

## CURRENT THEOLOGY

### THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH FROM PENTECOST TO 604: A SURVEY OF RESEARCH, 1954-1958

Church history in scope and character is, in theory, if not in practice, an unusually large and comprehensive discipline. It covers all aspects of the development and life of the Church as founded by Christ. Accordingly, it is concerned not merely with the expansion of the Church, its relation to its general background and environment, its officers, administration, and law, but also with its dogmatic and moral teachings, with heresy, with liturgy, with religious cult and practices, with the social life of its followers, and with literature and art produced by its adherents in its service or under its influence. Thus, general Church history is extremely wide in scope and equally rich and diversified in content. In the course of time, a whole series of separate theological or ecclesiastical disciplines have come into being within the framework of the basic major discipline, with marked benefit to it. Dogmatic, moral, and ascetical theology must be treated as a part of general Church history, but these branches are much more thoroughly and fruitfully pursued as separate disciplines with their own special methods and bibliography. In a similar manner, canon law, liturgy, Christian literature, art, and archeology form a part of general Church history, but at the same time they have become elaborate special disciplines in themselves. The study of Sacred Scripture is so important and has been pursued separately so long as a comprehensive independent discipline that we sometimes lose sight of its essential and fundamental connection with Church history and with patrology. Patrology itself, because of the extension of its scope in practice, deals with all the writings by Christians or affecting Christians from a theological point of view from the close of the New Testament to the Early Middle Ages. Its scope and content, at least, are essentially the same as that of early Christian literature.

Since the disciplines mentioned, as well as others that might be added, have their own bibliographies and are the objects of regular systematic reports in this journal or elsewhere, the present survey will not deal formally with works—apart from the ancient sources—which belong especially to scriptural studies and patrology. It is obvious, however, that, for the first two Christian centuries at least, it is impossible to draw sharp lines between “external” and “internal” history. For this period it is necessary to take into account the achievements of all the disciplines concerned.

EDITOR'S NOTE—This is the first in a series of Church history surveys which will appear each year in the March issue.

A scholar rash enough to attempt a survey of research in such a large field as the history of the ancient Church has been confronted since the twenties of the present century with an ever-increasing volume of material that in our decade has become simply staggering. He can hardly hope even to see personally, to say nothing of examining critically, the greater portion of the output. He must depend more and more on the critical judgments expressed by hundreds of fellow workers, specialists in this or that discipline or in the subdivisions of the larger disciplines. Altaner, in the *Vorwort* to the latest edition of his *Patrologie* (1958), states that in patrology alone more than 4000 publications appeared between 1950 and 1957. The production of research in the history of the early Church as recorded in each issue of the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* is formidable, especially if one assembles the bibliography scattered under the various pertinent headings. The problem is the same in other fields. Despite the decline of the Classics in modern education, research in classical philology has expanded steadily decade by decade since 1900. *L'Année philologique* covering the year 1956 contains 496 large and closely printed pages—without counting the indices. The accumulation of the bibliography devoted to Christian authors and collections, Old and New Testament, Judaism and Christianity, Christian archeology and epigraphy, etc., would constitute a large block in the volume. As a sample, there are 7 pages of bibliography on St. Augustine, 35 pages on the Old and New Testament, 10 pages on Judaism and Christianity (without counting further material under *Conciliarum acta*, *Liturgica*, *Vitae*, etc.).<sup>1</sup>

Hence, in spite of the difficulties involved in making surveys and in spite of their inevitable defects, such surveys are not only of great value to researchers but have become absolutely necessary. As time goes on, perhaps a division of labor among journals in the same or in related fields can be worked out. At present there is a considerable amount of overlapping that could and should be avoided.

In the present survey, the writer will be rigorously selective in his choice of books or monographs mentioned. He will attempt to indicate the main tendencies and results in the five-year period indicated in the title. This survey cannot hope to cover literature as fully as would be possible in an annual report, but it is hoped that it will have the advantage of discussing research and of evaluating research in the light of a perspective, however

<sup>1</sup> *L'Année philologique: Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine*, ed. J. Marouzeau and J. Ernst (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1924 ff.). This excellent annual bibliography deserves to be better known and used by theologians. It covers the Greek and Latin Bible, Christian Greek and Latin literature, and the history of the early Church in its various aspects, as well as profane Greek and Latin authors, disciplines, etc.

short. Finally, it will not be amiss to mention in passing gaps in research or the need of research tools.

#### EDITIONS OF THE SOURCES

The publication of new texts or of new editions of old texts is one of the most characteristic and valuable features of scholarly activity during the past five years. It would seem to be generally recognized that sound texts are indispensable to the theologian and historian as well as to the philologist and that thorough training in both theology and philology is required to produce them. Scholarly collaboration in this matter has long been necessary, and it is a pleasure to note that such cooperation is becoming widespread. Accurate translations into the international modern languages of scholarship are accompanying critical texts to an increasing degree. This is especially important in the case of Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian texts—and, unfortunately, in the case of Greek texts also.

The volumes in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (GCS)* announced as being in the press in Fr. Burghardt's 1956 survey have been published.<sup>2</sup> The Chronicle of Jerome (Eusebius 8/1) edited in a new and printed edition is especially important for historians. In the *Patrologia orientalis*, Part 3 (Theology) of the *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary* of Barhebraeus, edited by F. Graffin, has now been published (1957).

Publication of texts in the series *Sources chrétiennes* is moving along rapidly, with twenty-one volumes appearing since 1954. Volumes 33–42 have been described by Burghardt in the article cited.<sup>3</sup> The new volumes are: St. Jerome, *In Ionam*, by Dom Paul Antin (43, 1956); Philoxenus of Mabug, *Homilies*, by E. Lemoine (44, 1956; this is the first volume in the Oriental series); St. Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 1–6*, by Dom Gabriel Tissot (45, 1956); Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, by R. F. Refoulé, O.P., with de Labriolle's translation (46, 1957); Philo, *De migratione Abrahae*, by R. Cadiou (47, 1957); *Paschal Homilies 3*, by F. Floëri and P. Nautin (48, 1957); Leo the Great, *Sermones 2*, by Dom René Dolle (49, 1957); John Chrysostom, *Eight Baptismal Catecheses*, by A. Wenger, A.A. (50, 1957; these texts are entirely new); Symeon the New Theologian, *Chapters*, by J. Darrouzès, A.A. (51, 1957); St. Ambrose, *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam 7–10*, by Dom Gabriel Tissot (52, 1958); *Shepherd of Hermas*, by R. Joly (53, 1958); John Cassian, *Conlationes 2*, by Dom E. Pichery (54, 1958); Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica 8–10* and

<sup>2</sup> Walter J. Burghardt, S.J., "The Literature of Christian Antiquity: Current Projects," THEOLOGICAL STUDIES 17 (1956) 67–92, especially 74–78.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 79–81.

*De martyribus Palaestinae*, by G. Bardy (55, 1958); Athanasius, *Apology to the Emperor Constantius* and *Apology for His Flight*, by J.-M. Szymusiak, S.J. (56, 1958); Theodoret of Cyrus, *Graecorum affectionum curatio*, by P. Canivet, S.J. (57 [2 vols.] 1958); *Three Ancient Rituals of Baptism*, by A. Salles (59, 1958). Special attention is called to the excellent introductions and notes in these volumes and to the valuable commentaries contained in the volumes devoted to Lactantius and Eusebius.

The *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* (CSCO), published jointly by the University of Louvain and the Catholic University, under the direction of R. Draguet, is moving forward at a phenomenal rate. Some forty volumes (141-84) have been published since 1954, and the present tempo is eight or ten volumes a year. All earlier volumes destroyed during the Second World War have now been reprinted. All texts are now accompanied by translations in Latin or a modern language—ordinarily French. Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, and Syriac works are well represented in the new volumes.

In the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum* (CSEL 73, 1955), O. Faller, S.J., has published Part 7 of the *Opera* of St. Ambrose: *Explanatio symboli*, *De sacramentis*, *De mysteriis*, *De paenitentia*, *De excessu fratris*, *De obitu Valentiniani*, *De obitu Theodosii*, and his edition of St. Ambrose's *Epistulae*—of such great importance to historians—should appear in the near future.

The *Corpus christianorum* now numbers fifteen volumes, the last published (117, 1957) containing a new text of the *Liber scintillarum*, along with *Epistulae Austrasicae et Merovingicae* taken from the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. In the latest prospectus, Dom Dekkers announces that succeeding volumes will appear more promptly. Eight volumes are listed as being in press (end of 1958). Special mention should be made of two works which appear in other collections: E. M. Buytaert's *Eusèbe d'Emèse: Discours conservés en latin* (2 vols., Louvain, 1953-1957); Dom P. Gasso and Dom C. Battle's *Pelagii I Papae Epistulae quae supersunt (556-561)* (Montserrat, 1956).<sup>4</sup> See also the long review, critical but constructive, of Buytaert's work by Dom J. Gribomont in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 53 (1958) 84-90. Finally, under literary sources, it will be well to include J. Stevenson's *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church to A.D. 337* (London: SPCK, 1957). It is based on the well-known work of B. J. Kidd, but stops at 337 instead of 461, and thus gives more material for the period actually covered. The *New Eusebius* cites all sources in English without the original texts—hence it is no substitute for Kirch. Researchers in all fields

<sup>4</sup> See the review by R. McNally, S.J., in *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES* 19 (1958) 270-71.

will find the following helps invaluable in dealing with the original literary sources: R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1954); A. Bataille, *Les papyrus* (Paris, 1955). The new edition of Dom Dekkers' *Clavis patrum latinorum*, which has been promised, has not yet appeared. The great wealth of information on editions of sources contained in Dom Chrysostom Baur's *Initia patrum graecorum* is still very difficult to use because of the lack of indices.

In the last number of the *Analecta Bollandiana* for 1953, F. Halkin, S.J., completed the series of articles begun in 1949, "Inscriptions grecques relatives à l'hagiographie." The fourth and last volume of the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*, begun by J. Jalabert, S.J., and R. Mousterde, S.J. (Paris, 1929 ff.), was completed with the collaboration of C. Mondésert, S.J., in 1955. The Christian as well as pagan inscriptions of Asia Minor are being published in the *Monumenta Asiae minoris*, edited by W. M. Calder et al. (Manchester, 1928 ff.). Volume 7 appeared in 1956 and the work will be completed in two more volumes. Volume 3 of the *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, edited by A. Silvagni, was published in 1957. A good collection of Christian Greek inscriptions corresponding to C. Diehl's splendid *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres* continues to be a great desideratum.

#### MANUALS, ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES, GENERAL HISTORIES

At present we do not possess a scholarly manual of Church history that is up to date. Bihlmeyer-Tüchle has appeared in English translation,<sup>5</sup> but it reproduces without essential change the German edition of 1951. Hence, among other things, it does not incorporate the important results of new scholarly investigations devoted to the Qumrân scrolls and the Chenoboskion papyri. Accordingly, the historian must look for other helps. For the period of the New Testament, we now have A. Wikenhauser's excellent *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* in a second and revised edition (1956).<sup>6</sup> The results of the latest scholarship are taken into account throughout the work. The same author's commentary on Acts, recently published (1956) in a third and enlarged edition, is also indispensable for the historian. While Altaner's *Patrologie* appeared last year (1958) in a new and revised edition, it must be stated that here and there the German original at least has not been revised as completely as one would expect.<sup>7</sup> The historian will find Volumes 1 and 2 of Quasten's *Patrology*—in the French editions of 1955 and 1957 respectively—not only much richer in content, but also more up to date. Volume 3, covering the fourth and early fifth century, will appear early in 1959.

<sup>5</sup> Translated by V. Mills, O.F.M. (Westminster, Md.: Newman, 1958).

<sup>6</sup> There is an English translation by J. Cunningham (New York: Herder, 1958).

<sup>7</sup> An English translation by Hilda Graef has been announced (Dec., 1958).

The encyclopedic works published in the fifties or still in progress contain a number of important articles on the early Church. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by F. L. Cross (1957), is especially valuable for its carefully selected bibliographies.<sup>8</sup> In the first fascicle of *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément 6* (cols. 10–225), K. Prümmer, S.J., has given us a monograph on the pagan mystery religions and the use and meaning of the term *mysterion* in the New Testament. The new edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (1957 ff.) is especially important for the up-to-date and scholarly character of its articles and for its amazing control of the latest bibliography.<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., K. Rahner's article, "Christentum" (2, cols. 1100–1115). The *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, because of its scope and purpose, continues to be indispensable to the historian.<sup>10</sup> In Volume 2 (1954) attention is called particularly to the articles, "Bekehrung," by A. D. Nock (cols. 105–18); "Beruf," by W. Schwer (141–56); "Bild," by A. Baumstark *et al.* (287–341); "Bildung," by H. Fuchs (346–642); "Buch," by L. Koep *et al.* (664–731); "Buchmalerei," by H. Gerstinger and E. Kilby (733–72); "Bürgerrecht," by L. Wenger (778–86); "Chaldäer," by W. J. W. Koster (1006–21); "Christennamen," by H. Karpp (1114–38); "Christentum I (Ausbreitung)," by B. Kötting (1138–59); "Christenverfolgung I (historisch . . .)," by J. Vogt (1159–1208); "Christenverfolgung II (juristisch)," by H. Last (1208–28); "Christianisierung (der Monumente)," by F. W. Deichmann (1228–41). In Volume 3 (1957) see especially: "Christusbild," by J. Kollwitz (1–24); "Chronologie," by A. Hermann *et al.* (30–60); "Coercitio," by H. Last (235–43); "Constantinus der Grosse," by J. Vogt (306–79); "Decius," by K. Gross (611–29); "Diakon," by T. Klauser (887–909); "Diakonisse," by A. Kalsbach (917–28); "Diaspora," by A. Stuiber (972–82); "Diocletianus," by W. Seston (1036–53); "Dionysius Areopagita," by R. Roques (1074–1121); "Dirne," by A. Hermann and H. Herter (1149–1213); "Disciplina," by V. Morel (1213–29). See also the pertinent articles in the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Volume 13 (1956) and Volume 14 (1957 ff.). The new and revised edition of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (RGG), edited by K. Galling, with the cooperation of H. Frhr. v. Campenhausen *et al.* (Tübingen, 1956 ff.; A–G, at the end of 1958), has a number of important articles on early Christianity. As stated in the *Vorwort*, the basic viewpoint throughout is that of Evangelical

<sup>8</sup> See the reviews, e.g., by H. Chadwick, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 9 (1958) 152–53, and M. R. P. McGuire, in *Catholic Historical Review* 44 (1958–59) 165–68.

<sup>9</sup> See the review article by W. J. Burghardt, S.J. (with the collaboration of several confreres), "The Second Edition of the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*," *THEOLOGICAL STUDIES* 19 (1958) 572–85.

<sup>10</sup> See Burghardt's general characterization of this work, *art. cit.* (supra n. 2) pp. 82–84.

theology, but other viewpoints are represented. Some Catholic scholars, e.g., are listed among the contributors, and scholarly works by Catholics are regularly cited in the bibliographies.

The treatment of early Christianity in representative general histories published within the period of this survey is not significant, and in part is even unsatisfactory. C. H. Dodd's chapters on Judaism and on early Christianity in *The European Inheritance*, edited by E. Barker, G. N. Clark, and P. Vaucher (Vol. 1, Oxford, 1954, 263-310), are a somewhat old-fashioned rationalistic account, with excessive emphasis on Hellenistic influences. The history of the Church from the second century to Gregory the Great is almost ignored. There is a much fuller coverage of early Christianity in Volume 4 of *Historia mundi* (Bern, 1956). E. Stauffer of Erlangen has contributed two chapters, "Geschichte Jesu" and "Die Urkirche" (pp. 129-89 and 298-310). He writes from the conservative Evangelical point of view. The chapter by C. Schneider, "Die Christen im römischen Weltreich" (pp. 311-35), as in his book—which will be discussed shortly—stresses *Geistesgeschichte* from the liberal angle, with overemphasis on the influence of Hellenism. A. Aymard and J. Auboyer deal with the early Church in several separated sections (pp. 366-79, 494-505, 551-61, 566 ff.) in Volume 2 of *Histoire des civilisations*, edited by M. Crouzet (Paris, 1954). Their exposition, except in political and administrative matters, is superficial and leaves much to be desired on the doctrinal side.

#### THE CHURCH BEFORE CONSTANTINE

The Qumrân manuscripts and the Nag Hammadi (Chenoboskion) papyri have occasioned a new and intensive investigation of the history of the Church during the first two centuries of her existence. New light has been shed on the relations of Christianity and Judaism; and the nature and role of Gnosticism as well as the character and extent of Hellenic influence proper are in process of being more precisely defined. Under the circumstances, it is only natural that most of the significant studies published within the period of this survey are concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with theological and philosophical problems and ideas. This is largely true even of Carrington's *Early Christian Church*, which will be discussed below. The Qumrân finds<sup>11</sup> will be referred to here only in passing, as they are to be treated in detail in a later survey.

<sup>11</sup> The literature on the scrolls is already voluminous and is increasing steadily. See the classified *Bibliographie* in J. T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* (2nd ed.; Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1957) pp. 113-18, and the pertinent sections in *Biblica*, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, *Revue biblique*, etc.

*Comprehensive Histories*

Carrington's *The Early Christian Church*<sup>12</sup> and Schneider's *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums*<sup>13</sup> are the two most extensive and comprehensive works to be considered here, but they are of quite unequal value. Carrington, who is the Anglican Archbishop of Quebec, has written a detailed history of the Church to 235 A.D., and a much briefer account of the Church in the next hundred years. His narrative closes with Constantine's dedication of the Church of the Anastasis at Jerusalem in 335. The work is conservative, generally accurate, and attractively written, but does not pretend to advance the frontiers of scholarship. The annalistic method of presentation leads to repetitions and to the neglect of synthesis. While the author shows an excellent knowledge of the standard literary sources, he does not come to grips with a number of basic doctrinal questions. It is only natural that he should emphasize the role, and particularly the independent role, of bishops in the early Church. Thus, he sees a kind of leadership devolving upon Rome in the normal process of historical development, rather than as a result of doctrinal consideration based on apostolic tradition. While stressing the connections between Judaism and Christianity, he shows little acquaintance with the Qumrân documents, and in his treatment of Gnosticism he seems to be unfamiliar with the Chenoboskion papyri.

His consistent emphasis and use of oral tradition as a reliable source for the history of the early Church is the one really original feature of his work. He tells us that he was confirmed in his belief in the accuracy of oral tradition by his study of the oral traditions available for the history of the Anglican Church in the Province of Quebec from 1792. He tends, however, to put too much weight on the individual witness in this regard as against the much greater value of corporate tradition.

Schneider, on the other hand, has produced a scholarly work of monumental proportions. Yet it must be stated at the outset that his central thesis is, as the Germans say, *verfehlt*. He has attempted an exhaustive intellectual and spiritual analysis of every aspect of Christianity in relation to its general environment to the close of antiquity. For him, however, Christianity is essentially an expansion or product of Hellenism, the ultimate religious phase of Greek civilization. Christianity is regarded as containing Hellenic myth and superstitions from the first. Beginning with the letters of St. Paul, the penetration of Hellenism becomes steadily deeper. By the end of antiq-

<sup>12</sup> P. Carrington, *The Early Christian Church* (2 vols., Cambridge: University Press, 1957; pp. 520, 520).

<sup>13</sup> C. Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums* (2 vols., Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1954; pp. li + 743, xi + 424).



uity, the mutual compenetration of Christian and Hellenic thought results in an harmonious synthesis which ushers in the dawn of a new European *Geistesgeschichte*. "Resting on the pillars of Christian Platonism, the world again believes in the interplay of divine ideality and human reality, in the descent of the divine and the ascent of the human" (2, 333-34).

Within such a rationalistic framework of thought there is no room for the recognition of supernatural truth. The Virgin Birth, the resurrection, and the ascension are all to be explained in terms of parallels in Hellenistic myths. The author has little time for the Qumrân manuscripts or the Chénoboskion papyri. The first are of no significance for Christianity, and, as for the second: "All Christian Gnosis is a product of the Hellenistic mind" (1, 27-28; 268). Apart from such allusions, one might often think that he was reading a book written thirty or forty years ago.

Yet, despite the defects in Schneider's work, it would be wrong to minimize its erudition and its significant contributions on the positive side. It contains excellent sections on the occupations of the early Christians, on early Christian literature and literary forms—especially the sermon, letter, and hymn—and on early Christian art and architecture (1, 693-743; 2, 1-170).<sup>14</sup>

#### *Judeo-Christianity, Gnosticism, Concept of Heresy*

Among the more important books appearing between 1954 and 1958, it will suffice to discuss those of Goppelt, Schoeps, Daniélou, Turner, and Cross's edition of the Jung Codex.

Goppelt's *Christentum und Judentum*<sup>15</sup> deals primarily with the Christian attitude towards and relations with Judaism in terms of *Heilsgeschichte*. His book makes an unusually valuable contribution to our knowledge of the various currents of thought in Judaism during the two last centuries before Christ and the first century and a half of our era. The author succeeds in distinguishing such intellectual and spiritual movements among the Jews at Corinth, Philippi, and other centers before 70, and in Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt in the period from 70 to about 150. These movements ranged from strict Pharisaism to Judeo-Stoicism and Gnosticism. A definite break was made between Christianity and Judaism after 70, but the rising Christian communities, especially those in Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt, could not escape the influence of Jewish and Hellenic currents of

<sup>14</sup> For important reviews of Schneider's work, cf. P. Camelot, O.P., in *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 40 (1956) 566-69; J. H. Waszink, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* 210 (1956) 137-58.

<sup>15</sup> L. Goppelt, *Christentum und Judentum im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert: Ein Aufriss der Urgeschichte der Kirche* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1954; pp. xii + 328).

thought in their respective areas. The doctrinal preoccupations of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of St. John thus reflect the interests and problems of their environment. Thanks to Goppelt's study, we have a better understanding of the Church's increasing insistence in the second century on unity of doctrine, and also of the views of Justin on the relations between the Old and New Testaments and on the Christians as the rightful heirs of God's promises made of old, as the true Israel. While the author's views are not acceptable on many points—e.g., on what he calls *Frühkatholicismus*—his book, as stated above, has given us new insights into the varied intellectual and spiritual movements in Judaism, their character, their interrelations, and their influences in the formative period of the Church.

The studies on the Jung Codex<sup>16</sup> translated and edited by F. L. Cross are very important. The texts from Chenoboskion published here are the *Letter of James*, the *Gospel of Truth*, the *Letter to Rheginos*, and the *Treatise on the Three Natures* (hylic, psychic, and pneumatic), all representing the Valentinian School of Gnosticism. The documents confirm the accuracy of the statements on Gnosticism found in Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Tertullian. The *Gospel of Truth* shows that Valentinus was acquainted with the New Testament, although he does not quote it formally nor does he understand its spirit. Sin is regarded simply as a form of error or ignorance, and God and the universe constitute a single entity. It is evident from these documents that Gnosticism, considered in its essential teachings, is not a Christian heresy, but an Oriental system exhibiting affinities with certain sects of Judaism or on the fringes of Judaism. It appears certain that Gnosticism actually borrowed ideas from Christianity—in particular, its idea of redemption. The view maintained by Harnack and Reitzenstein that Gnosticism was a Christian heresy must now be entirely rejected.

Schoeps' little work,<sup>17</sup> a continuation of his studies on the Pseudo-Clementines, is likewise important. He shows that these documents are opposed to the dualism of Valentinus. If they are "Gnostic," they must be thought of as representing the esoteric gnosis within the confines of Judaism. He also points out—and convincingly—striking similarities between the Pseudo-Clementines and the texts found at Qumrân. On the other hand, he submits no new proofs to support his very dubious thesis that the Ebionites of the Pseudo-Clementines should be identified as survivors of the Judeo-Christian community of Jerusalem.

<sup>16</sup> *The Jung Codex*; three studies by H. C. Puech, C. Quispel, W. C. Van Unnik; tr. and ed. F. L. Cross (London: Mowbray, 1955; pp. 136). See also A. D. Nock, "A Coptic Library of Gnostic Writings," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. 9 (1958) 314-24.

<sup>17</sup> H. J. Schoeps, *Urgemeinde, Judentum, Gnosis* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1956; pp. 88).

Daniélou's *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*<sup>18</sup> is a masterly synthesis, the latest and most important book on Judeo-Christianity. To avoid possible misunderstanding, the author states at the outset that he is not primarily concerned in this book with aberrant forms of Judaism, or with the Christian community at Jerusalem with its emphasis on observances of the Mosaic Law, but rather with orthodox Christian thought as "expressed in the forms and framework borrowed from Judaism." The work is divided into four parts: sources, the intellectual milieu, doctrines, and institutions. There is an excellent bibliography and an index of sources cited. The sources are subdivided into two groups: Judeo-Christian proper and heterodox Judeo-Christian. The first group comprises the Apocrypha of the Old and New Testaments, liturgical writings like the *Didache*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Ignatius of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, and the tradition of the presbyters. The presbyters mentioned by Clement are identified as the primitive Christian theologians. The heterodox sources include the Ebionites, Eltai and his disciples, Cerinthus and his circle, the Samarito-Christian gnosis, the Egyptian Gnostics, and Carpocrates. All these sources are subjected to a critical analysis and their value and limitations indicated. Part 2 (the intellectual milieu) contains a systematic exposition of Judeo-Christian exegesis and Judeo-Christian apocalyptic. Part 3 (doctrines) deals, in order, with the Trinity and angelology, the titles of the Son of God, the theology of the redemption, the *mysterium crucis*, the Church in God's plan, and millenarianism. Part 4 (institutions) covers baptism and the Eucharist, the Christian community and its organization, and personal piety and its practices.

Daniélou's solidly established conclusions are of great importance for the history of the early Church. He demonstrates that, contrary to the views of Harnack and his followers, there was a Judeo-Christian theology in the strict sense. It has parallels in St. Paul and in St. John's Gospel but is more archaic, reflecting an earlier stage of theological speculation. Its exegesis is basically apocalyptic and is preoccupied with developing a parallelism between creation and eschatology; hence the constant emphasis on the first chapters of Genesis in all its thought. Its Trinitarian doctrine is based on the symbolism of the three days and seven days, its teaching on the Church is related to creation of the cosmos and of woman, etc. Judeo-Christian theology, accordingly, is perhaps best described as a theology of history, but a theology of history with a marked cosmic character. More stress is placed on the parallelism between the first and second creation than on the prefigurations of Christ

<sup>18</sup> J. Daniélou, S.J., *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme: Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée 1* (Tournai: Desclée, 1958; pp. 457).

in the history of Israel. All events in the life of Christ and of the Church are the realization of God's eternal plan. "The cross, apart from its relation to creative action, in so far as it is the pivot of history, has a symbolism of universality and marks the cosmic extension of the action of the Word" (p. 435).

Finally, this book confirms the view of Schoeps, Puech, and Quispel, among others, that Gnosticism as ordinarily understood was essentially different from both Judaism and Christianity. On the other hand, it now seems certain that some ideas and myths of the Gnostics, like that of the *anthrōpos androgynos*, are to be explained as distortions of Judeo-Christian thought.

We moderns, especially since the Council of Trent, take for granted that it is very easy to make sharp and formal distinctions between orthodoxy and heresy, but in the early Church, even as late as St. Augustine, this was often a complex problem in concrete cases. Prof. Turner, accordingly, has made a valuable contribution through his investigation of the relations between orthodoxy and heresy in his *The Pattern of Christian Truth*.<sup>19</sup> After outlining the problem and rejecting the views of Harnack and Werner in strong terms, he shows that the orthodox and heretics both appealed to Scripture, tradition, and reason to support their respective positions. Heresy ultimately betrayed itself through its exaggerations, distortions, or lack of balance, as being a kind of deformation of true belief. Such deformation, however, could exhibit markedly different degrees. In dealing with the problem in question, a Catholic scholar would place greater emphasis on the doctrinal authority of the Church and on the primary importance of that authority in respect to both Scripture and tradition.

On a special point, the Gnostic concept of martyrdom as taught by Valentinus, A. Orbe, S.J., has shown in a penetrating study<sup>20</sup> how subtle—and fantastic—heretical arguments could be and the kinds of orthodox arguments employed to refute them.

### *Intellectual Contacts and Conflicts with Hellenism*

The historian has come to realize more and more that he must be as fully concerned with the history of ideas as with that of institutions if he wishes to get to the heart of a civilization at any stage of its development. But the investigation of ideas, of currents of thought, is a difficult task. In dealing with the past, and even with the more remote past, we tend to project our

<sup>19</sup> C. H. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth: A Study of the Relations between Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Early Church* (London: Mowbray, 1955; pp. 508).

<sup>20</sup> A. Orbe, S.J., *Estudios valentinianos* 5 (Rome: Gregorian Univ., 1956; pp. x + 314).

frame of thought and experience into the past and, above all, to oversimplify the intellectual life of an earlier age and to characterize it in a few sentences or paragraphs of bold generalizations. Thus, much has been written on the Platonism of the Fathers—and much, incidentally, will have to be rewritten on the subject—as if Platonism in its various aspects were the only significant body of Hellenic thought exercising an appreciable influence upon them. A recent monograph by M. Spanneut,<sup>21</sup> however, furnishes clear, if embarrassing, proof that Stoicism had an important influence on the thought of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. It is still hard to explain why Stoicism in these writers was so long neglected, since Stoicism was the dominant philosophy in the ancient world from the death of Alexander to the rise of Neoplatonism in the early third century of our era and was a comprehensive theology as well as a philosophy, including within its scope anthropology, psychology, cosmology, theology, and ethics.

Spanneut's book inaugurates a new series, *Patristica Sorbonensia*, under the direction of the distinguished historian of early Christianity, H. I. Marrou. The author gives a solid analysis of the complex body of syncretistic teachings which is called Late Stoicism, and he emphasizes a point that is often forgotten, namely, that Stoic ideas circulated at all cultural levels. The distortions of Stoic ideas among the half-educated, accordingly, should not be ignored. Stoicism exercised a definite influence on Christian thought with respect to God, the Word, the world, nature, and man. Many Stoic ideas were taken over without change, while others either were adapted to Christian thought or stimulated Christian thinkers to seek a Christian solution for problems presented by Stoicism.

C. Andresen has written an equally important book on Celsus,<sup>22</sup> the first great pagan intellectual opponent of Christianity. Although Celsus wrote his *True Discourse* about 178 A.D., Origen thought it necessary, nearly fifty years later, to write his *Against Celsus*, the most elaborate of his polemical works. After reading Celsus' scoffing and typically rationalistic attack on the supernatural elements in Judaism and Christianity, scholars have often wondered why Origen considered him so formidable, especially since Celsus as a philosopher appears weak and even inconsistent. Andresen has given a convincing answer in the present monograph.

Celsus was not so much a philosopher as a champion of Hellenic culture as

<sup>21</sup> M. Spanneut, *Le stoïcisme des pères de l'église: De Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957; pp. 476).

<sup>22</sup> C. Andresen, *Logos und Nomos: Die Polemik des Kelsos wider das Christentum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1956; pp. 314). For a penetrating analysis and very favorable criticism of this work, see J. Daniélou, S.J., in *Recherches de science religieuse* 44 (1956) 580-85.

expressed in a long and venerable tradition. He rejected popular religion of all kinds but admired Greek philosophy as a noble product and hallmark of Hellenic culture. On the twin pillars of *logos* and *nomos*, to which antiquity had given authority, he erected a philosophy of history. Christianity was rejected as being new and outside the Hellenic tradition and as being even a repudiation of it. It is significant that this argument against Christianity will be resumed by Porphyry and will be a foundation stone in Julian's policy. Symmachus will make tradition his strongest argument, too, in the controversy over the Altar of Victory.

Where did Celsus get his idea of the authority of tradition? Andresen gives a surprising answer but a fairly convincing one. He holds that he adapted the idea from Justin Martyr. Justin had formulated a Christian theology of history according to which paganism was a distortion of truth and Christ was the restorer of the true *logos* and *nomos*. Celsus' philosophy of history based on tradition was intended to be an answer to Justin's theology of history.

J. R. Laurin's book on the leading ideas of the Christian apologists from 270–361 A.D.<sup>23</sup> is useful but lacks the deep insights that characterize the two works just described. Furthermore, Eusebius, and especially Lactantius, should have been handled more critically. Lactantius has long been called the Christian Cicero for his style, but he is no theologian and is even a very superficial philosopher.

### *The Persecutions*

As already indicated earlier in this survey, there are two solid, well-balanced articles on the persecutions from the historical and juridical points of view by J. Vogt and H. Last in the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, and there is, of course, valuable pertinent material in the article on Decius by K. Gross and that on Diocletian by W. Seston.

J. Moreau's book on the persecutions,<sup>24</sup> as one would expect on the basis of

<sup>23</sup> J. R. Laurin, O.M.I., *Orientations maîtresses des apologistes chrétiens de 270 à 361* (Rome: Gregorian Univ., 1954; pp. xvi + 487). See the review by G. Bardy, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955) 577–78.

<sup>24</sup> J. Moreau, *La persécution du christianisme dans l'empire romain* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1956; pp. iii + 141). There is a valuable review of this work by H. I. Marrou, in *Antiquité classique* 26 (1957) 250–52. See also the long and important review by J. Zeiller, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 52 (1957) 514–18. As mentioned earlier in the treatment of sources, Moreau published an excellent historical commentary with his edition of Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, in *Sources chrétiennes* 39 (1954). See also the long review of this commentary, with valuable supplementary material, by P. Nautin, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955) 892–99.

his solid commentary on the *De mortibus persecutorum*, is a short but valuable work. While it runs a bit thin on the first and second centuries, it is very good on the persecution of Decius and, especially, on that of Diocletian. It is to be regretted, however, that the author did not see the important article by G. E. M. De Ste. Croix, "Aspects of the 'Great' Persecution," *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954) 75–113. He has also done well in not confining the motivating factors in the persecutions to the juridical one. Given the fact that all phases of public and private life were permeated with pagan religious rites and customs, it was impossible for the practicing Christian to participate in numerous public and private activities. An antisocial charge was inevitable, as we know from the famous passage in Tacitus. This charge and all the slanders to which it could easily give rise were widely accepted by all classes in the Roman state. The Christians were simply regarded as enemies of Roman tradition and all that it stood for.

J. Zeiller,<sup>26</sup> long recognized as a specialist on the history of the persecutions, has again maintained, as against Borleffs and others, that a general legislative measure prohibiting Christianity was put into force under Nero. Athenagoras and Tertullian—and later, Sulpicius Severus—speak in clear terms of an *Institutum Neronianum*. Despite the ingenuity of scholarly arguments to the contrary, it is difficult to reject their testimony.

Musurillo's *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*,<sup>26</sup> while having no direct connections with the Christian persecutions, deserves to be mentioned here as an outstanding philological and historical monograph on a group of documents which exhibit certain parallels, especially in the matter of juridical procedure and style, to the acts and passions of the Christian martyrs. They are valuable, therefore, for purposes of comparison and for defining somewhat related literary genres. See especially Musurillo's "Appendix II: The Tradition of Martyr Literature" (pp. 236–46).

Mention should perhaps be made here too of Lazzati's monograph on developments in the literature on the martyrs in the first four centuries,<sup>27</sup> although the author is primarily concerned with the rise of martyr literature as such, its inspiration and motivation, and, in particular, its connections with the liturgy. He goes too far, however, when he puts the passions of the martyrs on practically the same level of authority as Scripture itself in liturgical readings.

<sup>26</sup> J. Zeiller, "*Institutum Neronianum*: Loi fantôme ou réalité?", *ibid.*, pp. 393–99.

<sup>26</sup> H. A. Musurillo, S.J., *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954; pp. xiii + 299).

<sup>27</sup> G. Lazzati, *Gli sviluppi della letteratura sui martiri nei primi quattro secoli* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1956; pp. 215). See the critical review by B. de Gaiffier, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 75 (1957) 422–24.

*Archeology*

Miss J. Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins,<sup>28</sup> on the basis of their expert knowledge as professional classical archeologists and historians, have written an admirably objective, well-balanced, and critical study on the Vatican excavations. They are convinced that the place has been discovered where St. Peter was venerated from at least the third quarter of the second century and that this same place was a tomb indicating the place of burial. After examining all the literary evidence and combining it with the archeological, they believe that there is more justification for accepting the Roman tradition on St. Peter's sojourn, death, and burial in Rome as historical fact than for relegating all this to legend. They urge that excavations be made also under the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls. The last chapter of their book contains a fine archeological and architectural study of the Basilica of St. Peter erected by Constantine.

E. R. Goodenough has continued at a rapid pace with the publication of his monumental *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World*,<sup>29</sup> a work of great importance for the history of early Christianity as well as for that of late Judaism. Its erudition is often marred, however, by the author's farfetched interpretations and unwarranted generalizations.

C. H. Kraeling has published a splendid study on the Synagogue of Dura Europos.<sup>30</sup> His considered judgment on the motivation and character of its art is worth quoting: "The congregation subscribed sincerely to the beliefs

<sup>28</sup> J. Toynbee and J. Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, 1956; pp. xxii + 293). It is interesting to note that T. Klauser, using the same evidence, presents different conclusions in his little book published in the same year: *Die römische Petrus-Tradition im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabungen unter der Petruskirche* (Cologne: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1956; pp. 122). He is convinced that St. Peter lived for a time in Rome and was martyred there. But he holds that there is really no trace of a primitive localization of his tomb and that there is as much evidence in favor of a tomb on the Via Appia as on the Vatican site. The literary tradition has been dealt with much more fully by J. Ruyschaert in his article, "Les documents littéraires de la double tradition romaine des tombes apostoliques," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 52 (1957) 791-851. He is convinced that the archeological and literary evidence definitely favors the Vatican site for St. Peter's tomb.

<sup>29</sup> E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World* 1: *The Archaeological Evidence from Palestine* (New York: Pantheon, 1953; pp. xviii + 300); 2: *The Archaeological Evidence from the Diaspora* (1953; pp. xii + 324); 3: *Illustrations for Volumes 1 and 2* (1953; pp. xxxvi + 10, with 1209 illustrations); 4: *The Problems of Method; Symbols from Jewish Cult* (1956; pp. xi + 236, with 27 plates); 5-6: *Fish, Bread, and Wine* (1956; pp. xi + 197, with 186 illustrations; xii + 256, with 269 illustrations).

<sup>30</sup> C. H. Kraeling, *The Excavations of Dura Europos*. Final Report 8, Part 1: *The Synagogue*. With contributions by C. C. Torrey, C. B. Welles, and B. Geiger (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1956; pp. xviii + 402, with 78 plates, 12 plans).



and value judgments that are traditional in Judaism, and endeavored by the decoration of its House of Assembly to memorialize and inculcate reverence for the historical tradition to which it adhered" (p. 258).

J. Carcopino, in his *De Pythagore aux apôtres*,<sup>81</sup> has incorporated the further results of his brilliant investigation of the Basilica of the Porta Maggiore, the Tomb of the Viale Manzoni, and the Basilica of the Apostles *ad catacumbas*. The interpretation of many elements in these monuments is very difficult, and Carcopino does not hesitate to take extreme positions on archeological and historical questions. Since the writer, unfortunately, does not possess sufficient competence in the history of art to express an independent judgment, he must refer the reader to a critical survey by a specialist in the field, J. Daniélou.<sup>82</sup>

#### THE CHURCH FROM CONSTANTINE TO GREGORY THE GREAT

The treatments of the history of the early Church found in manuals, significant encyclopedia articles, and general histories, and the section on editions of sources, at the beginning of this survey, include this period and need not be mentioned again. Most of the work done in Church history proper on this period during the past five years has been confined to monographs of limited scope, and especially to articles. The scholarly commemorations of the birth of St. Augustine (354) and the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Oxford in 1955 occasioned a flood of publications, but the really important contributions in the field of Church history were not large. On the other hand, a great stimulus was given to investigation in patristic theology, exegesis, and early Christian literature in general. Another welcome sign of progress during the past decade has been the increasing demand for critical texts and the number of such texts published or in course of preparation.

Before considering some specialized studies, it will be useful to mention a few general works which deal in whole or in part with Church history in this period. E. Griffe has published Part 1 of the second volume of his detailed and solid history of Christian Gaul under the Empire.<sup>83</sup> It covers Church organization and the hierarchy in the fifth century. P. Goubert has published

<sup>81</sup> J. Carcopino, *De Pythagore aux apôtres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1956; pp. 380, with 24 plates).

<sup>82</sup> J. Daniélou, S.J., "Bulletin critique: Histoire des origines chrétiennes," *Recherches de science religieuse* 45 (1957) 590-97. For his detailed evaluations of Toynbee and Perkins, Klauser, Goodenough (Vols. 1-6), and Kraeling, see *ibid.*, pp. 597-603, 571-86.

<sup>83</sup> E. Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine 2: L'Eglise au Ve siècle*. Part 1: *L'Eglise et les barbares; L'Organisation ecclésiastique et la hiérarchie* (Paris: Picard, 1957; pp. vii + 257).

the second volume of his authoritative history of Byzantium before Islam.<sup>34</sup> The new work covers a topic that has long needed systematic investigation, namely, the relation of Byzantium and the Franks. An English translation of G. Ostrogorsky's *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates* by Miss Joan Hussey makes that standard work available to a wider circle of historians.<sup>35</sup> The author furnished the translator with a number of additions and corrections which have been incorporated into the translation. Finally, it has recently been announced that J. R. Palanque, who is so favorably known for his outstanding monograph on St. Ambrose and for his chapters in Fliche-Martin, is bringing out a French translation—with much supplementary material—of E. Stein's *Geschichte des römischen Reiches 1: Vom römischen zum byzantinischen Staate (284–476)* (Vienna, 1928).

### *Constantine's Conversion and Religious Policy*

Scholarly literature on Constantine continues its steady flow. K. Aland, in the work cited below, notes that over 1500 titles have appeared on Constantine and his age since 1900! Among the really significant recent contributions, special mention should be made of those by H. Dörries,<sup>36</sup> J. Vogt,<sup>37</sup> and K. Aland.<sup>38</sup> Dörries, as the title of his work indicates, has tried, on the basis of an analysis of all the extant written source material, to make Constantine himself a witness, as it were, of his own ideas, basic policies, and concept of his mission. He was a believer in a supreme God, the Emperor of Heaven, and he regarded himself as His servant. Despite the influence of Ossius of Corduba and Marcellus of Ancyra, however, he never arrived at a

<sup>34</sup> P. Goubert, *Byzance avant Islam 2: Byzance sous les successeurs de Justinien; Byzance et les Francs* (Paris: Picard, 1956; pp. 223, with 16 plates, 4 maps).

<sup>35</sup> G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, tr. Joan Hussey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1956; pp. xxvii + 548). There is also an American edition, with a Foreword by P. Charanis (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1957; pp. xxxv + 548, with 41 illustrations, 12 maps in color).

<sup>36</sup> H. Dörries, *Das Selbstzeugnis Kaiser Konstantins* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954; pp. 431). There is a long critical but constructive review of this work by J. Moreau, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 48 (1955) 402–4.

<sup>37</sup> J. Vogt, "Constantinus der Grosse," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1957) 306–79. Vogt and W. Seston contributed important papers on the "Constantine Question" at the Tenth International Congress of the Historical Sciences held in Rome in 1955; they are published in the Congress' *Relazioni generali e supplementi* 6 (Florence, 1955) 733–99.

<sup>38</sup> K. Aland, "Die religiöse Haltung Kaiser Konstantins," *Studia patristica* 1 (= *Texte und Untersuchungen* 63; Berlin, 1955) 549–600. For a recent defense of Eusebian authorship of the *Vita Constantini*, see W. Telfer, "The Author's Purpose in the *Vita Constantini*," *ibid.*, pp. 157–67.

clear understanding of Christ and the message of the gospel. For him the Church was a great religious body, the bearer of truth, and a powerful unifying force. Yet he did not think of the Church merely as an instrument of imperial policy nor did he employ it as such. He did not abolish his office and title of Pontifex Maximus, but he repudiated the imperial cult. For some reason Dörries neglected the numismatic evidence which, as has been shown by Maurice, Alföldi, and others, is of the greatest importance for evaluating the politico-religious ideas of Constantine.

J. Vogt, as noted earlier in this survey, contributed a long article on Constantine to the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, with a copious select bibliography. Vogt holds that Constantine became a convinced Christian but had a very imperfect knowledge of Christology. He accepts the substantial historicity of Constantine's vision and dream as reported in the *Vita Constantini* and the *De mortibus persecutorum*.

K. Aland presented a solid paper on Constantine's religious attitude at the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies, which has now been published. While much more sceptical towards the two Constantinian sources just mentioned, he states in conclusion that Constantine was a Christian by personal conviction and not out of a consideration of political advantage.

### *Church Councils, Relations of Church and State*

Greenslade's book<sup>39</sup> on relations of Church and state in the fourth century is more important than its slight size might seem to indicate. According to the Constantinian or Eusebian theory, just as Christ the Logos was the Image of the Father, so the emperor was the image of the Logos on earth. Accordingly, he had the right and duty to maintain the Church as well as the Empire. When the Arian emperors began to interfere in dogmatic questions, the Catholic bishops proclaimed the doctrine stated by Christ on the respective rights of God and Caesar, and thus laid the foundation for the separation of jurisdiction in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. It remained for St. Ambrose, however, to enunciate and apply this teaching in the case of the Emperor Theodosius. He declared that the Christian emperor was subordinate to the Church in ecclesiastical affairs and that he was also bound

<sup>39</sup> S. L. Greenslade, *Church and State from Constantine to Theodosius* (London: SCM, 1954; pp. 93). It can hardly be said that St. Ambrose and his successors were "on the road to Canossa" (p. 77). As compared with Gregory VII, Innocent I (402-17), e.g., acted with great prudence and deference towards the imperial power. See E. Demougeot, "A propos des interventions du pape Innocent Ier dans la politique séculière," *Revue historique* 212 (1954) 23-38.

by the moral law as defined and enforced by the Church. It may be observed that there is a much fuller and better treatment of the relations between St. Ambrose and Theodosius in the excellent monograph of J. R. Palanque, *Saint Ambrose et l'empire*, published some twenty-five years ago (Paris, 1933).

The book of H. Hess on the canons of the Council of Sardica<sup>40</sup> is more significant. It is primarily concerned with canons 3, 4, 7, and 10, which involve the principles of appeal jurisdiction in the Church, and in particular, of the appeal to the bishop of Rome. On the basis of his examination of these canons in their historical context, he maintains that the Council of Sardica marked a shift from settlement of disputes by mutual agreement to that by conciliar legislation. He stresses the importance of the intervention of Pope Julius in the case of St. Athanasius and, in particular, that of Ossius as the Pope's representative at Sardica. While regarding the recognition of the leadership of Rome at Sardica as a landmark, he does not believe that this action was tantamount to the recognition of a Roman primacy of jurisdiction. He would leave matters for the subsequent period thus: the East preferred to appeal from one council to another, but the West preferred to appeal to Rome. In actual practice, however, we know that Eastern synods did appeal to Rome and that the bishops of Rome did not consider that they were bound by the restriction imposed by canon 3 of Sardica.

Our knowledge of the personal life of Ossius of Corduba is very scanty. Accordingly, V. C. DeClercq's *Ossius of Cordova*<sup>41</sup> is devoted largely to Ossius' participation in the Councils of Nicaea, Sardica, and Sirmium. His work thus becomes a history of these Councils. The author is unusually lavish in furnishing background material. It is worth noting that he believes that there are solid grounds for holding that Ossius was the representative of the bishop of Rome at Nicaea, and that no good evidence to the contrary can be offered.

Among the numerous recent studies on St. Augustine's views on Church and state, and on society, it will suffice to mention those of Cranz,<sup>42</sup> Maier,<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> H. Hess, *The Canons of the Council of Sardica A.D. 343: A Landmark in the Early Development of Canon Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958; pp. 170).

<sup>41</sup> V. C. DeClercq, *Ossius of Cordova: A Contribution to the History of the Constantinian Period* (Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1954; pp. 561). See the long and valuable review by D. Amand de Mendieta, in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955) 168-74.

<sup>42</sup> F. E. Cranz, "The Development of Augustine's Ideas on Society before the Donatist Controversy," *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954) 255-316. See also his excellent article on Eusebius' ideas of the relations of Church and state, "Kingdom and Polity in Eusebius of Caesarea," *ibid.* 45 (1952) 47-66.

<sup>43</sup> F. G. Maier, *Augustin und das antike Rom* (Stuttgart, 1955; pp. 221).

and Ratzinger.<sup>44</sup> On the basis of a penetrating examination of St. Augustine's writings, Cranz maintains that down to 396, the year in which he wrote his *Ad Simplicianum*, Greco-Roman ideas were preponderant in his social thought. After 396, Christian ideas based on the Bible and ecclesiastical tradition become increasingly dominant in his views on society. Maier, who wrote his work under the direction of the distinguished ancient historian Joseph Vogt, has re-examined St. Augustine's views on the idea of Rome as embodied in Roman political, cultural, and religious tradition, and on the relations between this idea and the Christian faith. The bulk of his book is concerned with the *De civitate Dei*. His conclusions may be summarized as follows. Scripture is the basic source for Augustine's ideas of the two cities, their roles, and their relations. Plato, the Stoics, Cicero, Origen, St. Ambrose, and Tychonius, all play a subordinate part as sources. St. Augustine's final judgment on Rome is an adverse one. Rome failed to achieve a true morality, as her motives and actions were always vitiated by her desire for fame and power in this world. Her belief in the eternity of earthly values and of political order reflects in itself a revolt against God. Politically and culturally Rome has always represented a man-centered humanism which is in direct conflict with the God-centered humanism of Christianity. Ratzinger has attempted to give a critical analysis of the important but difficult book of W. Kamlah, an adherent of the Heidegger School, *Christentum und Geschichtlichkeit* (Stuttgart, 1951).

Special mention must be made here, too, of the two volumes by Sir Ernest Barker containing passages and documents illustrating the history of social and political ideas—with accompanying introductions and notes—from 336 B.C. to the fall of Constantinople.<sup>45</sup> Owing to the inseparable character of the civil and religious in Hellenistic and Greco-Roman political and social life, and to the intimate relations between Church and state under the late Roman and Byzantine Empires, these books are of great importance and value for the Church historian. There are occasional errors of interpre-

<sup>44</sup> J. Ratzinger, "Herkunft und Sinn der Civitas-Lehre Augustins: Begegnung und Auseinandersetzung mit Wilhelm Kamlah," *Augustinus magister* 2 (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1954) 965-79. For a review of Kamlah's book, see M. R. P. McGuire, in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 17 (1955) 531-34.

<sup>45</sup> E. Barker, *From Alexander to Constantine: Passages and Documents Illustrating the History of Social and Political Ideas, 336 B.C.—A.D. 337* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956; pp. xxiv + 505); *id.*, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium: From Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957; pp. xvi + 239). See the review of the first volume by T. A. Brady, in *Catholic Historical Review* 42 (1956-57) 503-4; and of the second, by C. Toumanoff, *ibid.* 44 (1958-59) 336-43. Toumanoff's review is in itself an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of Byzantine political theory and practice.

tation of sources, especially Christian sources. Thus, both St. Paul and St. Thomas are misinterpreted (1, 401-4), and the author has followed certain contemporary Byzantine scholars in denying the existence of Caesaropapism at Byzantium.

### *Monasticism*

The literature on the relations between the *Regula magistri* and *Regula s. Benedicti* continues to increase, with no definite solution in sight. The problem of the "Rule of St. Augustine" also continues to be discussed. See the literature cited in Altaner, *Patrologie* (pp. 339-40). After examining the question in his seminar three years ago, the writer of this survey is convinced that St. Augustine's *Epist.* 211 is genuine and is to be regarded as a limited body of precepts formulated to deal with a local situation. These precepts were employed much later as the basis for the development of a complete rule for men as well as women. The writer subscribes fully to the views expressed by Dom Lambot in an article written nearly twenty years ago.<sup>46</sup> Among representative studies on other phases of monasticism and the ascetical life may be mentioned: Amand de Mendieta's article on virginity and asceticism as described in Eusebius of Emesa,<sup>47</sup> Hausherr's book on spiritual direction in the early Christian East,<sup>48</sup> and Musurillo's monograph on ascetical fasting in the Greek patristic writers.<sup>49</sup>

### *Bishop as Pastor of Souls*

Under this heading the writer wishes to call attention to the truly outstanding work of F. Van der Meer on St. Augustine's pastoral career as Bishop of Hippo, which appeared, with some minor changes, in a French translation in 1955.<sup>50</sup> The author has a masterly control of the sources and he writes in a warm and vivid style. Every aspect of St. Augustine's pastoral activities is described and interpreted within the framework of the general environment. The material is presented under four main heads: the Church of Hippo Regius, worship, preaching, and popular piety. The Epilogue deals

<sup>46</sup> Dom C. Lambot, "Saint Augustin a-t-il rédigé la règle pour moines qui porte son nom?", *Revue bénédictine* 53 (1941) 41-58.

<sup>47</sup> D. Amand de Mendieta, "La virginité chez Eusèbe d'Emèse et l'ascétisme familial dans la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 50 (1955) 777-820.

<sup>48</sup> I. Hausherr, S.J., *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1955; pp. 322).

<sup>49</sup> H. Musurillo, S.J., "The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers," *Traditio* 12 (1956) 1-64.

<sup>50</sup> F. Van der Meer, *Saint Augustin, pasteur d'âmes* (2 vols., Colmar-Paris: Editions Alsatia, 1955; pp. 493, 563).

with a theme that is sometimes forgotten in our researches: the meaning and lesson that Augustine can have or should have for our own age.

An ancient see comes to life in these volumes. The greatest of the Fathers as a theologian appears before us also as an indefatigable and zealous pastor of souls, faced with especially heavy and difficult problems. Van der Meer has written excellent chapters for one part of a work that still remains to be written, namely, a really adequate biography of St. Augustine.

### *Hagiography*

Unquestionably the most important single contribution in this field for many years is the third edition of the *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*,<sup>51</sup> edited by F. Halkin and published in 1957. The second edition, which appeared fifty years ago (1909), has been transformed into an entirely new work in scope and content and, in part, in arrangement. The three volumes of the new edition total about 1000 pages as against 298 of the one-volume second edition. Volume 3 covers "new saints," i.e., those not found in the second edition, and has seven appendices, which deal respectively with the cross, Christ, the Blessed Virgin, "Narratives Useful to the Soul," the Feast of Orthodoxy, the *vitae patrum*, and the fixed feasts of our Lord. There are excellent indices of editors as well as authors, and an index of incipits.

Another valuable guide and tool is R. Aigrain's book<sup>52</sup> on hagiography and its sources, methods, and history, published in 1953. The nonspecialist in particular will find it useful because of its clear and comprehensive treatment and its select bibliographies.

Deserving of special mention here are the recent scholarly editions of Pontius' *Vita Cypriani* and Possidius' *Vita Augustini* by M. Pellegrino.<sup>53</sup>

### *Liturgical Latin and Church Music*

Since the 1930's the question of the origin and development of Christian Latin has been put in a new light through the researches of the School of Nijmegen, of which Christine Mohrmann is the most distinguished representative. She has devoted particular attention to biblical Latin and to the rise of Latin as the official language of the Western Church. Until very

<sup>51</sup> *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, ed. F. Halkin (3rd ed.; 3 vols., Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957).

<sup>52</sup> R. Aigrain, *L'Hagiographie: Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1953; pp. 416).

<sup>53</sup> *Ponzio: Vita e martirio di S. Cipriano*, ed. M. Pellegrino (Alba [Cuneo]: Edizioni Paoline, 1955; pp. 208). *Possidio: Vita di S. Agostino*, ed. M. Pellegrino (*ibid.*, 1955; pp. 239).

recently, the results of her investigations were scattered through a wide range of journals and were printed in several languages. It is a pleasure, therefore, to report that the three lectures which she delivered on liturgical Latin at the Catholic University of America in May, 1957<sup>64</sup> are now available in book form, and that twenty-six of her articles have been assembled and published in a single volume during the past year.<sup>65</sup> Articles published in the periodical *Vigiliae christianae* are not included, nor is an excellent article that appeared in the *Theologische Revue* in 1956.<sup>66</sup>

Ancient music, including that of the Temple and the early Church, is covered in two new scholarly publications, *The New Oxford History of Music*, Volumes 1 and 2,<sup>67</sup> and W. Apel's *Gregorian Chant*.<sup>68</sup> In the *NOHM* 1, edited by E. Wellesz, the distinguished specialist in Byzantine music, C. H. Kraeling and L. Mowry have contributed Chapter 7, "Music in the Bible"; E. Werner, Chapter 8, "The Music of Post-Biblical Judaism"; I. Henderson, Chapter 9, "Ancient Greek Music"; J. E. Scott, Chapter 10, "Roman Music." In Vol. 2, edited by the Anglican Benedictine, Dom Anselm Hughes, E. Wellesz has contributed Chapters 1, "Early Christian Music," and 2, "Music of the Eastern Churches"; Msgr. H. Anglès, Director of the Pontificio Istituto de Musica Sacra, Chapters 3, "Latin Chant before St. Gregory," and 4, "Gregorian Chant." Musical scores regularly accompany the narrative, and references are given throughout to a series of records issued by His Master's Voice (RCA Victor) under the title *The History of Music in Sound*. These records have been collected into albums corresponding to the respective volumes in the *NOHM*. Whatever influence profane Greco-Roman music exercised on the music of the Church as time went on, it is "from the Synagogue that the early Christians took over the cantillations of lessons, the chanting of Psalms, and the singing of hymns" (1, 1).

<sup>64</sup> C. Mohrmann, *Liturgical Latin: Its Origins and Character* (Washington: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1957; pp. 95).

<sup>65</sup> C. Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1958; pp. xxi + 468). The articles are grouped under three heads: general studies on Christian Latin, semasiological studies, and studies on the language and style of Christian authors. One article appears in German, four are printed in English, and the rest are in French. On pp. ix-xxii there is a *Bibliographie* covering the publications of Prof. Mohrmann from 1928 to 1957.

<sup>66</sup> C. Mohrmann, "Die Rolle des Lateins in der Kirche des Westens," *Theologische Revue* 52 (1956) 1-18.

<sup>67</sup> *The New Oxford History of Music* 1: *Ancient and Oriental Music*, ed. E. Wellesz (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957; pp. xxiii + 530); 2: *Early Medieval Music to 1300*, ed. Anselm Hughes (*ibid.*, 1954; pp. xviii + 434).

<sup>68</sup> W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 1958; pp. xiv + 529, with plates and musical scores).



*Art and Archeology*<sup>59</sup>

Among the mass of articles published in the field of Christian archeology during the past five years, the writer would like to single out two or three of special interest or importance: those by Marec and Perler on the excavations at Hippo Regius,<sup>60</sup> the episcopal see of St. Augustine, and the masterly joint article by Conant and Downey on the original buildings of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.<sup>61</sup> On the Roman catacombs, the most up-to-date work is that by Hertling and Kirschbaum.<sup>62</sup> C. R. Morey's great work, *Early Christian Art*,<sup>63</sup> was published in a new and revised edition in 1953. In the same year, A. Grabar edited a beautiful volume, *Byzantine Painting*, for the Skira Series.<sup>64</sup>

The recently published *Atlas of the Early Christian World*<sup>65</sup> by F. Van der Meer and C. Mohrmann is an unusually attractive and valuable work. It contains 614 well-executed pictures illustrating all phases of early Christian life, 42 maps covering Christian expansion, monuments, and intellectual activity, and a graphic accompanying descriptive text. The text exhibits a unique feature: it includes appropriate selections from the writings of the first six centuries, which give a special vividness and authority to the works illustrated. The atlas is furnished with a good geographical index and a good index of authors and inscriptions. The notes to the maps are also very helpful.

L. Réau began in 1955 the publication of a monumental *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*.<sup>66</sup> He has not maintained the high level of objectivity and un-

<sup>59</sup> For Christian archeological remains of the first three centuries, see the section above on the Church before Constantine, pp. 97-98.

<sup>60</sup> E. Marec, "Les dernières fouilles d'Hippo Regius," *Augustinus magister* 1 (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1954) 1-18. O. Perler, "L'Eglise principale et les autres sanctuaires chrétiens d'Hippone-la-Royale d'après les textes de saint Augustin," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 1 (1955) 299-343. See now, especially, E. Marec, *Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1958; pp. 260, with plans, illustrations, and map).

<sup>61</sup> K. J. Conant and G. Downey, "The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem," *Speculum* 31 (1936) 1-48.

<sup>62</sup> L. Hertling, S.J., and E. Kirschbaum, S.J., *Die römischen Katakomben und ihre Märtyrer* (2nd ed.; Vienna: Herder, 1955; pp. 274, with 40 plates and a folding plan). There is an English translation by M. J. Costelloe, S.J. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956).

<sup>63</sup> C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art* (2nd ed.; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1953; pp. 296, with 215 illustrations).

<sup>64</sup> A. Grabar, *Byzantine Painting* (Geneva: Skira, 1953; pp. 200, with 106 plates).

<sup>65</sup> F. Van der Meer and C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, tr. and ed. M. F. Hedlund and H. H. Rowley (London and New York: Nelson, 1958; pp. 215). The translation is made from the original Dutch edition published by Elsevier of Amsterdam.

<sup>66</sup> L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* 1: *Introduction générale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955); 2: *Iconographie de la Bible* 2/1: *Ancien Testament* (1956);

concern for different theological and philosophical points of view which he announces in resounding phrases in his Préface when he deals with the books of the Bible, Christian dogmas, etc. It is only fair to say, however, that his rationalistic observations in introductory sections do not affect the presentation of his artistic material as such. Réau's work is a vast and methodically arranged collection of data on Christian iconography which is extremely useful. The first volume, e.g., has a descriptive section on symbolism in which an enormous amount of widely scattered information is brought together and presented in orderly fashion.

There has long been a need of good up-to-date manuals on Christian archeology and epigraphy, and this need is becoming more pressing. Classical philologists find themselves pretty much in the same situation. No one has attempted to write a general manual of Greek or Roman archeology for many years, and the best handbooks of Greek and Latin epigraphy appeared in their last editions in 1914.

#### CONCLUSION

The writer of this survey is only too conscious of its limitations. He has tried to mention and characterize, however briefly, a number of books—and a few articles—which he regards as significant contributions to Church history in the period covered. He does not claim to have included all important books. Furthermore, he wishes to stress the point that books tell only a part of the story of research activity. In most cases, the latest advances in research appear in articles in scholarly journals rather than in books. Since the number of articles published in such journals is enormous, there is always a time lag between their appearance and their sifting and evaluation by scholars in the various fields to which they are pertinent. No individual scholar could pass an independent judgment on more than a very small fraction of articles published in such a large field as the history of the early Church. It will be noted that this survey does not deal formally with liturgy and liturgical practices, or with penitential discipline, to say nothing of other aspects in the life of the Church which likewise are not mentioned. The writer discovered that the two subjects in question would have required an extended treatment and could not be dealt with adequately here.

*The Catholic University of America*

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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2/2 *Nouveau Testament* (1957); 3: *Iconographie des saints* 3/1: A-F (1958). Parts 2 and 3 of Volume 3 will complete the treatment of the saints and will be followed by elaborate *Répertoires*.