, then, a noticeable progression in the Bible, but of a kind which merits attention. It never demands a renunciation of the past. It proceeds by the addition of truths, not by the elimination of errors. The problem of rewards provides us with an excellent example. Our Lord invites us to seek after the Kingdom of Heaven, but at the same time, He assures us that we shall not be lacking the necessary earthly goods which the righteous men of old hoped for: "Seek first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things shall be given you besides" (Matt. 6:33). To those who leave all in order to follow Him, He promises both a hundredfold in this world and life everlasting in the world to come (Mark 10:30). St. Paul echoes Him when he declares that "godliness is profitable in all respects, since it has the promise of the present life as well as of that which is to come" (I Tim. 4:8).

It can now be seen how the privilege of inerrancy is not compromised by the imperfect and incomplete character of the Old Testament. If we consider how difficult it is in the education of children to avoid any lie or erroneous expression while trying to put ourselves on their level, we shall have to admire how the Bible has resolved this delicate problem. It presents doctrine at various degrees of development and is never false on any level. The ladder of rich reli-

gious experiences which corresponds to this doctrinal development can serve as a norm for the growth of the Christian's religious life which is not necessarily on the level of doctrine theoretically and officially revealed.

4. LITERAL AND SPIRITUAL SENSE

In the technical language of exegesis, which does not correspond on this point with current usage, the *literal* sense of Scripture is not that of the words taken without discernment in their most immediate and most material acceptation, but that which the author wanted to express and which is indicated by the context. Consequently, the literal sense of a metaphor is not the sensible image which it evokes, but the idea that it presents to the mind. The Bible, especially the Old Testament, is full of anthropomorphisms: it speaks of the face of God, of His eyes, the breath of His mouth, of His hands and arms. In such passages the literal sense is not that God has a body possessing these parts, but that He exercises diverse activities analogous to those which men exercise by the corresponding organs.

Like any other writing, the Bible can suggest to the reader more than what was foreseen by the author. But the peculiar character of the Bible is that it was not left to be composed by men alone. Inspiration made these writers its instruments and transmitted the word of God through them. In addition, the sacred book can awaken certain thoughts which, although they exceed the intentions of the human author, are willed by the primary author, God. This is what is called the *spiritual* sense, in contrast to the *literal* sense defined above.

The authentic spiritual sense must not be a violence done to the words in order to introduce unrelated ideas: thus it is distinguished from the accommodative sense, a more or less ingenious artifice which imposes on the biblical expression a meaning without any relation to its primary signification. Nor is it the utilization of a biblical fact or personage as the symbol of a truth from some other source. The spiritual sense must flow from the literal sense while strengthening the religious value that the latter contains.

Revelation develops in time. Divine Providence always follows the same paths but its activity becomes more and more fruitful. Its first manifestations in the religious history of the world prefigure those which will follow, without yet possessing their perfection. Between the old and new Covenants there is both likeness and inequality. The

relation is one of *figure to truth*: the spiritual sense consists in this prefiguration of a higher reality, generally prior in time, which the literal sense of a scriptural passage makes known to us.

Thus the exodus from Egypt was for Israel its liberation from a tyrannical yoke so as to constitute it a people consecrated to the service of the true God. The prophets employed it as an image and pledge of the liberation that would end the Babylonian captivity. St. Paul has taught us to see in it the type of the Christian life: he contented himself with rapidly indicating a parallel that the Fathers relished developing. In entering the Church the neophyte escapes from the powers of darkness and begins to drink from the source of graces, the Eucharist: baptism, the decisive moment of this initiation, was prefigured by the passage through the Red Sea and, in consequence, can be called a baptism in Moses (I Cor. 10:1-4).

We can distinguish three subdivisions of the spiritual sense: a *typical* or christological sense, when the Old Covenant prefigures the fundamental realities of the New—Christ or the Church; a *moral* sense, when it prefigures the conduct to be followed by individual Christians or the operations of grace in them; an eschatological sense, when it prefigures the final punishments or joys of the kingdom of Heaven at the end of the world.

This teaching on the spiritual sense of Scripture is very important because it reminds us of the organic continuity between the two Covenants, and the profit that a Christian can draw from the Old Testament whose deep-seated values have been surpassed but not destroyed. The least word of God has a character of universality which permits it to pass beyond the limits of the individual human mind which was its first confidant; it is of an infinite and therefore inexhaustible nature. It is always possible to transpose its injunctions into new situations. We can never flatter ourselves that we have satisfied divine summons like those that were already contained in the Old Testament. They always lead us further on towards a higher perfection. Similarly, a promise or a divine gift contains the pledge of better gifts because the divine bounty promises nothing less than eternal life.

From this spiritual sense willed by God, we can pass by imperceptible degrees to much freer uses. In their oratorical and pastoral works the Fathers of the Church often attached to well known accounts applications which had very loose connections with them: such a procedure was justifiable for pedagogical or mnemotechnic

reasons and for its adaptation to the tastes of the period. Well chosen traits of Scripture symbolized Christ or the laws of Christian living.

Such a use of God's Word has again found favor in our time because of the writings of such men as Leon Bloy and Paul Claudel. Without condemning such accommodations, the recent encyclical recommends the greatest discretion in using them. Besides the danger of arbitrary interpretations and bad taste, such a usage runs the risk of repelling those who want God's Word in Scripture and not an occasion for exercising their imagination, or for neglecting authentic divine riches for purely human findings.⁷ A so-called figurative use of Scripture cannot but be harmful if it takes the place of attentive study which is careful first to determine the literal sense by using all the strict resources of history and philology in the light of reason and faith.

II. Scripture and the Rule of Faith

1. SCRIPTURE AND THE CHURCH

Since Scripture is a source of faith for all Christian confessions, it is important to define precisely its relation with the other rules of faith in the Catholic Church: the authority of the ecclesiastical magisterium and Tradition, as an organ of Revelation distinct from Scripture.

The Faith of the Community and Recourse to Scripture

To begin with a rather evident fact, it is certain that, in the immense majority of cases, individuals are introduced to the knowledge of the Scriptures by the community of believers in which they dwell. It is because they have received from it their first initiation in the faith and the affirmation that certain books are sacred that they have the desire and the possibility of finding religious truth in them. And this applies just as well to the Catholic Church in which there is a decisive doctrinal authority as to groups of believers with more or less vigorous hierarchical institutions: the Orthodox Churches, Anglicanism, the various forms of Protestantism. In contrast to this, it would be extremely rare that an unbeliever who comes upon Scripture by chance would recognize it as the Word of God.

It is only thanks to a key provided by a community faith that the sacred book can reveal its true meaning, that the divine message can

⁷ Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

pass through it without being missed. That is what St. Paul gives us to understand when he compares the relative positions of Jews and Christians in reading Moses. The former are like people whose faces are veiled: either they see nothing, or, at very least, they see but indistinctly and obscurely. On the other hand, believers, those converted to the Lord Jesus, have had the veil lifted, and they can read and perceive the meaning without obstacle (II Cor. 3:14-18).

Accordingly, abstracting from the form of government and from the power of imposing a teaching which is recognized as belonging to the holder of authority, we can say that it is normally on the testimony of a religious society that an individual accepts Scripture as rule of his faith, and that it is thanks to the indications of this same society that he can find intelligible teaching in it. On the other hand, the fate of so many religious books, contemporaries of the biblical writings and coming from the same environment, which perished or barely survived because the Christian community did not consider them as coming from God, shows clearly that it was the community that conserved the sacred books.

Such facts are not their own justification, but they help us to understand the Catholic Church's affirmation that she is at once the depository of Scripture, with the responsibility of guarding its integrity, and the mistress of the teaching contained in the sacred books. She considers that a guide is necessary in introducing anyone to a book whose religious obscurity cannot enlighten isolated minds.⁸

Scripture and the Interpretation of the Ecclesiastical Magisterium

It is for this reason that the Catholic Church, in the Council of Trent, and even more clearly in the Council of the Vatican, proclaimed its power of judging the true sense and the interpretation of Scripture in questions of faith and morals. The faithful must hold the true sense of Scripture to be that which their holy Mother the Church held and holds, and they can, therefore, give no interpretation contrary to this sense or that of the unanimous consent of the Fathers.⁹

However, it must be emphasized that in making such affirmations the magisterium of the Catholic Church does not intend to put

⁸ Leo XIII, *Vigilantiae*, Ench. Bib. no. 134.

⁹ Council of Trent, Session IV (Ap. 8, 1546), Denz. 786; Council of the Vatican, Session III (Ap. 24, 1870), Denz. 1788.

itself above Scripture. She does not arrogate to herself the right of judging what is true or false in it; she only claims the right of ascertaining what is true or false in the individual interpretations that may appear in the course of time. The inspired book, like any ancient book, or any statement of difficult subjects in human language, can present obscure passages about which men will entertain various opinions. The Church simply proclaims her power of eventually choosing between these different explanations.

The true bearing of this claim appears more clearly if we take into account the positions held by recent papal encyclicals regarding the biblical question. In them the Church maintains the principle of the absolute inerrancy of Scripture with a firmness that is undoubtedly difficult to find elsewhere. She will not admit that the least error can be found in the real affirmations of the inspired writer, not even as regards natural or historical facts. She knows that everything is not always clear; nevertheless, she has never abandoned a doctrine against which many specious objections can be raised.¹⁰

Individual Interpretation

On the other hand, the official explanations of authority must never substitute for the sacred text itself, as though the collection of ecclesiastical documents could render the reading of Scripture useless. Only a small number of texts have been infallibly interpreted by the magisterium during the course of the ages or are the object of the unanimous consent of the Fathers. Consequently, an immense field lies open to the free research of individuals who will have to scrutinize God's Word by their own lights and on their own responsibility.¹¹ It will be the special task of such individual study to pronounce upon those profane questions which may be eventually raised regarding the sacred books. Such questions do not depend upon the doctrinal mission of the Church which has the power of judging directly only in matters of faith and morals.

As for religious questions constituting the essential basis of Scripture, the only absolute rule binding the believing reader is not to give any passage a contrary sense to that solemnly defined by the magisterium or that held by the unanimous consent of the authorized

¹⁰ Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. nos. 109-112; Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, Ench. Bib. nos. 463-476; Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

¹¹ Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*, cf. Leo XIII, *Vigilantiae* Ench. Bib. no. 136.

representatives of Catholic teaching. This negative rule will be completed by more positive suggestions coming from the Christian's previous religious formation. His mind is already in harmony with the general content of Scripture. By faith he has a prospect of the whole of Revelation proposed in the sacred book, and he is thus preserved from errors of interpretation which would be unavoidable otherwise in a collection of such diverse parts whose harmony and even sense does not appear at first glance.¹²

The Scriptural Canon and the Authority of the Church

Thus the official magisterium of the Church only asserts the right to present the sacred book to the faithful and to settle the more serious cases of doubt about its interpretation. In maintaining this attitude it just logically continues the act by which it formerly attributed a sacred and normative character to a slowly constituted list of writings, just as a legislative power continues to recall and eventually to interpret a law first promulgated by it. It is a matter of fact that the present list of sacred books (the scriptural "canon") was not accepted from the beginning of the Church: it only appears in any integral fashion at the beginning of the fifth century under Pope Innocent I (405). It was gradually adopted in the Church until the day the Council of Trent solemnly recognized it. Notwithstanding, the magisterium of the Church does not claim the honor of having conferred its authority on Scripture. It is satisfied to present to individuals a collection of books whose authority comes directly from God, and which were confided as such to the Church from apostolic times.¹³

Scripture does not rely upon its own testimony, in this sense, at least, that no book of the New Testament contains a complete and exclusive list of the inspired writings that were to regulate Christian belief. And it is very improbable that any apostolic authority orally delivered such a list to a particular community or to the whole Church. The rather long uncertainty about the exact limits of the canon certainly seems to exclude the possibility that oral Tradition possessed any such list.

The communities founded by the apostles made use of a certain collection of books whose essential nucleus was uncontested and expressly recognized as of divine origin. About this nucleus floated

¹² Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. no. 94.

¹³ Vatican Council, *Constitution Dei Filii*, ch. II, Denz. 1787.

a variety of other books which were occasionally used for purposes of edification, or which were the object of quotations and allusions. Such is the situation presented in the apostolic epistles: besides the express testimonies of "Scripture," we notice a few quotations from apocrypha that later the Church did not recognize as sacred and canonical.

If this was the state of things in Scripture itself, we can suppose that the problem of the canon of Scripture was not any more clearly decided in oral Tradition at the death of the Apostles: there would be a diversity of elements not at all times clearly distinguished from extraneous matter. Such a situation had no dangers at a time when apostolic preaching still lived in men's memories and, consequently, could suffice in determining the faith of the various communities. However, as this living normative source gradually receded, the need must have been felt more and more strongly of being able to have recourse to written documents which were not exposed to the same risks of change.

The result of this need was the spread to the whole Church of certain writings which formerly could only have been received by a limited circle. A further consequence was the need to distinguish unambiguously between what was authentically normative and what was only of edifying value. Hence, there was an attempt to obtain an accurate list from a tradition that was expressed primarily in liturgical readings that had the same fragmentary character as the scattered indications of Scripture. Little by little there was drawn up a definitive list by means of the criteria of immemorial reception and by a certain intuitive appreciation of the content which had more or less contributed to this very reception. What was without apostolic origin was excluded without discussion.

By such an operation the authority of the Church only applied to new material a tendency whose legitimacy was already testified by Scripture, namely, that of publishing a rigorous enumeration of the rules which applied to a religious community, a list to which nothing could be added or subtracted (Deut. 4:2; 5:29; 13:12; cf. Apoc., 22:18-19). In the case of the scriptural canon, the Church added nothing to the apostolic deposit; she simply gathered together the scattered elements so that individuals could have easier and surer access to them.

St. Francis de Sales has well described the nature of this operation by which the Church drew up the definitive list of canonical books:

But here is the difficulty. If these Books were not of indubitable authority in the Church from the very beginning, how can the mere passage of time confer any authority on them? Truly the Church cannot render a book canonical if it were not so from the beginning, but the Church can declare that a certain book, which was not regarded as canonical by everyone, is in fact so; in doing this she in no way changes the substance of the book, which was always canonical, but she does change the minds of Christians who formerly doubted what they can now hold with full assurance. But as regards the Church herself, how can she decide that a book is canonical? She is no longer guided by new revelations but by the primitive apostolic ones of which she is the infallible interpreter; but if the Apostles had no revelation about the authority of a particular book, how can she know it? She considers the witness of antiquity, the conformity of this book with others already received, and the general feeling of the Christian people towards it . . . thus when the Church sees that the Christian people generally regard a book as canonical and draws profit from it, she can regard it as fitting and sound food for Christian minds: . . . thus when the Church has judged a book to have the flavor, the fragrance, and the color, the holiness of style of her doctrine and mysteries, similar to that of other canonical books, and that besides this, she has the witness of several good and incontestable witnesses from antiquity, she can declare the book under consideration to be blood brother to the other canonical ones. And it must not be doubted that the Holy Spirit assists the Church in this judgment, because your ministers confess that God has committed the Sacred Scriptures to her care, which is why St. Paul calls her the pillar and mainstay of the truth (I Tim. 3:15); and how could she have them in her care if she did not know how to separate them from the mixture of other books?

And a little farther on:

Now it must not be thought that the primitive Church and these primitive Doctors would have had the temerity to include these books in the canonical collection if she had not had some counsel to that effect by the Tradition of the Apostles and their disciples, who were in a position to know to what degree the Master Himself esteemed them.¹⁴

The authority of the Church, therefore, does not confer her authority on Scripture; rather the contrary would be true. But, on the other hand, the individual believer, to a certain degree, is found to be closer to the teaching of the Church than to that of Scripture. Individuals do not get the faith outside the Church. Adhesion to God's Word comes about in the society of the faithful united by love, of which the hierarchical authority is the servant. Consequently, initiation into the faith for a catechumen is necessarily accompanied by the reception of a doctrine proposed by an exterior magisterium.

¹⁴ St. Francis de Sales, *Les Controverses*, Part II, ch. I, art. 3 & 4. Secondary text, Annecy 1892, pp. 156-157 & 162-163. Cf. St. Robert Bellarmine, *De Verbo Dei*, Bk. I, ch. 10.

2. SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION

This magisterium in the Catholic Church only lays claim to transmit without alteration a deposit confided to it under a double form: the inspired books and Tradition not fixed in canonical writings. We have, then, something to say about the relation of this Tradition with Scripture and the Church.

The Extent of the Deposit of Scripture

The Council of Trent declared that it received with the same piety and respect the books of the Old and New Testament, and the Traditions relative to faith and morals.¹⁵

But if it recognized Tradition as having a normative value equal to that of Scripture, the council did not settle a question which is still freely discussed among Catholics as to the respective extent of the teaching of Scripture and that contained in Tradition. Are there doctrines in the latter which are absent from the former? Sometimes certain points of Christian faith are cited which would seem not to be mentioned in Scripture; that of the list of canonical books themselves would be a good example.

From what has been said above on this subject, we can see that the deposit of apostolic Tradition does not seem to contain objectively more than Scripture. It is certain, however, that it presents many matters in a much more efficacious manner.

Cardinal Newman answers this question in the following way: "Nor am I aware that later Post-tridentine writers deny that the whole Catholic faith may be proved from Scripture, though they would certainly maintain that it is not to be found on the surface of it, nor in such sense that it may be gained from Scripture without the aid of Tradition."¹⁶

In order to grasp the cogency, and even the semi-necessity, of this assertion, it is important to recall that divine Revelation is the consequence of a new life given to us by God. The Word made flesh has come to bring us both life and light. He reminded Nicode-

¹⁵ Council of Trent, Session IV, Apr. 8, 1546; Denz. 783.

¹⁶ J. H. Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, 1845; rev. ed. 1878, ch. 7, part 4, no. 4; edit. C. F. Harrold, New York: Longmans, 1949, p. 319. Even after his conversion (1845), Newman never gave up this view which he held in common with the Anglicans; cf. *Via Media*, note of the reedition of 1877, ch. IX, pp. 288-289, with a quotation from a letter to Dr. Pusey.

mus who thought of Him only as a teacher that one must be born again in order to see the Kingdom of God (John 3:3). Revelation is the knowledge of the gift of God. It is an organic whole: the ideas and propositions in which it is expressed will never be exhausted: they are not truths which are independent of one another and without reference to the Church's living and total possession of light and communion with God.

Consequently, we can presume that any profound expression of this Revelation should contain, at least in germinal fashion, all its virtualities, that it should present some incipient connection with all the doctrines into which this Revelation can be refracted. Thus in the biblical collection, in this collection of writings spread over a thousand years, of such varied themes and preoccupations, it is extremely unlikely that an essential point of the divine message should have been completely passed over in silence and that only Tradition would give us any knowledge of it. The almost constant practice of the New Testament in treating of subjects by Scriptural citations shows us how closely the diverse affirmations that can be made about the revealed mystery are tied in together.

We may, therefore, consider that Scripture does not throw light on all the aspects of divine truth in an equal way, but not that certain revealed truths are without any connection with the sacred books.

Whether by Tradition we mean the totality of doctrines and practices which made up the life of the communities founded by the Apostles and which continued to exert influence after their disappearance, or the infinite multitude of the manifestations of Christian life and thought throughout the ages, in either case Scripture and Tradition are two parallel functions of the same faith. In certain cases they are materially relatively independent of one another. Ordinarily they reinforce each other. Both transmit the same truth, but they do so under different intellectual forms. They do not have the same part to play in the economy of Christian thought. Tradition is not just an appendix to Scripture whose purpose would be to supply us with a list of things omitted from the inspired writings. It is a great deal more than that.

Scripture and Tradition are two emanations from the same life-giving source. Scripture, like other written expressions as compared to oral expression and to the rest of life, represents a firmer form of thought, one better armed against inexactitudes of detail, but also

a more precarious means of communication which can only take on true meaning when related to the living environment from which it sprang, and to the Holy Spirit from which both it and the Church derive their authority. Scripture and Tradition mutually condition and surpass each other. They are not two interchangeable formulations of the same message but two means whose collaboration is indispensable if we are to be assured of the gift of God in its fullness.

The Interpretation of Scripture and Tradition

Since Tradition is the bearer of saving truth, it must intervene, according to the constant thought and practice of the Church, in the interpretation of Scripture. Tradition can be considered successively, first as apostolic preaching, and secondly as the echo of this preaching.

1. Apostolic Preaching and Scripture

At the beginning, in apostolic times, the Church instructed by the word of the immediate witnesses of the Lord was the environment from which the New Testament issued, in which the sacred books inherited from Israel were commented upon with sovereign authority, and to which, consequently, it is indispensable to refer in order to understand the whole of Scripture.

Any writing comes after the living word. Its purpose is to make up for possible slips of memory or for the absence of the speaker. It aims at a greater precision than that of the spoken word subject to constant change, and it is forced to be briefer. For this latter reason it often demands a commentary.

The practice is becoming more and more common of having recourse to external information in order to understand better an ancient text, and Sacred Scripture, a definitely human work from one point of view, cannot pretend to escape this manner of proceeding. In some cases it is a question of juxtaposing various historical testimonies in order to obtain broader historical insight. In other cases the only aim is the better grasping of the religious thought of the sacred author's work. A text always supposes the reader's familiarity with a certain number of data, ideas, or facts, which it does not take the trouble to expressly recall. When such familiarity disappears because of historical remoteness, a text which was clear for those to whom it was first addressed becomes obscure. Then it

is that systematic and erudite study must supply certain notions which were ordinarily acquired with but little effort at the time the work was composed. This artificial reconstruction of a mental panorama does not propose to add anything new to the text but simply to rediscover more surely what is really contained in it.

Thus the knowledge of apostolic Tradition can make up for the silence or the ambiguity of the letter of the New Testament and restore the exact sense it wanted to transmit to us. It is true that this Tradition is only available to us through more recent testimonies. But the agreement of ancient Christian writers on a doctrine, or of ancient churches on a practice, surely enables us to make contact with apostolic preaching and, in consequence, to understand better the Scripture which descended from the Apostles.

2. *Living Tradition and Scripture*

That is not the only role Tradition is called upon to play in the interpretation of Scripture. Christ and the Apostles took a definite stand in regard to the Old Testament. The Christian Church, in its turn, understood the two Testaments in a definite way. A Christian of today cannot claim to return to the original Scriptures by himself without taking into account all the help that this chain of intermediaries can furnish him. Consequently, his interpretation must take Tradition into account.

It is essential that we give proper proportions to this factor of Christian thought. Tradition is essentially the continuity of religious life in a community, the expression, sometimes fixed, sometimes still subject to terminological changes, of its faith, hope and charity. Tradition is life, but, being a life of the spirit, it carries with it a certain intellectual content, at least virtually. Being life and divine life, it is inexhaustible, and any doctrine which attempts to express it is necessarily inadequate and incomplete. By liturgical rites and institutions it can transmit something that words and texts cannot contain and without which they would be incomprehensible, or would lose a good part of their meaning. It is at once a life modeling itself on a changing environment and a stable teaching directing the stages of this life.

This Tradition is not limited to a servile repetition of the very words of Scripture, or to the direct commentary of its obscurities. Nor, on a higher level, is it obliged only to propose doctrines which are explicitly contained in the sacred text. It is enough that both

express the same message, that of the Good News of the Gospel. And since the Gospel, in virtue of its divine origin, surpasses all the expressions that human words and concepts can give it, Tradition can be, in certain cases, more than just the verbal or conceptual equivalent of Scripture. Beginning with the closed deposit of the apostolic era, there can be doctrinal developments in this immense aggregate of doctrines which echo and amplify the living word of the Apostles and of the Master Himself, in all these usages and institutions stemming from a long, complex history of the life of the primitive Christian communities.

Tradition is, in some fashion, the way in which the text or the message of Scripture was understood and then put into living application in the Church. The Catholic reader wants to profit from this kind of interpretation, whether it be formal or implicit. He does not go to the Scriptures all by himself but in company with all his brethren in the faith.

Besides, it is to be noted that this influence of tradition on individual interpretation is extremely supple, and that the cases in which an authoritative direction is given are very rare.¹⁷ That would necessitate an agreement among the commentaries given by tradition both as to the sense of a text and as to the belonging of a given interpretation to the deposit of the faith.

The conduct of the Catholic reader of Scripture is in no way arbitrary. It can be compared to that of specialists in ancient literatures: inasmuch as possible they want their deciphering and their interpretation of difficult texts to be controlled by other scholars.

Scripture itself, as is evident from its structure, suggests that we make use of these stages of previous commentators in order to ascend to the original experience that it transmits. It is certainly rare to find a book of the Bible that appears to have been composed at one sitting, like a primitive document in the pure state. More often the sacred text is found to have incorporated the reactions of a more or less long series of intermediaries who had considered the message that it contains. The historical parts, especially, are ordinarily neither the elaboration of an entirely new account from fully assimilated sources nor the pure and simple reproduction of primary written testimonies. By reason of an intermediary procedure they appear to be a very complex mixture of primitive documents and

¹⁷ Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. no. 96-97, 107; Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

of the reactions they caused during the course of centuries in the believers who read and transmitted them to posterity.

Scripture itself, then, bears witness to the desire to ascend to the outstanding religious experiences of the past in their original expression, and to the desire of never letting the reader attain the past all by himself, but rather of guiding him by a chain of intermediaries. In order to read the inspired book in the spirit in which it was formed, it must not be separated from the tradition which scrutinized its message, which little by little drew out the meaning of the great events of history, which lived the lessons drawn from this reading while adapting them to changing situations. The Word of God does not deliver up all its secrets to isolated individuals but only to those who take their place in a tradition.

Undoubtedly only the first rings of this long chain enjoyed the privilege of inspiration, and by the fact that their witness entered the sacred text it takes on an unrivalled value not possessed by the exegesis of the best authorized Church Fathers. But the compositional procedure used so willingly by the scriptural books, imperfect as it may be from the sole point of view of historical criticism or literary art, is eminently suggestive for the believer. Scripture is intimately bound up with Tradition, not only because it fixes a message that was first preached orally, but also because in order to assure its intelligibility it aims at putting us in communion with a whole tradition which has already caused this message to penetrate its thought and practice.

3. THE ROLE OF SCRIPTURE IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

Scripture is the word of God, and the Church, its guardian, while it takes care that the faithful are preserved from the dangers of its ill-considered use, invites her children to profit from this abundant source of light and life. All, even lay people, should read daily those parts of Scripture which are the easiest to understand, that is, the New Testament, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles.^{18(a)} Preachers whose mission it is to announce "the word of God" to the faithful cannot acquit themselves of this task in a fitting manner if they have not first nourished and penetrated themselves with Scripture: only recourse to the divine words will give

^{18(a)} Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, Ench. Bib. no. 488-492; Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

their human words the truth and efficacy which can come only from God.^{18(b)}

The theology of scholars itself can afford less than any other to neglect a direct familiarity with this incomparable document of Christian Revelation. Leo XIII strongly inculcated this law of Christian thought in terms that his successors would take up anew or confirm:

"It is most desirable and essential that the whole teaching of theology should be pervaded and animated by the use of the divine Word of God. That is what the Fathers and the greatest theologians of all ages have desired and reduced to practice. It was chiefly out of the Sacred Writings that they endeavored to proclaim and establish the Articles of Faith and the truths therewith connected, and it was in them, together with divine Tradition, that they found the refutation of heretical error, and the reasonableness, the true meaning, and the mutual relation of the truths of Catholicism. Nor will anyone wonder at this who considers that the Sacred Books hold such an eminent position among the sources of revelation that without their assiduous study and use, Theology cannot be placed on its true footing, or treated as its dignity demands. For although it is right and proper that students in academies and schools should be chiefly exercised in acquiring a scientific knowledge of dogma, by means of reasoning from the Articles of Faith to their consequences, according to the rules of approved and sound philosophy—nevertheless, the judicious and instructed theologian will by no means pass by that method of doctrinal demonstration which draws its proof from the authority of the Bible; for theology does not receive her first principles from any other science, but immediately from God by revelation. And, therefore, she does not receive of other sciences as from a superior, but uses them as her inferiors or handmaids" (Sum. Theol. I, Q.1, a.5, ad.2).¹⁹

With remarkable logic Leo XIII had already applied the rule that he formulates abstractly here: taking examples from the Gospel

^{18(b)} Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. no. 72; Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, *ibid.*, no. 497; Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

¹⁹ Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. no. 99; quoted by Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus*, Ench. Bib. no. 496; there is a recommendation of biblical theology in Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

The English translation of the above is taken from an official translation published by Immaculate Virgin Press, Mont Loretto, Staten Island, N. Y., 1894, pp. 30-31.

and epistles he had shown how Christ and the apostles had constant recourse to Scripture in order to support and render fruitful a teaching that could have been presented on their authority alone.²⁰ Similarly, the question of the spiritual sense of Scripture is not treated by Benedict XV and Pius XII without reference to the spiritual usage of certain passages of the Old Testament in the New.²¹

Thus, although the Church claims to teach the Good News infallibly, without necessarily having to refer to the letter of Scripture, she is far from disregarding its eminent value of being wholly and in all its parts the work of the Holy Spirit. Its books are sacred not only because they contain revelation without error (the Church's definitions also make it infallible), but because they have God for their author in virtue of the privilege of inspiration. Such is the teaching of the Vatican Council.²²

For a concrete example of the difference between Scripture which is spirit and life and the authoritative teachings of the Church, we have only to consider the knowledge we have of Christ, in either case. The creed offers us an extremely brief outline of His life: virginal conception, birth, passion, death, descent into hell, resurrection, ascension, glorification; the Nicean creed specifies that He is true God, consubstantial with the Father and that He became man. The definitions of the councils say the same thing in abstract language: one person, two natures, two wills, two operations. What would these dry formulas do for Christian piety without the Gospel? Obviously their whole use was to provide an easy summary of everything taught to a catechumen, an outline he could penetrate and expand later, or to cut short a quarrel in the Church which would jeopardize either the unity of minds, or the exact understanding of Scripture on an essential point of faith. But none of these formulas can take the place of direct or indirect recourse to the Gospels which are our inexhaustible sources for the person and teaching of Christ.

Compared to the official documents rigorously guaranteed by the infallibility of the Church, Scripture is distinguished by a richness of doctrine and a power of suggestion which are infinitely greater. Compared to the innumerable productions of Christian thought during the course of the ages, it is especially distinguished by a

²⁰ Leo XIII, *Ench. Bib.* no. 69-70; Benedict XV, no. 476.

²¹ Benedict XV, *Ench. Bib.* no. 499; Pius XII.

²² *Constitution on the Catholic Faith*, ch. 2; Denz. 1787.

certitude and an indefectible rectitude proper to the Word of God which the words of men, no matter how pious or learned they may be, do not possess.

Certainly a Christian cannot underestimate the riches of this immense literature. In it he will find the development of principles which Scripture has merely set up, the transposition of its exigencies to new situations which it could not foresee, the systematization of its dispersed teachings, or their coordination with the recent acquisitions of profane thought. One cannot lightly dispense with all this fraternal help which offers its assistance for the penetration of the word of God and for its effective application to the whole domain of life and knowledge. Often enough these secondary writings, in combination with oral teaching, will be the only means for the majority to be instructed in Revelation, since the immediate contact with the whole of Scripture is impossible because of insufficient preparation.

Nevertheless, the more one's religious culture increases, the more one has the imperious duty of having direct recourse to Scripture, and of scrutinizing Revelation in its most authentic expression.

Tradition undoubtedly contains Revelation. But if by Tradition we mean the teaching left by the Apostles to the communities they founded we can certainly not attain this deposit except as mixed with a good many adventitious elements in the living thought of the Church. Only what is commonly taught by the doctors and presented as belonging to the faith can have guarantees sufficient to compel the assent of the faithful.²³ Few doctrines measure up to this double condition unless we reduce them to lifeless skeletons. Less unanimous opinions are not, by the very fact, tainted by error, but they do not carry with them their own certitude. And in a given thinker who may have touched upon the truth in one point, we may find debatable elements placed side by side with correct views. In any case, discernment is imperative.

If an approximate knowledge of Revelation still badly mingled with human opinions can suffice for Christian life, those at least in the Church who have the possibility of reflecting on their faith and of penetrating more deeply into its teachings should take care to go more closely into the truth.

The very volume of Christian literature makes a very extensive assimilation of its contents impossible for all practical purposes.

²³ Leo XIII, *Providentissimus*, Ench. Bib. nos. 96, 107.

Often it would require a very long process to verify if a given point of doctrine is widely enough attested to be authentic. As for the peculiar views of an individual or of a small group, how could we possibly pass judgement upon them unless we consent not to build only upon subjective evidence which may be misleading, since these religious subjects so surpass the capacities of the human mind.

The Christian thinker who, at the very least, desires to control his individual lights, which it is neither possible nor desirable to eliminate totally, by an objective document, finds in the Bible a teaching which is at once very rich and very certain. Later theological speculation offers him indispensable suggestions without which he would undoubtedly not find a great deal in the inspired Book. But in the end the whole movement of Christian thought must be referred to this latter in order to be appreciated.

If in some cases the Church infallibly assures us of the true sense of Scripture by the use of Tradition, more often it is the comparison with Scripture which will discern what is an authentic echo of Revelation and what is a human word in the documents of tradition.

It is not a case of reducing the whole of theology by a narrow literature to being only a summary of biblical formulas, or at the most a mere statement of some immediate consequences. Speculation has developed, either under the pressure of life and Christian piety, or by the assimilation of intellectual methods issuing from the profane sphere. New concepts have been adopted and new systems have been constructed that the modern theologian cannot treat as non-existent. But the more this technical aspect of reflection assumes importance, the more it is indispensable to return to the ever fresh source, Scripture.

Even by its literary form it is inclined to preserve us from excessive abstraction and to keep scholarly thought in contact with the more spontaneous modes of expression of the Christian people's faith. Then again, by reason of the edifying power proper to it, Scripture is able to engender in the soul a living synthesis of the revealed mystery from which will spring forth new formulas which, without being textually scriptural, will not be dangerous to the faith.

An indispensable critical task will be to ask if a given theological exposition maintains the doctrinal equilibrium presented by the authentic source of Revelation, Scripture. Subsequently, the deep-seated ties uniting these two successive expressions of a single truth

can be shown. Doctrines which were elaborated in the Church because of practical needs, or under the inspiration of an intuitive possession of the faith, must afterwards be expressly linked up to their scriptural principles. It is only in this manner that Christian thought can harmoniously develop the different virtualities it contains, and that theological affirmations can rest upon a more solid base than arguments of mere fittingness which are only too easily turned in any direction.

In the apostolic era religious thought moved in the realm of Scripture and constantly tried to harmonize itself with it; Scripture was the privileged instrument of progress for the understanding of mystery. At a still earlier date we see Christ and the apostles frequently invoking the witness of the Old Testament, justifying their assertions by the sacred texts, or using them as their support, being ever desirous of affirming and showing the continuity between their teaching and that of the authoritative Book. Although there is no question of finding a ready-made formula that we would have only to propound anew, or the concrete solution of a new problem under pressure of circumstance, these supreme models teach us to see the harmony between preaching and its accomplishment, between a principle expressed by the sacred Books, or supposed by them in practice, and a new application. From such an example we can clearly see the advantage there is in referring any new exposition of the truths of salvation to Scripture, and the very great probability, not to say more, that there is no subject in the Christian faith that Scripture cannot throw light upon, in other words, that Scripture contains the whole of Revelation.

Thus the Catholic believer is found to be subjected to several rules of faith and thought, but no one of these has the same role to play. In a general way the life and teaching of the Church fosters an environment which constantly offers the individual ingredients which practice or thought have to assimilate. But the knowledge of the mysteries of salvation involves, in addition to a summary initiation, their deeper penetration, which, however, is not essential to growth in charity. If the former receives its object from the hierarchical authority, which can rigorously impose or reject certain formulation, the latter is rather under its subsequent control and only receives broad directives from it.

That is why, in the ordinary exercise of the Church's doctrinal function, certain solemn acts of the hierarchical magisterium define,

by supreme authority, more explicitly statements either of points of faith necessary for baptism or of truths about which a controversy may have arisen, which could compromise either the unity of souls or the integrity of an essential part of Revelation. While he submits to the proposal of what is thus made to him concerning the object of his faith, and while he finds in it an assured basis for the development of his own reflection, the Christian who desires and is able to go more deeply into the mysteries of salvation cannot expect everything from this external teaching.

Both obedience and initiative must come into play for the progress of religious knowledge, in view of obtaining that very fruitful knowledge of which the Vatican Council speaks.²⁴

Where the word of authority only supplies general encouragement rather than precise directives, the believer is not completely abandoned to himself. With the precious aid formed by the diverse manifestations of the faith during the course of the ages, he can undertake to scrutinize Scripture and to seek in it the ever shining light.

When thus prepared the reading of Scripture is fruitful. We can expect an ever living and penetrating knowledge of the revealed truths from it. Certainly we should not count on a rigorous unity of opinions because we use it in this way. The meaning of Scripture is not always clear beyond all doubt. But once a union of minds has been realized on the essential points, thanks to the lights of the Tradition proposed by the Church, the diversity of minds merely makes manifest the diversity of the gifts of the Holy Spirit whose riches can only be fully diffused in the entire community and exceed the capacity of any individual. If each thinker tries his best to conform to this divine rule of inspired Scripture, the variety of the aspects of the mystery perceived by each one will be merely the refraction in created intelligences of a light which is in itself supremely one.

It is for this reason that the official magisterium of the Church does not think it necessary to settle every controversy that may arise among theologians, not to propound authoritatively a precise teaching on "the deeper and more difficult questions" which orthodox fathers have dealt with.²⁵ On several occasions the Holy See

²⁴ *Constitution on the Catholic Faith*, ch. 4; Denz. 1796.

²⁵ See the last declarations of a list of some assertions on divine grace proposed by the Roman See, Denz. no. 142.

has openly refused to settle certain debates submitted to it and simply reminded the parties involved of the duty of charity and mutual tolerance.²⁶ It has expressly affirmed the freedom each person should enjoy, provided he respects the Church's demands concerning the principles of the faith and the general orientation of studies.²⁷

So it is that the program of the old formula comes true: "unity in things necessary, liberty in things doubtful, charity in all things." Thus minds can enjoy that freedom which, as St. Paul says, is to be found where the Spirit of the Lord is (II Cor. 3:17). This freedom of the children of God is neither license nor anarchy. It comes only after loyal obedience to external authority and through submission to the internal authority of the Holy Spirit, and its highest visible expression, inspired Scripture. It is a still imperfect realization of the privileges of the new Covenant.

I will give my law in their bowels,
and I will write it in their heart,
and I will be their God,
and they shall be my people.
And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour
nor every man his brother,
saying: "Know the Lord,"
for all shall know me,
from the least of them even to the greatest,
saith the Lord.

Jer. 31:33-34.

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²⁶ E.g., concerning the blood of Christ, the Immaculate Conception (in 1843; later this privilege of the Blessed Virgin was defined by Pius IX in 1854), efficacious grace, attrition; cf. Denz. nos. 718, 735, 1090-1097, 1146.

²⁷ Leo XIII, *Vigilantiae*, Ench. Bib. no. 136; Pius XI, *Studiorum Ducem*; Denz. 2192; Pius XII, *Divino Afflante*.

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Chapter III

THE LITURGY

by I. H. Dalmais, O.P.

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Chapter III

THE LITURGY

I. The Nature of the Liturgy

1. THEOLOGY, "MYSTICAL THEOLOGY," LITURGY

The unique mystery of salvation of which the Church is made the guardian and which she has the mission to preach to men until the end of time can be envisaged under three complementary and inseparable aspects:

(a) Man can be schooled in the Primary Truth proposed to him by the Word of God. This word received by his intelligence brings forth "wisdom" as its fruit, an eminent science, at once human in its mode, since it results from the structure and the conditions of exercise of the human intelligence, and divine by its origin and object. It is God as Truth communicating Himself in and through faith: this is theology properly so-called. The second volume of this work will present an account of this science.

(b) Or, God present in the secret heart of man through faith vivified by charity elevates the powers of the human soul to a mode of acting which exceeds the capacities of their nature and, communicating Himself to man in an ineffable way, progressively molds him and renders him conformable to the full stature of the perfect age of Christ (Eph. 4:13): this is "mystical theology" in the received sense of this word since the writings of the Pseudo-Areopagite.

(c) Or, finally, God causes the very mystery of salvation to be present in the Church according to a mode adapted to the present conditions of her existence in time and to the social character of mankind. He molds each of the members of the Church according to the place assigned him in the whole organism, and at the same time reveals His mystery of salvation, not in an intellectual fashion only and by way of teaching, but in a vital manner and by experience.

Theology proposes the mystery of salvation but does not bring it about by itself. Mystical theology is outside the social character and

the normal conditions of human existence. Liturgy, whose very name indicates that the illumination of the intelligence gives place to operation in it, both signifies and brings about this mystery of salvation, but without rendering it explicit according to the intellectual categories required by the elaboration of a science. In it the knowledge aspect is subordinated to that of effectiveness. Because of this it appears as the meeting point of the two theologies, scientific and mystical, but while both these to a certain degree escape the Church's control, since she can only guide them by her magisterium, the liturgy is wholly the proper action of the Church since she assures its social character in the order of salvation.

2. THE LITURGY AS ACT

This characteristic of the liturgy as being the *act* of the Church cannot be stressed too much. It is what gives the liturgy a specific nature and assigns it a place in the ensemble of sacred doctrine and the communication of the mystery of salvation: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them . . ." (Matt. 28:19). "Do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22:19). These two words of Christ, one spoken at the Last Supper, and the other at the time of His Ascension, are the point of departure and the basis of the whole development of the liturgy. The intimate connection of teaching and action in which theologians see the essential characteristic of the sacramental act excels the reality in richness, unless we restore to the term sacrament all its primary amplitude. It is to be found present in all liturgy but with the distinction that teaching is always ordained to act, even in the liturgy of praise.

Act, we say, not *action*. The difference in meaning is slight, but it seems important to profit by the existence of these two words and their diverse usage in order to render language more accurate. *Action* implies an exterior gesture modifying the reciprocal relation of an object and a subject; *act* is used for the unfolding of an immanent virtuality of the subject no matter what its repercussions may be in the balance of objective relations. Now what appears to be a characteristic of the liturgy is that it is always an act even when its action aspect is almost imperceptible. It is an awareness of the Church as a social body, of what forms her essence here below: being the dispenser of the mystery of salvation in humanity.

We shall see further on that important consequences flow from this in what concerns the use of liturgical arguments in theology,

but what also flows from this and what we should particularly note here and now is the peculiar situation of the liturgy in the order of "sacred doctrine." It is not a science, although there can and should be a science of the liturgy; it is not by speculation but by practice that one can get to its heart. The liturgical monuments, especially the liturgical texts, no matter how great their importance may be, are not the liturgy; like a musical score they only become so when put in act. Still less are the rites and rubrics which explain them the liturgy. They are merely means of its exercise and become liturgy only when they are fittingly performed in view of the end for which they were instituted: the communication of the mystery of salvation.

We can understand now why it does not suffice merely to have a Church function performed in common, even by a priest, in order to have a liturgical act: for that there must be an immediate and necessary relation with the dispensation of the mystery of salvation which alone constitutes the proper act of the Church.

3. THE LITURGY AS MYSTERY

We have just used the expression "mystery of salvation" several times to designate the reality which makes up the object of the liturgy. We must now define the technical meaning of this expression more accurately. First borrowed from St. Paul, it was traditional throughout the whole patristic period and particularly in liturgical texts, either in its Greek form, used mostly in the plural in the West: "mysteria," or in its Latin translation "sacramenta." It always remained in use in the expression "the holy mysteries" to designate the eucharist, but its deeper meaning was forgotten and its implied meanings perceived with difficulty. Recent works, notably those of Dom Casel and of his collaborators at Maria-Laach, have helped in its rediscovery, and even if certain details of the "theology of mystery" cannot be generally accepted, these works prepared an instrument which is not only the best adopted so far, but also the most solidly established in ancient tradition, for studying the essence of the liturgy.

A mystery in the liturgical sense of the word is "a sacred and worshipful action in which a redemptive work of the past is made present in a determined rite: the present community, when accomplishing this sacred rite, enters into participation with the redemptive fact thus evoked, and so acquires its own salvation."¹ This defini-

¹ D. O. Casel, *Le Mystère du culte dans le christianisme*, p. 109.

tion claims to express the essence of the mysteries of Hellenic antiquity which, according to our author, prepared the worship pattern which Christianity had merely to assume in forming its own worship. However that may be, Christian worship as a whole is truly a mystery in the sense defined, and it is its necessary relation to the redemptive act understood in all its fullness which gives it its specific character. Consequently, the "liturgical mystery" is identified with one of the aspects of the "mystery of Christ" as understood by St. Paul: "To reestablish all things in Christ, both those in the heavens and those on the earth" (Eph. 1:10). It is by the liturgical mystery that this mystery of salvation is made present for all generations and for the whole world, without in any way restraining or diminishing the immediate efficacy of Christ the Redeemer, the unique and eternal Priest of mankind. It is this that we must study a little more closely in the various modes of expression of the Christian liturgy.

The fact is sufficiently clear in regard to the sacramental liturgy: not only in the eucharistic liturgy which has always kept the official title of mystery in ecclesiastical terminology and which causes the redemptive mystery to be present in its fullness of meaning and efficacy; not only in the sacramental rites properly so-called in which St. Thomas² sees the humanity of Christ in His saving Passion immediately at work; but also in all this vast collection of symbols which makes up the sacramental world: it consists precisely in the fact that visible realities are transferred from the natural order to the order of salvation in consequence of the Incarnation of the Word by which the divine nature forever assumed into the unity of a single person a created nature inseparable from the rest of the universe to which it belongs.

Although it is less evident, it is the same in the case of what we may call the liturgy of praise which forms the Divine Office and related services such as certain processions. What makes the Divine Office to be liturgy is the fact that it is the prayer of the Church in its inseparable union with Christ. It is properly a priestly act of the one priesthood of Christ; whence its canonical character. The office is Christ's taking possession of the present before it escapes into the irretrievable past, a making it apt for an eternal meaning in the very midst of its becoming, through the daily cycle of the hours, the yearly cycle of the weeks (lunar cycle), and of the seasons (solar

² *Summa Theologiae* III, 61, ad. 3; 62, 5.

and sidereal cycle). All the liturgies took pleasure in linking up this double cycle with the mystery of salvation: the daily cycle celebrates Christ as the "sun of salvation" (*sol salutis*); the yearly cycle is arranged in relation to the double pole of Epiphany, or the Advent of the Saviour, and of Easter, the memorial of His redeeming activity. The whole collection of psalms, chants, readings and prayers which makes up the office has as its object the diffusion to time's entire duration of the presence and the actuality (*Hodie*) of the mystery of salvation whose culmination in the realm of worship is in the celebration of the Eucharist.

There is another aspect, developed at length by the Fathers,³ by which the liturgy of praise belongs to the order of mystery. In its celebration the members of the Church, laymen, monks or clerics, are in direct relation with and participate in the eternal liturgy of Heaven which St. John described in the Apocalypse (chs. 4-7), and which is being enacted round about the Lamb before the divine throne. As the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews wrote: "But you have come to Mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to the company of many thousands of angels" (Heb. 12:22). Such is the fulfillment of the "Mystery" in St. Paul's meaning and which the liturgy signifies and brings about in so far as it is the act of the Church.

4. TRIAL DEFINITIONS

We can see what is lacking in the generally given definition of the liturgy: "the official worship of the Church" (D. Lefèbvre), especially when it is expanded:

The liturgy is the exterior and collective exercise of the virtue of religion practiced by the members of the ecclesiastical society under the presidency of a representative of the Hierarchy, who acts in virtue of the sacerdotal mission with which he is endowed and according to the norms of a discipline organized in advance by the Church, that is, by Jesus Christ or by his representatives.⁴

Such a definition is purely descriptive and in no way explanatory: what constitutes official worship? Is it an arbitrary and simply legislative decision? Then again, to found a definition of the liturgy on the exercise of the virtue of religion runs the risk of letting escape what is both most essential and most specific in the Christian liturgy, namely, its belonging to the order of the mystery of salvation. When

³ Cf. Peterson, *Le Livre des Anges*.

⁴ D. Coelo, *Cours de liturgie romaine*, T. I, p. 18 (Fr. trans.).

in his theological *Summa* St. Thomas studies worship in the treatise on the virtue of religion, he expressly sets aside the case of the sacraments which he declares more fitting to be studied after the treatise on Christ whose saving activity they extend through time.⁵ Now the whole Christian liturgy is in a sense sacramental, and acts of worship such as the different forms of prayer: adoration, reparation, petition—are only liturgical in the measure that they are assumed into the mystery of Christ the Saviour.

Thus it appears that a definition of the Christian liturgy should be founded on this essential aspect which radically differentiates it from any other kind of worship. Now Christ works out His mystery of salvation through the ministry of His Church to which He has entrusted its dispensation. Consequently, we can define the liturgy as: the collection of rites and formulas by which the priestly ministry of Christ, Mediator between God and men, is carried on in the Church in order to achieve the mystery of salvation.⁶

Such a definition embraces all the liturgical acts which we have shown to have a necessary relation with the mystery of salvation and suits only them, leaving aside all other acts of worship, even those officially organized in the Church, but which do not have this necessary relation with the proper object of the priesthood of Christ. It is in this exact sense that we shall understand the liturgy in the following pages.

II. Theology and Liturgy

1. THE LITURGY AS A THEOLOGICAL LOCUS

The Liturgy is incontestably one of the sources, or to use the technical term, one of the *loci*, from which theology can draw arguments which will permit it to elaborate a systematic and scientific exposition of the Christian faith. But the proper nature of this *locus* and the conditions under which it must be used stem from the nature of the liturgy as we have tried to define it above. Its place among the theological *loci* depends upon its very special condition in the complex organism formed by “sacred doctrine,”

⁵ *Summa Theologiae* II-II, 89, Prol.

⁶ Cf. the definition given in the Encyclical *Mediator Dei*: “The sacred liturgy is the public worship which our Redeemer as Head of the Church renders to the Father as well as the worship which the community of the faithful renders to its Founder, and through Him to the Heavenly Father. It is, in short, the worship rendered by the Mystical Body of Christ in the entirety of its Head and members.” N.C.W.C., official trans., June, 1948, p. 10.

that is, the communication to mankind by Revelation of the eternal divine Truth and of His plan of salvation in the world.

We have said that the liturgy is an *act*. We cannot, therefore, simply treat it as a doctrine and identify it for theological purposes with the liturgical texts. These texts are properly speaking only liturgical in the measure in which they are reset in the whole framework of worship to which they belong, a framework which includes especially the gestures and melodies which go to emphasize and define more accurately the liturgical meaning of the texts. Consequently, we cannot for theological reasons draw arguments from liturgical texts, as if they were monuments of tradition exactly comparable to others. These texts belong to an action, and this action, and not just the texts involved, must form the subject of the study of a theologian who claims to argue from the liturgy.

We have defined the liturgy as a "mystery," that is, an act which is at once symbolical and efficacious in making the mystery of salvation present. This is a new specific character which conditions the theological usage of the liturgy; despite differences which we shall define more precisely later it resembles the biblical and especially the evangelical data in which the doctrinal teaching cannot be separated from the accomplishment of the work of salvation. But while in biblical data the message is the first thing to be considered, the liturgy puts the accomplishment of the mystery first and neither the texts nor the rites have teaching as their primary object. Thus the theologian cannot reproach them for their lack of precision, their usage of metaphorical types, and, for example, their turning aside from the literal sense of the scriptural texts. Any exegesis of the rational kind runs the risk of being irrelevant. We must place ourselves within the categories proper to the liturgical and social performance of the mystery of salvation in order to obtain from the liturgical data all the fruits they can offer a theologian. We can understand, then, that it is proper to assign a special place to the liturgy among the theological *loci* and not simply to confuse it with the other data of tradition, such as the Councils, the Fathers, and the theologians.

2. THE LITURGY AS THE CHURCH'S SCHOOL

Even on the doctrinal plane the liturgy has a special character since it is according to the expression of Pius XI: ⁷ "the most im-

⁷ Cf. *Rev. Greg.* 1937, p. 79.

portant organ of the ordinary magisterium of the Church . . . the teaching of the Church." We must linger a moment on this aspect but without forgetting what was said above about the proper nature of the liturgy. Although the doctrinal character of the liturgy may be a secondary aspect and one related to the "mystery," nevertheless this aspect places it among the privileged *loci* in which Tradition is expressed. We have only to consider carefully the expression of Pius XI: "organ of the ordinary magisterium of the Church," in order to perceive its importance.

We know how difficult it is to determine this ordinary magisterium which by definition has no proper organ. It is most often sought for in the common teaching of the Fathers, the bishops or the theologians. But often enough this search is a deceptive one: each of the authors to whom we appeal speaks in terms of the needs and of the culture of a given time and place: the problem is how to distinguish what element expresses the common mind of the Church and what is merely his own opinion. The comparative method can arrive at only a very small common denominator sufficient to disclose the broad outlines of the Church's thought but which cannot lay claim to express its details.

The liturgy has the primary advantage of being a collective work: in it the Church expresses the Word of life less in order to fix her faith than to repeat it to herself and to relish it in the presence of God. The liturgy issues from the deep currents which flow through the Christian community and when one or another of its members furnishes it with means of expression it is the community as a whole which takes up the formulas and rites which propound it. In consequence the role of individual factors and of particular doctrines is found to be lessened in favor of the properly "ecclesial" expression of the doctrine.

On the other hand the liturgy is an eminently hierarchical work. If the authority of those who exercise the pastoral ministry and who, because of this fact, have the mission of preaching the Word of Truth with authority, is invested with particular importance in the eyes of theologians, the liturgical monuments offer equal guarantees, guarantees which are even increased by reason of the immediate role of the Christian community in their elaboration and by reason of the authority which is conferred upon them by their fixity and their close relation to the accomplishment of the mystery of salvation. For it is not just the hierarchy of the Church, "the teaching Church" accord-

ing to the consecrated expression, which makes its voice heard, but the hierarchical Church, the whole organized Body, with each person collaborating according to his rank in a function which is common to all. Such a unique situation among the witnesses of ecclesiastical Tradition once again likens liturgy to Scripture which is also, but in an entirely different manner and under the immediate movement and the sole guarantee of the divine Spirit, the collective work of the People of God. It is it above all which explains and justifies the incomparable role attributed to the liturgy in the determination of doctrines not made explicit in Scripture, a role witnessed to by the celebrated phrase of Saint Celestine: *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*.⁸

The theological value of liturgical data will evidently depend upon their origin. Being the privileged witness of a Church's belief, their only guarantee is that which is conferred upon them by the magisterium which approved them. Ever since the Council of Trent reserved to the Holy See the approbation of any modification to the then recognized liturgies, this approbation merely supplies a negative guarantee, and a theologian cannot presume upon it alone in order to justify the use of any liturgical data as the expression of the Church's belief.

The weakest theological value is attributed to the particular liturgies of monasteries or dioceses. A scrupulous investigation is necessary each time before one may draw an argument of a theological nature from them, especially in the case of recent institutions which lack any traditional foundations, e.g., certain Neo-Gallican liturgies of the eighteenth century. The liturgies of the great religious Orders present more serious guarantees from the fact that they result from the "consensus" of communities of diverse origin and formation whose religious spirit we may consider them both to express as well as to continue to shape at the same time.

But a theologian will give special attention to what we may call general liturgies, those which during the course of time result from the interaction of various Churches within a wide cultural circle and under the influence of an important primatial or patriarchal See around which were gathered regional or general councils. Such liturgies are the heirs to traditions going back to the first ages of the Church, and we may consider them to express the common thought of the Church in a style best adapted to a certain cultural environ-

⁸ *De Gratia Dei Indiculus*. Denz., 139.

ment. From this point of view we cannot pay too much attention to the modifications which liturgical usages have undergone in passing from one culture to another, especially if they were of a very different level. Particularly significant comparisons can be made between the Ethiopian liturgy and the Coptic liturgy from which it came, and from other points of view, between the Roman liturgy and the other great Latin liturgies: Visigothic, Gallican, Milanese, which never ceased to maintain a flow of reciprocal exchanges with the Roman See and among themselves.

Lastly, the Roman liturgy which has progressively taken the place (at times assimilating them) of the other Latin liturgies, and which, since the Council of Trent forms the only living western liturgy, offers the very particular guarantee of expressing the belief of the Mother and Mistress of all the Churches, one directly organized and at times drafted by the Sovereign Pontiffs themselves. The scrupulous precautions taken since the end of the sixteenth century in the examination of the texts and rites which the Popes, by the intermediary of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, impose as the universal usage of the Latin Church ^{9(a)} make them a theological *locus* of the first importance in knowing the living Tradition of the Church.

3. THE UTILIZATION OF THE LITURGY IN THEOLOGY

We are now equipped to define more precisely the rules to which a theologian should conform in using liturgical data.

First of all, he should fix his attention on the liturgical act in its totality and interpret the textual or ritual data that he employs according to the position it occupies in the whole and according to the light thrown upon it by its relation to its context. ^{9(b)} Thus he will take care not to explain a sacrament by the mere words which usage considers essential. With regard to a quotation from the Magisterium, the Fathers, or the Doctors, it is still less possible, by reason of the character of *act* and *mystery* that we have attributed to the liturgy, to draw an argument from a text or rite isolated from its whole, of which it is only one element no matter what its importance may be.

^{9(a)} It should be noted that the organization of the liturgy, like anything else resulting from the ordinary power of jurisdiction, is limited to the Western Patriarchate and that, consequently, the Pope is not involved in these matters as supreme and infallible Head of the Universal Church.

^{9(b)} The role of the chant, especially Gregorian chant, cannot be emphasized too strongly for the appreciation of the meaning which the liturgy gives to such and such words and of the accent that it wants to give them.

Then, since we are concerned with a data of Tradition, we have to treat the element we have chosen in the double light of history and of comparative liturgy. Because of their hieratic character the liturgies are by nature conservative; many of their elements are incomprehensible in their present form; we are obliged to replace them in the cultural environment in which they were born, e.g., many rites of the mass or the Sacraments. Frequently, however, it happens that an historical explanation is not possible with any certitude. Then it is that recourse to the comparative method is to be had. Besides such recourse will always be useful in order to disengage the deeper meaning of liturgical data from the layers of irrelevant custom with which the environment of time and place has burdened it. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the liturgy is something living, and that it is the present-day meaning of its enactments of which a theologian makes use. Historical and comparative methods are merely instruments, indispensable indeed, but which must be handled in the proper light of theology unless one wishes to stick to a mere history of doctrines and institutions.

It is clear that liturgical documents, like all the others that theologians use, must be interpreted according to their literary style in the ritual. This often requires delicate discrimination and demands a perfect knowledge of the structure of the various liturgies as well as of the cultural climate of which they are a part. Although it may be relatively easy to distinguish readings having teaching as their direct aim, prayers in which the data of faith are explicitly recalled as a basis for petition, and the lyrical elements whose special role is to create an atmosphere favorable to the contemplation of mystery, it is a great deal less easy to determine the relative importance and the limits of these various elements in a liturgical whole. It is still harder to fix the role of the rites in their relation with the words and the exact part of symbolism and of what we can call "sacramentalism," in the sense we gave it when speaking of the "liturgical mystery."

Two particularly thorny questions arise concerning the liturgy's use of texts of Scripture or the Fathers. The liturgical meaning of a scriptural passage is often very different from that of its literal sense. What is the theological value of such a usage? First of all, it is clear that we are not dealing with a properly scriptural sense, and that the liturgy is of no immediate help in determining the data revealed by the Sacred Books. But the Word of God lives within the Church,

and it is in the liturgy that this life has its full intensity. In this sense the liturgical interpretation of scriptural texts has a theological importance of the first order, on condition that they be correctly interpreted according to the methodological demands that we laid down above. As St. Bernard puts it, when the Church "modifies the sense or the place of the words of Scripture, this composition has more force than the primary position of the words, and perhaps is as much stronger as truth differing from its figure, light from darkness, the mistress from servant."¹⁰ And he explains this perfection by the eminence of the Church's contemplation whose expression is the liturgy. It is not, therefore, in virtue of Scripture being the source of faith, but in virtue of it being a privileged witness to the faith that a theologian can call upon the liturgical utilization of Scripture, especially the harmony of the periscopes of the two Testaments that different liturgies have tried to bring out in the organization of their systems of readings.

What is true of Scripture is even more true for the ecclesiastical writings: when inserted in the liturgy the works of the Fathers and doctors become not only the expression of the belief of a man eminent in doctrine or of a pastor, but also of that of a whole community, or even of a vast collection of Churches separated by time and space. But here, even more than in what has preceded, we must go back to the origins, because very often during the course of time and because of the fault of too economical or hurried copyists, the selected passages are limited to the first few lines which are not always the most enlightening ones.

Lastly, it must not be forgotten that the liturgy's primary role is not to teach but to cause the mystery of salvation to live again by spelling it out in the forms most accessible to the community of which the liturgy is the expression. Thus one will avoid errors of interpretation and useless recriminations regarding so-called historical texts such as the Breviary "legends" or the Passions or Synaxaria which take their place in other liturgies. Their original aim—and the persistence of this literary type keeps such laws in force to this day—is not to supply historical information but to make the heroism of the martyrs and saints or the great events of the Church's history accessible to a community of very rudimentary culture which is open to the supernatural only under the aspect of the marvelous, as

¹⁰ *In Vig. Nat.*, Ser. II, 1.

was previously the case of Israel. (Cf. the accounts of the Flood or of the passage through the Red Sea.)

III. The Components of the Liturgy

1. THE MAIN OUTLINES OF THE LITURGY

In the almost limitless diversity of Christian liturgical rites it is possible to distinguish some general orientations. Some aim at raising man's mind towards God and at presenting the homage of their worship to Him. These are essentially acts of prayer in the widest sense of the word, and it is here that the virtue of religion plays a predominant role. In this sense they could be qualified as acts of worship, but in order to avoid any equivocal meanings or pleonasm, we shall with certain authors call them: *the liturgy of praise*.¹¹ As a matter of fact, praise—which is closely linked to adoration which it renders more explicit—can embrace the different aspects of prayer: thanksgiving and even petition and the avowal of our sinful condition. In any case, it is to it that all worship is ordained: *Ut in omnibus glorificetur Deus*.

Another current of the liturgy has as its principal aim to assure men of the pouring forth of the divine benefits and to apply the graces of the Redemptive Passion of Christ to them. It is here that the "mystery" aspect predominates in the sense we understood it above. As a matter of fact, the liturgy's role is to make perceptible, as the present condition of man and the social character of the Church demand, the divine activity working out salvation in Christ. That is only possible by a collection of words and rites which under a certain aspect and in certain limits makes the very mystery of salvation present. By reason of the predominance of the "mystery" or "sacrament" aspect and of the primary place that the sacraments properly so-called occupy in this ensemble, we can call it: *sacramental liturgy*.¹²

On the other hand, we do not believe that there is any necessity for assigning a special place to the eucharistic liturgy under the name of sacrificial liturgy. Besides the fact that the term sacrificial does not represent the whole, nor even the major aspect of the eucharistic

¹¹ D. Coelo, *Cours de liturgie romaine*, I, ch. 1.

¹² This liturgy includes sacraments in the strict sense and the sacramentals, especially the consecration of churches and objects used in worship, that of monks, abbots, virgins, and the funeral liturgy.

mystery, there are disadvantages in placing beside the liturgy of praise and the sacramental liturgy a eucharistic liturgy which is, in fact, both the point of convergence and the well-spring of both. The Eucharist is the fundamental liturgical mystery to which are ordained, in order to make explicit certain aspects and to reply to certain situations, both the entire sacramental organism¹³—sacraments and sacramentals—as well as the office of divine praise. We have already shown how this latter, in the double cycle, daily and annual, of the Office and in subsidiary rites such as the Processions, is entirely centered upon the paschal mystery whose efficacious presence is assured by the Eucharist. In addition, the eucharistic liturgy integrates the liturgy of praise into its preparatory and concluding portions, as well as a good part of the sacramental liturgy, since the majority of the sacraments and sacramentals find their necessary or normal place within the framework of the eucharistic liturgy, which is itself of the sacramental type.

2. THE ELEMENTS OF THE LITURGY

(1) *Rites*: All liturgy finds itself led to express interior attitudes and divine interventions by a collection of gestures and attitudes borrowed in part from the social conventions of the society in which it develops and in part from a symbolism clear enough to have been rediscovered and employed in the most diverse types of cultural environment. The Christian liturgy is no exception to this rule. Besides appropriating natural symbolism, it appeals to a double source: the ritual usages of Israel or the visions of the prophets, particularly the Apocalypse of St. John, and the usages of Greco-Roman society, especially that of emperor worship. Once Christianity was triumphant, it seemed natural to transfer or apply the marks of honor shown to the "Basileus" or to his image to "the everlasting King of the ages." Thus rites, whose origin and primary explanation is to be found in the antique civilizations of the Orient, particularly the empires of Mesopotamia and Iran, were transmitted to our times through Israel or the ceremonial of the sacred imperial palaces.

Here we cannot pretend to classify all the rites used in the Christian liturgies. In addition, it would be extremely interesting to make a comparative study of them and to follow the evolution of the significance attributed to each one of them. Here we shall simply limit

¹³ Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* III, 65, a.3.

ourselves to indicating some broad outlines which could be used in a work of this nature. Thus we can distinguish:

(a) *Rites of honor*: the kiss, prostrations, genuflections, inclinations are to be found in the most widely variant cultures with some significant shades of meaning, particularly in regard to kissing: of the ground, feet, hands, clothing, objects. Incense, lights, the custom of covering the hands in performing a sacred act (whence the use of the maniple in the present Roman liturgy), and of veiling sacred objects (as is done to the paten in solemn masses) are all borrowed from the ceremonial of the imperial court and were of oriental origin;

(b) *Rites of prayer*: different positions of the hands: joined, raised, crossed; or of the body: standing, kneeling, bent, prostrate—were all strongly influenced by the usages of the ancient Mediterranean world;

(c) *Rites of blessing*: hands raised and spread apart (Mosaic rite), with the sign of the cross, a specifically Christian rite (of rather late introduction);

(d) *Rites of consecration*: by the imposition of hands (Mosaic rite) and later by anointing (a rite borrowed from the consecration of the priests and kings of Israel);

(e) *Rites of purification*: by water (natural symbolism);

(f) *Rites of penitence*: bodily attitudes: prostration, genuflection (natural symbolism), striking the breast (Jewish custom), use of ashes (Jewish), wearing of special clothing.

In addition to these rites, strictly speaking we should also mention the liturgical role of singing, vestments and various ornaments, processions and even sacred dances, as well as a multitude of special rites: breathings, imposition of objects, various gestures, whose meaning was intimately linked to the ritual whole in which they were inserted and to the words which accompanied them.

(2) *Words*: All liturgy closely unites gestures and words. In the Christian liturgy words play a role of special importance since they are the mode of transmission divinely chosen by Revelation. They assume diverse forms and fulfill different functions. We can at least distinguish in a somewhat sure way chants, prayers and admonitions.

The Chants: Although they are infinitely diversified according to the genius of the different liturgical families, the chants can, nevertheless, be classified into two great divisions: the chants taken from Scripture or psalmody, the free compositions of ecclesiastical origin or hymnody. Psalmody occupies a place of primary impor-

tance in all Christian liturgies. It can be said to constitute the original fabric of the greatest part of the liturgical texts. By psalmody is meant both psalmody strictly so called, i.e., the recitation of the psalms of David, as well as the canticles of the same type taken from other sacred books which are almost everywhere added to them, at least the three New Testament canticles contained in the first chapters of St. Luke's gospel: the canticle of Zachary (*Benedictus*), the canticle of Mary (*Magnificat*), the canticle of Simeon (*Nunc dimittis*). Their mode of execution varies: recitation by a soloist, chant in unison, alternation of a soloist and of a choir taking up the refrain (antiphon), alternation of verses by two choirs. Their mode of distribution also varies: it seems that properly ecclesiastical usage, heir of the Jewish liturgy, designates definite psalms for each function. But monastic tradition almost everywhere introduced the recitation of the continuous psalter of 150 psalms, grouped by series. This recitation of the entire psalter was done in the course of the Office or in certain important functions and could be spread out over a variable interval going from that of one day to two weeks or more.

Along with psalmody properly so called, we find everywhere compositions of psalmodic and scriptural texts, such as the versicles and responses of the Roman liturgy. This gradually led by the intermediary of apocryphal texts to a free hymnody in its most ancient form, i.e., not subjected to fixed rhythms: *Gloria in excelsis*, *Te Deum*, $\varphi\omega\varsigma\ \dot{\iota}\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$ or the Greek liturgy. Little by little from the fourth century on, the Church accepted chants composed in the poetic rhythms used in the different cultural surroundings that it met with. In certain liturgies this was the beginning of a profusion of poetic creations. This was the case in Syria, and undoubtedly under Syrian influence, and in the later Byzantine liturgy (canons of the damascene type). The West and especially the Roman liturgy were more sober and periodically gave rise to purist reactions which wanted to limit liturgical chants to those of the psalmodic type and to scriptural texts. However, the later Middle Ages knew a flowering of poetic creations comparable to that of the Orient, but it was merely a passing fad.

Prayers: Despite the variety of their forms, the prayers can be divided into some broad classifications:

(a) The solemn *eucharistic prayer* taken over from the Jewish liturgy. Under different names (preface and canon, anaphora) it forms the core of the eucharistic liturgy of the Mass and is to be

found in the majority of the sacraments and in solemn functions, at least in the West. Following Jewish tradition this prayer is interwoven with scriptural allusions and at times with direct quotations. Of all the forms of prayer this is the one which has the most homogeneity throughout all the liturgical families.

(b) *Prayers of petition*, like the eucharistic prayer, are generally formulated by a priest but in contradistinction to the eucharistic prayer can be offered by the president of the assembly in his absence. Both their style and elements vary a great deal from one liturgical family to another. It can be said that this form of prayer found its perfect type in the ancient Roman "collects," heirs of the traditions of classical antiquity. The motive of petition and its formulation are expressed in an extremely simple form in a style whose richness of content is only equalled by its conciseness. The transition from this type to the diffuse prayers of the Orient is made through the intermediary of Frankish and Visigothic prayer forms.

(c) The *litany* type of prayer was developed in the Orient, especially at Byzantium. It is properly the people's prayer who reply to the intentions proposed by a minister, often a deacon, by means of a brief, repeated phrase. This form of prayer, seemingly of Syrian origin, is a strictly Christian one. In the West, except for the Visigothic liturgy, it was never but an unacclimatized borrowing. In modern times a multitude of deviations have used prayer of the litany type but under a profoundly different form from that known by the liturgy: a reply to a formulated prayer intention and not to an invocation.

The *admonitions* are to be found in the liturgy under diverse forms: the most important and most universal one is that made up of readings—scriptural readings taken over from synagogue usages, readings of "passions" or of "legends" of the saints; writings of the Fathers and Doctors which were almost everywhere substituted for the primitive homily during the barbarian period and in monasteries. These readings were inserted in the course of the divine office especially, but certain liturgies give them a large role even in the sacramental liturgy.

Very similar to certain patristic readings are the *didascalia* or admonitions properly so-called which occupy a more or less extensive place even in the Mass at times: e.g., the Syrian "medrashah," or the Visigothic "missa," are to be found in the administration of almost all the sacraments. The Roman rite, which allows them only a

very restricted place, has them at least in the liturgy of the sacrament of Orders.

Finally, we can consider as *admonitions* the different directions that are to be met with in the sacramental liturgy, especially exorcisms and sacramental formulas. To these we must add the directions relating to the good order of the assembly and often formulated by the deacon, such as the "*Flectamus genua*" or the "*Ite missa est*" of the Roman liturgy.

3. THE LITURGICAL STRUCTURES

In all the Christian liturgies we can recognize certain general types of structure into which are ordered the infinite diversity of elements, rites, and words: the eucharistic liturgy, called in the Roman liturgy for many centuries now the Mass; the divine office; the sacramental rites, sacraments properly speaking and similar or annexed rites. These great types are everywhere identical in their general dispositions, but each liturgical family, and at times each particular community, shows its own genius in the detail of their inner arrangement.

The *eucharistic liturgy* has everywhere two parts: the one preparatory, composed essentially of prayers, readings and chants, with additional rites at times—incensings, preparation of the materials of the eucharistic rite. Their common basis seems to be the perpetuation and adaptation of the sabbatical service of the synagogues. The chants are most generally taken over from the psalter, at least in great part. We find almost everywhere one or two fundamental chants of the psalmodic type alternating with readings. The latter, which vary in number according to the liturgy, always have at least one lesson from the apostolic letters: the Epistle, and one from the Gospel preceded by the singing of the Alleluia. This reading from the Gospel is always surrounded with particular solemnity and often preceded by a procession with the book of the gospels and lights. Introductory chants were added to this basic outline, generally a hymn of praise: *Gloria in excelsis* at Rome, *Trisagion* at Byzantium and in other Oriental rites. Likewise, the prayers evolved towards the litany type which in the Orient was more or less substituted for that of the collect type. At Rome, on the other hand, the litany was reduced to a minimum: the triple acclamation *Kyrie eleison, Christe Eleison, Kyrie eleison*, repeated three times.

The eucharistic liturgy proper, or the liturgy of the faithful, always

includes three great parts: the preparation of the oblations and a rite of offering, a great eucharistic prayer of consecration into which was inserted the account of the institution of the eucharist in a commemorative fashion, the communion with its prayers of preparation and conclusion. The different liturgical families embroidered upon this common ground in various manners: almost universally and very early a special prayer of the faithful was introduced at the beginning of the service. The rites of the preparation of the oblations and those of their offering gave rise to ample processional displays and later to the insertion of special prayers. The eucharistic prayer, itself, developed in different fashions: praise of the creative work of the Father at times gave place to the recalling of the mystery of salvation accomplished by the Son; the epiclesis or invocation of the sanctifying Spirit received different accents, an orientation towards the sanctification of the gifts or towards that of the faithful; prayers of intercession were introduced into the eucharistic prayer as well as into the communion rites; the rites of fraction developed more or less to the accompaniment of chants. Everywhere the service closed with the blessing of the officiant.

The liturgy of the *divine Office* has even more diversity. Everywhere, save in the nestorian Church of Mesopotamia, monastic and ancient ecclesiastical usages were amalgamated with the resultant division of the Office into seven or eight principal parts. Although the evening Office generally kept its ancient structure—psalmody and hymnody, lamplighting, litany and collect prayer, the structure of the morning office was upset by its being joined to the vigil which had at first been kept only on Sundays and the commemorations of martyrs and which was completely impregnated with a paschal and eschatological atmosphere. Monastic influence made the vigil of daily usage and transformed it into a long psalmody generally interrupted by readings. Rome has kept the two types of vigils down to the present time, one in the daily office, the other on the eve of certain more important Sundays (Ember Saturdays, Holy Saturday, Pentecost). Milan has kept it even more clearly in the very structure of the Office. The Byzantine Orient put the vigil readings in Vespers and developed the non-psalmodic chants. The day is everywhere divided by four little offices at *Prime*, *Terce*, *Sext* and *None*: only the Nestorians do not have them. On the other hand, the Ethiopians and Byzantine monasticism have multiplied them. Finally, it was monastic influence which introduced a second Office for bedtime, our *Compline*.

We cannot attempt to give a comparative sketch of the sacramental rites in a few lines. The proper genius of each liturgy shows up most clearly in those rites. If the great lines of the rite of Christian initiation, baptism and confirmation are everywhere recognizable as identical, being prior to the autonomous developments of the different liturgies from the fifth century on, it is impossible to reduce to a common order the rites of the other sacraments, penance, anointing of the sick, marriage, and even orders in which the primitive rite of the imposition of hands is sometimes smothered under the luxuriant development of secondary rites, as is the case in our present Roman liturgy. This is still more noticeable, if possible, in the organization of the rites which are not strictly sacramental, consecration of churches and objects used in worship, monastic consecration, blessings of the heads of monasteries and of kings, funeral liturgies, various blessings whose very enumeration provides us with a multitude of information regarding the culture of a given environment. Since the liturgy is less closely linked to primitive traditions and the exigencies of dogma, and more closely united to the ordinary circumstances of life, it drew heavily upon the pre-Christian substratum of each community for the organization of these rites. In addition, we should not be surprised to meet at times with folklore elements or pagan rites which have been scarcely modified. There are few more interesting studies for anyone desirous of examining more closely the conditions of the insertion of the message of Christian revelation in human surroundings.

IV. The Development of the Liturgy

1. THE FIRST CENTURIES

We can catch the trace of the first manifestations of Christian worship in the texts of the New Testament: allusions to baptism and eucharistic gatherings; reminiscences of hymns and prayers.¹⁴ Perhaps even the New Testament can provide us with more about the knowledge of liturgical beginnings if it is possible to see in the Gospels, as part of their original purpose, liturgical texts in which the life of Christ would be told in terms of the liturgical mystery.

Later developments down to the fourth century can be followed directly only within very narrow limits. The comparative study of

¹⁴ Cf. Cullmann, "Le Culte dans l'Eglise primitive" (Cahiers théol. d'actualité protestante, 8). D. Cabrol, *La Prière des Premiers Chrétiens*.

different liturgies during the course of the fourth century will undoubtedly permit us progressively to reduce these gaps but without ever pretending to re-find the continuous thread of development. The amplest and most precise document comes to us from the beginning of the third century by the *Apostolic Tradition* of Saint Hypolytus. Undoubtedly, we cannot rely completely on a work whose precise origin and relations with the liturgy as really practiced in the Church of Rome are still debatable and whose text has come down to us only through later adaptations. Nevertheless, its general outlines are now accepted and are in accordance with the precious description given about fifty years beforehand (around 155) by the apologist Saint Justin.¹⁵ Besides the texts cited by Saint Hypolytus some rare fragments have come down to us directly through inscriptions or the *ostrakons*. Others which are undoubtedly more numerous have been transmitted to us by later texts.

By means of these meager remains we can see a very simple liturgy, very close in its prayers and chants to the liturgy of the synagogues, but absolutely new in its ritual. It was entirely centered upon the ceremonies of Christian initiation whose essential rites developed very early with the introduction of the preparatory rites of the catechumenate, and upon the eucharistic celebration which remained extremely sober down to the end of the period of persecution: the churches, of which two specimens have just been discovered,¹⁶ were really just the rooms of private homes; the mural decorations, however, already possessed a whole biblical symbolism which has been conserved for us in part by the frescoes of the catacombs. Nothing permits us to fix the furnishings or liturgical instruments with certitude. The eucharistic gathering opened with a series of scriptural readings interrupted by chants and prayers according to the usage of the synagogues. After the homily of the president, bread and wine were brought forth; he pronounced the Eucharist over them according to the inspiration of the moment but following a traditional outline going from praise of the Father for the work of creation, and the commemoration of the mystery of salvation achieved by Christ, and made present by the renewal of the Last Supper, to an invocation for the sanctification of the faithful by their participation in the sacred gifts.

¹⁵ *Apologia* I, 61-67.

¹⁶ Cf. Doura, in Europos, Syria, and the church of San Martino ai Monti in Rome.

There is no text which permits us to affirm with certitude the existence of official meetings for prayer. However, we can conjecture that the Sunday vigil and that of the commemoration of martyrs gave birth to an extrasacramental liturgy very early.

2. THE ORIENTAL LITURGIES

When the documents become numerous in the second half of the fourth century, we already find ourselves in the presence of a very marked diversity of liturgical families. For the Orient we can first of all distinguish two great traditions: that of Alexandria which, in numerous points, is in concordance with that of Rome, and that of Antioch-Jerusalem. The flow of pilgrimages towards the Holy City which developed after the discovery of the true Cross helped to spread the Jerusalem usages throughout the whole Christian world. These usages were distinguished by a historical realism which considerably influenced the later development of all the liturgies.

The liturgy which best kept its original impress was that of the Churches of Mesopotamia and Persia, since they were situated beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire. Its beginnings lay in the conversion of the Syrian kingdom of Edessa at the beginning of the third century by Antiochene missionaries, and it undoubtedly kept many of the primitive traits of the Antiochene liturgy. A Jerusalem influence seems also to have left its traces in the legend of Abgar. Unfortunately, the primitive form of this liturgy remains almost completely unknown to us. It was only after the setting up of the schismatic Church of the Orientals, called Nestorian, that the liturgical service was reorganized by the Patriarch Jesuhab III during the course of the seventh century. Afterwards, enriched by new chants, it was practiced down to our times by the Nestoriums of Kurdistan, the Chaldeans united to Rome, as well as by a part of the Syromalabar Churches of India where, under Portuguese influence, it underwent numerous latinizing modifications.

The history of the liturgy of *Antioch* is even more complex and as yet still poorly cleared up. It is known to us as it was in the fourth century by the sermons of Saint John Chrysostom and especially by the catecheses of Theodore of Mopsueta recently rediscovered in a Syriac translation. These documents show its resemblance to the liturgy of Jerusalem such as we know it by the *mystagogical catecheses* attributed to Saint Cyril. Its later development remains obscure. The formation of the Monophysite, schismatic Church of the

Syriac language, instigated an immense work of translation begun by Severus of Antioch (around 550). But with this inheritance of Hellenist tradition there was mingled an indigenous tradition of Syriac expression dominated by the name of Saint Ephrem. Its creative period continued exuberant for some centuries. We still have more than seventy eucharistic prayers (anaphoras). The patriarch Michael the Great (tenth century) seemed to have played a great role in the definitive fixing of its rites.

For already some centuries a Syriac language community had become autonomous in order to escape Monophysism. The Monothe-lite discussions provided it with an opportunity to escape Byzantine influence: such is the origin of the Maronite Church of Lebanon whose liturgy, when once stripped of the Latinizations which invaded it since the sixteenth century, will undoubtedly provide us with precious testimonies for the knowledge of the ancient Antiochene liturgy of the Syriac language.

The history of the liturgy of *Byzantium* is still more complex and poorly known. With the expansion of the imperial city it spread to the entire Orient and from about the twelfth century became the liturgy common to all the Orthodox patriarchates. The conversion of the Slavs by Byzantine missionaries extended its influence still further and the Byzantine liturgy is celebrated today, with only minor differences, throughout the whole world and in a variety of different languages.

Among the influences which affected its beginnings, that of Cesarea of Cappadocia and that of Jerusalem seem to have been predominant. From its beginning, like the imperial city itself, the liturgy of Byzantium, being without ancient traditions, appeared as the synthesis of the different currents which manifested themselves in the empire. However, we can say that thanks to monasticism it was Syrian influence that played the preponderant role. With regard to the eucharistic liturgy, if the text inherited from Cesarea under the name of Saint Basil and that attributed to Saint John Chrysostom, probably of Antiochene origin, almost completely expelled the Syrian liturgy, known as that of Saint James, and perhaps even an ancient liturgy of Constantinople, known today through a Syriac translation under the name of Nestorius, the divine office more and more smothered the ancient psalmody and hymnody under the proliferation of the poetry of the Canons begun in Syria by Saint John Damascene. In its present form, both in regard to the excessively long office as

well as a liturgy full of a multitude of symbolical rites: prothesis or preparation of the oblations, great entrance, the Byzantine liturgy is distinctly medieval.

The same influences we recognized at the beginnings of the Byzantine liturgy affected the liturgies of the Caucasus, Armenia, and Georgia, with a predominance of Cappadocian influence on the first and that of Jerusalem on the second. A comparative study of this group of liturgies would be of the highest interest for the knowledge of the place of environment in their evolution.

Alexandria represents the broad outline of another liturgical tradition, very different from that of Asia. Although well known for the fourth century by the euchology of Serapion of Thmuis, whose value, however, as a witness to the general usage of the Egyptian Churches must not be exaggerated, the later development of this liturgy is much less better known. The Monophysite schism, which went hand in hand almost everywhere with the predominance of a liturgy in a native language, did not stop Byzantine influence even in the Coptic liturgy; and the texts which are now available, outside of a few fragments, show us a complex mingling of two traditions. Being more conservative than that of the Asian provinces, the Coptic liturgy of Egypt undoubtedly still conceals many interesting discoveries for the study of liturgical origins.

The conversion of *Ethiopia* by Egyptian missionaries and the maintenance of a suzerainty of the Coptic Church over that of Abyssinia even down to our times gave birth to a liturgy derived from that of Alexandria, but adapted to the needs of a society of very different culture and strongly marked by Jewish and Arab influences. Whence the interest for liturgical science of a study of the Ethiopian liturgy made possible by the recent publication of its carefully edited texts.

3. WESTERN LITURGIES

The predominance in the West of the Roman See, both as sole Western patriarch and as residence of the Sovereign Pontiff, considerably influenced the development of the Western liturgies. Little by little, all of them gave place to the Roman liturgy, and at times left but feeble traces of themselves. Consequently, agreement on their reciprocal relations is far from being realized among liturgists. We shall limit ourselves to a few words on the most important and least poorly known ones.

In Northern Italy one group gravitated about the double See of *Milan* and *Aquileia*. Did it belong to the Gallican group of liturgies or to the Italian group directly subject to Roman influence from the beginning? The point remains debatable. The little information that we possess about their ancient arrangement, and especially about the true liturgy of Milan at the time of Saint Ambrose, and about the role played by the Arian prelates and by Byzantine influences in the exarchate, and the very late character of our documents, from after the Carolingian period and strongly Romanized, undoubtedly make the question insoluble. In its present form the Milanese liturgy appears very close to the Roman liturgy with a strongly archaic flavor and a certain number of Gallican characteristics which make it a subject of study of the highest interest.

We become more and more hesitant to speak of a *Gallican* liturgy. The absence of any episcopal See capable of making its influence felt, the multiplicity of kingdoms during the Merovingian period and the variable nature of their frontiers explain why we really have to deal with a group of related liturgies which, nevertheless, betray a variety of influences: those which are the least poorly known to us are those of Burgundian or Visigothic origin. In their case, too, the documents are more or less strongly Romanized, and we can conjecture that even if Pepin and Charlemagne had not intervened the Roman liturgy would have ended up by prevailing in Gaul.

The *Visigothic* liturgy, on the other hand, is homogeneous and well known, which is explained by the strong centralization of the Spanish kingdom at that period and by the fact that the Church was centered on the See of Toledo. The texts which we now have betray certain Oriental influences, but ones which are difficult to distinguish precisely. Our ignorance of the liturgy of the African Churches on the eve of the Moslem invasion deprives us of precious indications. We know that the Visigothic liturgy, which was supplanted by the Roman rite at the time of the "Reconquista," was reestablished in the sixteenth century in a chapel of Toledo by Cardinal Ximenes and called the Mozarabic liturgy.

We must at least mention the existence of the little known *Celtic* liturgies. Their influence lasted for many centuries on the Anglo-Saxon liturgy, particularly on the Sarum rite, and by the intermediary of the monks of Saint Columba even on the Continent. Besides, it was in the realm of private devotions and ascetical practices with

their repercussions on the liturgy that the role of the Celts was particularly important.

We have kept for the end the study of the *Roman* liturgy, by far the best known and most important. We saw above that for the period prior to the fourth century we possess the precious descriptions of Saint Justin and, in the Apostolic Tradition of Saint Hypolytus, a ritual which could not have varied greatly from that in use in Rome at the beginning of the third century.

It was Rome, also, which left us the most ancient guaranteed liturgical texts in the compilation called the Leonine Sacramentary, and in the double recension of Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries about which we shall say something further on. The evolution of rites can also be followed from the high Middle Ages by means of the series of "*Ordines Romani*." As everywhere, the evolution of the Office is less well known. We have relatively reliable documents only from the Carolingian period. Besides, they are of monastic origin for the most part.

The spread of the Roman liturgy across the Western empire during the Carolingian period had its repercussions at Rome one or two centuries later when Germanic influence became preponderant. It was then that liturgical books enriched with Frankish usages were imposed even upon Rome. The complex rite of ordinations or the consecration of churches, so different from the antique Roman sobriety, date from this time.

A double reform achieved uniformity: the first, under Innocent III, fixed the ritual of the Mass and Office and was spread across Europe by the Franciscans; the second, and more important, was the work of the Council of Trent which confided its continuation to the Roman pontiff. It assured that the hegemony of the Roman liturgy now became the liturgy of the Latin Church and reinforced unity by reserving to the Holy See the fixing of the smallest details of the ritual and the approbation of any special liturgy.

The Council of Trent had, however, taken measures to safeguard any liturgies having more than two centuries of existence. Thus it was that ancient usages were kept by monastic orders especially in the divine Office, by the Premonstratensians and the Dominicans who saved French usages of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by the Carmelites who for a long time kept the usages of the Holy Sepulchre at the time of the Crusades. Numerous churches, especially in France, Germany, and England could have taken advantage of this

decision: the schism of Henry VIII excluded England; in France the hasty creation of the Neo-Gallican liturgies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and in Germany political and religious troubles made it impossible in the majority of cases. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the whole of France returned to the Roman liturgy under the influence of Dom Gueranger. Only the Church of Lyon kept a part of its ancient usages, ones for the most part authentically Roman and going back to Carolingian times. Recently a movement has been growing to recover the abandoned treasure, and some dioceses, especially in Normandy and in the Rhineland, have restored some ancient usages.

Appendix I

A NOTE ON THE LITURGICAL BOOKS

The celebration of the liturgy quickly gave rise everywhere to a double kind of literature:

1) the *Ordines* or regulation of the order of services, of which we possess examples going back to the third century: the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hypolytus of Rome (around 220), the *Syrian Teaching of the Apostles* (around 250);

2) the *Eukhologion* or collection of texts of which the most ancient example at present, outside of a few fragments, is the *Eukhologion of Serapion* (Egypt, around 350).

Ancient usage, still in force today in the Orient, distributed liturgical books according to their uses: *Sacramentary* or *Eukhologion* (collection of prayers destined for the celebrating priest), *Evangelary* (for the deacon), *Epistolary* (for the subdeacon in the West), *Lectionary* (Old Testament or non-biblical texts) for the lector, *Antiphonary* whence derived the later *Gradual* or collection of Mass chants (cantor). To these must be added secondary collections: Psalter, Homiliary, Collectary, Benedictional, Processional Hymnary, etc.

From the end of the Carolingian period the tendency in the West and particularly at Rome has been to group liturgical selections and their regulations (called rubrics because written in red ink) according to the different liturgical functions.

Thus at the present time we have the *Missal*: A compilation of the

elements from the sacramentary, evangulary, epistolary, lectionary, and gradual which occur in the celebration of Mass. Progressively constituted by the interpolation of the old Roman sacramentary, called the Gregorian, completed in the Carolingian empire by borrowings from more ancient collections called Gelasian (sixth and seventh centuries) and from a very old substratum of which a witness is the Manuscript of Verona called the Leonine Sacramentary (fifth and sixth centuries), the Missal is today composed of three parts: the Proper of the time starting with the First Sunday of Advent, with the Ordinary of the Mass inserted after Holy Saturday; the Proper of the Saints starting with November 30, the Common of the Saints and the votive Masses. Supplements are sometimes added to it containing local feasts or certain formulas gathered together for the celebrant's convenience.

The Breviary: or the book of the divine Office, condensed from the Psalter, divided according to a weekly recitation, from the hymnary and the lectionary. In its present arrangement, after the common weekly cursus of psalms and hymns, it has the Proper of the time, the Proper of saints, the Common of saints, and votive offices. Because of its volume it is often divided into two or four seasonal tomes.

The Pontifical: the most anciently compiled of the liturgical books. It was definitively organized in the thirteenth century at the same time as the Missal and Breviary and contains functions reserved to bishops: Ordinations, solemn Baptism, Confirmation, Consecration of Churches, of Virgins, of Abbots, and more important Blessings, with an appendix of rites which have gone out of use, such as the reconciliation of penitents on Holy Thursday, the Sacring of Kings.

The Ritual: drawn up a great deal later (sixteenth century), is the equivalent of the Pontifical for simple priests. It includes (with numerous rubrics) the rites of the sacraments, of funerals, and numerous blessings for a wide variety of uses. An Appendix contains formulas and rites which are used less commonly or which are reserved.

To these four principal books we must at least add:

(a) *The Ceremonial of Bishops*, the modern form (seventeenth century) of the ancient *Ordines*, which contains all the rules for liturgical celebrations in cathedral and collegiate churches.

(b) *The Martyrology*: a collection of brief accounts of the Saints. It was gradually put together during the Middle Ages, its principal groundwork being two ancient collections, one Roman and one

Oriental, united in the Martyrology called that of Saint Jerome. It grew by chance according to additions by local churches, principally Italian and Frankish, and was developed in its "historical" form by Bede, Adon, and Usuard, and codified at the orders of Gregory XIII by Baronius (1583). Despite some later revisions we still await the true historical martyrology prepared by the work of the Bollandists.

Liturgical books used in the Oriental rites:

Byzantine:

Typikon, a collection or formulary regulating all liturgical ceremonies.

Euchologion, (*Trebnik* in Slavonic) containing all the rites of the sacraments and sacramentals.

Leitourgikon or *Hieratikon*, (*Slouzebnik* in Slavonic) a book of sacred functions. It contains the three ordinaries of the Mass or the three liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom, of Saint Basil, and of the Presanctified; and abridgment of the ritual or euchologion for the administration of the more ordinary sacraments, and the epistles and gospels of important feasts or "commons."

Apostolos, containing the epistles and Acts of the Apostles for the whole year. It is the book for subdeacons and lower clerics.

Evangeliary, the deacon's book. In the Byzantine rite there is no going from one selection of the gospel of one Sunday to another on the following Sunday; the reading is continuous.

Psalter.

Horologion. It gives the temporal and sanctoral commons.

Grand Octaechos or *Parakletike*. It contains the office of eight tones for each day of the week.

Octaechos, extracts from the preceding containing only the Sunday offices.

Triodion, the proper of the three weeks before Easter.

Pentecostarion, the proper of Easter time.

Menaia, the proper of the saints.

Heirmologion. It contains the typical troparia according to whose modes new troparia may be composed. They provide the rhythm and melody of the latter.

Chaldean:

The Missal containing the Ordinary of the Mass with three anaphoras (Preface to Communion). The first, called that of the Apostles,

is of Mesopotamian origin. The other two come from Syria and were translated from Greek (1901).

The proper of Mass chants (1901).

The Lectionary of the Mass.

The Rituals of Baptism, funerals and marriages (1907-08).

The Chaldean Breviary in three volumes (reedited in 1938).

The Ferial Breviary without the Propers (1903).

Syrian:

The Missal of Twelve anaphoras (1922).

The Book of Mass chants (1921).

The Evangelary (1912).

The Great Breviary in seven volumes (1886-96).

The Ferial Breviary (1902).

The Ritual (1921).

The Chaldean and Syrian Pontificals are in preparation.

Maronite:

The Missal of numerous anaphoras of which only one is of Maronite origin, the others being borrowed from the Syrian (1908).

The Book of the ministers (1914).

The Ferial Breviary.

The Festive Breviary (temporal and sanctoral).

The New Ritual based on ancient sources (1917).

Coptic:

The Missal of three anaphoras proper to the rite.

The Ferial Breviary.

The Ordinary of the seven hours of the day.

The Hymn Book of the temporal and sanctoral cycle.

The Lectionaries for Lent and Paschaltide.

The Ritual.

The Pontifical.

Ethiopian:

The Missal of seventeen anaphoras of which several are proper to the rite and others adopted from Syrian and Coptic usages.

The Ordinary of the Office (Herologion).

The Ritual.

Numerous hymn books.

Appendix II

TABLES OF RITES AND LITURGICAL LANGUAGES

by A. M. Henry, O.P.

It may be useful by way of reference to know the different rites now used in the Church and to know where, by whom, and in what languages they are celebrated. We shall give such information in the following tables.

Note on the word Orthodox: The "orthodox" faithful are those whose faith is right and consonant with the Truth taught by God and delivered to His Church. Orthodoxy, therefore, is one of the attributes of the true Church. The whole Church is orthodox, just as it is catholic, holy, etc. But although the Church possesses all these attributes in an indivisible fashion, she cannot refer to herself by all of them at once. Certain attributes, therefore, enjoy more favor in one place and certain others in another. Now as a matter of fact, the Oriental Churches from the first centuries and when they were united to Rome, liked to call themselves the *Orthodox* Churches of Antioch, Alexandria, etc., while the Western Churches rather referred to themselves as the *Catholic* Churches of Rome, Carthage, Milan, etc., although both the former and the latter were catholic and orthodox. After their separation the Churches kept their age-old names. Among the separated Churches of the Orient those called "Orthodox" are, therefore, the heirs of the ancient Churches and patriarchal sees of the Orient, which, being neither Nestorian nor Monophysite, could rightly be called orthodox. Today they are in fact schismatic and have broken with true orthodoxy over the point of papal infallibility. Nevertheless, in common with the Roman Church they have an integral faith in the mystery of Christ, apostolic succession, the validity of the priesthood and the sacraments, and the holy institutions of monasticism.

Note on the word Melkite: Melkite comes from *Melek* meaning king or emperor. When, in the fifth and sixth centuries the Monophysite heresy spread throughout the patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, the Monophysites gave the name Melkites to people of these regions who remained faithful to the emperor and to the true doctrine of the two natures which he professed. Little by little, by force

of historical events, the Melkites abandoned their old Coptic or Syrian (Antiochene) rites which they had originally and adopted the Byzantine rite.

For the Oriental rites we drew upon the Tableau established by the Rev. Fr. Dumont, O.P. (Paris, Centre d'études *Istina*, 1937).

THE CHURCHES DEPENDENT UPON THE APOSTOLIC SEE OF ROME

Liturgical Language: Latin

Today we distinguish three great families of rites: the Roman rite, the Mozarabic rite, and the Ambrosian or Milanese rite.

1. *The Roman rite*, originally that of Rome itself, little by little spread throughout the whole West, but underwent profound influences by other rites, particularly the ancient Gallican rite. Because of this, we can distinguish different stages in the Roman rite during the centuries. After the unification of rites imposed upon the West by Saint Pius V, we today have:

(a) The pure *Roman rite* which is almost exactly that of the sixteenth century Curia. This rite had already undergone some Gallican influences.

(b) The *rite of Lyon*, a variety of the Roman rite more influenced by Gallican usages and formed prior to the present Roman rite.

(c) The *rite of Braga* (Portugal), another variety of the Roman curial rite still in use today.

In addition to the non-curial Roman rites we have still others of certain religious families which have evolved somewhat: the Dominican rite, the rite of the Canons Regular of Premontre, and the Carmelite rite.

Finally, we must point out certain peculiarities of the divine Office. Saint Benedict provided no rule or custom for the Mass, so that the monastic Mass is today that of the Roman rite; the particular customs of the Cistercians have disappeared. But it is not the same for the office. Although he drew upon the Roman office, Saint Benedict produced an original composition. Consequently, we must add the *monastic rite* in connection with the office only. The Carthusians, whose founder was not a monk but a canon, possess the distinction of having the monastic rite for the office and for the Mass a proper *Carthusian rite* closely resembling the ancient rite of Lyon.

CHURCHES DEPENDENT UPON THE PATRIARCHAL SEE OF ALEXANDRIA
 RITES AND LITURGICAL LANGUAGES

PEOPLE OR NATIONS	COPTS	LEBANON
DISSIDENTS	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Monophysite Copts</i></p> <p>In Egypt (1,120,000) of Ethiopia (2,700,000)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Coptic Rite</i></p> <p><i>Languages:</i> Coptic in Egypt</p> <p>Geez in Ethiopia</p> <p>Coptic Patriarchate of Alexandria</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Melkite Orthodox Copts</i></p> <p>In Egypt: (15,000 Arabs) (50,000 Greeks)</p> <p>Byzantine Rite since the 13th century</p> <p><i>Languages:</i> Arabic and Greek</p>
ROMAN CATHOLICS	<p><i>In Egypt</i></p> <p>Segment United with Rome since 1742 (32,000)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Coptic Rite</i></p> <p><i>Languages:</i> Coptic, Arabic, Greek</p> <p>Apostolic Administrator of Alexandria</p>	<p>365,000 all in union with Rome.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Maronite Rite</i></p> <p><i>Languages:</i> Syriac and Arabic</p> <p>Maronite Patriarchate of Antioch</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>In Ethiopia</i></p> <p>Segment United (27,000)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Coptic Rite</i></p> <p><i>Language:</i> Geez</p> <p>Episcopa' ordinary of Asmara</p>	

CHURCHES DEPENDENT UPON THE PATRIARCHAL SEES OF ANTIOCH AND JERUSALEM

RITEs AND LITURGICAL LANGUAGES

THE LITURGY

PEOPLE OR NATIONS	SYRIA	ARMENIA	MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA	MALABAR COAST (INDIA)
DISSENTS	<p><i>Monophysite Syrians</i> (80,000) <i>Syrian Rite</i> <i>Languages:</i> Syrian and Arabic</p> <p>Syrian Jacobite Patriarchate of Antioch</p>	<p><i>Monophysite Gregorian Armenians</i> (2,000,000) <i>Armenian Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Classical Armenian</p> <p>Armenian Gregorian Katholikos of Etchmiadzin</p>	<p><i>Nestorians</i> (80,000) <i>Chaldean Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Syriac</p> <p>Chaldean Katholikos of Kotchaneh</p>	<p><i>Nestorian Melitians</i> (15,000) <i>Chaldean Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Syriac</p> <p>and</p> <p><i>Jacobites</i> (250,000) <i>Syrian Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Syriac</p>
ROMAN CATHOLICS	<p><i>United Syrians</i> 17th Century (71,000) <i>Hybrid Syrian Rite</i> <i>Languages:</i> Syriac and Arabic</p> <p>Catholic Syrian Patriarchate of Antioch</p>	<p><i>United Armenians</i> 12th Century (100,000) <i>Hybrid Armenian Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Classical Armenian</p> <p>Armenian Catholic Patriarchate since 1867</p>	<p><i>United Chaldeans</i> (70,000) <i>Hybrid Chaldean Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Syriac</p> <p>Catholic Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon</p>	<p><i>United Chaldeans</i> 16th Century (532,000) <i>Hybrid Chaldean Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Syriac</p> <p>Ecclesiastical Province of Ernakulam and <i>United Syrians</i> (1930) (50,000) <i>Syro-Malankarese Rite</i> <i>Language:</i> Syriac and Malayalam</p>

CHURCHES DEPENDENT UPON THE PATRIARCHAL SEE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
BYZANTINE RITE

PEOPLE OR NATIONS	ALBANIANS	RUMANIANS	BULGARIANS	SERBIANS
<p style="text-align: center;">GREEKS</p> <p><i>Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople</i> (120,000) <i>Language:</i> Greek</p> <p>Autonomous Greek Archbishopric of America (200,000) <i>Language:</i> Greek</p> <p>Synodal Orthodox Church of Greece (6,000,000) <i>Language:</i> Greek</p>	<p><i>Synodal Orthodox Church of Albania</i> (180,000) <i>Language:</i> Albanian</p>	<p><i>Orthodox Patriarchate of Rumania</i> (12,500,000) <i>Language:</i> Rumanian</p>	<p><i>Synodal Church of Bulgaria</i> (4,000,000) <i>Language:</i> Slavonic, Bulgarian</p>	<p><i>Orthodox Patriarchate of Serbia</i> (5,700,000) <i>Language:</i> Slavonic or Old Slavonic</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">DISSIDENTS</p>	<p>50,000 <i>United Albanians</i> who immigrated to Italy and Sicily <i>Language:</i> Greek</p>	<p>1,300,000 <i>United Rumanians</i> <i>Language:</i> Rumanian</p>	<p>6,000 <i>United in Bulgaria</i> <i>Language:</i> Slavonic</p> <p>900,000 who immigrated to America <i>Language:</i> Slavonic</p>	<p>42,000 <i>United in Serbia</i> <i>Language:</i> Slavonic</p> <p>3,600,000 united in Poland and Galicia <i>Language:</i> Slavonic</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">ROMAN CATHOLICS</p>				

CHURCHES DEPENDENT UPON THE PATRIARCHAL SEE OF CONSTANTINOPLE—Continued
 BYZANTINE RITE

PEOPLE OR NATIONS	RUSSIANS	POLAND	BALTIC COUNTRIES	GEORGIA
DISSENTS	<p><i>Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow</i> (100,000,000) Language: Slavonic and various others</p>	<p><i>Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Poland</i> (3,000,000) Language: Slavonic</p>	<p><i>Orthodox Autocephalous Churches of Latvia</i> (120,000) <i>of Estonia</i> (210,000) <i>of Finland</i> (60,000) Slavonic Languages Estonian and Slavonic Finnish and Slavonic</p>	<p><i>Katholikate of Georgia</i> (2,500,000) Language: Georgian</p>
ROMAN CATHOLICS	<p>5,000,000 <i>United Ruthenians</i> (1595) Language: Slavonic 500,000 <i>Podcarpathian Ruthenians</i> Language: Slavonic 21,300 <i>Hungarian Ruthenians</i> Language: Hungarian <i>The Russian Catholic Church of the Immigration</i> Language: Slavonic</p>	<p><i>United Segment of Volhynia</i> (White Russia) Language: Slavonic</p>	<p><i>A handful of United</i> Language: Estonian and Slavonic</p>	<p>8,000 <i>United Georgians</i></p>

2. The *Mozarabic rite* is still celebrated in the cathedral of Toledo and three days a year in the cathedral of Salamanca.

3. The *Ambrosian rite* is celebrated at Milan. It differs with regard to the Mass especially, but even it has been strongly influenced by the Roman rite.

In different dioceses of the Latin Churches we find peculiarities of ritual and ceremonial (very noticeable, for example, at Bayeux) but no proper rite.

Appendix III

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR

by A. M. Henry, O.P.

History shows us that nothing is more likely to stir up men's passions than questions of calendar modifications.

When Pope Gregory XIII decided to reform the Julian calendar in order to put the solar year in agreement with the sun, his reform was put into effect in 1582 at Rome, in Spain, Portugal, and France, but took place in the Catholic States of Germany and Switzerland only in 1584, in 1586 at Riga in Poland after strong resistance and a sedition, and in 1587 in Hungary. It took a century more, around 1700, for the Protestant States of the Low Countries, Germany and Switzerland and was accomplished only by fines and armed force. As Kepler said: "The Protestants would rather be in disagreement with the sun than in agreement with the Pope." England fell into line with the reform only in 1752, and processions of protestors paraded in the streets crying: "Give us back our eleven days." Even today many "Orthodox" churches have kept the old Julian system.

In support of this thesis we can also cite the unfortunate history of the French revolutionary calendar which being too revolutionary was not able to take root and finished up by being suppressed by a decree of Napoleon at the end of twelve years.

Questions relating to the calendar are again facing the Church today. On the one hand, there is the question of adopting a "universal" calendar in which the days of the week would fall on the same dates each month, and Easter would be fixed, but which would necessarily include certain "blank days" (at least one each year) which

would have neither a date in the month nor a day in the week. Theologians are being asked if that is "possible." On the other hand, there is the question of whether the missions of the Church which meet up with new types of civilization must necessarily impose upon them the Judeo-Roman calendar of the Church when imparting the faith to them. To put it another way, the question is to know whether or not the faith is so bound up with a particular type of civilization and culture in which the Church developed that it cannot separate itself from it in order to enter into a living synthesis with other cultures and civilizations. If a Moslem nation received the message of salvation, could the Church allow it to retain its lunar calendar?

We shall give the necessary information regarding all the problems which may concern the calendar.

1. STATE OF THE QUESTION

The Church being traditional and conservative possesses a double calendar.

As heir of the synagogue and Jewish culture the Church computes Easter according to the movements of the moon. Thus Easter, which would be fixed in a lunar calendar such as that of the Jews, is movable in our calendar whose basis is the movement of the earth around the sun: Easter can then fall anytime between the 22nd of March and the 25th of April. That is to say, if we suppose the Lord's Pass-over to have taken place on the 5th of April and three days afterwards the full moon of spring, we do not celebrate it on the 5th of April each year as we should do for any other anniversary; but we celebrate it during the same lunar phase whose date on our solar calendar is variable each year. This mobility of Easter brings with it the mobility of all the other feasts attached to the same lunar computation, that is, almost all the Sundays and feasts which each year commemorate the life and teaching of our Lord.

On the other hand, the Church found itself from the beginning in a Roman civilization and, despite some originally strong hesitations, ended up by adopting the solar calendar bearing the names of the pagan gods of ancient Rome. Almost all the feasts of the saints have a fixed date on this calendar.

It is a difficult task to establish a correspondence between the two calendars. The law of Meton, which attributes 235 lunar years to 19 solar ones, is at the basis of the calculations and of the definition of the golden number for each year. It is a rather complicated business

involving all sorts of new difficulties in public and profane life: the impossibility of fixing holidays in advance, the variation in work days from one month and year to another, the difficulty of establishing comparative statistics, etc. Consequently, long standing proposals have been made to adopt a purely solar calendar which would no longer take the movements of the moon into account. Easter would be celebrated each year on the 8th of April which would roughly correspond to its real anniversary on the solar calendar. It would always fall on a Sunday in virtue of the exact correspondence between the days of the week and the days of the month, thanks to the at least one "blank day" to be added at the end of each year. We mention here only the plan which seems most likely to succeed. Another kind has been suggested, a perpetual calendar of thirteen months, but this latter suggestion seems unlikely to succeed. However, it is rather interesting to take note of a statement in the reply of the Oriental Churches to this latter plan: "The division into twelve months is ancient and sacred, more, perhaps, than any other relic. . . ." As a matter of fact, the number twelve is to be found in both the lunar calendar of the Jews as well as in our solar calendar, but this is a purely material way of looking at it since their component parts are of neither the same nature nor the same length. In order to catch up with the cycle of seasons, the Jews were in times past obliged to double one of their months about every three years, which gave them a thirteen month year rather than twelve. Today the thirteen month years have a regular place in the calendar, coming in the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, and nineteenth years of the Metonic cycle. The "ancient and sacred" division, therefore, refers more especially to that instituted by the Romans and which still today bears the names of the pagan gods.

Let us return to the project of the universal calendar referred to above and see if there are any theological difficulties involved in:

- 1) fixing the date of Easter on a solar calendar;
- 2) introducing a "blank day" each year and two of them in leap years.

2. DOES THE STABILIZATION OF EASTER MEET WITH ANY DIFFICULTIES?

From the dogmatic point of view there is certainly no difficulty regarding the stabilization of Easter. Moreover, we have proof of it in the reply that the Holy See gave to the League of Nations in

1924 when questioned on this subject. The Holy See replied that "the stabilization of Easter created *no obstacle as far as dogma was concerned* but that to change the traditions of the Church a discussion in a ecumenical council was necessary."¹ Indeed, it would be paradoxical if the Church which was in the vanguard of past reforms (that of Gregory XIII was of unheard of boldness) should today become reactionary.

On the other hand, we know that the fixing of the date of Easter was historically variable, and that the solutions adopted were often merely remote approximations. The 14th of Nisan, day of the Jewish Passover, fell on the full moon (the necessity of having light all night long was no less important for its ceremonies than it had been for the flight from Egypt), and, in addition, it fell on the first full moon of spring. The 17th of Nisan, Resurrection "Sunday," was the first Sunday after the first full moon of spring, that is, the full moon following the spring equinox. When the Fathers of Nicea, after many variations, decided upon this rule for fixing Easter, they did not perceive that the Julian calendar by which they calculated no longer coincided with the sun and the seasons and that they would differ more and more until the reform of Gregory XIII. In 1582, the equinox of the 21st of March in fact fell on the 11th of March. In the sixteenth century, generally speaking, Easter was celebrated thirty days too late.² Easter no longer corresponded either to the nearness of the equinox, nor generally to the third day after the full moon, because "the perpetual table of Julian moons" which had been composed without knowledge of the epacts turned out to be inaccurate. The only thing which remained of the anniversary was the Sunday, since the Council had preferred it to the different day each year corresponding to the 17th of Nisan. It is interesting to note, moreover, that in choosing Sunday the Council favored a day which would permit a worthy celebration rather than a day which would exactly correspond to the anniversary of Our Lord's Resurrection in the lunar calendar. Perhaps this fact may serve to support the advocates of a radical calendar reform.

Whatever difficulties there may be, they will not come from dogma. Did not Saint Paul say to the Galatians: "How is it that you

¹ According to Paul Couderc, *Le Calendrier* (Coll. Que sais-je? P.U.F. 1948), p. 112. The words in italics are a quotation from the Roman document.

² For this information we rely upon the excellent book of M. Paul Couderc quoted above.

turn again to the weak and beggarly elements, which you desire to serve again? You are observing days and months and seasons and years. I fear for you, lest perhaps I have labored among you in vain" (Gal. 4:9-10). And to the Colossians: "Let no one, then, call you to account . . . in regard to a festival or a new moon or a Sabbath" (Col. 2:16). Christian worship is free and spiritual. We must adore God and celebrate the mysteries of our faith *in spirit and in truth*.

The difficulties will come from men's attachment, legitimate to a certain degree, to traditions. Since the Council of Nicea, the date of Easter has been fixed in relation to the lunar calendar. Habit engenders an attachment which is not just sentimental and which, at any rate, is a powerful support for the Church. Those who are attached to traditions and customs are by that very fact attached, at least exteriorly, to all that these traditions bring with them: celebrations, feasts, prayers, etc., and to the Church from which they take these traditions.

Changing custom always implies for the Church the risk of losing those of the faithful who are not spiritually strong or flexible enough to follow this change. Popular sentiment which is always aroused on this subject, as history shows, is not the only thing to be considered. Nevertheless, it cannot be completely disregarded. "All things are lawful, but not all things are expedient," remarks St. Paul (I Cor. 10:23).

3. IS THE SUPPRESSION OF THE WEEKLY EASTER POSSIBLE?

The stabilization of Easter on a certain day of a month, the 8th of April, for example, would inevitably include the stabilization of all the Sundays of the year. And this stabilization demands the creation of "blank days," that is, of days which do not have any name in the week (or which double one of the days of the week). Thus we foresee the creation of one blank day each year between the 30th of December (Saturday) and the 1st of January (Sunday), and the creation of a second blank day in leap years. Thanks to this expedient the year will always have exactly fifty-two weeks (364 days with names), and in consequence, each week and each Sunday will have a fixed place in the calendar.

We can immediately see the drawbacks of such a system. Supposing a certain December 31, 1952, to be the first blank day, then

January 1, which would ordinarily be a Monday, would be a Sunday; the septuple rhythm of the week is broken. The real Sundays would be Saturdays in the 1953 calendar. The following year they would fall on Friday, the next year on Thursday, the next on Wednesdays and the next year on Mondays because the interval is a leap year. We would have to wait five or six years to recover the real Sundays and for one year only.

The Seventh Day Adventists have an objection to this plan which seems insurmountable. For them the weekly rhythm dates from creation and is imposed upon man by God. Today we know that the weekly rhythm probably began with the Chaldeans, and that the Hebrews inherited the Sabbath in Babylonia, and that many peoples have lived according to an entirely different rhythm.

However, the fact remains that the "tradition" of the Sabbath and the week is contained in the Bible, and that although the Sabbath was replaced by Sunday for the Christians, the weekly rhythm has always been kept, and the disciples of Christ never ceased to celebrate the weekly Easter each "day after the Sabbath." History relates that certain days of the month have been suppressed (for example when Gregory XIII decided that the day after October 4, 1582 would be Friday, the 15th), but it does not relate that the weekly rhythm was never interrupted by blank days. This long tradition merits consideration. Were this project to succeed, would the Church return to that glorious period when the free day (Sabbath) would not be the same as that of the Christian celebration (Sunday)?

The partisans of the foregoing reform have some remarks to make. First of all, they say that the weekly rhythm was interrupted when the Sabbath passed from Saturday to Sunday. This is a specious objection, however, since men had only to place themselves in the new rhythm; the days kept their own names, the week was not increased, the morrow of the Sabbath remained what it had always been.

Then again they say, and this objection is of greater worth, that the word "day" is ambiguous, and consequently, the word "week" also. Are we speaking of the natural day, the civil day (and there are all kinds of them), or the solar day? Travellers are used to advancing or setting back their clocks an hour when they pass from one meridian to another. Distant travellers know that they must "jump" a day when they cross the international date line. Since the Resurrection took place at dawn of a certain day in Palestine,

the exact moment of the Resurrection coincided with the preceding or following day in other regions. The Sundays which we celebrate are not everywhere the weekly occurrence of "that moment," because, in order to do that, we should have to celebrate the Lord's Day on Sunday in one place, on Saturday in another, and on Monday in still another. The weekly day possesses meaning, strictly speaking, only for the day of the Jerusalem meridian or neighboring ones. We could add other points. Nevertheless, it would seem that the present approximation suffices for us to speak of a weekly Easter for all areas. The exactness of our calculations matters but little. And even if our calculations were found to be false, the centuries-old practice of Sunday celebration, each *week*, without adding to it or subtracting from it, would be a strong enough argument in favor of this long tradition in each country.

It seems, then, that a modification of the projected calendar is called for which would keep the week. For example, we could have fifty-two weeks a year and add a week every five or six years (as we do a day in leap years). Certain years would have a very slight time lag in relation to the seasons but the sought-for advantages would be gained, namely, the stabilization of Sundays and holidays and the determination of work days each month, without sacrificing anything of the weekly rhythm and without running headlong into the strong feelings which will inevitably be aroused.

4. OTHER PROBLEMS. CONCLUSION

Other questions can be asked a theologian as regards the calendar. Generally they result from modern missionary problems and were not asked in the same way in times past. For example, the question of the first of the year, or, more basically, of the beginning of an era. Missionaries of the last few centuries have gone with colonists, that is to say, they transplanted their type of civilization and their calendar with them. Native populations of today will no longer put up with this kind of wardship. Missionaries must know what to keep of their own civilization and what they can generously abandon in order to become all things to all men.

With regard to the first of the year, a knowledge of history will show that the date January the first is a very relative one indeed. Our calendar still bears traces of the period when it began the first of March, since the last four months still have names which mean

Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth. Indeed, the decision to begin the year on January the first rather than March the first dates from Julius Caesar. The Church adopted it only with difficulty. In the sixth and seventh centuries several provinces of France began the year on the first of March, others on March 25th, the feast of the Annunciation (in the thirteenth century this custom was still called "the French usage"), others on Easter, which is more conformable to Jewish tradition. It was only in 1567 that a royal decree of Charles IX made January the first obligatory. Germany, England and Russia had still different practices. Consequently, we should not be hasty about canonizing a date of entirely pagan origin that the Church hesitated to baptize because it bore the name of a pagan divinity. The feast of the Circumcision, which transfigures and baptizes a pagan date, makes no allusion to the new year, while the Easter liturgy, on the contrary, conjures up the idea of spring and the new-born year: this is a heritage from the Jewish Passover which took place in the first month of the year, that of Nisan (April). The start of an era poses an analogous problem. There have been numerous eras in the course of history. Only to speak of Christianity, the fixing of the Christian era dates from Dionysius Exiguus (sixth century) and was accepted generally only slowly. In France, dating from the Christian era appears in the royal diplomas only from the tenth century on. Certain peoples as the Copts of Egypt still use the Julian calendar and begin the year on August 29 (i.e., September 11 of our Gregorian calendar) and count their years beginning with Diocletian (era of the martyrs). Christian communities, therefore, that would be formed in countries of intense Moslem culture would spontaneously adopt the lunar calendar of Islam and the Mohammedan era in the same way that Christians of Latin countries long ago adopted names of months (January) and names of days (Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, etc.) which were named after pagan divinities or the stars.

These problems simply show us that we must not be hasty about attributing a sacred character to what is considered untouchable by popular sentiment alone. Discernment is needed in all these matters. Nevertheless, it would be an error on the part of a theologian not to take popular sentiment into consideration at all. Even if the decision belongs to the hierarchy alone, the theologian's judgement must be a prudential one in these matters, that is to say, he must take into account all the elements of the "given." Popular

sentiment (nay even its passions), customs, traditions, especially in liturgical matters, are a part of this "given." This is what we have tried to show by this example which conjures up and renews the theme of the famous "Easter quarrel" (around 190).³

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³ The modern movement for calendar reform has an extensive bibliography which we cannot include here. We simply refer the reader to the work: *The World Calendar: Bibliography of Calendar Reform*, New York: The World Calendar Association, 630 Fifth Ave.

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Chapter IV
CANON LAW

by P. Bouchet, O.P.

I. THE SOURCES OF CANON LAW

1. From the beginning to the *Decretum* of Gratian (1140)
2. From the *Decretum* of Gratian to the completion of the *Corpus juris canonici* (1140–1500)
3. From the completion of the *Corpus* to the *Code of Canon Law* (1918)

II. THE CODE OF CANON LAW

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter IV

CANON LAW

The existence of ecclesiastical law, or according to usual terminology, of canon law (from *κανών*, rule) belongs to the very nature of Christ's Church. The gospel texts in fact show us that although the kingdom of God is essentially spiritual (Matt. 11:25-26; 13:11; Mark 1:15; Luke 17:21), it also has an exterior aspect (Matt. 19:17; 28:19; John 3:5). Thus it is that the Church whose mission is identical with that of Christ's (Matt. 28:18-21; Luke 10:16; John 17:18; 20:21) has the commission of being "the steward of the mysteries of God" (I Cor. 4:1) by the intermediary of an authority which infallibly teaches us what we must believe and what we must do to be saved (Matt. 28:18-20), and which exercises on earth a power "of binding and loosing," which acts are ratified in heaven (Matt. 18:18). Although the whole of the Apostolic College makes up this authority, Peter, the prince of the Apostles, and in him his successors, received a special conferral of power. In establishing a society analogous to other human societies to continue His work among men, Jesus wanted to give it the social powers necessary for the attainment of its proper end. The Church lives and develops as a society which is independent of any other with regard to its end, and which possesses within itself all the means of government. It is from her divine constitution that she draws the inalienable right of making laws (legislative power), of judging by virtue of these laws (judiciary power), and, if need be, of compelling the observance of these laws by means of appropriate sanctions (coercive power). All this juridical apparatus is to serve the Mystical Body whose indispensable instrument it is.

We can see by this what place law holds in the organization and development of the Church, which like all other societies is a society. We can also understand its value if we recall the words of Jesus to the future heads of the Church: "He who hears you, hears me; and he who rejects you, rejects me" (Luke 10:16).

As a matter of fact, the legislative texts of the Church only

include this "human law" which the Church has the power of establishing and imposing upon the obedience of the faithful (canon law in the strict sense). In it we also find as recalled, made more precise, interpreted or sanctioned, a number of the provisions of divine law, natural or supernatural, of which the Church was made the guardian by her Divine Founder ("teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you," Matt. 28:20).

In order to grasp the broad domain of canon law it does not suffice to know the present-day legislative texts of the Church (almost all contained in Benedict XV's Code of Canon Law).¹ It must be remembered that the Church is nineteen centuries old; that she has known many internal vicissitudes and has lived in the midst of different societies and civilizations; that "the law of incarnation has a remarkable field of application in the juridical domain; that, finally, modern law can only be explained well when related to the ancient law of which it is the continuation (C.I.C. canon 6). That is why we shall present canon law in two sections:

- 1) The Sources of Canon Law
- 2) The Code of Canon Law

I. The Sources of Canon Law

1. FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE DECRETUM OF GRATIAN (AROUND 1140)

The Church, being conscious of her authority, passed laws from her very beginning: the "Council of Jerusalem" regulated questions regarding Christians of Jewish origin ("The Holy Spirit and we have decided . . ." Acts 15:28); in his epistles St. Paul promulgated various decisions on the holding of assemblies (I Cor. 11:4-6), the use of charismatical gifts (I Cor. 14), the qualities required of bishops (I Tim. 3:2-12), the famous "Pauline privilege" (I Cor. 7:12-15). The *inspired writings* were and are the primary source of canon law.

During the first three centuries the Church as the victim of persecutions organized herself in secret and lived according to a kind of customary law of which certain written portions have come down to us. Such was the purpose of the majority of writings (sometimes anonymous) attributed to the Apostles in order to increase their

¹ *Codex Iuris Canonici*, abbreviated as C.I.C.

authority, such as: the Didache (end of the first century), the Apostolic Tradition of Hypolytus (around 218), the Teaching of the Apostles ("the first known attempt to form a *Corpus juris canonici*"), the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Apostles, the Apostolic Constitutions, the Canons of the Apostles.

After the peace of Constantine in the fourth century, the great conciliary activity which arose in the Orient touched upon numerous moral and disciplinary questions in addition to dogmatic ones: the Ecumenical Councils of Nicea (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), etc. . . . ; the local Councils of Ancyre (314), Neocesarea (around 314), Gangra (around 340), and Sardica (343). The "canons" of these various councils have come down to us in a certain number of Collections arranged first of all according to their chronological order, and then later according to the logical order of subjects. An example is the celebrated collection composed around 550 by John the Scholastic, later patriarch of Constantinople.

In the West the evolution of law came later. Various collections have preserved this law which ruled the Latin World until the high Middle Ages. Thus it is that in addition to certain Collections which grouped together the canons of Oriental Councils, whether ecumenical or local, which were accepted in the Western Church (*Hispana* in the fifth century; *Dionysiana*, in the fifth and sixth centuries), we have Collections for the *African Councils* (the celebrated fourth century Councils of Carthage), others for the *Provençal Councils* influenced by St. Cesarius of Arles in the sixth century (the *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua*), others for the *Spanish Councils* of the sixth to eighth centuries, in whose midst the great bishop and canonist St. Isidore of Seville played a role of the first importance.

On their side, the bishops of Rome, whose primacy and universal jurisdiction were recognized at an early date, were petitioned from different points of the Christian world in order to have them settle specific problems brought before them. Such was the origin of the *Pontifical Decretals*; the first of these go back to Popes Siricius (384-399), Innocent (401-417), St. Leo the Great (444-461), Gelasius (491-496). The best known Collection of decretals from this period is the *Dionysiana* which in a modified form was sent to Charlemagne by Hadrian I as the official canonical book of the Roman Church, and which was subsequently adopted at Aix-la-

Chapelle in 802 and became the *Liber Canonum* of the Middle Ages.

The episcopal ordinances of the Carolingian period (*Capitula episcoporum*) had a more or less widespread influence according to the renown of their authors: those of Theodulfus of Orleans and of Hincmar of Reims are among the most celebrated.

What do these different collections of canons and decretals contain?— Regulations touching the administration of the Sacraments, the liturgy, fasting, duties of clerics, relations with heretics, etc.

When the Church became a secular power recognized by the civil power to which it was closely united, it was also more or less dominated, according to time and place, by the imperial or royal authority which had no hesitations about meddling in the legislative domain reserved to the Church. Certain encroachments were tolerated. That is why we find important portions of canon law between the sixth and ninth centuries in the *Collections of Roman law* of Theodosius and Justinian (Digest, Novells, etc.), in the *Collections of Barbarian law* (Salic Law, Breviary of Alaric, Gombetta law), and in the *Capitularies of the Frankish kings*.

Charlemagne had succeeded in imposing a certain discipline on the generality of his empire, but when his edifice crumbled, the central authority of the Church suffered the repercussions. The defensive reaction of churchmen against the usurpations of the first feudal lords is to be found expressed in part in the decretals of a certain Isidore the Merchant (the so-called False Decretals). Composed in France of the ninth century by men who were evidently but little scrupulous about their choice of means, these decretals aimed at increasing the interior strength of local churches by tightening the bonds with Rome. (It must be noted that the popes never made much use of this collection.)

The ninth and tenth centuries during which the Church was the prey of so many miseries (lay investitures, simony, the incontinence of clerics) due in great part to the political troubles of the time (Norman and Saracen invasions, formation of fiefs, private warfare . . .) brought a vigorous reaction from the centre of Christendom known as the Gregorian Reform, after its principal promoter Pope Gregory VII (1073–1085). The canonical Collections of the period carry traces of it: Collections of Atton, of Anselm of Lucca,

of Cardinal Deuededit. These collections as well as those which had preceded them in the Rhineland (Collection of Regino of Prüm, around 906; *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms, d. 1025), in Italy (the Collection called *Anselmo dedicata*, around 885), in France (the Collection of Abbon of Fleury, d. 1004), classify all sorts of ancient texts, biblical, patristic, conciliary, and others . . . according to the order of matters to be treated by their particular author. (Many apocrypha have undoubtedly been discovered by modern criticism: but all these texts bear witness to a past in which they were authoritative).

Of all these Collections the most celebrated (because they marked a progress towards the elaboration of a juridical science) are the collections of Yves of Chartres (d. 1116): the *Tripartita*, the *Decretum*, the *Panormia*. They are no longer a simple compilation of legislative texts, but a "rational" work, a first attempt at reconciling apparently opposed texts.

The first period of the history of ecclesiastical law closes with the appearance of the celebrated *Decretum of the Bolognese monk Gratian* (around 1140) whose nature is revealed by its complete title: *Concordia discordantium canonum* ("The Concordance of Discordant Canons"). All the discipline elaborated over the first thousand years of Christianity is included in this work, in which the conciliary, pontifical, and patristic texts are disposed according to a method which foreshadows the coming scholastic one of questions and distinctions. Contradictory opinions are resolved by the author in his *dicta*.

This monumental work which subsequently served as the basis of juridical studies in the Church includes three parts: the first treats of the sources of law, of the organization and administration of the Church, of the ordination and hierarchy of clerics, of the election and consecration of bishops, of the authority of legates and primates; the second treats of simony, procedure, temporal goods, warfare, excommunication, sorcery, Marriage and Penance; the third and shortest part treats of the dedication of churches, of the Eucharist, Baptism, Confirmation, etc. As can be seen, the order followed is far from perfect. Many questions belonging to other disciplines besides law are set forth in it. Nevertheless, the authority of the *Decretum* was powerful both in the schools and before tribunals despite the fact that it always remained an unofficial work.

2. FROM THE DECRETUM OF GRATIAN TO THE COMPLETION OF THE "CORPUS JURIS CANONICI" (1140-1500)

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were ones of profound religious vitality in the Church. The great popes of this period—Alexander III (1159–1181), Innocent III (1198–1216), Honorius III (1217–1227), Gregory IX (1227–1241), Innocent IV (1243–1254), Gregory X (1271–1276), Boniface VIII (1294–1303)—carried the Church to the height of her power. For the most part, they proved to be very prudent legislators.

In an expanding Christendom and in proportion to the complexity of social intercourse, new preoccupations would appear which would be reflected in the legislative monuments of the time: questions of ecclesiastical property, of tithes, right of patronage, benefices, administration, goods, teaching, procedure, etc. As the central authority of the Church became stronger, men consulted the pope as to what attitude to adopt in given difficult affairs. The pope replied by a decretal letter which, when kept in collections, subsequently became jurisprudence.

Five official compilations of these decretals, from Honorius II (1124–1130) to Gregory IX (1234), were successively published. But faced with the growing number and complexity of the decretals, Gregory IX commissioned his chaplain, St. Raymond de Pennafort, O.P., to compile a new official collection which was to exclude all former decretals. This work was promulgated in 1234 and distributed its matter into five books: the ecclesiastical hierarchy, procedure, the offices and duties of clerics, Marriage, penal law and criminal procedure. The decretals of Gregory IX remained the principal official canonical collection until 1918.

The first ecumenical Council of Lyon (1245) was held between the pontificates of Gregory IX and Boniface VIII. Besides, numerous decretals were issued which in less than fifty years necessitated a new work of codification. This was the work of Boniface VIII in the Sextus or Sixth book of decretals promulgated in 1298.

Following the pontificates of Boniface VIII, Benedict XI (1303–1305), and Clement V, who presided over the Council of Vienna of 1311, the great pope and canonist John XXII rearranged and codified the legislative work of his immediate predecessors in a

new compendium added to the preceding ones: the *Clementina*, promulgated in 1317.

A certain number of decretals were for various reasons left aside (and were therefore called "extra-vagantes"). They became the object of two other collections, though were without official character. They appeared successively in the editions of the *Corpus juris canonici* of 1500 and of 1503 through the labors of the French jurist Jean Chapius: these are the *Extravagantes of John XXII* and the *Extravagantes communes*.

There was thus constituted by the beginning of the sixteenth century a Body of canon law (*Corpus juris canonici*) parallel to the Body of civil law (*Corpus juris civilis*) which gathered together the principal texts of Roman law then in force. The best modern editions of the *Corpus* are the edition of Richter (1833–1899) and that of Friedberg (1879–1881).

3. FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE "CORPUS JURIS CANONICI" TO THE CODE OF CANON LAW (1500–1918)

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries various Councils met which profoundly influenced the history of the Church: the Councils of Pisa (1409, at the end of the Great Schism), of Bâle-Ferrare-Florence (1431–1433), the Fifth Lateran (1512–1517) gathered "to put an end to the schism, restore general peace and assure the reform of the Church." But it was especially the Council of Trent (1545–1563) which out of twenty-five sessions devoted no less than eleven to the reform of ecclesiastical discipline which had been so gravely compromised after the troubles of the preceding century and the Lutheran "reform." Almost everything interesting the interior life of the Church was examined by it: the celebration of Mass (session 22), Marriage (session 24), religious and nuns (session 25), indulgences (session 25 and following), etc. Consequently, we have all sorts of decrees: on the profession of faith, editions of the Bible, holding of provincial councils and synods, the life and duties of clerics, canons, religious, the goods of the Church, hospitals, seminaries, etc. When approved and promulgated by Pius IV, January 26, 1564, these decrees were not left to individual interpretation. But a special commission of cardinals was created for this purpose, August 2 of the same year; it was the origin of our present Congregation of the Council. Political vicissitudes blocked the enforcement

of the Tridentine decrees which, in France for instance, were not received until the general Assembly of the clergy of 1615.

The post-tridentine period saw the appearance of a number of canonical books, the Roman Missal and Breviary, the Roman Catechism, the Index of forbidden books, etc. At the instance of St. Pius V first of all, and later of Gregory XIII, a commission of "Roman correctors" worked at producing a better edition of Gratian's *Decretum*. Their endeavors brought about the *Roman edition of the Corpus of 1582*.

A similar movement of administrative centralization is noticeable since the sixteenth century in the countries sprung from ancient Christendom which have set themselves up as sovereign and independent States, and in the Church which faced with these powerful States marshalled her forces about her head. The documents of the supreme magisterium are henceforth more frequent and more numerous. Roman canonical legislation as well as the pontifical administration charged with seeing to its application grow in influence.

The acts (*bulls*) of the Sovereign Pontiff are collected into special works called *bullaria*: the Roman Bullarium, the Great Bullarium, the special bullaria of certain churches or religious orders. Later on the *Acts* of the different popes were published, and since 1909 the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* is, as it were, the official organ of the Holy See.

The central administration of the Church is ordinarily exercised through the agency of Roman Bureaus, Tribunals, and Congregations created since the middle of the sixteenth century. The decrees, replies or decisions emanating from these different offices, form the legislation and jurisprudence, both judiciary and administrative, of the Church in modern times. The most important are: in disciplinary matters, the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of the Council (Coll. Pallotini, 1867-1893), and those of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars (Coll. Bizzarri, 1885-1886); in liturgical matters, those of the Sacred Congregation of Rites (Coll. Gardellini); in missionary affairs, those of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda (*Collectanea S.C. de Prop. Fide*); and finally the decisions of the tribunal of the Rota.

Since the sixteenth century, the Church has been led to conclude real treaties with various states in which were settled the rights and obligations of the two powers in questions which interested both

Church and State. These are known as *Concordats*. The most famous collection of these documents is due to Mercati (1919).

After the troubles caused the Church by rationalist philosophy and the French Revolution during the nineteenth century, the Council united at the Vatican in 1869–1870, during the pontificate of Pius IX, which had been prepared for by numerous episcopal meetings and different commissions of consultors, contemplated various reforms of a disciplinary nature. It must be noted that, although the Council was not able to bring all its plans to a successful conclusion, the majority of the important legislative measures which were subsequently passed were inspired by the plans drawn up at the time of the Council and by the desires expressed by the conciliary Fathers.

Among these desires there figured prominently a demand for the codification of ecclesiastical legislation which was scattered about in too many volumes, was difficult to know with precision or certitude, insufficient in many points, and also unadapted to modern times. Different attempts were made by canonists working solely for the good of their science, e.g., by the French canonist Pillet, among others. In 1904, Pius X, by the bull *Arduum sanè munus* set up a commission of cardinals charged to work at this “arduous” undertaking. Assisted by consultors, canonists, and theologians, the Cardinals (with Msgr., later Cardinal, Gasparri as their secretary) invited the bishops of the whole world to give their advice on different chapters of the Code under preparation. The work was completed during the course of the First World War. By his bull *Providentissima Mater Ecclesia* of May 17, 1917, Pope Benedict XV promulgated the *Code of Canon Law* as applicable to the whole Latin Church from May 19, 1918. In principle, all previous disciplinary legislation was abrogated. *The Commission for the Interpretation of the Code of Canon Law* was created September 15, 1917, in order to provide an “authentic” interpretation of the Canons of this Code, that is, interpretations which oblige with the same force as the law itself.

So it is that nineteen centuries of life, of legislation, and of experience are concentrated in our present Code whose principal arrangements we have now to summarize briefly.

II. The Code of Canon Law

The Code of Benedict XV distributed the Church’s legislation into five books: Book I gives the general rules of the law; Book II

treats of persons; Book III of things; Book IV of proceedings at law; and Book V of misdemeanors and penalties.

Book I

The general rules of the law outline first the limits of the Code's application (law of the Latin Church only leaving intact the liturgical laws, the concordats, the acquired rights, privileges and indulgences in use and not revoked, but in principle abrogating contrary customs: can. 1-5), and regulate the relations of the present law to that which went before it. They then treat of *ecclesiastical laws* (promulgation, conflict of laws, subjects to whom they apply, interpretation of the laws, etc.: can. 8-24); of *custom* (since in the Church "legitimate" custom has the same obligatory value as written law: can. 25-30); of *the manner of calculating time* (because time plays an important role in juridical relations: can. 31-35); of *rescripts* (the juridical mode of furnishing authoritative replies to petitions for favors: can. 36-62); of *privileges* (favors accorded to certain persons, whether physical or moral: can. 63-79); finally, of *dispensations* (exceptions to the law decreed by authority in certain particular cases: can. 80-86).

Book II

This book places the different persons, physical or moral, of whom the Church is composed in one or another of the following principal categories: among the clerics (can. 108-486); among the religious (can. 487-681); or among the laity (can. 682-725). The preliminary canons treat of a number of provisions applicable to all persons: provisions regarding age, domicile or quasi-domicile, relationship, rite, etc., according to which the juridical situation of a person may be modified during the course of his life (can. 87-108).

Clerics, that is, those who are dedicated to the sacred ministry by the reception of the tonsure, generally belong to a diocese to which they are said to be "incardinated"; they enjoy certain rights and privileges destined to protect their sacred character; on the other hand, they are subject to special obligations (particularly to perpetual chastity and the recitation of the Canonical Hours, starting with the Subdeaconate). The conferring of the different offices (by free collection, election, etc.) with which they can be invested for the exercise of their spiritual powers, as well as the

way in which these offices can be withdrawn, is the object of precise regulations (can. 108-204).

The code then passes in review each category of clerics. By divine right both the Pope and the Bishops possess jurisdiction in the Church.

Consequently, the Code treats first of all of those who enjoy supreme power (the Sovereign Pontiff and the Ecumenical Council) and of those who share in it (Cardinals, Sacred Congregations, Tribunals, Offices of the Roman Curia; Legates, Nuncios, Internuncios of the Sovereign Pontiff; Patriarchs, Primate, Metropolitan; plenary and provincial Councils; Apostolic Vicars and Prefects in mission lands; Apostolic Administrators charged with the government of a diocese by the Holy See and those called "inferior Prelates," Abbots or Prelates having territorial jurisdiction: can. 218-328).

In the second place, the Code treats of the episcopal power of Bishops and of those who share it (coadjutor and auxiliary Bishops; the diocesan synod; the diocesan Curia composed of the Vicar General, the Chancellor and his assistants, the synodal examiners and of the consultant pastors, chapter of Canons replaced in certain dioceses by diocesan consultants; the Capitular Vicar who governs the diocese when the see is vacant; Vicars forane, also called deans or archpriests; Pastors, parochial assistants and Rectors: can. 329-486).

The Religious (those of the faithful who have embraced a state of life including the practice in common of the evangelical counsels to which they oblige themselves by the three vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty) form the second category of persons treated in the Code. This second part of Book II comprises everything concerning the erection or suppression of a "religion," of a province or a religious house; the internal and external government, both spiritual and temporal, of the different "religions"; the conditions of admittance into religion (postulancy, novitiate, religious profession); the obligations and privileges of religious; the "passage" from one religion to another; the leaving of or dismissal from religion. It also includes, as it were, in an appendix, certain canons concerning those Societies of men or women who live in common but without making vows of religion; such associations are numerous today (can. 487-681).

With regard to *the laity*, the third part of Book II of the Code

sets forth the rules applying to associations of the faithful founded in order to attain a greater perfection of Christian life, or to practice works of piety and charity, or for the enrichment of public worship: such are the Third Orders Secular, Confraternities, etc. (can. 682-725).

Book III

Under the title—purposely vague—“*of things*,” this book, after some canons regarding traffic in holy things (simony), has as its object the various means which are necessary or useful to the Church in order to attain her end. They are: the seven sacraments and the sacramentals; the sacred places and times; divine worship; the ecclesiastical magisterium, benefices and other ecclesiastical institutions not of collegiate status, and finally, the temporal goods of the Church (can. 726-1551).

Jesus Christ is the sole author of the sacraments, but He left to the Church the task of precisely determining the majority of the questions regarding their administration. That is why the Code determines all the conditions of each sacrament required so that it produces its effect (conditions for validity), so that it be conferred with due regard for the rights of God and one's neighbor (conditions of liceity). These conditions concern the person administering or consecrating a sacrament (minister), the person receiving it (subject), the rites and ceremonies to be employed, the time and place of its conferring. It is in the very important section “on marriage” that the canonical legislation can be found on the impediments to marriage and the different ways recognized by the Church for “dissolving the bond.” (can. 1012-1143).

Sacred Places are those set aside for divine worship (churches, oratories) or for the burial of the faithful (cemeteries) and which are consecrated or blessed to this end (can. 1154-1242). *The Sacred Times* are the feast-days to which are added the days of fast and abstinence.

The Code does not concern itself with liturgical questions as we have said. Nevertheless, it sets forth a certain number of rules concerning the reservation and worship of the Holy Eucharist; the cult of the Saints, sacred images, relics; processions; sacred furnishings; vows and oaths (which are acts of worship) (can. 1255-1321).

The exercise of the power of teaching conferred upon the Church by Our Lord (the ecclesiastical magisterium) is regulated by canons

which fix the conditions for preaching the word of God (catechisms, sermons, missions); the foundation and organization of Seminaries and schools; the censure and forbidding of certain writings; the profession of faith before entering upon certain positions (can. 1322-1408).

Because she is careful to assure the independence of her ministers, the Church has erected certain ecclesiastical responsibilities into "benefices." The Code determines how these benefices can be set up, divided and conferred, what are the rights and obligations of those who benefit from them, etc. (can. 1409-1488). Other ecclesiastical institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, etc., are the object of the following canons (can. 1489-1494).

Among the last of these "things" or means in the Church's service are the temporal goods, movable or immovable, which the Church is justified in possessing by divine right. Canon law generally adopts the provisions of civil law in regard to the different manners to acquire and administer property, contracts and foundations; it only makes slight modifications here and there as seems most opportune (can. 1495-1551).

Book IV

All of the juridical rules concerning "spiritual things and similar matters," the violation of ecclesiastical laws, and still other cases oblige the Church at times to define the rights of litigants by way of justice, and at times to inflict a penalty as punishment of a misdemeanor. Whence the necessity of a *Code of Canonical Procedure* which fixes the competence of each ecclesiastical Tribunal (the ordinary Tribunals of the Holy See, of the Rota and of the apostolic Seal; the diocesan Tribunal or ecclesiastical Court); which establishes the rules to be followed by the judge and his different aides, the delays to be observed, the acceptable modes of proof, the possible remedies to an erroneous sentence, special rules for certain more difficult cases (criminal justice, matrimonial cases, ordination questions). Solicitude for truth and justice joined to a very old experience of the human heart and its weaknesses inspired the drawing up of canons 1552-1998.

The Church is also concerned with other legal processes: those opened for the beatification of Servants of God and the canonization of the Blessed. These are particularly delicate cases which demand more rigorous procedure than even that provided by tribunals sum-

moned to pronounce upon matters of the most serious nature (can. 1999-2142).

Book IV closes with an account of the procedure to follow in the expediting of certain affairs belonging to both administration and justice (the removal of Pastors, procedure against Clerics who are unfaithful to their obligations) or the application of certain penal sanctions (can. 2142-2194).

Book V

This book is consecrated to the penal law of the Church. The first part treats of punishable faults, of responsibility, of aggravating or attenuating circumstances, etc. The second part then states what are the penalties inflicted by the Church as punishments for misdemeanors: some have as their principal aim the bringing of the guilty to a better state of mind (these are called medicinal penalties or censures: excommunication, interdict, suspension, for which the guilty person has the right to obtain absolution as soon as he shows sincere repentance; the principal aim of others, on the other hand, is in the first place the restoration of the social order [these are called vindictive penalties: certain deprivations of rights, certain interdicts, reparation, deposition, degradation of clerics, etc.]; still others aim at doing both: warnings, supervision, prayers to be recited, fasts, retreats, pilgrimages, etc.). The third part, finally, defines the penalty or penalties incurred for each misdemeanor (can. 2195-2414).

The foregoing makes us realize what abundant documentation on the life of the Church is offered to us by our Code of canon law and the long series of legislative texts of which it is the descendant. The resultant interest for a theologian appears immediately evident.

In addition to making an important contribution to ecclesiastical law as such, canon law gives us the norms of the divine institutions through which, and often even in which, the deposit of faith is transmitted to us today. A theologian cannot exhaust the consideration of his object without analyzing the concrete conditions in which it is presented to him by the Church and by the authority to which law constantly appeals and which is the basis of sacred doctrine. Undoubtedly everything is not to be taken as it stands in canon law. We must distinguish and interpret. We must know how to go back to dogma from the canons as we do from the liturgy. But that is only possible because the law of the Church, like her

liturgy, is pregnant with dogmatic material. It has all been worked out in the living faith of the Church.

Canon law, called "practical theology" by the theologian Melchior Cano, is therefore one of the proper *loci* of theology.

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Chapter V

THE FATHERS AND DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

by Th. Camelot, O.P.

- I. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS (First and second centuries)
 - II. THE SECOND CENTURY (The Apologists and the anti-Gnostic literature)
 - III. THE THIRD CENTURY (The theological schools)
 - IV. THE FOURTH CENTURY
 - V. THE FIFTH CENTURY (The end of the patristic age)
 - VI. THE DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH
- BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chapter V

THE FATHERS AND DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

We have already spoken of the importance of the ordinary and universal magisterium of the Church as the organ of living Tradition in continuity with apostolic preaching. The *Fathers* are the specially qualified witnesses of this magisterium; as bishops (generally) and doctors of the first centuries, they preached the faith, often defended it at the price of blood against paganism or heresy and sought to give it rational expression. Taken individually, each of them has merely the value of an isolated witness in whom, however, the Church can recognize exceptional authority, as in the case of a Saint Athanasius, a Saint Basil, a Saint Cyril, a Saint Augustine. But their unanimous testimony (a moral unanimity, of course, represents what was the common faith of the Church at a given time: "what was believed everywhere, always and by everyone" as Saint Vincent of Lerins said in the fifth century [Commonit. II, 6].) The more ancient is their testimony the more significant and authoritative it is considered, since it then represents the primitive outpouring of faith and Christian tradition at its source.

We shall try to provide a general outline of patristic literature from its beginnings down to the eighth century, as well as of the development of Christian dogma in its essential lines in order to permit the reader of this text to situate historically the Fathers whose names will be mentioned during the course of this work, and at the same time permit him to acknowledge the contribution of each of them to the common treasure of the faith.

I. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES

Since the seventeenth century, we designate by this name a rather mixed group of authors of whom at least the oldest are contemporaries of the latter part of the apostolic age. As these writings were occasional pieces composed without theological or literary preoccupations

pations, they are our most precious witness to the faith and life of the first Christian generations.

Saint Clement of Rome, the third successor to Saint Peter, wrote a letter around A.D. 96 to the Church of Corinth which was troubled by schisms. Being a serene and vigorous exhortation to peace and concord and to submission to the hierarchy, this letter is both a documentation of the charity which united the Churches, of the hierarchical constitution of the Church (bishops, priests, deacons), and an indication of the authority of the Church of Rome. A long prayer of thanksgiving (ch. 59-61) is an example of the liturgical prayer of the first century which was still very close to the prayer of the synagogue. A composition called the *Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* is a homily (from Rome?) dating from around 150.

Saint Ignatius of Antioch, martyred at Rome around 110, wrote seven letters to different Churches of Asia and to the Church of Rome. Being the echo of a soul passionately in love with Christ and athirst for martyrdom, these letters are perhaps the most precious document of ancient Christian literature. As Saint Polycarp said: "They contain faith and patience and all edification relating to Our Lord." They provide a complete picture of the belief and life of the Church for the first years of the second century, touching, as they do, upon faith in Christ, His double nature, His virginal birth, upon the Church and her hierarchy (a monarchical episcopate), on baptism and the eucharist, on tradition and the authority of Scripture, on the reaction in the face of nascent heresies and on the Roman Church.

With the teaching of the Apostolic Fathers we put *The Shepherd* work of *Hermas*, a Roman layman of the middle of the second century. The visions (of the Church, of the angel of penance) and the parables in his work relate it to the apocalyptic type of literature. Although there is still a rudimentary Christology, it is an interesting echo of the moral preoccupations of the Christian community and one of the most important documents on the problem of the repentance offered to a sinner, but once only, as a possibility of forgiveness after baptism.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (Didache), was for a long time considered as the oldest Christian text after the canonical Scriptures. At present there is a tendency to transfer it to at least around 150 (it would seem to depend on the apocryphal *Epistle of Barnabas*

which goes back to the time of Hadrian 115–130), or even down to the beginning of the third century. Its unknown author (Syrian? Egyptian?), however, could have used earlier documents and the prayers that it has conserved for us (whose properly eucharistic character has not been absolutely demonstrated) are very moving and were taken up by later liturgies (anaphora of Serapion, Egypt, fourth century).

II. The Second Century

THE APOLOGISTS. THE ANTI-GNOSTIC LITERATURE

1. In face of the growing opposition to the new religion (persecutions by the emperors, the odious calumnies of the common people, the intellectual reaction of cultivated circles), the Christians sought to refute the objections and calumnies and at the same time tried to justify their faith rationally. The result was an abundant apologetical literature coming in great part from lay writers, often converted philosophers, who ran a school of Christianity, for example, Justin “philosopher and martyr.”

In them we find more than just retorts to the pagan counter-offensive; they contain beautiful expositions of the moral transformation brought about by the religion of Christ, of the purity of the new morals, of the charity of Christians, e.g. in Aristides, “the philosopher of Athens” under Hadrian, or in the *Epistle to Diognetus* whose author may be Quadratus. Others, like Athenagoras (*A Plea for Christians* 177) undertook to show the absurdity and immorality of paganism while remaining very open towards Greek culture and philosophy. Systematic opposition to Hellenism is relatively rare (Tatian, Hermias).

The most important of the second century Apologists was undoubtedly Saint Justin, a Greek of Palestinian origin, who was martyred at Rome around 165. In his two *Apologies* (written around 155–161) we find not only the already classical themes of apologetics but also a complete exposition of the Christian faith and a demonstration of the divinity of Christ by means of the prophecies. In this work which is a liturgical document of the highest importance (it contains a detailed description of the rites of baptism and of the eucharist, I, 61, 65-67) we find the desire to build a bridge between Christianity and philosophy by means of the theology of the *Logos* which appeared in its plenitude in Christ but in which every human

intelligence participates since it has received a germ, as it were, of the Logos. This is the first example of the rational development of biblical data by means of a philosophical contribution (in this case, Stoicism)—The *Dialogue* with the Jew Tryphon must be situated (after the Epistle of Barnabas) among the writings which sought to show the obsolete state of Judaism for which, henceforth, must be substituted the Church of Christ who calls to herself all nations.

The three books addressed to Autolykus by Saint Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, expound a theology of the Word developed under two headings: the Logos was at first immanent in God; then He manifested Himself outwardly by the creation of the world. Theophilus is the first to speak of a Trinity (trias).

The effort of the Apologists may be summed up as: the refutation of paganism and the ardent demonstration of the divinity of the new religion, a desire to render Christianity acceptable to philosophers, the first outlines of a trinitarian theology. The following centuries were to have additional learned, brilliant and solid apologies.

2. *Gnosticism* was a fearful peril for the Church of the second century. In an effort to achieve religious knowledge superior to the faith it emptied the whole content of revelation and substituted a collection of myths taken over from Greco-Oriental mysticism; only the vocabulary remained Christian. Founded on a radical dualism, an opposition between God and the world, between the good God and the bad demiurge who created the world, it imagined a system of emanations and of intermediaries (the eons; the aggregate of them was called the *pleroma*), a myth concerning a fall and a re-ascension, in which authentic Christianity simply vanished. The spread of this system was considerable and the literature it produced abundant; but these works have almost entirely perished and are only known to us by means of the refutations of them composed in Catholic circles; particularly by Saint Irenaeus and Saint Hypolytus, from which source the later expounders of heresy were to draw.

Saint Irenaeus was the most notable representative of the orthodox reaction against the Gnostics and one of the most important Fathers of the first three centuries. He came originally from Asia Minor where he had been a disciple of Saint Polycarp of Smyrna through whom he was connected with the tradition of Saint John the Apostle; he went to Rome where he knew Saint Justin, and from there into Gaul where after the persecution of 177 he became Bishop of Lyon. Of his numerous writings there remains, besides the *Dem-*

onstratation of Apostolic Preaching, a short catechesis, only his great work the *Demonstration and Refutation of the False Gnostics (Ad-versus Haereses)* in five books which he put out at intervals around 180. The original Greek text has been lost in great part, but we have a very old and very literal Latin translation.

In addition to the exposition and refutation of the different Gnostic theologies we find in Irenaeus the very firm affirmation of some of the fundamental principles of Christian thought: the living tradition of the Church which comes from the Apostles is the rule of faith; the uninterrupted continuity of episcopal succession from the apostles guarantees the faith of the churches as it is expressed in the baptismal *credo*; among the local churches the Roman Church possesses the highest authority by reason of its origin. Salvation does not consist in a superior "gnosis" but in the revelation of Christ which by completing the long series of divine instructions makes known the Father. There is but one single God, the Creator and Redeemer. The whole of human nature, body and soul, must be saved by the Word Who, by truly taking our flesh "recapitulated" in Himself the whole of humanity and both restored and completed it in order to divinize and present it to the Father. Beside the new Adam stands Mary the new Eve (this idea had already appeared in Saint Justin).

We could not exaggerate the importance of Irenaeus who, without being an extremely personal theologian, is a faithful witness of the tradition which he draws from its authentic sources and which he expresses in vigorous and original formulas; to the ruinous speculations of the Gnostics he opposed the sureness of his Christian instinct, of his faith in Christ and the work of our salvation. Christian theology is obliged to him for some of its most fundamental theses which were passed on to the West by Tertullian and to the East by Athanasius.

(On Saint Hypolytus, see below).

III. The Third Century

THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

1. The third century saw the taking shape of currents of thought that we may call "schools" of theology provided that we take this expression loosely as meaning doctrinal currents and not scholarly institutions. The Fathers now had to cope not only with a counter-church like Gnosticism, which questioned the very essence of

Christianity, but also with more or less successful attempts at rationally explaining dogma. They were clumsy theologians not only because they used a still faltering language but especially because they started with false presuppositions; they ended in schisms, in the formation of little separated churches in opposition to the Great Church; they provided her with the occasion for formulating her dogma more rigorously.

The great question of the third century was the theology of the Trinity: men sought to reconcile the monotheism inherited from the Old Testament with faith in the divinity of Christ.

One system of more rationalist aspect saw Christ as a man *adopted* by God (Theodotus, Arteman); it was to reappear in the Orient with Paul of Samosata and in the fifth century in Nestorianism.

Another tendency, which corresponded better to the aspirations of the Christian soul, safeguarded both the divinity of Jesus Christ and the divine unity or "monarchy" by admitting in practice "two names and a single person": Christ then would be merely a modality of God. As Noetus said: "Christ is the Father Himself who was born and who suffered" (*Patripassianism*: Noetus, Praxeas and later Sabellius).

The bishops of Rome, (Victor, Zephyrinus, Callistus) opposed these different errors and so affirmed their doctrinal authority; it was in opposition to them also that the doctors worked out a theology of the Incarnation.

At Rome, *Saint Hypolytus*, a rather strange personage, teacher, schismatic and martyr, set himself up against pope Callistus, separated from the Church (217) and died in exile reconciled with pope Pontian (235). He published a refutation of all heresies (*Philosophoumena*), another work against heresies of which there only remains a fragment *Against Noetus*, some exegetical commentaries (on Daniel, on the Canticle), a *Chronicle*, and a precious canonical and liturgical collection called the *Apostolic Tradition* (it has preserved for us the oldest known eucharistic anaphora). His theology of the Word has the same deficiencies as that of the Apologists; the Word would not have manifested Himself fully as such until the moment of the Incarnation; on the other hand his reaction against Monarchianism takes on some Adoptianist tendencies which have subjected him to the accusation of "Ditheism." He professed rigorous tendencies in opposition to the merciful measures of pope Callistus; his

attitude represents an important moment for the development of the penitential discipline of the Church.

Around 250, Novatian, also a Roman priest, separated himself from the Church by opposing Saint Cornelius and wrote a *De Trinitate* in Latin.

2. The Church of *Africa* (Carthage) had a brilliant flowering of theology and literature during this period.

Tertullian (died at a very advanced age after 220) is the first Latin Christian writer and a very great writer, the founder of Latin theology which he provided with a definite vocabulary from the very beginning (*persona, substantia*). As an apologist he revived the traditional themes (the Apologeticum contemplated particularly the juridical and political aspect of the persecutions); as a controversialist he vigorously established the primacy and the apostolic origin of Catholic tradition against the new doctrines (the *De Praescriptione* is one of the most important ancient works on tradition); as a severe moralist he defended the purity of Christian morals against all compromise but his rigorism and his Montanism¹ ultimately put him outside the Church (The *De Pudicitia* against the pretended novelties of a bishop (Callistus of Rome? Agrippinus of Carthage?) was violently opposed to all ecclesiastical reconciliation being accorded to sinners, thus contradicting the former affirmations of his *De Paenitentia*). Tertullian also gradually came to forbid absolutely all second marriages. As a theologian he defended the unity of creation, the reality of Christ's flesh and the resurrection of the body against the Gnostics, against Marcion² the unity of the two Testaments, against Praxeas the theology of the Trinity. Although his theology of the Word still suffers from the imperfections of the second century theology of the Logos, he distinguishes clearly in God the unity of substance and the trinity of equal persons; in Christ the unity of the

¹ *Montanism*, which sprang up in Phrygia in the last third of the second century, was a "spiritual" movement which announced the incarnation of the Holy Spirit and the reign of the Paraclete, and the imminence of the parousia. It considered the charismatic gifts and "prophecy" extremely important and preached a rigorous asceticism. It spread rapidly in Asia and even passed over into Gaul and Africa. It is not unlikely that the *Didache* has some traces of Montanism.

² Marcion, prolonging Gnostic dualism, radically opposed the Old and New Testament, God the Creator, author of the law and God the Saviour, the "estranged God," the father of Jesus. He rejected the Old Testament and threw out of the New anything alluding to it.

person and the duality of the natures, each of which keeps its own properties. His treatise *De Baptismo* is a precious witness to the baptismal liturgy of the beginning of the third century, and Tertullian is the first to sketch a theology of the sacraments (*De Resurrectione Carnis*, 6). He was a brilliant, difficult and often extremist writer, but Latin theology owes to him the first outline of its fundamental theses (Trinity, Incarnation, Sacraments) as well as the first elements of its vocabulary.

Saint Cyprian, the great bishop and martyr (died 258), does not have the intellectual vigor of his master Tertullian. Being above all a pastor and moralist his correspondence reflects the life of a church and the cares of a bishop of around 250, e.g.: problems concerning those who fell away during the persecution of Decius (*De Lapis*), the progress of the penitential institution, the unity of the Church as affirmed against the schisms (the *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* is not so much an *ex professo* treatise on the unity of the universal Church as an appeal for the peace and unity of the Church and for communion with the bishop who is the sign and foundation of unity in each church); later a still imperfect theology as to the role of the minister in the administration of the sacraments caused him to deny the validity of baptisms conferred by heretics and put him in opposition to pope Stephen.

3. The theology of *Alexandria* appears as an absolutely original school—from Origen on it even formed a "school" properly so-called—and represents one of the most important periods of Christian thought at work on its faith.

We know practically nothing about *Pantaenus*. *Clement* (died before 215) put his extensive knowledge of letters and of Greek philosophy at the service of the faith. As an apologist he showed the Greeks that Christianity is the true philosophy and that only the *Logos* corresponds to their aspirations towards light and truth (*Protrepticus*); as a moralist he expounded the principles of the new life in Christ and their application to the details of daily life (the *Pedagogue*); as a theologian he tried to work out a Christian gnosis, a superior wisdom, a knowledge of the "mysteries" hidden in Scripture under the veil of allegory, an effort of moral perfection which ends in contemplation and martyrdom (*Stromata*, a collection of various miscellaneous items which replaced the announced *Didascalia*). Although an optimistic and generous thinker and an enthusiastic writer, he is often imprecise and confused, and his theology is

defective at times (for example on the Word), but we cannot disregard the importance of his effort nor underestimate the influence he exercised through Origen on the mystical theology of the Orient.

Origen (185–252) is, after Saint Augustine, the greatest name in ancient Christian literature and certainly the greatest scholar of the whole of Christian antiquity. He transformed the catechetical school of Alexandria into an establishment of higher scriptural and theological learning: but his teaching aroused such opposition against him that he was deposed from his chair and exiled from the synods in 230–231; he took refuge at Caesarea in Palestine where he brought to a close his long and fruitful career; he was tortured during the persecution of Decius and died as a result of his injuries. As a learned exegete, a severe ascetic and a mystic of the highest order, he is without contradiction one of the most attractive figures of the first Christian centuries.

He undertook to establish a critical text of the Old Testament by comparing the Septuagint translation with the original Hebrew and other translations (*Hexapla*). He commented upon almost all the books of Scripture through the medium of textual notes (*Scholia*), learned commentaries (*Tomes*), and homely, very delightful *Homilies*. He was the first to formulate the theory of the three senses of Scripture based on the analogy of human psychology: body (the letter), soul and spirit. He refuted the anti-Christian work of the Platonist Celsus in an apology (*Contra Celsum*) which is considered to be one of the most notable of this type of compositions. He tried to give the first systematic exposition of the *Principles* of theology (*Peri Archon*).

Without disregarding the importance of the literal sense, his exegesis tends to make excessive use of allegory; especially his theological speculation is not always freed enough from the cosmological conceptions of his time, e.g., creation *ab aeterno*, pre-existence of souls (and of the soul of Christ united to the Word by love), subordination of the Son to the Father and of the Spirit to the Son, final restoration of the world (*apocatastasis*) for new existences; however, this theology was to have considerable repercussions on the later development of Christian thought: Trinity, Incarnation, Sacraments; through the Cappadocian Fathers the best of Origenism was passed on into Christian thought and mysticism. The condemnations of Justinian (543–553) which were aimed at certain details or certain of

his overbold theses do not harm the essential thought of the Alexandrine master.

4. At the beginning of the fourth century, there was created at *Antioch*, around the holy martyr Lucian (died 312), an exegetical school whose strictly literal tendencies were opposed to the mystical allegorism of the Alexandrines. It endowed ancient exegesis with some of its greatest names (Theodore of Mopsueta, John Chrysostom, Theodoret) but it is also to it that certain theologies of rationalistic tendencies can claim kinship (Arianism, Nestorianism), while at Alexandria it was a theology of mystical leanings which arose (Apollinarianism, Monophysism).

Thus on the eve of the fourth century the Church had already largely cultivated the deposit confided to her: she had fixed the broad outlines of her theology as regards tradition and authority, the Trinity and the Incarnation, baptism and penance. It was the business of the fourth and fifth centuries to develop and accentuate them.

IV. The Fourth Century

After the "great persecution" of Diocletian the edicts of Constantine and Licinius (Milan and Nicomedia 313) gave peace to the Church which henceforth was to enjoy a recognized and protected official situation. At the end of the century the edicts of Theodosius obliged all the peoples of the Empire to live in the Christian faith (380) and proscribed pagan worship (391). Since she was now free to expand the Church could make ample use of the riches of ancient culture: she could work at elaborating a Christian culture as well as a Christian society, and as a result the fourth century saw a magnificent literary flowering of Christian inspiration; her doctors were the great writers, greatly superior as such to the contemporary pagan authors because of the depth of their inspiration and the sincerity of their faith.

On the doctrinal plane the fourth century was dominated by *Arianism*, a formidable attempt of Hellenic thought to rationalize Christianity. Arius, a priest of Alexandria and disciple of Saint Lucian of Antioch, taught that the Word was not of one substance with the Father but that he had been created in time from nothing by the Father. The Council of Nicea, the first "ecumenical" council, convoked by Constantine, condemned Arius and defined that the Word

is *consubstantial* (*homoousios*) with the Father (325; regarding the creed of Nicea, see further page 172).

Saint *Athanasius the Great*, patriarch of Alexandria in 328, was the tireless defender of the faith of Nicea; caught up in the fluctuations of imperial politics he was exiled five times and spent seventeen years of his life in exile, but without ceasing to resist the Arian bishops and their protectors Constantius and Valens (373).

His first work, an apology *Against the Pagans and on the Incarnation of the Word*, sketches the broad outlines of his Christology: "The Word of God became man so that we might become God." Besides his occasional writings (*Apology to Constantius*, *Apology against the Arians*, *Apology for his Flight*, *History of the Arian Monks*, *The Decrees of the Council of Nicea*, *The Synods*, etc.) his great work is a treatise in three books entitled *Against the Arians*; in it he discusses at great length the biblical texts on which Arius claimed to base his doctrine and incessantly returns to this central idea which commands the whole theology of the Fathers: if the Word of God is not God, in all things equal to the Father, how could He divinize us? He opposes the mystery of our salvation to a cosmological system based upon a theory of intermediaries. Towards the end of his life he sketched a theology of the Holy Spirit in four letters to Serapion, bishop of Thmuis. A *Life of Saint Anthony* and a treatise *On Virginity*¹ make Saint Athanasius also the doctor of asceticism and a master of Christian perfection.

Saint Athanasius had defended the faith of Nicea. It was the task of the great Cappadocian doctors, the heirs of Origen's tradition, to elaborate a theology of the Trinity, particularly by determining the meaning of certain formulas (person or hypostases) about which Athanasius had sometimes hesitated, and by establishing an equivalence between Greek and Latin vocabulary (hypostasis-persona; ousia-substantia).

Saint Basil of Caesarea (329–379), successively rhetor, monk and bishop, was a preacher and exegete (*Homilies on the Hexameron*), a master of ascetics and the lawgiver of Oriental monasticism (*Rules*)²; he is the theologian who admonishes Eunomius concerning the respect due to God, who caused the formula of one substance in three hypostases to triumph (a progress over the terminology of

¹ This is not the Greek text by the same title but a Coptic translation.

² As abridged and translated into Latin by Rufinus the *Rules* of Saint Basil were known and utilized by Saint Benedict.

Nicea), who without daring to go so far as to call the Holy Spirit *God*, established His divinity and consubstantiality (*De Spiritu Sancto*), the moralist who vigorously preached to the rich on their duties and the social function of wealth, and who carefully brought out the advantages and the dangers of pagan culture for Christian formation (*To Young Men*).

Saint Gregory Nazianzen (329–390), a contemplative forced into action despite himself, was bishop of Constantinople from 379–381 and took part in the second ecumenical council. A poet and letter writer, he is of interest to us here especially as an orator; he preached belief in the Trinity, particularly in his five *Theological Discourses* delivered at Constantinople (he distinguished the persons by their relations of origin), and openly proclaimed the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Against Apollinarius who refused to admit a reasonable soul in Christ he defended the integrity of the human nature of the Word who “saves only what he assumes”; he also sketched the first traits of the Christology which was to develop in the fifth century.

Saint Gregory of Nyssa (335–394), the younger brother of Saint Basil and like him first of all rhetor and then monk, was consecrated by him as bishop of Nyssa in Cappadocia. An orator, philosopher and theologian, he was also a great mystic (*Contemplation on the Life of Moses, Commentaries on the Canticle, on the Beatitudes, Treatise on Virginity*) whose influence was destined to be profound; in the West it extended down to William of Saint Thierry and Saint Bernard (the mystical character of baptism, renouncement, mystical illumination). As an adversary of Eunomius and Apollinarius his trinitarian theology is not exempt from a false Platonic realism. His *Catechetical Discourse*, which is not a catechesis, is a unified outline of the whole of his theology and contains the first attempt at a theology of transubstantiation.

Despite the differences which separate him from the Cappadocians we must say a word here about *Saint Cyril of Jerusalem* (died 386), an anti-Arian theologian, who, however, systematically avoided using the term *homoousios*. His baptismal *Catecheses* are a precious witness to the faith of the Church of Jerusalem; the last five of them (*Mystagogical Catecheses*, but are they really by him?), an initiation into the mysteries, addressed to the newly baptized during Easter week, are a liturgical document of the first order.

While the Cappadocians were thinking through the faith of Nicea

and assimilating the best of the traditions of Origen for the benefit of Christian theology and mysticism, other authors at Antioch and in Syria who were associated with the tradition of Saint Lucian represented a different tendency: in exegesis they were more literal and scientific, in theology more rationalizing and moralizing.

Diodorus of Tarsus (died at the end of the fourth century) and *Theodore of Mopsueta* (died 428) were implicated in the condemnation of Nestorianism and in consequence had their writings destroyed. As they were above all exegetes attached to the historical and literal interpretation of Scripture as a reaction against the allegorical exegesis of Alexandria, they prepared the way for Nestorius.

A disciple of Diodorus of Tarsus, an ascetic, then deacon and priest, *John of Antioch* (*John Chrysostom*, 354–407) received the office of preaching from bishop Flavian. Because of his renown he was chosen bishop of Constantinople (398). But the jealousy of the court bishops, the resentment of the Empress Eudoxia, and the intrigues of Theophilus of Alexandria, caused him to be deposed and exiled (403–404); he died in exile in Pontus in 407. He is without doubt both the greatest preacher and the greatest exegete of antiquity. In his homilies he commented upon Matthew, Luke, John and the Acts, and his commentary on Saint Paul is certainly the best there is. Following the principles of the school of Antioch his exegesis is both historical and doctrinal, and rich in moral applications. An ascetical writer, a defender of monasticism and virginity, he also knew how to teach married people to attain holiness in their state of life. As a theologian he reminded the Ammonians of the impossibility of comprehending the divine essence and of the consubstantiality of the Word. He preached Christ as having two natures within a single unity.

Theodoret of Cyrus (died 480), the adversary of Saint Cyril in his struggle with Nestorius, and because of this condemned by the second council of Constantinople (553) along with Theodore of Mopsueta, the author of an important treatise against Monophysism (*Eranistes*) and of apologetical and historical works, is above all a precise and penetrating exegete who joined spiritual interpretation to his literal exegesis (Psalms, Canticle, Saint Paul).

The Latin Fathers of the same period are of a rather different character. They were both less speculative and less original than the Greeks. They were not ignorant of the Greeks whose principal works were translated into Latin by such hard workers as Rufinus and

Jerome, but they were often satisfied just to adapt the teaching of the Greeks to their Latin hearers (Ambrose). As exegetes they acclimatized the spiritual and allegorical interpretation of a writer such as Origen to the West; even Saint Jerome was no stranger to that method, and the whole of the Latin Middle Ages was indebted to him because of it. As moralists and pastors they were more interested in practical questions and contributed more than the Greeks to the elaboration of a theology of the Christian state and of a Christian society. Saint Augustine stands out above them all, and he alone is completely original.

Saint Hilary of Poitiers (died 367), the Athanasius of the West, was caught up rather late in the eddies of Arianism. When exiled to Asia Minor he became acquainted with the doctrine of the Greek Fathers and composed his *De Trinitate* which defended the divinity and eternal generation of the Word by the use of Scripture. This work had a great deal of influence on the *De Trinitate* of Saint Augustine. His historical and polemical writings on Arianism belong to the same period. When he returned to Gaul, he worked at the restoration of orthodoxy. As an exegete he commented upon Saint Matthew and the Psalms, and explained the *Mysteries* of the Old Testament.

Saint Ambrose (339–397), a high imperial functionary elected bishop of Milan under conditions which are well known (373), was one of the greatest bishops the Church has ever known. Confronted with a nominally Christian empire which claimed to be able to dictate to the Church, he became the first theologian of Church-State relations. At the same time he accommodated the teachings of the Greek doctors to his parishioners (*De Fide, De Spiritu Sancto*); he commented upon Scripture according to the principles of spiritual and allegorical interpretation (*Homilies on the Hexameron* according to Saint Basil; various books of the Old Testament; *Commentary on Saint Luke* according to Origen); he taught his clerics their duties by drawing upon Cicero (*De Officiis*); he preached eloquently on virginity and was with Saint Jerome one of the first Western defenders of the cult of Mary; he initiated the neophytes into the mysteries they had just received by two series of catecheses which have the same importance for the Western liturgy that the catecheses of Saint Cyril of Jerusalem have for the Orient (*De Mysteriis, De Sacramentis*); the authenticity of the latter was disputed for a long time,

some considering the former to be just an adaptation made by Am- brose from the *De Sacramentis*; it is now accepted as authentic).

Saint Jerome (c. 350–419), ascetic and scholar, hermit in the Syrian desert and secretary to pope Damasus, disciple of Saint Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople and spiritual director of great Roman ladies, and finally a recluse in his monastery of Bethlehem, a formidable controversialist and a strenuous worker, a troubled and susceptible friend, a sensitive soul, is assuredly one of the most picturesque, and even one of the most attractive figures of Christian antiquity. He translated a certain number of the works of Origen, Eusebius and Didymus from the Greek; he fiercely fought the adversaries of asceticism and virginity; he carried on a long and painful controversy about Origen with his old friend Rufinus; he sent letters of direction and controversy, treatises of exegesis or theology, throughout the whole of Christendom; at the request of pope Damasus he undertook a revision of the Latin translation of the whole Bible, and it was his translation that became authoritative for the whole West (Vulgate); he commented upon the Psalms and a part of the New Testament for his monks of Bethlehem. Perhaps his erudition was not as profound as he tried to make out, and his exegesis is undoubtedly rather short and superficial; his translations are more valuable than his commentaries. Nevertheless, he stands as the admirable model of a life entirely consecrated to the service of the Church and to the unceasing study of the word of God.

Saint Augustine (354–430) was the greatest of the Latin Fathers, and undoubtedly the greatest of all the Fathers of the Church; his thought dominates the whole history of Latin theology. We know the great stages of his life, his youth at Tagaste, at Rome, at Milan, the crisis which ended in his conversion and baptism (387), his priesthood and episcopacy at Hippo (395), his death (Aug. 28, 430) in that city as it was besieged by the Vandals. As heir to the whole of antique culture and philosophy he was the principal artisan of the elaboration of a Christian culture and civilization in the West. His theology dominated all Latin theology; it played the leading role down to the thirteenth century; it still animated large portions of the thought of Saint Thomas and even after him his influence remained visible in a great number of Christian thinkers who stayed faithful to Augustinian inspiration.

He should be studied as a philosopher who took up and acclimated into Christianity certain Platonist themes (knowledge by par-

ticipation in divine light, wisdom and contemplation, time and eternity). He should be studied as an exegete putting all the resources of culture at the service of a better understanding of Scripture (*De Doctrina Christiana*), studying with care the problems posed by Genesis (*De Genesi ad Litteram*) or the differences of the gospel accounts (*De Consensu Evangelistarum*), and especially untiringly commenting upon the Psalms and Saint John's Gospel for his people; without avoiding the abuses of allegory Augustine provided one of the best examples of the spiritual interpretation of Scripture, as well as a model of very simple and popular, yet deeply spiritual, preaching.

In the *Enchiridion* we can find a general exposition of his theology, in the *De Vera Religione* or the *De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae* the echo of his discussions with the Manicheans (but to what degree did Augustine not continue to be influenced by Manicheism despite himself?). The controversy against the Donatist schism absorbed Augustine until 411 and inspired a good part of the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and the *Tractatus in Joannem*, e.g., concerning the value of baptisms conferred by heretics, on the mystery and unity of the Church; we must look in the *Enarrationes* for the best pages of Augustine on the Mystical Body, and in the *Tractatus* for his teaching on the sacraments, particularly on the Eucharist. From 412 until the end of his life Augustine was preoccupied with the struggle against Pelagianism (*De Gratia Christi et de Peccato Originali*, etc.). Augustine opposed his experience of sin (original sin) and of the gratuity and the omnipotence of grace to an entirely human and rational conception of grace; he reminded the Provençal monks (later called semi-Pelagians) that the initiative of our good works and of the faith itself comes from God (*De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum*). The controversy continued during the fifth century: in Africa Prosper of Aquitaine and Fulgentius of Ruspe defended the Augustinian theses against Cassian, Vincent of Lerins,³ Faustus of Riez and other Gauls, until the council of Orange, called together by Saint Cesarius (died 542) in 529, sanctioned the Augustinian theology of grace, refusing, however, to accept certain hard-

³ Cassian (died c. 430) transmitted all the spiritual experience of Egyptian monasticism to the West and became the spiritual master of the whole Latin Middle Ages (*Institutes, Conferences of the Fathers*). Vincent of Lerins outlined a theology of tradition and dogmatic progress in his *Commonitorium* (434).

enings of his thought (predestination, reprobation) which were to give birth to dangerous errors at a later time.

We must also point out the important part that Augustine gives to moral and ascetical questions (virginity and marriage); the classical theology, although perhaps a little brief and pessimistic, of "the goods of marriage" comes from him. Finally, we must say a word about the two major works of Augustine. The *De Trinitate* (400–416) is both a complete exposition of the Latin theology of the Trinity and an attempt at finding an image of the Trinity in human psychology: knowledge and love, memory and presence, wisdom; we must seek out the great Augustinian themes in this work. *The City of God* (413–426) is a whole theology of the city and of history, of the implication of the kingdom of God in the world and of their necessary distinction, and at the same time it laid the foundation of the Christian and medieval notion of the state. The work of Saint Augustine represents the most magnificent effort of the faith in quest of understanding (the formula of Saint Anselm, "*Fides quaerens intellectum*," was inspired by him), a "spiritual understanding" which blossoms into wisdom.

V. The Fifth Century

THE END OF THE PATRISTIC AGE

The patristic literature of the fifth century was a great deal less rich although no less abundant than in the preceding periods. The decline of culture became rapidly more pronounced; the empire was falling apart under the pressure of the barbarian invasions; the rift between East and West was widened; the East was split by theological controversies complicated by political and national rivalries which prepared the way for the rending apart of Christendom and for its abasement before Islam. However, we must not belittle the dogmatic and spiritual importance of the problems involved and of the solutions offered for them.

It was not only two great patriarchates that came into opposition but two theologies and two spiritualities of opposing tendencies. The theologians of Antioch who were more attentive to the historical realities of the Gospel were led to distinguish more radically between what belonged to Christ as man and what belonged to Him as God, and to see between the two only a purely moral union. Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople, always refused to speak of a "physical"

or hypostatic union in the sense understood by Saint Cyril, and as a result denied that Mary, the mother of Christ, was "the mother of God" (*theotokos*). He was deposed by the Council of Ephesus (431). The Monophysite reaction which followed induced the emperor Marcian to convoke a new council at Chalcedon (451) at which presided the legates of pope Saint Leo; it canonized the letter of Leo to Flavian of Constantinople (*Tome to Flavian*) and defined that there were in Christ two distinct and perfect natures, united without confusion nor mixture in a single person or hypostasis, God the Word, the only Son of God. Antiochene and Roman theology had prevailed over Alexandrine theology. Syrian and Egyptian Monophysite resistance to Chalcedon were destined to engender endless quarrels, a crumbling apart of the unity of the Christian Orient, and the formation of separated churches (Nestorian, Jacobite) which are still not reconciled to this day.

All these debates were overshadowed by two great figures, *Saint Cyril of Alexandria* and *Saint Leo the Great*.

Saint Cyril of Alexandria (died 444), "the seal of the Fathers," brought the golden age of patristic literature to a glorious close in the Orient. As the fierce adversary of Nestorius whom he had condemned at Ephesus, he was the great theologian of the hypostatic union. The looseness of his terminology, which unknowingly contained certain Apollinarian formulas, for a long time hindered Oriental theologians (Theodoret) from rallying to his teaching. It was only at Chalcedon that unity on the choice of terminology was finally attained. A defender of the Incarnate Word and of the divine maternity of Mary, Cyril is also a great theologian of the Trinity, a valuable exegete (his Commentary on Saint John is one of the best there is) and a master of the spiritual life who shows the Christian as divinized by the Incarnate Word and the Holy Spirit.

The twelve *Anathematisms* against Nestorius summarize the essence of his theology. They stirred up long controversies and were read at Ephesus although not officially canonized by the council.

The mysteriously unknown writer of the strange writings passed off under the name of *Dionysius the Areopagite* was undoubtedly connected with the Syrian Monophysite circles of the end of the fifth century. His theology which was strongly influenced by Neoplatonism (Proclus) is one of participation and of hierarchy (*The Celestial Hierarchy, the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*); it is also a theology of the negative knowledge of God, of intuition and of ecstasy (*Mys-*

tical Theology). This work was universally accepted from the sixth century down as of apostolic origin, was translated into Latin by Scotus Erigena (850), and exercised a considerable influence in both East and West (theology of the knowledge of God, of the angels, of the sacraments, of the episcopate, of the contemplative life).

Monophysism had some great theologians in the sixth century: *Severus of Antioch*, *Julian of Halicarnassus*; their principal opponent was *Leontius of Byzantium* who contributed considerably to the theology of the Incarnation, by showing that the human nature of Christ subsists in the hypostasis of the Word.

In the seventh century, *Saint Maximus the Confessor* (died 662) was the adversary of the *Monothelites* (a heresy stemming from Monophysism which maintained that there is but a single will in Christ) and a great mystical writer (the *Hundred Chapters on Charity*).

Saint John Damascene (died 749) brought the patristic period to a close. His principal work, *The Source of Knowledge*, summarizes the whole of Greek theology in its third part (*De Fide Orthodoxa*); it was the manual of dogmatic theology for the Byzantine and Slav Church; when translated into Latin in the twelfth century it transmitted the whole essential of the heritage of the Fathers to the West.

In the West, *Saint Leo the Great* (pope from 440–451) was, after Damasus and Innocent I, and before Gelasius, the first pope to be a great writer and a solid theologian as well as a *defensor civitatis*: he marched out to meet Attila in 425. His *Sermons* are admirable models of liturgical and dogmatic preaching as well as of Roman sobriety and precision. His letters are important historical, theological and disciplinary documents. We have already mentioned the importance of his dogmatic epistle to Flavian of Constantinople (*Tome to Flavian*, 449) which expressed the Western theology of the Incarnation in decisive terms and which served as a basis for the definition of Chalcedon (two perfect natures in a single person).

Saint Cesarius of Arles (died 542) adapted the sermons and doctrine of Saint Augustine to the ways of a still pagan population. He was one of the best popular preachers of Latin antiquity.

At the end of antiquity and at the dawn of the Middle Ages, a very great pope, *Saint Gregory the Great* (590–604) gathered together the whole heritage of Christian antiquity and of a culture which was already on the way to decline, and laid the foundations of

medieval Christendom. His letters mirror his pastoral activity while the *Liber regulae pastoralis* expresses his ideal of the priest and the bishops; his commentaries on Job (*Moralia*) and his homilies on the Gospel and on Ezechiel were rampant with medieval allegory and gave rich moral and spiritual instruction; they were one of the sources of medieval spirituality (contemplative life).

VI. The Doctors of the Church

Certain of the Fathers stand out in high relief as having illuminated the entire field of revelation and as having blazed new trails for theology down through the ages; the most outstanding example is Saint Augustine, whose exceptional authority was already recognized by pope Celestine I shortly after his death. The Church recognizes in them the authorized interpreters of her doctrine.

The list of them was only drawn up little by little. From the eighth century the Latin Church so recognized Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome and Saint Gregory, while the Greek Church had three great "ecumenical doctors," Saint Basil, Saint Gregory Nazianzen and Saint John Chrysostom: later Latin tradition added the name of Saint Athanasius to these three so that we have four Greek doctors just as we have four Latin ones.

The title of doctor of the Church received its first official and liturgical sanction from Boniface VIII (1298): like the apostles and evangelists the four Latin doctors have an office of the double class with the creed at mass.

This list has grown considerably in modern times. In 1567 the Dominican Saint Pius V accorded the title of doctor to Saint Thomas Aquinas, and in 1588 the Franciscan Sixtus V conferred it upon Saint Bonaventure. From among the Fathers of the Church, Saint Athanasius, Saint Hilary, Saint Basil, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, Saint Gregory Nazianzen, Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Cyril of Alexandria, Saint Peter Chrysologus, Saint Leo, Saint Isidore of Seville and Saint John Damascene have all received the title and office of doctor; from among the theologians of the Middle Ages and of modern times, after Saint Thomas and Saint Bonaventure, the following have been similarly designated: Saint Bede (died 735), Saint Peter Damian (1072), Saint Anselm (1109), Saint Bernard (1153), Saint Anthony of Padua (1231), Saint Albert the Great (1280), Saint John of the Cross (1591), Saint Peter Canisius (1597), Saint Robert

Bellarmino (1621), Saint Francis de Sales (1622), and Saint Alphonsus Ligouri (1787).

In addition to a special liturgical office the title of doctor represents the approbation and recommendation of a man's doctrine, especially with a view to teaching.

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Note: For the text of the Fathers, it is necessary to return to the two *Patrologies* of Migne (162 and 221 vol., Paris, 1844–1866) which assemble the better editions of the 17th and 18th centuries. This collection, of which all the volumes do not have the same value, has not yet been surpassed. It remains indispensable.

Chapter VI
THE CREEDS
by Th. Camelot, O.P.

- I. THE APOSTLES' CREED**
- II. THE NICENE CREED**
- III. THE ATHANASIAN CREED**

Chapter VI

THE CREEDS

The Church, particularly in her liturgy, possesses certain formulas in which she has gathered together her faith; they are her pass-words, as it were, by which the true believers recognize one another. Such is the meaning of the word *symbolum*.

The three principal creeds are "the Apostles' Creed" used in the baptismal liturgy, "the Creed of Nicea-Constantinople" used in the mass, and "the Athanasian Creed" used in the Sunday office of prime.

I. The Apostles' Creed

It appears in the form that we know it in the sixth century (in a sermon of Saint Cesarius). We find that it was used at Rome during the first half of the fourth century in a slightly less developed form:

I believe in God the Father Almighty,
And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord,
Who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,
Was crucified under Pontius Pilate and was buried,
Who on the third day rose again from the dead,
And ascended into heaven, where He sits at the right hand of the Father,
Whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.

And in the Holy Spirit,
the Holy Church,
the remission of sins,
the resurrection of the body.

A century earlier the *Apostolic Tradition* of Saint Hypolytus (215) allows us to reconstruct the following text:

I believe in God the Father Almighty,
And in Jesus Christ the Son of God,
Who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary,
Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, died and was buried.
The third day He arose again alive from among the dead,
Ascended into heaven, and is sitting at the right hand of the Father,
He shall come to judge the living and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Church, the resurrection
of the body.¹

¹ According to some recent studies we should read this last article as: "I believe in the Holy Spirit, in the Holy Church, for the resurrection of the body."

The three parts of this formulary correspond to the three questions asked before baptism. The creed is a profession of faith in the Trinity. So it appears in a liturgical text which may go back to the end of the second century (papyrus of Dêr-Balyzeh):

I believe in God the Father Almighty,
And in His only Son Our Lord Jesus Christ,
And in the Holy Spirit and in the resurrection of the body in the
Holy Catholic Church.

Such is undoubtedly the most ancient form of the baptismal creed, a trinitarian formula directly related to the command given by Jesus in Matthew 28:19: "Baptize them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

Even at his time Tertullian remarked (*De Corona*, 3) that in the baptismal profession of faith they added something to the formula fixed by Jesus in the Gospel.

Indeed, we know of some professions of faith in Christ: born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate and resurrected on the third day; they may be related to certain developments that we can perceive as already fixed by liturgical usage in Saint Paul (I Cor. 15:3-5). Saint Irenaeus is our witness to the first attempts to insert this Christological confession in the primitive trinitarian formula; sometimes we find it connected with the mention of the Second Person and sometimes with that of the Holy Spirit. Hypolytus of Rome shows it as fixed in the position that it would henceforth never cease to occupy.

So it was that two formulas which had been at first independent—one a profession of faith in the Trinity used during the administration of baptism, the other a profession of faith in Christ which perhaps came from the eucharistic liturgy—were fused into one from the time of the second century. Our *Creed* achieved its present form at Rome in the second century.

It is above all a profession of faith to be used at baptisms; consequently, it contains only the essentials of the Christian faith but nevertheless, all the essentials: faith in the mystery of God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and faith in Christ, born of Mary, who died and rose again for our salvation. Such was the full content of apostolic preaching, and the Roman Creed can be called the *Apostles' Creed* even if, in its present form, it does not go back to the Apostles themselves.

The Roman Creed in the fixed form we have just described spread

throughout all the Western churches (Gaul, Africa, Italy and even Dacia) where it replaced the local creeds. The East, on the contrary, kept a greater variety of formulas for a long time.

II. The Nicene Creed

After having condemned Arius, the bishops gathered together at Nicea (325) wanted to fix the faith they had just defined in a definite formulary. They fastened upon a text inspired by the *Creed* of the Church of Caesarea in Palestine (of which Eusebius was bishop) and adopted it with a view to replying to the errors of Arius (we underline these additions):

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten of the Father, *that is, of the substance of Father*, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, *begotten, not made, being of the same substance with the Father*, by whom all things were made in heaven and in earth, who for us men and our salvation came down from heaven, was incarnate, was made man, suffered, rose again the third day, ascended into heaven, and He will come to judge the living and the dead.

And in the Holy Ghost.

(There follows then an anathema expressly condemning the expressions of Arius)

"The faith of Nicea" (as antiquity called this formulary) is not a *creed* in the proper and liturgical sense of the term. It is a rule of faith set within the framework of a trinitarian formulary related to those used as baptismal creeds in the Orient.

On the other hand, the formulary called that "of Nicea-Constantinople" (the Creed used at mass) is a baptismal creed properly speaking. But it has nothing to do with the Council of Constantinople of 381 since it had been quoted previously by Saint Epiphanius in 374. It is the baptismal creed of an Oriental church (Jerusalem? Cyprus?) as re-arranged to suit "the faith of Nicea." Anyone can see how it resembles or differs from the former text: its third part contains all the developments (Church, remission of sins, resurrection of the body) which are habitually to be found in this position. Its theology, of the Holy Spirit, is less sure and less developed than what would have been defined at Constantinople in 381.

This text was read at the Council of Chalcedon (451), with "the

creed of Nicea," under the name of the creed of Constantinople; hence its attribution and authority: it became the baptismal creed of the whole Orient. It was first introduced into the eucharistic liturgy by the Monophysites of Antioch at the end of the fifth century; later in the Frankish churches at the beginning of the ninth; and at Rome only at the beginning of the eleventh.

III. The Athanasian Creed

The *Creed* called that of *Saint Athanasius* (*Quicumque vult*) has nothing to do with Athanasius. It is unknown to the manuscript tradition of Athanasius and to Greek literary tradition. It is a *Latin* document in language, style and thought.

Here again we are not dealing with a baptismal creed (we do not find the trinitarian structure of a creed) but with two professions of faith which were perhaps originally independent but now set side by side: one in the Trinity, the other in the Incarnation. The *Quicumque* utilized the traditional formulas of Latin theology (Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine) and its strongly traditional character assured it a high authority, just as its vigorously rhythmic style contributed to its wide diffusion (perhaps a popular catechism?).

Until now its author has been sought in vain; Saint Ambrose (with little likelihood), Saint Fulgentius, Saint Cesarius have all been proposed. It is probable that it was composed in the south of Gaul at the beginning of the sixth century and that it summarizes the Augustinian tradition living in that region (Cesarius).

Its attribution to Saint Athanasius began in the seventh century; it has been recited at Sunday Prime since the ninth century.

Chapter VII

TRADITION IN THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES

by I. H. Dalmais, O.P.

I. THE INDIGENOUS CHURCHES OF SYRIA AND EGYPT

II. THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

1. The conditions of doctrinal development.
2. The principal works.
3. The doctrine of images and Palamism.

III. THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

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Chapter VII

TRADITION IN THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES

The facility of communication throughout the Roman world and the existence of a common Hellenic culture had favored an awareness and a common formulation of Christian tradition in the churches spread across the Empire. Only the Persian church of the fourth century, a stranger to this culture and one isolated by the growing antagonism of the Roman and Sassanid empires, provides us with the first witness to a tradition uninfluenced by the problems put to the Christian faith by Hellenic culture (Aphraat). It was, however, only a passing phenomenon: a few years later Saint Ephrem united the traditions of eastern Syria, of Iranian culture, of western Syria and of Hellenic culture into a properly Syriac synthesis; it was even in opposition to the Hellenic gnosis that he showed his greatest polemical activity and zeal as a defender of the faith. Thanks to him "the School of the Persians" at Nisibis and then at Edessa, became the meeting place of the two cultures and of the two traditions to the great advantage of Christian thought.

We may, therefore, have the impression that, around the year 380, Nicean orthodoxy which was definitively victorious and magnificently expounded by the Cappadocian doctors, and ratified in the West by the synods of Saint Damasus, expresses Christian tradition in its fulness; it was at this same time that Saint Ambrose distributed the riches of the masters of Alexandria and Cappadocia to his faithful people. This is a deceptive illusion: very different cultures and mentalities continued to live under the common veneer of Hellenism; the difficulties which had arisen over the establishment of a common vocabulary with which to explicate the fundamental principles of the Christian faith according to the structures of Hellenic thought constituted a warning whose value was not noticed; identical words masked diverse if not irreconcilable conceptions.

When exchanges between the different parts of the Roman and Christian world became rarer, when nationalist demands provided

an occasion for the different cultures of the peoples subject to Rome to regain their strength, when problems arose for one Church which would have no meaning for others, then Christian tradition ran the risk of being formulated in irreconcilable expressions which would mutually anathematize one another.

The shocks which staggered the Roman Empire at the end of the fourth century and which culminated in the taking of Rome by Alaric in 410, less than fifteen years after the death of Theodosius the Great, caused this line of division to appear. While the West submerged by the Germanic tribes had to give up any attempt at bringing about the unity of the empire, centers of crystallization took shape in the Eastern provinces coinciding with the great cultural and administrative centers. Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Seleucia-Ctesiphon. The fifth century was to witness the simultaneous organization of the great patriarchates and of the contradictory syntheses which were to shatter ecclesiastical unity.

I. The Indigenous Churches of Syria and Egypt

The Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon were the occasion of two schisms which by reason of political circumstances took on importance with Barsaumas and Acacius at the Synod of Seleucia (486) when the church of Persia became officially Nestorian, and with Severus of Antioch and James Baradas in 553 when the Monophysite patriarchate was effectively set up in Syria and hardened into independent churches which claimed to be self-sufficient and sole depositors of the great traditions of the fourth century. Indeed, that is the important point. A common treasure of traditions had been formed, gathered together from all points of the Christian world. When the schisms shattered the unity of the Church, the masterpieces of the Fathers of the fourth century had already been translated in great part into all the languages of the Christian East and at times survived the loss of the originals. According to the felicitous expression of Pius XI they formed blocks of goldbearing rock which the dissidents took with them and which permitted them to retain authentic Christian values. We could also compare them to the rays of a radioactive substance which continues to give off its characteristic radiations during the course of centuries for the greater good of those who possess it whether or not they are authorized to do so.

The Nestorian Church of the East Syrians in canonizing Theodore

of Mopsueta, as *the* authentic "Interpreter" of the Scriptures and as its only official doctor did not for all that cease to keep the best established results of the theological work of the fourth century along with the essentials of its Antiochene heritage. Undoubtedly there is no more conservative church than it, and it has been said that the same voice sounds from one end to the other of its history; that is a characteristic trait to be found in the archaic state of its liturgy as well. The little taste the Syrians of Mesopotamia had for speculation, as well as perhaps their intermediary position between the Hellenic world and Iran, undoubtedly favored these traditionalist tendencies. However, we must not exaggerate them; the School of Edessa continued its activity for a long time and created affiliated foundations all across Mesopotamia. Although it is impossible to detect much that went on there, the little that remains of the activity of their masters proves that the tradition remained living and continually renewed contact with the scriptural and patristic sources. The same testimony is furnished by the precious conciliary collection gathered together at the end of the eighth century and known by the name *Synodicon Orientale*; the official correspondence of the Nestorian patriarchs reveals that this activity was kept up until the fourteenth century. A perhaps still more important source for the knowledge of tradition in the Nestorian church would be the witness of its liturgy which was codified in its main lines in the seventh century, the golden age of Syriac literature, and which was enriched in the following centuries by new compositions, especially by versified instructions; at present, however, all this is unknown country. The situation is hardly more favorable as regards their vast exegetical and spiritual production; although the former is only too often satisfied slavishly to repeat "the Interpreter," the ascetical and mystical writings probably have in store for us much enjoyable knowledge of many elements of the living tradition which theology could profit by greatly. What is attainable for the time being of the work of two great theologians who were active at the beginning (Babaï the Great 551-628) and at the end (Ebed-Jesus, died 1318) of that long period during which the Chaldean Church extended its influence right to the heart of Asia, is sufficient to show us that, although the Antiochene heritage may not have borne a great deal of fruit, at least it was not wasted or adulterated by the East Syrians isolated as they were by the double barrier of schism and culture.

When West Syria in its turn, along with Antioch, separated from ecumenical communion during the course of the sixth century, the heritage of the first centuries, henceforth deprived of the control and of the infallible guarantee of the magisterium of the universal Church, was destined to live on in an environment singularly more inclined to speculative concerns. This very intellectual ferment makes it very difficult to determine the fundamental characteristics of the life of doctrines in the *Jacobite Church*. We would have first of all to examine the professions of faith formulated by the patriarchs after their election; the Monophysite formulas to be found in them appear to be more often a reaction against expressions which did not sufficiently safeguard the divinity of Christ and the unity of his being; consequently, they should not ordinarily be held to be formally heretical even at the present time. The anti-Chalcedon controversy too often pushed the Jacobite theologians to force the sense of the Severian formulas which the official acts ordinarily prefer to abide by. An attentive study of the liturgical texts, especially of the numerous anaphoras in which the Jacobite bishops during the course of the centuries have put the best of their religious thought, would undoubtedly help us in forming a more balanced judgment on the progress of doctrines in a Church which hardly ever knew the unifying influence and the regulation of a great ecclesiastical see. Besides, like the Nestorian Church, the Jacobite Church of Syria before its time of decadence had had the privilege of possessing a great theologian, Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286) whose work condensed the whole inheritance of tradition, both from the canonical point of view with the *Nomocanon*, and from that of exegesis and theology whose Summa is the *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*, as yet incompletely edited and translated.

Very close to the Jacobite Church of Syria and yet isolated by its geographical situation and the drama of its history, the *Gregorian Church of Armenia* more and more appears as a precious guardian of the ancient traditions of the patristic period and as an ardent home of theological activity. The names of Mesrob and Eznik in the fifth century, the golden age of Christian Armenia, at least merit to be mentioned among those of the great witnesses of Tradition. Unfortunately, circumstances never lent themselves to a fixing of this tradition by solemn synodal or patriarchal decisions, nor did any theologian collect or condense it. So long as numerous monographs have not cleared the ground it would be in vain to

pretend to fix the role of this Church in a history of Christian doctrines or to have its testimony heard.

The situation is even worse as regards the *Monophysite Churches of Egypt and Ethiopia*. The former identified itself, even more than in Syria, with that section of the native population which was most refractory to Hellenization. Although we tend more and more to admit that the Egyptian Church was bilingual from its beginning, it is no less true that once separated from Hellenistic influence the *Coptic Church* did not seem able to retain the heritage of Saint Cyril except in a material fashion and without being able to make it bear fruit. Above all a monastic Church and one obstinately faithful to the faith of its patriarchs who were not untiring repeaters of formulas whose depth and exact sense escaped them, it would not appear that it will ever find a place in the history of Christian doctrines. The lamentable state in which Coptic literature has come down to us has certainly not prompted scholars to investigate it although we should like to hope that the future holds some pleasant discoveries in reserve for us. We should at least be able to anticipate some in the field of liturgy. Although the Egyptians did not possess speculative minds, they have been men of worship for thousands of years and it is not without significance that the work containing the best that we can know of Christian tradition in medieval Egypt is one on liturgy, that of Abdul Barakat (died 1320) whose *A Light in Darkness* erected a whole encyclopedia of sacred sciences in connection with the liturgical rites. As regards the Ethiopian Church the swarm of doctrinal and ascetical works which it produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remains unattainable up to now.

II. The Byzantine Church

1. THE CONDITIONS OF DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE BYZANTINE CHURCH

In order to evaluate justly the role played by the Church of Byzantium in the development of Christian doctrines and to appreciate the formulations that it gave Tradition, it is necessary to assign an exact place to the conditions in which this development was accomplished, namely, social and political conditions, intellectual and spiritual conditions. What we can give here is only a brief outline of such points with the hope of not falsifying our perspective. Now none of these orders of conditioning is to be

neglected; a formulation of doctrine is inevitably shaped by the problematical situation and the sources utilized; and the problematical situation is determined by all the data of life, social no less than intellectual. Because from the fifth century on, the Churches of Rome and Byzantium had to resolve entirely different problems, and because they did so in great part by using different sources, such was the origin in great measure of the growing divergence between them which, coupled with less and less contact, multiplied the contrasts and finally provoked the break which for almost a thousand years now has torn Christendom apart by a crevice which has never ceased to widen, although no fundamental doctrine was at stake as had been the case for the Nestorian and Monophysite schisms.

For more than ten centuries, Byzantium remained the imperial city, the seat of the Basileus, the uncontested head of the Christian empire. The life of the Church was closely tied in with that of the City, and we can perceive more and more clearly that the parties which opposed one another in the hippodrome by their colors and in the palace by their intrigues also represented the two tendencies which had never ceased to oppose one another since the christological discussions of the fifth century. In order to avoid any pejorative expressions we can designate them by the terms Cyrillian and Leonian, names which call to mind the two great champions of Ephesus and Chalcedon. It never seems to have entered the head of the ecclesiastical authorities to withdraw the Church from these conditions of incarnation in the city; rather the deeper life of the Church tended to shut itself up within the sanctuary in order to contemplate the mystery of the divine Economy. The evolution of intellectual life and especially the use of the scholastic method were not to have an influence on the development of doctrines comparable to that had in the West. It took the eclipse of the Greek empire in the thirteenth century, after the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders, coupled with a massive and then overwhelming penetration by Western thought and problems, for there to be a crisis like that of Palamism whose logical outcome was the abortive union of Florence.

There were, then, differences of social and intellectual atmosphere; there was the additional difference regarding the sources which fed the meditation of theologians and people. For seven centuries the West was almost exclusively imbued with Augustinian

thought and witnessed the progressive lessening of its knowledge of the Greek Fathers, despite the efforts of Scotus Erigena; it was only in the middle of the twelfth century that the translation of Saint John Damascene permitted the rediscovery of the essentials of that heritage. During this same time the Byzantine world which was almost completely ignorant of Saint Augustine and Saint Gregory never ceased to re-read, to summarize and to compile the works of Chrysostom, the great Cappadocians and the Areopagite. From them it drew some great Christian doctrines: the Trinity, the Incarnation, the study and deification of humanity by Christ, a rather different view from that elaborated by the West for its part. Even five centuries after the fall of Constantinople and despite the massive introduction of the works of the Greek Fathers into the Latin world, we cannot say that all these riches which were for so long ignored have been assimilated by our theology.

2. THE PRINCIPAL WORKS

Outside the Iconoclast and Palamite crises the Church of Byzantium did not have the occasion of posing really new doctrinal problems. The controversy against the Latins which gave rise to an immense, tedious literature, especially since the twelfth century, is of but slight interest to the historian of doctrines. The only point worthy of attention is the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit. In the second half of the ninth century the Patriarch Photius, whose reputation was so deformed by controversy that he is only now beginning to be seen in his true light, had, in his *Mystagogia*, hardened the traditional conception of the Greek Fathers who reserved the term "procession" (ἐκπορεύσις) to designate the relations of origin of the Holy Spirit in regard to the Father, into a denial of all dependence of origin in regard to the Son. But it is only in modern times and in Russia that Orthodoxy has tried to draw from this doctrine any consequences which would really concern the understanding of the mystery.

However, it must not be believed that the Byzantine Church contributed nothing to the explication of tradition. From the sixth to the thirteenth century a great deal of work was done both in condensing and setting in order the teachings of the Fathers and in penetrating more deeply into the understanding of the Christian message. We do not have to go into the contribution of the christological discussions which were prolonged throughout the sixth and

seventh centuries. We have already seen the role played by Saint Maximus the Confessor in the Monothelite quarrel as he went to the bottom of some ideas of Leontius of Byzantium.

Saint John Damascene took over almost literally his teaching on the condition of the human nature of Christ as hypostatized in the Word. But the role of this Doctor was not limited to that. Saint Maximus seized upon the different currents into which the Alexandrine thought of the third century had become divided—Cappadocians, Evagrus of Pontus, the writings of the Pseudo-Areopagite—and worked out a synthesis of what may be called the “orthodox gnosis”; unfortunately it remained only in outline condition. Based on the theme of the deification of man through his incorporation in the incarnate Word, it became the favorite subject of meditation for Byzantine monasticism. Through the liturgical compositions stemming from the monasteries of Saint Sabas or the Studion of Constantinople and which won over the imperial “Great Church” of Holy Wisdom, it became the common heritage of the Oriental Church. It was also at Saint Sabas that Saint John Damascene worked. *His Source of Knowledge* condensed the essence of the patristic heritage but in a very personal manner revealing a conscious choice and a set orientation of mind. He drew heavily upon the Cappadocians, especially Saint Gregory Nazianzen and the Pseudo-Areopagite, in order to fix the formulation of the principal themes of tradition: the Trinity (theology) and the Incarnation (economy). His most notable contribution was undoubtedly to the study of man: from the teachings of Leontius of Byzantium and Saint Maximus on the operations of the will, he derived a new doctrine that the great Latin scholastics, and even Saint Thomas, knew but imperfectly because of their faulty translations. It does not appear that this doctrine has yet received the attention it deserves, any more than that of Saint Maximus, on deification.

Compared to the *Source of Knowledge*, the *Panoplion* of Euthemios Zygabenos or the *Dioptrique* of John the Solitary (twelfth century), the two biggest theological works which have come down to us, appear astonishingly pale. They are but simple compilations, or at the most anthologies; their purpose was to provide controversialists with anti-heretical texts of the Fathers, but the authors did not even try to justify their choice of texts or to draw any consequences from them.

3. THE VENERATION OF IMAGES AND PALAMISM

All doctrinal progress in the Church is brought about in connection with precise questions posed by the general conditions of life; either certain hardenings of traditional thought or heretical deviations of traditional thought demand new clarifications and distinctions which had previously passed unnoticed, or the piety and the growth of spiritual life in the Christian people demand to be guided by more definite teaching in order to avoid errors. We find both cases in the Byzantine Church, which is the proof of its vitality, even though the guarantee of an infallible magisterium was lacking to it after the schism.

The heretical excesses of the *Iconoclasm* of the Isaurian emperors, who were perhaps too much impressed by the anti-idolatry of Islam, and who were suspected of Monophysite tendencies, were the occasion of the profound study of that problem by Saint John Damascene and Saint Theodore Studite. These clarifications were employed by the Church at the Second Council of Nicea, in 787. As in every dogmatic definition, a seed was planted but in this case, its importance was not grasped by the West since, as a consequence of the decisions of Chalcedon against Monophysism, the veneration of images was unknown to it. Even in the East, it was the life and practice of the Church which first drew any consequences from it by the flowering forth of artistic works, as is still shown by the monasteries of Athos, Vallonia and Serbia. The "ikon" developed its specific characteristics in Russia and was considered a reflection of the spiritual world in the sensible, a "sacramental," in the strongest sense of the word. In modern times it is a subject of theological reflection whose solid results we hope will be taken up by all Catholic theology.

The Synod of 1351 which at Byzantium definitively canonized the Palamite doctrines also claimed to be connected with christological dogma and especially with the decisions of the Sixth Ecumenical Council.¹ We can perceive more and more clearly, thanks to a few

¹ In order to defend the teaching of the contemplatives (hesychastes) of Athos, Gregory Palamas built up a whole theology of knowledge in the uncreated grace, *Light of Thabor*, or of the "energies" or divine manifestations really distinct from unknowable being. After more than ten years of stormy discussions the doctrine of Palamas was definitely canonized as an authentic expression of the Orthodox faith by the Synod of Constantinople in 1351. Among the direct sources of this doctrine we must at least cite the work of the Studite mystic Simeon the New Theologian (eleventh century), one of the most representative figures of Byzantine spirituality.

works which are still too rare, that in this case, too, the West, which had nothing to do with the problematical situation involved, misunderstood the profound meaning of this doctrine, no less seriously than Charlemagne's theologians had the Eastern doctrine regarding the veneration of images. It was, moreover, a very complex and delicate case. Both Palamas and his disciples made the mistake of letting themselves be drawn into presenting their teaching within the framework and according to the categories of Western scholasticism which was then penetrating Byzantium with the translations of Saint Thomas. In such a state, the doctrines presented by the "hagiorite" and "synodical" tomes of 1341 are not capable of being absorbed by sound theology. But, despite the defective formulas involved, Palamism undoubtedly offers what is most specific and perhaps most important in the teaching of the Eastern doctors, especially in the Cappadocians and the Pseudo-Areopagite, i.e., a profound sense of the divine transcendence and ineffableness that Western speculation has perhaps not always sufficiently respected, and also a profound sense of the divinization of man by grace. The mystery of "the Glory of God" and "the Light of God" are great scriptural themes whose meditation, by enriching the common theology of the Church, would facilitate the return of the East to Catholic unity.

III. The Russian Church

At the time of the fall of Constantinople Russia had yet to produce any doctrinal works. Some patristic translations, principally of an ascetic nature, lives of saints, some canonical collections and a few homilies formed its entire Christian literature. Since the eleventh century the principal source drawn upon for the common meditation of clergy, monks and people was formed by the magnificent Slavonic version of the Byzantine liturgical books. Through these the whole essence of the tradition of the Eastern Church impregnated the thought and life of the Russian Christians; but it took till the second half of the nineteenth century for them to bear fruit. In the meantime controversy against heresies had given rise to a whole apologetical literature, which is of little interest to the history of doctrine. Although the "Illuminator" of Joseph of Volokolamsk (beginning of the sixteenth century) can be considered a properly Russian work, Maximus the Greek introduced only compilations of Byzantine controversialists until it came the turn of the West among the theologians of Kiev, particularly the Metropolitan Stephen Javorsky, the dis-

ciples of the seventeenth century scholastics, and the Lutheranizing work of Theophane Prokopovitch under Peter the Great.

This latter tendency lasted for more than a century, and the work of the Metropolitan Macarius of Moscow, Philaretus of Moscow and Philaretus of Tchernigov in the middle of the nineteenth century was not able to make it completely disappear from the teaching of the ecclesiastical Academies. The great catechism of Philaretus of Moscow (first edition 1823, third, 1839) which is often put among the dogmatic books of the Russian Church shows clearly the progressive abandonment of the theses of Prokopovitch. The treatises of dogmatic theology of Macarius of Moscow and of Philaretus of Tchernigov relied still more heavily on Latin works, particularly on those of Fr. Perrone, and gave a large place to patristic argument.

At the same period a lay thinker, Khomiakov (1804–1860), worked out a passionate but grandiose and profound work which was destined to influence contemporary Russian thought in a strong fashion. Two names stand out among his successors: Vladimir Soloviev (1853–1900) who developed ecclesiology chiefly and who was led to recognize the Roman supremacy, and Sergius Boulgakov (1871–1944), a profound thinker but a late-comer to theology; his entire work was centered upon the theme of “the Wisdom of God,” the link between the creature and the Creator. It is still too soon to predict the place that the Russian Church will assign to these doctrinal developments. At present it seems that suspicion is growing not only in regard to Boulgakov, who is condemned by a part of the hierarchy, and Soloviev, who is suspected because of his Catholic ecclesiology, but against the whole modernist current. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that he was working out some of the most fundamental of Eastern traditions, of those, in any case, on which the joint meditation of the theologians of both East and West is most to be desired.

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Chapter VIII

THE ECUMENICAL COUNCILS

by Th. Camelot, O.P.

From the second half of the second century, the bishops, the heads of churches, began the habit of gathering together to decide upon questions of doctrine or discipline. In the third century such a custom became regular in Cappadocia and in Africa. These synods became more frequent at the beginning of the fourth century, but they were always just local assemblies gathering together the bishops of one region or of one province. It was only at Nicea, in 325, that the bishops belonging to the whole "ecumenical" church were called together.

We must beware of thinking of these councils, even of the "ecumenical" ones, of the first centuries along the lines of the great gatherings of Trent or the Vatican, and we must be very careful not to disregard the problems they posed for history and theology—by their convocation (it was the emperor who convoked the councils, the pope only endorsed them to a greater or less degree, when he did not oppose them altogether); by their make-up (their ecumenical character was often only a very relative one, and when it was representative of the entire Church, it was frequently only by a few delegates); by their authority, which was conceded to them in certain cases only by the later acceptance of the Church, and even this at times was merely an implicit acceptance. Thus it is evident that we must not view the councils except as they were caught up in the totality of the Church's life and tradition.

Here we give the chronological list of those councils considered ecumenical, with only a minimum of indispensable information.¹

1. *Nicea* (325) was convoked by Constantine to condemn and depose Arius; it proclaimed that the Word is consubstantial with the

¹ The *Enchiridion Symbolorum* of Denzinger (26th edition by Fr. Umberg, Fribourg, 1947) contains the essentials of the conciliary documents in a handy fashion.

Father and drew up a formulary of faith which became the "Nicene Creed" (see page 172).

2. *I Constantinople* (381) was convoked by Theodosius I (pope Damasus was not invited) and gathered together only Oriental bishops; it condemned the "Macedonians," those who denied the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit; but it did not draw up any dogmatic formulary (see page 172).

3. *Ephesus* (431) was convoked by Theodosius II and presided over by Saint Cyril acting as the delegate of pope Celestine I; it condemned and deposed Nestorius who denied that Mary was the Mother of God (Theotokos); it did not draw up any dogmatic formulary but approved the second letter of Saint Cyril to Nestorius.

4. *Chalcedon* (451) was convoked by Marcian and approved by Saint Leo; it condemned Monophysism and defined the existence of two perfect natures in Christ.

5. *II Constantinople* (553) was convoked by Justinian, despite the opposition of pope Vigilius, and condemned the *Three Chapters*, the writings of Theodore of Mopsueta, Theodoret and Ibas, who were suspected of Nestorianism.

6. *III Constantinople* (680) condemned Monothelitism and defined the existence of two wills in Christ; it was approved by popes Agatho and Leo II.

7. *II Nicea* (787) defined the legitimacy of the veneration of images against the Iconoclasts.

8. *IV Constantinople* (869-870) deposed Photius.

9. *I Lateran* (1123) was the first ecumenical council of the West (To what measure would the East be represented henceforth?) and was concerned with the investiture problem.

10. *II Lateran* (1139) on simony, usury and clerical continence.

11. *III Lateran* (1179) condemned the Catharists.

12. *IV Lateran* (1215), under Innocent III, the greatest council of the Middle Ages, condemned the Albigensians and regulated important disciplinary questions (sacraments, marriage, organization of preaching).

13. *I Lyon* (1245) against Frederick II.

14. *II Lyon* (1274) was convoked by Gregory X, with the participation of Michael Paleologus, and attempted reunion with the Greeks.

15. *Vienna* (1311-1312), under Clement V, condemned the Templars.

16. *Florence* (1439–1445), under Eugene IV, had been preceded by a previous assembly at Ferrara and finished up at Rome. It tried again for reunion with the Greeks and issued some important dogmatic documents (Decrees for the Jacobites and the Armenians), although their authority is not absolute.

17. *V Lateran* (1512–1517), under Julius II and Leo X, worked for the reform of the clergy.

18. *Trent* was convoked at Trent by Paul III, in 1545, and continued, with interruptions and movements from place to place, until 1563; it produced a considerable amount of work in opposition to the Protestant Reform and issued important dogmatic decrees on original sin, justification, the sacraments, etc. The work of Trent has dominated all the thought, spirituality and life of the Church since the sixteenth century.

19. *Vatican* was convoked by Pius IX, in 1869, and suspended October 20, 1870. It produced two important dogmatic definitions: the Constitution *Dei Filius* on faith and rationalism and the Constitution *Pater Aeternus* on papal infallibility.

Chapter IX

THE ECHO OF TRADITION IN ART

FOREWORD: ART AND THEOLOGY, by A. M. Henry, O.P.

I. CHRISTIAN ART, by Joseph Pichard

II. GREGORIAN CHANT, by D. Delalande, O.P.

Chapter IX

THE ECHO OF TRADITION IN ART FOREWORD: ART AND THEOLOGY

by A. M. Henry, O.P.

The theologian's role is not merely to explicate *the data of faith* in a rational manner just as he finds it in the documents of Tradition; he must also take into account all the constituents which go to make up *the life of the Church*, which is essentially a life of faith. Now certain facts or certain testimonies may come up in this latter which seem to present some new data, which has until now gone unnoticed in the written sources of Tradition.

Religious art is particularly interesting from this point of view. For example, what is the significance of the wedding ring that the Infant Jesus is seen to be putting on His mother's finger in certain statues of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Is it an indication that the faithful saw something else or something more than just human maternity in the relation of Mary to Jesus? It is the theologian's job in this case to account for all the factors that are a part of the true faith. Again: what is the significance of the priestly vestments that the Blessed Virgin wears in certain ancient paintings, or the priestly gesture of offering that the painter or sculptor invests her with at the time of the presentation in the Temple? Or again: what is the significance of the ikon which clearly shows the three persons of the Holy Trinity through the medium of the three personages who appeared to Abraham at the oaks of Mambré? Or of the door to Chartres cathedral which clearly relates certain personages and certain sacrifices of the Old Testament to the priesthood of Christ?

Undoubtedly we must distinguish between works of art which are merely an individual interpretation of doctrine and those in which we can recognize the faith, if not of the whole Christian people, of at least an entire generation at a given period. The ancient frescoes of baptisteries, for example, by showing us the manner in which the primitive Christians baptized, or the manner in which they chose and

represented the types of baptism to be found in Scripture, disclose the faith of a whole Church. We can derive similar information from the ancient representations of the eucharistic meal or of the Church. Obviously the ecclesiastical community would not have permitted the depicting of scenes, ceremonies, or of the "mysteries" of salvation in a way that was not in conformity with the faith. Even today the magisterium does not tolerate everything that artists may produce, no matter what their genius may be. Pictures cannot be published without the permission of the ordinary of the place (canon 1385 #1, 3 and #2 and 3). Certain pictures are automatically forbidden (canon 1399).

To sum up: works of art—those which have been recognized at least tacitly by the Church for centuries—are of interest to theologians because they are witnesses to the faith as lived. In saying that, however, we do not pass judgment on the personal faith of the painter or sculptor. After all it may be that one or another artist had a lukewarm or intellectually poor faith. But what he expresses then is the faith of his time and place. He is the interpreter for a whole Church which recognizes itself in his design or painting. Now, is not the primary effort of theological research directed towards knowing the faith of the people of God with the greatest exactitude possible? If theologians can lay hold upon it through the intermediary of a work of art or of a current practice, then these acquire the value of the theological *loci*.

There is more. The work of art is inspired by the faith, and as a result is rather a witness of the faith than a source of faith. Nevertheless, once it is made, we cannot deny that a work of art plays a certain role in the religious formation of all the successive generations of Christians who contemplate it. The religious sentiment of those generations which saw a majestic, crowned king on the cross was of one nature; the sentiment of those who had only the opportunity of seeing swooning women overcome by sentimental pity for a dying man was bound to be of another kind. The religious sentiment of those who, at the time of Saint Ambrose, sang the simple, virile music that we know was used in his cathedral differed from the religious sentiment of those who are formed only by the music and hymns of modern times. This faith inspires the work of art; but, in its turn, an authentically Christian work of art educates religious sentiment and, by this means, gives the faith that it forms a certain stamp which is of interest to theologians.

Therefore, it is by a double right that we refer to the sacred art of the Church in terms of a source of the faith. On the one hand, it expresses the lived faith of the ecclesiastical society. On the other hand, it forms the religious sentiment and the faith of Christians. Whether we accept or disdain it, this function is no less real.

Furthermore, we must widen our perspectives and show that this double role belongs just as much to other sociological forms of Christian religious sentiment which, in addition to painting, sculpture, imagery, stained glass, mosaics, engraving, architecture (of churches, monasteries, cemeteries) and the planning of Christian cities, also includes sacred chant, music, asceticism (the geography of ascetical means; in the north and south, east and west, the history of the means of mortification: fasting, vigils, discipline, hair-shirt, iron chain); the formation and evolution of devotions (the devotion to Christ's side, the devotion to the seven blood-sheddings, the devotion to the sorrows of Mary); the history and geography of devotional instruments (rosary, Marian crown, etc.); dramatic art (from the mystery-plays of the Middle Ages to the para-liturgies of today); the growth of pilgrimages (their pagan or Christian origin, choice of places, practices imposed on the pilgrims, their evolution, etc.). The aggregate of these disciplines would form a kind of Christian religious sociology, and it is this which must interest theologians precisely insofar as it expresses and forms the faith in a given society. We must leave the reader to work out the implications of these various disciplines for himself. Here we shall only present the forms of *art*, from the point of view expounded above.

In conclusion, we should like to mention an application of what we have just said as it concerns the catechetical formation of children today. There are but few modern churches in which we can find the mysteries of salvation depicted in murals or great frescoes. Nevertheless, pictorial or symbolical representation is so necessary that pastors or catechists provide their children with pictures or show them slides and films. These latter means of formation are new, and we cannot expect to find only successful attempts from the very start. A good number of films are, in fact, distressing for Christian thought and sentiment. It is the theologian's job to criticize—in the best sense of the term—these new means, that is, to put them in the Tradition of faith and to judge if they belong there. The Church has enough confidence in the Spirit guiding her to think that little by little a "school" (or several schools) will emerge from these many attempts

(in the domain of films as well as of hymns and other matters) and will become in its own way and on its own level an aid to the religious instruction of the following generations.

However, these means rely upon techniques which are both too manifold and too diverse for our studying them here.

I. CHRISTIAN ART

by Joseph Pichard

SUMMARY

1. The Work of Art.
2. Meaning and Particular Characteristics of Christian Art.
3. The Art of the Catacombs.
4. The Sources of Byzantine Art.
5. The Significance of the Byzantine Mosaics.
6. Rural Romanesque Art.
7. The Significance of the Gothic Cathedral.
8. Color Symbolism.
9. Gregorian Chant.
10. Renewal of Styles.
11. French Sculpture in the Thirteenth Century.
12. The Italian and Flemish Primitives.
13. The Masters of the Renaissance.
14. The Baroque Churches.
15. The Mystical Artists.
16. The Music of the Eighteenth Century.
17. The Decadence of Sacred Art in the Nineteenth Century.
18. The Twentieth Century Revival.
19. Modern Times and the Sacred.
20. Conclusion.

I. CHRISTIAN ART

1. THE WORK OF ART

A work of art is not just a form of entertainment. Or if it is, it is in the way we acknowledge creation to be entertainment, since there is a play aspect to all activity. But this play is not purely for its own sake but must be directed towards certain ends that we may enumerate as the destiny of man, that of the universe, and the glory of God.

A work of art is something besides a loud-speaker, a handy method for transmitting a message, which otherwise would not carry far enough, to the outskirts of the crowd. Undoubtedly it can fulfill this function also. And by this fact it is somehow related to that language which Peter the Apostle spoke and which was understood by "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, of Judea and of Cappadocia." But why, through what power, unless it be in response to a basic need welling up from the very heart of the audience? It provokes an audience reaction in the same way that an act of heroism or sanctity does.

Art is not—or at least it is only secondarily and by accident—an activity in the service of another. In reality it is one of the primitive modes of the spiritual life, the manifestation of one of the essential relationships of man with God. Consequently, when its expressions are bound up with some great collective spiritual movement, or with a religious profession, they constitute an original contribution whose value should be considered separately since it bears within itself its own justification. Great works of art sing the glory of God just as the sun and the stars do. They confer a certain liberation, exaltation, and intellectual and spiritual joy on man.

2. MEANING AND PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS OF CHRISTIAN ART

Thus we see the importance of the very existence of a Christian art and the incontestable reality of its extreme richness and variety. We can gain some idea of its richness from the fact that Christianity is not just a teaching or form of morality, nor only a kind of mysti-

cism or a fraternity, although it is all that, but it is also an art and a living source of works of art of the most diverse forms and techniques, to such a degree that all of them have been utilized and given new life by it. That means that the whole man is interested in Christianity, but also that Christianity is interested in the whole man, and that we cannot delude ourselves into imagining we know Christianity well if we neglect or study only superficially the works of art to which it has given rise. Artists have borne witness for Christ just as the doctors and saints did; their witness carries its own proper value, and it would be advisable to remember its deep significance.

It is a study which will perhaps not attain to the scientific strictness of philosophical or theological doctrine, even though we should never imagine that we have ever completely exhausted a man or his thought. But since the property of a work of art is to be self-explanatory, any verbal explanation that we may attempt to give it is false to it in some fashion. What words convey is not the work itself, which is incapable of such transposition, but its material conditions, the impression it makes on us, the place that it occupies in history. A work of art delivers up its full meaning only to those who appreciate it fully. A study of the psychological or theological meaning of works of art, therefore, can only be a series of approximations. It must be completed by personal contact with the work itself, and the chief merit of such study will be to dispose us in that direction.

Does religious art, and particularly Christian art, possess any particularities in relation to other art forms which would specify it and give it a permanent character? It is a question which can be answered only by the study of some of the more perfect works of Christian art. And even this answer can be only a provisional one, since it is all Christian art, past, present, and future, which governs any definitive reply.

3. THE ART OF THE CATACOMBS

Christian painting began with Christianity itself. Legend has it that one of the Evangelists, the beloved Luke, was a painter. He was one at least analogically in his capacity as a writer. The mural decorations of the catacombs are the most ancient witness to Christian art that we possess. However, they are but humble paintings whose plastic forms and even some of the subject matter are taken over from the Hellenistic stock-in-trade of the period. It was a mediocre period of technical facility and of academicism. Artists used the

tricks of the trade of the masters of the preceding centuries; they knew how to paint, but it was a matter of technical skill rather than genius. The well known peculiarity of the painters of the catacombs was the continuous use of symbols: fish, phoenix, peacock, hermes, shepherd, grapes, ears of wheat, oils, everything had symbolic value. But was that really a peculiarity of such art? Would Christian art ever be anything else than symbolical? What characterizes the art of the catacombs is that in it symbols are a great deal more ideological than plastic. The sign is valuable because of the thing signified, like words in prose. Such art is more like a cryptographical language than a true art. Still, the arrangement of places of worship and the place that was given to pictures fixed certain tendencies and established certain traditions whose influences were to be felt after three centuries of persecution when the Christian Church suddenly rose from underground and spread over the face of the earth.

4. THE SOURCES OF BYZANTINE ART

It was during the course of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries that the art of the Middle Ages was fashioned, an art which, despite varying fortunes of time and place, was the art of the Christian world for a thousand years.

It was a combination of two external factors which mingled in curious fashion, namely, the art of the Hellenistic world, and that of the Orient. Hellenistic art was centered on man. In this sense we may call it naturalistic, although it imposed rigid enough canons on its human figures. The Orient gave more place to imagination and feeling, but we must not conclude from this that it was antirealistic. Indeed, Oriental art was open to all of nature: trees, flowers, animals, heaven, gardens, etc. Yet, at the same time, it was very alive to decorative values. The artist took nature as a starting point but with the intention of freely engaging in constructive work, and it was his imagination which created the definitive forms of his art. These two different elements are to be found more or less blended in all Byzantine art, with one or the other of them more pronounced in each case. There is yet a third element, an internal one this time, namely, the Christian spirit; it unified the two foregoing factors, imposed its rhythm on them and built up a synthesis, a harmonious settlement of contradictory contributions, as is the case with everything living.

The Christian art of the Middle Ages possesses the interesting

characteristic of not having been, at least originally, the application of established rules to artistic work. It developed at the same time as theology, as pastoral or monastic life, as the whole of Christian society, and it covered an exactly parallel route, showed the same creative vitality, and brought forth works which were in no way inferior to those that Christianity produced in other realms.

If this art can be called theological, it is because its inspiration was the same as that which created theology. What intellectuals then expressed in theological formulas, artists depicted by means of architectural forms and by colored compositions displayed on walls. In short, we have the same thing to learn from both the former as the latter, although according to a subordinate order, obviously.

5. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BYZANTINE MOSAICS

This art has been called Byzantine because its greatest realizations and the synthesis of different factors which went to make it up took place primarily in the very capital of the Roman Empire of the East. But Alexandria, Rome, and Syria also contributed to its formation and preserve some of its finest monuments.

The characteristic note of Byzantine churches is perfectly expressed in the great mosaics which adorn them. In the first place, they respect an order of composition in which the faithful discover the whole spiritual order of their lives. The Church Triumphant, the final end of Christians, is depicted in the high arching dome, and the gaze, hopes and prayers of the congregation are all concentrated upon the majestic figure of Christ, the Pantocrator. In the apse is depicted the Church Militant on earth and the Majestic Virgin, Help of Christians. The communion of the Apostles and the divine liturgy call to mind the eucharistic mystery. Along the lateral walls are displayed the long procession of saints and martyrs according to a strictly hierarchical arrangement. And the twelve great feasts which sum up the Christian life occupy the lower part of these same walls. They are: the Annunciation, Presentation, Baptism of Christ, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus, Palm Sunday, Crucifixion, Descent into Hell, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and the Falling Asleep of the Virgin. The Last Judgment is depicted at the end, i.e., over the entrance to the church.

The plastic means are essentially on the mural and decorative order. The human figure stands out most prominently in them; this is an Hellenistic influence that Christianity adopted deliberately.

Draperies also have a great part to play, and, accompanying them, certain signs, such as spirals or undulations, Oriental contributions whose mysterious and rhythmical value was understood by Christian art. This kind of painting has three dimensions; careful touches of light assure a depth which, although it may appear less to us because we are habituated to other conventions, was very striking to its contemporaries. The individuality of the painter had but a limited field of exercise, but one which was for a long time considered sufficient; however, nothing was allowed to alter, in any way, the eternal character of the themes proposed. The countryside and historical allusions must only show upon a very secondary plane. Faces, at least the principal ones, are not portraits, and clothing is not in the style of the period. However, certain details permit the artist not only to show superior skill but also to express his own feeling. It is a severe art, assuredly, but at the same time one which is strong, lavish and unified, with all the characteristics of a sacred art destined for a collectivity united by a faith which surpasses frontiers and centuries.

6. RURAL ROMANESQUE ART

Gothic architecture spreads its works out over less centuries, but they are also examples of a specifically Christian art. In the meantime, however, churches that we call Romanesque were built throughout the whole West. They were rustic constructions, usually hardly to be distinguished from farm buildings except by their bell-towers, and solidly planted in the soil. They thus reveal the compromises through which a religion, without losing anything of its catholicity, knows how to accommodate itself to the needs, customs, and tastes of a kingdom, an ecclesiastical province, or an ethnic unity.

From the Byzantine church the Romanesque church inherited its principal arrangements, certain architectural forms, not only the use of the dome, but also the design of certain porches and apses, the spirit of its decoration, which remained of the monumental kind, and even its pictorial ensemble, which was often merely the transposition into stone of compositions taken over from the miniatures of Byzantine manuscripts. However, the earthy atmosphere of many of these churches, especially the country ones of which we have so many examples, the entirely popular spirit of their decoration, particularly in the embellished capitals, but also in certain frescoes, testify to the fact that the people collaborated with the monks in their erection. That is also why they still remain so attractive. They are the temples

of a religion rooted in the land and blended with the work habits and the family ways of the inhabitants. At the same time they are solid shelters for the soul. The little light they get through their narrow windows accentuates the mystery befitting the deeper things of life. There are only a small number of things that we know—only what is indispensable in order to live—and a great deal of others of which we are ignorant. They have a certain modesty which makes us love them; they are quiet, they are capable of providing shelter for all kinds of prayer and recollection. Their beauty is that of necessary things, like the fields, the stable, the house. Standing in the middle of the village, their duty is to take care of its spiritual needs, and in their simplicity there is no elevation of soul, no heroism, no sanctity that they cannot welcome and satisfy. Let us not forget that besides country churches Romanesque art gave us those great soberly decorated abbeys of such firm and noble architecture, which were and are extraordinary spiritual dwellings.

7. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GOTHIC CATHEDRAL

Gothic art evolved by internal development (from Romanesque art) as much as by shedding some of its aspects. The first problems to be formulated were those of an architectural nature: how to erect the largest and highest vault possible and still keep it standing, how to roof it without crushing it, how to light it sufficiently and how to make it support a mass of high towers without endangering its solidarity, how to flank it with exterior supports (flying buttresses, pinnacles, abutments) and still have each constituent of the structure an ornament.

But why were all these arduous and apparently insoluble problems raised? How could men have imagined the bold solutions they gave them unless it were because a desire urged them, like it did the saints, to go to the limit of the Christian challenge? There was not a single detail of the construction that was not required by its material needs as well as by its symbolic appropriateness. The edifice as a whole represented the Christian, body and soul, confronted by his extraordinary destiny. The pavement strewn with tombstones represented the humble and universal condition of the Christian on earth. The four walls arose, like the four cardinal virtues, made up of closely fitting stones, as the Church is composed of the faithful united by the cement of charity. Twelve columns, like the twelve apostles, supported the roof of good works and the vault of faith. Windows

were luminous words of Scripture whose inner splay recalled that the mystical sense always surpasses the literal sense. Symbols of the Trinity were everywhere, in the three portals, the three aisles, the three parts of the building and of the walls themselves, in the numerous linking together of three windows and in the triple foil of each. The symbol of Redemption was engraven in the very soil itself by the cruciform shape of the church, and was again evident in the sanctuary cross. The Communion of Saints was signified by all those lateral chapels radiating out from the church, each one being dedicated to a saint.

This detailed symbolism, which also controlled the sculptured portals, undoubtedly escapes the modern visitor, at least in part, although he remains susceptible to its general meaning. The order and grandeur of this architecture compels his recognition. He knows all that it implies by way of knowledge and daring, and that its builders pushed the possibilities of art, which are but symbols of man's other powers, to their extremes, and even beyond what prudence would permit. He is impressed—even though he may be ignorant of their exact meaning, while those who built them were not—by the great sculptured portals, by the colors of the stained glass.

What connection have we with the men of the Middle Ages? We know but little of their works, we know their way of life but poorly. But we visit their cathedrals, and what was once conceived and lived during a great period of Christian life lies present before us, thanks to their continuing existence. Such is the power of art! We may resist preachers, the catechism and many traditional usages, but we cannot resist cathedrals. The expression they have given Christian life, their size first of all, this great volume of air where we can breathe easily, and the peace which fills this place, the sensuous richness contributed by the stained glass windows, by the bas-reliefs through which the whole life of farm, workshop and school was incorporated into the building, and by these noble statues which glorify both body and soul, the purpose of this vessel, a triple symbol of Christ, of the Christian and of the glorified Church, which is to shelter the prayer and meditation of the crowds gathered together for mass, their earthy solidity, this great rectangle well rooted in the soil, as well as all this vertical departure of façades, columns and steeples—none of these things has lost its value. The cathedral today welcomes the faithful Christian, the mediocre Christian, and some who call themselves unbelievers; in it they are all at ease. A certain amount of religion

was deposited in it and like a work of art, stands on its own merits; this religion is essentially Christian.

Like Byzantine painting two things especially are characteristic of the cathedral: its symbolism and the almost organic order which presides over all its parts and puts rhythm into its life. The symbolism is completely orientated towards the Christ of the Gospels. Perhaps we could assign an even more ancient origin to some of its details. The builders of the Middle Ages knew something of the theory of numbers often mentioned in the Bible, and their exact proportions may have some relation to a certain mystical mathematics. Moreover, if this mathematics exists, it has given rise to as many combinations as there are churches. As a matter of fact, it seems that it was rather used by way of confirmation and restatement for already established plans, as generally happens in the case of symbols which add their ideological value to a material reality, which, however, in no way detracts from their interest. The symbolical value of a cathedral is less a matter of its details than of it as a whole. The cathedral was a production of Christian thought. Like Saint Thomas' monumental work, it is a summa of Christian ideas, life and sentiment. It is a symbolism of great clarity, one in which we must look for no more esoteric meanings than there are in Christianity itself. There are more or less profound, more or less literal ways of understanding the teachings of the Gospel and those of the Church. But esotericism, as a hidden teaching transmitted only to the initiated, does not exist in Christianity. If any traces of esotericism are to be found in the cathedrals, they are only in regard to certain trade secrets of rather small importance.

8. COLOR SYMBOLISM

Christian painters, and particularly those who worked in stained glass, generally respected the symbolism of colors. They did not do so because of theological teaching, nor even less for esoteric reasons, but because the almost constant consensus of human feeling attributed an objective value to them. There was never any obligation for a painter to clothe the adolescent Christ in green, the teaching Christ in blue, the suffering Christ in violet, the risen Christ in red and white, but our feeling about these colors has not changed since the time when this custom took on almost force of law, and it still happens today that painters who are ignorant of the traditional canon automatically conform to it.

Because the symbolic value of colors is closely linked to their plastic value, this latter is generally determined by the mutual relations of the former. That is why identical colors have been assigned a good or bad meaning according to the way they enter into the picture, i.e., according to their relative nearness to other colors, which invests them with a particular shade of meaning.

The primary colors can all represent God, but each one does so under a different aspect. Yellow symbolizes the unfolding of creation, blue wisdom and the penetration of the finite by the infinite, red love, green the regenerate creature and consequently Hope, white the fulness of life, the resurrection, the achievement of man's destiny through his return to the divine unity. The secondary colors are meaningful because of their dependence on the primary ones from which they are formed.

However, these indications, which seem to be those of visual sensitivity applied to spiritual realities, acquire value only as experienced and re-vivified by each painter and as used in the fullest freedom, with all the variations and even vagaries that this freedom may include. As in music, what suffices is that, after the development of a musical theme and of all the runs and movements which overflow and shatter it, we suddenly rediscover the original tonal note without which we would feel lost. In this way the needs of human sensitivity catch up with those of the sacred order which consists essentially in man being in tune with God.

9. GREGORIAN CHANT

The chants of the mass and office also derive from a very ancient melodic science or feeling for music (it may be that during very fortunate periods these words may coincide). Certain hymns make use of Roman or Greek themes (the *Lauda Sion* probably employs the air of the Triumph of the Emperor, and the *Te Deum* may have that of the Olympic festival). But Christian life put new spirit into them, and the monks composed a great number of new chants, so that little by little there grew up this repertory of chant which we call Gregorian and which has become the liturgical chant of the Latin Church. It is monodic song obedient to exact modes and rather uniform rhythms. Nevertheless, it is expressive sometimes of joy and sometimes of sorrow, but it is entirely dedicated to spiritual sufferings and joys. Suffering never turns into despair and joy remains serious. The whole Gospel is present in it, not page after page—it is not

descriptive music—but in a synthesis that only art, and particularly musical art, permits.

Of all the ways of expressing Christian life, Gregorian chant is perhaps the one which has best kept its identity and efficacy throughout the centuries. Churches take on new forms, the plastic and decorative arts are subject to schools and fashions, even theology and liturgy evolve, but what we ask of a performer of a musical composition is strict fidelity to the original text. We also ask that of the editor of a literary text, but in this case language has ceased to be understandable and even a translation presents us with a text which has grown old. The Gregorian melodies, perhaps because they have expressed Christian realities with a perfection which was never again attained, have not grown old, and we are always sensitive to their appeal.

10. RENEWAL OF STYLES

Because Byzantine art had been essentially that of clerics, it had to give way before the transformations undergone by thought and morals from the thirteenth century on. The West then laid stress on those peculiarities which in Romanesque art had already been responsible for the popular character of its imagery. Gothic sculpture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries often depended upon popular art, while that of the thirteenth century remained clerical art on the whole. Its novelty in reference to Byzantine art lay in its dissociation of the two factors which went to make up the latter. The Oriental aspect was abandoned. Only the Hellenistic spirit remained, and it soon turned towards a very specifically western realism.

Only a few years later, the Italian painters in their turn drifted away from traditional Christian art. Giotto, Fra Angelico, and to a still greater degree Masaccio and all the Italian Quattrocentists freed themselves from the Byzantine canons and created the individual art of naturalistic tendencies which was to characterize that of the Renaissance and of the following centuries including our own.

During the same period the Flemish masters worked out a realism and a freedom of expression and imagination which allowed practically no place to the age old tradition. French sculpture also by accentuating one of its natural tendencies went just as resolutely down the road to realism.

What was the impact of these various movements on the value and significance of Christian art?

11. FRENCH SCULPTURE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The French sculpture of the thirteenth century, which was contemporaneous with and closely associated in the construction of the cathedrals, possesses its own proper value but one which is in no way inferior to that of the cathedrals themselves. It also conforms to a precise symbolical program which is particularly noticeable in the great façades. Furthermore, the numerous statues which adorn their portals issue from a variety of different workshops and their art value is not all alike.

The portals of Amiens present us with a great number of men and women of a middling type of humanity, taken right off the street as it were, but raised to a spiritual eminence. Because of this promotion they lose a little of their particular traits. A common ideal, without stripping them of all their uncouthness, refines and likens them to each other. Yet all these men of good will are compelled to recognize the great figures of the piers: Saint Firminus, the Virgin Mother, the teaching Christ.

This latter, the justly famous "beau Dieu," is certainly one of the most astonishing expressions of divinity in man. Moreover, it is neither Buddha nor Zeus but Christ in all certainty. It is expressive of a power absolutely sure of itself, but one which cannot cause terror; it is power entirely bent on love. He teaches with authority, but He is all mildness at the same time; He is filled with beatitude and peace. I do not doubt but that in 1940 He dominated the storm of steel and fire which, indeed, stopped at His very feet. All is possible to Him, save evil. He is freedom, truth, joy. In the history of statuary, taking it down from the Egyptians to our days, He holds a place apart, namely, at the head of these legions of saints who keep vigil beside Him. He cannot be confused with any other. It is significant that He has not left His place in order to take refuge in a museum. For seven hundred years He has continued to preach the Gospel from His pedestal. If anyone should decide to oppose Him, he could not bear that look nor that gesture for long; it would be better to turn away in flight. He is a man—and this humanism of the thirteenth century is perhaps truer than that of the Renaissance—and yet he is much more than a man, a being who is stronger, surer of himself, better. The passerby who permits Him to speak has need of no further initiations; he is a Christian.

And what is true of the Christ of Amiens we can say for different reasons of the Saint Modesta and the Bishops of the South Door of Paris, of the Virgin of the North Door of Paris, of the Rheims groups, and of so many other statues of the same period. It was the time of Saint Francis, a time of grace, when after several centuries of hieratic art, it seemed that Christ was reincarnated among us.

12. THE ITALIAN AND FLEMISH PRIMITIVES

In Northern Italy *Giotto*, and almost a century later, *Fra Angelico* were parallel examples of the same type. *Giotto* was a compatriot and almost a contemporary of Francis of Assisi. Was it that fact that gave him the freedom he took with traditional iconography? He renovated the old subjects, put new life into them, introduced more realistic movement and even real landscapes. His Christ has the majestic beauty of a Byzantine Christ and the humanity of that of Amiens.

Fra Angelico is the almost unique realization of a saint who was at the same time a great artist, that is, although committed to two different paths—which happens often enough—he went to the limits of both of them, which scarcely ever happens. It would have indeed been surprising if his paintings were not pregnant with Christian life. Like *El Greco* he is the painter of prayer. At the foot of the Cross a colloquy of love goes on between Dominic or Francis and Jesus crucified. And the union begun in suffering upon earth is continued in joy in the gardens of paradise. In him we discover the same inspiration as that expressed in the *Imitation of Christ* at around the same period. Religion is in some fashion restored to being a dialogue between Christ and the faithful soul. What does it matter that we have broken with the impassable perfection of Byzantium! By his purity of design, freshness of color, and frank simplicity of sentiment, *Angelico* expressed better than any of his forerunners had done the tremendous love to be found in the gospels. Following the example of *Giotto* he had replaced the Son of Man in earthly surroundings; our sun shines on all the events of His life and heaven itself, as in *Van Eyck*, is a garden, a flower-studded meadow in spring-time.

For on the shores of the North Sea an art had also been born. *Quentin Metsys*, *Van der Weyden*, *Dirk Bouts*, *Memling*, later *Stephen Lochner*, all rewrote the gospel story. They located all its drama and joy in the Mother and the Son, and even more particularly in the heart, on the face, and in the gestures of the Mother. Indeed,

Christ is either a still almost unconscious infant, or an unfeeling and rigid corpse. What a distance has been covered between these pictures and those of the Pantocrator and the Majestic Virgin! For they are certainly moving scenes of contagious emotion. The whole mystery of religion is now discernible in each human destiny. It is each man's personal story which unfolds before his eyes, and the realism of the costumes only serves to accentuate this parallel. Christ and the Virgin are two prototypes, two symbolic figures of man and woman. Are we less Christian for having created such fellowship between God and ourselves?

Flemish realism did not stop there. It took on other aspects in the extraordinary mixture of true details and fantastic inventions which characterize the creations of Jerome Bosch. That too was painting of Christian intent which was destined to have descendants in *Brueghel*, *Lucas de Leyde*, and many others in modern times. One of the themes which haunts painters is the contrast between the figure of Christ in his humble mildness yet serene dignity and the bloated faces of his executioners made hideous with stupidity, wickedness and vice.

Such pictures are contemporaneous with the French statuary of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries before which one's heart is struck by pity and compassion, in which the Virgin is no more than a happy young mother with her pretty child, awaiting the time when she will be the Mother of Sorrows. The burial places unfold their dramatic scenes, and the Crucified Christs appear tortured, insulted, pitiable, sometimes horrible to look upon. It is no longer God in human form but truly a man of sorrows under a divine name. Yet were these not still Christian portrayals?

At the same time in these flamboyant churches, in which Gothic architecture displayed its virtuosity too vulgarly, and in which the tendency to luxuriance of ornamentation already foreshadowed the later Baroque style, the popular character of a part of this decoration asserted itself. The Virgins are natives of Burgundy, Champagne or Provence, and the saints have donned the habit and carry the tools of the professions of which they are patrons. It was a tendency which had appeared at the very beginning of Gothic art, but one which expanded freely towards the end of the Gothic age before dying away during the Renaissance.

13. THE MASTERS OF THE RENAISSANCE

The great philosophical, political, and artistic movement, which will always be known in history under the name of the Renaissance, conveys a part of its program in its very name. By the very fact that it desired a rebirth of the antique world or, more exactly, the conception of man that it was supposed to have held, it in some way stood in opposition to the Christian ideal of the Middle Ages.

Nevertheless, the Renaissance did not blot out Christianity; it just gave it a different form. In religious architecture this form found expression in the Jesuit or Baroque style and in the plastic domain in the art of secular artists.

Those whom we call the great men of the Renaissance, *da Vinci*, *Michelangelo*, *Raphael*, the Venetians, were preceded, accompanied and followed by a multitude of other artists whose work prepared and continued theirs. However, since their work perfectly incarnated the Renaissance spirit, it can be considered as the epitome of that of all the others. *Da Vinci*—aside from his famous *Last Supper* and a striking head of Christ—was little concerned with Christian art. But *Raphael* and *Michelangelo* left a considerable amount of religious work and began a fashion which has had adherents almost down to our days.

The Madonnas of *Raphael* substituted their wholly sensual charm for the Majestic Virgin of the Byzantine mosaics and the Romanesque frescoes. Despite this, his great compositions manifest concern for nobility and arrangement which connects them with the traditional compositions. In the two paintings, the *Dispute of the Blessed Sacrament* and the *School of Athens*, there is no different spirit animating the various personages. The naturalism begun by *Giotto* and perfected by *Masaccio*, *Mantegna*, and all the painters of the Quattrocento, ended up in this facile art, full of style assuredly, but so exclusively human. Corporeal beauty became the symbol of the spirit. The anthropomorphic gods of Greece, somewhat ennobled and rid of their vices, now represented the Christian ideal.

In his *Last Judgment* *Michelangelo* portrayed Christ like an angry and vengeful Zeus, and men cowered down in the night of despair. The whole of antique thought animates his figures, which are at once concrete and yet representative of all men. His sibyls look like Fate itself, and his prophets bear the weight of the world's

problems on their shoulders, like the artist himself, and their replies are enigmatical. Moses sits attentively in his apprehensive strength as if he did not know what to do with himself. Are these really Christian figures? And yet the Church accepted this anxiety because she undoubtedly saw in it one of the ways the sacred has for gaining entrance into man. The bitter passion of a Michelangelo did not seem foreign to her purposes. In our days have not many men escaped the insufficiencies of scientific certitudes and returned to her by the way of anxiety? Like the *Melancholia* of Dürer, the *Night* of Michelangelo points out the way of faith.

The Church tried to baptize this humanism because she is careful not to lose anything of her human heritage. She judged that man would never achieve the integral and harmonious development he sought without her. He is essentially a religious spirit made for grappling with the problems of his destiny, and such was the whole purpose of the painters and sculptors of the Renaissance, at least of the greatest among them. Men could not then even dream that religious art would not be Christian.

During the same period the great polyphonic choirs of the chapel masters of Rome and elsewhere (Palestrina, Vittoria, Orlando di Lasso, etc.) corroborated the spiritual scope of a purely formal beauty that was almost perfect. It was then also that Baroque art arose, a style that was to influence church architecture for three centuries. These are but other testimonies to a vitality which manifested itself in institutions, in thought and in saints.

14. THE BAROQUE CHURCHES

Like Byzantine art Baroque was confronted with two opposing tendencies and, according to the different areas in which it was realized, it was more or less faithful to one or the other tendency; generally speaking, however, it emphasized one as regards architecture and the other in decoration. In their construction Baroque churches remained relatively faithful to the essential symbolism of the older churches and so revealed their dependency on Gothic. The Greek lines of the façades have no meaning in themselves, the walls kept their robust severity, the ground plan remains cruciform, the trinitarian symbols persist. The arrangement of the windows, altar and choir are modified, but that is done only to correspond to the very definite requirements of some partial but very worthwhile renovations of the liturgy.

On the other hand, the decoration of such churches made way for a whole procession of ecstatic cherubs symbolizing by their bodily corpulency the spiritual fatness of their souls. This happened especially in Central and Southern Europe, for Oratorian and Jansenist France could not bear a religion of such physical exuberance. In France it was the time of mental prayer and the interior life. It was not till the eighteenth century that fire and fancy were allowed to appear in the gilded revedos of altars. As a matter of fact a French church of the seventeenth century is more severe than one of Gothic architecture. The sculptured portals disappeared, and stained glass was abolished as so much sensual pleasure. Painting found a home on easels which allowed it to become a subject of elaborate and entirely individual research.

In short, art oscillated between these two contradictory tendencies: one of renunciation and austerity, the other of abundance mingled with some vanity, an art which was more decorative than expressive. The first corresponded to the needs of an interior and personal religion, the second to a taste for glittering and theatrical social gatherings. The art of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries travelled along these two parallel roads. However, the second tendency, which had been stressed at the beginning but checked in seventeenth century France, became pronounced almost everywhere in the eighteenth.

15. THE MYSTICAL ARTISTS

During the Baroque period but on an entirely different plane, we find strong personalities that the Middle Ages had known but which they had absorbed into their collective effort, and which, moreover, they had perhaps not utilized as fully as possible (this was true in the domain of art while in mysticism and theology it was an entirely different matter). Individualistic art has this advantage over collectivist art that it allows a man to express himself more completely.

Of all the great Venetians, *Tintoretto* is the only one to have left authentically religious work. There dwelt in him the sense of Christian tragedy as well as that of mystery and the invisible presences. A supernatural presence stands out in his thickly wooded landscapes, in the midst of his tossing crowds, and in his apparently empty churches. Friends and enemies, men and animals press around the foot of the Cross in strange confusion. As we raise our eyes to Christ suspended between heaven and earth, we see Him both

pondering and undergoing the fate of man. At that height all becomes clear, restlessness ceases, and the most tragic of positions becomes the one in which peace begins to reign.

Of *El Greco*, of this Greek who underwent the influence of Venice, it will always be said with good reason that he incarnates Spanish religion. A burning sensuality in the service of the rigors of mystical love, an ardor for life balancing or rather supporting the rigors of the faith, a destiny determined by a passion to which the soul ultimately subjects the body, even till it sacrifices it, if necessary—such is the authentic religious spirit of Spain, and *El Greco* clothes it in all the splendor of his art.

Moreover, Venetian influence shows up in the richness, for the whole Orient had impressed itself upon Venice. *El Greco* did not repudiate his Byzantine formation which had impressed upon him the primacy of religious experience. Titian and Tintoretto then taught him how to give flesh and blood to his symbols and so prepared him for Spain where he found his spiritual atmosphere pending the time when he was to impress his own upon it. What would his hot-blooded nature, which made him a real Spaniard, have accomplished at Florence or Rome where passion was in the service of the mind? He liked Michelangelo only in a half-hearted way. What did he think of Fra Angelico, his forerunner in the pictorial evocation of spiritual dialogue? The natural mildness and purity of the monk stood contrasted with his own violence.

A tempest rages within *El Greco's* beautiful bodies, and the flame of desire convulses them to such an extent that they become flames themselves. Yet it is a flame which burns without consuming. What inner strength will anchor the quick-silver of these agile, dancing figures? They stand ready for any call, and the moving draperies, the great open sky, the riot of color, all predict heroic adventure.

Often enough they are no longer of this world. *El Greco* is the painter of the Great Beyond, at least insofar as this Beyond dwells within us and belongs to us when we desire to live in it. The men who surround the corpse of Orgaz saw heaven open before their eyes. They are expressive of active consent to the highest form of desire. Such is the entire spirituality of *El Greco*; of all the Baroque painters it is he who attains the sacred most surely.

Mathias Grünewald also follows his tradition. As a successor to all the expressionist sculptors and engravers that Flemish, Rhenish and Burgundian art produced during two centuries, he revived the

theme of the suffering Christ and to some degree imparted to it a definitive expression. But as a conscious Christian he tried to express the two aspects of the mystery—which certain of his imitators forgot to do today—and as a perfect counterpart to the Crucifixion painted his extraordinary Resurrection in which the color symbolism freshly envisaged by the artist testifies to all its significant power. As a religion full of passion the Christian life projects both joy and sorrow to their uttermost limits and beyond. It requires entire self-surrender right to the end. There is balance to be found between one and the other shutter of the triptych, not by closing oneself to joy or by refusing sorrow (or what would come to the same by hardening oneself to both), but by surpassing both on either plane.

Can we speak of Holland's golden age as an age of faith? If we believe its painters, it would seem that rarely had man found himself so much at home in his earthly state and that by renouncing uncertain hopes of something beyond the grave he had found the wherewithal fully to satisfy himself in what lay about him, in the countryside, his house, friends, the varied lighting of the skies, rooms, and landscapes. Dutch painting is the portrayal of a limited and apparently happy world. Nevertheless, it was at that time that in his turn *Rembrandt* tried the great adventure, that of the religious life and of its expression by means of the plastic arts. It was around the time of his famous *The Nightwatch* that Rembrandt left the facile way in order to obey an inner summons.¹

Rembrandt was an esteemed painter with a promising career before him when he forsook all and accepted misunderstanding, poverty and suffering; but with these there also came a great assuaging of the pangs of mind and heart. It is easy to reconstruct his whole itinerary just by looking at his successive portraits. He met Christ and his whole art was transformed, but our relations with

¹ *The Nightwatch*: Painted in 1642, "The Nightwatch" raised a fury of criticism and was the beginning of Rembrandt's decline in popularity. This painting was to have been a group portrait of Captain Banning Cocq's hunting party. The hunting party undoubtedly expected something like a family photograph but Rembrandt had things to say which had nothing to do with the likenesses of Captain Cocq and his club members. Rembrandt lost sight of the portrait idea and became intrigued with the design and light and shadow of the composition. As a result some faces and figures are almost hidden in shadow and parts of figures are overlapped and covered by others to give way to chiaroscuro and the design of the whole. The hunting party was, of course, offended. Rembrandt lost the favor of the public but won his freedom as an artist.

God are also a little changed. Rembrandt is no dogmatist; he does not depart a step from the Christ of the Gospels. He shows Him to us commanding death with incomparable authority (*The Resurrection of Lazarus*)—abandoning Himself to His cruel fate (*The Three Crosses*) in such utter desolation—but above all radiating with compassionate goodness (*The Hundred Guilder Print, Emmaus, The Good Samaritan*). Divine compassion never before offered itself to the misery of man to this degree. Today we can trace the development of a whole renovation of Christian life on both the individual and social plane, and Rembrandt was one of the first to express it. All those lighting effects that he invented, those eruptions of light in the darkness of the night, the sumptuous golds and reds blazing forth in the midst of somber landscapes, whether indeed it be Christ, or Saul, or Titus, or even Bethsabée sitting naked in her chair, all express the same meaning which goes somewhat like this: it is hard and perhaps dangerous to try to penetrate the secret of certain mysteries, but a goodness which is both carnal and spiritual is already an answer to man's anguish. Just love, God will do the rest. And behold what superhuman being commands Lazarus to come forth.

Rubens is the continuator of Raphael but one who rejects the taste and measure the Italian had employed in making flesh the symbol of the spirit. He is a real Fleming, surrendering himself to all the exuberances of a marvellous artistic temperament. Everything in his compositions is exaggerated, swirling, declamatory, but his ardent sensualism manifests one of the faces of the Incarnation better than anyone had done before him.

It is perhaps imprudent to compare the work of these great painters with French painting of the same period. Yet that "great century" had its theologians, its mystics, and even its Christian painters. There were two in particular: Georges La Tour and Eustache Le Sueur, although rather different from one another; the former was more susceptible to the humble and moving reality of human faces just touched by the simplest kind of lighting effects, such as a candle, which simplifies the colors and silhouettes the profiles, the latter was more under Italian influence and careful of his style; but both were hostile to unrest, not very talkative, painters of that interior life which the then French masters of spirituality spoke of so willingly. They no longer illustrated a religion of prodigies; they rather suspected such attitudes as singularities. God

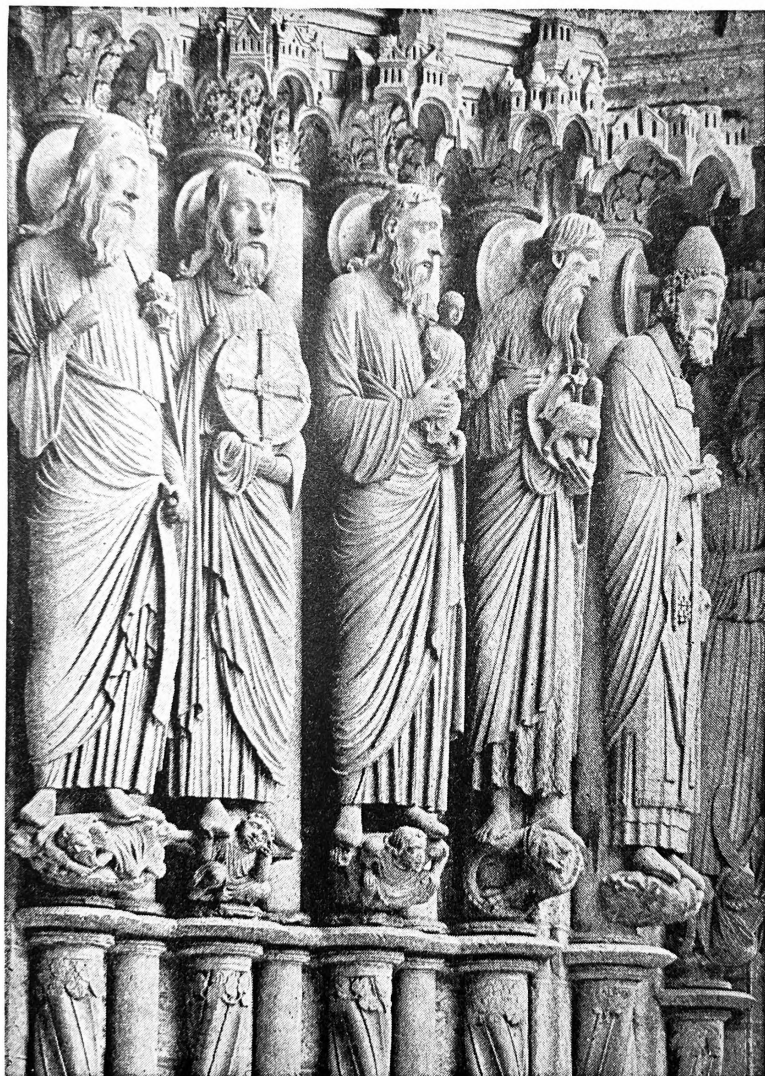
speaks to the heart; we must be attentive, silent. They depict Saint Martin offering mass, a young woman praying in her room or rocking her child; such are their kind of miracles. It is a type of painting which invites recollection, a type which had been previously created by the anonymous master of Avignon and his *Pieta*.

Another profoundly religious painter, *Philippe de Champagne*, expressed himself in the same fashion, especially in his fine portraits: a whole gallery of grave Port Royal people. Such were his best pictures, for when he tried to tackle the traditional subjects, he did not have the inspiration for it. He tried to imitate Rubens which was not in his line at all, attempted to express himself in gestures when he was made for quiet subjects, and in color when he was entirely at ease in whites and grays. We cannot leave these painters without mentioning Poussin, the master. He was not at his best even in portraits but rather in landscapes, as was also his companion Claude Lorrain. A little later Chardin produced still-lives, and what a posterity both these men have had!

We should not pass over these French painters of the classical period too quickly, as often happens. They do not possess the fame of a Rubens or a Velasquez (just as a Berulle, a Condren, an Ollier do not, when compared with a John of the Cross) but just go into a room covered with their paintings. What seriousness! What care they took to elevate everyday life to the realm of the sacred! They may be compared to a Therese of Lisieux of a later date. Such was the achievement of the best of that kind of religious painting: a feeling for God in things, in nature, in all the activities of our daily life.

16. THE MUSIC OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

It was a century of music. The eighteenth century that we are accustomed to view as one of frivolity and blasphemous impiety—and not without good reason—was also that of Handel, Bach, and in its final years that of Mozart and Beethoven. Those great masters composed properly Christian works (masses, oratorios, cantatas, etc.), but above all they laid bare the full significance, or what we may call, the metaphysics of music itself, better than any of their predecessors had done. A Christian listening to Bach feels as much at ease as sitting in a cathedral. It contains the same order, the same grandeur. Things obey our summons, our personal destiny seems assured. It is something more than a promise, it is anticipated



The editors have included this art reproduction by way of illustration of the main idea of the chapter, and not simply to adorn their theology volume. The group of statuary belongs to the Northern Portal of the Cathedral of Chartres in France. Sacred art, especially that which is expressed at the door of a cathedral through which generations of Christians have passed, little by little stamps the mentality of the faithful with a certain spirit and teaches them a lesson which they cannot ignore.

What is the lesson? It is two-fold. First of all, the sculpture teaches us "like a book." By presenting the great figures of Christ, the prophets, martyrs, angels, saints and apostles to us, the sculpture gives us an inspiring history of the Church in a visible form which reaches beyond mere words.

In the reproduction included here, we notice the prophets Isaias, Jeremias, Simeon, John the Baptist and St. Peter. Isaias, who prophesied in his writings that the Virgin would bear a Son, carries a scroll. Next to him, Jeremias—the prophet of the destruction of Jerusalem—carries the Greek Cross (symbol of Christ) with grave solemnity. It was Jeremias who accustomed the eye of the people to the suffering figure of Christ and pointed up in advance the bitterness of the Cross. Simeon appears next. He is shown holding the Christ-child, a remembrance of the Presentation in the Temple when he was granted a view of the Holy Infant. He took the child in his arms and sang the hymn *Nunc Dimittis* to express his joy. The fourth figure is John the Baptist, who gently carries the Lamb of God, the title which he gave to Christ. He wears a robe of fur to signify his austere life in the forests. Finally, we see St. Peter wearing a robe which emphasizes his position as Prince of the Apostles. From his right arm, a huge key dangles to recall the time when Christ gave him "the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven." Note that the figures appear chronologically as they existed in history.

From a second point of view, however, the lesson of the sculpture of the portal cannot be compared to a book. Like every work of art, the presentation is not of a rational or analytical nature. It reveals a beauty and a life which achieve a certain harmony and guide us in a certain direction. The theologian, therefore, cannot ignore the popular character of these images and their power to impregnate the Christian mentality.

possession. Although such was the atmosphere created by Bach, music was not always to be assured of such purity. Nevertheless, it remains one of the strongest and most appealing means capable of putting man in a receptive mood for religious realities.

Although the Renaissance separated itself from a long and living tradition, it did not dry up the sources of sacred art or even of specifically Christian art. The freedom conferred upon the individual even assured certain works of a depth, an originality, and an expressive power that they undoubtedly would not otherwise have known. Nevertheless, such individualism has its dangers, the principal one being the difficulty of linking the work of unduly isolated artists to the life of the Church. This is both because the Church fails to discover works composed too far outside her ambit, and also because the artist fails to remain in continuous contact with tradition. Thus it may happen that artists and churches take two different roads; they may be parallel, but there is no communication between them. The end result is the impoverishment of both.

17. THE DECADENCE OF SACRED ART IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It was in the nineteenth century that this evil revealed all its harmfulness and made known its disastrous consequences. It was then that Baroque style disappeared, a style which, despite all its Renaissance prejudices and its readiness to adapt itself to the new needs of worship, was nevertheless the heir of Gothic and through it, of the oldest Christian tradition. No new style took its place. Instead, during the whole course of this century, churches were constructed in the greatest disorder and deepest ignorance, going from the most lifeless imitation of ancient styles (Saint Clotilde and all the Neo-Gothic art) to ridiculous and completely incongruous inventions (Westminster Cathedral in London). Their embellishment naturally followed along the same lines, making it a time of pious academicism, an inspired art formula which developed on the fringe of all living art and which for a hundred years froze any Christian attempts at renovation and favored the triumph of cheap "religious art goods" by its facileness.

However, art kept all its vitality; great artists succeeded one another, as desirous of expressing their sense of the sacred in their work as their predecessors had been. Traditionally Christian subjects were so debased that artists thought it no longer possible to use

them. Instead they created landscapes, portraits, still-lives, and the Church was even less prepared than in former centuries to recognize the connection of these artists with her.

Yet Corot, and later Monet, Cezanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, could have been great painters of churches. The religious quality of their work is certain; even in the expressions of it they left, we can follow the development of that great movement which from the thirteenth century down had sought to widen the domain of the sacred. Primarily they wanted the gospel facts to symbolize man, his person, his work, especially the great moments of his life—birth, motherhood, the struggle with fate, and death. We may say that art is naturalized, but we can also consider that it is in search of and wants to portray the fulfillment of the Christian mystery in the totality of human life. Ultimately, the artist is in search of the image of God in the whole of nature.

The words "profane" and "sacred" seem to have taken on new meaning. Indeed, the work of an artist is a unit; either it is superficial, frivolous, or as we say, profane, all these words having become synonymous in ordinary language; or it is profound, interior, religious. Henceforth, then, we should not consider so much the subject-matter—not that it is without value—but the spirit which animates a work. This is surely an advance as regards the meaning of art work.

There are Christian landscapes of apocalyptic tone peopled with fearful horsemen, and on the other hand, there are biblical and gospel landscapes full of mildness and serenity. In order for a landscape to possess religious value it must go beyond mere narrative; it must be something besides a skillful portrayal of a subject; in short, it must take a symbolic value and allow the painter to express what is best and most essential of himself through its medium. What is true of landscapes also applies to portraits, still-lives, and to what is called abstract art, a kind practiced by a certain number of painters in our days. In addition to these, certain persons look for this "symbolical" value of painting independently of the subjects treated, and we should not be surprised to discover some real Christians among them.

18. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY REVIVAL

At the beginning of the twentieth century, at the same time that an architectural style was being worked out which was to inspire

the building of churches, that great poets were reviving Christian poetry, that traditionally religious themes tempted some composers, painters began to return to gospel subjects. They were *Maurice Denis*, *Georges Desvallières*, *Georges Rouault*, men who had been formed by *Cézanne*, *Odilon Redon*, *Gauguin*, *Moreau*, *Puvis de Chavannes*. What kind of Christianity did they produce after the long silence of painting? Like Mary Magdalen, Denis had met Christ on a garden path. It was the Virgin's garden, that of Martha and Mary in the evenings of Bethany, that of Easter morning, or yet again that of the Portiuncula. His was a painting of fresh breezes, children bearing flower-filled baskets, and Holy Thursday repository fragrances.

Desvallières, being more preoccupied with men's sufferings, depicted his blood-stained Christ walking the battle-fields of the world. Every canvas of this painter is barred with His long cross, yet He is tender at the same time, consoling the daughters of Jerusalem, seeking the reconciliation of men.

Rouault's Christ sometimes has the harshness of justice. However, He does not take the judge's role, but that of a witness before the judge, a witness to the wickedness and the baseness of men, but especially a witness to His own love. After the Pantocrator, the "Beau Dieu" of Amiens, after the Christ of Angelico, El Greco, Grünewald and Rembrandt, we are now confronted with the Christ of Rouault; He is just as near, just as laden with meaning, and glowing with glory like stained glass, all of which goes to show that a truly religious soul of our era—provided nothing stands in his way—can rediscover Christ as it were, naturally, just as preceding centuries did. Being a Christian means this and nothing else.

19. MODERN TIMES AND THE SACRED

a) The Artists.

Contemporary Christian art does not stop short at Rouault. It is even very interesting to notice that, at a time when painting—along with poetry and music—has become a universal language, a certain number of painters, both numerous and varied enough to represent all varieties of contemporary art, are doing religious art. And they do it not just by loading their work, whether it be the landscape or the non-figurative variety, with religious meaning but by going back to traditionally Christian themes. Cubists, continuators of Glazes

whose research, moreover, tended to connect what is most modern in art to the oldest sources of Christian art, such as Byzantine or Romanesque; Expressionists, Symbolists, Abstractionists or Semi-Abstractionists, Surrealists, all made their contribution to Christian art, and not just by a few isolated pictures, but in some cases by almost the entirety of their work.

In the religious art of our times there is a double current discernible: on the one hand there is a very marked tendency on the part of a great number of painters—as well as of sculptors, composers and poets—to force work which is really lacking in traditional ties into the sacred realm; on the other hand there is the return of a great many others, and certainly not the least among them, to properly Christian subjects.

It would be very shortsighted to oppose these two currents, these two facets of the quest after the sacred. On the contrary, they admirably complete one another, for the former start from scratch, obeying their own inner exigencies, reveal to us the religious ideas of modern man, which are after all those of man as he always is; the latter by starting with a closer contact with Tradition, teach us what connections our period can maintain with it. Moreover, the two currents meet together in the contribution to church decoration of some of the greatest artists of the period: *Matisse, Bonnard, Braque, Chagall, Léger, Lurçat, Miro*, as well as the best representatives of even more recent painting.

b) The Themes.

It seems to me that we can reduce the religious ties of contemporary art to four principal ones. They come to the fore when man feels the weight of fate pressing down upon him with terrifying force so that he is violently torn away from the earthly tranquillity and limited goals he had set for himself, or when he experiences the fact that only a generous self-surrender and great love can free him from his burden and give him strength to go on living, or when the sense of mystery penetrates him so that he seeks to interpret the religious signs proposed to him whether he likes it or not, or finally, when he touches upon that elevated region beyond all carnal passion in which his heart finds peace and equilibrium in adoration. All men enter upon these ways to what is sacred sooner or later; the artist's role is merely to give them expression. Unless he deliberately stops half-way in his vocation he must someday

experience the demands of this essential task. Undoubtedly, certain among them have better expressed what is terrible, others, love or mystery, and some few, serenity. But in every great work we must be able to discover one or another of these themes, or sometimes all of them. It is in this sense that all great art is religious.

So it is that we find around us solid foundations for a Christian art. But the Church demands more than this; she asks that the facts in which the whole religious life of man was incarnated for twenty centuries by the power of an eternal symbol be evoked anew. The spiritual themes of the sacred order must find their expression in the carnal themes with which Christian tradition presents us.

Our contemporary artists pay particular attention to the Passion of Christ; they are no less attracted by all the visions of the Apocalypse, and more especially by the strangest and most fearful of them. Yet they also know how to discover a love stronger than blasphemy in the face of Christ and the Virgin. They are attracted, as perhaps never before, by the mystery of signs, whether traditional or not, and by that of colors. Peace shows up but rarely in their compositions. Still it sometimes appears in the arrangement of lines and colors, rather than in any human representation. Man has been too badly treated in our times, which is why we experience difficulty in finding any sign of the divine likeness on his face; perhaps we shall only relearn the secret of order and harmony in less carnal realities.

Religious subject-matter abounds in contemporary art; we have simply to recognize and name it, and if possible to direct it towards its highest, most authentic, most meaningful expressions.

c) The Churches.

To what degree will the Christian Church accept modern religious art? There is a distinction between religious art and ecclesiastical art which some ecclesiastics like to emphasize. It is certain that some artists in their improvised quest for what is sacred cannot claim to be in immediate and continuous harmony with Tradition. Still it would be a great pity if harmony were never to be reached and it would be paradoxical to hear—not just once but habitually—the priest saying to the artist: Your work is religious, but there is really no place for it in church.

As regards churches, one definite factor governs all the rest, that

is, the existence of an architectural plan, a style which corresponds to the needs of the period as closely as possible, one which remains traditional enough to avoid any break with the past, and which lies open to all living sacred art.

This style will be difficult to work out because of the century-long stoppage in the evolution of architectural forms. Normally one style issues from another; in no case is it the invention of a single man. There are some helpful signs, however: particularly a certain number of churches built during the last twenty years at various points in the world—and especially in Central Europe—in which we notice that the end results of different successful attempts are greatly similar, i.e., simplification of lines, care as to the general arrangement of volume, impression of size (even in smaller buildings), sobriety of decoration, desire for light. They are places of worship which instead of scattering one's attention concentrate it and dispose the mind to an emptying of itself and spiritual elevation, which stress the communitarian aspects of public worship and which, by the importance given to the main altar, wants again to lay stress on the essential rites of religion.

From the same churches there tends to disappear that kind of third-rate commercial product which has dishonored so many churches, both ancient and modern, for more than a century. Decoration may be limited, but what is there must be authentic works of art. In this work of renewal the Church should manifest both boldness and prudence: boldness in her desire to accept and renew, prudence in her choice of persons to whom to confide the concrete realizations of such renewal.

Contemporary artists—not all of them assuredly, but the greatest among them, and in ways which are proper to their period and to their fidelity to the vocation of this period, certain of them even in ways which they call materialistic—are in quest of the sacred, or the full justification of their art and their life.

Will they find it better and definitively in traditional subjects? Perhaps the question should not be asked in quite that way. Assuredly the value of the traditional symbols is far from being exhausted, but then there are so many ways of interpreting them. The important thing is that these artists, integrally and by what is best in them, be accepted by tradition, that they feel they are in harmony with it, that the true religion always recognize its own

and the worthwhile expressions that such artists must feel called upon to provide. Indeed, it is to be hoped that all men of good will may continue to experience the charity of a shelter which is necessary to them, and that the walls of our churches may be big enough and naked enough to welcome their works.

20. CONCLUSION

Even such a summary study of Christian art will have at least persuaded us of its richness and shown us to what degree its characteristics vary with the conditionings of time and place. Sometimes it is faithful to rather strict rules and preoccupied with the universal aspects of things, sometimes it concedes more to the individual sensibility and imagination of the artists, yet it never fails to refer back to the story of Christ and to gospel teaching. Such is the very essence of what we must continue to call its symbolism. In addition, it is conditioned by obligations to the liturgy and the other forms of worship.

These are the constant factors of Christian art, but they are constants which do not imply fixation and immobility. For the liturgy has its own life, one partly conditioned by often variable devotional needs; each century manifests particular preferences, even for parts of the Gospel. The religious awareness of men is far from being uniform from one country or one period to another. We have successively seen how the high Middle Ages, the Gothic period, the Renaissance, the Neo-Classical age, and the contemporary period have renewed architectural and plastic forms and produced undeniably religious works during each one of them. This renewal conditions even the value of an art which only lives by constantly escaping formulas, copies and all forms of academicism. A theologian who seeks to discover the Christian mentality of a generation and a country through art should pay particular attention to this renewal of forms.

The greatness of its purpose should, moreover, always take Christian art to the very heart of the efforts and of the work of each century. It has most often done just that, and in so doing has generally permitted artists to produce their greatest works. Only fear and ignorance could interrupt such a long established tradition. On the contrary, it now appears that this tradition, which was for a time obscured, is now on the way to asserting itself once again in our days.

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II. GREGORIAN CHANT

by D. Delalande, O.P.

I. A FACT: ECCLESIASTICAL CHANT

1. The Universality of this Fact
2. Gregorian Chant and the Roman Liturgy
3. Gregorian Chant and Other Liturgical Chants

II. THE THEOLOGICAL VALUE OF GREGORIAN CHANT

1. A Moral Preparation
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II. GREGORIAN CHANT

I. Ecclesiastical Chant: A Fact Which Compels a Theologian's Attention

Wherever the Church prays, it also sings, and her chant seems to share to a great degree in the stability of the liturgical forms and in the consecration of objects devoted to worship.

Theologians may certainly seek the justification of what is of such general usage. In his treatise on religion Saint Thomas asks the question: "Whether song ought to be used in praising God?" (II-II, q. 91, a. 2). But the very universality of such usage gives us a sufficient answer to the problem and reverses the terms of the proposition: what the Church does at all times and in all places has no need of justification; the fact itself rather compels a theologian to reflect on such data and integrate it into his theological synthesis, since it is likely to shed new light on his field of study.

1. THE UNIVERSALITY OF THIS FACT

Before doing anything else, we should be aware of the universality of this fact and also distinguish in all the various liturgies two kinds of chants. The first kind is an official, consecrated chant, whose origins are lost in the mists of time; in general, it is monody whose obvious archaism, by its very purity, is able to come down through the centuries without growing old. In the Latin Church, this description immediately makes us think of Gregorian chant. Yet besides these there are also other chants, polyphonic or otherwise, more distinctly of a definite period and consequently more subject to the influences of old age; to a varying degree such music takes the place of Gregorian chant in liturgical services or more often in extra-liturgical functions. The quality of these chants varies extremely. Renaissance polyphony reached a degree of perfection which has never been surpassed, and so merited the particular esteem of the Latin Church (*Motu Proprio* of Pius X *Inter Pastoralis Officii Sollicitudines*); its fame, moreover, was linked with properly liturgical texts. Although the popular hymn, a non-liturgical form

of chant, has sunk very low, it can have real value; Pope Pius XII in pointing out its usefulness in "stirring up and arousing the faith and piety of large gatherings of the faithful" formulates this wish: "Let the full harmonious singing of our people rise to heaven like the bursting of a thunderous sea, and let them testify by the melody of their song to the unity of their hearts and minds, as becomes brothers and the children of the same Father."¹

In the Oriental Church, the ancient traditional melodies have in great part been supplanted by a form of polyphony of greater or lesser richness according to the places and solemnities in which it is employed; its composers often succeeded in giving it a nobility of religious expression, a hieratic and sacred character which renders it perfectly fitting for its role in divine worship.

Moreover, in both Oriental and Latin rites, the traditional monodic chant is used exclusively for certain parts of the liturgy, e.g., for the Preface and *Pater* of the Latin rite.²

2. GREGORIAN CHANT AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE ROMAN LITURGY

If for the time being we restrict our inquiry to the official prayer of the Church in the Roman rite, we see that the very structure of this prayer can only be explained in terms of the chant which is made to accompany it. If today many priests say their breviary privately, and if many choirs of canons and religious only recite their hours, this is merely the result of a kind of artificial curtailment of the sung office, which, in consequence, loses a notable part of its characteristic appearance. The office is no more made to be recited than it is made to be said privately. The celebrant, deacon, subdeacon, lectors, cantors, schola, choir or people have all allotted roles, and to each particular role there correspond texts, which are not only different in nature and style but also adapted to special melodies.

The celebrant, who may not be a chant specialist, but who, because he presides over public prayer, must be able to express group sentiments in perfectly clear diction, will use very elementary

¹ Encyclical *Mediator Dei*, N.C.W.C. official translation (1948), no. 194, p. 65.

² *Motu Proprio* of Pius X *Inter Pastoralis Officii Sollicitudines* and the Encyclical *Mediator Dei* of Pius XII.

melodies—in the orations, for example, a simple musical punctuation of the text; the style of the prefaces, without deviating from such simplicity, attains a high degree of religious lyricism. The people's part, which is a great deal less than that of the priest's and entirely subordinated to his, since it consists mainly in replying to a dialogue begun by him, is obviously of the same style and necessarily very elementary also. The deacon, subdeacon, and lector also use simple melodies whose whole purpose is to facilitate the logical enunciation of the sentences and their better understanding, the result being that what the Church confides to their ministry is heard distinctly. Lastly, among the simple melodies, we must put all the ordinary psalmody belonging to the choir.

Nevertheless, the introduction of complexity and richness comes through psalmody, since such song can be more or less ornate, be accompanied by antiphons, or take the form of responsories or tracts; these varieties of psalmody and their subdivisions call for trained cantors or a schola and correspond to different liturgical and religious purposes.

Antiphons are inserted into psalmody performed by two alternate choirs like a refrain or leitmotif; by pointing up an idea or sentiment they make clear why a particular psalm is chosen or offer a theme for meditation while it is being sung. Sometimes it is the psalm which is of primary interest, while at other times (in the more ornate psalmody of the introits or communions, for example), the antiphon absorbs one's interest. When *responsories* follow readings, they are always a kind of meditation which allows us time to investigate more thoroughly and assimilate the text just read and provides a key to its central meaning; such responsories are of various sorts: short responsory, long responsory, gradual-responsory and *Alleluia*, according as the foregoing reading is respectively a short chapter, a lesson of the office, or a lesson of the mass. When sung and heard as they ought to be, they can assist contemplation greatly. These responsories belong to the very heart of the liturgy; they achieve a synthesis of mental prayer of the contemplative kind and of public prayer; while the antiphonal psalmody of the introit and communion have merely a secondary role to play in the structure of the mass, responsorial psalmody has value in itself and is integral to the very architecture of the mass; the same applies to the tract. This brief enumeration is far from exhausting all the

liturgical and melodic forms which, in the present state of their evolution, habitually require the aid of competent cantors and a schola: we would have to mention compositions belonging to the ordinary of the mass, and even hymns whose origin was more popular, etc.

If we took time to analyze the mass or an hour of the office, we would see the different types of pieces which compose liturgical prayer, and although it is only a question of matters which everyone knows, we would perhaps be surprised to find out what a variety of texts, roles and melodic styles there is, a fact which generally goes unnoticed because of a certain familiarity with them—that is, provided it be not rather from a lack of culture and attention. At any rate, we would find that almost the whole office and mass is made for chant. What is called Gregorian music takes in the ensemble of these melodies, despite the variety of styles involved, although it is easier to feel confusedly what permits us to gather them all together under this common name, than to explain the formal reason for it.

3. GREGORIAN CHANT AND OTHER LITURGICAL CHANTS

Although today the Latin Church knows no other, or almost no other, chant than Gregorian, we must remember that this quasi-monopoly did not exist in early times. Originally, Gregorian chant was a narrowly local affair, or to speak more precisely, a Roman affair. In addition to it there were other chants of a similar local nature, the majority of which are now lost, but of which a certain number have left more or less notable traces. Without pretending to give a complete list of them we can mention Beneventan chant, Gallican chant, Mozarabic chant, etc. Of all of them only Ambrosian chant has come down to us in an integral fashion, and is still used in the diocese of Milan; Dom Suñol (died 1946) restored its texts 1935–1939.

The progressive elimination of these chants in favor of the Roman melodies has many causes; besides a desire for unification, which always animated the Holy See and caused it to profit by favorable occasions, we must take note of political events which contributed their share. The part played by Pepin the Short and Charlemagne in

the disappearance of the Gallican rite is well known.³ In addition the extension of the Roman rite and chant was linked to various missionary enterprises, e.g., in England, Saint Augustine of Canterbury sent by Gregory the Great; in Germany, Saint Boniface sent from England.⁴

Although we may regret the irreparable loss of a whole artistic and religious capital, the success of the Gregorian liturgical cantilena is to be explained and justified by its superior quality. On the whole those Churches which adopted Roman melody gained by the change. We can compare different styles through the use of a few fragments which have survived, e.g., certain portions of the ancient Beneventan liturgy: they appear very austere and monotonous. However interesting the musical patrimony of the Milanese Church may be, and aside from some real masterpieces, on the whole we cannot escape from the impression that it indeed contains some tedious passages, a certain primitiveness and certain disproportions. Despite its venerable antiquity it does not attain the finish, the balance, the maturity of Gregorian, and the difference is all the more noticeable in that the musical themes are often the same.

This remark provides us with an opportunity for posing the question concerning the origin of Latin liturgical chants. The problem is very obscure and scientific work on the subject is not yet sufficiently advanced for us to have any positive conclusions on the subject. Here is what we can affirm with some probability:

1. There are bonds of relationship among the various Western chants. This does not mean that for every musical piece of a determinate rite there corresponds another of similar treatment or inspiration in other rites, but merely that we can point out a con-

³ Cf. the series of articles being published in the review *Musique et Liturgie* under the title *Origine, Histoire et Restitution du Chant Grégorien*, and signed by Dom Froger, a monk of Solesmes. All necessary developments and clarifications can be found there.

In No. 19 (Feb. 1951), devoted to scrupulous research concerning the history of Roman chant, Dom Froger arrives at the conclusion that "Roman liturgy and Roman chant entered Frankish Gaul under Pepin in 754 and was imposed on the whole empire by Charlemagne;" however, they "did not represent the state of affairs under Stephen II—the pope who treated with Pepin—but that which existed under Gregory III, fifteen years earlier."

⁴ However, it must be remarked that, since these enterprises were prior to the unification effected by Charlemagne, and therefore to the archetype of Gregory III which was made obligatory by him, we cannot say whether or not Roman chant already had the same form it later had under Gregory III.

siderable number of significant parallels. This relationship is easily noticeable between the Ambrosian and Gregorian melodies: sometimes the latter makes original developments on a theme which remains sober in the Milanese rite, sometimes the two rites independently develop a theme which was formerly common to both of them, but which is now lost,⁵ yet again sometimes Milan takes something over from Rome.⁶ The relationship is no less evident between Gregorian chant and that proper to the basilica of Saint Peter at Rome; the latter may well be older than Gregorian chant and certainly survived for a long time after the latter's spread.⁷

2. Then again, we can hardly deny that the primitive Christian Church sang and that it utilized the liturgical and musical heritage of the synagogue, not, however, without reacting at an early date by reason of its own spiritual personality; but we must not exaggerate the amount of Jewish influence on our Gregorian chant; ultimately, it must have been feeble. Other influences were undoubtedly more important, especially those stemming from the great liturgical and musical ferment which took place in the fourth century in Syria (we owe antiphonal psalmody to it). Such influence may have been direct and indirect; just as it was first felt in Byzantine music, so also by the intermediary of this latter it made its influence felt on Western chant. The influence of Byzantine music can be verified not only in the case of bilingual melodies in which it is obvious, but also in other cases in which the Gregorian artist in adopting a Greek melody rethought it in terms of the new words and the proper genius of the Latin language. This influence is easy enough to explain when we recall the political hold Byzantium had over Rome during the sixth century, and the part that the Orient played in the government of the Church of the seventh century under popes

⁵ An example of the first case: the Gregorian introit *Dominus dixit* (Christmas midnight mass) and the Milanese antiphon *post Evang.* of the dawn mass (Milanese gradual 1935, page 39).

⁶ An example of the second case: the Gregorian introit and the Milanese *ingressa Resurrexi* of Easter (Milanese gradual, 1935, page 207).

⁷ The Milanese *transitoria* are of later institution and must have benefited from the influence of the Roman communions.

⁸ The proper chant of Saint Peter's basilica at Rome has been preserved in a few rare manuscripts which are unfortunately of rather late date (the Ms. Rome, Vat. lat. 5319 is of the twelfth century); nevertheless, they give us a sufficiently clear idea of the originality of this musical tradition.

who were natives of the Byzantine empire; according to the *Liber Pontificalis* several of them were former precentors.

The fact remains that history cannot decide upon the exact time in which Gregorian chant found its definitive form, and it is not at all proved, despite the legend, that it must be placed under Saint Gregory the Great (died 604). The very fact that he may have introduced the singing of the *Alleluia* outside of Paschaltide does not imply that he was its composer. That was merely one step in the elaboration of the whole repertory, perhaps more important than some, but not the last, and similar to others that took place under his predecessors or successors. Actually, the few ancient testimonies there are give us to understand that from the liturgical and musical point of view the creative period extended from the fifth to the seventh century during which time, as we mentioned above, Oriental popes were influential in the West; by the eighth century it was finished.⁸ When Roman chant was extended to the whole Latin Church by Charlemagne, such was its perfection by reason of its balance and its unity in diversity that no one subsequently ventured to meddle with it. Were these ancient themes which now became definitively fixed the fruit of a slow, progressive evolution? The very notion of artistic creation seems to stand in the way of such an idea. But since there were several stages of development, and since the melodies were enriched or strengthened, we must conclude that at each stage there appeared a composer of genius who knew how to rethink a work in a personal and original fashion, yet without betraying it. The names of these composers have not come down to us. Perhaps we should see the hand of Providence in this; wishing the (Latin) Church to have a chant really belonging to her, he hid the origins in anonymity. The Church has made it her own to such a degree that we can say: it comes from the Church, from the Spouse of Christ, who is always assisted by His Spirit in those things to which she is truly committed.

Gregorian chant has remained the special treasure of the Roman liturgy down to our times (*Motu proprio Inter Pastoralis Officii Sollicitudines*, and the Encyclical *Mediator Dei*), and it is deeply moving to follow the Church's substantial fidelity to her musical score, first of all in the manuscripts—despite the mistakes of copyists

⁸ Cf. Dom Froger, *op. cit.*, for further development and nuances. Cf. also the recent studies of M. Wellesz: *The Eastern Element in Western Chant, Studies in the Early History of Ecclesiastical Music*, Boston, 1947.

and the evolution of taste—and then in printed books.⁹ At the very moment in which the eroding work of centuries threatened to make it disappear, the Church put forth the effort needed to bring it back to its original purity (Vatican edition), and, because nothing is too perfect when it is a question of praising God and singing His love, we can now announce that past efforts are to be completely redone: new works are in preparation which, because of their value and scientific integrity, should furnish definitive results.

These very rudimentary notions of liturgy and history had to be recalled in order to make the reader aware of the capital place of chant in the official prayer of the Church, and of the privileged position accorded to Gregorian chant in the Latin Church. Such is the fact which compels the recognition of theologians and which we must now analyze in itself.

II. The Theological Value of Gregorian Chant

Henceforth, we shall limit ourselves to considering Gregorian chant, the peculiar treasure of the Latin Church. In so doing, we do not underestimate the value and interest of the official chants of the Oriental Churches, but they merit better treatment than we could accord them here. What we are doing with Roman chant is merely by way of example.

Clearly, if the Church prizes Gregorian chant to such a degree, she must see great wealth in it; and since chant accompanies prayer and liturgical acts to the point of becoming one with them, the wealth expected from it is no other than that of the liturgical life itself as expanded by the chant's own proper contribution. That is why she does not easily accept the fact that certain persons do without it, especially when they do so in a systematic way. If some religious orders, Carmelites, Nuns of the Visitation, etc., exclude Gregorian chant from their prayer, it is only by reason of very particular conditions which only the Church can render genuine: in these cases we must consider such an exclusion as the renunciation of a sure help, as the deprivation of a real good, in the order of means; this renunciation is possible because all means are contingent in relation to divine life and God can make up for it. But aside from this exception, the Church considers Gregorian chant not only as her proper treasure but as that of all the faithful; it is

⁹ Volumes II and III of the *Paléographie musicale* of Solesmes are devoted to proving this assertion.

a fortiori that of a choir of canons—in company with their bishop are they not the representatives of the whole diocesan community before God?—and even more particularly that of choirs of religious, in virtue of a likeness between the methods of Gregorian chant and those of religious life which we shall analyze later on.

In what does the wealth of the chant consist?

1. A MORAL PREPARATION

In the first place Gregorian chant has power to pacify and purify man's sensitive nature. It helps recollection. Music, which is itself of the sensible order, has certain affinities with all sensible states: thus there are degrading, exciting, and superficial types of music, while, on the other hand, there are profound, elevating and soothing ones. Gregorian chant belongs to the latter type in a special way; in order to verify this we have only to choose any selection from its repertory, although obviously some pieces radiate this peace more typically than others; the whole repertory can be cited by way of example, or, what is better, experimented with and tested.

Those who are used to more brilliant music, and who confine themselves to a purely exterior appreciation of it, will even be tempted to consider Gregorian chant monotonous, so true is it that all the sentiments with which it may be charged lose their passionate, independent, and anarchical character in it and come forth composed and overpowered by divine peace. Roman chant can express love, hate, and desire; hope, confidence, boldness, or sadness, weariness and terror. Yet conformity to the will of God and security in the arms of His merciful love envelop and penetrate them all. The more a soul is attuned to the official chant of the Church, the more it not only enjoys this feeling of peace but also discerns the infinite variety of the expressions which escape a merely superficial acquaintance with the chant.

This beneficial activity makes itself felt in two different ways.

In the first place, Gregorian chant possesses an *actual* efficacy. Each time we take part in a sung office, provided it be well sung and we freely surrender to it, there is a break established between oneself and the world. Just entering the sacred edifice separates us from what is profane and disposes us to receive the divine message through the influence of its harmonious spaces, the play of light and shadow, the evocative power of its pictures and its silence. The work of detachment thus begun is increased by the incomparable

purity of Gregorian chant; it causes the soul to enter into a world of divine peace by snatching it away from the myriad cares which stand in the way of free exchanges with its Creator. What hinders us from finding God is not that God is absent from us but that we are absent from that self in which God dwells. The atmosphere created by the sung prayer of the Church has a marvelous capacity for turning us in upon ourselves and upon our inner guest. Those who are summoned several times a day to celebrate the hours because of their choir obligation, and who inevitably carry with them the cares of the ministry or the preoccupations of study, know by experience that a sung office has greater power in freeing them from the more burdensome of their troubles than an office which is not sung.

But if such is the actual efficacy of Gregorian chant what shall we say of its *habitual* practice? Our sensibility will be profoundly influenced by it only if we acquire habits. We cannot frequent works of such spirituality and detachment without feeling called upon to purify, detach and spiritualize ourselves. In the long run we shall be repelled by whatever is vulgar, insipid, sentimental or affected; only an intractable or hopelessly coarse soul will prove to be incapable of understanding and being influenced by Gregorian; but a soul of good will, even if it had been long sunk in sin, will find in it a powerful means of education and of reeducation, of balance and refinement for his sensibility and taste. If the young men of our educational institutions received a really serious Gregorian formation, which would cause them to respect and live liturgical piety, the number of priestly vocations would perhaps increase.

Let us not forget that sensibility and spirituality are not juxtaposed in man: rather there is a profound interpenetration of the two within the unity of human nature. We must therefore suppose that Gregorian chant was composed, not just by great artists, but by great contemplatives who drew their inspiration from close contact with God and whose piety informed their sensibility and even their creative imagination. Similarly, we can hardly conceive of anyone getting only a sensible impression from Gregorian chant; such an impression will be faithful and deep in the sensibility itself only if the mind is likewise stamped, purified and turned towards the supernatural and divine realities which are the proper object of the Church's prayer.

The result of this education by Gregorian chant, or if you prefer, by the sung liturgy, will not therefore be—as might be feared—to give an

excessive importance to sensibility, an importance which would be opposed to worship in spirit and in truth, but to harmonize body and soul so well together that man will always go to God with all of himself, even though the origin of such movement were to be found in only one of his composite parts. Certainly there remains the danger of having a merely exterior approach to the chant, and Saint Augustine accused himself of not having always avoided it. But this danger resides less in the Church's song than in our nature unbalanced by sin; we are so constituted that we can use even the best things badly. Besides, a much greater danger would be involved in wanting to do without this help which the whole divine pedagogy of the Incarnation, with unmatched realism, so marvellously inaugurated: *Et Verbum caro factum est . . . ut dum visibiliter Deum cognoscimus, per hunc in invisibilium amorem rapiamur*. It is wise not to want to play at being an angel. Even in heaven the condition of separated souls, although united to God in beatitude, reveals the temporary survival of the reign of sin and death; man will praise God fully only when he is risen from the dead and can praise his Saviour with his mouth just as he will see Him with his eyes: *et in carne mea videbo Deum Salvatorem meum*.

These first contributions of Gregorian chant are not unrelated to theology. The deeper and deeper purification of the sensibility which restores its connatural role as a support to the spiritual life, when it so easily militates against the soul, and the openness to the influences of the Holy Spirit in the act of participating in the Church's prayer are certainly two precious benefits for the theologian and the contemplative. Although they do not make a theological *locus* of Gregorian chant, they are a moral preparation for theologians, making them capable of seizing the rich content of the liturgical texts with more penetrating keenness. Yet this is not all.

2. A PLEDGE OF THE WORLD'S REDEMPTION

Mindful of the confidence that the Church has in Gregorian chant, we have, as it were, an experimental demonstration that, since the Redemption, we have entered with the Church into a new order of things in which nature regains meaning and in which what is sensible not only becomes once more the servant of the spirit but acquires a capacity for conveying grace; there is no doubt that this is an important point of departure for theological reasoning. It is not that nature has been radically changed; as God's creature it has always been basically good; yet in company with sinful man it remains un-

balanced and divided against itself; but when assumed into the Church's worship, it in some way receives the first fruits of its own redemption. In this world the liturgy is a foretaste of the heavenly Jerusalem; things used in its service, although not yet remade according to the measure of the Risen Christ, are already in continuity with Him, since they could not enter into the liturgical sphere without dying, without receiving baptism which both sacrifices and purifies them, that is to say, which consecrates them. The Church is magnificently optimistic: she believes that Satan and sin have been conquered; she knows that she possesses a baptism which snatches the instruments used by the Devil and sin from them, and she boldly utilizes them thereafter for divine praise and the sanctification of men.

Must we sing when worshiping in spirit and in truth? We have seen with what assurance the Church replies in the affirmative. She makes use of sounds, just as she does of lights and sweet-smelling odors. But, as in the case of the wax which is consumed and the incense which is burnt, so also sounds only *find* their place in the liturgical life by *losing* themselves, or, to speak more precisely, by losing that which makes them of interest in themselves. The rule is the same for them as it is for men: *abneget semetipsum*; and if we want to summarize what we have been saying in one word, we can affirm that that is the sole negative condition for religious music.

Indeed, the hierarchy between the sensible and the spiritual, and *a fortiori* between the sensible and the supernatural, can only be safeguarded if the sensible in some way loses its consistency and opaqueness in order to become permeable and transparent to the values of an order which surpasses it. Now what gives music this opaqueness—which is not natural to it, and yet which is so habitual to it in this sin-ridden world—is the seduction which it exercises over men's hearts by fastening their attention on itself. This seduction is, in a certain way, the very purpose of profane music. Consequently, it is the very thing which must be sacrificed; it is a difficult sacrifice, since music must remain beautiful, must remain fully music. The meaning of sacrifice here is not destruction but consecration: *sacrum facere*; in consequence, there is a delicate distinction to be made between what is disorder or simple opaqueness in music, which must die, and what must survive because it must serve and, even more, be ennobled by such service. Composers of religious music have tried to do this; they have achieved their purpose in greatly varying de-

grees. The Church is conscious of having succeeded in Gregorian chant; that is why she favors it so much: she is certain that through it, not only will her children go to God without obstacle—which would be a poor way of understanding her appreciation of its value—, but that God will reveal Himself to His children through its means.

It seems to me that we can distinguish three principal characteristics in Gregorian chant which make it consecrated chant to a pre-eminent degree: namely, its poverty, chastity and obedience. This division may appear artificial and as just a convenient way of transposing well-known moral notions into the musical domain. Yet it is truly objective, as our analysis will try to show. Would it not be impressing to discover that Gregorian chant proceeds according to principles which are related to those very ones which regulate Christian life according to what is most perfect in it?

Poverty. In the first place, Gregorian chant is obedient to the law of renunciation. The composer of Gregorian performs a process of severe elimination in the collection of means that the art of sounds puts at his disposal. He renounces all instrumental accompaniment, polyphony, and harmony. He forms his basic scale from a defective diatonic series of six tones (hexacord). He contents himself with the simplest melodic means: few wide intervals, the sixth is almost unknown, the fifth and fourth are more rare than the third, and step-wise progression is by far the most frequent. And although he may admit a discreet and indirect chromaticism, he always excludes direct chromaticism (i.e. a succession of several semi-tones). Finally, in the chant, the basic pulse cannot be divided into any smaller portions, as is done in modern music, and therefore it knows nothing of the syncopation or the strong beat.¹⁰

But would not such poverty engender destitution? It would undoubtedly do so in the hands of a mediocre artist who would feel

¹⁰ We have said that Gregorian chant performs a process of severe elimination, that it renounces, etc. Now this way of presenting matters is not completely in conformity with historic truth, since, at the time the Roman cantilena was elaborated and fixed, much of the wealth that the art of sounds was later to provide musicians had not yet been discovered, and in consequence, the composers of Gregorian did not have to renounce it.

Nevertheless, they certainly had to make a selection from the constituents of their contemporary art. Besides, Providence so arranged that the proper chant of the Church was brought to maturity during a time of relative musical poverty; this was not done by accident, but because this poverty possessed religious value in itself, and as the means put at the disposal of musicians went on multiplying its differentiation was to be gradually accentuated.

himself imprisoned within such narrow limits. But the very overcoming of such a difficulty will produce strong, free works at the hands of an artist or genius.

Moreover, the restriction of means is not proper to the Gregorian art alone but to all really great art: we have only to recall the three unities (place, time, and action) of classical tragedy, which have furnished us with such noble masterpieces. The master of glass-makers of the Middle Ages had only about a hundred and twenty colors at their disposal, and the tapestry workers even less; the master glass-workers of today and the Gobelins, for example, have thousands of them, and yet their works, for all this superabundance, are habitually weaker than formerly. To associate harmoniously two strong hues is evidently less easy than to pass from one to another by progressive shadings, and consequently, it is not anybody who can do the former. Genius consists in so overcoming the difficulties involved that one is able to handle them with ease: the poverty of means then becomes an occasion for freedom and spiritualization, since freedom is the sign of a spirit.

We can see how Gregorian chant, by sacrificing authentic musical riches which would have risked materializing and weighing it down, took the way of higher service which it now possesses: he who is poor for Christ's sake becomes freer to surrender himself to God: renunciation goes hand in hand with consecration and cannot be conceived without it. But its success would not have been possible without great artists.

Moreover, the resources which remain to the Gregorian composer are many and are coupled with the vigor and spiritual liberty which he has so dearly acquired. The melodic line thus disengaged unfolds itself here and there, and sometimes throughout its entire length, to minutely ordered classical formulas which both rest and satisfy the imagination (like the stylistic forms of ancient architecture, Doric column, etc.). The modes are more numerous than in classic art, and the system has an astonishing aptitude for modulation. The flexibility and freedom are no less great in the rhythmic domain; the indivisibility of primary time accrues unflinching serenity to its progression; yet it is not monotonous because the beat can expand slightly, or be doubled or tripled on occasion, and such basic pulses can be joined in small binary or trinary groups whose combinations can be infinitely varied.

Chastity. By this we mean that Gregorian chant carefully avoids

all affectation which could cause it to be desired for its own sake, all sensuality, however slight it may be, and all sentimentality in its sensible means of expression. This is one more step forward in the path of renunciation and of consecration. With the melodic-rhythmic material at his disposal, the composer could still try to obtain curious effects with which merely to please the ear; but because the religious purpose of his music would suffer from such attempts, he renounces them. We have said that he must aim at producing transparency to the spiritual; thus, the more a being is chaste in order to reserve itself for its Lord, the more the presence of God is clear, radiant and *sensible* (remarkable paradox!) in it; nobody has fresher sensibility or more exquisite spontaneity than he who has kept his heart virginal; when confronted with such a person, our consideration passes beyond him to the revelation of God in this being of flesh that purity has rendered quasi-diaphanous.

There is no exaggeration in applying these notions to Gregorian chant, on condition that the singer himself does not deform it; we cannot separate the song from the singer, and if he is vulgar, or if he pushes himself to the front, the purity of the cantilena will be adulterated, and the mirror, which was to reflect another world, tarnished. There is no room to fear that this exacting discipline will hamper Gregorian melody; on the contrary, because freed from the tyranny of desiring to please which would divide it (*et divisus est*), it springs forth, light, flexible, spontaneous, from a source which is more musical than ever. Here again, freedom and spirituality are joined together.

Obedience. Finally, we come to the more positive aspect of Gregorian composition, that in which its sacred character is most clearly expressed. The poverty of means and modesty of expression represented mainly the negative, necessary, and preparatory aspect of the chant. Once disrobed, freed and spiritualized, the musical material became fit to enter divine worship, and this ascesis to which it was subjected explains perfectly its purifying action on the sensibility. But the essential part of renunciation still remains to be accomplished: the most radical sacrifice that the Church asks of music in order to render it worthy of the confidence she places in it is to give up being pure music and to accept the secondary role of being the servant of the liturgical text. This third renunciation, of which we must speak briefly, is, still more profoundly than the preceding ones, the condition and, as it were, the reverse of a consecration, and that

is why it opens up for us almost unlimited horizons on Gregorian chant as a subject for theology.¹¹

3. EVALUATING THE THEOLOGICAL CONTENT OF THE LITURGY

The Gregorian melodies do not exist for their own sake: they are made for the exclusive service of the liturgical text as used in the official prayer of the Church;¹² with marvellous docility, without losing anything of their freshness and spontaneity, they effectively submit themselves to it; far from being stifled by it, they, on the contrary, often draw their immediate inspiration from it and form a unity comparable to that of body and soul. It is this exclusive service which definitively rescues melody from itself and consecrates it: *abnegat semetipsum et sequatur me*.¹³ For in the end, the text is certainly what is essential (and which can even exist by itself when the office is not sung)—the text and what it contains of truth and sentiment.

Now, in the majority of cases, the liturgical text borrows from

¹¹ At a time when many desire a renovation of the present repertory and a modernization of the Church's musical language without losing anything of its hieratic character, it would be good to propose this triple spirit which can be gathered from an analysis of Gregorian chant to the consideration of composers.

The future of chant lies neither in a pure and simple elimination of the Roman cantilena, nor in its adaptation to new texts in the vernacular which its specifically Latin origin renders strictly impossible. But, once its position is safeguarded, modern compositions are not excluded provided that they welcome its message, namely, its discipline of poverty, chastity and obedience, which alone can produce works which are transparent to the spiritual, free and strong; this is something entirely different from adopting its technical methods.

¹² This context of liturgical prayer is so indispensable that Gregorian chant immediately loses some of its interest as soon as we leave it. When integrated with prayer, the chant takes on its full esthetic, as well as religious, value. We do not tire of it after a few years, or even after a life-time. But when heard outside its liturgical framework (e.g., a Gregorian concert), that is to say, outside the perspective of service for which it was conceived, and as a value in itself, it no longer reveals its true wealth of meaning.

¹³ It is clear that all liturgical texts do not enjoy this favor but only those that the liturgy (i.e., the Church), after long centuries of usage, has entirely assimilated: practically speaking this means the oldest parts of the temporal and certain parts of the sanctoral which are closely related to the history of salvation, e.g., those of the Blessed Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, etc. Many texts admitted into the liturgy remain there only a short time; the liturgy reacts like a living thing and ultimately, with infallible discernment, assimilates some and irrevocably rejects others.

Scripture. In it, God Himself teaches us what we must believe and suggests to us the interior attitudes by which we should respond to His prodigious initiative of love; in it, He formulates the words with which it pleases him to have us approach Him. The Church takes up these texts, chooses, classifies, assembles them, throws light on one by using another, and by thus working out a marvellous synthesis of Scripture and Tradition, composes the poem of the sacred liturgy from them. In this new presentation, the unity of the divine plan, the great story of our salvation unfolds itself before us, thus bringing revelation, in a way, to its most perfect development, and we can believe without presumption that the Holy Spirit, who presided over the drawing up of the Sacred Books, was no stranger to that liturgy. In the liturgy, the sacred texts are clothed with a kind of secondary canonicity.¹⁴

The Gregorian melody coupled with them adds yet more to them,

¹⁴ We can immediately understand why purely instrumental music cannot represent the ideal type of religious music. Its ordination to the spiritual is of necessity more remote. In the absence of a literary text, would it not just draw attention to itself? That is why the Christians of the first centuries were frankly hostile to it, and still during the Middle Ages they would fain have thought its usage better fitted to the carnal religion and callous people of the Old Testament than to the spiritual worship of God's new Israel. Nevertheless, instrumental music and especially organ music—provided that it also submits to the law of purification and consecration that we mentioned above—can acquire a real transparency and, in causing itself to be forgotten, create an atmosphere favorable to prayer. It is for this reason that the Church accepts its use today, but we see by what severe rules its composition and choice of pieces are bound.

All things being equal, polyphony falls under an analogous judgment. It is an intermediary type in which the properly musical aspect risks developing in a too autonomous manner; although the words are still a source of inspiration, are they still served with the same abnegation as in pure monody? and do they not even become confused in a jumble of voices? Oriental liturgical polyphony often avoids this danger.

Some will perhaps find our judgment on Latin or vernacular polyphony to be narrow. In order to understand it, they should try to see it from the point of view we have chosen, namely, that of contemplation, with all that this requires by way of interior silence and renouncement: from this point of view we consider that Gregorian chant has an undeniable priority. From another point of view, that of the virtue of religion and of devotion (in the theological sense of the word), polyphony and popular hymns, to the degree that they mobilize more immediately the energies of the participants, even their vocal energies, in the service of God, may possess a value which has no exact correspondence in Gregorian, a value that the Sovereign Pontiff points out in his encyclical *Mediator Dei* and which apostles must utilize.

if we may say so. In rendering the text sensible and more fully human, it may not increase the intelligible content, but it does ordinarily increase its intelligibility. For we are made in such a way that we neither go to God nor does God come to us except through the intervention of the senses. Thus truths find us readier to receive them, descriptions become more eloquent, and sentiments more charged with chaste emotion.

In this Introduction to Theology we asked ourselves what was the contribution of Gregorian chant. We are now in a better position to see. It not only disposes the theologian's soul to receive better the divine message as a contemplative, it not only gives him a foretaste of the redeemed world as an extension of the Incarnation and the sacraments, but it offers him the whole object of revelation, as it is presented to us by the Church in her liturgy, in a way which is more assimilable, more living, and more capable of winning hearts. At this point we should pass in review and analyze the whole repertory. However, since the compass of this modest exposition would never permit such an undertaking, we refer the reader to the works which have undertaken this kind of commentary. (See the bibliography at the end of the chapter.)

In such matters we should evidently avoid the exaggerated and slightly naive optimism of certain Gregorianizers.

Let us first of all mark off some limits to the expressive power of Gregorian chant as such. Because it is a reality of the sensible order, it is especially fitted to give a truly human tone to the attitudes of the soul (theological or moral) in its relations (personal or collective) with God. These attitudes are regulated by revelation and the data of the supernatural world (sin, divine mercy, incarnation, redemption). If, therefore, the objects of faith can be utilized by Gregorian chant, this will only be ordinarily by a kind of indirect illumination deriving from sentiments having acquired a maximum of sincerity: thus the mercy of God will have light thrown upon it through the confident abandonment of a soul to it. However, there is an area of capital importance in which Gregorian chant puts the object of faith directly to work, namely, when it undertakes to throw light on the human nature of the Incarnate Word; it interprets the sentiments of Christ, His sufferings, His appeals for help, His anguish, His confidence, His joy. . . . To the truth that God became man and was like to us in all things save sin, the Roman cantilena contributes an extremely touching realism.

These limits being admitted, we must also recognize that all melodies do not fit all texts equally well. Nevertheless, they always prove to be obedient to their liturgical function in some point, even if it be only to the minimum of providing them with a conventionally sacred setting (analogous, if you like, to the halo of a saint). Thus a recitation would be out of character if the melody were to take precedence over the text;¹⁵ still, it serves the text by facilitating its hearing, and that is all that is asked of it. Among Gregorian compositions properly so-called, we can expect more from an original melody than from one adapted to a new text, or from a centonized melody, that is, a patchwork composition or medley. Nevertheless, if the adaptation is successful and the centonization skilful, the result may attain to a high degree of expressive power. On the other hand, since music has in itself less intelligible content than emotive dynamism, we can see that there may be a certain independence of the melody in relation to the text that it adorns from the time that its affective potential is sufficiently in harmony with it. At times a general agreement between the spirit of the melody and the spirit of the text suffices. Lastly, the melodic style—whether syllabic, semi-ornate, or melismatic—involves profound differences in the use of the text: a short antiphon of the office, an introit, an offertory or a responsory do not all have the same interpretative power. But nevertheless they do interpret, and, as Dom Gajard says, “the most opulent vocalizations—and there are few kinds of music as rich in pure vocalizations as Gregorian music—are themselves but expansions of the text, although often marvellous ones (cf. *Alleluia Justus germinabit*).”

However, we are tempted to accord another value to Gregorian chant and especially to these long vocalizations: the texts that the chant adorns present us with the object of our faith; but our poor human concepts are too narrow to contain such exalted subject-matter. The faith is supra-rational; because music is irrational, because it is like the faith in that it has no common proportion with reason, it undoubtedly has the power of suggesting the insufficiency of our concepts. Since what God reveals to us is ineffable and beyond words, then, let us not talk about it, but let us sing it, let us allow ourselves to be carried away, like the first Christians with their gifts of speech, by our overflow of feeling, not without measure—for we

¹⁵ E.g., those over-embellished recitations (lamentations, gospels, various lessons, etc.) which flourished during the post-classical period of Gregorian chant. They are often beautiful; but their slightly indiscreet esthetic quality is exactly what makes them step out of character.

would then merit the reproaches of Saint Paul to the Corinthians (I Cor. 14)—but in the measure necessary to express the powerlessness of our words. It is then, that by freeing ourselves an instant from the liturgical text, we shall have still served it, for we shall have shown its limits and the radical inadequacy of our praise, *quia maior omni laude, nec laudare sufficis*. Afterwards, let us prudently come back to the sacred words, that we left for a moment only in order to believe better in their fulness.

Let us complete this list of reasons why Gregorian chant can be of value to a theologian by saying that it is the school of love. If the liturgy is the piety of the Bride united to that of her divine Bridegroom, to sing is for the Church the mark of her love and the means of forming her children in this same love: *cantare amantis est*.¹⁶

III. Conditions Which Assure Gregorian Chant Its Theological Value

Such is the theological value of Gregorian chant: as a reality of the sensible order, as a true sacramental, by its belonging to the order of redemption, it is, in the act of the Church's prayer—like the sacraments, although to a much lesser degree—a pledge of the world to come, a remedy to our fallen nature, the efficacious agent of the holy things contained in the liturgical gestures.¹⁷ But it does not act

¹⁶ In this we can see another explanation or justification of these long Gregorian vocalizations which seem to be prolonged to no purpose. Love is disinterested; it was necessary that the song of the Spouse, the song of our Mother, Holy Church, should bear a sign of this disinterest and should take care to teach it to us.

¹⁷ It may be noticed that we have not appealed to the notion of *solemnity* in order to determine the final cause of the Roman cantilena. We do not deny—it is too evident—that a service sung in Gregorian is more solemn than an office which is simply recited; but this establishment of fact is valid mainly in the modern perspective of a service which is habitually recited. The Ancients had provided melodies for the simplest offices of the liturgical year, and these melodies were no less carefully composed than those for great feasts; for them, the chant was above all a means of giving official prayer a fulness of religious and contemplative value, no matter what the solemnity of the day might be. Such must also be our sole preoccupation in singing. As long as we conceive of Gregorian chant as just a means of rendering the office more solemn, there will be the danger of causing it to stray aside from its true path which is more interior; losing sight of its goal, we shall no longer submit to the conditions of its execution with the same scrupulous care; its quality and its contemplative value will suffer. On the contrary, we should sing in order to pray better, by accepting all the requirements which the chant's noble mission carries with it, and the *solemnity* that we may have appeared to neglect will be given us besides.

in a magical manner any more than the sacraments do. It produces its effect, it transmits its message only under certain conditions: some are of an objective nature and aim at making it fully itself, others are of a subjective nature and concern those who participate in divine worship.

1. THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

First of all, the Church's chant must be fully itself, that is, its text must be the authentic Gregorian text and its execution must correspond to the thought of its composers. Yet, such is the value of this work that despite the progressive deformations which during the course of centuries have corrupted its primitive purity, despite the poor quality of its execution, its beauty, its expressive power, and its religious content are but rarely completely withdrawn.

We have already mentioned the anxious concern of the Church to reestablish the authentic text of her chant. The official version that she offers us in the Vatican edition (chiefly the work of Dom Pothier) is a *restoration*, as yet still imperfect no doubt, but which is *sufficiently good on the whole* so that the reader can verify in it the assertions we have made in the preceding paragraph. It represents an immense progress over the frightfully mutilated plain-chant of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which the Gregorian cantilena could hardly be recognized any more. At the time when this version was worked out, scientific work had certainly not made enough progress for its restorers to have done better, and, in addition, certain musical prejudices hindered any completely critical judgment on the part of its editors. Scientific work has continued and goes on actively at present: to such work are linked the names of the abbey of Solesmes and of the master of its school, Dom Mocquereau. This work has enabled the incorporation into the Vatican text of the precise and marvellously subtle rhythm revealed by the study of the oldest manuscripts. It makes us foresee considerable amelioration in the melodic and modal domain; we can judge this by the latest publications of the Vatican edition, the Responsorial of the last days of Holy Week and that of Christmas, and especially by the Monastic Antiphonary (Desclee, 1935).

If we wanted to characterize the quality of the chant as restored by the most exacting critical endeavors, we would say that it is superior to that of the Vatican edition in two apparently contradictory ways, and yet ones which go together very well: first of all in inte-

riority, smoothness, in value for prayer, contemplation and humility; secondly, in vigor, boldness, freedom and ease. Certain insipidities, and some traces of affectation, sentimentality or poor taste which still subsisted are eliminated, no less than certain overly sonorous and overly brilliant intonations which by that very fact were too superficial. This time it seems that we have attained the purest *truth* of religious expression and a *gravity* which, when understood, obliges us to silence and puts us in the presence of God.

When we look at the technical side of this restored music, we see that these qualities are *principally* the result of the correction of some simple and rather systematic deformations, i.e., the raising of certain notes a semi-tone (*si* to *do*, *mi* to *fa*, *la* to *si_h*), or, on the other hand, the moving of others a half note lower. The exact usage of *si_h* and of *si_h* is also very important, both for the modulations it entails and for the atmosphere of the tritone it can create (*fa-si_h* or *si_h-mi*), a tritone which often brings about an expression of seriousness, nobility, health and freedom.

The second objective condition required so that Gregorian be fully itself is its perfect execution, impeccable technique, modesty of expression, humble, contemplative submission to all the nuances suggested by the liturgical text and its musical notation.¹⁸ The quality of the performance is so important that it can to some degree cover

¹⁸ Certain people regret that the requirements of such perfection tend to transform the congregation into a gathering of mere listeners. Perhaps, in resigning ourselves to such a fact, we are only returning to the state of affairs for which Gregorian chant was originally composed; for, aside from the dialogue portions, ordinary psalms and the simplest texts, it was surely composed to be listened to: the cantors and the schola have their place in liturgical life, and there is no advantage in wanting the congregation to replace them; the quality of the performance would suffer to such a degree that the chant would lose its permeability to the spiritual and thus could no longer give it free passage.

The congregation's share can evidently be greater or smaller according to whether it is a choir of canons, monks, religious, or a parish church; but even in the first case, there is no spiritual advantage in wanting the choir to sing everything; in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the technical and religious decadence of Gregorian seems to have coincided with the time in which, because the musical tradition was fixed on parchment, the monks and canons as a whole usurped the part of the schola.

Today, when people want to take a more active part in the liturgical life, the inevitable problem arises as to what chant they are capable of; it must be of a kind which is simple enough not to lose its religious qualities during the course of its necessarily unpolished rendition.

over the defects arising from an incompletely restored text (e.g., that of the Vatican). Inversely, a poor performance—through lack of sufficient training or feeling for the chant, or because the rendition is affected—erects a barrier, even if the text used were the original in all its purity. In the spiritual life, perfection and self-forgetfulness go hand in hand; in Gregorian chant, the perfection of its musical style is what causes it to be forgotten in favor of what it serves.

2. THE SUBJECTIVE CONDITIONS

Once we are sure of possessing the authentic form of Gregorian chant (text and performance), there still remains the problem of using it as it should be used.

If we have an active part to play in it—and everybody has in the parts entrusted to the congregation—it is indispensable that we have sufficiently mastered our techniques so that we are free in their regard. Gregorian chant is a help to prayer; if the deciphering of notes, observation of rules, anxiety concerning the interpretation of its subtleties and its expression absorb the singer, the chant will still keep its religious value of intention and offering, but it will lose its specific value stemming from its transparency to the spiritual: it will become the object of attention instead of revealing, showing and amplifying the spiritual content of the texts.¹⁹

Finally, whether we are performers or simple listeners, there is one indispensable condition, not for assuring the chant its efficacy, but for perceiving its message, namely, the attitude of soul we bring to it; it should be a contemplative, welcoming, silent, open, attentive attitude. We must have firmly decided to put aside distractions and all the wealth of our cares, prejudices and pet ideas. Let us stand like beggars before the Church, like the beggar at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple to whom Saint Peter had neither gold nor silver to give but the grace of God. The Church prays, the Church sings, the Holy Spirit is at work, our role is just to be pliant and docile, *et erunt*

¹⁹ Poor performance and lack of technical training sufficiently explain the lack of interest ecclesiastics have in the chant. How can they find any religious, contemplative, or theological value in it, when it is not presented to them in its true light, or when it appears to them as a painful exercise monopolizing effort that prayer alone deserves? The Church's chant is a precious help, a marvellous thing; but it bears fruit only if we use it with the seriousness demanded by its belonging to divine worship. Once the chant is admitted to liturgical life, to accept the rules of the game is to assure ourselves of great reward; to refuse its demands for perfection through carelessness or negligence is to be guilty of spiritual waste.

docibiles Dei. In the act of prayer let us get the habit of not listening to the chant for its own sake—we are not esthetes—but of concentrating all our attention on the text, on its content, on the face of the Lord . . . seen through the chant: are glasses made to be looked at, or are we to look at the landscape through them? When we seem to be forgetting the chant, it will take on all its value, will support our prayer, will make us see further, will exalt our sentiments—or God will do all this through it—; we shall enter into communion with the Church, with our brethren who surround us, and when the text makes way for a moment and gives place to one of those long and apparently empty vocalizations, perhaps repeated to no purpose, sources of joy and indescribable admiration open up before our souls, now liberated from the too narrow wealth of its concepts.²⁰

It is not our attitude which creates the objective value of Gregorian chant, nor its theological value and efficacy; it knocks at our door in its own right; but it is up to us to answer and to open wide our mind and heart to its call.²¹

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²⁰ This contemplative attitude by itself suffices to save all that is essential: it is certain that Gregorian chant, because of the considerable amount of technique it implies, is a luxury in the Church's prayer. But it is the very luxury of Love. By reason of its superabundance, Love offers, expresses and expands itself in and through the chant. Yet it is never its slave, and although it is only too true that poor psalmody and hurried, discordant chant are an almost insurmountable obstacle to all contemplation, the fact remains that Love is bound to no means: it transcends the good and the bad, helps and hindrances no matter whence they come. Charity has its own inner wealth, which fact permits it, if necessary, to live in the greatest exterior destitution: if the chant is imperfect, loses its power to serve, and even becomes an obstacle, a truly contemplative soul can still manage to pass through these disorders and unite itself to God.

²¹ In seminaries and novitiates a great deal of time is rightly given over to teaching mental prayer and contemplation. Do we consecrate even a little time to showing the receptive attitude of soul required for benefiting from the fruits of the liturgical life and chant? Formation in Gregorian chant generally consists in merely a technical preparation; that does not suffice: certainly the chant acts of itself but there is advantage in helping its action and in learning to both perform and listen to it as a contemplative.

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Chapter X

THEOLOGY: THE SCIENCE OF FAITH

by A. M. Henry, O.P.

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Chapter X

THEOLOGY: THE SCIENCE OF FAITH

We are now in possession of the theological data, that is, the Word of God transmitted to us by the Prophets and the Apostles, and which is today presented to us by the living magisterium of the Church.

I. Faith and Understanding

The believer adheres to the whole of the transmitted message as something to which he can neither add nor subtract since it was given to him from on high. To the very degree in which he recognizes God as the Primary Truth who made him and as the Final Beatitude for whom he is made, he can do nothing but adhere to what He has said. It is a sacred word. He has no right to touch it.

Nevertheless, the believer is also a being endowed with intelligence, and therein precisely lies the paradox which stimulates and crucifies him. On the one hand, as an intelligent being, he is made to see and to understand; so long as he does not see, he will never be satisfied. On the other hand, being still in the realm of faith, that is, in the impossibility of seeing, his intelligence must hold as certain truths which he has merely heard (Rom. 10:17), which surpass and will always surpass his natural capacity to understand them.

In a sense, therefore, faith does violence to the intelligence. It is not reason abandoned to its natural power which allows the believer to know what he knows by faith. It is the grace of God sown in him which is the inner light for his mind and the secret power of adhesion for his will. In addition, by reason of the violence done to his intelligence, the faith of the believer is spontaneously a desire to see, a need to understand. What intelligence would not desire to see what it holds to be more than itself since, in order to hold it, it had first of all to renounce itself? As paradoxical as that may seem, an intelligence which in no way seeks to understand shows by the very fact how little it is interested in what is said to it, how little it has committed itself, how little it comprehends its object, in short, how little it believes. On the other hand, he who by his adhesion has accepted

to renounce himself shows what interest he attaches to Him who speaks; he considers Him as a light which surpasses any other that he can have, and strengthened by what he holds and desirous of entering into this light completely, he does not cease to press Him with the question: What do You mean? Make me to understand so that I do not adhere just with the tip of my tongue but with my whole heart, with my whole being; lead me, make me enter into the truth of Your words. The Christian lays hold on the word of God, and even if he has learned that here below he cannot entirely lift the veil, he has no rest until he attains deeper, more coherent, more extended knowledge of it. *Crede ut intelligas*. He believes in order to understand. Living faith is always in quest of understanding.

This search for understanding on the part of an intelligence adhering to the true faith is precisely the task of the theologian. As Saint Irenaeus said so well:

His task is to bring out the meaning of those things which have been spoken in parables, and accommodate them to the general scheme of the faith; and explain the operation and dispensation of God connected with human salvation; show that God manifested longsuffering in regard to the apostasy of the angels who transgressed, as also with respect to the disobedience of men; set forth why it is that one and the same God has made some things temporal and some eternal, some heavenly and others earthly; understand for what reason God, though invisible, manifested Himself to the prophets not under one form, but differently to different individuals; show why it was that more covenants than one were given to mankind; teach what was the special character of each of these covenants; search out for what reason "God hath concluded every man in unbelief, that He may have mercy upon all"; gratefully describe on what account the Word of God became flesh and suffered; relate why the advent of the Son of God took place in these last times, that is, in the end, rather than in the beginning; unfold what is contained in the Scriptures concerning the end and the things to come; not be silent as to how it is that God has made the Gentiles, whose salvation was despaired of, fellow-heirs, and of the same body and partakers with the saints; discourse how it is that "this mortal body shall put on immortality and this corruptible flesh shall put on incorruption"; and proclaim in what sense (God) says, "That is a people who was not a people; and she is beloved who was not beloved"; and in what sense he says that "more and more are the children of her that was desolate than of her who possessed a husband."¹

II. An Inventory of the Data

How are we going to understand? In a word, what does it mean to grasp one's object?

¹ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, Bk. I, ch. x, no. 3. (Ante-Nicene Fathers, ed. Roberts & Donaldson, New York, Scribners, 1926, vol. 1, p. 331.)

The first thing we have to do is draw up an inventory of what the Church presents to the believer and which the theologian must assume into an intelligible synthesis. We have already seen all the various components which go to make up this data, this "given": Holy Scripture, the liturgy, the texts of the Councils and the Fathers of the Church, etc. The first function of the theologian is not only to make an inventory of all this doctrinal capital but also to arrange its component elements in a hierarchical fashion which befits them. Everything does not have the same value, and we do not have to give the same degree of assent to the conciliary texts concerning the punishments of Purgatory or of Limbo, for example, or concerning the revelation of the divine maternity. We do not have to insist upon this point here since it has already been spoken of; however, it is necessary to recall it. The foundations upon which the theologian builds do not all possess equal clarity for our faith. Over and above what we must believe without question as, for example, that there are three persons in God, the divinity of Christ, His birth of the Virgin Mary, His death and resurrection, there are other truths drawn from the former ones or having a close connection with them, but which are less clear-cut and less luminous for us. It resembles a halo of light becoming gradually more blurred as it goes from "the truths of faith" down to affirmations which are not controlled by the magisterium and which are doubted by a certain number of Christians. It is important that the theologian be aware of this variety of levels in the items he receives. His theological conclusions themselves will be affected by the place of their premises in the light of faith.

III. Arrangement and Construction

After having made an inventory of the data and arranged all its component elements in order, the theologian's task is to construct his synthesis in such a fashion that it offers the profoundest understanding possible of all the revealed data, so that it be able to help believers to understand the truths of faith and to enter little by little into God's light.

1. TAKING A STAND

In reality, however, to put things in order is already to construct. The very arrangement of one's data already brings out a certain amount of intelligibility. We are only looking at them superficially and materially if we try to separate their functions in a real way. We

cannot put things in order without a certain amount of construction, nor can we construct without making order. At the basis of theological work there is a kind of definite stand to be taken, in the sense in which one takes a stand regarding a painter or an architect. The theologian must choose his point of view. Saint Augustine's point of view in his *Confessions* was different from his point of view in *The City of God*; Hugh of Saint Victor's point of view differed from that of Abelard's; Saint Bonaventure's point of view in his *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* differed from that of Saint Thomas in his *Summa Theologiae*; the point of view of Pascal's *Pensées* differed from that of Bossuet in his *Exposition de la foi catholique*; and that of a recent theologian like Scheeben differs from that of a modern one like Guardini. And, yet, all these works belong to theology. They are all efforts of believers in search of understanding.

This variation of points of view is possible because the faith can be considered under two different aspects. It is a personal act, the act of the subject who believes. But it is also an objective set of facts, and this is what we mean when we speak of "the Church's faith." The theologian who wants to deepen his faith and communicate his efforts to his fellows can work on the first level. We then say that his doctrine is one of personal commitment. His methods of investigation and construction are affected by this choice. He must make use of introspection, psychology, especially religious psychology, and study religious sentiment in all its forms. Even his style will be affected, for the warmth of his personal commitment is easily transferred into his style and at times even produces certain literary characteristics. Novels like *The Heart of the Matter* by Graham Greene, for example, belong to theology in certain respects. The choice of literary style is significant of the course taken by the theologian. But the faith is also a set of objective data and nothing hinders us from studying even the foregoing aspect of personal commitment in an objective and in some way metaphysical fashion. It is then that theology becomes a true science. It has its principles, its method, and like every science, it utilizes not only its own data but also the whole capital of human reason—which thus becomes a theological *locus*—philosophy, epistemology, criticism, as well as history, and the history of history which is historical criticism. It is on this scientific, objective, and insofar as possible, depersonalized level that we want to place this present work, so that it will be of use to all persons. This is one first way of taking our stand. It is an objective stand.

There will soon be other points of view to be considered. But henceforth we can try to make order, that is, to draw up a plan.

We want to remark immediately that there is nothing absolute in this plan, it has no intrinsic value in itself. Its purpose is to make us better understand the data under consideration, but it itself must be constantly outgrown. It must give us the desire to return to Sacred Scripture, the means of understanding it more thoroughly and of finding new flavor in it each time. The continual exchanges going on between the "given" and the *theology* which is in the process of being constructed force the theologian to adjust the latter little by little in order not to lose anything of the former. His theology will be a success if it knows how to interpret all the conditions of the "given," and if it takes all its constituents into account as far as possible.

How, then, shall we choose our plan? Before elaborating any personal work, simple good sense urges us to consult those who went before us. We shall do this by a brief historical outline during which we shall try to supply some judgments which will help us in the choice we have to make.

2. SOME HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The Fathers of the Church did not seek to dispose all their knowledge of the faith in a coherent and systematic whole. Their exposition of the faith took place during the reading of the Sacred Books or during an explanation of the "mysteries," that is, of the sacred rites of the liturgy. Those flavorful commentaries of Scripture, and mystagogical catecheses did not fail to utilize Hellenistic philosophy (Stoic or Platonist), but there was as yet nothing systematic about them. Although some fundamental points may have subsequently appeared to unify these commentaries, such preachers did not seek to co-ordinate and organize these points into a rational system.

This absence of rationalization, however, does not mean that there was no serious quest for understanding. The way in which the Fathers treated the revealed data is significant in this regard. In them we can notice a double preoccupation, one looking towards the past, the other to the future. First of all, the Fathers constantly reflected on the meaning of sacred history, or even on history itself, on the meaning of certain events, or oracles, or sapiential maxims, and they tried to present each event in the new light given us by faith. For the eyes of believers see the whole history of Israel as a gradual ascension towards Christ; they see God preparing His people in the desert, in

the Promised Land, during the exile, not just in order to dispose them to receive the law written on tablets of stone, but in order to prepare them for that to be written in their hearts of flesh. They see what was announced by the events, the figures, and the sacraments of the Old Law. All these become transparent to the eyes of faith. Then, as regards the future, the Fathers were conscious of being involved in history, in a history advancing towards a goal. The centuries which preceded Christ were for them only the first stages in the drama extending from paradise and the fall to redemption and the final triumph of Christ in heaven.

The theology of the Fathers is a theology of salvation, being acted out in all its dramatic and historical actuality. For them the search for understanding does not consist in organizing a collection of definite notions into a clear and rational system, but in reading out of a sacred history its providential linking together of events. For them the theologian's work does not consist in deducing the nature of things or in fixing eternal values in abstractions, but in reading out of the events of the Old Covenant or the prophetic oracles the indications of the realities of the New Testament, and in understanding the mysteries of Christ as the fulfillment of the lessons given by God to the men of old, as the inauguration of the Kingdom of God among men.

The advantage of this kind of theology is that it sticks close to the facts. It keeps within itself that restlessness of soul which lives at the heart of drama. Although confident in the word of God and sure that its promises will be accomplished, it nevertheless remains unsatisfied so long as it is still involved in the battle, so long as it is only on the road to salvation. It is aware that it does not yet see. It is dissatisfaction at work, it is a continuous quest. That is why the Fathers of the Church will always remain the "authorities" to whom the theologians of all ages refer.

On the other hand, its weakness lies in the fact that it is too attached to history, does not dare take flight, does not lay hold upon the drama from high enough up—not upon earth, but in God Himself, in His profound unity and changeless eternity. But can man raise himself to that height? That is what the theologians of the Middle Ages were to attempt to do, especially those of the thirteenth century, with a daring worthy of man's greatest dignity.

However, let us not commit the injustice of making theology, in the scientific sense of the word, begin in the thirteenth century. It

had forerunners or initiators in practically every century. We have only to remember the notion of *recapitulation* that was so dear to Saint Irenaeus: he wanted to organize his theology around the person of Christ considered as the *Second Adam*, recapitulating in Himself the whole order of the world which had been compromised by the fault of the first Adam. Since our purpose here is merely to offer some examples, we shall describe some attempts of Saint Augustine because of his immense influence, and then we shall immediately turn to the twelfth century.

(a) *Saint Augustine.*

The great works of Augustine, the *De Trinitate*, *The City of God*, the *Enchiridion*—and even the *Confessions*—merit the name of theology as denoting a rigorously organized science, a meaning that this word was later to acquire. It is interesting to see how Saint Augustine thought out and organized his different works.

The *De Trinitate* (400–416) is not a treatise on the Trinity like those presented in our modern manuals of theology. It treats of the Trinity certainly, but at the same time it also treats of man, his salvation, his virtues, his adoption by God, and his beatitude. It is, consequently, a theology and not just one of the treatises of theology. Everything in it is centered upon the Holy Trinity: it is a study of God first of all and then of man, the image of God. Saint Augustine discovers the components of this image of the Trinity, sets them off in high relief, and strives to show how man, who is called upon to reproduce the life of God, must tend towards His model.

The City of God (413–426) had apologetics as its purpose. Saint Augustine had been asked to reply to the pagans who were accusing the Christians of being responsible for the calamities of the empire at the time of the barbarian invasions. But, as it turned out, the work far surpassed the purpose which had motivated it. It became a real exposition of Christian doctrine set in the framework of human history. After having denounced the pretensions of the pagans either to insure prosperity in this world or happiness in the next, Augustine traces God's providential government from the creation of the angels and their separation into the good and the bad, through the creation of man, and down to the Last Judgment, at which time the City of God and of the Saints will emerge definitively victorious. It is a very living theology at grips with concrete human reality.

Although the *Confessions* were written around the year 400, be-

cause of the point of view they occupy, they may be compared to *The City of God*. The latter exalts the action of Providence throughout human history, the former exalts the justice and goodness of God throughout both the good and bad actions of Augustine's life. *Confessio* does not mean so much an avowal of faults but gratitude and praise. The literary type of the *Confessions* does not, therefore, hinder it also from being a theological work, a search for God in the Sacred Books, in creation, in the personality of Augustine himself, despite his weaknesses and his temptations.

In the *Enchiridion*, finally, Augustine expounds Christian doctrine by commenting upon and developing the articles of the Creed and the Lord's prayer. To all these works we should also add once again the famous *Doctrina Christiana*. It is hard to translate its title literally since it would lead modern readers astray. Rather than a summa of Christian doctrine, it is a kind of guide to the intelligent reading of Holy Scripture. In the first book Augustine makes a synthesis of scriptural doctrine based on the distinction between *frui* and *uti*, that is, the distinction between the divine and spiritual realities we are called upon to enjoy and those things which are of use to us in attaining these realities. This distinction was to have an astonishing career in later theology. Even in the twelfth century, as artificial as it then seemed, Peter Lombard was to utilize it and divide his *Sentences* into two parts, those which concern the realities we are called upon to enjoy, and those which study the means which are to conduct us to these same realities, and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard remained the teacher's text-book in all the schools of theology until down around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

To sum up, the school of Augustinian theology appears very different according to the schemas selected. However, the schema does not reveal the entire school of thought of the author; we must also see what is behind the plan. With Augustine, theological inspiration is always extremely affective. Something living and warm, an ever sustained emotion, breathes through the pages of even his most speculative theology. Everything he writes bears his personal stamp, so much is he part of his doctrine. And his commitment is that of a man who thirsts for sight and comprehension, of one who is ever dissatisfied at not loving enough, occupied in the constant work of search and advancement. Consequently, his theology never leaves us cold, it expounds, but it stimulates at the same time. That is why it is so difficult to sum up, and it is often dangerous to try to extract

“theses” from it; attempts to do so have given rise to so many misunderstandings during the course of centuries that the most obstinate heretics as well as the faithful have made use of Augustine. The theology of Saint Augustine will never fail to attract men. His school of thought, characterized by a warm commitment of the author to his work, is to be found at all times. As examples, we can simply cite the Victorines in the twelfth century, and in the thirteenth century a work like the *Itinerarium* of Saint Bonaventure.

(b) *The Twelfth Century*

Seven centuries after his death Augustine still remained the undisputed master of theology. He is the authority to whom every theologian refers, and it is on an Augustinian foundation that the first great theological systems are built.

The first and earliest seems to be that of *Hugh of Saint Victor* (died in 1141). His *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* (The Sacred Things of the Christian Life) is a brilliant exposition of the faith using the historical order of Scripture as its basis. In the first book the author studies God the Creator, the creation of angels and men, then the divine institutions, namely, the faith, the natural law, and the written law. In the second book the order is rather different but more systematic. In it the author studies successively Christ, the Church (orders and ecclesiastical functions, the symbolism of the vestments, the dedication of churches), then the sacraments (baptism, confirmation, eucharist, the lesser sacraments, marriage, vows, virtues and vices, penance, anointing of the sick), and finally the last things.

Despite his excesses, *Abelard* (died in 1142) had the merit of introducing the logical strictness of science and philosophy into the heart of theology. His *Sic et Non* is characteristic in this regard. He wanted to gather together the various and even contradictory opinions of the Fathers of the Church concerning the important theological questions in order that men would be stirred to supply them with more adequate answers. It is a pity that, probably because he was before his time, he was more of a critic than a real builder. His division of theology into *Fides*, *Caritas*, *Sacramentum* distributes the theological data in a rather material fashion. At least his work marked a definite stage, that of the wholesale entry of rational argument and logic into theology.

Peter Lombard (died in 1160) organized the content of Revela-

tion into four books in the following manner: Book I. The three divine Persons, the knowledge and the will of God. Book II. The creation of the angels, the work of the six days, the fall and grace. Book III. The Incarnation, the virtues, sins and commandments. Book IV. The sacraments, sacramentals and the last things. The whole makes use of, although rather artificially, the Augustinian distinctions of *Res* (Books I, II, III) and *Signa* (Book IV); and of *frui* (Book I) and *uti* (Books II & III). We can point out certain confusions in this kind of division, particularly in Books II & III. The section on *grace* is connected with those on the fall and creation, and consequently, is cut off from the section *virtues, sins, commandments* which is introduced by the virtues of Christ and intimately connected with them in an organized synthesis.

Before coming to Saint Thomas, we must at least mention the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor whose fundamental importance has been but recently pointed out by Fr. Chenu.² His work is "Scripture seen and presented as history," and this history is explained to his students with the technical skill required by such a presentation.

(c) *Saint Thomas Aquinas*

Hugh of Saint Victor, whose work is often considered the first rational systematization of theology, had organized his data according to the historical order of the divine economy as it is presented in the Bible. With Peter Lombard this historical approach seems to fade away, and we see the beginning of attempts at a more rational arrangement using the categories of Augustine. That is still merely the first step. In the thirteenth century theology grows to adulthood. Its maturity is inscribed in the attempts which are characteristic of the doctrinal and theological ferment of the period: the *Summas*. The thirteenth century opens the era of the *Summas*.

Before coming to the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, it would be interesting to compare this author with his contemporary writers of *summas*: Saint Albert, Saint Bonaventure, Alexander of Hales, only to mention the most important of them. But in this rapid sketch we cannot pretend to go into everything. We shall have to content ourselves with presenting the main works of Saint Thomas before touching on the *Summa Theologiae*.

The *Summa Contra Gentiles* (1258-1263) is a work of apolo-

² In his *Introduction à l'étude de saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Paris, Vrin, 1950, pp. 41 & 204.

getical theology, a "defense of Christian thought faced with the Greco-Arabic scientific conception of the universe which from that time on was made known to the West,"³ through Arabic masters.

The theological material is divided into four books. In the first three Saint Thomas boldly presents the objects of faith to which reason can have access, although not in the sense that henceforth reason will be the basis of faith, but in the sense that to the mind of the believer the faith discloses all sorts of coherences, relationships, comparisons and profound reasons which create friendly relations between it and reason. It is the same God who enlightens the mind and bestows the faith; consequently, man should not hesitate to make use of his reason in order to enter into an understanding of the divine word. Thus we have: Book I. God, His being, attributes, and powers. Book II. God the Creator and Lord: the creation and distinction of created things. Book III. God, the final End of all things and the Ruler of the world (1. God the End of all things and man's beatitude. 2. The universal rule of God. 3. The special rule of God by law and grace.) Book IV. The Trinity, Incarnation, sacraments, resurrection of the body.

It is a magnificent arrangement in which the historical order now gives place to the higher demands of reason and argumentation.

In the *Compendium Theologiae* (1265-1267) Saint Thomas distributes the content of Revelation according to the triple dimension of the theological virtues: faith, hope, and charity. The first part, faith, is divided into two subsections: the divinity of the Trinity and the humanity of Christ. The chapters on the divinity consider the being of God, His attributes, the trinitarian relations, creation, man, good and evil, providence, the resurrection, the first man. In treating of the humanity of Christ, his consideration follows the development outlined in the creed. We know that Saint Thomas left this work unfinished. We have only the beginning of the second part, hope, which is made up of a series of chapters on prayer. The whole is an interesting and suggestive approach in many regards, but it is not nearly so satisfying as the division of material to be found in the *Summa Theologiae*.

(d) *The Summa Theologiae* (1266-1272) *from the point of view of the maturity of theology*

Both as regards the history of theology as well as the inner excel-

³ Chenu, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

lence of the work itself, the *Summa Theologiae* of Saint Thomas Aquinas marks theology's springtime in full bloom.

For centuries the instruction of young clerics had been limited to reading the very text of Sacred Scripture. Such was that *lectio divina* which formed the basis of monastic instruction (cf. the Rule of Saint Benedict, ch. 48, as well as 38 & 69). At a later date teachers made some notes between the lines or in the margins: such was the *gloss*. By way of completing this evolution the pedagogical procedure of the *lectio* (an explained and commented reading) was itself analyzed and distinguished into three successive acts: the grammatical explanation of the letter of the text, the search for the meaning of the component elements, and finally, the abstraction of the thought formulated in the "sentence."

In their turn these *summas* of sentences became so numerous that soon it became necessary to have them read and explained also. At Paris, after 1215, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard were read before Scripture. The teacher reconstructed the master-plan for his pupils, showed them how the parts fitted together, and then expounded the whole chapter by chapter. This exposition then became the occasion of further inquiry into the deeper problems involved. Thus was born the question—or questions—around each chapter, *questions* which soon took on a kind of independence of their own and so gave rise to the public disputations.⁴

A still further advance then took place. Not only were the conclusions of the lesson, or certain asides of the main topic, or its doctrinal and practical consequences called into question, but even the very essence of the chapter which had been read; even what the authority of the Lombard obliged teachers to receive with reverence was called into question. Thus it was that adolescent young men called into question everything that they had passively accepted up to that time so that they could understand it fully.

Soon the text of the chapters on which the questions were grafted disappeared so that everything is called into question, including the word of God. On his own initiative the teacher classified the arguments pro and con and arranged a kind of public disputation. So it is that the *Summa Theologiae* contains several thousand questions (each article being a question) classified and organized according to an inner arrangement.

⁴ On this subject see the admirable book of Chenu (*op. cit.*) which has served as our guide.

But these questions, instead of being grafted upon a *received text* and having no other order than that of the text which they followed, became the sole matter of the course. The teacher no longer attempted merely to expound the whole of Christian doctrine in encyclopedic fashion following a ready made outline (Scripture, Sacred History, Book of the Sentences). He wanted the whole to be scientifically organized and objectively constructed, with the pedagogical needs of his students in mind. Consequently, he had to discover architectonic principles which would assure a solid and vigorous structure. For that is the only thing which must not be called into question, namely, the fundamental principles governing the construction of the work. The value of a *Summa* is to be recognized in this fundamental option which lays bare its spirit and which is the key to its inner organization.

Such a degree of theological maturity had never been attained before that time. And yet—let us note it well—as perfect as the *Summa* may be, it would be imperfect if it did not give us a desire for going beyond it. Saint Thomas wrote for *beginners*. He simply wanted to give them the means for entering upon the living Word of God, for understanding it better, and for relishing it more deeply.

Before stopping to consider this work, let us see if it has been surpassed since. It does not seem so.

(e) *Theology after the Thirteenth Century*

The *Summa* is at the terminus of an evolution which began with the *Lectio* (for which we have living testimony in the monastic institutions of the early Middle Ages), which was followed by the commentaries, the glosses, then the sentences and the commentaries on the sentences. After the *Summas* and until the nineteenth to twentieth centuries we have had little more than commentaries on the *Summas*, which, however, may be very great works of theology. It suffices to mention from among so many others the names of Cajetan (died in 1534) and of John of Saint Thomas (died in 1644). In the eighteenth century Billuart (died in 1757) was as much a compiler as a commentator and, from this first point of view, gives us an idea of the monumental work of the commentators. Although the theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not produce great compendia comparable to those of the thirteenth century, it was far from being inactive. We have only to

recall the innumerable controversies on grace. And this life and this activity were not without profound revival. For better or for worse the theology of that time was impregnated with Renaissance humanism and underwent an extensive renovation. However, although they made progress in certain domains and contributed useful distinctions or complementary developments necessitated by new situations (Vittoria, for example, was the creator of international law), the theologians of the Renaissance and subsequent periods did not produce original work.

When we come down to the teaching of theology in our time, either in the seminaries or in the majority of religious scholasticates (save in those of the Friars Preacher and Friars Minor), we find that theological teaching is no longer based upon a Summa but has completely changed its methods. The manual has become a book of instruction. The *questions* have given place to *theses* and *proofs*, and it is on these that the whole doctrinal exposition is based. There is no longer any active quest for the intelligence to pursue, but merely the transmission of generally received conclusions. Not wanting to embarrass young clerics with overly difficult questions, they are only asked to retain a certain number of simplified conclusions. Above all one must be practical! The theses under consideration are all proved in advance. But such a method kills all taste for the intellectual quest. What is still worse, it renders the faith insipid since the latter can only be sustained in the believer amid peaceful concern and anxious desire for understanding. Contact with the sources of revelation which gave such vehemence and relish to the questions of the composers of summas of the thirteenth century seems to have been lost a long time back. Far from the sacred text we now "discuss" the conclusions of theologians. After the previous point of maturity, do we not have the distressing feeling that we are assisting at the decrepitude of theology?

(f) *Signs of Renewal*

Here and there, however, we perceive authentic signs of a theological revival. It manifests itself first of all in what we may call the "evangelism" of certain circles of young priests, young religious, and even young families: an evangelism which expresses itself in institutions like the movements of specialized Catholic Action, or the Little Brothers of the Pere de Foucauld; an evangelism which is

also expressed even in novels, especially in those of Bernanos, or in films like *God Needs Men*, *The Diary of a Country Priest*, *God is Dead*; perhaps in the renewal of scriptural studies which today, after the period of "liberal" exegesis, is also seeking the spiritual sense and a religious understanding of the Sacred Books; the return to the sources of Tradition to be found in the liturgical movement and in the patristic movement; the scrutiny of the Christian doctrines of the Orient; and finally, the extremely important development of historical research. It seems that a renewed theology would today especially benefit from this historical support.

3. OUR CHOICE

While awaiting what all these signs so hopefully promise us, we should like to put a sort of theological classic into everybody's hands. And that is why, by way of conclusion to the historical sketch we have traced, we have chosen the school of thought and the plan of Saint Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*. We can now gather together the reasons for our choice and express them in this way:

First of all, the work of Saint Thomas represents a point of maturity in the history of theology which seems never to have been surpassed.

In addition, it is neither a theology of affective, nor psychological, nor subjective, nor "humanist" inspiration, but simply intellectual and, in the best sense of the term, scientific. As a result it is entirely depersonalized and, as far as possible, possesses universal value. It is not the reflection of any particular spiritual temperament.

Finally, among all the theological syntheses, the *Summa Theologiae* seems to achieve the most balanced equilibrium between two contrary and yet equally necessary demands on theology, namely, the order of the divine economy as presented in Sacred History, and the order of reason reconstructing all the data of Revelation into an intelligible synthesis. This last point, an important one, merits an explanation.

God alone, in fact, by whose wisdom history itself is conceived, possesses this equilibrium. The theologian never approaches it except in a clumsy manner.

In effect, the work of the theologian may unfold according to the historical perspective of Sacred Scripture; in this case it is highly enjoyable and full of life; it is very sensitive to the develop-

ment of the divine Economy, to the concrete advances of God, and to the incessant drama of human response. It is living, straining, often even panting after the goal of its hopes, namely, life everlasting in company with the risen Christ. Its grandeur lies in its not letting escape anything of the dramatic character of salvation. It is like Jacob wrestling with the kind of God who breaks in on human affairs; it represents the whole life of humanity in all its sinfulness and yet aching desire for God. Its weakness, however, lies in the fact that it is not a wisdom. Remaining too closely in contact with the facts, the prophetic oracles, or the words of the gospel, it does not draw forth the intelligible principles which govern the divine Economy. It is in contact with the word which develops in sacred history, but it fails to penetrate within that word and to ascend as far as possible towards God who pronounces it, to see things as He sees them, to participate in His light, and to translate this unity of the divine vision into a science.

Or the work of the theologian is entirely speculative. It appears as a science having its object, principles, and method, its technical means of documentation and construction, its hierarchical and organized parts. Because man is endowed with intelligence, he can take the liberty of reconstituting God's knowledge on his own level and to suit his own needs. But this grandeur costs him dearly. Fascinated by his own constructive powers such a theologian little by little loses contact with the sources of the faith. His theology becomes cold, tasteless, lifeless, without conviction. The soundness which he manifests in his systematic rationalization is merely apparent if it is no longer founded upon the rock of the Word. The theologian has then let himself be caught in his own net. He is captivated by the beauty of his own construction and no longer by that of the Word. *Flatus vocis*: what remains are only words and concepts, "hot air!"

But is it possible to assume the relativity of history into the absolute nature of a wisdom? Must not the latter stop at the necessary causes in order to contemplate and arrange them in order? And is not the former the slave of the contingent and transitory flux of events? Equilibrium is to be found in an ever relative compromise between the exigencies of reason and the exigencies of life and historical reality. It seems to us that the architecture of the *Summa* presents the most balanced equilibrium that we can hope for.

(a) *The Architecture of the Summa Theologiae*

Saint Thomas found the central idea of his construction in the Dionysian tradition; it is that of *Exitus* and *Reditus*, of emanation (or procession) and conversion (or return). God launches natures into being, and these natures exist only in order to rejoin by their very act of existing the divine exemplar upon which they were modeled. The first part of the *Summa* therefore considers God in Himself, then in His act of creation, and then the beings that He created in His image or in some distant likeness. The second part considers God as the final End of these beings who, by their activity or their very existing, strive to return to God. The remaining third part treats of "re-creation," that is, the new creation that Christ brings about within a creation already accomplished by the mystery of His death and resurrection.

Saint Thomas thus distinguishes two histories (or, if you wish, a history on two different levels), namely, the history of creation, and within this creation which is already established and developing historically, the history of God repairing the foundations of His work during the very course of its evolution; on the one hand, history which creates *natures* (first part); and leads them to their end (second part); on the other hand, history in which God takes the initiative of entering into relation with the free persons who evolve within the first history, in order to help them to refind the order of grace and of happiness for which they were created (third part).

The extraordinarily well constructed architecture of the *Summa* permits an attentive searcher to discover different organizational aspects. Or, if you wish, there are various points of view from which we can lay hold on the ensemble of his construction. Consequently, his architectural design satisfies a variety of demands.

First of all, it satisfies theological reasoning. Everything is seen from God's point of view; it is a participation in the divine vision of things as they are.

It is a design which is open to history. In the first and second parts are to be found the whole history of the divine activities whose purpose was the creation of natures: the work of the six days, the creation of angels, of the first man, the study of the human soul, material creation, a study of acts, passions, virtues, original sin, grace. Original sin and grace are studied in the first two parts:

original sin, because it forces itself upon man, because it is passed on to him like a nature; grace, because, no matter what Economy were chosen by God, it possesses the same essence, the same principal cause, the same end, the same effects. In the third part there is to be found the whole history of Christ, both head and members, from the Incarnation to the Parousia.

It is a design which satisfies the humanist. Although everything is centered upon God and precisely because of that, the framework of the *Summa* opens up for us the maximum of intelligibility on each nature and each destiny: all the natures are considered in themselves in the first two parts. Sometimes Saint Thomas is accused of being naturalistic. Certain people fear to let themselves be drawn by him into a theology which appears to them to be tainted with Aristotelian paganism. But on the contrary, it is to his greatness to affirm the consistency and the value of the natures created by God as a basis for all supernatural work and history. There is nothing pagan in doing that, for it is not the natures which are of prime consideration but God who created them. They only appear in the light of God who produced them and who summons them to return to Him by imitating Him in their own way.

Finally, it is a design which satisfies the demands of both contemplation and action. The contemplative, whose essential task is to consider God and all things in the light of God, finds a precious help in this theology since it is conceived precisely along these lines. The man of action, who needs norms of morality and principles of conduct, finds the purpose of all obligations, whether natural or positive, and the meaning of all action in the consideration of nature received from God and in which is inscribed the destiny of man.

Having said this, it would be interesting to enter into detail and see how Saint Thomas actually realized his system of thought, how his word corresponds to his initial design. We shall not fail to be surprised by what seem anomalies at first glance. Why, for example, are the questions on the mission of the Holy Spirit, on the new Law, and on grace inserted in the first two parts rather than in the third? We must say that there is nothing arbitrary about this position. Saint Thomas just pushes to its logical extreme the bold choice he made about seeing things from God's point of view. Consequently, he judges that, no matter what economy were chosen by God, grace, the new law, and the mission of the Holy Spirit are all tied in with

justification and divinization. The fact that grace is a quality of the soul is not what is gratuitous in it, that is not its essence; what scholastics call the formal cause of grace carries with it a certain necessity since it is a participation in the absolute necessity of God. What is gratuitous in grace is the fact that God gives it to us although we have no right whatsoever to it. Saint Thomas emphasizes this distinction by placing its necessary aspect—even if it were only necessary on a secondary level—in the first two parts and by assigning to the third what depends on the absolute good pleasure of God. Let us make no mistake, however: these parts cannot be detached from one another at will, they form an indivisible whole. The theologian has not said everything that the grace of God is for us when he has not yet spoken of God's divine activity in the Incarnation.

In defending Saint Thomas, however, we do not say that certain groupings are not open to criticism. Everything is not equal in rigor. Only when looked upon as a whole are all the divisions justified.

(b) *The Summa Theologiae and Modern Manuals*

Moreover, there is another way of testing the success of Saint Thomas' design, and that is by comparing it to others. Our modern catechisms, for example, and many manuals divide theological matter into three parts which they entitle: truths to be believed, commandments to be practiced, sacraments to be received. Now anybody can see that this is an entirely material division. It takes things, not from God's point of view, but from the point of view of the disciple who must believe certain truths, practice certain commandments, and receive the sacraments. In addition, to put things in this way is to falsify them. The Christian life cannot be reduced to that. Where would we put life eternal and the resurrection of the body in such a scheme? The happiness that God promises us is decidedly something more than just a "truth to be believed," it is a living reality to be hoped for. What is there in such a scheme to arouse the hopes or desires of the believer or to give him a longing for life? Besides, morality cannot be reduced to the practice of certain commandments. In this perspective what do we do with the morality of intention, and how can we give a reasonable account of the commandments themselves? Finally, there is no place for the divine drama recounted by Sacred Books to be explained, commented upon, and relished. Sacred History, not only does not recognize itself, if we may say

so, but cannot be found in this scheme. Theology founded on such a framework admits of no intelligibility and has not even the merit of being living by being based in history. It is necessarily cold and static.

The method used by Father Mersch, only to take one example, in his theology of the Mystical Body is certainly better. But let the mere title suffice for our comparison. For Saint Thomas the subject of theology is neither Christ nor His Mystical Body, but God Himself in whom are to be found the ultimate reasons of things, whether they be necessary or whether they depend upon his gratuitous good pleasure. The Incarnation and the Mystical Body belong to the accidental and contingent. Only God first and last can satisfy the theologian in quest of understanding.

Today there is a great deal of talk about kerygmatic theology. Perhaps there is a precious leaven to be found in it which will renew theological inspiration. But will such a theology, living as it is, be wise enough to fix itself in the contemplation of what is eternal?

As faithful disciples of Saint Thomas, therefore, we have chosen the plan of the *Summa* for this Theology Library.⁵ It is our judgment that this plan provides the best understanding of the whole of Revelation. Our work, nevertheless, remains an initiation, and although Saint Thomas addressed his *Summa* to beginners, his development was more extensive than ours will be; we shall touch upon only fundamental questions and try to give the reader a desire for further development. From Saint Thomas we draw the plan and the inspiration which is an intellectual one, as we have said. But taking this for granted, each author for his part has tried to re-think the questions and to present them under a form and in terms, nay even in categories, which are accessible to the modern reader. For example, we have not kept the literary style of the *Summa*, that is, the division into articles, objections, *sed contra*, which are everywhere out of date in our universities and which would be excessively foreign to modern students. The work therefore is simply divided into chapters.

Do we need to add that we do not think that the choice of a "system" can close our mind to certain aspects of the truth which may be better realized in other systems? The theologian must re-

⁵ The complete outline of this Theology Library is to be found at the beginning of this volume, and the plan of the *Summa* in the *Table* at the end of this section.

SYNOPSIS OF THE SUMMA THEOLOGICAE OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS*

<p>Theology</p> <p>Since the principal end of the creature is to know God, the first part of the Summa is devoted to the knowledge of God, not only according to His Nature but also as He is related to things, and especially of the rational being, we propose to treat of—</p>	<p>Sacred Doctrine—What it is and to what it extends.—All things are treated in it under the idea of God, either because they are God Himself or because they have relation to God.</p> <p>PART I.</p> <p>1.—Concerning those things which pertain to the Divine Essence.</p> <p>24.—Concerning those things which pertain to the Production of Creatures by God.</p> <p>3d.—Concerning those things which pertain to the Production of Creatures by God.</p>	<p>Part I.</p> <p>1. Sacred Doctrine Ques. 1</p> <p>2. The One God " 2-26</p> <p>3. The Most Holy Trinity " 27-43</p> <p>4. The Creation " 44-46</p> <p>5. The Distinction of Things in General " 47-49</p> <p>6. The Distinction of Good and Evil " 49-50</p> <p>7. The Angels " 50-64</p> <p>8. The Creature purely Corporeal " 65-74</p> <p>9. On Man " 75-102</p> <p>10. The Conservation and Government of Creatures " 103-119</p>	<p>Part II.</p> <p>11. The End of Man and Beatitude " 1-6</p> <p>12. Human Acts " 6-21</p> <p>13. The Passions " 22-48</p> <p>14. Habits in General " 49-54</p> <p>15. The Virtues " 55-70</p> <p>16. On Vices and Sins " 71-89</p> <p>17. On Laws " 90-108</p> <p>18. On Grace " 109-114</p> <p>19. Faith " 1-16</p> <p>20. Hope " 17-22</p> <p>21. Charity " 23-26</p> <p>22. Prudence " 27-36</p> <p>23. Justice " 37-52</p> <p>24. Fortitude " 53-120</p> <p>25. Temperance " 121-140</p> <p>26. Graces Gratuitously Given " 141-170</p> <p>27. The Active and Contemplative Life " 171-178</p> <p>28. The Various Offices and Conditions of Men " 179-182</p>	<p>Part III.</p> <p>29. The Incarnation " 1-39</p> <p>30. The Sacraments in General " 40-55</p> <p>31. Baptism " 56-71</p> <p>32. Confirmation " 72-83</p> <p>33. Eucharist " 84-90</p> <p>34. Extreme Unction " 91-98</p> <p>35. Orders " 99-108</p> <p>36. Matrimony " 109-114</p> <p>37. The Resurrection and Four Last Things " 115-119</p>	<p>Part III.</p> <p>1. The end of man</p> <p>2. The end of man and beatitude</p> <p>3. Human acts</p> <p>4. The passions</p> <p>5. Habits in general</p> <p>6. The virtues</p> <p>7. On vices and sins</p> <p>8. On laws</p> <p>9. On grace</p> <p>10. Faith</p> <p>11. Hope</p> <p>12. Charity</p> <p>13. Prudence</p> <p>14. Justice</p> <p>15. Fortitude</p> <p>16. Temperance</p> <p>17. Graces gratuitously given</p> <p>18. The active and contemplative life</p> <p>19. The various offices and conditions of men</p> <p>20. The Incarnation</p> <p>21. The Sacraments in general</p> <p>22. Baptism</p> <p>23. Confirmation</p> <p>24. Eucharist</p> <p>25. Extreme Unction</p> <p>26. Orders</p> <p>27. Matrimony</p> <p>28. The Resurrection and Four Last Things</p>
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Theology

Since the principal end of the creature is to know God, the first part of the Summa is devoted to the knowledge of God, not only according to His Nature but also as He is related to things, and especially of the rational being, we propose to treat of—

PART I.

1.—Concerning those things which pertain to the Divine Essence.

24.—Concerning those things which pertain to the Production of Creatures by God.

3d.—Concerning those things which pertain to the Production of Creatures by God.

PART II.

11. The End of Man and Beatitude

12. Human Acts

13. The Passions

14. Habits in General

15. The Virtues

16. On Vices and Sins

17. On Laws

18. On Grace

19. Faith

20. Hope

21. Charity

22. Prudence

23. Justice

24. Fortitude

25. Temperance

26. Graces Gratuitously Given

27. The Active and Contemplative Life

28. The Various Offices and Conditions of Men

PART III.

29. The Incarnation

30. The Sacraments in General

31. Baptism

32. Confirmation

33. Eucharist

34. Extreme Unction

35. Orders

36. Matrimony

37. The Resurrection and Four Last Things

* *Theology Magazine*, September, 1893. Kindness of Very Rev. L. F. Kearney, O. P.

main very humble in his work and remember the relativity of the arguments he uses as contrasted with the faith that everyone holds. The following few pages will try to evaluate as nicely as possible *theological reflection* in its relations with the *faith*.

Appendix I

THE BELIEVER AND THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION

by A. Liégé, O.P.

We have seen above what a vital relation unites faith and theological reflection in its most technical sense. Under one aspect, this reflection adds nothing to the faith and has for its sole aim the interiorizing of the Word of God in the human mind, a task, moreover, in which it never perfectly succeeds. Under another aspect, theological reflection adds explanations or conclusions to the Word of God which we must define as to their truth value and as to the obligation they impose upon the mind of the believer. It is a testimony to our respect for the sovereignty of the Word of God that we do not identify with it affirmations which, although made in continuity with this Word, call for the intervention of truths of human origin. But, inversely, to despise theological reflection under the pretext that it goes beyond the pure affirmation of the Word of God would be to deprive ourselves of an instrument for penetrating this Word; besides, when a believer spontaneously reflects on his faith to any degree whatsoever, he is theologizing; it is much better to do it consciously in order to judge exactly in what measure the absolute character of the affirmation of faith affects the inevitable theological affirmations which accompany it.

1. THE MAGISTERIUM OF FAITH AND THEOLOGY

Nothing is of faith except what the Church recognizes as contained in the revealed Word. A theological affirmation *as such*, therefore, will never be an object of faith. It may happen that theological reflection may throw light upon the fact that a minor aspect of the mystery is contained in a major one, but this minor aspect will be proposed as being of faith only in its capacity as revealed and not because of the theological connection involved.

Still, the Church is not indifferent to theological work; it is of the opinion that the guardianship of the living deposit of the Word extends to it also. There are, in truth, different types of theological reflection and a variety of conclusions. The attitude of the magisterium towards them will depend upon the fidelity with which these theological affirmations remain in organic continuity with the Word and throw light upon it.

2. COMMON THEOLOGY

Now the variety of the fruits of theological work results from the various instruments of thought that it utilizes. The truth which is affirmed by the human mind is one in itself, but its expression is multiple because it is necessarily individualized. Nevertheless, there are certain primary affirmations about reality and values, man and the mind, which, aside from a few language variations, make up the basis of all true philosophy. According to the degree in which theological reflection makes use of these truly universal affirmations in order to penetrate the faith, a common theology is established (leaving place for later variations) which it would be very rash to oppose. Moreover, any such opposition could be condemned by the Magisterium by reason of the danger it would indirectly cause the faith to incur. An affirmation of common theology requires on the believer's part a complex assent in keeping with the complexity of the affirmation itself, namely, an adhesion of faith inasmuch as the Word of God is contained in the theological affirmation, but mingled with human certitude inasmuch as something is affirmed over and above the pure Word of God. It is an assent which is subjectively one, however.

3. THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

Within this unanimity of thought provided by a common theological doctrine are to be found a whole gradation of theological affirmations, going from rather generally received affirmations which have to be taken into consideration down to the almost private opinion of a lone theologian in treating of the great theological systems which continue the common theology of more systematic views which are at times rather different. Certain theologians have sought to sanction theological opinions or conclusions in their relation to the truth of faith. They have thus established the following terminology: *certain* propositions, *probable* propositions, proposi-

tions *bordering on faith*, propositions of *faith*, to which are opposed *erroneous* propositions, rash (or *improbable* or *less probable*) propositions, propositions *bordering on heresy*, and *heresy*. Whatever we may think of these categories, the assent that the believer gives to these different theological affirmations involves his faith less in proportion as they include more uncertain instruments of thought and are concerned with only derivative points of the mystery. For the fruit of theology must lie in constantly returning the believer to the heart of the mystery with the benefit of the reflexive effort to which he devoted himself, not in order to contaminate his faith with human certainties, but, on the contrary, so that his faith will be more firmly rooted in his mind.

4. THE CHURCH AND THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

The Church does not stand in the way of questions being discussed by opposing schools of theology to the extent that they respect the Word of God. Within the common and traditional theology she allows freedom of thought to the different types of mental formation and culture: this is one way of affirming the transcendent nature of the Word of God. Theologians, in their turn, do not have the right to appropriate dogma to one or another of their systematic positions, nor to read into conciliary texts their own particular conclusions. We can, for example, attribute solid theological value to the systematization made by Saint Thomas regarding the gifts of the Holy Ghost, but we are in no way justified in seeing a canonization of this Thomist doctrine in the Council of Trent's use of the expression "gifts of the Holy Spirit" (which there meant faith, hope and charity). The fact that theological schools stand in opposition to each other only serves to bring out more clearly the unanimity of the faith and of the common theology guaranteed by the Church.

When the Magisterium condemns theological assertions, it does not claim to be a philosophical magisterium (as sometimes certain people have tried to make out), nor a censor of human thought. It safeguards the faith which runs the risk of being belittled because of misunderstanding. As the Vatican Council puts it: ¹ "The Church, which, together with the apostolic office of teaching, has received a charge to guard the deposit of faith, derives from God the right

¹ Eng. trans. in: *Dogmatic Canons and Decrees*, N. Y., Devin-Adair, 1912, pp. 230-231.

and the duty of proscribing false science, lest any should be deceived by philosophy and vain deceit. Therefore, all faithful Christians are not only forbidden to defend as legitimate conclusions of science such opinions as are known to be contrary to the doctrines of faith, especially if they have been condemned by the Church, but are altogether bound to account them as errors which put on the fallacious appearance of truth." (Session 3, ch. 4; Denz. 1798.)

5. THE AUTHORITY OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS

But, some may object, is not Saint Thomas the master of thought in both philosophy and theology that the Church imposes upon the faithful? Such a statement needs explanation. It is true that the Church accords a place of unique authority to Saint Thomas. But it is as a theologian first of all; only in a subsidiary fashion, and inasmuch as he is included in the theologian, as a philosopher. And if she does so, it is because she has evidently recognized him as the common theologian in the same sense in which we spoke above of the common theology, namely, as he whose reflection remained most faithfully under the influence of the Word of God, as he who introduced the smallest amount of purely systematic thought into his theology. It is always her solicitude for a living safeguard of the data of faith which pushes the Church to recommend the thought of Saint Thomas to her faithful and to impose it upon her clerics. Now this does not mean that every part of the theology of Saint Thomas is equally covered by this official recognition, nor that systems manifesting certain incompatibilities of thought in regard to his as concerns secondary matters are declared erroneous, nor that no theological progress can take place after Saint Thomas. It means only that in following his great theological positions we can be assured of finding a faithful and truly Catholic understanding of the Word of God. It seems to us that the theological synthesis of Saint Thomas, to the extent that its rational contribution, is situated upon a truly metaphysical and universal plane, remains open to perpetual enrichment, first, by a return to the sources of living faith, and then through an acceptance of contributions from different theological systems or attempts. But a theological system would certainly cease to be true to the degree in which it was elaborated in using intuitions and elementary principles radically different from those used by Saint Thomas. This is the place to recall the saying of Lacordaire: "Saint Thomas is not a boundary but a beacon."

Appendix II

THE GREAT THEOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

by Th. Camelot, O.P.

Patristic theology was most often conditioned by its polemical or pastoral preoccupations, and we hardly ever find in the Fathers a systematic and coherent organization of the whole of the faith. *Saint John Damascene* was the first to have made any attempt of this kind, a fact which has merited for him the title "Father of Scholasticism."

In the general decline of culture the ecclesiastical literature of the Middle Ages did little more than repeat the teaching of the Fathers, whose works were cut up and compiled in the *Glosses* and collections of *Sentences*. The Carolingian Renaissance (*Alcuin*, died 804; *Rhabanus Maurus*, died 856) was perhaps more literary and grammatical than theological, and the theology of the ninth century still remained exclusively biblical. A genius like *John Scotus Erigena* was an isolated phenomenon and his influence was felt only later through the medium of his translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Nevertheless, the reorganization of the schools and the introduction of dialectic into teaching prepared an instrument for scholasticism.

In the eleventh century, *Berengarius of Tours* (died 1088) applied the dialectical method that he had learned in the schools of Chartres to eucharistic dogma: it was an unhappy attempt, but it introduced speculation into theology. These attempts were violently opposed by those who held to the traditional method: *Saint Peter Damian* (died 1072), and *Lanfranc*, monk of Bec, and later archbishop of Canterbury (died 1089).

Saint Anselm, who was also abbot of Bec and archbishop of Canterbury (died 1099), can be considered as the founder of the rational method in theology, a way of proceeding for a believer in quest of an understanding of his faith: "*fides quaerens intellectum.*" As a metaphysician of dogma he sought to discover the very reason of the mysteries and to draw from them in a dialectical fashion all the conclusions they contain.

The twelfth century saw the renewal of the study of Greek

philosophy, Platonist and even Aristotelian, and knew great philosophical debates (Nominalism and Realism, the quarrel of the universals) whose scope went far beyond that of simple scholastic controversies: school of Chartres (Gilbert de la Porrée), of Laon (Anselm of Laon), of Paris (William of Champeaux). Thanks to this renewal of philosophy theology began to set itself up as a *science*, a science of a special type since it receives its object from revelation and its light from faith, but a science which develops by its own methods and according to all the exigencies of a rational kind of knowledge.

Abelard (died 1142) submitted the data of tradition to a severe rational analysis (*Sic et Non*); his *Introductio ad Theologiam* is one of the first attempts at a "Theological Summa." His audacity drew down upon him the fierce opposition of Saint Bernard and had him condemned. But in this controversy Bernard, who tried to reduce theology to the exclusive study of Scripture and the Fathers, represented the past, and Abelard, despite his errors, represented the future. Besides, Bernard was deeply penetrated by the whole culture of the twelfth century and was a very great mystical theologian.

The school of the abbey of *Saint Victor* at Paris was the representative of the supreme effort of the traditional method, a contemplation of the mysteries of faith as seen through Scripture allegorically interpreted. The *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* of *Hugh of Saint Victor* (died 1141) is at the same time a complete system of dogmatic theology; the *De Trinitate* of *Richard of Saint Victor* (died 1173) endeavored to explain the mystery by reason of the goodness and the love of God. Both men were also important mystical authors.

Peter Lombard (died 1160), "the Master of the Sentences," rendered great service to the developing scholastic theology by furnishing it with his manual, his framework, and his method, namely, the gathering together of the "auctoritates" of the Fathers (argument from authority), the use of dialectic for discussing them, reconciling them if necessary, and for making the most of them in a rational manner. The twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth were to witness the appearance of the *Summas*, attempts to gather together the whole of theology.

The Universities were organized at the beginning of the thirteenth century (Paris 1200-1215), and it was not long before the Mendicant Orders, Preachers and Minors, came to establish themselves

there and to occupy chairs of teaching. Teaching was to be divided into two separate currents: the Augustinian (and Platonist) tradition which was more affective and mystical, as well as symbolical (exemplarism); it was to it chiefly that two Parisian masters of the beginning of the century, *William of Auvergne* and *William of Auxerre*, were attached. In opposition to it, Aristotelianism, through the medium of the Arabs (Avicenna and Averroes), represented a real danger for Christian thought. Condemned at Paris in 1210 and 1215, it was to be rethought and assumed into Christianity by two great Dominican doctors, *Albert the Great* (died 1280) and *Thomas Aquinas* (died 1274). Recognizing without reserve the demands of the "natures" and the rights of reason, that he put at the service of the faith, Saint Thomas Aquinas, in whom his contemporaries emphasized a boldness of invention and a newness of method, nevertheless kept all the essentials of the patristic tradition and the Augustinian heritage; at the same time he resolutely committed himself to an intellectual conception of theology of which his Aristotelian epistemology permitted him to establish definitively the scientific status. Being "the genius of order," he built up a magnificent structure of the work of God and the plan of salvation in which his profoundly religious soul took pleasure in contemplating and adoring the Christian mystery. On the other hand, the first Franciscan theologians like *Alexander of Hales* (died 1245), who was not ignorant of Aristotle, continued the Augustinian tradition for which *Saint Bonaventure* (died 1274) provided an original synthesis strongly impressed with the Franciscan spirit.

At the end of the century, *John Duns Scotus* (died 1308) completed the systematization of Franciscan theology in a vigorous synthesis that we can undoubtedly characterize by the primacy of love (voluntarism); in theology he was especially famous for his theology of the motive for the Incarnation, which he claimed was predestined for the glory of God and of Christ Himself independently of the sin of man. He was also the ardent champion of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

After spirited opposition even within the Order of Preachers (condemnations of 1277, 1284, 1296), *Thomism*, which we can undoubtedly characterize by the primacy of the intelligence and the primacy of being, became the official teaching of the Dominican Order, in which there still continued for some time a Platonist current (whence would issue the Rhenish mystics of the fourteenth

century); during the course of the fifteenth century, the *Summa* took the place of the *Book of the Sentences* as the text-book for the schools of the Order; it was an accomplished fact in the universities of the sixteenth century.

Scientific theology had in one bound attained its apogee in the thirteenth century. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were times of profound decadence. The weakening of Thomism, the abuse of dialectic, and above all the Nominalism of the Franciscan *William of Occam* (died 1349) provoked a distrustful reaction towards reason; the subtleties of an ill-regulated scholasticism gave rise to a purely affective and voluntaristic spirituality: *Gabriel Biel* (died 1495) was its most characteristic representative in fifteenth century Germany. The Thomist school, however, still had some good theologians like *Capreolus* (Rodez, died 1444) and *John of Torquemada* (died 1468).

The sixteenth century, the century of the Renaissance, the Protestant Reform, and the Catholic Reform, also experienced a real theological renaissance.

On the one hand, the influence of humanism and the restoration of classical letters orientated Christian thought towards a return to its sources, both biblical and patristic. *Positive theology* was born at this time and was in full bloom in the seventeenth century [*De Locis Theologicis* of the Dominican *Melchior Cano*, 1563, the historical works of Cardinal *Baronius* (died 1607), *Dogmata Theologica* of the Jesuit *Denis Petavius* (died 1622), of the Oratorian *Thomassin* (died 1695)]. The *Controversies of Saint Robert Bellarmine* (died 1621) made extensive use of the contributions of positive theology in discussions with Protestants and was to have considerable influence on Catholic apologetics.

On the other hand, the renewal of religious and intellectual life in the Friars Preacher brought about a renaissance of *Thomism*, whose best known representative was without a doubt *Thomas of Vio*, bishop of Gaeta (*Cajetan*, died 1534), who united to a vigorous and penetrating metaphysics a real boldness of outlook, for example, in exegesis. But it was in Spain that the Thomist school came to full flower, benefiting from all that humanism had to contribute. At Salamanca, *Francis of Vittoria* (died 1546) was the founder of international law, and *Melchior Cano* (died 1560) the initiator of modern theology. Subsequently, the Thomist school was to be characterized by the very firm positions it took on the questions of pre-

destination, grace, and divine cooperation: *Dominic Soto* (died 1560) and *Dominic Banes* (died 1604).

During the same period, the theology of the Company of Jesus, which grew up in reaction to Protestantism, professed a certain independence with regard to the theology of Saint Thomas and placed itself on a psychological and moral rather than metaphysical plane: it separated sharply from Thomism on the difficult questions of grace and predestination. *Molina* (died 1600) tried to reconcile free will with divine foreknowledge (*Concordia . . .*) through a new theology of human liberty and divine knowledge; he was followed by *Vasquez* (died 1604), but *Francis Suarez* (died 1617), who was to become the official theologian of the Company, professed a subtler theory in this regard (Congruism). A metaphysician of original tendencies (denial of the real distinction between essence and existence, a new theory of substance and accidents, and of subsistence), in theology he kept the generality of traditional positions ("the whole school can be heard in him"), although he took certain original initiatives.

It was over the question of grace (a long controversy *De Auxiliis*, which ended in a stalemate in 1607) that separation and opposition arose between the theology of the Jesuits and Thomist theology, which was that of the Dominican Order as well as of other theologians like *Bossuet*. In moral theology the two schools separated again over the question of *probabilism* which, despite the resistance of the Thomists, ended up by being accepted in the Church but which as regards morality does not perhaps represent progress. At the end of the eighteenth century *Saint Alphonsus of Liguori* (died 1777) took up a middle position between extreme opinions and acquired very great authority in moral questions.

These endless controversies were sterile, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were once again a time of decadence for theology; this was due mainly to Jansenism, as well as to Cartesianism and Rationalism which, under an appearance of fidelity to traditional theology, penetrated the very teaching of the schools. Thomism still possessed some glorious representatives, such as the Portuguese *John of Saint Thomas* (died 1644), the adversary of *Vasquez*, the metaphysician of subsistence, the theologian of the divine missions and of the gifts of the Holy Spirit; or the French *Billuart* (died 1757), whose work represents a solid synthesis of classical Thomism.

The theological renaissance of the end of the nineteenth and of

the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the express encouragements given by Leo XIII to the study of the theology of Saint Thomas, as well as to the renewal of positive theology, both biblical and patristic, which had been provoked by the Modernist crisis, gave Thomist theology once more some great names and great works, like that of *Gardeil* (died 1931), to cite only one name from among the dead. We must not forget that the Company of Jesus also had some outstanding Thomists during the same period like *Billot* (died 1931), and some original theologians like *Rousselot* (died 1915); nor must we forget that Scotist theology is still living and vigorous. It seems that the efforts of contemporary theology are to go beyond the controversies of the schools in order to assume and unify into speculative theology the rediscovered riches of Scripture and the Fathers. A Thomist like *M. J. Scheeben* (died 1888) may well have been the initiator of such endeavors.

Appendix III

REFLECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES

by A. M. Henry, O.P.

During the course of this volume we have stated the names of the different sources upon which the theologian draws. In fact there is but one source which is the word of God, but it can, as we have said, present itself to us in a variety of ways. The thorough study of these sources requires an enormous labor that these *reflections* would like to suggest. At the same time they will thus provide some general directions as to the course to follow.

1. THE INVENTORY OF THE DATA

We have said that the theologian's first task is that of making an inventory of all his component data. In this regard modern theology is better equipped than the theology of the Middle Ages. And yet there are still many gaps. The following are some of the general indications.

The Bible. History of God's people. Progressive development of revelation.

Study of the main themes of the Bible and their development,

e.g., the theme of the Breath of God, later the Spirit of God, the theme of the Word or of Wisdom, the theme of the desert, the theme of the poor (Anawim), the theme of sin, and purification, the theme of adoration, the theme of God's call or vocation, the theme of the passages of the Lord, the theme of the "Day" of the Lord and eschatology, the theme of the remnant and of their gathering together, the theme of the promised land.

The chronology of the different periods from Abraham down to Christ. Chronology compared with secular chronologies.

Study of the text of the Bible. Textual criticism. Inventory of the sources. Comparative study of the inspired text and of the texts which its compilers used. Location of each of the biblical texts in its cultural environment (date, place of composition, author, circumstances, etc.)

Liturgy. Study of the different feasts of the Jewish liturgy. Their origin: pagan, peasant, nomad, etc.? Their evolution and transformation. Study of the symbolism of the different elements used in Hebraic and Jewish religion: themes of water, wine, harvest, wheat, etc. . . . Study of the places of worship, their origin and evolution, of the special times set apart for worship (astral, seasonal, historical origins?), of the furniture of worship (altar, its origin, ark of the covenant, tables of the Law, candelabra, etc.), forms of worship and its component elements (song, reading, teaching, sacrifices—types?—adoration, petition, thanksgiving), hierarchy of ministers: priest, king, etc. The specifically liturgical texts of the Bible (e.g. the question of the liturgical origin of the first chapters of Genesis, etc.). All these questions have been studied but little as yet. Some basic rudiments for them can be seen in H. Riesenfeld, *Jesus Transfigured*, Copenhagen, 1948, and in some volumes of the biblical collection of the Swedish School.

We shall not lengthen this list further. We must remember, however, that similar work must be done on all the sources: Councils, Fathers of the Church, etc., without forgetting the history itself of the Church.

There is a fruitful comparison to be made between theologies as regards this *inventory*: ascertain what the different theologies retain of the "given." It is to be remarked that the majority of modern manuals avoid or leave aside such fundamental and traditional themes as that of *the image of God* in man, or the explanations relative to *the mysteries of Christ's infancy*, or *the creation of six*

days, or the liturgical, political and moral regulations of *the Old Law*, etc.

A thorough knowledge of the Bible today obliges us frankly and loyally to approach *the history of religions*:

a) First of all, the history of ancient religions, in order to make a comparative study of the revealed religion and the ancient ones; This is the sole way for judging the originality of revelation. The entire collection *Mana* (University Press of France) should be mentioned here for the study of religions.

b) But we cannot neglect to consider those religions in themselves, aside from their comparative value. We cannot affirm that everything in such religions is false. It is up to the theologian to make the necessary distinctions and to profit by the true contributions that can be drawn from any given religion. It is also his task to situate the religion he studies in relation to the religion founded by Christ.

From the point of view of the contribution of truth, each man, no matter to what religion he belongs, possesses a double source of truth: one is certain, namely, human reason, given by God and illumined by God. Saint Paul says in effect that "what may be known about God is manifest to them. For God has manifested it to them. For since the creation of the world his invisible attributes are clearly seen—his everlasting power also and divinity—being understood through the things that are made" (Rom. 1:19-20); a second source is uncertain or at least debatable, namely, the primitive revelation given to Adam and Eve by the One God, a tradition transmitted with more or less fidelity by all religious traditions whether as mere sketches or rough drafts or complete deformations. It is an immanent datum, a natural datum, as valuable for us as the contributions of reason or history. Or, at least, this datum is also a part of history.

Finally, let us mention another use for this kind of study, namely, that which results from missionary needs. We are not speaking of a mere apologetical defense of the faith which always consists in showing the superiority of the religion revealed by Christ; but also and especially of the necessity for a theologian or preacher to translate or transpose his doctrine of faith into a cultural and religious environment which is no longer that of the Greco-Roman world, nor the Jewish environment. He must then certainly use the religious

categories of the people to whom he speaks, at least what these categories contain of truth, and try to understand them, not in order to abolish them, but in order to fulfill them. At the express order of Saint Gregory the Great, the true heir of the first popes and bishops, Saint Augustine of Canterbury did not hesitate to consecrate the temples of idols for Christian worship. His gesture was symbolic.

The theologian will therefore gather up whatever is authentically religious in the traditions of the various peoples or nations of the globe. The prayers of the Aztecs have just recently been published, prayers which bear witness to a profound feeling for the transcendancy of God and the misery of man. A Christian could have said them;—please God even that all the formulas he uses would always be of such value!

Little has been published, or at least we have but few general monographs dealing with the "minor" religions of mankind, by which we mean those which interest relatively unimportant ethnic groups: e.g., the Aztecs of Mexico, the Incas of Peru, the numerous black or half-caste groups of Africa, Polynesia, Australia, the Pacific Islands or America, the Druse of the Near East. We have some monographs on the ancient religions of Europe: those of the Greeks, Romans, Celts and Germans—or of the Middle East: those of the Egyptians, Hittites, Babylonians, Assyrians, Iranians (Mazdaism and Manicheism), Phoenicians, Syrians, Chanaanites. An encyclopedia being published by Larousse: *Histoire des religions*, gives all the necessary bibliography on these subjects.

Research seems more advanced as regards the major religions, or at least those that interest the major sections of mankind: the religions of India and Hinduism; the religions of China, Buddhism, Taoism, the moral teachings of Confucianism; the religions of Japan, Shintoism; the religions of Vietnam. For about twenty years now, the study of these religions has been made in Catholic circles for apologetical reasons chiefly. (Cf. especially Huby, *Christus*, Paris, 1912, and still recently G. Bardy, *Les religions non-chrétiennes*, Paris, Desclee et C., 1949). Happily we are getting away from this point of view, and we seek to study each of these religions in itself. An abundant documentation on all the religions of Asia can be found in the works of R. Grousset and in the admirably organized galleries of the Musée Guimet under the care of R. Grousset.

Finally, the study of religions is not simply instructive from the

point of view of religious sentiment and authentically religious doctrines, but also, and undoubtedly more so, from the point of view of the religious material and symbolism employed. Running through all religions the theologian thus discovers a universal symbolism which makes use of all the basic "elements" of creation: "the heavens, sun, moon, water, earth"—vegetation, the seasons, life and death—sacred locations (high places, sacred wells, temples, etc.) and sacred times (feasts, commemorations)—the stages of human life (birth, puberty, marriage and fecundity, death). The study of the symbolism which is universally employed in human religions will induce the theologian to situate over and beyond philosophical and esoteric speculations the natural foundations in which the symbolism of Christian worship is rooted: water, bread and wine, oil, etc. The meaning of certain feasts is not diminished, rather we are able to discover all their present sense by knowing their distant agrarian origins: e.g., those of the feasts of Easter, and especially of Pentecost, the feast of Tabernacles, originally a harvest festival. Likewise, the Church is not degraded in being represented as "a woman clothed with sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Apoc. 12:1). The unanimous tradition which always likened the Church's attributes to those of the Virgin Mary represented the mother of Jesus in this manner; sometimes it even adds a serpent beneath her feet, a bit of symbolism which is not degrading to her either. But what do these various symbols mean? Over and above Johannine inspiration and positive revelation, the theologian will not despise the basis of universal symbolism which, in all religions, spontaneously associates the themes of woman, fecundity, the moon and the serpent. We could multiply such examples of rites or feasts which were originally pagan, and over which the Church triumphed only by baptizing and assuming them, rites of Christian or Jewish origin but which manifest a natural symbolism, that is, one not specifically revealed, and on which the history and theology of the various religions can throw some light. The theme of the Pasch (before the Exodus) was that of the cosmic spring festival and as such was abundantly exploited by the Fathers of the Church who found in it meaningful symbolism. The same was done for the theme of Pentecost, the harvest festival. Numerous themes of this kind and bibliographical references can be found in Mircea Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris, Payot, 1949.

Before terminating these aspects of the various religions, we want to indicate a final mine for research, namely, the theological situating of each religion in relation to divine revelation and the Catholic religion. What will be the principle of classification and judgement or can there ever be one?

Since we have admitted that a religion cannot be simply a collection of errors (under pain of not existing at all), but that it contains a certain amount of truth, small as it may be, the theologian must humbly recognize this truth. And since our God, the God of Abraham and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is also the God of all creation, and the God of all men, the theologian recognizes the hand of God at work each time that he comes upon men who profess a certain religious truth. All religions, because of the particles of truth they retain, minute as they may be, possess in part what the Church also possesses, but in its fullness. It would seem that this must be our principle of judgment.

It goes without saying that this classification will judge differently the non-Abrahamic religions from those of Judaism and Islam, or from all those religions which claim to stem from Christ. In reference to the principle we have enunciated, the "Orthodox" Church, for example, not only *possesses* a portion of what the Church possesses, but in very great part *is* what the true Church is.

2. THE ORDERING OF OUR DATA

It is the duty of the theologian to judge the different systems and to evaluate each one of them. He picks out both the merits and the defects of each system, that is to say, he shows the aspects of truth a given system throws into relief or which it leaves in shadow.

The *systems* which are built around an *idea*, even an essential one, will always be of a static nature; the theology of these systems will always need to be vivified and completed by what is called a biblical theology, by a positive theology of the sources and by a kerygmatic theology which strives to gather each theme of the revealed data into a living synthesis which is immediately nourishing for the soul. The theology used by the Fathers, which we have previously described, will therefore always be of actual value alongside the great synthetic systems. In this regard numerous possibilities for research open up before the theologian in the domains of Typology and Mystagogy.

Typology strives to explain the two Testaments one by the other;

in particular it shows the figures or the prefigurations of Christ and His work spread throughout the Old Testament. Catholic works along this line are either too learned or too rare. The Protestants outdo us in this regard. We shall only point out the books of Professor W. Visher on the *Témoignage rendu au Christ par l'ancien testament*, of Leonard Goppelt, *Typos*, edited in Switzerland, the books of the Anglicans: A. G. Hebert (*The Throne of David* and *The Authority of the Old Testament*) and Phytian-Adams (*The Vocation of Israel* and *The People and the Presence*), and especially the works of the Swedish school, those of Riesenfeld and of Per Lundberg in particular. This latter has published a book on *La typologie du baptême dans l'Église ancienne*. It is a very interesting but little explored subject of investigation. Typology must also recognize the "types" of the great sacraments of the new covenant which are to be found in the old. Some analogous indications on the Eucharist are to be found in an article of Fr. Daniélou (in *La messe et sa catéchèse*, Paris, Ed. du Cerf, 1947), but this work is unfinished and remains to be done for the other sacraments. By way of example we now give two subjects for inquiry along these typological lines:

1. *The typology of Christ in the Old Testament.* Try to justify the titles of new Adam, new Noe, new Abraham, new Isaac, new Moses . . . which are applied to Christ either in Scripture or Tradition, and show what each of these titles contributes to our notion of Christ.

Gather together also the different titles applied to Christ in the New Testament: son of man, servant of God, Messiah, Emmanuel . . . and try to explain them with the same categories from the Old Testament.

2. *The typology of Saint John's Gospel.* Even a cursory reading of Saint John's Gospel makes us sense a whole series of Old Testament themes used as a kind of background, and in particular a certain number of themes belonging to Exodus. Certain commentators have even seen in the Johannine Gospel a parallel to Exodus. Here are some suggestive elements from the parallelism:

The vocation of Moses (Ex. 3:10) and the mission of the Word (John 1:6): in both instances it is God who takes the initiative and the same grandiose characteristics are found in both scenes.

Aaron precedes Moses, just as John the Baptist precedes Christ.

The water of the Nile is changed into blood, just as the water of Cana is changed into wine.

The Red Sea which was a figure of baptismal regeneration for the Apostles naturally evokes the parallelism of the episode with Nicodemus.

The miraculous manna and the multiplication of the loaves (John 6:33) as well as the rock of Horeb and the word of Christ: "From within him there shall flow rivers of living water" (John 7:38), are manifestly linked together. The shekinah (John 1:14) and the brazen serpent (John 3:14) are equally significant. The murmurings of the Israelites against Moses (Ex. 16:9) and of the Jews against Jesus (John 6:41).

Balaam and Nicodemus who have the same etymology, render each a testimony, one to Israel, the other to Jesus (Num. 24 and John 7:50). Cf. in this regard what is said of the Nicolaitans—a duplicate of the Nicodemites—in Apoc. 2:15.

The adultery of Israel (the golden calf) and the woman taken in adultery in whom Israel was pardoned. Jesus wrote twice with His finger on the ground (John 8:6-8) just as Jahve wrote twice with His finger the tables of the Law (Ex. 31:18 and 34:28).

The Good Shepherd who is the Door to the sheepfold and Josue who led the people into the Promised Land (Cf. also Num. 27:17).

These comparisons are striking; they are undoubtedly no less well founded if we recall that the lessons from Exodus made up a part of the paschal liturgy and that the Saint John's Gospel is manifestly a "liturgical account of the life of Christ as viewed from a paschal angle."¹

Mystagogy is a catechesis which is not a lesson or an explanation, but a pedagogy, or rather an initiation into the *mysterics*, by which we mean the *celebration of the sacraments*. The mystagogue—formerly the bishop—tries to introduce the faithful to a spiritual understanding of the rite, not by providing them with clear ideas about what is going on, but by making them enter into participation with the soul and love of Christ whose action is rendered really present by the sacrament. This is the precise difference between mystagogy and explanation; Christ whose intimacy we enjoy through the power

¹ Cf. Daniélou, in *Dieu vivant*, n. 18, p. 153. Everything we have just said about Saint John and Exodus is taken from the remarkable analysis that Fr. Danielou makes regarding the book of Sahlin, *Zur Typologie des Johannes-evangelium*, Uppsala, 1950.

of the sacrament is not an idea but a Person, and a person who is always actually living. Mystagogy utilizes typology to the degree in which it is useful for revealing all the riches of life and thought with which the rites are pregnant. That is an important field for research and one which is still little explored at a time when everybody blames the defects of catechisms which are considered too bookish and as always divorced from the liturgy. The mystagogical method is essentially liturgical. Excellent indications regarding baptism are to be found in the works of J. Daniélou: *Le symbolisme des rites baptismaux* (in *Dieu vivant*, n. 1), *Traversée de la mer rouge et baptême aux premiers siècles* (in *Recherches de sciences religieuses*, t. 33, n. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1946) and *Déluge, baptême, jugement* (in *Dieu vivant*, n. 8), and finally *Bible et liturgie* (Paris, Ed. du Cerf, 1951).

3. THEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION

The building of a theology requires some philosophy. Which one?

From the time of Augustine down to the thirteenth century, the philosophy used was that which the doctor of Hippo knew and preferred. It was a Platonist type of philosophy which was unaware of the notion of *nature* such as it was elaborated by Aristotle.

In the thirteenth century Saint Thomas Aquinas was not afraid of assuming the whole of Aristotelianism into theology, but he did this only by a complete transposition (in the musical sense) of the Augustinian composition to the Aristotelian keyboard. Because some theologians of grace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not understand this transposition, they were led into some unfortunate vagaries.

The invasion for some centuries of philosophies of the subject, or as we say today of the self, requires an analogous transposition, which as yet still remains to be done. Without such a transposition there is no longer any possibility of a dialogue with the Cartesians, Kantians (Protestants are ordinarily Kantians), and Hegelians. And until this transposition is accomplished the Church will defend the philosophies of the *object* in which—and in which alone—she recognizes that her doctrine is faithfully expressed.

We must once more repeat what we have already said about the present (missionary) need for implanting the faith in cultural terrains which are entirely different from those with which we are familiar in the West. Our time awaits a Hindu theology, a Chinese

theology, etc., which will employ the methods of thought and reflection which are native to those countries. Cf. in this regard the works of Fr. Tempels on Bantu philosophy.

Finally, the methods of documentation and of argumentation used in theology have frequently remained what they were in the Middle Ages or in the seventeenth century. There is much critical work to be done in this direction. As eternal as the *question, disputation, syllogism*, etc. may appear at first glance, they do not possess the same positions of honor in our contemporary universities that they had in the thirteenth century. In order to help his students lay hold of the subject matter, the teacher of today makes use of other methods, of another technique for research, investigation (only think of the means utilized by Existentialism, or of the literary style of a philosophical work like the *Metaphysical Diary* of Gabriel Marcel), and argumentation. A critical investigation of the means employed today could be fruitfully utilized in theology.

Along with philosophy, theology also makes use of history. In this regard it seems that modern theology has still a great deal to learn: biblical history, history of liturgies—both Christian and Jewish—history of dogmas, of religions, etc. History not only provides the theologian with supplementary information but permits him to throw light upon his subject in an entirely new fashion. The theology of the sacraments runs the risk of being merely a mental construction so long as serious historical studies have not permitted insight into the genesis and growth of the rites, so long as they have not provided the primary “explanation,” namely, that of those persons who first thought them out and willed them to be such.

It goes without saying, however, that beyond all techniques and all disciplines there lies the human mind. Ultimately, the strength and quality of a theology depends, not upon the techniques utilized, but upon the depth and the religious vitality of the mind which is at work upon the mystery of God.

CHRONOLOGY

Supplement to
INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY

DATES B.C.	PATRIARCHS RELIGIOUS LEADERS	BIBLICAL EVENTS
1900	Nineteenth century. Abraham.	c. 1850. Migration of Abraham. Abraham in Canaan, in Egypt, then again in Canaan.
1800	Isaac.	
1700	Jacob.	c. 1750-1700. Establishment of the sons of Jacob in Egypt.
1600		
1500		
1400		
1300	Moses.	The exodus from Egypt. c. 1225. The Covenant on Mount Sinai. The forty years in the desert.
1200	Joshua.	Conquest of the Promised Land.

DATES B.C.	PRINCIPAL PROPHETS	BIBLICAL BOOKS	GENERAL HISTORY
1900		(Ancient forms of accounts and documents which were transmitted from generation to generation and which formed the basis of <i>Genesis</i> .)	In Chaldea, King Hammurabi (Hammurabi's Code). c. 1850. First Hittite empire.
1800			c. 1750. Flowering of Cretan civilization. c. 1750. Kassaites dynasty at Babylon. c. 1750. Hyksos dynasty in Egypt.
1700			c. 1700. Appearance of the horse and chariot in Egypt. c. 1650. Death of Hittite King Telepinu; decadence of the Hittites.
1600			1600-1620. Egean influence in Palestine. 1558. Amenophis I extends the Egyptian empire to the Euphrates. 1505. Queen Hatshepsut erects the temple of Deir-el-Bahari in Egypt.
1500			c. 1500. Appearance of alphabet. 1500-1000. Oral composition of Rig-Veda in Eastern Asia. 1483. Coalition against Egyptians at Megiddo. 1475. Tutalija II founds the new Hittite empire.
1400			c. 1400. Reign of Suppiluliuma, king of the Hittites. c. 1350. Amenophis IV's attempt at religious reform in Egypt. c. 1350. Foundation of 2nd Assyrian empire.
1300	Moses.	(Origins of the Pentateuch: Moses collects the religious traditions of his people.)	c. 1300. The Assyrians settle in India. c. 1250. Beginning of the Doric invasions of Greece.
1200	Deborah.	Josue (ancient form: additions in the fifth century).	1183? End of the Trojan war. 1180. Ruin of the Hittite empire.

DATES B.C.	JUDGES AND KINGS	BIBLICAL EVENTS	PROPHETS	BIBLICAL BOOKS																																								
1150	1150-1030. The Judges.	The Canaanites and the Philistines oppose the establishment of the sons of Israel.		Judges (ancient form, additions in seventh cent.)																																								
1100	Samuel.		Samuel.																																									
1000	c. 1020. Saul, king. 1013-973. David. 970-930. Solomon. 930. Division of the Kingdom.	War against the Philistines. 1000? David captures Jerusalem from the Jebusites. Building of the Temple.	Nathan. Ahias of Silo.	1 & 2 Samuel (Contemporary sources).																																								
900	<table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; border: none;"><i>Juda</i></td> <td style="text-align: center; border: none;"><i>Israel</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">930-916. Roboam.</td> <td style="border: none;">930-912. Jeroboam.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">916-914. Abia.</td> <td style="border: none;">912-911. Nadab.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">914-874. Asa.</td> <td style="border: none;">911-888. Baasa.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">874-850. Josaphat.</td> <td style="border: none;">888-887. Ela.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">850-843. Joram.</td> <td style="border: none;">887. Zamri.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">843. Ochozias.</td> <td style="border: none;">887-876. Amri.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">843-837. Athalia.</td> <td style="border: none;">876-855. Achab.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">855-854. Ochozias.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">854-843. Joram.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">843-816. Jehu.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">816-800. Joachaz.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">800-785. Joas.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">785-745. Jeroboam II</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">745. { Zacharie.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;"> { Sellum.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">745-736. Manahem.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">736-735. Phaceia.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">735-732. Phacee.</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none;">732-722. Osee.</td> </tr> </table>	<i>Juda</i>	<i>Israel</i>	930-916. Roboam.	930-912. Jeroboam.	916-914. Abia.	912-911. Nadab.	914-874. Asa.	911-888. Baasa.	874-850. Josaphat.	888-887. Ela.	850-843. Joram.	887. Zamri.	843. Ochozias.	887-876. Amri.	843-837. Athalia.	876-855. Achab.		855-854. Ochozias.		854-843. Joram.		843-816. Jehu.		816-800. Joachaz.		800-785. Joas.		785-745. Jeroboam II		745. { Zacharie.		{ Sellum.		745-736. Manahem.		736-735. Phaceia.		735-732. Phacee.		732-722. Osee.		Eliasis and Eliseus.	
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700	739-735. Joatham. 735-720. Achaz.	722. Capture of Samaria by Assyrians.	Isaias.	740-700. Isaias 1-23.																																								
600	720-692. Ezechias. 692-639. Manasses. 639-638. Amon. 638-608. Josias.	622. Discovery of Deuteronomy.	Micheas. Sophonias. Jeremias. Habacuc.	Micheas. Sophonias. Jeremias. Habacuc.																																								
	608. Joachaz.		Nahum.	Nahum.																																								
	608-598. Joakim. 598. Joachin. 598-587. Sedecias. 586-539. Babylonian Captivity.	586. Siege of Jerusalem. 538. Edict of Cyrus. 536. Zorobabel lays the foundations of the Temple.	Ezechiel.	Ezechiel. Lamentations. c. 540. Isaias 40-55. 538-534. Isaias 24-27.																																								

DATES B.C.	SYRIA	ASSYRIA (NINEVEH)	GENERAL HISTORY
1150			Decadence in Egypt after death of Ramses III.
1100		1115. Tiglath-Pileser I.	1115. Tiglath-Pileser I (Assyria) advanced to the Mediterranean.
1000	990-970. Rasin I. 970-950. Tabremon. 950-930. Ben-Hadad I.	950. Tiglath-Pileser II.	c. 959. Chechong I in Egypt. 930. Chechong I invades Canaan.
900	910-886. Ben-Hadad II. 886-857. Hazael I. 857-847. Ben-Hadad III. 844-830. Hazael II. 830-800. Ben-Hadad IV.	885-860. Ashur-nazir-pal. 860-825. Shalmaneser II. 825-812. Shamshi-Adad. 812-783. Adad-Nirari.	c. 900. The Celts invade Gaul. c. 850. The Etruscans settle in Etruria. 814. Founding of Carthage.
800	800-770. Maria. 770-750. Hadara. 750-732. Rasin II.	783-773. Shalmaneser III. 772-755. Ashurdan. 754-745. Ashur-nirari. 745-727. Tiglath-Pileser III. 727-705. Sargon II.	753. Founding of Rome. 734. Founding of Syracuse.
700		705-681. Sennacherib. 681-668. Esar-haddon. 668-626. Ashurbanipal.	704? Invention of money.
600		<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Babylon</i></p> 626-605. Nabopolassar. 605-562. Nabuchodonosor. 562-560. Amel-Marduk. 560-556. Nergalsharezer. 556. Labashi-Marduk. 556-539. Nabinodus.	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Media</i></p> 629-585. Cyaxares. 585-549. Astyges.
		<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Persia</i></p> 550-529. Cyrus. 529-522. Cambyses. 522. Smerdis.	663. Conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians. 660. Founding of Byzantium. 660-550. Life of Zoroaster. 612. Fall of Assyrian empire. 610. Necho II of Egypt against Assyria. 600. Founding of Marseille. Cyrus captures Media in 553 & Babylon in 538. 563-483. Life of Buddha. 551-479. Life of Confucius. 525. Conquest of Egypt by the Persians.

DATES B.C.	RELIGIOUS LEADERS	BIBLICAL EVENTS	PROPHETS	BIBLICAL BOOKS
	The priest Josue.	Zorobabel reconstructs the Temple.	Aggeus.	The Psalms (complete after the Exile). Isaias, 55-56.
500		515. Dedication of the second Temple. 480. Attempts at rebuilding Jerusalem's walls. 430. The great assembly. 428. Nehemias returned from Susa to Jerusalem. 408. The Samaritan schismatic temple on Mt. Garizim.	Zacharias. Abdias. Malachias.	{ Aggeus Zacharias c. 520. 500. Abdias. Canticle of Canticles. Jonas. c. 450. Job. 450. Malachias.
400	Nehemias. Esdras.	c. 400. Letters of the Jews of Elephantine. 333. Greek domination. 301-198. Egyptian domination.	Joel.	<i>Proverbs</i> Esdras, Nehemias. 400. Joel. Ecclesiastes. Tobias. Esther.
300	The High Priest becomes head of the community & of the Sanhedrin.	Septuagint version of the Bible.		Judith. (Composition of the final psalms of the collection.
200	(180? Matthatias.) 166-161. Judas Machabeus. 161-142. Jonathan. 142-135. Simon. 135-105. John Hyrcanus I, king of Judea. 105-104. Aristobulus I. 104- 77. Alexander Janneus.	198. Judea ceases to belong to Egypt & passes to the Seleucids. 168. Antiochus builds Acra. 165. Antiochus V besieges Jerusalem. 160. Alcimus. 150. Jonathan returns to Jerusalem. 141. Capitulation of Acra. 135. Murder of Simon at Doch. 109. Hyrcanus destroys the Samaritan temple.		Redaction of Daniel. c. 180. Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew. c. 120. Translation of Ecclesiasticus into Greek.
100	77-68. Alexandra. 68-64. Aristobulus II. 64-40. Hyrcanus II. 40-37. Antigonus. 37- 4. Herod, king of Jews by Roman favor.	63. Judea passes under Roman domination (Pompey). 37. Herod captures Jerusalem. 4. Birth of Christ.		c. 100. I & II Machabees c. 100. Wisdom.

DATES B.C.	PERSIAN EMPIRE		GENERAL HISTORY
500	522-485. Darius I. 485-465. Xerxes I. 465-424. Artaxerxes I. 424-405. Darius II. 400 404-358. Artaxerxes II. 358-336. Arses. 336-329. Darius III Codomanus. 329. Conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great.		512? Expedition of Darius in India. 500. First tragedies of Aeschylus. 490. Battle of Marathon. 480. Battle of Salamis. 479. Battle of Plataea. 448. End of the Median wars. 447. Construction of Parthenon. 442. Sophocles: <i>Antigone</i> . 431-404. Peloponnesian War. 399. Death of Socrates. 390. Capture of Rome by the Gauls. 371. Ruin of Sparta. Theban hegemony. 343. Aristotle the teacher of Alexander. 334-323. Alexander's conquest of Persia. 331. Founding of Alexandria. 321. Division of Alexander's empire.
300	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>The Seleucids in Syria</i></p> 306-280. Seleucus I Nicator. 223-187. Antiochus III.	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>The Ptolemys in Egypt</i></p> 386-285. Ptolemy I. 181-145. Ptolemy VI. 145. Ptolemy VII. 145-116. Ptolemy VIII.	301. Battle of Ipsus. 300. Euclid's <i>Elements</i> . The Great Wall of China. 264-241. First Punic war. 260. Asoka a convert & propagator of Buddhism. 221. Tche Houang-ti restores Chinese unity. 202. Kaatson founds the Han dynasty in China.
200	187-175. Seleucus IV Philopator. 175-164. Antiochus IV Epiphanes. 164-162. Antiochus V Eupator. 162-150. Demetrius I Soter. 150-145. Alexander Epiphanes. 145-142. Antiochus VI Tryphon. 146-125. Demetrius II. 138-129. Antiochus VII.	181-145. Ptolemy VI. 145. Ptolemy VII. 145-116. Ptolemy VIII.	184. Cato the Elder. 171. Antiochus' expedition into Egypt. 153-152. Alexander Epiphanes captures Ptolemais. 150. Alexander & Ptolemy at Jerusalem. 146. Destruction of Carthage by the Romans. 140. Demetrius II a prisoner in Persia. 138. Antiochus besieges the city of Dora. 111. Conquest of Tonking by the Chinese.
100			66-63. Pompey's conquests in the East (Palestine). 59-50. Julius Caesar conquers Gaul. 30. Ruin of the Greco-Indian states. 29-19. Virgil's <i>Aeneid</i> . 27. Octavius Augustus, emperor.

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
30	St. Peter	Augustus (died in 14). 14-37. Tiberius.	49. Council of Jerusalem (Act 15). Paul and Barnabus de feat Judaizers.
40		37-41. Caius Caligula. 41-54. Claudius.	
50		54-68. Nero.	
60	67-76. St. Linus.	68-69. Anarchy: Galba, Otho, Vitellius. 69-79. Vespasian.	
70	76-88? St. Anacletus (Cletus).	79-81. Titus.	
80	88-98? St. Clement.	81-95. Domitian.	
90	98-105? St. Evaristus.	96-98. Nerva. 98-117. Trajan.	

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
30		30. Death & Resurrection of Jesus. 36. Martyrdom of St. Stephen. 36? Conversion of St. Paul.	4-39. Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee & Perea. 18-36. Caiphas, high priest.
40		41. Persecution of Herod Agrippa. 43. Martyrdom of St. James the Elder.	43. Conquest of Great Britain by the Romans. 44. Death of Herod.
50	51-52. I & II Epistles to the <i>Thessalonians</i> . 54. Ep. to <i>Galatians</i> . 55. I Ep. to <i>Corinthians</i> . 57. II Ep. to <i>Corinthians</i> . c. 57. <i>St. Matthew's</i> Gospel. 58. Ep. to <i>Romans</i> .	45-58. Missionary voyages of St. Paul.	
60	60. <i>St. Mark's</i> Gospel. 61. Ep. of <i>St. James</i> . 61. Ep. to <i>Philemon</i> , to the <i>Colossians</i> . 62. <i>St. Luke's</i> Gospel. 62-63. Ep. to <i>Ephesians</i> , to the <i>Philippians</i> . 63. <i>Acts of the Apostles</i> . 63-64. I Ep. to <i>Timothy</i> , Ep. to <i>Titus</i> . 63-64. I & II Ep. of <i>St. Peter</i> . 64. Ep. of <i>St. Jude</i> . 66. Ep. to <i>Timothy</i> . 67. Ep. to the <i>Hebrews</i> .	59. St. Paul leaves for Rome as a prisoner.	
70		62-63. Martyrdom of St. James the Younger. 64. Persecution of Nero. 64. Martyrdom of St. Peter at Rome. 67. Martyrdom of St. Paul at Rome.	64. Burning of Rome. 66-70. Jewish War.
80			70. Destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, by Titus. 73-97. The Chinese conquer Asia as far as the Persian Gulf. 79. Destruction of Pompeii.
90	94. <i>Apocalypse</i> . 96. <i>St. John's</i> Gospel. c. 98. Epistles of <i>St. John</i> . 98. <i>Letter</i> of St. Clement to the <i>Corinthians</i> . <i>Epistles</i> of St. Ignatius of Antioch.	92. Persecution of Domitian.	85. Great Buddhist schism.

DATES A.D.	POPEs	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
100	105-115? St. Alexander.		
110	115-125? St. Sixtus.	117-138. Hadrian.	
120	125-136? St. Telesphorus.		
130	136-140? St. Hyginus.		
140	140-155? St. Pius I.	138-161. Antoninus Pius.	
150	155-166? St. Anicetus.		
160	166-175. St. Soter.	161-180. Marcus Aurelius.	
180	175-189. St. Eleutherius.	180-192. Commodus.	
	189-199. St. Victor. 199-217. St. Zephyrinus.	193. Pertinax. 193-211. Septimus Severus.	
200	217-222. St. Callistus. 217-235. St. Hippolytus.*	211-217. Caracalla. 217-218. Macrinus. 218-222. Elagabalus.	

* Anti-popes in italics.

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
100		107. Martyrdom of St. Ignatius of Antioch.	100. Invention of paper in China.
110		117-138. Persecution of Hadrian.	
120	125. Gnostic heresies: Basilides & Saturninus.		
130		138-161. Persecutions of Antoninus Pius.	135. The emperor Hadrian destroys Jerusalem. (It is henceforth called Aelia Capitolina.)
140	140-154. <i>The Shepherd</i> of Hermes.		
150	150. <i>Apologies</i> of St. Justin.	150. Arrival at Lyons of Eastern merchants, the first Christians of Gaul.	
160	154. <i>Letter</i> of St. Polycarp.	155. Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna.	
180	161-180. Apologists: Meliton, Apollinaris, etc.	163. Martyrdom of St. Justin.	161. Parthian invasion of the Roman empire.
180	180. <i>Apology</i> of St. Theophilus of Antioch. 180. <i>The Adversus Haereses</i> of St. Irenaeus. c. 190. The paschal dispute. 190-212. Works of Clement of Alexandria.	170. Martyrs of Lyons.	
200	c. 200. The <i>Octavius</i> of Minucius Felix. c. 200. The Canon of Muratori. c. 200. Clement of Alexandria in charge of the school of Alexandria. 203. Origen in charge of the school of Alexandria. 219. Composition of the <i>Mishnah</i> .	202. Death of St. Irenaeus. 203. Martyrdom of St. Perpetua. 211? Death of Clement of Alexandria.	212. All the inhabitants of the empire made citizens.

DATES A.D.	POPE	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
220	222-230. St. Urban. 230-235. St. Pontianus. 235-236. St. Anterus. 236-250. St. Fabian.	222-235. Alexander Severus. 235-238. Maximus the Thracian. 238. Pupienus & Gordianus. 238-244. Gordianus the Younger.	
240	251-253. St. Cornelius. 251? <i>Novatian</i> . 253-254. St. Lucius I. 254-257. St. Stephen. 257-258. St. Sixtus II. 259-268. St. Dionysius.	244-249. Philip the Arabian. 250-253. Decius. 251-253. Gallus & Volusianus. 253-260. Valerian.	251. Council of Carthage at which were read several writings of St. Cyprian (The <i>Lapsi</i> , the <i>Unity of the Church</i>).
260	269-274. St. Felix I. 275-283. St. Eutychianus.	260-268. Gallienus. 268-270. Claudius II. 270-275. Aurelius. 275-276. Tacitus. 276-282. Probus. 282-284. Carus. 284-305. Diocletian. 286-305. Maximian.	262. Council at Rome against Sabellius (Monarchianism & Patripassionism). 264-269. Councils of Antioch against Paul of Samosata ("Christ is a man in whom dwells the impersonal Logos").
280	283-296. St. Caius. 296-305. St. Marcellinus.		
300	308-309. St. Marcellus. 309-310. St. Eusebius. 311-314. St. <i>Miltiades</i> . 314-335. St. Sylvester I.	305-306. Constantius Chlorus. 305-311. Galerius. 306-337. Constantine the Great. 308-313. Maximus Daia. 308-323. Licinius.	300. Council of Elvira (Spain) on the celibacy of the clergy. 314. Council of Arles against the Donatist schism.
320	336. St. Mark. 337-352. St. Julius I.		325. The emperor Constantine convoked the Council of Nicea against Gnosis & Arianism. Supported by Rome the Church of Alexandria triumphed over Antiochene rationalism. The Nicæan Creed. The see of Alexandria.
340	352-366. St. Liberius. 355-365. St. <i>Feliz II</i> .	337-361. Constantius.	344. Council of Sardica; Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
220	Works of Tertullian.		
	238. Academic discourse of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.	235. Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus.	235-270. Military anarchy in the empire.
240	244. Correspondence of the emperor Philip the Arabian with Origen. 250. Controversy over the <i>Lapsi</i> .	248. St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. 250? Death of Tertullian. 250. Persecution of Decius. 258. Martyrdom of St. Cyprian.	
260		270. St. Anthony retires to the Egyptian desert.	258. The Franks attack Gaul. 261. The Tabgatch Turks invade China.
280	c. 290. Rule of St. Pachomius.		277. Death of Mani (born in 216), founder of Manichaeism. 286. First political schism between East & West.
300	313. The priest Arius in charge of the Church of Baucalis at Alexandria. His preaching.	295-373. St. Athanasius of Alexandria. Martyrdom of SS. Agnes, Sebastian, Cosmas & Damian. Catherine, Maurice & Genesius. 313. <i>Edict of Milan</i> . (Peace of the Church). 315-367. St. Hilary of Poitiers.	
320	c. 320. <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> of Eusebius of Caesarea.	328. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria. 329. Frumentius, missionary bishop of Abyssinia. 337. Baptism & death of Constantine.	323. Having vanquished Licinius, Constantine becomes the sole ruler of the empire. May 11, 333. Dedication of the new capital of the empire, Byzantium (the former colony of Megara, until then subordinated to the metropolis of Heraclius), which became the "city of Constantine" (Constantinople).
340	Arianism gains ground at Antioch & Constantinople. Except for Julian the Apostate the emperors were Arian from Constantine to Theodosius. Treatise on the <i>Trinity</i> of St. Hilary. <i>The Philocalia</i> . 347. <i>Catecheses</i> of St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Before 360. <i>The Life of St. Anthony</i> by St. Athanasius.	356. Pagan cults forbidden. The temples closed. St. Martin founds the Abbey of Liguge.	

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
360.	366-384. St. Damasus I. 366-367. <i>Ursinus</i> .	361-363. Julian the Apostate. 363-364. Jovian. 364-375. Valentinian I. 369-378. Valens. 375-383. Gratian. 383-392. Valentinian II. 379-395. Theodosius I, the Great.	
380	384-399. St. Siricius.		381. Emperor Theodosius convokes 1st Council of Constantinople against those who deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit, as well as against the Arians. The Arian patriarch of Constantinople, Demophilus, replaced by St. Gregory Nazianzen. Canon 3, going back to the decision of Nicea, puts the see of Constantinople in 2nd place (after Rome). Humiliation of Alexandria.
	399-401. St. Anastasius I.	395. The two sons of Theodosius: Honorius & Arcadius.	
400	401-417. St. Innocent I. 417-418. St. Zosimus. 418-422. St. Boniface I. 418-419. <i>Eulalius</i> .	408-450. Theodosius II.	414. Councils at Jerusalem & against Pelagius. 431. Council of Ephesus against Nestorius: ("Mary is the mother of Christ but not the mother of God"). St. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, carried the day against Nestorius who was deposed. A victory of Alexandria over Constantinople.
420	422-432. St. Celestine I. 432-440. Sixtus III.		
440	440-461. St. Leo I the Great.		
		450-457. Marcian.	
		457-474. Leo I.	
460	461-468. St. Hilary. 468-483. St. Simplicius.	474-491. Leo II & Zeno.	451. The emperor Marcian, with the support of pope Leo, convoked the Council of Chalcedon against the Monophysites. Victory of Constantinople over Dioscorus of Alexandria & the monk Eutyches. Constantinople asserts its power over the other patriarchates (Canon 28). Formation of independent Nestorian & Monophysite Churches.
480	483-492. St. Felix II (III). 492-496. St. Gelasius I. 496-498. St. Anastasius II. 498-514. St. Symmachus. 498-505. <i>Lawrence</i> .	491-518. Anastasius.	

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
360		St. Basil organizes monasticism in Cappadocia. St. Melania founds a convent of women at Jerusalem. 373. St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan. Christianity becomes the official religion (Decree of 380).	Return to the cult of Mithras under Julian the Apostate.
380	381. Treatise on the priesthood by St. John Chrysostom. Works of the Cappodician Fathers. The <i>Vulgate</i> of St. Jerome. Latin becomes the liturgical language of the West. 394. Beginning of the Origenist quarrel. St. Augustine leads Latin theology along new roads (freedom & grace) not taken by the Greeks.	379-394. Death of the 3 "Cappadocians." 390. The emperor Theodosius obliged to do penance before St. Ambrose. 396. St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo.	395. Invasion of the Huns into the empire. The Roman emperors residing at Constantinople reign effectively only over the eastern part of the Roman empire.
400		404. Death of St. Chrysostom.	
410	411. Triumph of Augustine over the Donatists.	410. Death of poet Prudentius. Monastic development of Lerins.	410. Sack of Rome by Alaric the Visigoth.
420	413-426. St. Augustine's <i>City of God</i> . 428. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople. c. 430. <i>Conferences</i> of Cassian. Monophysite reaction at Alexandria.	430. Death of St. Augustine. 439. Plunder of Ephesus. (Triumph of the Monophysites.)	428. Anglo-Saxon invasion of Great Britain. 429. Vandal invasion of Africa.
440	Works of Julian Pom. Homilies & Letters of St. Leo I. Works of Prosper of Aquitaine.	444. Death of St. Cyril of Alexandria. 452. St. Leo stops Attila the Hun.	452. The Sack of Rome by Genseric the Vandal.
460	The emperor Zeno closes the school of Edessa, in Persia (Nestorian).		476. Odoacer the Goth deposes the Western puppet emperor & the insignia of the vacant office to Zeno.
480	482. <i>Edict of Zeno</i> , forbidding discussions on the two natures & rejecting the decisions of Chalcedon. 483. Protests of Pope Felix III. Schism of Acacius (484-518).	498. Baptism of Clovis, king of the Franks.	489. Theodoric the Ostrogoth commissioned by Zeno against Odoacer. Conquers Italy & rules without challenge till his death in 526. 496. Victory of Clovis over the Alamans.

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
500	514-523. Hormisdas.	518-527. Justin I.	
520	523-526. St. John I. 526-530. St. Felix III (IV). 530-532. Boniface II. 530. <i>Dioscurus</i> . 533-535. John II.	527-565. Justinian I.	
540	535-536. St. Agapitus I. 536-537. St. Silverius. 537-555. Vigilius. 556-561. Pelagius I. 561-574. John III. 575-579. Benedict I. 579-590. Pelagius II.	565-578. Justin II. 578-582. Tiberius II.	553. II Council of Constantinople, against the Nestorians. Vigorous revival of Monophysism.
580	590-604. St. Gregory I the Great.	582-602. Maurice.	
600	604-606. Sabinianus. 607. Boniface III. 608-615. St. Boniface IV. 615-618. St. Deusdedit. 619-625. Boniface V.	602-610. Phocas. 610-641. Heraclius.	
620	625-638. Honorius I.		
640	640. Severinus. 640-642. John IV. 642-649. Theodore I. 649-653. St. Martin I. 654-657. St. Eugene I. 657-672. St. Vitalian.	641. Constantine III & Heraclionas. 641-668. Constans II.	649. Lateran Council against the Monothelists.
660	672-676. Adeodatus. 676-678. Donus. 678-681. St. Agatho.	668-685. Constantine IV.	
680	682-683. St. Leo II. 684-685. St. Benedict II. 685-686. John V. 686-687. Conon. 687. <i>Theodore</i> . 687-692. <i>Paschal</i> . 687-701. St. Sergius.	685-695. Justinian II (banished). 695-698. Leontius. 698-705. Tiberius III.	680-681. III Council of Constantinople, condemned Monothelitism. 692. Trullan Council. Basis of Canon law in the East.

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
500	c. 500. <i>Sayings</i> of the Fathers. Works of Boethius.	c. 500 Conversion of Burgundians.	
520	c. 520. <i>Rules</i> of St. Cesarius of Arles.	502. St. Cesarius, bishop of Arles.	
	529. <i>Rule</i> of St. Benedict. Publication of Justinian's <i>Code</i> . The Holy Empire: triumph of Cesaro-papist doctrines.	524. The emperor Justin I brings pope John I to Constantinople & re-establishes unity. 529. Foundation of Monte Cassino by St. Benedict.	529. Justinian's offensive against Hellenic paganism. Closing of Academy of Athens. Justinian's reconquest of Africa from Vandals, Italy from the Ostrogoths & his entry into Rome. The pope becomes once more subject to the emperor.
	536. Emperor Justinian brings pope Agapitus to Constantinople in order to have him depose Anthimus, the Monophysite patriarch of Constantinople.	537. Consecration of "Hagia Sophia" (Holy Wisdom) at Constantinople.	
540	Justinian against the sects (Montanists, Docetists, Manicheans).	543. Jacob-al-Baradai (Baradeus), father of Monophysite Jacobites (Syria), consecrated at Edessa.	
	560. Religious works of Cassiodorus.	570. Conversion of Suevians.	568. The Lombard invasion of Italy.
580	Works of St. Gregory of Tours.	580. Persecution of the orthodox in Spain. The patriarch of Constantinople usurps the title of ecumenical patriarch. c. 590. Spanish Visigoths become Catholics. 590. St. Columbanus in Gaul (Luxeuil). 596. St. Augustine (of Canterbury) in England.	
600	(610. Beginning of Mohammed's preaching.)	610. Founding of Westminster abbey. 613. St. Gall, apostle of Switzerland.	603. Roman senate ceases to meet. 610. Chosroes, king of Persians, captures Antioch, then Jerusalem (614). 622. Hegira of Mohammed. Beginning of Moslem era. 626-649. Tai-Tsong the Great in China.
620	Works of St. Isidore of Seville.		632. Death of Mohammed. 637. Capture of Jerusalem by caliph Omar. 638. Antioch falls into hands of Islam.
640	638. The <i>Ecthesis</i> of Heraclius (A Monothelistic edict against St. Maximus the Confessor).	653. Conversion of Lombards.	643. Fall of Alexandria & then Persia to Islam. 663. Constans II visits Rome.
660	648. Constans II attempted a new compromise. (An edict forbidding discussions.)	655. Pope Martin banished to Cheron.	669-708. Conquest of North Africa by Arabs.
660	653. (Composition of Koran.)	667. Death of St. Ildefonse of Toledo.	673. Check of expansion of Islam at Constantinople. 687. Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem.
680		691. St. Willibrod among the Frisians.	698. Capture of Carthage by Arabs.

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
700	701-705. John VI. 705-707. John VII. 708. Sisinnius. 708-715. Constantine I. 715-731. St. Gregory II.	705-711. Justinian II (restored). 711-713. Philippicus Bardanes. 713-716. Anastasius II. 716-717. Theodosius III. 717-741. Leo III the Isaurian.	
720	731-741. St. Gregory III.		
740	741-752. St. Zachary. 752. Stephen (II), died before consecration. 752-757. Stephen II. 757-767. St. Paul I.	741-775. Constantine V.	(754. Constantine V convokes an Iconoclastic council.)
760	767-768. Constantine II. 768. Philip. 768-772. Stephen III. 772-795. Adrian I.	775-780. Leo IV. 780-797. Constantine VI.	
780	795-816. St. Leo III.	797-802. Irene.	785. The empress Irene proposes the calling of a <i>council at Constantinople</i> to pope Adrian. 786. To avoid tumult the council takes refuge at Nicea (II Nicea). Iconoclasm is condemned.
800	816-817. Stephen IV. 817-824. St. Paschal I.	802-811. Nicephorus. 811-813. Michael I. 813-820. Leo V the Armenian.	794. Council of Frankfurt on the veneration of images. 809. Council of Aix-la-Chapelle on the adding of the <i>Filioque</i> .
820	824-827. Eugene II. 827. Valentine. 827-844. Gregory IV.	820-829. Michael II. 829-842. Theophilus.	
840	844. <i>John</i> . 844-847. Sergius II. 847-855. St. Leo IV. 855-858. Benedict III. 855. <i>Anastasius</i> . 858-867. St. Nicholas I the Great	842-856. Theodora. 842-867. Michael III.	

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
700	Works of the Venerable Bede.		711. Conquest of Spain by Arabs. 717. Constantinople besieged by Moslems.
720	Works of St. John Damascene. 725. Edict of Leo III against the veneration of images. Beginning of the Iconoclastic controversies. (Origin of Paulician and Bogomil sects among the Slavs; became the Catharists & Albigensians in the West.)	Gregory III, last pope confirmed by the emperor. 730. Evangelization of Germany by St. Boniface. 735. Death of the Venerable Bede.	732. Victory of Charles Martel over the Arabs at Poitiers.
740	755. Rule of St. Chrodegang for canons.	749. Death of St. John Damascene, Defender of icons. 756. Foundation of the Estates of the Church.	751. Pepin the Short, king of France.
780	The patriarch Nicephorus & St. Theodore Studite, soul of resistance to Iconoclasm.		773. Appearance of Arabic numbers. 778. Roland at Roncesvalles. 782. Alcuin arrives at the Frankish court.
800	Oriental reaction to Charlemagne's coronation: "The Latin Church, a branch broken from the Christian Trunk; the West, a province in rebellion against the legitimate authority of the successor of Constantine."	800. Charlemagne "usurps" the title of emperor. 803. Charlemagne conquers & baptises Saxony. 817. Monastic reform of St. Benedict Aniane.	814. Death of Charlemagne.
820		826. Death of St. Theodore Studite. First mission of St. Ansgar in Scandinavia.	820. Norman and Arab invasions of the West.
840	843. Empress Theodora solemnly celebrates the triumph of Orthodoxy. 844. Western eucharistic controversies. The Photius affair.	845. Baptism of the Bohemian chiefs. 856. Death of Rhabanus Maurus. Missions of Sts. Cyril & Methodius among the Slavs. Creation of a Slavonic liturgical language.	842. Buddhist clergy reigns in Tibet. 843. In the West, treaty of Verdun. 846. Sack of St. Peter's at Rome by the Arabs.

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
860	867-872. Adrian II. 872-882. John VIII.	867-886. Basil I the Macedonian.	869. IV Council of Constantino- ple. Deposition of Photius.
880	882-884. Marinus I. 884-885. St. Adrian III. 885-891. Stephen V. 891-896. Formosus. 896. Boniface VI. 896-897. Stephen VI. 897. Romanus. 897. Theodore II. 898-900. John IX.	886-912. Leo VI.	
900	900-903. Benedict IV. 903. Leo V. 903-904. <i>Christopher</i> . 904-911. Sergius III. 911-913. Anastasius III 913-914. Lando. 914-928. John X.	912-959. Constantine VII Por- phyrogenitus. 912-919. <i>Alexander</i> . 919-944. <i>Romanus I</i> .	
920	928-929. Leo VI. 929-931. Stephen VII. 931-936. John XI. 936-939. Leo VII. 939-942. Stephen VIII.		
940	942-946. Marinus II. 946-955. Agapitus II. 955-963. John XII.		
960	963-965. Leo VIII. 964. Benedict V. 965-972. John XIII. 972-974. Benedict VI. 974. <i>Boniface VII</i> . 974-983. Benedict VII. 983-984. John XIV. Boniface VII. 985-996. John XV. 996-999. Gregory V. 996-998. <i>John XVI</i> . 999-1003. Sylvester II.	959-963. Romanus II. 963-969. Nicephorus Phocas. 969-976. John Tzimisce. 976-1025. Basil II. 976-1028. Constantine VIII.	
1000	1003. John XVII. 1003-09. John XVIII. 1009-12. Sergius IV. 1012-24. Benedict VIII.		

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
860		863. Baptism of Boris of Bulgaria. 865. Death of Paschasius Radbertus. 878. Conversion of the king of Denmark.	
880			885. The Norman siege of Paris.
900	905. Quarrel concerning the Tetragrammaton.	910. Foundation of Cluny.	
920		926-942. St. Odo, abbot of Cluny.	929. Foundation of the Caliphate of Cordova.
940		945. Princess Olga of Russia baptised at Constantinople.	955. Otto I stops the Hungarians.
960		961. Death of Haakon, first Catholic king of Norway.	961. Crete retaken from Islam. 962. Foundation of the German "Holy Roman Empire." 963. Antioch retaken from the Arabs.
980	(980-1037. Life of Avicenna.)	982. St. Romuald founds Camaldoli. 985. Baptism of St. Stephen of Hungary.	987. Hugh Capet, king.
1000	The struggle between the Church and the Empire was considered in the East as a failure of the idea of sacred empire, i.e., a fusion of the universal state & the Church (Constantine, Justinian). First step in the West towards secularization of State (Submission to the spiritual then separation from it.)	986. Conversion of Russian Prince Vladimir. 998. Excommunication of Robert the Pius. 1000. Conversion of Iceland and Greenland. 1010. Destruction of the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre.	1003. Henry II, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. 1014. Victory of Constantinople over Bulgarians.

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
1020	1024-33. John XIX. 1033-45. Benedict IX.	1028-56. Zoe. 1028-34. <i>Romanus III.</i> 1034-41. <i>Michael IV.</i>	
1040	1044. <i>Sylvester III.</i> 1045-46. Gregory VI. 1046-47. Clement II. 1047-48. Damasus II. 1048-54. St. Leo IX. 1054-57. Victor II. 1057-58. Stephen IX. 1058-59. <i>Benedict X.</i> 1059-61. Nicholas II. 1061-73. Alexander II.	1041-42. <i>Michael V.</i> 1042-56. <i>Constantine IX Monomachus.</i> 1056. Theodora. 1056. Michael VI. 1057-59. Isaac I Comnenus. 1059-66. Constantine X Ducas. 1067-68. Eudoxia, Michael VII, Constantine XI.	1041. The Council of Nice institutes the Truce of God.
1060	1061-69. <i>Honorius II.</i> 1073-85. St. Gregory VII.	1068-71. Romanus IV Diogenes. 1072-78. Michael Parapinaces. 1078-81. Nicephorus III.	1079. Council of Rome against Berengarius (On the Real Presence).
1080	1080-1110. <i>Clement III.</i> 1086-87. Victor III. 1088-99. Urban II. 1099-1118. Paschal II.	1081-1118. Alexius I Comnenus.	
1100	1100. <i>Theodoric.</i> 1102. <i>Albert.</i> 1105-11. <i>Sylvester IV.</i> 1118-19. Gelasius II. 1118-21. <i>Gregory VIII.</i> 1119-24. Callistus II.	1118-43. John II Comnenus.	1107. Council of Troyes on investitures. 1121. Council of Soissons condemns Abelard. 1123. <i>I Lateran Council.</i> End of investiture quarrel. 1132-45. The patriarch G. Ibn Turayk of Alexandria abandons Coptic & introduces Arabic in the liturgy. 1139. <i>II Lateran Council.</i> End of the schism. Deposition of Arnold of Brescia. 1140. Council of Sens condemns Abelard.
1140	1143-44. Celestine II. 1144-45. Lucius II. 1145-53. Eugene III. 1153-54. Anastasius IV. 1154-59. Adrian IV. 1159-81. Alexander III. 1159-64. <i>Victor IV.</i>	1143-80. Manuel Comnenus.	

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
1160	1164-68. <i>Paschal III.</i> 1168-78. <i>Callistus III.</i> 1179-80. <i>Innocent III.</i>		1179. III Lateran Council. End of schism. Regulations for papal elections.
1180	1181-85. <i>Lucius III.</i> 1185-87. <i>Urban III.</i> 1187. <i>Gregory VIII.</i> 1187-91. <i>Clement III.</i> 1191-98. <i>Celestine III.</i> 1198-1216. <i>Innocent III.</i>	1180-83. <i>Alexius II Comnenus.</i> 1183-85. <i>Andronicus I Comnenus.</i> 1185-95. <i>Isaac Angelus.</i> 1195-1203. <i>Alexius III.</i>	
1200	1216-27. <i>Honorius III.</i>	1203. <i>Alexius IV.</i> 1203. <i>Alexius V.</i> April 13, 1204. <i>Sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders;</i>	
1220	1227-41. <i>Gregory IX.</i>	Beaudoin of Flanders takes imperial crown (1204, Beaudoin I; 1206, Henry; 1216, Peter of Courtenay; 1217, Yolanda; 1219, Robert; 1228, Beaudoin II; 1230, John). Byzantine emperors take refuge at Trebizond and Nicea.	1215. IV Lateran Council. Condemnation of Vaudois and Albigensians. Yearly confession & communion made obligatory. Decrees on marriage. Hierarchy of the patriarchal sees: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.
1240	1241. <i>Celestine IV.</i> 1243-54. <i>Innocent IV.</i> 1254-61. <i>Alexander IV.</i>		1245. I Council of Lyon. Against Frederick II.
1260	1261-64. <i>Urban IV.</i> 1265-68. <i>Clement IV.</i> 1271-76. <i>St. Gregory X.</i> 1276. <i>Bl. Innocent V.</i> 1276. <i>Adrian V.</i> 1276-77. <i>John XXI.</i> 1277-80. <i>Nicholas III.</i>	1261-82. <i>Michael VIII Paleologus retakes Constantinople.</i>	1274. <i>Gregory X convokes a union Council at Lyon.</i> Emperor Michael VIII was present in person, but the Greek masses remained hostile to Rome. Michael remained faithful to the union until his death (1282). Emperor Andronicus broke with the "uniates."
1280	1281-85. <i>Martin IV.</i> 1285-87. <i>Honorius IV.</i> 1288-92. <i>Nicholas IV.</i> 1294. <i>St. Celestine V.</i> 1294-1303. <i>Boniface VIII.</i>	1282-1328. <i>Andronicus II.</i>	

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
1160		1163. Foundation of Notre Dame of Paris. 1164. Death of Peter Lombard. 1173. Beginning of the Vaudois in the West.	
1180		1182. Birth of St. Francis Assisi. 1185. The Church of Bulgaria becomes autocephalous. 1189. Third Crusade. 1190. Death of Frederick Barbarossa. 1198. Founding of Trinitarians.	1187. Saladin captures Jerusalem. 1198. Death of Averroes.
1200		1202. Fourth Crusade. 1207. Patriarch Michael IV consecrates Lascaris as Roman emperor at Nicea. 1208. Beginnings of the Order of Friars Minor. 1209. Albigensian Crusade. 1216. Honorius III approves the Order of Preachers.	1204. April 13. Sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders. 1213. Battle of Muret. 1214. The Mongols conquer North China.
1220		1225. Birth of St. Thomas Aquinas. 1228. Fifth Crusade.	1220. The Mongols in Persia. 1227. Death of Genghis-Khan.
1240	1234. <i>Decretum Gregorii</i> by St. Raymond of Pennafort. 1248-60. St. Albert the Great, director of the Cologne studium. 1259. St. Bonaventure's <i>Itinerarium</i> . 1259. St. Thomas' <i>Summa Contra Gentiles</i> .	1248. John of Plancarpino missionary among the Mongols. 1248. Sixth Crusade. 1256. The Hermits of St. Augustine.	1240. The Mongols in Russia and then in Poland. 1259. Othman the Turk founds the Ottoman empire.
1260	1263. St. Thomas' <i>Commentaries on Aristotle</i> . 1266-72. St. Thomas' <i>Summa Theologiae</i> . 1266-68. Roger Bacon: <i>Opera</i> .	1270. Seventh Crusade. 1274. Death of St. Thomas Aquinas & St. Bonaventure.	1271-95. Marco Polo in China.
1280		1280. Death of St. Albert the Great. 1292. Death of Roger Bacon. 1298. Death of James of Voragine.	1282. Sicilian Vespers.

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
1300	1303-04. Bl. Benedict XI. 1305-14. Clement V. 1316-34. John XXII.		1311-12. Council of Vienna. Suppression of Templars. Errors of the Beghards and Beguines.
1320	1328-30. <i>Nicholas V.</i> 1334-42. Benedict XII.	1328-41. Andronicus III.	
1340	1342-52. Clement VI. 1352-62. Innocent VI.	1341-91. John V Paleologus. 1341-55. <i>John V Cantacuzenus.</i> 1354-56. <i>Matthias.</i>	
1360	1362-70. Bl. Urban V. 1370-78. Gregory XI. 1378-89. Urban VI. 1378-94. <i>Clement VII.</i>		
1380	1389-1404. Boniface IX. 1389-1424. <i>Benedict XIII</i>	1391-1425. Manuel II Paleologus.	
1400	1404-06. Innocent VII. 1406-15. Gregory XII. 1409-10. <i>Alexander V.</i> 1410-15. <i>John XXIII.</i> 1417-31. Martin V.		1414-18. <i>Council of Constance:</i> unity of the Church. Condemnation of Wyclif and Huss.
1420	1424-29. <i>Clement VIII.</i> 1424. <i>Benedict XIV.</i> 1431-47. Eugene IV.	1425-1448. John VII Paleologus.	Jan. 8, 1438. <i>Union Council at Ferrara</i> , continued at <i>Florence</i> in 1439. Act of union July 6, 1439, in the Cathedral at Florence. Joseph, patriarch of Constantinople, died reconciled with Rome.

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
1300	c. 1300 Teaching of Duns Scotus at Oxford. 1302. The bull <i>Unam Sanctam</i> and the end of the conflict between the papacy and Philip the Fair. 1309. The Dominicans take St. Thomas as official teacher. 1312. Dante: <i>The Divine Comedy</i> .	1300. First "Jubilee Year." 1301. Death of St. Gertrude. 1308. Death of Duns Scotus. 1309-77. The popes reside in Avignon. 1309. Death of St. Angela of Foligno. 1315. Death of Raymund Lull.	
1320	c. 1320. William of Occam writes his <i>Commentaries on the Sentences</i> at Oxford.	1321. Death of Dante. 1327. Death of Master Eckhart.	1339. Beginning of Hundred Years' War.
1340	XIVth century: Constantinople and the question of Hesychasm. 1359. Death of Gregory Palamas, defender of Hesychasm.	1346. Serbia becomes a patriarchate. 1347. Death of William of Occam.	1348-50. The Black Death. 1356. Sultan Soliman crosses the Bosphorus.
1360		1361-65. Death of Tauler and Suso. 1369. Abjuration of emperor John V at Rome. 1374. Death of St. Brigid of Sweden. Gerard Groote (d. 1384) and the Brethren of the Common Life.	1365. Conquests of Tamerlane. 1368. Ming dynasty in China.
1380		1377. St. Catherine of Siena brings Gregory XI back to Rome. 1380. Death of St. Catherine of Siena. 1381. Death of Ruysbroeck. 1386. Death of John Wyclif. 1396. Defeat of Crusaders at Nicopolis. 1398. John Huss at Prague.	1386. Conversion of Lithuania.
1400		1412. Birth of Joan of Arc. 1419. Death of Vincent Ferrar.	
1420	c. 1420. <i>The Imitation of Christ</i> . July 7, 1438. The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges: the first official exposition of Gallicanism.	1429. Death of Gerson. 1431. Joan of Arc burned alive at Rouen. 1439. Formation of "uniate" churches among the Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Chaldeans and Maronites.	

DATES A.D.	POPES	ROMAN EMPERORS	COUNCILS
1440	1439-49. <i>Felix V.</i> 1447-55. <i>Nicholas V.</i> 1455-58. <i>Callistus III.</i> 1458-64. <i>Pius II.</i>	1448-53. <i>Constantine XII.</i> May 29, 1453. <i>Constantine XII</i> killed in the defense of his city against the Moslem in- vader. End of the Roman em- pire of Byzantium.	
1460	1464-71. <i>Paul II.</i> 1471-84. <i>Sixtus IV.</i>		
1480	1484-92. <i>Innocent VIII.</i> 1492-1503. <i>Alexander VI.</i>		
1500	1503. <i>Pius III.</i> 1503-1513. <i>Julius II.</i> 1513-1521. <i>Leo X.</i>	1517. <i>Sultan Selim I</i> proclaims himself as heir of the <i>Byzan-</i> <i>tine</i> emperors.	1512-17. <i>Lateran Council.</i> Con- demnation of the doctrine of the superiority of the Council over the pope.
1520	1522-23. <i>Adrian VI.</i> 1523-34. <i>Clement VII.</i> 1534-49. <i>Paul III.</i>		
1540	1550-55. <i>Julius III.</i> 1555. <i>Marcellus II.</i> 1555-59. <i>Paul IV.</i> 1559-65. <i>Pius IV.</i>		1545-63. <i>Council of Trent.</i> Affir- mation of the Catholic faith in face of Protestantism.
1560	1566-72. <i>St. Pius V.</i> 1572-85. <i>Gregory XIII.</i>		

DATES A.D.	DOCTRINE	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
1440	1453. After the Moslem occupation, the idea emerged that collaboration with Islam would enable Byzantine to one day avenge itself on Rome. Hope of Russian help. In Russia, birth of the slogan: Moscow the Third Rome.	1441. A liturgy of thanksgiving at Moscow (after the Council of Florence). Metropolitan Isidore commemorates the pope. 1444. Defeat of Crusade at Varna. 1450. At Constantinople, a counter-offensive to the Union and condemnation of Florence. 1452. Act of unity in Hagia Sophia (Isidore, Roman legate). 1453. Gennadius Scholarios invested as patriarch by the sultan. 1455. Death of Fra Angelico. 1459. Death of St. Antoninus of Florence.	1450. Gutenberg invents the printing press. 1452. Frederick III, last (German) emperor to be crowned by the pope. 1453. Sack of Constantinople by Mohammed II. 1459. The Sultan master of the Balkans.
1460	(1465. Marsilio Ficino: <i>Institutiones Platonicæ</i>).	1472. Death of Bessarion.	1481. Death of Mohammed.
1480		1483. Birth of Luther. 1495. Death of Gabriel Biel. 1498. Savonarola burned alive at Florence.	1492. Discovery of America. 1492. End of the Moslem kingdoms of Spain. 1497. Voyage of Vasco da Gama.
1500	1518. Luther appears before Cajetan.	1507-08. Raphael & Michelangelo at Rome. 1509. Birth of Calvin.	1519. Cortes in Mexico. 1519. Voyage of Magellan.
1520	1522. Cajetan completes his Commentary on the <i>Summa Theologiae</i> . (1530. Melancthon draws up the <i>Confession of Augsburg</i> .) (1534. Henry VIII's schism.) (1534. Luther's Bible.) (1535. Calvin's <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> .)	1520. Luther excommunicated. 1523. Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden. 1530. Confession of Augsburg. (1531. Death of Zwingli.) 1535. Martyrdom of John Fisher and Thomas More. 1536. Death of Erasmus. 1539. Founding of Company of Jesus.	1524. Pizarro among the Incas. 1533-84. Reign of Ivan the Terrible. 1534. Jacques Cartier to Canada.
1540	(1546. Death of Luther.) 1549-97. The <i>Catechisms</i> of St. Peter Canisius. (1557. Knox in Scotland.)	1540. Paul III approves Jesuits. 1540. Death of Francis Ossuna. 1542. Francis Xavier in India. 1547. Death of Henry VIII. 1555-1640. Jesuits in Ethiopia. 1558. Death of Charles V.	1543. Death of Copernicus.
1560	1560. The <i>Loci Theologici</i> of Melchior Cano. 1566. Pius V publishes the <i>Catechism of the Council Trent</i> . 1567. Condemnation of Baius. 1575. Beginning of Suarez's teaching.	1562. Title of Czar of Russia confirmed by patriarch of Constantinople. 1564. Philip Neri founds the Oratory. 1566. Death of Louis of Blois. 1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.	1571. Victory of Lepanto.

DATES A.D.	POPES	COUNCILS	DOCTRINE
1580	1585-90. Sixtus V. 1590. Urban VII. 1590-91. Gregory XIV. 1591. Innocent IX. 1592-1605. Clement VIII.		1583-1632. Theology of Denys Petau. 1592. Revision of Vulgate.
1600	1605. Leo XI. 1605-21. Paul V.		1608. St. Francis de Sales' <i>Introduction to a Devout Life</i> . 1614. <i>The Practice of Christian Perfection</i> by Rodriguez.
1620	1621-23. Gregory XV. 1623-44. Urban VIII.		1623. Bourdoise's <i>Traite du bon cure</i> . 1630. John of St. Thomas, professor at Alcala. 1633. Condemnation of Galileo.
1640	1644-55. Innocent X. 1655-67. Alexander VII.		(1640. Jansenius's <i>Augustinus</i> .) (1640. <i>Confession of the Orthodox Faith</i> at Kiev. 1644. Petau publishes his <i>Dogmatic Theology</i> . 1655. First writings of J. J. Olier.
1660	1667-69. Clement IX. 1670-76. Clement X. 1676-89. Innocent XI.	(1672. Council of Jerusalem. The Orthodox Churches oppose Calvinism.)	1667. Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i> . 1675. Claude de la Colombiere, S.J., hears of St. Margaret Mary's visions.
1680	1689-91. Alexander VIII. 1691-1700. Innocent XII.		1681. St. John Eudes' writings on the Heart of Mary. 1687. Condemnation of Molinos. 1690. Tronson's <i>Particular examinations</i> . 1694. Publication of <i>The Life and Spiritual Doctrine of Fr. Louis Lallemant</i> .
1700	1700-21. Clement XI.		1703. Massoulie's <i>Treatise on the Love of God</i> . 1712. Grignon de Montfort's <i>True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin</i> . 1713. The bull <i>Unigenitus</i> : Condemnation of the Jansenist propositions of Quesnel.

DATES A.D.	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
1580	1580. Victory of William of Orange over the Catholics. 1582. Death of St. Teresa of Avila. 1589. The metropolitan of Moscow becomes patriarch. 1590. Persecution in Japan. 1591. Death of St. John of the Cross. 1595. Union of Brest. 1598. Edict of Nantes.	1582. Gregorian reform of the calendar. 1598. Death of Philip II of Spain.
1600	1600. Death of Molina, S.J. 1604. Death of Bañes. 1610. Death of Benet of Canfield, Capuchin. 1611. Pierre de Berulle founds the French Oratory.	1603. Death of Elizabeth I of England. 1608. The Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay.
1620	1621. Death of St. Robert Bellarmine, S.J. 1622. Death of St. Francis de Sales. 1629. Death of Cardinal Berulle. 1638. Violent persecution in Japan. 1638. Death of Fr. Joseph du Tremblay. 1638. Cyril Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, strangled by order of the sultan. 1639. Patriarch Cyril II strangled.	1620. Battle of the White Mountain. 1635. Founding of the French Academy. 1636. Founding of Harvard University.
1640	1640. Death of Rubens. 1641. Death of Condren and of St. Jane de Chantal. 1650. Death of Descartes.	1648. Cromwell dictator of England. 1653. Manchu dynasty in China.
1660	1660. Death of St. Vincent de Paul. 1662. Death of Pascal and of Bourgoing. 1664. Reform of "La Trappe." 1666. The Raskol in Russia. 1669. Death of Rembrandt.	
1680	(1685-1750. J. S. Bach.) 1689. Death of Christina of Sweden at Rome.	1682. Newton discovers the law of gravitation. 1682-1725. Reign of Peter the Great. 1683. The Turks besiege Vienna. 1685. Rescinding of the Edict of Nantes.
1700	1700. Death of the Abbé de Rancé. 1703. Death of Innocent le Masson, Carthusian. 1704. Deaths of Bossuet and Bourdaloue. 1710. Destruction of Port Royal. 1715. Death of Fenelon. 1717. Free Masonry.	

DATES A. D.	POPES	COUNCILS	DOCTRINE
1720	1721-24. Innocent XIII. 1724-30. Benedict XIII. 1730-40. Clement XII.		1738. John Wesley founds Methodism.
1740	1740-58. Benedict XIV. 1758-69. Clement XIII.		(1751. <i>The Encyclopedia</i> .)
1760	1769-74. Clement XIV. 1775-99. Pius VI.		
1780			1789. Fr. Grou's <i>Characteristics of True Devotion</i> . (1790. Vote on the Civil Constitution of the clergy.)
1800	1800-23. Pius VII.		1802. Chateaubriand's <i>Genius of Christianity</i> . (1806. Hegel's <i>Phenomenology of the Mind</i> .) 1819. J. de Maistre's <i>The Pope</i> .
1820	1823-29. Leo XII. 1829-30. Pius VIII. 1831-46. Gregory XVI.		(1830-31. The newspaper <i>l'Avenir</i> .) (1830-42. Comte's <i>Course of Positive Philosophy</i> .) 1832. Condemnation of <i>l'Avenir</i> (Lamennais). 1833. Notre Dame conferences of Lacordaire.
1840	1846-78. Pius IX.		1840. Lacordaire's <i>Life of St. Dominic</i> . (1840. Proudhon's <i>What is property?</i>) 1841. Gueranger begins <i>The Liturgical Year</i> . 1854. Dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

DATES A.D.	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
1720	1721. The patriarch of Moscow replaced by a synod entirely subject to the state. 1732. St. Alphonsus Liguori founds the Redemptorists.	1725. Death of Peter the Great.
1740	1742. Death of Massillon. 1745. Persecution in Tonquin. 1751. Death of Father de Caussade, S.J.	
1760	(1770-1827. Life of Beethoven.) 1773. Clement XIV suppresses the Jesuits. 1775. Death of St. Paul of the Cross.	1762. Catherine of Russia. 1776. American Declaration of Independence. 1776. First workers' union in England. 1778. Deaths of Voltaire and Rousseau. 1778-83. American War of Independence.
1780	1787. Death of St. Alphonsus Liguori. 1790. Civil Constitution of the clergy in France.	1787. American Constitution. 1793. Louis XVI beheaded. 1794. Robespierre beheaded. 1799. Napoleon, first consul.
1800	1801. French concordat. 1802. Secularization in Germany. (1804. Founding of the Bible Society.) (1804. Coronation of Napoleon.) 1814. Re-establishment of the Jesuits.	1805. Walter Scott's first novel. 1810. Insurrection of the Spanish American colonies. 1814. Construction of the first locomotive (Stephenson).
1820	1821. Prussian Concordat. 1821. Patriarch of Constantinople hanged by the Turks. 1824. Death of Catherine Emmerich. 1827. Concordat with the Low Countries. 1833. The Greek parliament proclaims a separation of the Church from Constantinople.	1822. Fresnel's law. 1830. Faraday's law. 1830. Belgian independence. 1831. Death of Hegel.
1840	1840. Martyrdom of Blessed Perboyre. 1845. Conversion of Newman. 1845-52. Persecution in Colombia. 1848. Patriarchate of the Serbian Church (Carlovitz). 1850. Re-establishment of the hierarchy in England. 1853. Re-establishment of the hierarchy in Holland. 1859. Death of the Curé of Ars.	1848. <i>Communist Manifesto</i> by Karl Marx. 1849. Occupation of Rome by the French. 1852. Napoleon III, emperor of the French. 1854-56. Crimean War.

DATES A.D.	POPES	COUNCILS	DOCTRINE
1860		1869. <i>Vatican Council</i> . Dogma of papal infallibility.	1863. Renan's <i>Life of Jesus</i> . 1864. <i>The Syllabus</i> ; directed against the main errors of the time. 1879. Leon Harmel's <i>Manuel d'une corporation chretienne</i> .
1880	1878-1903. Leo XIII.		1891. Encyclical <i>Rerum Novarum</i> on social questions.
1900	1903-14. St. Pius X. 1914-22. Benedict XV.		1901. Fr. Poulain's <i>Les graces d'oraison</i> . 1907. Decree <i>Lamentabili</i> and the encyclical <i>Pascendi</i> against Modernism. 1917. Promulgation of the Code of Canon Law.
1920	1922-39. Pius XI.	1924. First national Chinese council.	1920. Encyclical <i>Maximum Illud</i> on the missions. 1923. Fr. Garrigou-Lagrange's <i>Christian Perfection and Contemplation</i> . 1930. Encyclical <i>Casti Connubii</i> on marriage. 1931. Encyclical <i>Quadragesimo Anno</i> on social questions. 1937. Encyclical <i>Divini Redemptoris</i> against Communism; <i>Mit Brennender Sorge</i> against Nazism.
1940	1939- . Pius XII.		1950. Dogma of the Assumption.

DATES A.D.	LIFE OF THE CHURCH	GENERAL HISTORY
1860	1860. New persecution in Indo-China. 1870. Occupation of the Papal States. 1870. The Greek constitution recognizes the autocephalous Church of Greece. 1872. The Bulgarian Church becomes autocephalous. 1878. Re-establishment of the Scottish hierarchy.	1861. Formation of the Kingdom of Italy. 1870. Franco-Prussian War. 1870. Occupation of Rome by the Italians. 1873. The Kulturkampf in Germany.
1880	1883. The Martyrs of Uganda. 1885. The Rumanian Church becomes autocephalous. 1888. Death of St. John Bosco. 1889. Religious freedom in Japan. 1892. Death of Msgr. Gay. 1897. Death of St. Therese of Lisieux.	1882. The English install themselves in Egypt. 1883. Founding of the Russian Marxist party. 1895. Invention of radiotelegraphy. 1897. Founding of Zionism. 1899. Invention of the cinema.
1900	1906. 1801 French Concordat broken. 1910. Condemnation of the <i>Sillon</i> .	1901. Law of Associations in France. 1914. Opening of the Panama canal. 1914-18. First World War. 1919-23. Irish civil war.
1920	1920. Persecutions in Russia. 1925-27. Persecutions in Mexico. 1926. Condemnation of <i>Action Francaise</i> . 1926. Pius XI consecrates the first six native Chinese bishops. 1929. Lateran Treaty. 1933. German Concordat. (1934. Assassination of Chancellor Dollfus.) 1938. Death of Father LaGrange, O.P.	1925. Disgrace of Trotsky in Russia. 1925. First Ecumenical Conference, in Stockholm. 1931. Spanish Republic. 1933. Hitler in power in Germany. 1936. Spanish civil war. 1937. The Japanese occupation of Peking. 1939. Second World War.
1940		1945. Explosion of two atomic bombs at Nagasaki and Hiroshima. 1945. Television in U.S.A.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS

Patriarchs of Constantinople

Bishops

211-217	Philadelphus	535-536	Anthimus
240-265	Eugene I	536-552	Menas
284-293	Rufinus I	552-565	Eutychius
306-314	Metrophanus I	565-577	John III Scholasticus
314-337	Alexander	577-582	Eutychius
337-339	Paul I	582-595	John IV the Faster
339-341	Eusebius of Nicomedia	595-606	Cyriacus (The patriarch began to be called ecumenical patriarch.)
341-342	Paul I		
342-346	Macedonius I		
346-351	Paul I	607-610	Thomas I
351-360	Macedonius I	610-638	Sergius I
360-370	Eudoxius of Antioch	638-641	Pyrrhus
370-380	Demophilus (Arian)	641-654	Paul II
370-	Evagrius	655-	Pyrrhus
		655-666	Peter
		667-669	Thomas II
		669-675	John V
		675-677	Constantine I
		677-679	Theodore I
		679-686	George I
		686-687	Theodore I
		688-694	Paul III
		694-706	Callinicus I
		706-712	Cyrus
		712-715	John VI
		715-729	Germanus I
		729-752	Anastasius
		753-765	Constantine II
		765-780	Nicetas I
		780-784	Paul IV
		784-806	Tarasius
		806-815	Nicephorus I (resisted Iconoclasm)
		815-821	Theodotus I Cassiteras
		821-832	Anthony I of Sileus
		832-843	John VII Grammaticus
		843-847	Methodius I

Patriarchs of the "New Rome" (381)

379-381	Gregory I Nazianzen
380-	Maximus I the Cynic
381-397	Nectarius
398-404	John I Chrysostom
404-405	Arsacius
406-425	Atticus
426-427	Sisinnius I
428-431	Nestorius (Council of Ephesus in 431)
431-434	Maximianus
434-446	Proclus
446-449	Flavian
449-458	Anatolius
458-471	Genradios
471-489	Acacius
489-490	Fravitta
490-496	Euphelius
496-511	Macedonius II
511-518	Timothy I
518-520	John II
520-535	Epiphanius

847-858	Ignatius	} The Photius } Affair	1170-1177	Michael III of Anchi- los
858-867	Photius			
867-877	Ignatius		1177-1178	Chariton
877-886	Photius		1178-1183	Theodosius I the Bora- diote
886-893	Stephen I			
893-901	Anthony II Cauleas		1183-1186	Basil II
901-907	Nicholas I Mysticus		1186-1189	Nicetas II Montanes
907-912	Euthymius I		1189-1190	Leontius the Theotokite
912-925	Nicholas I Mysticus		1190-1191	Dositheus of Jerusalem
925-928	Stephen II of Amaseus		1192-1198	George II Xiphilinus
928-931	Tryphon		1198-1206	John X Camateros (1204, the Crusaders at Constantinople)
931-956	Theophylact			
956-970	Polyeuctes (The patriarch of Antioch was sub- jected to the one in Con- stantinople.)		1207-1213	Michael IV Autorianos (In exile at Nicea, Michael IV crowned Lascaris as emperor.)
970-974	Basil I the Scamandrian			
974-980	Anthony II of the Stu- dion		1213-1215	Theodore II Irenicos
			1215-	Maximus II
984-996	Nicholas II Chrysoberges		1215-1222	Manuel I Charitopoulos
996-998	Sisinnius		1222-1240	Germanus II
999-1019	Sergius II		1240-	Methodius II
1020-1025	Eustathius		1244-1255	Manuel II
1025-1043	Alexius of the Studion		1255-1259	Arsenius Autorianos
1043-1059	Michael I Cerularius (in 1054, a break with the Roman legates)		1260-1261	Nicephorus II (1261, Michael VIII at Con- stantinople)
1059-1063	Constantine III Lichondes		1267-	Germanus III
			1267-1275	Joseph I (1274, Union Council at Lyon)
1063-1075	John VIII Xiphilinus		1275-1282	John XI Veccos
1075-1081	Cosmas I of Jerusalem		1282-1283	Joseph I
1081-1084	Eustratius Garidas		1283-1289	Gregory II
1084-1111	Nicholas III Grammati- cus		1289-1293	Athanasius I
			1294-1304	John XII Cosmas
1111-1134	John IX Hieromnemon		1304-1310	Athanasius I
1134-1143	Leo Stypes		1311-1315	Niphonius I
1143-1146	Michael II Kourcouas		1316-1320	John XIII Glykys
1146-1147	Cosmas II of Attica		1320-1321	Geransinus I
1147-1151	Nicholas IV Mouzalon		1323-1334	Isaia
1151-1153	Theodotus II		1334-1347	John XIV Calecas
1153-	Neophytus I		1347-1349	Isidore I
1154-1156	Constantine IV Chliarenos		1350-1354	Callistus I
			1354-1355	Philoteus
1156-1169	Luke Chrysoberges		1355-1363	Callistus I

1364-1376	Philoteus	1503-1504	Pachomius I
1376-1379	Macarius	1504-	Joachim I
1379-1388	Nilus	1504-1513	Pachomius I
1389-1390	Anthony IV	1513-1522	Theoleptus I
1390-1391	Macarius	1522-1545	Jeremias I
1391-1397	Anthony IV	1526-	Joannicus
1397-	Callistus II Xanthapoulos	1546-1555	Dionysios II
		1555-1565	Josaphat II
1397-1410	Matthew I	1565-1572	Metrophanus III
1410-1416	Euthymus II	1572-1579	Jeremias II
1416-1439	Joseph II (Council of Union at Ferrara-Florence 1438-39)	1579-1580	Metrophanus III
		1580-1584	Jeremias II
1440-1443	Metrophanus II	1584-1585	Pachomius II
1443-1453	Gregory III Mammas (1450, condemnation of the union of Florence)	1585-1586	Theoleptus II
		1586-1595	Jeremias II
		1595-	Matthew II
		1596-	Gabriel I
		1596-1597	Theophane I Karykes
1454-1457	Gennadios II Scholarios (a puppet of the sultan Mohammed II when he entered Constantinople, May 29, 1453)	1597-1598	Meletius I Pegas
		1598-1602	Matthew II
		1602-1603	Neophytus II
		1603-	Matthew II
		1603-1608	Raphael II
		1608-1612	Neophytus II
1457-1463	Isidore II	1612-	Cyril I Lucaris
1463-	Josaphat I Koccas	1612-1620	Timothy II
1463-1464	Sophronius I	1620-1623	Cyril I Lucaris
1465-1466	Mark Xylocaraves	1623-	Gregory IV of Amaseus
1466-	Simeon of Trebizond	1623-	Anthimus II of Adrianople
1466-1471	Dionysios I of Philippopoli	1623-1630	Cyril I Lucaris
		1630-	Isaac of Chalcedon
1471-1474	Simeon of Trebizond	1630-1633	Cyril I Lucaris
1474-	Raphael I	1633-	Cyril II of Berrheus
1477-1481	Maximus III	1633-1634	Cyril I Lucaris
1481-1486	Simeon of Trebizond	1634-	Athanasius III Patellarios
1486-1489	Niphonus II of Thessalonica	1634-1635	Cyril I Lucaris
		1635-1636	Cyril II of Berrheus
1489-1491	Dionysios I of Philippopoli	1636-1637	Neophytus III of Heraclaus
1491-1497	Maximus IV		
1497-1498	Niphonus II of Thessalonica	1637-1638	Cyril I Lucaris (seven times deposed; a Protestant influence.)
1498-1502	Joachim I		
1502-	Niphonus II of Thessalonica	1638-1639	Cyril II of Berrheus

1639-1644	Parthenios I the Elder	1714-1716	Cosmas III
1644-1646	Parthenios II the Younger	1716-1726	Jeremias III
1646-1648	Joannicus II	1726-	Callinicus III
1648-1650	Parthenios II the Younger	1726-1732	Paisios II
1650-1651	Joannicus II	1732-1733	Jeremias III
1651-	Cyril III	1733-1734	Seraphin I
1651-	Athanasius III Patellaros	1734-1740	Neophytus VI
1651-1652	Paisios I	1740-1743	Paisios II
1653-1654	Joannicus II	1743-1744	Neophytus VI
1654-	Cyril III	1744-1748	Paisios II
1654-1655	Paisios I	1748-1751	Cyril V
1655-1656	Joannicus II	1751-1752	Paisios II
1656-1657	Parthenios III	1752-1757	Cyril V
1657-	Gabriel II	1757-	Callinicus IV
1657-	Theophane II	1757-1761	Seraphin II
1657-1662	Parthenios IV	1761-1763	Joannicus III
1662-1665	Dionysios III	1763-1768	Samuel Khanzeris
1665-1667	Parthenios IV	1768-1769	Meletius II
1667-1668	Clement	1769-1773	Theodosius II
1668-1671	Methodius III	1773-1774	Samuel Khanzeris
1671-	Parthenios IV	1774-1780	Sophronius II
1671-1673	Dionysios IV Moslem	1780-1785	Gabriel IV
1673-1674	Gerasimus II	1785-1789	Procopius
1675-1676	Parthenios IV	1789-1794	Neophytus VII
1676-1679	Dionysios IV	1794-1797	Gerasimus III
1679-	Athanasius IV	1797-1798	Gregory V
1679-1683	James	1798-1801	Neophytus VII
1683-1684	Dionysios IV	1801-1806	Callinicus V
1684-1685	Parthenios IV	1806-1808	Gregory V
1685-1686	James	1808-1809	Callinicus V
1686-1687	Dionysios IV	1809-1813	Jeremias IV
1687-1688	Callinicus II	1813-1818	Cyril VI
1688-1689	Neophytus IV	1818-1821	Gregory V (hanged by the Turks at Constantinople)
1689-1693	Callinicus II	1821-1822	Eugene II
1693-1694	Dionysios IV	1822-1824	Anthimus III
1694-1702	Callinicus II	1824-1826	Chrysanthus
1702-1707	Gabriel III	1830-	Agathangelus
1707-	Neophytus V	1830-1834	Constantios I
1708-1709	Cyprian	1834-1835	Constantion II
1709-1711	Athanasius V	1835-1840	Gregory VI
1711-1713	Cyril IV	1840-1841	Anthimus IV
1713-1714	Cyprian	1841-1842	Anthimus V
		1842-1845	Germanus IV

1845—	Meletius III	1895—1896	Anthimus VII
1845—1848	Anthimus VI	1897—1901	Constantine V
1848—1852	Anthimus IV	1901—1912	Joachim III
1852—1853	Germanus V	1913—1918	Germanus VI, last patriarch enthroned by the Sultan.
1853—1855	Anthimus VI		
1855—1860	Cyril VII		
1860—1863	Joachim II	1921—1923	Meletius IV
1863—1866	Sophronius III	1923—1924	Gregory VII
1867—1871	Gregory VI	1924—1925	Constantine VI
1871—1873	Anthimus VI	1925—1929	Basil III
1873—1878	Joachim II	1929—1935	Photius II
1878—1884	Joachim III	1936—1946	Benjamin I
1884—1886	Joachim IV	1946—1948	Maximus V
1887—1891	Dionysios V	1948—	Athenagoras I
1891—1894	Neophytus VIII		

German Kings and Emperors

Charlemagne	800—814	Frederick II	1215—1250
Louis I the Pious	814—840	Henry Raspe	1246—1247
Lothair I	840—855	William of Holland	1247—1256
Louis II	850—875	Conrad IV	1250—1254
Charles II the Bald	875—877	The Great Interregnum (Richard of Cornwall & Alphonso of Castile)	1256—1273
Charles III the Fat	881—887	Rudolph of Hapsburg	1273—1291
Guy of Spoleta	891—893	Adolph of Nassau	1292—1298
Lambert of Spoleta	892—898	Albert I of Austria	1298—1308
Arnulf	896—899	Henry VII of Luxembourg	1308—1313
Louis III the Child	900—911	Louis of Bavaria	1313—1347
Louis III of Provence	901—902	Frederick of Austria	1314—1330
Conrad I	911—918	Charles IV of Bohemia	1346—1378
Berengar of Frioul	915—924	Wenceslaus of Bohemia	1378—1400
Henry I the Fowler	919—936	Robert of the Palatinate	1400—1410
Otto I the Great	936—973	Sigismund of Hungary	1410—1437
Otto II	973—983	Albert II	1438—1439
Otto III	983—1002	Frederick III	1440—1493
Henry II	1002—1024	Maximilian I	1493—1519
Conrad II	1024—1039	Charles V	1519—1556
Henry III	1039—1056	Ferdinand I	1556—1564
Henry IV	1056—1106	Maximilian II	1564—1576
Henry V	1106—1125	Rudolph II	1576—1612
Lothair II the Saxon	1125—1137	Matthias	1612—1619
Conrad III	1138—1152	Ferdinand II	1619—1637
Frederick I	1152—1190		
Henry VI	1190—1197		
Philip of Swabia	1198—1208		
Otto IV of Brunswick	1198—1215		

Ferdinand III	1637-1657	Ferdinand I	1835-1848
Leopold I	1657-1705	Francis Joseph I	1848-
Joseph I	1705-1711	Charles I	1916-1918
Charles VI	1711-1740		
Charles VII	1742-1745	<i>Protestant Emperors of Germany</i>	
Francis I (husband of Maria Theresa)	1745-1765	William I	1870-1888
Joseph II	1765-1790	Frederick I (March 9)	1888
Leopold II	1790-1792	William II (June 15)	1888-1918
Francis II	1792-1806	<i>Weimar Republic</i>	
		<i>Third Reich</i>	
		1919-1932	
		1932-1945	
		<i>German Federation</i>	
		1948-	

Emperors of Austria

Francis I 1806-1835

Kings of France

Carolingians

Pepin of Heristal, mayor of the palace & duke of the Franks	(678) 687-714
Charles Martel	715-741
Pepin the Short (king in 752)	741-768
Charlemagne (emperor 800)	768-814
Louis the Pious (king of Aquitaine, 781)	814-840
Charles the Bald (em- peror, 875)	843-877
Louis II the Stammerer	877-879
Louis III	879-882
Carloman	879-884
Emperor Charles the Fat	885-887
Odo	887-898
Charles III the Simple	898-922
Robert I	922-923
Rudolph	923-936
Louis IV	936-954
Lothair	954-986
Louis V	986-987

Capetians

Hugh Capet	987-996
Robert the Pious	996-1031

Henry I	1031-1060
Philip I	1060-1108
Louis VI the Fat	1108-1137
Louis VII the Younger	1137-1180
Philip II Augustus	1180-1223
Louis VIII the Lion	1223-1226
Saint Louis IX	1226-1270
Philip III the Bold	1270-1285
Philip IV the Fair	1285-1314
Louis X the Headstrong	1314-1316
John I	1316-
Philip V the Long	1316-1322
Charles IV the Fair	1322-1328

Valois

Philip VI of Valois	1328-1350
John II the Good	1350-1364
Charles V the Wise	1364-1380
Charles VI	1380-1422
Charles VII	1422-1461
Louis XI	1461-1483
Charles VIII	1483-1498
Louis XII	1498-1515
Francis I	1515-1547
Henry II	1547-1559
Francis IX	1559-1560
Charles IX	1560-1574
Henry III	1574-1589

Bourbons

Henry IV	1589-1610	Charles X	1824-1830
Louis XIII	1610-1643	Louis-Philippe I of Orleans	1830-1848
Louis XIV	1643-1715		
Louis XV	1715-1774		
Louis XVI	1774-1792	Second Republic	1848-1852
<i>First Republic</i>	<i>1792-1804</i>	Napoleon III Emperor	1852-1870
Convention	1792-1795		
Directory	1795-1799	Third Republic	1870-1940
Consulate	1799-1804		
		French State	1940-1944
Napoleon I Emperor	1804-1814		
Louis XVIII	1814-1824	Fourth Republic	1944-

*Kings of England**Anglo-Saxons*

Egbert	800(?)-837
Ethelwulf	837-856
Ethelbad	856-860
Ethelbert	858-866
Ethelred I	866-871
Alfred the Great	871-900
Edward I	900-924
Athelstan	924-940
Edmund I	940-946
Edred	946-955
Edwy	955-959
Edgar	959-975

Danish & Anglo-Saxon

St. Edward II the Martyr	975-978
Ethelred II	978-1016
Sweya (Suanon)	1014-1015
Edmund II Ironside	1016-1017
Canute the Great	1015-1036
Harold I	1036-1040
Hardacanute (Canute II)	1040-1042
St. Edward III the Confessor	1042-1066
Harold II	1066-

Normans

William I the Conqueror	1066-1087
William II Rufus	1087-1100
Henry I	1100-1135
Stephen of Blois	1135-1154

Plantagenets

Henry II	1154-1189
Richard I the Lion-Heart	1189-1199
John Lackland	1199-1216
Henry III	1216-1272
Edward I	1272-1307
Edward II	1307-1327
Edward III	1327-1377
Richard II	1377-1399

House of Lancaster

Henry IV	1399-1413
Henry V	1413-1422
Henry VI	1422-1461

House of York

Edward IV	1461-1483
Edward V	1483-
Richard III	1483-1485

Tudors

Henry VII	1485-1509
Henry VIII	1509-1547
Edward VI	1547-1553
Mary the Catholic	1553-1558
Elizabeth I	1558-1603

Anne	1702-1714
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House of Hanover
(Windsor after 1917)*Stuarts*

James I	1603-1625
Charles I	1625-1649
Commonwealth (Cromwell)	1649-1660
Charles II	1660-1685
James II	1685-1688
William III & Mary II	1689-1702

George I	1714-1727
George II	1727-1760
George III	1760-1820
George IV	1820-1830
William IV	1830-1837
Victoria	1837-1901
Edward VII	1901-1910
George V	1910-1936
Edward VIII	1936-
George VI	1936-1952
Elizabeth II	1952-

Kings of Spain

Ferdinand the Catholic (Aragon)	1479-1516
Isabella the Catholic (Castile)	1474-1504
Joan & Philip I (Castile)	1504-1507
Charles I (V)	1516-1556
Philip II	1556-1598
Philip III	1598-1621
Philip IV	1621-1665
Charles II	1665-1700
Philip V (Bourbon)	1700-1746
Ferdinand VI	1746-1759
Charles III	1759-1788

Charles IV	1788-1808
Joseph Bonaparte	1808-1813
Ferdinand VII	1814-1833
Isabella II	1833-1868
Don Carlos V	1833-1845
Regency of Serranos	1869-1871
Amadeus of Savoy	1871-1873
(Republic)	1873-1875
Don Carlos	1869-1876
Alphonso XII	1875-1885
Alphonso XIII	1885-1931
(Republic)	1931-1938
Franco	1936-

*Grand Princes and Czars of Russia*1. *Rurik Dynasty of Kiev*

Igor	913
Olga, widow of Igor	945
Svatoslav I	964
Iaropolk I	973
Vladimir I	980
Sviatopolk I	1015
Iaroslav I	1019
Isiaslav I	1054-1078
Vseslav	1067

Sviatoslav II	1073-1076
Vsevolod I	1078
Sviatopolk II	1093
Vladimir II	1113
Mstislav I	1125
Iaropolk II	1132
Viatchislav	1137
Vsevolod II	1138
Igor II	1146

Isiaslav II	1146-1154	patriarchate)	
Ioury	1149-1157	Boris Godounoff	1598
Rostislas I	1154-1162	Fedor II	1605
Isiaslas III	1156-1167	Dmitri V	1605
Mstislav II	1167-1170	Vasili V	1606
Gleb Iourievitch	1168-1172	Ladislav of Poland	1610
Iaroslav II Isiaslavitch	1172-1175		
Roman I	1179	2. <i>Romanov Dynasty</i>	
Sviatoslav III	1179-1193	Michael III	1613
Rurik II	1193-1209	Alexis I	1645
Roman II	1193-1206	Fedor III	1676
Vsevolod III	1206-1212	Ivan V, Peter I & Sophia	
Mstislav III	1212-1224	co-regent	1682
Vladimir III	1230-1309	Peter I the Great (alone)	1689
Michael I Vsevolovitch	1239-1240	(abolished the patri- archate of Moscow in 1721 and became the supreme head of the Russian Church)	
<i>At Vladimir</i>		Catherine I, widow of Peter	1725
Viatoslav III	1247	Peter II	1727
Andrew Iaroslavitch	1249	Anna Ivanovna	1730
S. Alexander I Nevski	1252	Ivan VI	1740
Iaroslav III	1263	Elizabeth Petrovna	1741
Vasili (Basil) I	1272		
Dmitri I	1276-1294	3. <i>Dynasty of Holstein-Gottorp</i>	
Andrew II	1294-1304	Peter III, nephew of Elizabeth	1762
Daniel	1295	Catherine II	1762
Vasili de Souzdal	1304	Paul I	1796
Michael II of Tver	1304-1319	Alexander III (or Alex- ander I)	1801
Ioury III	1319	Nicholas I	1825
Dmitri II of Tver	1323	Alexander II	1855
Alexander II of Tver	1326	Alexander III	1881
<i>At Moscow, from 1339</i>		Nicholas II	1894
Ivan I Kalita	1328	(deposed in 1917, shot in 1918)	
Simeon the Proud	1340	Lenin	1918-1924
Ivan II	1353	Stalin (reestablished the patriarchate of Mos- cow in 1945)	1924-1953
Dmitri III	1359	Malenkov	1953-1956
Dmitri IV	1362	Khrushchev	1956-
Vasili II	1389		
Vasili III	1425		
Ivan the Great	1462		
Ivan IV the Terrible (took title of czar)	1533		
Fedor I	1584		
(In 1589, the metro- polis of Moscow ele- vated to rank of			

Ottoman Sultans

Othman I	1259-1326	Amurat III	1574
(founder of Ottoman Empire)		Mahomet III	1595
Orkhan	1326	Achmet I	1603
Amurat I	1360	Mustapha I	1617
Bajazet I	1389	Othman II	1618
Soliman I	1402	Mustapha I	1622
Musa	1410	Amurat IV	1623
Mahomet I	1413	Ibrahim	1640
Amurat II	1421	Mahomet IV	1649
Mahomet II	1451	Soliman III	1687
(In 1453 takes Constantinople; Emperor Constantine XII is killed. Mahomet II invests Gen. Scholarios patriarch and awards him extended temporal powers. In 1459, the sultan is master of the Balkans)		Achmet II	1691
Bajazet II	1481	Mustapha II	1695
Selim I	1512	Achmet III	1703
Soliman II	1520	Mamoud I	1730
(The Ottoman Empire extends from Southern Russia to Ethiopia, from Morocco to Persia)		Othman III	1754
Selim II	1566	Mustapha III	1757
		Abdoul-Amid	1774
		Selim III	1789
		Mustapha IV	1807
		Mahmoud III	1808
		Abdoul-Medjid	1839
		Abdoul-Azis	1861
		Amurat V	1876
		Abd-ul-Hamid	1876
		Mahomet V	1909
		Mahomet VI	1918
		(October 29, 1923, proclamation of the Turkish Republic; president: General G. Mustapha Kemal.)	

SEATS OF THEOLOGICAL CULTURE AND FAMOUS MASTERS

It generally happens that the student in theology at the beginning of his studies finds himself in strange country when reading ancient authors. He hears "Peter the Venerable" mentioned, but as yet he knows neither whence this author comes, nor his century, nor his occupation, nor his cultural environment, nor the influences which formed him . . . Everything is clarified when he grows familiar with the monastic centers of the twelfth century, namely, the older reform of Cluny and that of Saint Bernard. It is of great importance, then, in studying each doctrine to "situate" its author. That is why we offer this (provisional) attempt at a classification which provides in a practical and complete form what we have already presented in outline on pp. 148-168 and 281-286.

It is up to the student to complete this bare sketch.

I

TABLE OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH

The "centers of theological culture" during the patristic period were principally the great liturgical centers (the explanation of liturgical rites made up the heart of the catechesis) which were also the centers of preaching.

In addition to these episcopal sees (for such they were for the most part), we must also mention monastic centers (e.g. Lerins in the fifth century and Luxeuil later, etc.) and some renowned Oriental schools of which the most famous was the *Didascalion of Alexandria* wherein taught Saint Pantenus (who founded it), Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Saint Dionysius of Alexandria, etc. (see p. 162). The schools of Edessa and Nisibis were centers of Nestorianism from the sixth century down.

Here are the principal Fathers.

A. *Apostolic Fathers.*

Hermas ("Shepherd of Hermas," around 140).

St. Clement of Rome, pope 92-101. Believed to have died a martyr in Cherson (Crimea) where he had been exiled.

St. Ignatius of Antioch, martyred at Rome in 107.

St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, martyred in 155.

St. Justin (100-164), born at Neapolis, converted in 135, beheaded under Marcus Aurelius.

St. Theophilus of Antioch, died 180.

St. Irenaeus of Lyon (135-202), born in Asia Minor, bishop of Lyon, believed to have died a martyr under Septimus Severus.

B. *Ante-Niceans* (Before the Council of Nice).

a) *Greeks.*

Clement of Alexandria (150-214),

an Athenian converted during his travels, settled at Alexandria, taught in the Didascalion, and died in Cappadocia.

Origen (185–255), born at Alexandria, taught in the Didascalion. Expelled from Alexandria he founded the theological school of Caesarea where he had Gregory Thaumaturgus as a disciple. Tortured during the persecution of Decius, he died at Tyre in 255.

St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (213–275), first bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus. Met Origen at Caesarea in Palestine while travelling and took lessons from him.

St. Lucian of Antioch, died 312.

b) *Latins*.

Tertullian (160–250), born at Carthage, converted in 195. Became a Montanist in 213.

St. Cyprian (210–258), baptized around 245, bishop of Carthage in 249, beheaded before his people in 258 during the persecution of Valerian.

St. Hippolytus of Rome, schismatic and anti-pope during the time of Callistus. But when deported to Sardinia under Maximus the Thracian, he was reconciled with pope St. Pontian, who was likewise deported, and died, like the pope, a martyr.

C. *Post-Niceans*.

a) *Greeks* (to the fifth century).

St. Athanasius (295–373), bishop of Alexandria, the great adversary of the Arians.

Aphraates the Syrian (280–350).

St. Ephrem of Syria (360–373).

St. Cyril of Alexandria (372–444), opposed Nestorius, archbishop of Constantinople, at the Council of Ephesus.

Didymus the Blind, an Alexandrine (313–398).

(Appollinarius of Laodicea, 310–390, heresiarch.)

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (314–386), famous for his catecheses.

St. John Chrysostom (344–407), born at Antioch, later bishop of Antioch, then archbishop of Constantinople in 398.

(Diodorus of Tarsus, fourth century, Theodore of Mopsuesta, 350–428, born at Antioch, heresiarch.)

b) *Cappadocians*.

St. Basil of Caesarea (329–379), bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, author of the famous monastic rules.

St. Gregory Nazianzen (327–390), friend of the preceding, archbishop of Constantinople in 379.

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Bishop of Nyssa in 371.

c) *Latins*.

St. Hilary of Poitiers (313–367), converted in 350, bishop of Poitiers, exiled in Phrygia for some years because of his anti-Arian sentiments.

St. Ambrose (333–397), bishop of Milan in 374.

St. Jerome (345–420), born at Stridon in Dalmatia (Yugoslavia), baptized in 365, famous for his translations of Scripture.

Nicetas of Remesiana (Serbia), 375–402.

Saint Paulinus of Nola (353–431).

St. Augustine (354–430), a Berber, born at Tagaste in Numidia (today Souk-Akras, south of Bone), son of a pagan father, Patricius, and of Saint Monica, baptized at Milan by Saint Ambrose in 387, bishop of Hippo in Africa in 396. Died during the siege of Hippo by Venderic, king of the Vandals.

St. Vincent of Lerins, died 450.

Cassian (360–435), died at Marseille.

St. Leo the Great, born around 400, pope from 440–461, present at the invasion of the Barbarians and the fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

St. Cesarius of Arles (470–543).

St. Gregory the Great (540–604), a former monk, famous for his liturgical work, his Dialogues, his Moralia, his "Pastoral" (for priests), his homilies and his Life of Saint Benedict.

St. Bede the Venerable (673–735), monk of Jarrow in England.

Ambrose Autpert (beginning of the eighth century), a Frank, abbot of Saint Vincent on the Volturmo, in Italy, near Monte Cassino.

d. *Armenians.*

St. Gregory the Illuminator (died 332), apostle of Armenia.

Sahak III the Great, Armenian patriarch 390–440, with Mesrob (441) creator of the ancient Armenian alphabet and literature.

Eznik, bishop of Pakrevant (fifth century) author of the "Refutation of the Sects," a masterpiece of Armenian literature.

Moses of Khorene (died 487), disciple of Mesrob.

e) *Greeks and Syrians of the sixth to eighth centuries.*

St. Sophron of Jerusalem (500–634).

St. Maximus the Confessor (580–662), born at Constantinople, defender of the faith against Monothelism, died in exile in the Caucasus as a result of his tortures.

St. Germanus of Constantinople (635–733), defender of the veneration of images.

St. John Damascene (675–749), monk, then priest of Jerusalem, defender of the veneration of images.

St. Theodore Studite (759–826) abbot of the Studion at Constantinople, defender of the veneration of images. Died in exile.

Theodore Aboukara (eighth century), Syrian?, wrote in Arabic.

II

CENTERS OF THEOLOGICAL CULTURE AND CELEBRATED MASTERS FROM THE NINTH CENTURY, IN THE LATIN WEST

1. *From Charlemagne to the Rise of the Universities.*

In the ninth century the centers of theological culture were still the monasteries and episcopal schools.

From among the *monastic schools* we must especially mention: Auxerre, Corbie, Saint Germain des Pres, Saint Denis, Saint Gall, Fulda, Reichenau; and from among the episcopal

schools: Rheims, Metz, Liege, Chartres, York.

Celebrated Masters:

Alcuin directed the school of York and later the palace school of Charlemagne (735–804).

John Scotus Erigena directed the palace school at the court of Charles the Bald, before 847.

Rhabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda in 822 (776–856).

Hincmar of Rheims (806–882).

Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie in 843 (died 860).

Heric of Auxerre (died 887).

Remigius of Auxerre, monk of Saint Germain des Pres (died 908).

Gerbert of Aurillac, monk of Saint Geraud of Aurillac, became pope Silvester II in 999 (940–1003).

Abbo of Fleury, abbot of Fleury-sur-Loire in 987 (died 1004).

John of Fecamp, born near Ravenna, monk, then abbot of Fecamp in 1028 (died 1078).

Berengar, pupil of the school of Chartres, then schoolmaster of Saint Martin of Tours around 1040 (1000–1088).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the first-rate schools were, on the one hand, those of Chartres and Paris, and on the other hand, the schools of the new "orders": Cluny, Cîteaux, La Chartreuse, Premontre.

At Chartres:

Bishops who were also masters:

Fulbert (eleventh century).

Yvo of Chartres (died 1117).

Geoffrey of Chartres.

Gosselin of Chartres.

John of Salisbury (1110–1180).

Peter Cella (died 1183).

Chancellors:

Bernard of Chartres (died 1130).

Gilbert de la Porree.

Thierry de Chartres (died 1150).

Ernould.

Bernard de Quimper.

Nicholas of Amiens (twelfth century).

Masters who were in close relation with Chartres:

Bernard of Tours

Clarembaud of Arras (died around 1173).

William of Conches, master at Chartres (1146).

Roscellinus (1120).

At Paris:

Peter Abelard (1072–1142), taught at Melun, Corbeil, Sainte Genevieve of Paris, etc.

Adelard of Bath (beginning of twelfth century).

Walter of Montagne, bishop of Laon in 1155 (died in 1174).

Josselin of Paris, bishop of Soissons in 1125 (died 1151).

School of the Cloister of Notre Dame:

Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris in 1159 (died 1160).

Anselm of Laon (died 1117).

Peter Comester, taught there 1164–1169 (died 1198).

Peter of Poitiers, taught there 1169–1205 (died 1205).

Peter Cantor, the teacher of the future popes Innocent III and Gregory IX (died 1197).

Odo of Soissons (twelfth century).

Simon of Tournai (died 1203).

School of Sainte Genevieve:

(Several of the masters already mentioned: Abelard, Anselm of Laon, taught there.)

School of Saint Victor:

William of Champeaux, founded abbey of Saint Victor in 1108 (where today we find the *Halle aux vins* at Paris).

Hugh of Saint Victor, of Saxon origin (1096–1140).

Richard of Saint Victor, of Scottish origin (1104–1173).

Andrew of Saint Victor, of English origin (?), became abbot of Wigmore in England in 1147 (died 1175).

Walter of Saint Victor (1180).

Godfrey of Saint Victor (1195).

Absalom of Saint Victor (1203).

In monastic centers:

For *Cluny* and its dependent abbeys:

Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny (1092–1147).

Rupert of Deutz (died 1133).

Odo of Tournai, abbot of Saint Martin of Tournai, then bishop of Cambrai (died 1105).

Abbey of Bec:

Lafranc, born at Pavia, abbot of Bec in 1059, archbishop of Canterbury in 1070 (1005–1087).

St. Anselm, abbot of Bec in 1078, archbishop of Canterbury in 1093 (1033–1109).

Cistercian Order:

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153).

William of Saint Thierry (1080–1148).

Aelred of Rielvaux (1109–1166).

Gilbert of Holland (died 1172).

Isaac of Stella, English monk, abbot on the isle of Re, then at the Etoile near Poitiers (twelfth century).

Alcher of Clairvaux.

Joachim of Flora (1140–1202).

Alan of Lille (1120–1202).

Carthusian Order:

Saint Bruno (1035–1101).

Guigues I (1083–1127).

Guigues II (died 1193).

Camaldolese Order:

Saint Peter Damian (1007–1072).

Canons of Premontre (Premonstratensians):

Saint Norbert, founded Premontre in 1121, archbishop of Magdeburg in 1126 (1092–1134).

Hugh of Fosses.

Walter of Saint Maurice, abbot of Saint Martin of Laon.

Luke of Mont Cornillon.

Anselm of Havelberg (died 1158).

Philip of Harvengt (died 1183).

Adam of Dryburgh, called Adam Scot, abbot of Dryburgh (England) in 1184, then entered the charterhouse of Witham around 1190 (1150–1213 or 1214).

Among the celebrated masters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in addition to those already cited in the foregoing institutions, we must also mention:

Peter of Blois (died 1200).

Hilbert of Laverdun (1050–1133).

Honorius of Autun (twelfth century).

Burchard of Worms (died 1023).

Anselm of Lucca (eleventh century).

Robert Melun, of English origin, bishop of Hereford in 1163, had as disciples John of Salisbury, John of Cornwall, Thomas Becket (died 1167).

III

From the ADVENT OF THE UNIVERSITIES TO THE
PERIOD OF "HUMANISM"

The end of the twelfth century also marks the decline of the episcopal schools. Everywhere we note the beginning or the regrouping of certain cultural centers. Some owe their existence to the patronage of the great (kings, emperors, popes). Such were:

Old Salerno in Southern Italy, reorganized by Constantine the African in 1080, a center of medical studies. Situated at the crossroads of the Greek, Latin, and Moslem worlds, Salerno had a chance to play an important cultural role. Unfortunately the city was sacked in 1194.

Naples, founded in 1224 by Frederick II. In the thirteenth century the university played the role of a crossroad between Byzantium, the West, and Islam.

Toledo, in Spain, a third crossroad, after the time of the Christian reconquest (1085).

Salamanca, a center of studies founded by Alfonso IX of Leon in 1227.

The *Studium Curiae* at Rome, founded by pope Innocent IV in 1245.

To be noted, between 1210 and 1263: Palencia where Dominic Guzman studied.

Other centers resulted from the initiative of students and/or masters grouped into corporations. Such were the first "Universities."

Bologna, world center of law studies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Paris, the center of philosophical and theological studies.

At the end of the twelfth century, the schools of the "City" proper were administered by the chancellor of the cathedral chapter of Notre Dame; the schools of the left bank were under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Sainte Genevieve.

Abuses of the chancellor (1212-1222) were the occasion of pontifical power taking the place of episcopal power.

In 1215, Robert of Courson, the papal legate, imposed the statute of Schools.

In 1219, Theology (one of the four "teachings" along with Arts, Law, Medicine) became an autonomous body, called a *Faculty*. The University was soon afterwards organized into four *Faculties* and also in four *Nations*, namely, France (including the provinces of Sens, Rheims, Tours, and Bourges; Italy, Spain, and the Orient), Picardy, Normandy, England-Scotland.

In 1217, the Friars Preacher took up residence at Paris.

In 1219, the Friars Minor did the same.

April 12, 1231. The Bull "Parens Scientiarum" fixed the rights of the chancellor and of the University. Practically speaking the rector (elected by the University) was little by little to take the place of the chancellor in its government.

After 1230, "colleges" were gradually organized for the reception of non-Parisian students. They were: the college of the Dominicans of

Saint Jacques, that of the Franciscans, of the Maturines, of the Victorines (1247), of the Cistercians (1245), of the Benedictines (1247), and the college for secular priests founded by Robert of Sorbon in 1257.

Oxford owed its organization to a charter of the papal legate in 1214. If Paris was the center of speculative studies, both philosophical as well as theological, Oxford was especially to distinguish itself as a center of scientific studies and of the experimental method. The university was divided into two "Nations": the Boreales (Scots) and the Hibernienses (Welsh and Irish).

In 1221, the Friars Preacher arrived at Oxford.

In 1224, the Friars Minor arrived at Oxford.

In addition to these great world centers there were the companion schools of: Padua (1222), Siena (1246), Orleans (1229), Angers (1231), Montpellier (a satellite of Salerno for medicine; papal statutes in 1240), Toulouse (1245), Cambridge (a branch separated from Oxford in 1309).

University of Paris.

Before citing some Parisian masters of the thirteenth century, we must recall the outstanding position of this university¹ at that period.

In the eyes of popes Innocent III and Gregory IX the University of Paris was to be "the most powerful means of action at the disposal of the

Church for spreading religious truth throughout the entire world." "Innocent III was the first who desired to make of this University a mistress of truth for the whole world, and it was he who transformed this center of studies into an organism whose structure, function, and definite place in Christendom are only explicable from this sole point of view. . . ."

"The 'studium parisiense' is a spiritual and moral force whose deepest meaning is neither Parisian, nor French, but Christian and ecclesiastical; it is one of the component elements of the universal Church by exactly the same right and with absolutely the same sense as the Priesthood and the Empire. That is what was so marvellously expressed by the chronicler Jordan in a comparison which has been often reproduced and commented upon: *His itaque tribus, scilicet Sacerdotio, Imperio et Studio, tanquam tribus virtutibus, videlicet naturali, vitali, et scientiali, catholica ecclesia spiritualiter mirificatur, augmentatur et regitur. His itaque tribus, tanquam fundamento, pariete et tecto, eadem ecclesia tanquam materialiter proficit.*"

"The science of the schools of Paris," wrote pope Alexander IV in 1255, "is in the Holy Church like the tree of life in the earthly paradise . . . It is at Paris that the human race which was deformed by the blindness of its original ignorance recovers its sight and its beauty by the knowledge of the true light which radiates from

¹ The word *University* did not have the same meaning in the Middle Ages as it has today. A university at that time was not a place in which *all the forms of knowledge* were taught, but the study center for students of *every origin*, of the entire known world. The "studium universale" or "generale" was contrasted in this sense with the "studium particulare" of a province.

divine science." Nicholas IV, in 1292, "granted to the masters of the University of Paris the privilege of teaching throughout the whole world without having to pass any new examinations."¹ This "universalism," or what we may call the "catholicism" of the Parisian studium lasted down until the time of Philip the Fair, at which time Paris, to its great disadvantage, began to "nationalize" itself.

Masters of Paris.

Although they were not the first in time, we shall cite the Mendicants (Preachers and Minors) first because of their preponderant influence in the thirteenth century on the mass of students.

*A. Dominicans of the Studium of Saint Jacques:*²

- Roland of Cremona, "1229-1230" (died 1259).
- Hugh of Saint Cher, "1230-1235" (died 1263).
- John of Saint Giles,³ "1230-1233" (died 1258).
- Gueric of Saint Quentin, "1233-1242."
- Godefrey of Bleneau, "1235-1242."
- Albert the Great, "1242-1248" (died 1280).
- Stephen of Venizy, "1242-1243."
- Laurent of Fougeres, "1243-1244."

- William of Etampes, "1244-1246."
- John Pointlasne, "1247-1248."
- Eli Brunet, "1248-1256."
- Bonhomme, "1248-1255."
- Florent of Hesdin, "1255-1257."
- Thomas Aquinas, "first period of teaching at Paris, 1256-1259; second period of teaching at Paris, 1269-1272." (1225-1274).
- Hugh of Metz, "1257-1258."
- Bartholomew of Tours, "1258-1259."
- William of Antona, "1259-1260 and 1262-1266."
- Peter of Tarentasia, "1259-1264 and 1267-1269" later pope Innocent V (died 1276).
- Hannibald, "1260-1262."
- Beaudoin of Maffix, "1264-1267."
- Gilbert, "1266-1268."
- William of Quinchy, "1270-1272."
- Romanus of Rome, "1272-1273."
- William of Tournai, "1272-1274."
- Ferrarius, "1274-1276."
- Berengar, "1276-1280."
- John du Tour, "1277-1279."
- William of Hothun, "1280-1282."
- John of Saint Benedict, "1281-1282."
- Hugh of Billom, "1282-1284."
- Bernard of Trilia, "1284-1287."

¹ These excerpts are from E. Gilson, *La philosophie au Moyen Age, des origines patristiques a la fin du XIV siecle*, Paris, Payot, 1944, pp. 391-397.

² According to P. Glorieux, *Repertoire des maitres en theologie au XIIIe siecle*.

³ The entry of John of Saint Giles, who was already a master in theology, into the Order of Preachers gave the Dominicans a second chair in the university of Paris.

- Stephen of Besançon, "1286-1290."
 Raymond Guilha, "1288-1290."
 Thierry, "1290-1292."
 Olivier, "1291-1293."
 Amandus of Saint Quentin, "1299-1302."
 Ferric, "1301-1303."
 Raymund Romani, "1302-1304."
 William of Godin, "1304-1306."
 John Quidort (John of Paris), "1304-1305" (died 1306).
 Arnould, "1305-1307."
 Romeu, "1306-1308."
 Herve of Nedelec, "1307-1310," (died 1323).
 Berengar Landore, "1308-1310."
 John Lichtenberger, "1310-1312."
 Ivo of Caen, "1311-1312."
 Eckhart, "1312-1313."
 Durandus of Saint Pourçain, "1312-1313," named bishop of Meaux in 1326 (died 1334).
 John of Parma, "1313-1314."
- B. Friars Minor.**
- Alexander of Hales, "1231-1241," was the first to lecture on the *Sentences* rather than on the Bible (died 1245).
 John of La Rochelle, "1241-1245."
 Odo Rigaud, "1245-1247."
 William of Melitus, "1248-1253)."
 Saint Bonaventure, "1253-1257."
 Guibert of Tournai, "1257-1260."
 Odo of Rosny, "1260-1263."
 Eustace, "1263-1266."
 William of Barlo, "1266-1267."
 Walter of Bruges, "1267-1268."
 William of la Mare, "1268-1269."
- John Peckham, "1269-1271."
 William of Falegar, "between 1271 and 1275."
 Bartholomew of Bologna, "1275-1277."
 Matthew of Aquasparta, "1278-1279."
 Peter of Falco, "between 1279-1281."
 John of Wales, "1281-1282."
 Arlotto da Prato, "1283-1285."
 Richard of Mediavilla, "1284-1287."
 Raymund Rigaud, "1287-1289."
 John of Murrho, "1289-1290."
 James of Quesnoy, "1290-1293."
 Simon of Lens, "1294-1295."
 Gentile of Montefiori, "1295-1296."
 William of Ware, "1296-1299."
 Gonzalvus of Spain, "1301-1303."
 Peter of England, "1303-1306."
 John Duns Scotus, "1306-1307," a former master of Oxford (1266-1308).
 Alexander of Alexandria, "1307-1308" (died 1314).
 Nicholas of Lyra, "1308-1310."
 James of Ascoli, "1310-1311."
 Bertrand of la Tour, "1311-1312."
 Martin of Abbeville, "1312-1313."
 Solomon, "1313-1314."
 Arnold Royard, "1314-1316."
 William of Arlwich, "1317-1318."
 Peter Auriol, "1319-1320," archbishop of Aix in 1321 (died 1322).
- C. Secular Masters and Canons Regular.**
- In 1200 they possessed eight chairs in the university, and in 1222, twelve.

We cannot name them all (see the *Repertoire* of Glorieux for that); we shall just mention the most celebrated of them:

- Peter of Poitiers, "C.¹ 1193–1204" (died 1205).
 Simon of Tournai (died 1203). Already cited.
 Robert of Courson, born around 1155 in England, canon of Noyon, then of Paris, cardinal in 1212 (died 1219).
 Stephen Langton, born around 1150 in England, in 1180 master in theology at Paris where he taught for more than 20 years, cardinal in 1206 (died 1228).
 Saint Edmund, born in England, regent at Paris around 1225 (died 1240).
 Peter of Capua, regent at Paris, patriarch of Antioch in 1219 (died 1242).
 Prevostinus (Praepositinus), born in Northern Italy, "C. 1206–1209" (died 1210).
 John Halgrin of Abbeville, regent at Paris, cardinal in 1227 (died 1237).
 Thomas Gallus, canon regular of Saint Victor (died around 1246).
 Philip the Chancellor, "C. 1218–1236," (died 1236).
 William of Durham, English, regent of Paris around 1226–1229 (died 1249).
 Saint Boniface, regent 1222–1229 (1182–1265).
 William of Auxerre (died 1231).
 Nicholas of Tournai (first half of the thirteenth century).
 Guiard of Laon, "C. 1236–1238" (died 1247).
 Odo of Chateauroux, "C. 1238–1241" (died 1273).
 Peter of Bar (died 1252) perhaps a Cistercian.
 William of Auvergne, master in theology, bishop of Paris in 1228 (died 1249).
 Walter of Chateau Thierry, "C. 1246–1249," bishop of Paris in 1249 (died 1249).
 Peter of Lamballe, master in theology, archbishop of Tours in 1249 (died 1256).
 James of Dinant, master in theology, bishop of Arras in 1247 (died 1260).
 John Pagus (works dated between 1242–1246).
 Richard of Saint Laurent.
 Aymeric of Veyre, "C. 1250–1263," conferred the licentiate on Saint Bonaventure and Saint Thomas (died 1263).
 Robert of Sorbon, founder of the secular college called the Sorbonne (died 1274).
 William of Saint-Amour, master and regent around 1250 (died 1272).
 Nicholas of Lisieux, probably master in theology after 1271.
 Gerard of Abbeville, regent 1254–1274 (died 1274).
 Stephen Tempier, chancellor, then bishop of Paris in 1268 (died 1279).
 Peter of Limoges (died 1306).
 Gerard of Reims, regent (died around 1310).
 Adenulf of Anagni, became a canon of Saint Victor in his old age (died 1272).
 Ranulph of Homblieres, master

¹ "C" means "chancellor of the University of Paris."

in theology, bishop of Paris, 1279–1288.

Nicholas du Pressoir, regent (died 1302).

Henry of Gand (Ghent), regent 1276–1292 (died 1293).

Godfrey of Fontaines, regent 1285–1304 (died 1306).

Nicholas of Nonancour, "C. 1284–1288" (died 1299).

Peter of Saint Omer, "C. 1296–1301."

Eustace of Grandcourt, master in theology in 1290.

Henry of Malines, surnamed Bate (died 1310).

Peter of Auvergne, rector in 1272, bishop of Clermont in 1302 (died 1304).

Arnold of Villanova, born in Catalonia around 1240, a married cleric (not a priest) physician to popes, studied theology with Dominicans (died 1311).

Thomas of Bailley, regent 1301–1307, "C. in 1316" (died 1328).

John of Pouilly, regent 1307–1321.

Ralph of Hotot, master before 1309.

Francis Caraccioli, "C. 1309–1316" (died 1316).

Thomas of Wylton, taught 1314–1320.

ADDENDUM

a) *Canons Regular of the Val des Ecoliers.*

Evrard du Val (died 1272).

Gregory of Burgundy (died 1291).

Giles du Val (died 1282).

Lawrence of Poulengy.

b) *Canons Regular of Mont Saint Eloi.* (No special house at Paris.)

Stephen of Fermont (died 1291).
Gervase of Mount Saint Eloi (died 1314).

Andrew of Mont Saint Eloi, regent in 1304.

John of Mont Saint Eloi, master around 1305.

D. *First Cistercian Masters at Saint Bernard College* (transferred to the Chardonnet in 1250):

Guy of l'Aumone.

John of Limoges

John of Weerde

Francis of Keysere.

James of Therines (died 1321).

James Fournier (died 1342).

E. *First Masters of the Black Monks.* (College of Cluny):

Gaudry (died around 1275).

Albert of Cluny.

Guy of Pernes (or of Cluny) (died around 1310).

F. *First Masters of the Hermits of Saint Augustine* (Convent of the Grands Augustins after 1293):

Giles of Rome, taught 1285–1291, archbishop of Bourges in 1295 (died 1316).

James of Viterbo (died 1314).

Angelus of Camereno (died 1314).

Arnold of Toulouse, regent in 1302.

Alexander of Hungary, master in 1303.

James of Orte (died 1311).

Henry of Germany, regent around 1306.

Gregory of Lucca (died 1327).

Alexander of Sant'Elpido (died 1326).

Augustine of Ancona (died 1328).

Prosper of Reggio Emilia (died 1333).

G. First Carmelite Masters (Mau-
bert Place):

Gerard of Bologna (died 1317).
Simon of Corbie, master 1309–
1313, again regent in 1321.

Guy Terreni (died 1342).

Sibert of Beek (died 1332).

Simon Anglicus, regent around
1320.

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD¹

After Saint Edmund of Abingdon,
"1202–1209," John Blund, "1207–
1209," Adam of Buckfield (1220–
1280), we must mention:

Robert Grosseteste, the first master
of the Franciscans at Oxford (1168–
1253).

We shall give the names only of
the better known Friars Preacher and
Minor:

A. Friars Preacher.

Robert Bacon (died 1248).

Richard Fishacre (died 1248).

Robert Kilwardby, "1256–1261,"
archbishop of Canterbury
1272–1279.

Richard of Clapwell, "1284–
1286."

B. Friars Minor.

Adam Marsh, "1247–1248."

John Peckam, "1271–1275"
(died 1292).

Roger Bacon (1210–1292).

Thomas of York, "1253–1256"
(died 1260).

Richard Rupus, "1256."

Roger Marston, "1297" (died
1303).

William of Ware.

Richard Middleton (died 1308).

From among the other "university"
centers already named, we must cite:

Toledo, for its team of transla-
tors from Arabic who exer-
cised great influence on the
philosophical and theological
thought of the thirteenth cen-
tury:

Dominic Gundisalvi (twelfth cen-
tury).

John of Spain (twelfth century).

Gerard of Cremona (twelfth
century).

Alfred of Sareshel (twelfth cen-
tury).

Michael Scot "around 1220."

Herman the German "around
1250."

Peter Gallego (died 1267).

Naples, also for its translators:

Peter of Ireland.

Martin of Dacia.

Michael Scot.

Manfred "1258–1266."

William of Luna.

Ptolemeus of Lucca, O.P. (thir-
teenth-fourteenth centuries).

Erasmus.

¹ A. G. Little and D. A. Callus have made careful studies of the succession of masters at Oxford: A. G. Little, "The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, XIX (1926) 803-874; *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (Manchester, 1943); A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. 1282–1302* (Oxford Historical Society, XCVI, 1934); D. A. Callus, "The Tabulae super Originalia Patrum" of Robert Kilwardby," *Studia Mediaevalia* (op. cit., p. 216, n. 2), 242-252.

Saint Thomas Aquinas, "1272-1274."

At the *Papal Curia*, a disciple and collaborator of Saint Thomas:

William of Merbeke, O.P.

Without any definite location:

Ramon Lull, O.F.M. (1232-1316).

IV

AT THE TIME OF "HUMANISM" AND THE PARTIES

(Occamists, Scotists, Nominalists, Realists, etc.)

- A. *Dominicans*, in general *Realists*.
 Peter of la Palu (died 1342).
 James of Lausanne (master in 1317).
 Bernard Lombard (master in 1331).
 Durandus of Aurillac (master in 1332, died 1380).
 Rambert dei Primadizzi (died 1308).
 Henry of Lubeck (provincial of Saxony 1326-1336).
 Thomas of Sutton, "Oxford, 1300-1320."
 Nicholas Trivet, "Oxford, 1317."
 Armandus of Beauvoir, "Roman Curia" (died 1340).
 Robert Holkot (died 1349).
 John Capreolus (died 1432).
 John of Torquemada (died 1468).
 Eckart, etc. (See *Mystics*).
- B. *Franciscans*, disciples of Scotus or Occam.
 Francis of Meyronnes, "Paris" (died 1325).
 William of Occam, "Oxford" (1300-1349).
 John of Reading, "Oxford" (fourteenth century).
 John of Bassolis (died 1387).
 Francis of Marchia, "Paris" (thirteenth century).
- Peter of Candia, "Paris," bishop in 1386.
 Adam of Wodcham, "Oxford" (died 1358).
 John of Ripa, "Paris, 1357."
 Maurice du Port (died 1513).
- C. "*Mystics*."
 a) *Rhenish Mystics*.
 Eckart, O.P. (1260-1328).
 Tauler, O.P. (1300-1361).
 Henry Suso, O.P. (1296-1366).
 John of Ruysbroeck, Aug. (1293-1381).
 b) *School of Windesheim* (Brethren of the Common Life).
 Gerard Groote (1340-1384).
 Gerlas Peters (1378-1411).
 Thomas à Kempis (1379-1471).
 c) *Carthusian School*.
 Ludolph the Carthusian (1300-1370).
 Denis the Carthusian (1402-1471).
- D. *Miscellaneous*.
 a) *Hermits of St. Augustine*, in general *Thomists*.
 Thomas of Strasbourg, "Paris, 1341" (died 1347).

Gregory of Rimini, "Paris, 1341"
(died 1358).

Favaroni (died 1443).

Giles Viterbo, general of his order
1507-1518, of Platonist
tendencies (died 1532).

St. Thomas of Villanova (1488-
1555).

b) *Carmelites*, in general *Thom-*
ists.

John Bacon, English (died 1346).

Francis Bacon, "Paris, 1360"
(died 1372).

c) *Seculars*.

Thomas Bradwardine, "Oxford"
(1290-1349).

John of Jandun (died 1328).

Marsilio of Padua "Paris 1312-
1313," (died 1342).

FitzRalph, primate of Ireland
(died 1360).

Peter d'Ailly, "Paris" (1350-
1420).

John of Pouilly, "Paris" (begin-
ning of fourteenth century).

John Gerson, "Paris" (1369-
1429).

John of Montreuil (1354-1418).

John Buridan, "Paris, 1328-
1340" (died 1358).

Nicholas Oresme, "Paris, 1356"
(died 1382).

Marsilius of Inghem, "Paris,
1367-1371, Heidelberg, 1389."

Wyclif, "Oxford" (1324-1384).

Albert of Saxony, "Paris, 1363,
Vienna, 1365" (died 1390).

John Huss, "Prague, 1398"
(1369-1415).

Gabriel Biel, "Tubingen" (1425-
1495).

John Major, "Tubingen" (1478-
1540).

In Germany, the influence of Nich-
olas of Cusa (1401-1464).

In France, Lefebvre of Etaples
(1456-1537).

Erasmus (1464-1536).

St. John Fisher (1459-1535).

St. Thomas More (1478-1535).

Reginald Pole (1500-1558).

V

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

A. *Jesuits*.

St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-
1556).

Alphonsus Salmeron (1515-
1585).

Francis Suarez, "Salamanca"
(1548-1616).

St. Robert Bellarmine, "Roman
College" (died 1621).

Louis Lallement (1587-1635).

John of Lugo (died 1660).

Peter Skarga, Poland (died 1612).

Louis Molina, "Evora" (1536-
1600).

Leonard Lessius, "Louvain"
(1623).

James Laynez (died 1565).

Gabriel Vasquez, "Alcala"
(1551-1604).

Denys Petau, "Paris" (died 1652).

St. Peter Canisius, Germany
(1521-1597).

Gregory of Valentia, "Ingolstadt"
(died 1603).

John of Maldonat (died 1583).
 Cornelius a Lapide, "Louvain"
 (died 1637).
 Thomas Sanchez (died 1600).
 Paul Laymann (died 1635).
 Herman Busenbaum (died 1668).
 Bourdaloue (1632-1704).
 Balthazar Alvarez (1533-1580).
 Louis du Pont (1554-1580).

B. *Dominicans.*

Ambrose Catharin (1487-1553).
 Dominic Soto, "Salamanca"
 (1495-1560).
 John Capreolus, "Paris" (died
 1444).
 John of Torquemada, master of
 the Sacred Palace (1388-1468).
 Jerome Savonarola, "Florence"
 (1452-1498).
 Francis of Vittoria, "Salamanca"
 (1480-1546).
 Thomas de Vio Cajetan, "Padua,
 1493" (1468-1534).
 Silvester of Ferrara, "Bologna"
 (died 1528).
 Melchior Cano, "Salamanca"
 (died 1560).
 Peter of Soto, "Salamanca" (died
 1560).
 Bartholomew of Medina, "Sala-
 manca" (died 1563).
 Bartholomew of the martyrs,
 archbishop of Braga (1514-
 1590).
 Louis of Granada (1504-1588).
 St. Louis Bertrand (died 1581).
 Dominic Bañez, "Salamanca"
 (1528-1604).
 Diego Alvarez, disciple of Bañez
 (1635).
 Thomas of Lemos (1550-1629).
 John of St. Thomas, "Alcala"
 (1589-1644).

Contenson, "Albi and Toulouse"
 (1641-1674).
 Gonet (died 1681).
 Nicholas Coffeteau (died 1623).
 Massoulie of Toulouse (1632-
 1706).
 Thomas of Vallgornera (1595-
 1665).
 Louis Chardon (1595-1651).
 James Goar (1601-1654).
 Noel Alexander (1639-1724).
 J. B. Rousseau (died 1720).
 Concina (died 1756).
 Billuart (died 1757).
 Patuzzi (died 1769).
 Alexander Piny (1639-1769).

C. *Carmelites.*

St. Teresa of Avila (1515-1582).
 St. John of the Cross (1542-
 1591).
 Thomas of Jesus (1568-1627).
 Philip of the Trinity (1603-
 1671).
 John of St. Samson (1571-1636).

D. *Franciscans.*

Francis of Ossuna (fifteenth &
 sixteenth centuries).
 St. Peter of Alcantara (1499-
 1562).
 Bartholomew Cambi of Saluces
 (1558-1617).
 Benedict of Canfeld (1561-1610).
 Joseph du Tremblay (Joseph of
 Paris) (1577-1638).
 Yves of Paris (1590-1679).
 Mary of Agreda (1602-1665).
 Brancati of Laura (1612-1693).
 Ambrose of Lombey (1708-
 1778).

E. *Monks.*

Garcia of Cisneros (1455-1510).
 Louis of Blois, abbot of Liessies
 near Avesnes (1506-1566).

Cardinal Bona, Cistercian (1609–1674).

John le Bouthillier (abbé de Rancé), abbot of the Grande Trappe of Saligny (1627–1700).

Innocent le Masson, Carthusian (1627–1703).

The Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur, seventeenth century: Dom Benard and Dom Tarrisé, Mabillon (1632–1707), Montfaucon (1655–1741), Martene (1654–1739), Ruinart (1657–1709), etc.

F. *The Berullian School.*

a) *The Oratory.*

Cardinal de Berulle (1575–1629).
Pere de Condren (1588–1641).
P. Lejeune (died 1672).
Bourgoing (1585–1662).
Thomassin (1619–1695).
Peter Le Brun (1661–1719).
Massillon (1663–1742).

b) *Saint Sulpice.*

J. J. Olier (died 1657).
L. Tronson (1662–1700).

G. *Miscellaneous*

Cardinal Ximenes (died 1517).
John of Avila (died 1596).
Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579).
St. Francis de Sales (1567–1622).
St. Charles Borromeo (1538–1584).
Michael Baius, "Louvain" (died 1589).
Adrian Bourdoise (1584–1655).
St. Vincent de Paul, founder of the Lazarists (1581–1660).
Cornelius Jansenius, "Louvain" (died 1638).
St. John Eudes (1601–1680).
John du Verger de H., called Abbé de St. Cyran (died 1643).
Master of Saci (1613–1684).
Molinos (1628–1696).
Flechier (1632–1710).
Henry Boudon (1624–1702).
Bossuet (1627–1704).
Fenelon (1651–1715).
St. Paul of the Cross, founder of the Passionists (1696–1775).
St. Louis-Marie Grignon de Monfort (1673–1716).
G. D. Mansi, "Naples" (1692–1769).
St. Alphonsus Liguori, founder of the Redemptorists (1696–1787).

VI

FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO OUR TIMES

A. *Dominican Theologians.*

Lacordaire (1802–1861).
Monsabre (1827–1907).
Cardinal Zigliara (1833–1893).
Lepidi (1838–1925).
Olivier (1835–1910).

Didon (1849–1900).
Hugon (1868–1929).
Arintero (1860–1928).
Mandonnet (1858–1936).
Joret (1884–1937).
Pegues (1866–1936).
Petitot (1880–1934).

- Gardeil (died 1931).
 Lemonnyer (died 1932).
 Roland-Gosselin (1883–1934).
 Bernadot (1883–1941).
 Schmitt (1871–1946).
 Sertillanges (1863–1948).
 Schwalm (died 1908).
 Janvier (1861–1939).
 Gillet (1875–1951).
 Deman (1899–1954).
- B. *Jesuit Theologians.***
 de Cloriviere (1735–1820).
 Roothaan (1785–1853).
 Kleutgen (died 1883).
 de Ravignan (1795–1858).
 Felix (died 1891).
 Poulain (1836–1919).
 Rousselot (died 1915).
 Marechal (died 1941).
 Billot (died 1931).
 de la Taille (1872–1933).
 Bainvel (1858–1937).
 de Guibert (died 1942).
 de Regnon (1831–1893).
 d'Ales (1861–1938).
 Mersch (1890–1940).
 Le Bachelet (1855–1925).
 Charles (1883–1954).
 de Ghellinck (1872–1950).
- C. *Monks.***
 Gueranger, abbot of Solesmes (1805–1875).
 Marmion, abbot of Maredsous (1858–1923).
 Vonier, abbot of Buckfast (1875–1938).
 Butler, abbot of Downside (1858–1934).
 Dom Lehodey, abbot of Bricquebec (1857–1948).
 Chautard, abbot of Sept Fons (1858–1935).
 Joseph Gredt (1863–1942).
- D. *Miscellaneous.***
 M. Emery, P.S.S.
 Andre Hamon, P.S.S. (1795–1874).
 Cardinal V. Dechamps (1810–1883).
 Louis Blanchereau, P.S.S. (1829–1913).
 Charles Sauve, P.S.S. (1848–1925).
 A. Tanquerey, P.S.S., "Issy" (1854–1932).
 Graty, of the Oratory (1805–1872).
 H. Perreyre, Oratorian (1831–1865).
 A. Le Dore, Eudist (1819–1919).
 St. Clement Hofbauer, C.S.S.R. (1751–1820).
 Passerat, C.S.S.R. (1772–1858).
 Desurmont, C.S.S.R. (1828–1898).
 E. d'Alzon, founder of the Augustinians of the Assumption (1810–1880).
 F. Faber, founder of the London Oratory (1814–1863).
 Cardinal Wiseman (died 1865).
 Cardinal Newman (1801–1890).
 Cardinal Manning (1808–1892).
 Msgr. Gay (1815–1892).
 Msgr. de Segur (1820–1881).
 Msgr. Darboy, archbishop of Paris (1813–1871).
 Msgr. d'Hulst, first Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris (1841–1896).
 Cardinal Pie, bishop of Poitiers (1815–1880).
 Cardinal Lepicier (1863–1936).
 Msgr. Saudreau (1859–1943).
 Msgr. Gruber, archbishop of Salzburg (1763–1863).

Cardinal Mercier, archbishop of Malines (1851–1926).
 Cardinal Gibbons, archbishop of Baltimore (1834–1921).
 A. Chevrier, founder of the Prado (1826–1879).
 H. Bremond (1855–1933).
 J. Migne (1800–1875).

Dogmatic and Patristic Theologians:

Scheeben (died 1888).
 Passaglia (1812–1887).
 P. Franzelin (died 1886).
 Msgr. Bartmann (1860–1943).
 Möhler (died 1838).
 J. B. de Rossi (1822–1894).
 Cardinal Pitra (1812–1889).

Historians:

Charles Hefele (1809–1893).
 Msgr. Duchesne (1843–1922).

Msgr. Batiffol (1861–1929).
 Tixeront (1856–1925).
 V. Martin (died 1949).
 A. Fliche (died 1952).

Exegetes:

Le Hir, P.S.S. (1811–1868).
 Vigouroux (1837–1915).
 A. Crampon (1826–1894).
 M. J. Lagrange, O.P., founder of the Biblical School of Jerusalem (died 1938).
 A. Condamin, S. J. (1862–1940).
 A. van Hoonacker (1857–1933).
 Allo, O.P. (died 1945).
 Huguency, O.P. (died 1942).
 Huby, S. J. (died 1948).
 Durand, S. J. (1858–1928).
 De Grandmaison, S.J. (died 1927).
 Voste, O.P. (1883–1949).
 F. Prat, S. J. (1857–1939).

VII

CENTERS OF CULTURE TODAY

Since we do not mention the living, we shall terminate our review of the centers of theological culture by giving the present list of universities and great schools of theology on the one hand, and of theological reviews on the other.

1. *Universities and Great Schools*

The following list gives the universities in the chronological order of their foundation (first date). If there is any interruption of continuity between the foundation of a university and the present-day institutes of a city, a second date, after the mention of such an institute, indicates its origin.

The names preceded by an asterisk are those of theological schools which

do not correspond to the definition of a "university" as defined in the Constitution *Deus Scientiarum* of May 24, 1931.

Paris, twelfth and thirteenth centuries; 1200, first privileges accorded by Philip Augustus; 1215, Statutes of the papal legate Robert of Courson; 1217, installation of the Friars Preachers; 1219, the "faculty" of theology erected into an autonomous faculty. On the university of Paris, the first university, see p. 348. Catholic Institute of Paris, 1875; to which we must add Le Saulchoir, Etiolles, (S.O.), the university of the French Dominican province, and as such, the heir of the former studium of St. Jacques (Province restored by Lacordaire in 1850).

*Oxford, 1214–1220. (Only by way of remembrance; the university is now Anglican. We must note, however, the studium of the Dominicans—“Blackfriars”; that of the Jesuits—“Campion Hall,” and those of certain other orders.)

Toulouse, 1229. Catholic Institute (1876). We must also mention the Dominican studium of the province of Toulouse, *St. Maximinus.

Rome—“Studium Curiae,” 1245—Gregorian University, formerly the Collegium Germanicum (1552), directed by the Jesuits; the Angelicum, the Dominican university; the Pontifical Biblical Institute (1909), directed by the Jesuits.

Salamanca (1230).

Angers, 1364. Catholic Institute (1875).

Louvain, 1425. Catholic University.

**Philippine Islands*, 1595. University of San Carlos, founded by the Jesuits in 1595, entrusted to the Society of the Divine Word in 1935.

**Bogota*, 1622. “Javeriana” University, directed by the Jesuits.

Manila, 1645. St. Thomas University, directed by the Dominicans.

**Bogota*, 1652. “Colegio mayor de Nuestra Senora del Rosario.”

Maynooth (Ireland), 1795. Saint Patrick’s College.

Ottawa, 1840. Founded by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

Quebec, 1852. Laval University.

Niagara Falls, 1856. Niagara Falls.

**Manila*, 1859. Manila Institute, directed by American Jesuits.

Boston, 1863. Boston College, directed by Jesuits.

Lille, Catholic Institute, 1874.

Beyrooth, 1875. St. Joseph University, directed by French Jesuits.

Lyon, Catholic Institute, 1875, to which must be added the Theological School of *Fourvieres (Jesuits) and the Dominican studium of *Leysse (Savoy).

Montreal (Canada), 1876. University of Montreal.

Washington, 1884. Catholic University of America.

Santiago (Chile), 1888. Catholic University of Chile.

Fribourg (Switzerland), 1890. University presided over by Dominicans.

**Jerusalem*, 1890. Biblical School.

Shanghai (China), 1902. Aurora University, directed by French Jesuits.

**Tokyo*, 1913. Sophia Catholic University.

**Duesto*, near Bilbao (Spain), 1916.

Lima (Peru), 1917. Catholic University of Peru.

Lublin (Poland), 1918. Catholic University of Lublin.

Milan, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, 1920.

**Tien Tsin* (China), 1923. Tsinku University (Kung Shang), directed by the Jesuits.

Niemegen (Holland), 1923. Catholic University.

**Pieping* (China), 1925. Fu Jen University; founded by the Benedictines, since 1933 directed by the Society of the Divine Word.

**Valparaiso* (Chile), 1938. Catholic University.

Medellin (Colombia), 1936. Bolivian Catholic University.

**Salzburg* (Austria), 1937. Catholic University.

Rio de Janeiro, 1940. National Catholic University.

**Sao Paolo* (Brazil), 1942. Catholic University of Sao Paolo.

**Roma* (Basutoland, South Africa), 1945. Pius XII Catholic University College.

**Quito* (Ecuador), 1946. Catholic University of Ecuador.

Havana (Cuba), 1946. Catholic University of Saint Thomas of Villanova.

**Puerto Rico* (West Indies), 1949. Santa Maria Catholic University.

2. *Reviews and Magazines of Catholic Culture.*

Today reviews play the role of centers of culture for two reasons. First, because each important review has numerous, attentive readers. And also because to be living requires of its editors constant contacts, not only with their readers, but also with the professors of schools of theology, with pastors, the life of the Church, and with other reviews. Finally, it goes without saying that many reviews are also the organs of centers of study.

In the choice that we present here we have put in brackets the reviews which are neither entirely popular reviews for the majority nor technical reviews, but which are on the borderline between these two types; we have also put in brackets popular reviews of great influence because of their circulation. Finally, we have marked reviews not directed by Catholics with an asterisk.

(The) American Ecclesiastical Review, (Washington).

L'annee theologique (Paris).

Acta Pontif. Acad. Romanae S. Thomae Aquinatis et religionis catholicae (Rome).

(American Benedictine Review, Newark, N.J., U.S.A.).

L'Ami du clerge (Langres).

Angelicum (Rome).

Anima (Fribourg, Switzerland).

Antonianum (Rome).

Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litteraire du moyen-age (Paris).

Archivo teologico (Granada).

Bibel und Liturgie (Klosterneuburg).

Biblica (Rome).

Blackfriars (Oxford).

Bulletin de litterature ecclesiastique (Toulouse).

Bulletin thomiste (Le Saulchoir, Paris).

Cahiers carmelitains (Choubrach-Cairo).

Cahiers sioniens (Paris).

Cahiers universitaires catholiques (Paris).

Cathedra (Bogota, Colombia).

La Ciencia tomista (Salamanca).

Civiltà cattolica (Rome).

Credo (Stockholm).

Criterio (Buenos Aires).

Cross & Crown (River Forest, Ill., U.S.A.).

Dieu vivant (Paris).

Divus Thomas (Fribourg, Switzerland).

Divus Thomas (Plaisance).

Doctrine & Life (Cork, Ireland).

(La) Documentation catholique (Paris).

Documentos (St. Sebastian, Spain).

Dominican Studies (Oxford).

(The) Downside Review (Downside, England).

(The) Dublin Review (London).

Eastern Churches Quarterly (Rams-gate, England).

- (Ecclesia, Paris).
 (Ecclesia, Spain-Madrid).
 Echos d'Orient (Paris).
 *(The) Ecumenical Review (Geneva).
 Eglise vivante (Louvain-Paris).
 Ephemerides carmeliticae (Rome).
 Ephemerides liturgicae (Rome).
 Ephemerides theologicae Lovanienses (Louvain).
 Esprit et vie (Maredsous, Belgium).
 Estudos (Coimbra).
 Etudes (Paris).
 Etudes carmelitaines (Paris).
 Etudes franciscaines (Paris).
 *Etudes theologiques et religieuses (Montpellier).
 Evangeliser (La Sarte, Huy; Belgium).
 Franciscan Studies (New York).
 (The Furrow; Maynooth, Ireland).
 Geist und Leben (Munich).
 Gloria Dei (Seckau-Vienna, Austria).
 Gregorianum (Rome).
 (The) Harvard Theological Review (Cambridge-London).
 Humanitas (Brescia).
 Irenikon (Chevetogne, Belgium).
 (The) Irish Ecclesiastical Record (Maynooth-Dublin).
 Jeunesse de l'Eglise (Paris).
 Laval theologique et philosophique (Quebec, Canada).
 Life of the Spirit (Oxford).
 Lumen (Lisbon).
 Lumiere et vie (St. Alban, Leysse, Savoy).
 La Maison-Dieu (Paris).
 Manresa (Madrid).
 Marianum (Rome).
 Masses ouvrieres (Paris).
 Medieval Studies (Toronto, Canada).
 Melanges de sciences religieuses (Lille).
 Miscelanea Comillas (Comillas, Spain).
 (The) Modern Schoolman (St. Louis, U.S.A.).
 (The) Month (Rome).
 Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft (Beckenreid, Switzerland).
 New Scholasticism (Washington).
 Nouvelle revue theologique (Louvain).
 Orbis catholicus, Herder Korrespondenz (Vienna, Austria).
 Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Rome).
 (La) Pensee catholique (Angers-Paris).
 Philosophisches Jahrbuch (Fulda).
 Proce-Orient chretien (Jerusalem-Paris).
 Przegląd Powszechny (Warsaw).
 Razon y fe (Madrid).
 Recherches et debats (Paris).
 Recherches de Science religieuse (Paris).
 Recherches de theologie ancienne et medievale (Louvain).
 Revista biblica (La Plata).
 Revista ecclesiastica brasileira (Petropolis, Brazil).
 Revista de espiritualidad (Madrid).
 Revista Javeriana (Bogota, Colombia).
 Revista liturgica Argentina (Buenos Aires).
 Revista de teologia (La Plata).
 Revue d'ascetique et de mystique (Toulouse-Paris).
 Revue benedictine (Maredsous, Belgium).
 Revue biblique (Jerusalem-Paris).
 Revue du clerge africain (Mayidi, Belgian Congo).
 (Revue dominicaine; Montreal, Canada).
 (Revue gregorienne; Solesmes-Paris-Tournai).

- Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique (Louvain).
 *Revue d'histoire des religions (Paris).
 Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France (Paris).
 *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse (Strasbourg).
 Revue Mabillon (Liguge).
 Revue du Moyen-age latin (Strasbourg).
 Revue neoscholastique de philosophie (Louvain).
 (La) Revue nouvelle (Brussels).
 Revue des sciences philosophiques et theologiques (Le Saulchoir, Etiolles-Paris).
 Revue des sciences religieuses (Strasbourg).
 *Revue de philosophie et de theologie (Lausanne).
 Revue thomiste (St. Maximin, Var).
 Revue de l'universite l'Aurore Shanghai).
 Revue de l'universite d'Ottawa.
 Revista di Filosofia neo-scolastica (Milan).
 Revista di vita spirituale (Milan).
 Russie et chretiente (Paris).
 Salesianum (Turin).
 Sapientia (La Plata-Buenos Aires).
 Scholastik (Friburg im Breisgau).
 (La) Scuola Cattolica (Milan).
 Stimmen der Zeit (Friburg im Breisgau).
 Studia catholica (Niemegen).
 Tabor (Rome).
 Temoignages (La Pierre-qui-Vire, France).
 Testimonio (Bogota, Colombia).
 (The) Tablet (London).
 Theological Studies (Woodstock, Maryland).
 *Theologische Quartalschrift (Rottemburg, A-M.).
 (The) Thomist (Washington).
 Tijdschrift voor filosofie (Louvain-Utrecht).
 Unitas (Rome-Paris).
 *Verbum caro (Basle, Switzerland).
 (La) Vida sobrenatural (Salamanca).
 (La) vie intellectuelle (Paris).
 (La) vie spirituelle (Paris).
 Vita christiana (Florence).
 Wort und Wahrheit (Vienna).
 Zeitschrift fur Aszese und Mystik (Wurzburg).
 Zeitschrift fur katolische Theologie (Vienna).
 *Zeitschrift fur die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin).

VIII

SEATS OF CULTURE AND MASTERS OF THE CHRISTIAN
ORIENT FROM THE TIME OF PHOTIUS

It is difficult to fix a date for the beginning of the "Eastern Schism." The date 1054 that is ordinarily given may only represent one episode among others. For there were similar dissensions before that time. And there were also renewals of union and renewals of ruptures after 1054.

In 1274, the Union Council at Lyon, at which the emperor Michael VIII was present in person, put an end to the schism, at least for the Latins. But the latent rivalries began again in short order, even if they had never stopped in the minds of the "masses." In 1438, another Union

Council at Florence, at which Joseph, the patriarch of Constantinople, was present (he died reconciled) aroused sincere hopes on both sides. But the resentments nourished by the Greeks, especially ever since the Crusaders had seized Constantinople, at which time one of them had assumed the imperial crown, were not of a nature to assure a complete peace. The Ottoman occupation after 1453 erected an "iron curtain" between Rome and Byzantium; it was the more easily accepted by the Byzantines in that they saw in the invader a possible avenger of their sentiments against Rome.

When did the schism begin, what was its exact cause? We shall not attempt to say precisely here. In fact, political tension became inevitable from the day the emperor Constantine transported his capital from Rome to Byzantium. When Rome was torn away from the empire by the Barbarians, Byzantium became the "second Rome"; there was nothing astonishing in the fact that political tension engendered religious tension, especially after Charlemagne, on the "Barbarian" side, usurped the title of emperor.

If it is difficult to fix the date of the separation, it is also difficult to fix the writings that we can consider not only as orthodox¹ (the Oriental Church always called itself such long before the schism) but also as catholic, that is, as the patrimony of the

One Church. Generally the content of the work itself will tell us.

A. Greek Theologians.

I. *The Quarrel over the Procession of the Holy Spirit (tenth-eleventh centuries).*

(Photius,² patriarch of Constantinople, 820-897).

Nicetas of Constantinople, the philosopher and disciple of Photius.

The patriarch Euthymius (died 917).

The patriarch Sisinnius II (996-998).

The patriarch Sergius III (999-1019).

The patriarch Michael Cerularius (1043-1054).

Nicetas Stethatos, monk of the Studion (Constantinople) at the time of Michael Cerularius.

Peter of Antioch.

Michael Psellus.

Theophylactus.

II. *Byzantine Theology in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries Down to 1204.*

Euthymius Zigabenus, monk.

John Phurnese.

Eustratus, metropolitan of Nicea (died 1117).

Nicetas Seides.

Simeon II, patriarch of Jerusalem (wrote at Constantinople between 1107 and 1113).

John of Jerusalem (end of the twelfth century).

John IV, Patriarch of Antioch when the Crusaders captured that city (1098).

¹ We write Orthodox with a capital letter when treating of schismatics, who, as is well known, speak of themselves in this way.

² All our conceptions about Photius have been changed lately by the work of F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge, 1948), who not only reworked the history of the patriarch, but also the history of that history.

Nicholas, bishop of Methon (died 1165).

John Zonaras and Theodore Balsamon, canonists and theologians.

Nicholas of Hydronte, monk, the interpreter in the controversies (end of the twelfth century, beginning of thirteenth century).

Andronicus Camative, same period.

Nicetas of Maronea in Thrace, archbishop of Thessalonica (end of twelfth century).

Theorian, legate in the service of the Catholicos of the Armenians in 1170.

Nicetas Acominak (died 1210).

Michael Glykas, same period as Nicetas.

Authors of Homilies.

Agapitus Hieromnion, patriarch of Constantinople under the name of John IX (1111–1134), a celebrated orator.

Theophane Kerameus, author of numerous homilies (twelfth century).

Neophytus the Recluse, founder of the monastery of the New Jerusalem on the isle of Cyprus (1134–1220).

Eusthatus of Thessalonica (died 1198).

Michael Acominak, brother of Nicetas.

III. *Byzantine Theology from 1204–1453.*

(a) *The Theologians favorable to the Latins.*

Nicephorus Blemmida (died 1272).

John Veccus (died 1296).

Constantine Melitioniote, legate of the emperor Michael VIII Paleologus at the court of St. Louis IX.

George Metochite (died 1328).

George Acropolite (1217–1282).

George Pachymerus (ca. 1202–1310).

(b) *"Photian" Theologians.*

Germanus II, patriarch of Constantinople (1222–1240).

Theodore II Lascaris, emperor of Nicea (1254–1259), wrote on many theological questions.

The opponents of the "Union of Lyon": Hierotheus, hieromonk; Job Jasit, monks of the Studion; George Moschabar, chartophylax of Constantinople, anathematized at Council of Lyon (1274).

Maximus Planudes (died 1310), a monk of the Studion.

(c) *Separately from the foregoing:*

George of Cyprus (1241–1290), patriarch of Constantinople under the name of Gregory II, 1283–1289.

IV. *The Hesychast or Palamite Controversy.*

The origins of this controversy are to be found in monastic circles. It concerned the methods of contemplative prayer, the method for obtaining peace and repose for the soul, concentration of the mind, etc.

St. Maximus the Confessor (580–662).

St. John Climacus, entered the monastery of Sinai as a young man, died around 650.

Practically speaking the quarrel began when Gregory of Sinai arrived at Mount Athos (beginning of fourteenth century).

Its principal theologian (and perhaps its most suspected one) was Gregory Palamos (died 1360). He un-

- dertook the defense of Hesychasm against Balaam of Calabria.
- His disciples:
- Nilus Cabasilas (died 1363), the successor of Gregory Palamos in the metropolitan see of Thessalonica, 1361–1363.
- Nicholas Cabasilas (died 1371), a nephew of Nilus.
- Theophane III of Nicea (died 1381). The emperor John VI Cantacuzene (died 1383).
- The emperor Matthew Cantacuzenus 1354–1357, son of the preceding emperor.
- Nilus, metropolitan of Rhodes (died around 1380).
- Matthew Koiestor Angel Panaret.
- Isidore I, patriarch of Constantinople, 1347–1349.
- Callistus I, patriarch of Constantinople, 1350–1354 and 1355–1363.
- Philoteus Kokkino (died 1379), patriarch of Constantinople.
- Nilus Damilas, hieromonk in Crete (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries).
- Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos.
- Matthew Blastaros.
- Joseph Bryennios (died 1435), born at Sparta.
- Demetrius Chrysoloras (died 1430).
- The emperor Manuel Paleologus (died 1425).
- Simeon, metropolitan of Thessalonica, 1410–1429.
- Macarius, metropolitan of Ancyra (fifteenth century).
- Mark Eugenicos (died 1444), metropolitan of Ephesus.
- John Eugenios, died in 1453, shortly after the sack of Constantinople.
- George Scholarios (died after 1468), one of the greatest Byzantine theologians.
- Theodore Agallianos, deacon of Constantinople.
- George Gemistos Plethos.
- Pro-Latin and Anti-Palamite Theologians.*
- Balaam of Calabria (died 1348), a Catholic monk at Miletus, later a "Photian" at Constantinople; abbot of the monastery of St. Saviour.
- Gregory Acindynos, monk (fourteenth century).
- Nicephorus Gregoras (died 1359), born at Heracleus.
- John Calicas, patriarch of Constantinople, 1334–1347.
- Demetrius Cydonios (died 1400), born at Thessalonica around 1320.
- Brochorus Cydonios, brother of the preceding, hieromonk at Athens.
- John Cyparissioti (end of fourteenth century).
- Constantine Harmenopoulos (died 1383).
- Manuel Calecas (died 1410), entered the Order of Friars Preacher at Pera, near Constantinople.
- Bessarion (1395–1472), hieromonk of Constantinople, present at the Council of Florence, created cardinal by pope Eugene IV in 1439, refused the papal office on the death of Paul II in 1471.
- Gregory Mammas (died 1459), monk.
- Maximus Chrysovergius, entered the Order of Friars Preacher (fourteenth century).
- Isaias of Cyprus (John VII Paleologus) also professed the Catholic faith.
- George Trapezuntios (died 1485), the secretary of popes, deceased at Rome.
- John Argyropoulos.

Orators:

John Glykys, patriarch of Constantinople, 1316–1320.
 Cyril Cyzycens.
 Macarius Chrysocephalus (fourteenth century).
 Isidore Glabas, metropolitan of Thessalonica.

*V. Modern Period.**(a) First Period.*

Manuel of Corinth (died 1551).
 Maximus Haghiorite, called The Greek (died 1556).
 Pachomius Rhusanos, a monk.
 Damascenus Studita (died 1577).
 Manuel Malatos (sixteenth century).
 Jeremias II (died 1595), patriarch of Constantinople.
 Meletius Pigas (died 1601), patriarch of Alexandria in 1590.
 Maximus Margunios (died 1602).
 Gabriel Severus (1541–1616), metropolitan of Philadelphia.
 Maximus of Peloponnesus.

(b) At the time of the Protestant Reformation.

Sympathizers with the Reformation:
 Cyril Lucaris (died 1638).
 Theophilus Corydalleus (seventeenth century).
 Zacharias Gergamos.
 John Caryophyllos.
 Metophanus Critopoulos (died 1639).

Non-Sympathizers:

George Coressios (died 1641).
 Meletius Syriogos (died 1667).
 Paisius Ligarides (died 1678).
 Nectarius (1676), monk, then patriarch of Constantinople.
 Dositheus (1640–1707), patriarch of Jerusalem.

John (1633–1717) and Sophronus (1652–1730) Likhudes.
 Sevastus Kymenites (died 1702, at Bucharest), a professor.
 Elias Meniates (1669–1714), a preacher.
 Nicholas Kerameus (died 1672).

Ascetics:

Agapeus Landos, a Cretan, monk at Athens.
 Nicholas of Bulgaria (seventeenth century).
 Nicholas Kursulas (died 1652), totally Catholic in Doctrine.
 Gregory Chiensis (seventeenth century).

Disciples of the Roman College of St. Athanasius.

John Matthew Caryophyllos (died 1633).
 Peter Arcudios (died 1633).
 Leo Allatius (died 1669).

(c) Third Period.

Eugene of Bulgaria (died 1806).
 Athanasius Pariensis (died 1813).
 John Kontones (died 1761).
 Theophilus Papaphilos, bishop of Campania.

Greek Theologians United to Rome:

Andrutzis (seventeenth-eighteenth centuries).
 Meletus Typaldos, created bishop of Philadelphia by the patriarch of Constantinople, then converted to Roman unity.
 Nicholas Comnenus Papadopoulos (died 1740).

(d) Fourth Period.

Nicholas Dalamas (died 1892), professor at Athens.

And numerous controversialists, catechists, translators, orators, etc., whom we cannot mention here.

B. Russian Theologians.

Principal Authors.

Hilarion, metropolitan of Kiev, 1051–1054.

Niphon of Novgorod, 1130–1156.

Clement of Smolensk.

St. Cyril of Turov, 1130–1182.

St. Theodosius.

Euphrosin (died 1481), whom the Russians venerate as a saint.

Peter Skargas (1536–1612), Polish Jesuit, wrote in Polish.

Benedict Herbest (1531–1593), Jesuit, rector of the Jaroslav College.

Peter Moghilla, founder of the Kiev Academy in 1627.

Maximus the Greek, sixteenth century.

Joseph of Volokolamsk, sixteenth century.

Leontius Karpovitch, deacon of the Kiev Laura (seventeenth century).

Melet Smotritski (1577–1633), an anti-Catholic controversialist who came back to unity.

Lazarus Baranovitch (1620–1693).

Innocent Ghisel (died 1683).

Anthony Radivilovski (died 1688).

John Galiatovski (died 1688).

Nathaniel, higoumen of Kiev (seventeenth century).

Arsenius Sukhanov (died 1688).

Nicon (1653–1666), patriarch of Moscow.

Archpriest Awakum (seventeenth century).

Epiphanius Slavinetki (died 1675).

Simeon Petrovski Sitnianovitch (1629–1680).

Silvester Medviedev (1641–1691).

Demetrius Tuptalo (1651–1709).

(Peter the Great suppressed the patriarchate of Moscow in 1700.)

Stephen Iavorski (seventeenth-eighteenth centuries).

Theophylactus Lopatinski, rector of the Moscow Academy.

Theophane Procopovitch (died 1736), Basilian monk, an apostate.

Peter Ternovski (1789–1874), professor at the University of Moscow.

Philaretus Drozdov of Moscow, author of the Russian catechism (nineteenth century)

Macarius Bulgakov of Moscow (died 1882).

Philaretus Gumileuky of Tchernigov (died 1886).

Khomiakoff (1804–1860).

Vladimir Soloviev (1853–1900).

Bolotoff (end of nineteenth century).

Malinovski (end of nineteenth century).

Among renowned "spirituals" of the nineteenth century, we must mention Fr. John of Kronstadt, St. Seraphim of Sarov, and Theophane the Recluse.

Finally, from among contemporary theologians, let us give the names of: Arseniev, Fedotov, Lossky, Florovsky, Berdiaev, Boulgakov (1871–1944) and N. Gloubokovsky.

We do not attempt to give anything on Bulgarian theologians (since the time of Simeon, 892–927, the first czar of the Bulgarians), Serbian theologians, etc.; a great portion of these "national" theologies was composed of translations.

C. Nestorian and Monophysite Theologians.

The Nestorians of the sixth century should be noted:

Thomas of Edessa.
 Isaïas of Seleucia.
 John Saba Dalyate.
 Henana Adiabene.
 Isoyabh I.

Babé the Great, prince of Nestorian theologians, abbot of the monastery that he founded at Nisibis.

And later:

Timothy I, patriarch (780–823), theologian and canonist.

Ebed the Great (died 1318).

The following are among the Monophysite theologians: James of Saroug (451–521), bishop of Saroug on the Euphrates; Severus, patriarch of Antioch (512–538); James of Tella, called Baradeus, bishop of Edessa, (543–578), from whom the Jacobites (Syrian Monophysites) took their name; Bar-Hebraeus (1226–1286); and, among the Copts, Abdul Barakat (died 1320).¹

THE DIVERSITY OF BELIEFS IN THE WORLD

Has the Gospel been preached to all nations? Men believed it had been in the Middle Ages, and that simple fact lead certain authors to elaborate a theology on "the salvation of unbelievers" which today seems to us rather harsh.

The theologian should never study such questions except against a backdrop of precise information. Consequently, we judge it useful in this volume to provide some figures and proportions for the consideration of young theologians.

The population of the globe is today evaluated at two billion and a half inhabitants. This population is divided among the various religions in the following proportions.²

Confucianists	18.6%
Catholics	16.9%
Moslems	13.5%
Hindus	13%
Protestants	10.5%

Buddhists	8.4%
Fetishists	8.4%
Orthodox	7.5%
Shintoists	1.3%
Without Religion	1%
Jews	0.9%

But the demographic forces of these various *religions* taken as a whole are very different. If we consider the figures established for *nations*, we have, for example, for the year 1936, the following surplus births:

(Per thousand inhabitants)

England	110
Austria	1
Belgium	20
France	12
Italy	375
Switzerland	17
Canada	113
Japan	872

¹ Concerning the orthodoxy of Nestorian & Monophysite theologians, only a close examination of their works will reveal their true nature. The names heretic, schismatic, etc. cannot be applied in any rigid and general fashion.

² According to Anton Anwander, *Die Religionen der Menschheit*, Fribourg im Breisgau, Herder, ed. 1949.

The population of Japan (as is the case for the other Asiatic countries), therefore, appears very prolific. Now, although the population of Japan is not entirely Shintoist, there is, however, no doubt that Shintoism profits most by the national increase of population. Inversely, the loss of population (1936) in countries like France and Austria affects Catholicism especially.

In sum, despite the fact that exact figures are hard to obtain, it *seems* that:

1. The "Catholic" population has increased during the last few years;
2. But the proportion of Catholics in relation to the totality of other religions—including the other Christian confessions—always tends to diminish. The proportion of 16.9% seems very optimistic and exaggerated today.

We believe that Christ came to save all men. One of the theologian's tasks is to compare our faith with events and facts.

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