

THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE OF GOD: FRAGMENTS OF A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY*

By J.T. MC PARTLIN

I

THE re-appraisal of the place of the laity in the Church is well-known to be a task which at once arouses the suspicion and hostility of a certain type of Catholic: it earned Newman himself a formal delation to Rome for heresy,¹ and the attitude of Newman's opponents has unfortunately not disappeared with the passage of time, but remains to complicate still further an already sufficiently complex discussion. For some, to recommend a new vision of the laity is nothing less than a challenge to the authority of the Church, calling in question the collective wisdom of Catholicism which has ordained the present relationship of the two orders.

On the other hand, it is now becoming painfully evident that a great deal of our present situation is due more to historical accident than to the considered decision of the Church, and that some of the Church's collective wisdom is thereby obscured rather than expressed – for in the recent past the Church has 'appeared above everything else to be a religious organisation for practical aims, of an outspoken juridical character. The mystical element in her, everything that stood behind the palpable aims and arrangements, everything that expressed itself in the concept of the Kingdom of God, of the mystical Body of Christ, would not be perceived at once.'² The restoration of these hitherto obscured elements, moreover, is no merely academic question, for the needs of the modern world are now widely recognised to require a thoroughly active participation of the laity in the Church's life. In the encyclical *Mystici Corporis* Pius XII who had duly warned the laity not to leave to the clergy everything that concerns the Kingdom of God,³ repeated his contention in an

* An abbreviated version of this paper was delivered as a public lecture in the University Theatre, Valletta, on 5th March 1964. It has been necessary in some cases to take references from secondary sources, since the originals have not been available in Malta for checking.

¹ cf. W. Ward, *The Life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman* (London, 1912), Vol. I, pp. 502-4; Vol. II, pp. 157-8.

² Romano Guardini, *Vom Sinn der Kirche* (Munich, 1923), p. 5.

³ cf. Pius XII, 'Mystici Corporis', *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. XXXV (1943), p. 241.

address to the college of Cardinals soon after the end of the War⁴ and later, on October 14th 1951, reminded the First World Congress of the Lay Apostolate that all are adults in the realm of grace.⁵ Contemporary Catholic theologians have devoted a great deal of attention to the laity, seeing the determining factor of their condition as their *situation in the world*, their commitment to the glorification of God *through* the work of the world.⁶ There is no solution for the world's problems to be deduced directly from Catholic dogma, and little genuine place for the layman who conceives his responsibility simply as a duty to be pious and foster the Church's good reputation: without men to labour with their hands there is no building up of a commonwealth, and no support for the unchanging world of God's creation.⁷

The place of the layman in the Church is therefore peculiarly amenable to historical analysis. It belongs to the ever variable impact of the Church on the world, to the Church as a fully and genuinely human phenomenon, subject to change and to that detachment from the past which 'is just as much a matter of duty as integration. Christianity is not finally identified with any of the types of culture in which it is successively embodied... each successive Christendom will be only provisional, and transitory; garments to be put away when they are worn out.'⁸ Here perhaps more than anywhere else, we must use the more and more precise techniques with which historians and sociologists are providing us, in an effort towards a sensitive discrimination among the human complexities of the Church which will prevent us from adding our own prejudices to the accumulated prejudices of the past.⁹ But in the last resort historical or

⁴ 'The faithful, and more especially the laity, are in the front line of the Church's life: it is through them that she is the vital principle of human society. In consequence they, they above all, ought to have an ever more clear consciousness, not only of belonging to the Church, but of *being* the Church, that is, the community of the faithful on earth under the guidance of its common head, the Pope, and of the bishops in communion with him. They are the Church; and therefore from the earliest days of her history the faithful, with the approval of their bishops, have joined together in particular societies interested in the very various manifestations of life.' (Pius XII, allocution of 20th February 1946, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1946, p. 149).

⁵ cf. *Actes du 1er Congrès mondial pour l'apostolat des laïcs* (Rome, 1952), Vol. I, p. 49; Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church* (tr. Donald Attwater, London, 1957), pp. 49, 357; E. Suhard, *Priests among Men* (Eng. tr., Notre Dame, Ind., 1960), pp. 64-8.

⁶ cf. Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, pp. 1-21; Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations* (Eng. tr., London, 1962-), Vol. II, pp. 319-52.

⁷ cf. *Ecclesiasticus*, xxxviii, 35-9.

⁸ Jean Daniélou, *The Lord of History* (tr. Nigel Abercrombie, London, 1958), p. 26.

⁹ cf., e.g., R. Hernegger, *Ideologie und Glaube: Volkskirche oder Kirche der Glaubigen* (Nuremberg, 1959).

sociological analysis can only confront us once more with the mystery of the incorporation of all Christians in Christ, a mystery which is rooted in the central problems of Incarnation and Redemption and has coloured the very way in which those problems are expressed.¹⁰ 'Au fond, il n'y aurait qu'une théologie du laïcat valable: une ecclésiologie totale.'¹¹

II

The close relationship between the Lord and His community is unmistakable in the whole Biblical exposition of His messianic work, dominated as this is by the essentially communal conception of the 'Day of the Lord', the time when God will impose upon mankind a new unity, derived from the unity of His own will;¹² and although the mystery of the Word made flesh is fundamental to the New Testament,¹³ the earliest Christians may even have been more familiar with the idea of the New Jerusalem, the coming heavenly city, than with the doctrine of the Messiah as such: at least, where later controversies were concerned with Christ's person and nature, the first Christologies sought to determine His *function* within the corporate movement of the history of the People of God.¹⁴ St. Paul in particular attempted to reveal in sacred history a progressive concentration from mankind into one people, from one people into a 'remnant', and from this 'remnant' into one man, Jesus Christ, in whom the mediations of grace known in the Old Testament in the separated ministries of King, Priest and Prophet are brought together in fulness,¹⁵ to be followed by an inverse movement as Christ's community, in so far as He takes form in it¹⁶ through a variety of conditions and offices,¹⁷ carries salvation to the ends of the earth, uniting all men, Jew and Gentile alike, in one

¹⁰ cf. E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ* (2nd ed., Paris, 1936), Vol. I, p. 25; T.F. Torrance, *Conflict and Agreement in the Church* (London, 1958), Vol. I, pp. 11-17.

¹¹ Yves Congar, *Jalons pour une théologie du laïcat* (Paris, 1953), p. 13.

¹² cf. H.H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel* (London, 1956), pp. 177-201; R. Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom* (tr. John Murray, Edinburgh-London, 1963), pp. 30-40.

¹³ cf. *Jn.*, iv, 10; xvii; *Acts*, ii, 38; viii, 20; *Rom.*, v, 16-17; viii, 32; *I Cor.*, ii, 12; *Eph.*, ii, 8; *Heb.*, vi, 4; *II Peter*, i, 4.

¹⁴ cf. O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* (tr. S.C. Guthrie and C.A.M. Hall, London, 1959), p. 4.

¹⁵ cf. *Deut.*, xvii, 14-xviii, 22; *Jer.*, viii, 1; *I Tim.*, ii, 5; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 22, a. 1, ad 3; J.H. Newman, *Sermons on Subjects of the Day* (London, 1869), pp. 52-6; F. Prat, *La théologie de S. Paul* (38th ed., Paris, 1949), Vol. II, pp. 198 ff.

¹⁶ cf. *Gal.*, iv, 19

¹⁷ cf. *Rom.*, xii, 3-8; *I Cor.*, xii.

Body.¹⁸

In describing the Church as the 'Body' (σῶμα) of Christ St. Paul was putting forward a new and daring conception, since in pre-Christian Greek σῶμα does not mean a society or community as its Latin or English equivalents may do. He was pointing his readers not so much to the group of Christians as to the one Christ Himself, who in His death once for all entered the sanctuary as High Priest, eternally pleading our cause before the throne of God,¹⁹ and who in His resurrection has been enthroned as Lord over all creation,²⁰ so that, by the sending forth of the Spirit, He may bring all things into the movement in which He lives His life as the mighty Son of God, spreading His rule throughout the cosmos until ultimately, when the era of salvation has reached its term, He ceases to function as Saviour and delivers up His kingdom to the Father, 'so that God may be all in all.'²¹

We are caught up, therefore, in a 'dialectic of being and doing', since God's work is already done and still to be done: all the substance of it has been given us in Jesus Christ, and yet it has still to be carried out by us.²² We, 'upon whom the fulfilment of the ages has come',²³ and who are already citizens of heaven, yet 'await from heaven our deliverer to come, the Lord Jesus Christ'.²⁴ The world, created and sustained by God, and with its end in Him,²⁵ has indeed been ransomed by Christ from the bondage of man's sin, but 'the created universe in all its parts groans in a common travail to this present hour',²⁶ and only in glory will it achieve the restoration which in the Old Testament is associated with the deliverance of the redeemed:²⁷ we are called upon, that is, to live in a world

¹⁸ cf. *I Cor.*, xii, 13; *Gal.*, iii, 26-8; *Eph.*, ii, 11-22; J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen, 1925), p. 303; E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 92; Vol. II, pp. 188 ff., 468.

¹⁹ cf. *Heb.*, ix, 11-12, 24; *Rev.*, vii, 15; xxi, 22; B.F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London, 1902), pp. 201-30; F.X. Durrwell, *The Resurrection* (tr. R. Sheed, London, 1960), pp. 136-48.

²⁰ cf. *Mt.*, xxviii, 18; *Eph.*, i, 20-2; *Col.*, ii, 10; F.X. Durrwell, *The Resurrection*, pp. 108-24.

²¹ *I Cor.*, xv, 24-8; cf. F.X. Durrwell, *The Resurrection*, pp. 124-36; R. Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, pp. 292-8.

²² cf. Yves Congar, *Divided Christendom* (tr. M.A. Boufield, London, 1939), pp. 69, 96-7, 103; *Esquisses du mystère de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1953), pp. 26, 29-30; 'Sacerdoce et laïcité dans l'Eglise', *Vie intellectuelle*, December 1946, p. 11.

²³ *I Cor.*, x, 11; cf. *II Cor.*, iv, 10-11.

²⁴ *Phil.*, iii, 20.

²⁵ cf. *Rom.*, xi, 36; *I Cor.*, iii, 22-3; viii, 6.

²⁶ *Rom.*, viii, 18-24.

²⁷ cf. *Ps.* xcvi, 11-13; xcvi, 7-9; *Is.* xxxv, 1-10; xli, 18-20; xliii, 19-21; xliv, 21-8;

which is not our own, and to live, therefore, by a morality which takes account of the interval between our own time and the consummation of all things in Christ. 'The two ages, so to speak, overlap, lie alongside one another, and fight one another in the world and in the soul of every Christian.'²⁸

It is just this duality of times – consecrated, as we shall see, in the distinction between baptism and the Eucharist²⁹ – which creates the Church and, with regard to her sociological structure, radically distinguishes her from every society that is purely human or earthly. God works all things together for good to those that love Him,³⁰ and it has been His good pleasure to unite under a new head (ἀνωκεφαλαιοῦσθαι) all things in heaven and on earth:³¹ the Lord of creation is also Lord of the Church, the reconciler of all things with God,³² and as Lord of both the Church and the world He sends us, the Church, to make all nations His disciples³³ – a work which must be completed before the coming of the End,³⁴ the point at which 'the present *Kyrios Christos* reveals Himself not only as Lord of the Church but also as Lord of the cosmos.'³⁵ The new creation has begun at Christ's resurrection and begun in us,³⁶ for though flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God³⁷ yet 'since John the Baptist

xlix, 13; lv, 12-13; *Hosea*, ii, 18; P. Benoit, *Exégèse et théologie* (Paris, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 65-153; H. Sasse, 'Κοσμος', *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, Stuttgart, 1933-), Vol. III, pp. 882-96; F. M. Braun, 'Le "monde" bon et mauvais dans l'évangile johannique', *Vie spirituelle*, Vol. LXXXVIII (1953), pp. 580-98; N. A. Dahl, 'Christ, Creation and the Church', *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube, Cambridge, 1956), pp. 422-3.

²⁸ L. Newbigin, *The Household of God* (London, 1953), p. 119; cf. *I Cor.*, vii, 29-31; A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (London, 1953), p. 104.

²⁹ cf. *Catechismus Romanus*, II, vii, 23; M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik* (Munich, 1952), Vol. IV/1, pp. 130 ff.

³⁰ cf. *Rom.*, viii, 28.

³¹ cf. *Eph.*, i, 10; *Col.*, 16-17.

³² cf. *Eph.*, i, 22-3; *Col.*, i, 18-20.

³³ cf. *Mt.*, xxviii, 18-20.

³⁴ cf. *Mt.*, xxiv, 14.

³⁵ O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, p. 326; cf. 'La caractère eschatologique du devoir missionnaire et de la conscience apostolique de S. Paul', *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 1936, pp. 210-11; R. Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, pp. 284-317; L. Cerfaux, 'Le titre "Kyrios" et la dignité royale de Jésus', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, Vol. XI (1922), pp. 40-71; Vol. XII (1923), pp. 125-53.

³⁶ cf. *Is.*, lxxv, 17-18; *II Cor.*, v, 16-vi, 2; *Gal.*, vi, 15; *Eph.*, ii, 10, 14-15; iv, 24; *Titus*, iii, 5.

³⁷ cf. *I Cor.*, xv, 50.

God is incarnate'³⁸ and Christ Himself has become the acting subject of our lives.³⁹ 'The Church is, so to speak, the atonement becoming actual among men in the resurrection of a new humanity',⁴⁰ 'not merely a society, men associated with God, but the divine *societas* itself, the life of the Godhead reaching out to humanity and taking up humanity into itself.'⁴¹ The Church becomes, in St. Irenaeus's phrase, 'the whole body of the work of the Son of God'⁴² – a participation in the work of Christ such that the history of His Church and the lives of His faithful people are acts of the biography of the Messiah, who 'has an independent existence just as much as each of those who are His, but is Himself only in the *ὅλμα*. Without this He would not be what His name indicates',⁴³ the Saviour of a saved people. The members of Christ 'are what they are because the Church is what it is':⁴⁴ in it they participate in His death and resurrection, becoming, thus dedicated to the increase of Christ's life and dominion, what St. Peter describes as

'a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a consecrated nation, a people (λαὸς) God means to have for Himself.'⁴⁵

It is unfortunate that so many standard textbooks of dogmatics, in their anxiety to emphasise the special nature of Holy Orders, should speak of a *sacerdotium improprie dictum* when discussing this attribution of 'royal priesthood' to the Church as a whole.⁴⁶ The Biblical doctrine certainly does not allow any suggestion that this corporate priesthood is merely figurative or metaphorical. On the contrary, 'it is the whole Christian community, united with the Apostles and Prophets as in one complete organism, which renders a spiritual cult to God.'⁴⁷ In the New Tes-

³⁸ Yves Congar, *Divided Christendom*, p. 91.

³⁹ cf. *Gal.*, ii, 20; F.X. Durrwell, *The Resurrection*, pp. 218-19.

⁴⁰ T.F. Torrance, 'The Atonement and the Oneness of the Church', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. VII (1954), p. 268.

⁴¹ Yves Congar, *Divided Christendom*, pp. 48-9.

⁴² Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, 1; cf. *Adversus Haereses*, I, viii, 4.

⁴³ F. Kattenbusch, 'Der Quellort der Kirchenidee', *A. von Hamack: Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden* (Tübingen, 1921), p. 145; cf. G. Gloege, *Reich Gottes und Kirche im Neuen Testament* (Gutersloh, 1929), pp. 218, 228, 306; E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, Vol. I, pp. 109-53, 276, 290; Vol. II, pp. 91-4, 107, 123, 128, 276, 280; T.W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus* (2nd ed., London, 1943), pp. 211-34.

⁴⁴ Karl Barth, *Kirchliche Dogmatik* (Munich, 1932-), Vol. 1/2, p. 1.

⁴⁵ *I Peter*, ii, 9; cf. *Ex.*, xix, 5-6; *Rev.*, i, 6; v, 9-10; xx, 6.

⁴⁶ cf., e.g., Pohle-Preuss, *The Sacraments* (5th ed., St. Louis, 1926), Vol. II, pp. 256 ff.

⁴⁷ L. Cerfaux, 'Regale Sacerdotium', *Receuil L. Cerfaux* (Paris, 1954), Vol. II, p. 303.

tament 'the priestly dignity and honour belongs first and exclusively to Christ the Lord, to the personal Christ. In the second place it belongs to the whole Christ, which is the totality of those who compose His mystical Body and therefore share His life and priestly dignity. Such is the sequence of design in the divine plan of redemption: redeemed mankind as a new race under the New Adam. Only after that does the question come up who within the community of the faithful has a special share in the priestly function of Christ, who properly speaking is the organ through which the community performs those acts for which a special power is necessary. And only then does the priest, who by the imposition of hands has received that special power, come to the fore.'⁴⁸

The word λαός normally designates, in the Greek Old Testament, the Chosen People, the holy nation with whom, according to the Prophets, God has graciously sealed a pact of friendship and fidelity,⁴⁹ while outside remain the Gentiles, confirmed in their sin of unbelief. In the New Testament λαός sometimes means simply 'the crowd', but the Apostles, particularly St. Paul, took up again the specific sense of the term in applying it to the Christian Church: God has visited the Gentiles to take from among them a people (λαός) to bear His name,⁵⁰ and now the faithful, who have come together from every tongue and tribe, are no longer contrasted with other nations but stand as the embodiment of Christ's action of reconciliation of man to God, the inner circle of the *regnum Christi* which must eventually extend itself over the outer circle of those who, whether Jew or Gentile, yet remain in their unbelief.⁵¹ Baptised with Him who in His baptism was declared Son and Servant of God,⁵² we have received a new life as ourselves sons of God whose birth comes 'not from human stock, not from nature's will or man's but from God',⁵³ and as

⁴⁸ J. Jungmann, *Liturgical Worship* (New York-Cincinnati, 1941), p. 38; cf. 'Christus-Gemeinde-Priester', *Volksliturgie und Seelsorge* (ed. K. Borgmann, Colmar-Elsass, 1943), p. 27.

⁴⁹ cf. *Jer.*, vii, 13, 25; xi, 7; xxv, 4; xxvi, 5; xxix, 19; xxxii, 33; xxxv, 14; xlii, 4; *Hosea*, xi, 8.

⁵⁰ cf. *Acts*, xv, 14.

⁵¹ cf. H. Strathmann, 'λαός', *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. IV, pp. 32-9, 49-57; P. Dabín, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans les livres saints* (Paris, 1941), pp. 30-43, 180-97, 223-4; O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time* (2nd ed., tr. Floyd V. Filson, London, 1962), pp. 185-90.

⁵² cf. *Is.*, xlii, 1-4; *Mt.*, iii, 17; *Mk.*, i, 11; *Heb.*, i, 1-14; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, pp. 66-8; D.M. Stanley, 'The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI (1954), pp. 394-5.

⁵³ *Jn.*, i, 13.

servants also of God⁵⁴ within a community which, through its baptism of the Spirit at Pentecost, has itself become the Servant of God.⁵⁵ We must grow, therefore, towards our Head, to a mature manhood, 'measured by nothing less than the full stature of Christ', as the whole Body, 'bonded and knit together by every constituent joint, grows through the due activity of every part'.⁵⁶

With Christianity there had thus appeared a conception of individuality and personality which had been unknown in the ancient world: the Christian as *Christophoros*, the *anima in ecclesia*, is the recipient of *charismata* of the Spirit which are given to be constitutive of the Church, itself a charismatic work, and can be judged only by the confession 'Jesus is Lord'.⁵⁷ In the Church the Spirit institutes authority and diffuses life through it, while maintaining, at the heart of the institution, His perfect freedom to act upon souls as and when He wills.⁵⁸ The Church's authority cannot emancipate itself from the life-giving Spirit without degenerating into the tyranny of those kings of the Gentiles who yet call themselves benefactors of their people,⁵⁹ and the different offices and competences mentioned in the New Testament, even the office of Apostle, are interpreted there not in terms of power or assertiveness but as forms of service, included within the *διακονία* which is the Christian life itself.⁶⁰ As a prominent Russian Orthodox theologian has put it, therefore, 'all

⁵⁴ cf. D.M. Stanley, 'The Theme of the Servant of Yahweh in Primitive Christian Soteriology and its Transposition by St. Paul', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. XVI (1954), pp. 412-20.

⁵⁵ cf. W.F.J. Ryan, 'The Church as the Servant of God in Acts', *Scripture*, Vol. XV (1963), pp. 110-15.

⁵⁶ *Eph.*, iv, 13-16; cf. E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, Vol. I, pp. 184, 364; Vol. II, p. 86; R. Schnackenburg, 'Christian Adulthood according to the Apostle Paul', *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV (1963), pp. 354-70.

⁵⁷ cf. Ernest Käsemann, 'Gottesdienst im Alltag der Welt (zu Röm. 12)', *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche: Festschrift für Joachim Jeremias* (Berlin, 1960), p. 171; Eduard Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα', *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. VI, p. 422.

⁵⁸ cf. Yves Congar, 'Le Saint-Esprit et le Corps apostolique, réalisateurs de l'oeuvre du Christ', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, Vol. XXXVIII (1937), pp. 24-48; A.M. Dubarle, 'Prophétisme et apostolat dans le Nouveau Testament', *Vie spirituelle*, Vol. LXXXIII (1948), pp. 413-28.

⁵⁹ cf. *Lk.*, xxii, 25.

⁶⁰ cf. N.W. Beyer, 'διακονέω', and K.H. Rengstorff, 'μαθητής', *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. III, pp. 81-93 and Vol. IV, pp. 417-65; Alan Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* (London 1958), p. 291; H. Küng, *Strukturen der Kirche* (2nd ed., Freiburg, 1963); P.F. Palmer, 'The Lay Priesthood, real or metaphorical?', *Theological Studies*, Vol. VIII (1948), pp. 574-613.

Christians are clothed with the sacred rank of laymen':⁶¹ they share, as members of the λαός working out their salvation in this life, in the priestly quality of Christ, in that 'by virtue of their baptism [they] have received the capacity to make an offering in Christ and with Christ.'⁶²

The age of the Fathers also was specially marked by a belief in the co-operation of the whole Body in its own growth, and the presence of Christ in all the decisive acts of His community was expressed in such positive terms as *inspirare*, *inspiratio*, *revelare* and *revelatio*, freely used where we would talk more guardedly of an 'assistance' or 'help' of the Holy Spirit.⁶³ The distinction between a religious culture reserved for the clergy and a profane culture allowable to the laity had not yet made its appearance, for while the bishop was assigned a position of high authority⁶⁴ it was the mark of a good bishop to recognise his full corporeity with the Christ-bearing *ecclesia*,⁶⁵ the faithful who performed mystically the work of reconciliation of sinners which he himself performed sacramentally.⁶⁶

'I have made it a rule,' wrote St. Cyprian, 'ever since the beginning of my episcopate, to make no decision merely on the strength of my own personal opinion without consulting you [the priests and deacons] and without the approbation of the people.'⁶⁷

'Patristic theology considered the ordering of the Church into ministry

⁶¹ Sergius Bulgakov, 'The Hierarchy and the Sacraments', *The Ministry and the Sacraments* (ed. R. Dunkerley, London, 1937), p. 109.

⁶² E. J. DeSmedt, *The Priesthood of the Faithful* (New York, 1962), p. 21,

⁶³ cf. Yves Congar, *La Tradition et les traditions* (Paris, 1960), pp. 151-60; J. Crehan, 'Patristic Evidence for the Inspiration of Councils', a paper read at the Fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1963, shortly to be published in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* series.

⁶⁴ cf. Ignatius, *Magn.*, iii, 1-2; vi, 1; *Tral.*, ii, 1; Hippolytus, *Apostolic Tradition*, 2-3; J. Lécuyer, 'Episcopat et présbyterat dans les écrits d'Hippolyte de Rome', *Recherches de science religieuse*, Vol. XLI (1953), pp. 30-50.

⁶⁵ cf. Ignatius, *Tral.*, iii, 1; Cyprian, *Ep.* xxxiii, 1; xxxiv, 4; lxvi, 8 ('unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse et ecclesia in episcopo'); F. Hofman, *Der Kirchenbegriff des hl. Augustinus* (Munich, 1933), pp. 268-75; H. I. Marrou, *S. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris, 1938), pp. 383-5; Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, pp. 230-57; J. Ratzinger, *Volk und Haus Gottes in Augustins Lehre von der Kirche* (Munich, 1954), pp. 142-3; P. Rinetti, 'Sant' Agostino e l'Ecclesia Mater', *Augustinus Magister* (Congrès international augustiniens, 21st-24th September 1954, Paris, 1954), Vol. I, pp. 827-43.

⁶⁶ cf. K. Rahner, 'La doctrine d'Origène sur la Pénitence', *Recherches de science religieuse*, Vol. XXXVII (1950), pp. 47-97, 252-86, 422-56.

⁶⁷ Cyprian, *Ep.* xiv, 4.

and laity to be of divine appointment, and did not find this to be incompatible with the priesthood of the whole Church.'⁶⁸

III

The Church, therefore, as visualised by the New Testament and the Fathers, is a royal and priestly community, designed to permeate mankind like a leaven, separating the living elements from the dead remnants of fallen nature and recapitulating the world in the oneness of God,⁶⁹ for through the Spirit Christ lives in her to bring all things into subjection to the Father: she is the Body of Christ in process of self-formation, *ecclesia congregans et congregata, convocans et convocata*, both *Heilsanstalt* and *Heilsgemeinschaft*, at once the community in which salvation is realised and the means of calling to salvation⁷⁰ – or, as Bede puts it, 'every day the Church brings forth the Church'.⁷¹

By baptism we are drawn into the Church, given an 'existential obligation' to follow our orientation towards God,⁷² and so 'made' by the Church, who is truly the mother of the living, bringing them forth into the life of the Spirit,⁷³ and with whose prophetic office we are endowed by the complementary sacrament of confirmation, in which the strength (δύναμις) of the Holy Spirit is given specifically for the witness of Christ to the external world.⁷⁴ Here it is that we, in turn, begin to 'make' the Church

⁶⁸ S.L. Greenslade, 'Ordo', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. IX (1956), p. 162.

⁶⁹ 'It does not mean that there is a calculable number of men who are at peace with themselves; it means that the oneness of God triumphs over the whole questionableness of the Church's history.' (Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans*, tr. E.C. Hoskyns, London, 1933, p. 396.)

⁷⁰ cf. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xii, 6; Migne, P.L., xlii, 263; Yves Congar, *Divided Christendom*, pp. 51, 75-80; *Lay People in the Church*, pp. 22-32; 'Sacerdoce et laïcat dans l'Eglise', *Vie intellectuelle*, December 1946, pp. 6-39; C. Journet, *L'Eglise du Verbe incarné* (Paris, 1941-51), Vol. I, pp. 910-11, 1103-4; 'La nature du corps de l'Eglise', *Revue thomiste*, Vol. XLIX (1948), pp. 122-205; Yves de Montcheuil, *Aspects de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1946), pp. 64 ff.; H. de Lubac, *The Splendour of the Church* (tr. Michael Mason, London, 1956), pp. 69-73; Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Eng. tr., London, 1957), pp. 174-95.

⁷¹ Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, 2; Migne, P.L., xciii, 166.

⁷² cf. E. Schwarzbauer, 'Der Laie in der Kirche', *Theologische Praktische Quartalschriften*, Vol. XCVII (1949), pp. 28-46, 107-33.

⁷³ cf. Yves Congar, *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Eglise* (Paris, 1950), pp. 442-4, 454.

⁷⁴ cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 72, a. 5; M. Laros, *Confirmation in the Modern World* (London, 1938), pp. 17-35; Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, pp. 258-308; 'Rhythmes de l'Eglise et du monde', *Vie intellectuelle*, April 1946, pp. 6-22; J. Crehan, 'Ten Years' Work on Baptism and Confirmation', *Theological*

ourselves, and more especially when we draw together her diverse elements in the Eucharist, offering to God 'the mystery of ourselves'⁷⁵ by forming in space and time a 'scaffolding' for the building up of the Body of Christ.⁷⁶

For the New Testament writers, in the Eucharist 'there is concretised, so to speak, the present's entire situation in redemptive history',⁷⁷ in that the solemn meal in which Christ is present with His people points both backward to the Last Supper and forward to the Messianic Banquet to be eaten in the Kingdom of God: in virtue of the past act of God in Christ it is a door opened in heaven, the point at which the *Kyrios Christos* establishes His community by making His work in it already complete, so that it is present by anticipation at the eschatological gathering of the peoples round the sacrificed Lamb.⁷⁸ Christian worship, therefore, 'by no means consists only in preaching and reading of the Scripture in accordance with the synagogue pattern. Rather, the specifically Christian feature in the primitive Christian assemblies manifests itself in its clear goal, the building up of the Body of Christ.'⁷⁹ The great bulk of Patristic writings developed this same theme of the Eucharist as the sacrament of ecclesial unity: the whole service, with its prayers and its reading of Scripture, the preaching and the offertory, was covered by the one term 'Eucharist' and considered, in this totality, as offered by the Church as a whole, the consecrated Host symbolising that other Body of Christ in which all the faithful participated;⁸⁰ and in the Middle Ages, when the unity of the Body of Christ was considered to be the *res* of the sacrament of the Eucharist,⁸¹ some theologians brought the point home by applying the terms 'mystical Body' to the Eucharist and 'real Body' to the Church: the Body present in the Eucharist was truly and indeed present, but present mystically, symbolically, in order to cause the 'real'

Studies, Vol. XVI (1956), pp. 494-515; D.M. Stanley, 'The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism', *Theological Studies*, Vol. XVII (1957), pp. 169-215.

⁷⁵ cf. Augustine, *Serm.* 272.

⁷⁶ cf. M. Schmaus, *Katholische Dogmatik*, Vol. IV/1, pp. 572-3.

⁷⁷ O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, p. 156.

⁷⁸ cf. *Heb.*, ii, 9-10, 14-15; iv, 14-16, v, 7-10; *Rev.*, ivff.; F.X. Durrwell, *The Resurrection*, pp. 319-22.

⁷⁹ O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, p. 73.

⁸⁰ cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, x, 6; *Serms.* 229, 272; Leo I, *Serm.* 63; E.G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (2nd ed., London, 1947), p. 297; E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, Vol. I, pp. 298, 431-4, 469-76, 498-507; Vol. II, pp. 24-6, 113-16; J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (tr. Francis A. Brunner, rev. Charles K. Riepe, London, 1959), pp. 3-22.

⁸¹ cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, lib. IV, d. 8; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 73, a. 3.

unity of the Church which does not point to any reality beyond itself, being in itself communion with God.⁸² The hammering out of the formula of transubstantiation, by establishing the use of the word 'real' to describe the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharist, naturally overthrew this earlier terminology, but it was not by any means intended to destroy the underlying conception, for St. Augustine's doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ, which had influenced St. Anselm, Peter Lombard, Hugh of St. Victor and St. Bernard in the 12th century,⁸³ continued to influence St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure and St. Albert the Great in the 13th.⁸⁴ It became, indeed, one of the most profoundly examined concepts of the Middle Ages, expressed sometimes with an excessive desire to leave no part of the human body unexploited in giving every group and institution and office its place within the Church.⁸⁵

St. Thomas Aquinas gave order and cohesion to the scheme by developing the concept of the different forms of participation in Christ's priesthood signified by the sacramental character⁸⁶ and by continuing to see the 'spiritual benefit' of the Eucharist as 'the unity of the mystical Body'.⁸⁷ The whole Christ is contained in this sacrament,⁸⁸ and under both spe-

⁸² cf. Innocent III, 'Cum Martha circa', 29th November 1202: Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (ed. K. Rahner, Freiburg, 1952), 414; Bessarion, *De sacramento Eucharistiae*, Migne, P.G., clxi, 496; B. Leeming, *Principles of Sacramental Theology* (London, 1956), pp. 254-6, 371-8.

⁸³ cf. Anselm, *Meditationes*, q. i, 5; Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, lib. III, d. 13; Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, ii, 2; Migne, P.L., clxxvi, 416; J. Beumer, 'Zur Ekklesiologie der Frühscholastik', *Scholastik*, Vol. XXVI (1951), pp. 364-89; Yves Congar, 'L'esclésiologie de S. Bernard', *S. Bernard Théologien; Actes du Congrès de Dijon, 15-19 Septembre 1953* (Rome, 1953), pp. 136-90.

⁸⁴ cf. M. Grabmann, *Die Lehre des hl. Thomas Aquinas von der Kirche als Gotteswerk* (Regensburg, 1903); W. Scheerer, *Des sel. Albertus Magnus Lehre von der Kirche* (Freiburg, 1928); R. Silić, *Christus und die Kirche; Ihr Verhältnis nach der Lehre des hl. Bonaventura* (Breslau, 1938); A. Piolanti, *Il Corpo mistico e le sue relazioni con l'Eucaristia in S. Alberto Magno* (Rome, 1939); J. Gieselmann, 'Christus und die Kirche nach Thomas von Aquin', *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. CVII (1926), pp. 198-222; Vol. CVIII (1927), pp. 233-55; A. Lang, 'Zur Eucharistielehre des hl. Albertus Magnus: das Corpus Christi verum im Dienste des Corpus Christi mysticum', *Divus Thomas* (Fribourg), Vol. X (1932), pp. 257-74; Yves Congar, 'L'idée de l'Eglise chez S. Thomas d'Aquin', *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, Vol. XXIX (1940), pp. 31-58.

⁸⁵ cf. J. Sauer, *Symbolik des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1902), p. 36; H.O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (5th ed., London, 1930), Vol. II, p. 305.

⁸⁶ cf. B. Leeming, *Principles of Sacramental Theology*, pp. 230-50; E. Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament* (Eng. tr., London, 1963), pp. 191-223.

⁸⁷ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 73, a. 3; cf. a. 4; q. 65, a. 3; q. 82, a. 9, ad 2.

⁸⁸ cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 76, a. 1.

cies,⁸⁹ but *nullo modo localiter*: the Body of Christ is present in the Eucharist in an altogether different way from that in which bodies are ordinarily present in space, not through its own proper occupation of space but through its association with the species of bread and wine which themselves occupy space.⁹⁰ St. Thomas's doctrine of transubstantiation cannot, therefore, be described as materialistic, and participation in the Eucharist is not merely the consumption of the Body of Christ at a particular place and time. Containing Christ, the sacrament contains 'the whole mystery of our salvation', relating us to the passion of Christ in the past, to the one Church of Christ in the present, and to the eternal blessedness and glory which Christ has won for us in the future.⁹¹ To be a Christian is to share in 'something which has happened, which is happening, and which will happen',⁹² and St. Thomas, 'whose interpretation of the times of the Christian economy is far better than that of more recent scholastics',⁹³ distinguished three successive stages or states of interior religion: under the Old Dispensation man had relation, by faith, with the promised heavenly benefits and the means to attain them, as things *to come*; the blessed in heaven have relation to these same benefits and their means as *present*, enjoyed realities; and we, who are under the New Law but in the space between the comings of Christ, have relation with those benefits, by faith and hope, as things yet to come, but Jesus Christ, the means of their attainment, has been given and is with us.⁹⁴ Since in every sacrament Christ gives us a particular union with Himself, each of the sacraments gives grace in so far as it is related, and preparatory, to the Eucharist, the perfection, consummation and end of all the other sacraments.⁹⁵ In the consummation of Christ's triumph the Church will no longer have need of the Eucharist as we know it, and the whole ecclesial apparatus of powers and external means will have disappeared in face of the ultimate reality which is the oneness of the Church with Christ in love;⁹⁶ but in this world there must be within the

⁸⁹ ct. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 76, a. 2.

⁹⁰ cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 76, a. 5.

⁹¹ Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 83, a. 4.

⁹² Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt* (tr. O. Wyon, London, 1939), p. 494.

⁹³ Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, p. 63.

⁹⁴ cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia-IIae, q. 103, a. 3.

⁹⁵ cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 63, a. 6; q. 65, a. 3; q. 72, a. 12, ad 3; q. 73, a. 1 and a. 3; q. 75, a. 1; M. de la Taille, *Mysterium Fidei* (2nd ed., Paris, 1924), pp. 573, 583.

⁹⁶ cf. *Rev.*, xxi, 2-3, 22; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, 61, a. 4; q. 63, a. 1, ad 1; a. 3, ad 3; a. 5, ad 3; *In IV Sent.*, d. 24, q. 1, a. 1, ad 3; Cajetan, *In Ia-IIae*, q. 33, a. 4, n. 2; H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum: l'Eucharistie et l'Eglise au moyen*

Church a clerical or institutional priesthood which is defined by the sacrifice of the altar and the religious service of the Christian community in sundry other ways.⁹⁷ This is not at all to say that the priest receives his authority from the community and not directly from God – a thesis censured by Pius XII⁹⁸ and sufficiently disproved by the fact that a priest separated from the community of the Church by heresy, schism or excommunication can still validly celebrate the Eucharist *in persona Christi*⁹⁹ – but this form of priesthood is an office, a function, rather than a state of life, and traditional theology has always been careful to differentiate the office from the man who holds it.¹⁰⁰ The clergy owe their special standing to the fact that they are, in virtue of their ordination, instruments of the Lord who came not to be ministered to but to minister: in so far as the properly sacramental work of the Mass is concerned, they celebrate *in persona Christi*, while the offering of prayer, the sacrifice of praise, is done *in persona Ecclesiae*.¹⁰¹ The laity, for their part, have also a priesthood, rooted in the priesthood of Christ through the sacraments of baptism and consecration – not, indeed, a priesthood which allows them to perform the functions proper to the clerical priesthood, but a priesthood which unites them, in faith and love, with Christ and with each other in a spiritual offering.¹⁰²

IV

Thus, as in Patristic, so in mediaeval theology, the testimony of each Christian, witnessing to the Gospel in his heart, is a recurrent theme, the common supposition of the theologians who have elaborated this idea being that the Gospel in the heart of each Christian and the Gospel in the mind of the Church are one and the same – that just as there is a correspondence in the Body of Christ between head and members, so there is a correspondence between each of the members and the whole Body. 'Christian spirituality has not to choose, therefore, between an "interior" and a "social" tendency', for 'all its authentic forms in their extraordi-

âge (2nd ed., Paris, 1944), pp. 227 ff.; Eugen Walter, *Das Kommen des Herrn* (Stuttgart, 1948), Vol. I, pp. 38-9, 90 ff.

⁹⁷ cf. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, lib. IV, d. 24.

⁹⁸ cf. Pius XII, 'Mediator Dei', *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. XXXIX (1947), p. 553.

⁹⁹ cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 82, a. 6; M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith* (tr. J. Carroll and P. J. Dalton, London, 1950), Vol. II, pp. 338-400.

¹⁰⁰ cf. G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest* (tr. R. F. Bennett, Oxford 1940), pp. 47-50.

¹⁰¹ cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa, q. 82, a. 6.

¹⁰² cf. P. Dabín, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne* (Brussels, 1950), pp. 294-302.

nary variety will share in both.¹⁰³

With the development into the Middle Ages of hierarchical conceptions of society and the world,¹⁰⁴ it was natural that Christians should place an increasing reliance on the description of the Church also in hierarchical terms, even though the actual word 'hierarchy', which is non-Scriptural, was first introduced into current usage only by the pseudo-Dionysius, writing towards the end of the 5th century A.D.;¹⁰⁵ but even so Christianity did not set up a class of *perfecti*, uncontaminated by the world, leaving to the mass of *credentes* the inevitable sinfulness of earthly life: the earlier mediaeval writers erected, alongside the institutional hierarchy of clergy and laity, a second structure controlled by no institutional element but solely by the working of the Spirit and the standing of each individual in the sight of God.¹⁰⁶ The picture was complicated by cross-currents of lively debate on such subjects as the relative value of the contemplative life of the monk and the active life of the secular priest,¹⁰⁷ and monasticism did tend to institutionalise some part of the 'spiritual' hierarchy, entailing as it did a certain depreciation of the world from which the monk had withdrawn into his community;¹⁰⁸ but monasticism was considered by its founders and earliest legislators to be no more than the Christian life lived to its highest degree in a community which

¹⁰³ H. de Lubac, *Catholicism* (tr. Lancelot C. Sheppard, London, 1950), p. 188; cf. pp. 83-106; *Histoire et Esprit* (Paris, 1950), pp. 295-335; *Exégèse médiévale* (Paris, 1959), Vol. II, pp. 498-548; Yves Congar, *La Tradition et les traditions*, pp. 41-182; G. Tavard, *Transiency and Permanence: The Nature of Theology according to St. Bonaventure* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1954), pp. 80-102; P. Dabin, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne*, pp. 69-328; J. Ratzinger, *Die Geschichtstheologie des hl. Bonaventura* (Munich, 1957) pp. 63-78.

¹⁰⁴ cf. J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (tr. F. Hopman, London, 1924), pp. 46-55; Ruth Mohl, *The Three Estates in Mediaeval and Renaissance Literature* (New York, 1933); Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Mediaeval London* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 288 ff.; E. Lousse, 'Les caractères essentiels de l'état corporatif médiéval', *Etudes classiques*, Vol. VI (1937), pp. 203-23.

¹⁰⁵ cf. J. Stiglmayr, 'Über die Termini Hierarch und Hierarchie', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vol. XXII (1898), pp. 180-7.

¹⁰⁶ cf. G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, pp. 42-7; H. de Lubac, *The Splendour of the Church*, p. 72.

¹⁰⁷ cf. G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, pp. 50-6. The early mediaeval writers were never quite able to reconcile in a twofold hierarchy the three orders or degrees of *praelati*, *contemplativi* and *conjugati* — a threefold division which Origen and Augustine saw adumbrated in the archetypal figures of Noah, Daniel and Job (cf. Origen, *In Ezechielem*, iv, 4-8; P.G., xiii, 699-704; G. Folliet, 'Les trois catégories de chrétiens', *Augustinus Magister*, Vol. II, pp. 631-44).

¹⁰⁸ cf., e.g., John Chrysostom, *In Matt.*, homs. 8-9; Migne, P.G., lviii, 645, 652 ff.

was specially attempting to create in its own life the community or *ecclesia* of the Lord.¹⁰⁹

The monastic outlook was not uniform either in place or in time, but the belief that monasticism was the pilgrim part of the city of God, and that 'the true monk must be a stranger on earth',¹¹⁰ remained fairly constant throughout the Middle Ages. According to St. Bernard 'man is an exile. He no longer inhabits the land of his birth... As God made him, he was a noble creature – *nobilis creatura* – and he was so because God created him to His own image. Disfigured by original sin, man has in fact exiled himself from the Land of Likeness to enter into the Land of Unlikeness: *regio dissimilitudinis*. There we find the first inversion of order from which all the evil has arisen. Conversion reversed, conversion for ever "excrable", by which man exchanged the glory of the divine image for the shame of the earthly image, peace with God and with himself for war against God and against himself, liberty under the law of charity for slavery under the law of his own self-will. We might go still further and say that man, by that conversion, has exchanged heaven for hell: a word in which all the foregoing is summed up, for hell is at once self-will, and its consequence, unlikeness to God, and war set up between creature and creator.'¹¹¹ Mystical contemplation, however, is a participation and a return. 'Der Mensch ist gottentsprungen und gottsuchig'¹¹² – a conception

¹⁰⁹ cf. R. Garrigou-Lagrange *Perfection chrétienne et contemplation selon S. Thomas d'Aquin et S. Jean de la Croix* (7th ed., Paris, 1923), Vol. I, p. 149; Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism* (2nd ed., London, 1926), pp. 65-92; O.M. Porcel, *La doctrina de San Gregorio Magno y la 'Regula monachorum'* (Washington, 1951), p. 61; E. Gilson, *Les metamorphoses de la Cité de Dieu* (Paris, 1952), p. 36; H.J. Diesner, *Studien zur Gesellschaftslehre und sozialen Haltung Augustins* (Halle, 1954); E. Delaruelle, 'Le travail dans les règles monastiques occidentales du IVe au IXe siècle', *Journal de psychologie normale et pathologique*, Vol. XLI (1948), p. 53; A. de Vogüé, 'Le monastère, église du Christ', *Commentationes in Regulam S. Benedicti* (ed. B. Steidle, Rome, 1957), pp. 25-46.

¹¹⁰ H.F. von Campenhausen, *Die asketische Heimatlösigkeit im altkirchen und frühmittelalterlichen Mönchtum* (Tübingen, 1930), p. 8; cf. Yves Congar, 'Eglise et Cité de Dieu chez quelques auteurs cisterciens', *Mélanges offerts à Etienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris, 1959), pp. 173-202.

¹¹¹ E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of St. Bernard* (tr. A.H.C. Downes, London, 1940), p. 43; cf. Bernard of Clairvaux, *De diversis*, Serm. xlii, 2; Augustine, *Confessions*, vii, 10; J. Leclercq, 'S. Bernard et la théologie monastique du XIIe siècle', *S. Bernard Théologien: Actes du Congrès de Dijon, 15-19 Septembre 1953*, pp. 7-23; P. Salmon, 'L'ascèse monastique et les origines de Cîteaux', *Mélanges S. Bernard: XXIVe Congrès de l'Association bourguignonne des sociétés savants, Dijon 1953* (Dijon, 1954), pp. 268-83.

¹¹² Hugo Rahner, 'Das Menschenbild des Origenes', *Erano's Jahrbuch*, Vol. XV (1947), p. 239.

with its roots in Plato and the Bible,¹¹³ developed extensively by the Greek Fathers,¹¹⁴ and through Augustine¹¹⁵ transmitted to the leaders of mediaeval monasticism in the West. Thus in the writings of St. Odo of Cluny (c. 924-42) we find monasticism represented as the utmost tip of the *ecclesia* growing towards God, the realisation of the ideal Pentecostal Church. It is the Spirit manifested in the Church at Pentecost which alone can heal the schism in mankind created by original sin, and monasticism, as the continuation of Pentecost, is a return to the original state of man by a repudiation of this world for the sake of the next: asceticism, summed up in the threefold vow of poverty, chastity and obedience, is the means whereby man returns to paradise; the liturgical round represents the praise of the Creator which will be the perpetual work of those in heaven; and the communal life of the monks reflects that of the angels before the throne of God.¹¹⁶

This was to be taken as the pattern not only for those who dwelt in the cloister but for secular priests and laymen as well: the return to the original state of man was the goal not for monks only but for all, and the monastery stood as the model for the whole of mankind in its struggle for perfection and salvation. The early monastic writings certainly recognised that monasticism is a particular solution, a way to which not all are called, and that lay people engaged in the most secular occupations can equal and even surpass the ascetics in holiness, since the authority of the monk is a charismatic one, ultimately the authority of the Holy Spirit Himself, visibly operating through the *vir Dei*, and in this respect no difference in levels of sanctity can be taken as automa-

¹¹³ cf. C.G. Rutenber, *The Doctrine of the Imitation of God in Plato* (Philadelphia, 1946); A.J. Festugière *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Plato* (Paris, 1950); L. Köhler, 'Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei Lehre, Genesis, i, 26', *Theologische Zeitschrift*, Vol. IV (1948), pp. 16-22; K.L. Schmidt, 'Homo Imago Dei im alten und neuen Testament', *Eranos Jahrbuch*, Vol. XV (1947), pp. 149-95.

¹¹⁴ cf. Jules Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris, 1938); Henri Crouzel, *Théologie et l'image de Dieu chez Origène* (Paris, 1956).

¹¹⁵ cf. H. Sommers, 'L'image de Dieu et illumination divine: sources historiques et élaboration augustinienne', *Augustinus Magister*, Vol. I, pp. 450-62; V. Capanaga, 'La deificación en la Soteriología augustiniana', *Augustinus Magister*, Vol. II, pp. 745-54.

¹¹⁶ cf. Rose Graham, 'The Relation of Cluny to Some Other Movements of Monastic Reform', *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. XV (1914), pp. 179-95; J. Leclercq, 'L'idéal monastique de S. Odon d'après ses oeuvres', *A Cluny: Congrès scientifique, 9-11 Juillet 1949* (Dijon, 1950), pp. 227-32; K. Hallinger, 'Zur geistigen Welt der Anfänge Klunys', *Deutsche Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, Vol. X (1953-4), pp. 417-45.

tically separating the monastery from the outside world;¹¹⁷ but at the same time the monastery was the centre and the ideal, and throughout the Patristic period and a great part of the Middle Ages 'there were not two "spiritual lives", one for the ascetic, the other for the ordinary Christian. There was only one, and that was monastic.'¹¹⁸

The Middle Ages, therefore, witnessed a persistent series of attempts to provide the secular clergy and the laity with some means of approximating to monasticism in the greater or less degree. The earliest and least worthwhile of these was the *conversio ad succerendum*, whereby lay benefactors of monasteries were allowed to take the habit on the point of death,¹¹⁹ but there was a gradual evolution of more satisfactory forms of participation in the religious life in the friars of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and in the 'Third Orders' associated with both.¹²⁰ The doctrine of the conversion of man to the image of God, moreover, had a considerable influence on all ideas of reform and renewal, for some conception of perfection was necessary to every mediaeval political theory,¹²¹ and it was to be expected that Joachim of Flora (1145-1202), conceiving the new and last age of the Church, the age which should be under the dominion of the Spirit and of Love, should conceive it as an age of *virii spirituales* living a monastic form of life, in place of the married men who had dominated the Age of Law and the clergy of the Age of Grace.¹²² It is now established that Joachim found a following not only among the 'Spiritual' Franciscans but also among monks, with whose whole outlook he had much in common;¹²³ but in any case, whether Joachist or not, and whether monastic or not, the great sense of eschatological expectancy

¹¹⁷ cf. Rufinus, *Historia monachorum*, 16; M. Viller and K. Rahner, *Ascese und Mystik in der Vaterzeit* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1939), pp. 276 ff.; O. Casel, 'Benedikt von Nursia als Pneumatiker', *Heilige Überlieferung: Festgabe l. Herwegen* (Münster, 1938), pp. 96-123.

¹¹⁸ P. Pourrat, *La spiritualité chrétienne* (Paris, 1931), Vol. I, p. x; cf. A. von Harnack, *History of Dogma* (Eng. tr., London, 1896-9), Vol. V, p. 10; H. B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal* (Oxford, 1924), p. 4; G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge, 1923-8), Vol. I, p. 89.

¹¹⁹ cf. G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. I, pp. 90-4, 382-3, 476-81.

¹²⁰ cf. K. E. Kirk, *The Vision of God* (London, 1931), pp. 360-2.

¹²¹ cf. E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957), p. 144n.; G. B. Ladner, 'Der mittelalterliche Reform-idee und ihr Verhältnis zur Idee der Renaissance', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Vol. LX (1952), pp. 31 ff.

¹²² cf. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (2nd ed., London, 1962), pp. 99-102.

¹²³ cf. E. Benz, 'La Messianità di San Benedetto: contributo alla filosofia della storia di Gioacchino da Fiore', *Ricerche Religiose*, Vol. VII (1931), pp. 336-53.

which was characteristic of the later Middle Ages was moulded, in whatever perverse and degraded forms, by the monastic ideas of the world gone over to the Gospel and the creation of the perfect man in the perfect society.¹²⁴

No doubt it was entirely natural that piety 'should radiate outwards from the monastery. As the Church looked to the theologian for the formulation of her doctrine, so she looked to the monk, who had ordered his life in such a way as to find the greatest room for prayer, for expert guidance in the ways of devotion.'¹²⁵ But monasticism as an institution is something rather different from monasticism as the summit of the lay life: in practice there is a radical distinction between the monk and the non-monk which none of the mediaeval expedients could overcome, and the late-mediaeval apocalyptic movements, attempting to carry a monastic spirituality to the world at large, betrayed themselves by their sheer fantasy, or fell into extremes of antinomianism. The essential structure of the monastic life ordered towards the daily round of prayer, the *opus Dei*, could not be effectively transferred outside the institution, and the creation of the Cluniac movement as an incipient monastic 'Order' merely served to emphasise the divergence of monastery and world: the Cluniac ideal 'a été avant tout de soustraire les âmes aux dangers du siècle en les jetant dans les monastères clunisiens.'¹²⁶ Even the more workable

¹²⁴ cf. K. Burdach, 'Der Dichter des Ackermann aus Böhmen und sein Zeit', *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* (Berlin, 1926-32), Vol. III/2, pp. 131 ff.; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium*; H. Grundmann, 'Der Typus des Ketzers in mittelalterlicher Anschauung', *Kultur und Universalgeschichte: Walter Goetz zu seinem 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1927), pp. 91-107.

¹²⁵ K. E. Kirk, *The Vision of God*, pp. 359-60.

¹²⁶ A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne* (Louvain, 1927), Vol. I, p. 43. Père de Lubac has traced the process by which the monastery adopted to itself the Spiritual texts applicable to the Church, and shows how the monastic life came to be regarded as the Holy City, 'Jerusalem', over against the 'Babylon' of the world, with the specific *conversio morum* marking not so much the transition to faith as the entry into the cloister, the *vita vere apostolica*. Many writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries opposed *communiter vivere* to *saeculariter habitare*, and considered the laity (*conjugati*) to be members of the Church *secundum indulgentiam*, capable of being saved *in extremo per misericordiam Dei* (cf. H. de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale*, Vol. II, pp. 571-86; Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, pp. 8-13). The Cluniac movement was especially notable as a strong effort towards reform centred entirely on the restoration of the *opus Dei* and not at all concerned with what went on outside the cloister. 'Le mouvement clunisien est exclusivement monastique et il ne pénétrera guère l'Eglise séculière. S. Odon et ses successeurs ont remis la règle bénédictine en vigueur dans les abbayes qu'ils ont réformées; il ne semble pas qu'ils aient essayés d'entraîner l'épiscopat à tenter la même oeuvre d'assainissement.' (A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, Vol. I, p. 41.)

and satisfactory compromise later achieved by the friars could not fully redress the balance which had been disturbed at this time, especially when the Cluniac separation of the religious life from the world was reinforced, not long afterwards, by another strong effort at reform, the Gregorian, dedicated to entirely different aims and ideals.¹²⁷

V

The momentous changes of the centuries after Constantine brought on a state of recurrent crisis in which there was little opportunity for reflection on the permanent value of the expedients which the Church found immediately useful in the struggle for her very existence; and when she emerged, in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, to the vast task of theological, social and administrative reconstruction the whole horizon of her thinking had become different. No one in the New Testament period had anticipated a situation in which the State would consist of Christians, would be governed by Christians or run on Christian lines. 'It was hardly thought possible in New Testament times that Emperors and other rulers might actually be converted to Christianity...and the changes which Imperial conversion might entail, not alone in the Christian attitude towards the Emperor, but in the whole ecclesiastical polity, were not envisaged in the most ambitious Christian speculation of the first and second centuries.'¹²⁸ 'The Middle Ages, however, witnessed the expansion of the Church to a comprehensive, unifying and reconciling social whole, which included both the sociological circle of religion itself and the politico-social organisations. In its own way, therefore, it realised in practice the ideal of the Republic of Plato, conceived as an individual State – that is, the rule of the wise and the friends of God over an organic, many-levelled social entity, and also the ideal of the Stoics, whose universal commonwealth was to embrace the whole of mankind, without distinction, in one universal ethical kingdom.'¹²⁹

The age of mediaeval Christendom was a sacral age, in which unity of faith was a prerequisite of political unity and churchmen sought to realise the divine *respublica* on earth, to establish the Church as what

¹²⁷ cf. E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser* (Halle, 1892-4), Vol. II, pp. 445-65; L.M. Smith, 'Cluny and Gregory VII', *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXVI (1911), pp. 21-31.

¹²⁸ K.M. Setton, *The Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century* (New York, 1941), p. 17; but cf. H. Chadwick, 'Justin Martyr on Church and State', a paper read at the Fourth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 1963, shortly to be published in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* series.

¹²⁹ Ernest Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (tr. O. Wyon London, 1931), Vol. I. p. 203.

Gerbert (Pope Sylvester II, 999-1003) once described as *sanctissima societas humani generis*.¹³⁰ Christendom had indeed a dual aspect corresponding to the twofold nature and destiny of man, consecrated (allegedly) in the teaching of Christ, and visibly expressed in two separate administrations headed by Pope and Emperor respectively;¹³¹ but to conceive these two in irreconcilable duality, as a 'Church' and a 'State' as we know them today, is to transpose a modern idea into an alien mediaeval setting.¹³² In the mediaeval period men naturally did not fail to distinguish between spiritual and temporal, sacred and secular, and their taste for strong contrasts did much to create an illusion of necessary and constant antagonism,¹³³ but prelates like Becket and Langton 'have attracted attention precisely because they were exceptional, not typical':¹³⁴ the basic frame of reference was the social unity of the *respublica Christiana*, and the same writers who emphasised the opposition which from time to time arose between the spiritual and secular administrations were in reality much more conscious of belonging to the same, single society, a single community founded upon the will of God as both *ecclesia* and *respublica*.¹³⁵

Nevertheless, conflicts between the secular and the spiritual officers of the one Christian community did frequently occur, and the reform movement begun by St. Leo X (1049-54) and continued by St. Gregory VII (1073-85) represents a decisive turning point in the history of ecclesiological speculation, dramatically marked, in the so-called 'Investiture Contest', by a head-on collision of Empire and Papacy.

Gregory VII was a man 'filled with a dynamic power which brought on

¹³⁰ cf. Gerbert, Ep. 79.

¹³¹ cf. *Mt.*, xxii, 21; J. Rivi  re, *Le probl  me de l'Eglise et de l'Etat au temps de Philippe le Bel* (Louvain, 1926), p. 1.

¹³² cf. F.W. Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 73; G. Le Bras, 'Le privil  ge de clergie en France dans les derniers si  cles du moyen   ge', *Journal des Savants*, N.S., Vol. XX (1922), p. 259.

¹³³ cf. G. Le Bras, 'Le privil  ge de clergie en France dans les derniers si  cles du moyen   ge', *Journal des Savants*, N.S., Vol. XX (1922), p. 164.

¹³⁴ C.R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1170-1213*, p. 2.

¹³⁵ cf. J.N. Figgis, 'Respublica Christiana', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, Vol. V (1911); J. Courtney Murray, 'Governmental Repression of Heresy', *Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Meeting of the Catholic Theological Society of America* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 56-7.

¹³⁶ R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London, 1953), p. 239; cf. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* (ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 1887-9), Vol. II, pp. 322-3.

him accusations of dark practices',¹³⁶ and controversy has raged about his character and intentions ever since his first appearance as a prominent figure in the Roman Curia, but it is probable that he 'came to his papacy more with a sense of mission than with a wish for power'.¹³⁷ He was not even the leading theorist in his own circle, and the study of canonical law and institutions, by confirming his dependence upon a long tradition of ecclesiastical legislation, has revealed in him little of the innovator; but, in a world in which, apparently, 'Simon Magus possessed the Church', he was compelled to forego his desire to make his soul in the peace and quiet of the monastic life and take upon himself the burden of wide-ranging action to recover the Church for its proper mission. He fought not for himself personally but, like St. Anselm of Canterbury and St. Thomas Becket who followed him, for the destruction of simony and the rectification of the morals of the clergy, and for the Church as a divinely ordered society, working out by its life and authority the purposes of God.¹³⁸

Gregory described himself as one who above all things loved equity and righteousness (*aequitatis et justitiae praestantissimum amatorem*),¹³⁹ and the word *justitia* occurs more than two hundred times in his extant writings:¹⁴⁰ clearly it meant more to him than a mere neutral equity. 'It is *theological* justice, that which results from incorporation into Christ by the sacraments, by sanctifying grace, by the observance of the divine commandments, by the banishment of sin in all its forms',¹⁴¹ and Gregory could not tolerate that the *corpus Christi quod est fidelium congregatio*¹⁴² should bear so little the marks of its constitutive principle as it did when he first assumed his pontificate.¹⁴³ Even so, however, Gregory moved

¹³⁷ J.P. Whitney, *Hildebrandine Essays* (London, 1948), p. 71.

¹³⁸ cf. A. Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60, 366-8; 383-8; Vol. II, pp. 108, 111, 119, 309-16, 409-13; P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident* (Paris, 1931), Vol. II, pp. 4-15; H.-X. Arquillière, *S. Grégoire VII* (Paris, 1934), pp. 113-20; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), pp. 262-3, 299-309; M. Pacaut, *Alexandre III* (Paris, 1956), pp. 396 ff.; A. Nitschke, 'Die Wirksamkeit Gottes in der Welt Gregors VII', *Studi Gregoriani*, Vol. V (1956), pp. 115-219; Yves Congar, 'L'Eglise chez S. Anselme', *Spicilegium Beccense*, Vol. I (1959), pp. 371-99; Karl F. Morrison, 'Canossa: A Revision', *Traditio*, Vol. XVIII (1962), pp. 121-48

¹³⁹ cf. Gregory VII, *Monumenta Gregoriana, Registrum*, i, 1.

¹⁴⁰ cf. H.-X. Arquillière, *S. Grégoire VII*, p. 261.

¹⁴¹ H.-X. Arquillière, *S. Grégoire VII*, p. 270.

¹⁴² Gregory VII, *Registrum*, vi, 10.

¹⁴³ Many curious anomalies had arisen from the great weight of secular responsibility that had been thrust upon the ecclesiastical organisation during the Dark Ages. Ordericus Vitalis mentions a French prelate who, while preserving the

with intelligent moderation and pastoral purpose, without any desire to subvert the authority of the German Emperor or any of the other secular princes whose interests were so closely involved: he was no extremist, no rigid legalist or slave to a formula,¹⁴⁴ and his celebrated decree on the ceremonial by which lay magnates invested bishops with their offices was intended simply 'to remove all suggestion that the ecclesiastical office, the spiritual functions, could be conferred by a layman',¹⁴⁵ while later he threw away his political advantage by refusing, after the specious penance of the Emperor Henry IV at Canossa in 1077, to take sides for or against the royal penitent — an act which lost him the support of Henry's rebellious German subjects.¹⁴⁶ But when he did come into conflict with the Emperor he would make no fundamental concessions on the principle of *justitia*, the divine law expressed through the system of ecclesiastical legislation, and in a letter to the Bishop of Metz in 1076 he argued 'that the conception that any man could be exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction was intrinsically absurd, for it would mean that he was outside the Church, and alien from Christ.'¹⁴⁷

No doubt some elaboration of ecclesiastical law in these terms was necessary to curb the pretensions of secular rulers, for as the hierarchy of the spiritual life was modified by the fact that it contained monks, so, in a sacral society, the institutional hierarchy was modified by the fact that it contained kings. As a layman, the king could exercise none of the powers reserved to the clergy, but he stood as the secular leader of the specifically Christian society, and at least until the 11th century he was generally considered to have a special mission from God: in him God's ruling will was believed to be particularly active, and the Church, through

strictest celibacy as a bishop, was nevertheless married in his capacity as a secular baron in needs of heirs to inherit his property and office. 'It was a recognised thing — although against laws divine and ecclesiastical — that spiritual offices should be sold; a tainted bishop infected his diocese; bishops lived as barons and sometimes as bad barons at that; when clerical marriage was common, bishops and priests tried to hand on their offices to their sons or families. And so the disease spread: the Church seemed about to lose its power, because it was losing the spirit by which it should live.' (J.P. Whitney, *Hildebrandine Essays*, p. 7.)

¹⁴⁴ 'It is the custom of the Roman Church,' he wrote to William the Conqueror in March 1078 (*Registrum*, v, 17), 'to tolerate some things, to turn a blind eye to some, following the spirit of discretion rather than the rigid letter of the law.'

¹⁴⁵ Z.N. Brooke, *Lay Investiture and its Relation to the Conflict of Empire and Papacy* (London, 1939), p. 17.

¹⁴⁶ cf. A. Fliche, *L'Europe occidentale de 888 à 1125* (Paris, 1930), pp. 403-4

¹⁴⁷ R.W. and A.J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (London, 1928), Vol. IV, p. 187; cf. Gregory VII, *Registrum*, iv, 2.

her ceremonies of coronation and consecration, recognised the resultant ennoblement of his person.¹⁴⁸ Under Charlemagne the Church in the Frankish dominions had become a sort of Imperial Church, and Charlemagne himself had been 'king and priest', 'ruler of the people of God', 'propagator of the faith', 'father of the Church', 'Christ's vicar upon earth' — and, above all, the Lord's Anointed, whom God alone, who had set him up, could again cast down.¹⁴⁹ Since Charlemagne's time kings as well as Popes had made appeal to the royal and priestly figure of Melchizedek,¹⁵⁰ and in face of kings who claimed to be 'vicars of Christ' in respect of Christ's kingship,¹⁵¹ Gregory VII found it necessary to emphasise the essential difference between the pontifical *auctoritas* and the mere *regalis potestas* of the secular ruler, whose office can exist only in a fallen world, where the aberrations which result from original sin require the correction of the equally unnatural domination of one man over another by physical force.¹⁵² The king — and *a fortiori* the Emperor — as a Christian is subject to the decrees of the Roman Church, and as an *amator justitiae* (the classical mediaeval definition of a king) must bow to the judgement of those who are functionally qualified to determine for society its function in justice. The criterion of a Christian king is his usefulness (*utilitas*) to the Christian society in applying the principles of justice, and a king not so useful is no real king¹⁵³ — indeed, he may have his kingship taken away from him by the Pope,¹⁵⁴ whose authority as judge in spiritual things gives him also the right of judgment in those temporal matters which condition the ordering of the Christian society towards

¹⁴⁸ cf. G. Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, pp. 56-60.

¹⁴⁹ cf. A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (4th ed., Leipzig, 1904-20), Vol. II, pp. 71 ff.; L. Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien* (2nd ed., Paris, 1949), p. 122.

¹⁵⁰ cf. *Gen.*, xiv, 18; *Ps.* cix, 4; *Heb.*, vii, 1-2, 10-11, 15, 21; J. Hashagen, *Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation* (Essen, 1931), pp. 504-5; J. Leclercq, *Jean de Paris et l'ecclésiologie du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1942), pp. 99 ff.; G. Martini, 'Regale Sacerdotium', *Archivio della reale deputazione di storia patria*, Vol. LXI (1938), pp. 1-116.

¹⁵¹ cf. Smaragdus, *Via Regia*, 18; Migne, P.L., cii, 933, 958; Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi Imperatoris*, MGH Scriptores, xi, 260; Peter Crassus, *Defensio Regis Henrici*, 7; MGH Libelli de Lite, i, 450; G.B. Ladner, *Theologie und Politik vor dem Investiturstreit* (Vienna, 1936), pp. 60-1, 154-5; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, pp. 397-403.

¹⁵² cf. Gregory VII, *Registrum*, iv, 2; viii, 21; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xi, 1; xiv, 28; xv, 5, 7; xvi, 3-4; xvii, 6; xviii, 2.

¹⁵³ cf. Gregory VII, *Registrum*, viii, 21; ix, 3.

¹⁵⁴ cf. Gregory VII, *Registrum*, ii, 5; vii, 14a.

justice.¹⁵⁵ Gregory did not claim for the Papacy a *normal* direct rule over the secular affairs of the Christian society; but to declare that the Roman Church is the repository of *justitia* and that a Pope may depose Emperors 'is real theocracy, and all the attempts which have been made to deprive Gregorian thought of this characteristic will always come up against this short but formidable formula.'¹⁵⁶

VI

Since the Gregorian reform movement was supported by a powerful wave of canonical studies, with the foundation of many new law-schools – including that of Bologna, where from this time forward Roman and canon law were studied together – and the advance of research, which brought to light a great number of texts to be studied, classified, harmonised and synthesised,¹⁵⁷ it is easy to argue that this building up of the foundations of Papal power imposed a dictatorship upon the Christian community, or turned it into a totalitarian state;¹⁵⁸ but we may easily misunderstand the mediaeval canonists by applying to them concepts which they themselves had not developed,¹⁵⁹ and it is impossible to grasp the meaning of canon law unless we see it in its relation to the unique nature of the society it regulated and served: it is because the institution functioning, like or-

¹⁵⁵ cf. Gregory VII, *Registrum*, i, 63; ii, 45; iii, 31; iv, 2.

¹⁵⁶ H.-X. Arquillière, *S. Grégoire VII*, p. 134; cf. W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, pp. 272-309; M. Pacaut, *La théocratie* (Paris, 1957), pp. 79 ff.

¹⁵⁷ cf. W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, pp. 359-81; P. Fournier, 'Un tournant de l'histoire du droit, 1060-1140', *Revue d'histoire du droit français et étranger*, Vol. XL (1917), pp. 129-80; J. T. Gilchrist, 'Canon Law Aspects of the Eleventh-Century Gregorian Reform Programme', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. XIII (1962), pp. 21-38.

¹⁵⁸ cf. e.g., G. G. Coulton, *Mediaeval Panorama* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 5.

¹⁵⁹ cf. M. de Wulf, 'L'individu et la groupe dans la scolastique du XIII^e siècle', *Revue néo-scholastique de philosophie*, Vol. XXIII (1920), pp. 341 ff.; E. Lewis, 'Organic Tendencies in Mediaeval Political Thought', *American Political Science Review*, Vol. XXXII (1938), pp. 849-76; F. Brentano, 'Canonical Juristic Personality', *The Jurist*, Vol. I (1941), pp. 66-73; A. M. Stickler, 'De ecclesiae potestate coactiva materiali apud magistrum Gratianum', *Salesianum*, Vol. IV (1942), pp. 2-23, 97-119; 'De potestate gladii materialis secundum "Quaestiones Bambergenses" ineditas', *Salesianum*, Vol. VI (1944), pp. 113-40; 'Il potere coattivo materiale della Chiesa nella riforma Gregoriana seconda Anselmo di Lucca', *Studi Gregoriani*, Vol. II (1947), pp. 235-85; 'Der Schwerterbegriff bei Huguccio', *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici*, Vol. III (1947), pp. 201-42; 'Il "gladius" nel registro di Gregorio VII', *Studi Gregoriani*, Vol. III (1948), pp. 89-103; W. Ullmann, 'Delictal Responsibility of Mediaeval Corporations', *Law Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXIV (1948), pp. 79-96.

ganised secular society, by means of legislative, executive and judicial procedures is one aspect of the mystical Body of Christ that we cannot interpret canon law as a merely accidental set of rules, independent of, or even incompatible with, the substance of the Christian community.¹⁶⁰ 'The papal-hierocratic scheme is a gigantic attempt to translate Scriptural and quite especially Pauline doctrine into terms of government',¹⁶¹ and the leading figures of the early stages of the canonist revival did not attempt to define the mystery by extending their legal theorisings to the Church as a whole: such writers as Stephen of Tournai and Johannes Teutonicus refer to the doctrine of the mystical Body in specifically theological terms, drawn not from the sources of Roman law but from the Fathers of the Church.¹⁶²

Gradually, however, all the characteristic features of classical Roman law and administration stamped themselves upon the Church, and Gregory VII's successors must come under some suspicion of having 'bartered spiritual leadership for temporal rule, the legacy of St. Peter for the fatal dower of Constantine.'¹⁶³ From the 11th century onwards there was a growth of authoritarian concepts of varying importance in the different spheres of Church life — the idea of the priest as 'governing' his parish, and the bishop as *judex ordinarius* in his diocese, of the Church as 'Queen' of mankind and the Pope as 'sovereign' — and authority, especially Papal authority, was borrowing heavily from the terminology, insignia and ceremonial of the Imperial Court.¹⁶⁴ Where Gregory VII had emphasised, in

¹⁶⁰ cf. S. Kuttner, 'Some Considerations on the Rôle of Secular Law and Institutions in the History of Canon Law', *Scritti di sociologia e politica in onore di Luigi Sturzo* (Bologna, 1935), Vol. II, pp. 356-7.

¹⁶¹ W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, p. 448; cf. M. Roberti, 'Il corpus mysticum di S. Paolo nella storia della persona giuridica', *Studi in Onore di Enrico Besta* (Milan, 1939), Vol. IV, pp. 37-82.

¹⁶² cf. Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 134-5.

¹⁶³ A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1913), p. 245.

¹⁶⁴ cf. J. Hashagen, *Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation*, pp. 503-5; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, pp. 310-43, 359-81; J. B. Säg Müller, 'Die Idee von der Kirche als Imperium Romanum im kanonischen Recht', *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. LXXX (1898), pp. 50-80; A. Mayer Pfannholz, 'Gregor VII und Heinrich IV im Lichte der Geistesgeschichte', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Geistesgeschichte*, Vol. II (1936), pp. 153 ff.; 'Der Wandel des Kirchenbildes in der Geschichte', *Theologie und Glaube*, Vol. XXXII (1940), pp. 22-34; 'Das Bild der Mater Ecclesiae im Wandel der Geschichte', *Pastor Bonus*, Vol. LIII (1942), pp. 33-47; T. M. Parker, 'Feudal Episcopacy', *The Apostolic Ministry* (ed. K. E. Kirk, London, 1946), pp. 351-6; P. E. Schramm, 'Sacerdotium und Regnum im Austausch über Vorrechte: eine Skizze der Entwicklung zu Beleutung des "Dic-

his decree of 1075 and even in his more advanced legislation of 1078 and 1080, the illegitimacy of ceremonies which seemed to confer spiritual powers, later Popes and canonists attacked all subordination of bishops to the secular authority, even in respect of their temporalities. There were precedents to the contrary, but the common canonical opinion set aside any lay jurisdiction over clerics which resulted from a cleric's tenure of secular office, and no distinction was drawn between ecclesiastics engaged in directly spiritual duties and those who might be described, in the mediaeval phrase, as *clerici clericaliter non viventes* – the large number of ordained, or at least tonsured, men occupied in purely secular business.¹⁶⁵ More and more advantages, too, were being found in applying to the Church the concepts of the secular law of corporations,¹⁶⁶ until it came to the point at which the supernatural element in the Church could conveniently be restricted to the original imparting of authority to her by Christ, while in all other respects she could be completely comprehended in the concepts applicable to all other societies: for the canonists the Church is not the continuing flow of Christ's life through the Christian community but, for all practical purposes, a purely human society, a *universitas personarum* as conceived in Roman law, differentiated only by the divinely superimposed hierarchical authority.¹⁶⁷ 'The mediaeval Church was a state. Convenience may forbid us to call it a state very often, but we ought to do so from time to time, for we could frame no acceptable definition of a state which would not comprehend the Church. What has it not that a state should have? It has laws, lawgivers, law courts, lawyers. It uses physical force to compel men to obey its laws. It keeps prisons. In the thirteenth century, though with squeamish phrases, it pronounces sentence of death. It is no voluntary society. If people are not born into it, they are baptised into it when they cannot help themselves. If they attempt to leave it, they are guilty of the *crimen laesae maiestatis* and are likely to be burnt.'¹⁶⁸

tatus Papae" ', *Studi Gregoriani*, Vol. II (1947), pp. 403-57; R. Elze, 'Das "Sacrum Palatium Lateranense" im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', *Studi Gregoriani*, Vol. IV (1952), pp. 27-54.

¹⁶⁵ cf. Z.N. Brooke, *Lay Investiture and its Relation to the Conflict of Empire and Papacy*, pp. 16, 21; R. Génestal, *Le 'Privilegium Fori' en France du Décret de Gratian à la fin du XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1924), Vol. I, p. 195.

¹⁶⁶ cf. Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, pp. 135-41.

¹⁶⁷ cf. O. von Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (Berlin, 1868-1913), Vol. III, pp. 252-4; P. Gillet, *La Personnalité juridique en droit ecclésiastique* (Malines, 1927), pp. 41-4.

¹⁶⁸ F.W. Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, p. 100.

VII

A sound theological investigation of the mystery of the Church might have modified this description by reinstating the Patristic emphasis on the coinherence of Christ and the Christian in the mystical Body, but the very vigour of canonist studies, and the technical procedures by which the canonists collated and mastered their Biblical and Patristic sources, gave them the attraction of freshness and progress in the eyes of the early schoolmen. 'Not that all the scholastics were jurists... But they were men of their time. Not a few took pride in showing that the Christian doctrine could be expressed *ad apices juris* as well as any other science, in terms of contracts, divine decrees, promises, etc.'¹⁶⁹ Thus the hermeneutics of Ivo of Chartres and Bernold of Constance played a decisive role in the beginnings of scholasticism,¹⁷⁰ and though the 13th century remains in this respect largely an unexplored period, yet 'the very strictures of Rogen Bacon or Dante on the legalistic spirit which led the clergy to run to the law schools in search of a canonist's promising career, the very railings of the satirists against the ambitious, greedy, artful canon lawyers, reflect in a way the actual truth that in the mediaeval world canon law was an all-pervading social and cultural power.'¹⁷¹

Very little work has been done on the absorption of canonistic material by St. Thomas himself,¹⁷² but it is clear that the question of the relations obtaining between the Christian, the Body of Christ and the institutional Church simply did not present itself to him in the terms used by the Fathers. No doubt St. Thomas, were he alive today and as conscious of the theological needs of our time as he was of those of his own, would have developed further the ecclesiological texts which abound in his writings. His whole account of the movement of the rational creature towards God implies a doctrine of the Church for which a modern Aquinas would find ample room between the treatise on the Incarnation and the treatise on the sacraments in the *tertia pars* of the *Summa Theologica*.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, Vol. II, p. 60; cf. J. de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle* (2nd ed., Louvain, 1948), pp. 416-547.

¹⁷⁰ cf. M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der scholastischen Methode* (Freiburg, 1911), Vol. II, pp. 86, 213 ff.; 302-3.

¹⁷¹ S. Kuttner, 'The Scientific Investigation of Mediaeval Canon Law: The Need and the Opportunity', *Speculum*, Vol. XXIV (1949), p. 494.

¹⁷² cf. A. Darquennes, 'La définition de l'Eglise d'après S. Thomas d'Aquin', *L'organisation corporative du moyen âge à la fin de l'Ancien Régime* (Louvain, 1943), pp. 1-53; I. T. Eschmann, 'The Notion of Society in St. Thomas Aquinas', *Mediaeval Studies*, Vol. VIII (1946), pp. 1-42; W. Ullmann, *The Mediaeval Papacy: St. Thomas and Beyond* (Aquinas Society Paper No. 35, London, 1960).

¹⁷³ cf. A. Gardeil, *La crédibilité et l'apologétique* (Paris, 1912), p. 220; Yves Congar, *Esquisses du mystère de l'Eglise*, p. 61.

But, as a historical fact, St. Thomas never wrote a formal treatise *de Ecclesia* and scarcely at all attempted to state the ecclesiological significance of the juridical and institutional elements of the Church, for the precise reason that he took these elements almost for granted, sometimes to the detriment of his argument: his account of the rights of Jewish parents over their children, for instance, clearly implies a positive doctrine of freedom of conscience,¹⁷⁴ but his discussion of unbelief as such is concerned almost entirely with the Church's right (and duty) to limit the freedom of unbelievers. 'Indeed, in the eighteen articles devoted to the topic of unbelief, the very word "conscience" does not once occur.'¹⁷⁵ St. Thomas's concept of the Church, moreover, has two central phases, the theocentric and the Christocentric, and although 'the second aspect is in no wise minimised or blurred by the first', yet St. Thomas does focus attention on the first, and 'has thrown into relief the theological or theocentric phase before the "Christ" or "Christocentric phase".'¹⁷⁶ Nor is Christology explicit in his account of the ordered universe and man's place in it. Although he does argue that Christ is the centre of the universe, this doctrine 'is mentioned only in strictly Christological questions, or in commentaries on Scripture where the reference is unmistakable'.¹⁷⁷

Mediaeval theologians naturally continued to believe in the majesty of Christ, the ruler of the universe, and in the royal, prophetic and priestly power centring in Him,¹⁷⁸ and Augustine, with his conception of the strug-

¹⁷⁴ cf. Eric D'Arcy, *Conscience and its Right to Freedom* (London, 1961), pp. 145-56.

¹⁷⁵ Eric D'Arcy, *Conscience and its Right to Freedom*, p. 180.

¹⁷⁶ Yves Congar, 'The Idea of the Church in St. Thomas', *The Thomist*, Vol. I (1939), p. 340; cf. *Esquisses du mystère de l'Eglise*, pp. 69-70.

¹⁷⁷ John H. Wright, *The Order of the Universe in the Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Rome, 1957), p. 214. As Fr. Wright says, 'one cannot reasonably complain that a man does not say everything that can be and needs to be said on a question. It is enough that he has made a great positive contribution and pointed the way for others to follow.' This does not, however, in any way alter the content of St. Thomas's works as presented to contemporaries.

¹⁷⁸ cf. Bonaventure, 'In Lucam', ix, 34; *Opera* (ed. Quaracchi), Vol. VII, pp. 226-7; J. Leclercq, *L'idée de la royauté du Christ au moyen âge* (Paris, 1959); 'La royauté du Christ dans les lettres des papes du XIIIe siècle', *Revue d'histoire du droit français et étranger*, Vol. LXV (1942), pp. 112-20; 'Le sermon sur la royauté du Christ au moyen âge', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, Vol. XIX (1943-5), pp. 143-80; 'L'idée de la royauté du Christ au XIVe siècle', *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* (Rome, 1948), pp. 405-25; 'L'idée de la royauté du Christ pendant le grand Schisme et le crise conciliaire', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, Vol. XXIV (1949), pp. 249-65; 'L'idée de la seigneurie du Christ au moyen âge', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. LIII (1958), pp. 57-68.

gle of the two cities and the idea of world ages, had almost forced mediaeval thought into a historical mould,¹⁷⁹ but the conclusion seems inescapable that the scholastics, who were committed to reason and debate rather than contemplation as the method of attaining truth, failed to give this doctrine the full eschatological reality which had been accorded it by the earlier, usually monastic writers.¹⁸⁰ For them the spiritual life was less organically linked with the corporate furtherance of Christ's work towards its consummation,¹⁸¹ and the corporate organisation of the spiritual life was the more easily abandoned to legal regulation. 'The Fathers had endeavoured to produce in the Christian the consciousness of his own ethical responsibility, to make him act in the spirit of the Bible... The new tendency, on the other hand, went towards simplifying and facilitating the action of the individual by relieving him of the compulsion to deliberate with himself on the best ways and means of fulfilling his moral duty as a Christian. Instead the Church took upon itself the burden of prescribing in detail how in each particular situation the Christian had to act.'¹⁸²

This change of attitude certainly marks a distinct epoch in the history of monasticism: we may indeed think that the whole movement of monastic reform in the 13th century 'had in it a fundamental flaw — a flaw that ran through so much of the official religious achievement of the time, even through the work of Gregory IX, of Innocent IV, of Grosseteste and Haymo of Faversham: the substitution, that is, of a legal, calculated, logical programme, apparently capable of rapid and complete execution, for the ardour of a call to the ideal, based not upon law but upon love.'¹⁸³ The layman's condition, however, was even worse, since canon law defines function and competence within the Church in terms of one's state of life and must therefore describe a layman as 'one who has no part in the

¹⁷⁹ cf. G. Amari, *Il concetto di storia in Sant' Agostino* (Rome, 1951); W. Lippens, 'Die Bekenntnisse Augustins als Beitrag zur christlichen Geschichtsauffassung', *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift*, Vol. II (1951), pp. 164-77.

¹⁸⁰ cf. S. Vismara, *Il concetto della storia nel pensiero scolastico* (Milan, 1924); T. Gregory, 'L'escatologia cristiana nell'aristotelismo latino del XIII secolo', *Ricerche di storia religiosa*, Vol. I (1954-7), pp. 108-19.

¹⁸¹ For this reason a prominent American Jesuit has argued that 'a lay theology should be built on the pre-Thomistic, Augustinian theory and its formulae.' (John Courtney Murray, 'Towards a Theology for the Layman: the Pedagogical Problem', *Theological Studies*, Vol. V (1944), p. 363.)

¹⁸² H.H. Glunz, *History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 77.

¹⁸³ M.D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1948-59), Vol. I, p. 25.

power of jurisdiction and especially of Holy Order.¹⁸⁴ The lay condition was increasingly represented as a concession to human weakness, a state from which those who shared in it could not properly take part in the specifically Christian achievement of building together the Body of Christ in this world. Their function was simply to carry out dutifully the tasks of a lower, this-worldly plane of existence:

'These are allowed to possess temporal goods, but only what they need for use, since nothing is more wretched than to set God at naught for the sake of money. They are allowed to marry, to till the earth, to pronounce judgment on men's disputes and plead in court, to lay their offerings on the altar, to pay their tithes. And so they can be saved, if they do good and avoid evil.'¹⁸⁵

There is nothing in this text from Gratian of the Pauline idea of Christ Himself as the *subject* of the Christian's life, and in nearly all the other great monuments of mediaeval canon law the lay Christian is considered exclusively as the *object* of ecclesiastical administration – hence the judgment of a great German legal historian that 'the Catholic Church is the Church of the clergy. The Pope, the bishops and the priests constitute the Church. According to canon law, the laity appear to be only rearguard members, while the clergy alone are members with full rights. The laity form simply the people who must be guided and taught.'¹⁸⁶

VIII

The creation of such a Church polity at this time proved to be singularly unfortunate in practical terms, quite apart from any inherent defects. The period which gave canonical law and institutions their distinctive Western form saw also, with the growth of trade and the rise of communal government, the emergence of what 'from the beginning showed that characteristic of being an exclusively lay culture' – an urban civilisation in which the lay spirit was 'allied with the most intense religious fervour' as can be seen from the 'innumerable religious foundations with which the cities abounded', but which resisted the hierocratic ideology in all its forms. The piety of the laity, developing out of contact with clerical learning in a society which preserved its independence by active opposition to clerical rule, 'showed itself with a naiveté, a sincerity and a fear-

¹⁸⁴ A. Vermeersch and J. Creusen, *Epitome Juris Canonici* (4th ed., Malines, 1929), Vol. I, pp. 154-5; cf. Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁸⁵ Gratian, *Decretum*, VII, xii, 1; cf. Humbert, *Adversus simoniacos*, iii, 9; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, pp. 265-71.

¹⁸⁶ Ulrich Stutz, *Der Geist des Codes Juris Canonici* (Stuttgart, 1918), p. 83.

lessness which easily led it beyond the bounds of orthodoxy. At all times, they were distinguished above everything else by the exuberance of their mysticism. It was this which, in the eleventh century, led them to side passionately with the religious reformers who were fighting simony and the marriage of priests; which, in the twelfth century, spread the contemplative asceticism of the Beguines and Beghards; which, in the thirteenth century, explained the enthusiastic reception which the Franciscans and Dominicans received. But it was this also which assured the success of all the novelties, all the exaggerations, and all the deformations of religious thought. After the twelfth century no heresy cropped out which did not immediately find some followers.¹⁸⁷

The effort to remove bishops from all secular control also proved impracticable, because it ignored the actual conditions of mediaeval society. 'The truth was that no conscientious government could suffer to be out of its control the conferring of offices which, besides a grave responsibility for religion — in regard to which no ruler careful of the welfare of his subjects had the right to remain disinterested — included so great an element of properly temporal government.'¹⁸⁸ By taking the stand it did, the Papacy was condemned to a relationship of inevitable dialectic with the secular authorities, heightened from time to time by the activities of particular 'Januses of mitre and coronet':¹⁸⁹ in 1087 Odo of Bayeux had been arrested, on the advice of Archbishop Lanfranc himself, not as a bishop but as a baron,¹⁹⁰ and later Kings of England, faced with similar problems, did not hesitate to deal with them in the same way. Thus when

¹⁸⁷ H. Pirenne, *Mediaeval Cities* (tr. F.D. Halsey, New York, 1956), pp. 165-7.

¹⁸⁸ Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939-40), Vol. II, p. 106; cf. Z.N. Brooke, *Lay Investiture and its Relation to the Conflict of Empire and Papacy*, pp. 8-11. 'From two sides the world pressed in upon the mediaeval bishop and made him less and less a pastor of souls and more and more a temporal magnate. On the one hand he was by virtue of his position a feudal lord, with similar privileges and immunities to those of his lay peers. He, like them, possessed not only broad lands and their revenues in money and kind, but also rights of private jurisdiction and even his own private army... On the other hand, the bishop, both by virtue of his local importance and through the dependence of the central government upon his learning, had duties towards the State as a whole' — in advising the Crown, serving as a minister of state or special ambassador, and so on. (T.M. Parker, 'Feudal Episcopacy', *The Apostolic Ministry*, pp. 377-8; cf. pp. 362-72.)

¹⁸⁹ cf. T.M. Parker, 'Feudal Episcopacy', *The Apostolic Ministry*, p. 377.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ed. A. le Prévost and L. Delisle, Paris, 1838-55), vii, 8; A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 100-4, 136-8, 264; H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), pp. 285-6.

Pope Celestine III (1191-8) protested against Coeur-de-Lion's seizure of Philip, Bishop of Beauvais, Richard sent him the armour in which Philip had been arrested, asking whether this was the coat of a son of the Pope.¹⁹¹ Such cases were, of course, exceptional, but in a feudal society where secular greatness was the Church's only guarantee of integrity attempts to enforce the full canon-law requirements of ecclesiastical independence necessarily raised almost insuperable difficulties on both sides: if the Church had a case against the secular authorities, the secular authorities might reply with considerable justice that the Church was trying to have things both ways – to retain her influence in the world and yet contract out of it. Only once, it would seem, was the issue squarely faced – in 1110 and 1111, when the unworldly Pope Paschal II proposed that the Church should renounce her temporal possessions in return for the abandonment of all secular claims to select and control the bishops. So radical a solution, however, could not be implemented, being unacceptable alike to ecclesiastics reluctant to give up worldly position and to lay magnates who wished to retain full rights of patronage and control over local churches.¹⁹²

IX

The later canon lawyers and theologians certainly recognised that both clergy and laity belong to one Church, the unity of which is in no way compromised by a distinction between the two, and an immediate consequence of the Investiture Contest was a renewed sense that the spiritual and secular administrations of the Christian community existed in such close unity that the subversion of either must lead to chaos in the other:

'Videmus... divisum regnum et sacerdotium, sine quorum concordia res humanae nec incolumes esse nec tutae.'¹⁹³

Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141) expressed the same idea in the image of the two sides of the human body.¹⁹⁴ But the Investiture Contest and the growth of canon law had introduced a new element into conflicts between the

¹⁹¹ cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, 1872-83), Vol. II, p. 422; A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*, p. 467.

¹⁹² cf. T.M. Parker, 'Feudal Episcopacy', *The Apostolic Ministry*, pp. 372-4; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, p. 409; I. Ott, 'Der Regalienbegriff im 12. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte (Kanonistische Abteilung)*, Vol. XXXV (1948), pp. 234-304.

¹⁹³ Ivo of Chartres, *Ep. ad Hugonem*, MGH Libelli de Lite, ii, 642 ff.

¹⁹⁴ cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis*, II, ii, 2; Migne, P.L., clxxvi, 417; W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, p. 437.

spiritual and secular administration, not only by raising the question of which of the two administrations was ultimately superior, but also by threatening the unity of the Christian community itself: could the unity of the *societas Christiana* be maintained if one of its two aspects claimed to be a self-contained and internally coherent institution, governed by its own laws and free from external interference? 'We should say that in the early Middle Ages, that is to say, up to the Investiture struggle – and perhaps inclusive of it – the conflict is habitually considered as between the *Sacerdotium* and [the] *Regnum* or *Imperium*, and, in nine cases out of ten at least, as taking place in the *Ecclesia*, rather than in the *Respublica*. Only in the later Middle Ages are *Respublica* and *Ecclesia* used as convertible terms for *Regnum* or *Imperium* and *Sacerdotium* respectively; and the conclusion we would draw is that, when this happens, the conception of the single society is breaking up.'¹⁹⁵

There had in fact emerged a conception of two distinct societies, a 'Church' and a 'State', and where earlier writers had spoken of the two sides of one body, the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century critics of ecclesiastical authority spoke of two *bodies*, each with its own head, the Pope on the one hand and the King or Emperor on the other.¹⁹⁶ Kings who were expected to serve the Church in such important matters as the creation of secular legislation against the *crimen publicum* of heresy¹⁹⁷ could not but feel that they should themselves have a hand in the management of the Church, and not always purely for reasons of worldly ambition. The Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250) appears to have had a concern for religion that was more than mere policy, and even under excommunication he never lost the regard of genuinely pious monarchs like Louis IX of France and Henry III of England; but his conception of Christian society was the very antithesis of the hierocratic ideal, and he visualised an absorption of the 'Church' by the 'State'.¹⁹⁸ As the Emperors' power declined new secular rulers took their place as leaders of the opposition to hierocratic thinking, and there is at least some reason to suppose that the later mediaeval development of the notion of absolute sovereignty was in large measure a transposition into a secular context of some elements of

¹⁹⁵ C.N.S. Woolf, *Bartolus of Sassoferrato: His Position in the History of Mediaeval Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 104.

¹⁹⁶ cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum: l'Eucharistie et l'Eglise au moyen âge* (2nd ed., Paris, 1944), p. 133.

¹⁹⁷ cf. G. de Vergottini, *Studi sulla legislazione imperiale di Federico II in Italia* (Milan, 1952), pp. 97 ff., 179 ff., 265 ff.

¹⁹⁸ 'Sans cesser d'être une puissance politique, l'impérialisme est devenu un dogme religieux.' (J. Rivière, *Le problème de l'Eglise et de l'Etat au temps de Philippe le Bel*, p. 43.)

the canonical theory of the Papacy.¹⁹⁹ Thus when Philip the Fair of France (1285-1315) reminded Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) that *ecclesia non solum est ex clericis, sed etiam ex laicis*,²⁰⁰ the French monarchy, raised on the ruins of municipal freedom, had become a sort of counter-Church, relying on the divine character of kings and a long tradition of anti-Papal polemic, and evolving, in the hands of Philip's lawyers, a well-organised policy 'with the sole object of setting the Pope aside, absorbing the episcopate and placing the whole Church in the hands of the civil power.'²⁰¹

Against the assertiveness of such a secular Papacy Boniface proclaimed yet again the unity of the one Christian society. 'Contre ce dualisme menaçant, il insistait sur l'unité de l'Eglise. Affirmer l'indépendance du pouvoir temporel, c'était imiter à la fois les manichéens et les grecs schismatiques, et introduire la division dans le monde et l'Eglise. Devant le danger créé par Philippe le Bel et ses partisans, Boniface VIII, Mathieu d'Acquasparta et Gilles de Rome appliquaient aux adversaires du pouvoir pontifical la réfutation opposée jadis aux manichéens.'²⁰² The Christian society whose unity Boniface affirmed, however, was one in which, notoriously, the laity were hostile to the clergy,²⁰³ in which kings should not imagine that they were not subject to the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy,²⁰⁴ and in which it is necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff (*porro subesse Romano pontifici, omni humane creature declaramus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis*).²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁹ cf. O. von Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages* (tr. F.W. Maitland, Cambridge, 1900), p. 36.

²⁰⁰ qtd W. Ullmann, *Mediaeval Papalism: The Political Theories of the Mediaeval Canonists* (London, 1949), p. 214.

²⁰¹ J. Rivière, *Le problème de l'Eglise et de l'Etat au temps de Philippe le Bel*, p. 118; J. Michelet, *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1868), Vol. VII, p. 14; H. Wieruszowski, 'Vom Imperium zum nationalen Königtum', *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXX (1927), pp. 21, 91, 179.

²⁰² J. Leclercq, *Jean de Paris et l'ecclésiologie du XIIIe siècle*, p. 109; cf. Boniface VIII, 'Unam Sanctam', *Registrum* (ed. Digard, Faucon, Thomas and Fawtier, Paris, 1884-1931), 5382; Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 468-9.

²⁰³ cf. Boniface VIII, 'Clericis Laicos', *Registrum*, 1576; R.W. and A.J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. V, pp. 376-9; T.S.R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), pp. 138-56.

²⁰⁴ cf. Boniface VIII, 'Ausculta Fili', *Registrum*, 4424; R.W. and A.J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. V, pp. 385-91; T.S.R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, pp. 301-10.

²⁰⁵ cf. Boniface VIII, 'Unam Sanctam', *Registrum*, 5382; J. Rivière, *Le problème de l'Eglise et de l'Etat au temps de Philippe le Bel*, pp. 150-5, 394-405; R.W. and

What, in practice, Boniface intended by this last celebrated assertion of his Bull *Unam Sanctam* is difficult to determine,²⁰⁶ but certainly his efforts did not inhibit the development of the State, either in theory or in practice, as a quasi-ecclesiastical entity: the Church conceived primarily as a self-contained institution, hierarchically dominated by the Papacy, was fighting a losing battle against the secular society increasingly discovered in the pages of Aristotle, who 'had shown, not in any way polemical and quite independent of thirteenth-century actuality... that there was a *societas humana*... fundamentally different from the *societas Christiana*. It grows from below, from the household, the village and larger entities into a self-sufficing community formed by the natural impulse of men to live in it... Into the one *societas* man comes through the working of the social instinct; into the other *societas* man comes through the sacramental act of baptism.'²⁰⁷ Already by the end of the first quarter of the 14th century this *societas humana* had received its complete Aristotelian justification as a structure of government from the physician Marsiglio of Padua (c. 1275-1342), in whose *Defensor Pacis* 'there is nothing left of the Thomist idea that the State, however "sovereign", is subject to an eternal and absolute order of values, expressed in the body of Divine and Natural Law. The State is the source of Law, and its Law has to be obeyed not only because it is the only rule to be endowed with coercive power, but because it is in itself the expression of justice.'²⁰⁸ What Marsiglio had created in theory, practical administrators had already accomplished in fact, and their often ecclesiastically-trained minds lent to the secular state those nuances of usage and conception which made it more effective than any merely theoretical claims would have done. In England, for instance, 'we cannot fathom that subtle and pervasive process, by which the *regnum* conveyed to itself so much of the

A. J. Carlyle, *History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. V, pp. 391-2; T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, pp. 315-37.

²⁰⁶ 'Among Boniface's bulls it has a distinctive position. It is for him curiously impersonal, though an early tradition has ascribed it completely to his composition. The whole form and wording of it is as of a general statement detached from any particular circumstances', and it bases 'the claims of the Papacy to final sovereignty... on the divine origin of that power, not on any particular necessities, nor even historical precedents... In *Unam Sanctam* we find only a solemn statement, on the grounds of revealed faith, of the supremacy of the spiritual power, and it would be quite possible to accept a comparatively moderate view of the manner in which that supremacy was to be exercised.' (T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, pp. 318-19.)

²⁰⁷ W. Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, p. 455.

²⁰⁸ A. P. d'Entréves, *The Mediaeval Contribution to Political Thought* (Oxford, 1939), p. 63.

jurisdiction, power and wealth of the *sacerdotium* in the sixteenth century, unless we take account of the conscience with which episcopal chancellors invested and endowed the king in chancery. If the state acquired a conscience, there was no knowing what might not happen to the Church. Educated by the Church, and moved by its conscience, the state might even develop a religion of its own.²⁰⁹

X

Nor, in the sixteenth century, was the emergence of the secular state the only danger which confronted the Church. Canonistic thinking had established among Papalists and Imperialists alike²¹⁰ the conception of the Church as a *congregatio politica*,²¹¹ as a *monarchia clericalis et spiritualis*,²¹² a *regnum*²¹³ characterised by a hierarchical structure of 'preachers and hearers, rulers and subjects',²¹⁴ a Church 'of' the faithful in the sense that they are the recipients of the ministrations of the clergy and subject to the judicial power of their prelates.²¹⁵ This in itself produced its own reaction, for Protestants and their sympathisers accused Catholics of equating the Church with the hierarchy,²¹⁶ inaugurating an age in which 'while some tended to see the Church actualised in a priesthood without people, others came to see it as a people without a priesthood.'²¹⁷

Luther had a particularly strong sense of the vocation which results from baptism,²¹⁸ and already in the early stages of the theological reorien-

²⁰⁹ A.F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (2nd ed., London, 1953), p. 65; cf. J.N. Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1914) *Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1916).

²¹⁰ 'Marsiglio recognises as fully as James of Viterbo that this *Ecclesia* or Church is a true *regnum*, and that its government is monarchical and regal; he even admits that the bishop of Rome is in a limited sense supreme within it in matters within its lawful competence.' (C.H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West*, New York, 1932, p. 309). Cf. the anonymous *Quaestio in utramque partem*, 5, and Jean de Paris, *De potestate regia et papali*, 3, both ed. in M. Goldast, *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii* (Frankfurt, 1611-14), Vol. II, pp. 103, 111-12.

²¹¹ cf. Aquinas, *In IV Sent.*, d. 20, q. 1, a. 4.

²¹² cf. Alexander of St. Elpidius, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, i, 7.

²¹³ cf. James of Viterbo, *De regimine Christiano*, i, 1.

²¹⁴ James of Viterbo, *De regimine Christiano*, i, 3.

²¹⁵ cf. Augustinus Triumphus, *Summa de ecclesiastica potestate*, xxiii, 1.

²¹⁶ cf. Martin Luther, *Werke* (ed. Weimar, 1883-), 1, 656; George Gillespie, *Assertion of the Government of the Church of Scotland* (1646), 1; *A Treatise of Miscellany Questions* (1649), p. 35; A. Krauss, *Das protestantische Dogma von der unsichtbaren Kirche* (Gotha, 1876), p. 70.

²¹⁷ Yves Cœgar, *Lay People in the Church*, p. 12.

²¹⁸ cf. G. Wingren, *Luthers Lehre vom Beruf* (Munich, 1952).

tation consequent upon his interview with Cajetan in 1518 he was making clear that God calls us to all the states and occupations of everyday life, and not simply to some states which are distinctively Christian or spiritual while others are not.²¹⁹ Before long he had made the necessary precision of denying that there is a special priestly state in the mediaeval sense, for all those who partake of the sacraments with faith are priests,²²⁰ and the state of the clergy is one state among many, an office on the same level as any other office;²²¹ and by the end of the 1520's he had articulated his thought in the well known Lutheran conception of Church, Household and Polity, each one a hierarchy or 'holy order' founded in God's Word, and all three subordinate to the 'common order of Christian love' which applies to all men at all times.²²² It was the just glory of the Protestant Reformers, therefore, 'that they brought into lay life, into everyday life, the holiness which had formerly been kept in the cloister; that they denounced the distinction between an ordinary goodness and morality, just sufficient for salvation, and a higher morality available only to churchmen; that they restored dignity and Christian value to the various activities of secular life, and particularly to man's trades and professions.'²²³

Nevertheless, for Luther, as for Zwingli and Cranmer, 'the Church was hardly more than civil society gone over to the Gospel and acknowledging the rule of Christ: a people, not an institution',²²⁴ and Luther's interpretation of the *congregatio fidelium* as 'the priesthood of all believers'

²¹⁹ 'God has ordained several states (*stend*), in which men are to learn to exercise themselves and to suffer. To some He commanded the state of marriage, to some the spiritual state, and to others the ruling state. He ordered them all to toil and labour to kill the flesh and accustom it to death, for baptism has made the rest of this life, to all those who are baptised, a very poison and hindrance to its work.' (Martin Luther, Sermon on Baptism (1519), *Werke*, 2, 734.)

²²⁰ 'Therefore all Christian men are priests, the women priestesses, be they young or old, masters or servants, mistresses or maids, learned or unlearned. Here there are no differences unless faith be unequal.' (Martin Luther, Sermon on the New Testament (1520), *Werke*, 6, 370.)

²²¹ cf. Martin Luther, 'An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation' (1520), *Werke*, 6, 48; 'De abroganda missa privata' (1521), *Werke*, 8, 429.

²²² cf. Martin Luther, 'Vom Abendmahl Christi Bekenntnis' (1528), *Werke*, 26, 504; K. Köhler, 'Die altprotestantische Lehre von den drei kirchlichen Ständen', *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*, Vol. XXI (1886), pp. 193-231.

²²³ Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, p. 13.

²²⁴ Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, p. 36; cf. A. Farner, *Die Lehre von Kirche und Staat bei Zwingli* (Tübingen, 1930), pp. 7 ff.; E. Foerster, 'Fragen zu Luthers Kirchenbegriff aus der Gedankenwelt seines Altes, *Festgabe J. Kaftan* (Tübingen, 1920), pp. 87-102. Cf. also E. Brunner, *Das Missverständnis der Kirche* (Zürich, 1951).

has been criticised by Protestant theologians of other traditions, on the ground that 'it carries with it a ruinous individualism' and does not give adequate expression to the corporate activity of the members of Christ in building together His Body in this world.²²⁵ In many ways this was a direct consequence of Luther's central doctrine of grace, which he refused to see actualised in any of its individual recipients, for fear that it might seem to raise man to God's level and obliterate a proper awareness of the divine condescension: he 'feels himself to be the herald of theocentric religion against all egocentricity whatsoever', and his 'main objection to Catholic piety is always this, that it *puts man's own self in God's place*'.²²⁶ In this respect Luther 'is not so much the man in whom Augustinianism finds its fulfilment as the man who vanquishes it',²²⁷ for he could not accept that merging of the love of God for man and the love of man for God in a doctrine of charity which 'made Augustine the founder of the Catholic doctrine of grace'.²²⁸ Faith, therefore, cannot be for Luther a faith informed by love, but must necessarily be 'pure' faith, *fides informis*, justifying in so far as it is a recognition of the love from God's side which accomplishes everything in Christ. There can be no human work towards making over the world to God, for 'repentance and amendment are no more able than righteousness to move God to love',²²⁹ and even when a man does good to his neighbour 'he is only the tube, the channel, through which God's love flows'.²³⁰ Luther's theology of grace clearly leaves no room for a theory of justice in our everyday lives,²³¹ and there can be little profoundly theological sense of community when the regulation of human affairs, in so far as they are under man's control, at best produces no greater good than the restriction of evil.

XI

Calvin's doctrine, with its much more dominant and insistent sense of

²²⁵ cf. T.F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood* (Edinburgh, 1955), p. 35.

²²⁶ A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love* (2nd ed., tr. P.S. Watson, London, 1953), p. 682.

²²⁷ A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, p. 562.

²²⁸ A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, p. 531.

²²⁹ A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, p. 80.

²³⁰ A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, p. 735.

²³¹ 'Protestant Christianity has had [no theory of this-worldly justice] for some three hundred years past. That may sound a bold statement; it can, unfortunately, be proved. It is doubtless one of the main reasons why the Protestant Church is so unsure of itself in questions of social order, economics, law, politics and international law, and why its statements on these subjects are so haphazard and improvised that they fail to carry conviction.' (Emil Brunner, *Justice and the Social Order*, tr. O. Wyon, London, 1938, p. 7.)

Christ's victory, its emphasis that 'it is to triumph that we are summoned',²³² presents a more balanced and satisfactory theology of the Christian life. In 1536, the date of the first edition of his classical *Institutes*, Calvin had as yet scarcely considered the Church except under its invisible and hidden aspect, and his conception practically coincided with that of Luther,²³³ but his studies in law under the leading French jurist, Pierre de l'Estoile, and the almost equally brilliant Italian, Andrea Alciati,²³⁴ had already given him a strong sense of the reality of the human community, and he modified his earlier theology under the influence of Bucer, seeing the visible Church more and more as binding upon us (because instituted by God), though not inhibiting God's freedom to act as He wills; and as, in the weakness of our fallen state, an instrument of our vocation and an aid to our sanctification.²³⁵ The visible Church, the earthly community of God, is one with the invisible Church,²³⁶ awaiting its stable condition (*stabilis ecclesiae conditio*) in the renovation (*instauratio*) and the perfection of order (*integritas ordinis*) which are promised for the time of the final manifestation of Christ.²³⁷ The visible Church thus takes its place naturally in the eschatology of triumphant hope²³⁸ which Calvin had substituted for the Lutheran eschatology of suffering faith.²³⁹

This essential structure of Calvinist theology was transmitted to, and maintained by, his followers abroad: the Scottish Reformers, for instance, were from the first opposed to any form of Anabaptist 'Church of the Saints' which sought to distinguish the elect from the non-elect in this world,²⁴⁰ and even the religious strife of the seventeenth century did not

²³² John Calvin, *Institutes*, II, xv, 4.

²³³ cf. H. Strohl, 'La notion de l'Eglise chez les Réformateurs', *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 1936, pp. 297 ff.

²³⁴ cf. E. Doumergue, *Jean Calvin: les hommes et les choses de son temps* (Lausanne-Neuilley, 1899-1927), Vol. I, pp. 141 ff.

²³⁵ cf. John Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, i, 1, 4-5; iii, 2; J. Courvoisier, *La notion de l'Eglise chez Bucer* (Paris, 1933), pp. 135 ff.; W. Niesel, *Die Theologie Calvins* (2nd ed., Munich, 1957), pp. 174-200.

²³⁶ cf. A. Lecerf, 'La doctrine de l'Eglise dans Calvin', *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1929, p. 259.

²³⁷ cf. John Calvin, Comm. in Mk., xv, 43 and Lk., xxiii, 51, *Opera* (Corpus Reformatorum, Brunswick-Berlin, 1863-1900), Vol. LXXIII, p. 788; Comm. in Acts, ii, 17, *Opera*, Vol. LXXVI, p. 31.

²³⁸ cf. T. F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church: A Study in the Theology of the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1956), pp. 90-164.

²³⁹ cf. T. F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church: A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, pp. 7-72.

²⁴⁰ Writing to Cecil in 1552, Dudley mentioned, among the reasons for offering the bishopric of Rochester to John Knox, his belief that Knox would be 'a great

produce in Scotland a genuine separatist movement.²⁴¹ But in proclaiming a visible Church the Calvinists were showing themselves to be the successors not of the Catholic tradition simply, but of that precise form of it which had been represented by Gregory VII and Boniface VIII: Calvin and Knox in fact renewed and strengthened the mediaeval ideal of an authoritative ecclesiastical civilisation – a *kirchliche Zwangskultur* in Troeltsch's phrase²⁴² – though perhaps, in their local emphasis, having more in common with Savonarola's Florence than with the Papal-hierocratic ideal as such.²⁷³ Calvin's doctrine of the relationship of Church and State²⁴⁴ can easily be misunderstood, since 'he took great care to define his own position in opposition to the Roman teaching'²⁴⁵ and emphasised that the spiritual and secular powers should be complementary in their own proper spheres; but if he did not at any time suggest that the civil magistracy should be under the tutelage of the Church this was simply because of his different conception of divine authority, for he certainly required conformity of civil legislation to *the Word of God*, and in the case of Servetus laboured mightily to defend the right of the civil magistracy to punish, even with death, offences against revealed truth.²⁴⁶ The discordance of this doctrine with the belief that faith cannot be coerced naturally caused difficulties, but Calvinist ingenuity could overcome anything: Samuel Rutherford of St. Andrews (1600-61) argued that, while a saving knowledge of Christ cannot be achieved 'by dint and violence of the sword' and a Christian magistrate cannot, therefore, command the outward performance of religion as a service to God, yet he can punish neglect of churchgoing as a social offence, since it gives scandal to those who lead 'a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty'.²⁴⁷

confounder of the anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent' (qtd E. Percy, *John Knox*, London, 1937, p. 154).

²⁴¹ An attempt was made to set up a separatist 'gathered Church' at Aberdeen in 1652, and a communion service was held at Marischal College; but the event was wholly exceptional, and the group concerned soon abandoned their idea of forming themselves into a separate Church (cf. G.D. Henderson, *Religious Life in Seventeenth-Century Scotland*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 106).

²⁴² cf. E. Troeltsch, *Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt* (3rd ed., Munich, 1924).

²⁴³ cf. J.W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1928), pp. 67-70.

²⁴⁴ cf. M.-E. Chenevière, *La pensée politique de Calvin* (Geneva, 1938), pp. 243-71.

²⁴⁵ F. Wendel, *Calvin: The Origins and Development of his Religious Thought* (tr. P. Mairet, London, 1963), p. 305.

²⁴⁶ cf. J.W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 81-9.

²⁴⁷ S. Rutherford, *A Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience* (London, 1649), pp. 50-2; cf. Geddes MacGregor, *Corpus Christi: The Nature of*

Calvinism was thus a religion not of democracy but of pulpit admonition and constant spiritual control. Calvin had maintained that

'as no town or village can be without a governor and without police, so also the Church of God... has need of a certain spiritual police'

and although he at once added that this spiritual police 'is quite different from an earthly police',²⁴⁸ the power of the clerically-ordered Calvinist community terrified many non-Calvinists: for one German Lutheran writer of the seventeenth century 'the Calvinist dragon' was 'pregnant with all the horrors of Mohammedanism'.²⁴⁹ The example of Scotland shows that a Calvinist discipline could perform an invaluable social function, creating order out of chaos through the very vigour of its insistence on the observance of a common code of Christian morality,²⁵⁰ but in the more highly developed polity of England Calvinism absorbed (and to some extent was corrupted by) some elements of the native theology of Tyndale and the martyrologist John Foxe to produce the distinctive Puritan 'Covenant Theology'²⁵¹ which in the seventeenth century raised the theocratic ideal so high that it finally broke, leaving English Nonconformity as a much more secular leaven of change in a much more secular society.²⁵²

the Church according to the Reformed Tradition (London, 1959), pp. 91-5.

²⁴⁸ John Calvin, *Institutes*, IV, xi, 1.

²⁴⁹ qtd C.V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1944), p. 42.

²⁵⁰ Indirectly, the Presbyterian clergy 'were rendering to their country a political service of no common order... In Scotland it was by the Presbyterian clergy that the middle classes were organised, and the organisation thus given them enabled them to throw off the yoke of the feudal nobles and ultimately to assert their own predominance. It was with little thought of the political result of their rule that the clergy strove to maintain themselves in the position to which they had been elevated. To them the support of religion was all in all, and, strict as they were in the matter of doctrinal orthodoxy, their strictness was still greater with respect to the observance of the Ten Commandments. They strove by means of church discipline, enforced in the most inquisitorial manner, to bring a whole population under the yoke of the moral law... It was not a rule for those alone who sought counsels of perfection, whilst the mass of humanity was left to content themselves with a lower standard of morality. In Scotland there was to be a parity of moral law as there was to be a parity of ministerial office. The fierce ruffians who in the sixteenth century had reddened the country with the feuds of noble houses, the rude peasants who wallowed in impurity, were made to feel the compulsion of a never-resting, ever-abiding power, which pried into their lives and called them to account for their deeds as no lay government, however arbitrary, could venture to do.' (S.R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-49*, London, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 226-7.)

²⁵¹ cf. J.G. Moller, 'The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. XIV (1963), pp. 46-47.

²⁵² The work of the Puritan preachers was not cancelled out, but it was diverted

In practice the Reformers had taken back more than they had given. Their emphasis on parity of status between laymen and clergy — what Tillich calls the 'radical laicism' of Protestantism²⁵³ — has not notably solved the problem of the manner of the co-existence of the two orders, since the Protestant ministry, though not in theory yet in many features of psychological attitude and sociological structure, is no more than a metamorphosis of the former 'clergy'. It might be said, with some disparagement, that 'what Protestantism did to the religion of Western Europe was simply to substitute a clericalism of the Word for a clericalism of the Sacrament. Whereas the Catholic had been accustomed to come to church to be edified by seeing the priest celebrate the Mass, the Protestant came to church to be edified by hearing the minister preach the sermon; and the preaching of the sermon, no less than the celebration of the Mass, was a purely clerical performance.'²⁵⁴

XII

The appearance of Protestantism, however, had quickly provoked Catholics to define their positions in opposition, and thereby to give a new hardening to the ecclesiology which since the thirteenth century had been worked out in a markedly belligerent spirit. 'And even while they were at work, built they or loaded or carried loads, it was one hand to work with and one closing still on a javelin; nor was there ever a workman but must build with his sword girt at his side.' And feeling themselves now *separati in muro*, Catholic theologians felt it necessary to have the means of sounding alarm ready at hand: *clangebant buccina iuxta me*.²⁵⁵ Much of our

into other channels. 'The outcome of all their striving in pulpit and press was to be the triumph of their teaching and the disappointment of their expectation... They aroused not in the humble and poor in spirit alone but in men of many conditions in an expanding world and a changing society a quickened consciousness of life and power within themselves, a sense of participating in the designs of providence, an expectancy of great things to come. The result was not reformation but the emergence of an articulate vernacular public, free from any of the inhibitions and impediments of customary attitudes and sanctions.' (W. Haller, *Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution*, New York, 1955, pp. 332-3).

²⁵³ cf. Paul Tillich, *The Protestant Era* (London, 1951), p. 174.

²⁵⁴ E. L. Mascall, *The Recovery of Unity* (London, 1958), pp. 5-6; cf. p. 7: 'It is important to notice that, just because this clericalist attitude is the result of an unconsciously accepted bequest from the Middle Ages and is not the logical corollary of a consciously adopted theological position, it can be found strongly entrenched even in religious bodies whose doctrine of church order might seem to exclude it.'

²⁵⁵ *Nehemiah*, iv, 17-19; cf. Yves Congar, 'La pensée de Moehler et l'ecclésiologie orthodoxe', *Irénikon*, Vol. XII (1935), p. 324.

classical theology *de Ecclesia* was conceived controversially, as a reply to the Reformation, and therefore concerned itself primarily with affirming and defending what the Protestant party denied. The doctrine of the mystical Body of Christ and the profound supernatural reality of the Church were assuredly not forgotten, and were indeed partially reinstated after something of an eclipse;²⁵⁶ but sixteenth century theological treatises dealt in particular detail with the significance of the Church as rule of faith, of hierarchical powers, and of the Church's objectively constituted external and juridical machinery, as in Bellarmine's celebrated definition:

'The Church is the society of men united by the possession of the same Christian faith and participation in the same sacraments, governed by the only Vicar of Christ on earth, the Pope of Rome.'²⁵⁷

Such great apologists as Bellarmine and du Perron say nothing of the relationship of the Church and the Eucharist which was central to the consciousness of the Church in Patristic and mediaeval theology,²⁵⁸ and the *sacerdotium regale* of the faithful is reduced by Bellarmine to an exclusively spiritual priesthood,²⁵⁹ while other theologians set themselves to the task of defining certain visible 'notes' or 'properties' by which the true Church might be identified.²⁶⁰ Ecclesiology had become, and remained for generations, mainly a defence of the episcopate and the Papacy, fixed in a set pattern in which, as Père Congar observes, the question of authority is so predominant that the whole treatise is more like a 'hierar-

²⁵⁶ cf. F.X. Arnold, *Grundsätzliches und Geschichtliches zur Theologie der Seelsorge* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1949), pp. 80, 115 ff.; J. Willen, 'Zur Idee des Corpus Christi mysticum in der Theologie des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Catholica*, Vol. IV (1935), pp. 75-86.

²⁵⁷ Robert Bellarmine, *Controversiae*, ii, 3: *de Ecclesia militante*, 2 (ed. Cologne, 1619, col. 108); cf. J. Eck, *Apologia pro principibus catholicis* (Ingolstadt, 1542); Peter Canisius, *Opus Catecheticum* (Cologne, 1577), c. 3, q. 9, p. 131. Cf. also A. Ottaviani, *Institutiones Iuris Publici Ecclesiastici* (3rd ed., Rome, 1947), Vol. I, pp. 157-62.

²⁵⁸ cf. H. de Lubac, *Corpus mysticum: l'Eucharistie et l'Eglise au moyen âge*, pp. 291-2.

²⁵⁹ 'Se tenant sur le terrain de la controverse antiprotestante, il est assez naturel que Bellarmine ait réduit le sacerdoce royal à sa conception exclusivement spirituelle: il ne le met en rapport ni avec l'onction du Christ ni avec le rite confirmatoire de la chrismation, pas plus qu'avec la participation des fidèles au sacrifice de la messe, quoique la tradition antérieure et même les autres contre-efformateurs aient souvent opéré et souligné de tels rapprochements.' (P. Dabin, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne*, p. 389; cf. pp. 328-454).

²⁶⁰ cf. G. Thils, *Les notes de l'Eglise dans l'apologétique depuis la Réforme* (Gembloux, 1927).

chology' or a treatise in public law than an ecclesiology.²⁶¹ Laymen could gain significance only through their exercise of secular authority, and Bellarmine set a fashion for believing that all disputed points regarding the laity *ad disputationem de magistratu politico revocari possunt* – 'son *De laïcis* n'est conçu qu'en fonction des graves problèmes politico-religieux soulevés par les prétensions du pouvoir séculier, par le péril musulman et la répression des hérétiques'.²⁶²

This emphatically governmental conception of the Church – reinforced, even as late as 1863, by the canonistic usage which described the Church as 'a state'²⁶³ – did little to foster among the faithful a sense of the wholeness of the Church. Already as a by-product of the reaffirmation of the powers of the clerical priesthood in the Mass 'the layman's rôle at the august sacrifice tended to be regarded as that of a mere spectator or hearer – terms reserved in the early Church for the inquiring pagan or catechumen'²⁶⁴ – and the later history of popular prayer and the cure of souls is in many respects the history of a gradual disengagement of the individual Christian life from the corporate worship of the Body of Christ at every level, the dissolution of the believing, praying people into a series of individuals pursuing private pieties under the protection of a Church that they do not affect and are not expected to affect.

The modern parish mission, for instance, has usually been founded on a model perhaps appropriate to the eighteenth-century Neapolitan countryside in which St. Alphonsus Liguori created it, but certainly designed primarily to send people to the confessional and therefore set in a pattern of sermons and spiritual exercises on the themes of mortal sin, death, judgment and hell, with particular reference to the evils of sacrilegious confession, the unhappiness of sin and the occasions thereof, the effi-

²⁶¹ cf. Yves Congar, 'L'ecclésiologie, de la Révolution française au concile du Vatican, sous le signe de l'affirmation de l'autorité', *L'ecclésiologie au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1960), pp. 77-114; 'Getting beyond the Ecclesiology of the Counter-Reformation', *Orate Fratres*, Vol. XXII (1947-8), pp. 502-3.

²⁶² P. Dabin, *Le sacerdoce royal des fidèles dans la tradition ancienne et moderne*, p. 389.

²⁶³ 'We affirm, therefore, that the Church should be defined as a government and a state, for it is a true society, subsisting by itself and ordained to one end, by means of laws and shepherds proper to it, whence it draws its essence and its form.' (Guglielmo Audisio, *Diritto pubblico della Chiesa e delle genti Cristiane*, Rome, 1863, Vol. I, p. 25.) Cf. Robert A. Graham, *Vatican Diplomacy: A Study of Church and State on the International Plane* (Princeton, N.J., 1959), p. 221.

²⁶⁴ Paul J. Palmer, 'The Lay Priesthood: Real or Metaphorical?', *Theological Studies*, Vol. VIII (1947), p. 575; cf. J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, pp. 106-9.

cacy of prayer and the example of our Lady.²⁶⁵ The catechisms and works of pastoral theology of the same period develop these emphases under the debilitating influence of the Enlightenment, to produce an anthropocentric elevation of morality over faith: these works have little or nothing to say of the whole faithful people co-operating in the work of sanctification and the praise of God, precisely because they have a weakened grasp of the reality of grace itself, the mystery of Resurrection and Second Coming. The whole exposition is based on man's duties, the methods and techniques of avoiding sin and damnation under the guidance of 'the Church', and the mystical aspect of the Christian community is obscured because the saving act of God (which fundamentally *is* the Church) has been pushed out from the centre of moral theology.²⁶⁶

XIII

Contemporary Catholic theology has thus come to feel a need for restatement of two principal themes as the basis for a recovery of the doctrine of the Body of Christ in a form comprehensible to the modern world. In the doctrine of grace, since Trent 'emphasis has chiefly been laid, in theological teaching and devotional literature, on the moral and humanist side, to the detriment of the more Augustinian aspect of the Church's doctrinal heritage. Luther was wont to complain that Augustine was not taken more seriously. Those who, after Luther's time, tried to do so, very soon found themselves driven into a corner where the least indication of rigidity looked like heresy, because of their failure to fit authentic Augustinianism into scholastic categories quite uncongenial to it, and even the Thomists had some difficulty in clearing themselves from the accusation of Calvinism. Let us make no mistake, it was Molinism that triumphed in the end, itself opening the way to probabilism, which had not been discredited by its early misfortunes, so that we have on the whole, in theology and piety alike, a great emphasis on man's own moral

²⁶⁵ cf. P. Hitz, *To Preach the Gospel* (tr. Rosemary Sheed, London, 1963), pp. 106-17; cf. p. 120: 'Coming to them from the New Testament, what one finds striking about these sermons is that they lack the Biblical historical structure, the centring upon Christ's Pasch, the orientation towards the Parousia, and the richness of mystery, that mark the apostles' kerygma.'

²⁶⁶ cf. P. Hitz, *To Preach the Gospel*, pp. 117-30; A. Schrott, *Seelsorge im Wandel der Zeiten* (Graz-Vienna, 1949), pp. 113-50; F.X. Arnold, *Grundsätzliches und Geschichtliches zur Theologie der Seelsorge*, pp. 65-154; 'Das Gott-menschliche Prinzip der Seelsorge in pastoralgeschichtlicher Entfaltung', *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. CXXIII (1943), pp. 99-133; Vol. CXXIV (1944), pp. 57-80; M. Ramsauer, 'Der Kirche in den Katechismen', *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Vol. LXXIII (1951), pp. 129-69, 313-46.

activity and a less marked sense of the supreme theocentrism of the great tradition, in fact, a one-sided working out of the Catholic heritage.' Similarly 'it has come about, especially since the end of the eleventh century, that the idea of the Church as the perfect *societas* and as a hierarchical and monarchical organism, has been progressively brought to the fore, and, in particular from the fourteenth century onwards, conflict with Gallican jurists led theologians to formulate more and more definitely the powers of the Church in this world and the prerogatives of the successors of St. Peter. Finally, since the sixteenth century, in the face of Protestantism and all its denials of the visible and human elements, apologists, controversialists and theologians (and the last are too often synonymous terms) have forcibly stressed the hierarchical and outward features of the Church, and the same reasons have led them to place preponderant emphasis on its juridico-social aspect... The [first] Vatican Council itself was obliged to some extent to carry on this one-sided development, since the tragic circumstances of July 1870 allowed of their defining only a part of the dogma of the Church which had, however, been very fully envisaged in a preparatory *schema*.'²⁶⁷

Of course, the trend of Catholic theology to one-sidedness in these respects has been not heretical but merely unhealthy, and there has often appeared, even at the heart of developments which now seem to be retrogressive, a movement of control and moderation which restricts the effect of wider movement in which it appears. For instance, 'the widespread assumption that there was one single canonistic theory of Church government which was adequately reflected in the works of such publicists as Giles of Rome or Augustinus Triumphus does scant justice to the richness and diversity of canonistic speculation in this field.'²⁶⁸ The application of corporation theory to the Church could not only support but also limit the Papal-hierocratic ideal, subjecting the Pope to the common law of the corporation of which he was the head; and we are beginning to discern a well-established and orthodox tradition to that effect, considerably developed already in the twelfth century and leading naturally to the appeal to the underlying authority of the *congregatio fidelium* by which the Conciliarist reformers sought to heal the Great Schism in the Papacy (1378-1417).²⁶⁹ Although the Conciliarists were

²⁶⁷ Yves Congar, *Divided Christendom*, pp. 31-3. The *Schema de Ecclesia Christi* presented to the Fathers of the first Vatican Council on 21st January 1870 states that the primary characteristic, the very essence, of the Church is her quality as the mystical Body of Christ (cf. J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Paris-Arnheim-Leipzig, 1903-27, 1i, 539).

²⁶⁸ Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, pp. 12-13.

²⁶⁹ cf. Gratian, *Decretum*, xl, 6; Innocent III, *Sermones*, Migne, P.L., ccxvii, 656;

never able to escape from the *impasse* created by the need to have Papal legitimation for the Council whose jurisdiction over the Pope would allow it to determine which of the existing claimants to the Papacy, if any, was to be recognised by the whole of Christendom,²⁷⁰ Conciliarism survived, in Spain and elsewhere, not as a theory but as a practical instrument of reform: the Spanish bishops did not much concern themselves with the theoretical question of Papal authority, but they saw in frequent General Councils a means of forcing the Papacy and the college of Cardinals to abide by reforming measures,²⁷¹ and the great sixteenth century Spanish political theorists – Victoria, de Soto, Suarez and Molina – discussed Papal power in a subdued manner precisely because they saw it, though of divine and not popular origin, as analogous to the government of a secular state and therefore requiring to be treated with the reservations and qualifications necessary to any structure of government.²⁷² The authors of the standard history of mediaeval political thought, weighing the importance of mediaeval conflicts for the European tradition of political theory, urge us to see, behind the unfamiliar points of dispute and the apparent struggle of one authoritarian system against another, a new recognition that there are aspects of human life which are not ultimately subject to external law or external authority, and that even the Church, for all her function of protecting the religious experience of her members, cannot herself place any final limitation on the Christian's individual relationship

Nicholas Cusanus, 'De concordia catholica', *Opera* (Basle, 1565), Vol. XVIII, p. 741; F. Zabarella, *Tractatus de Schismate* (ed. Shardius, *De jurisdictione, auctoritate et praeeminentia imperiali*, Basle, 1566), p. 708; V. Martin, *Les origines du Gallicanisme* (Paris, 1939), pp. 9-17; W. Ullmann, *Origins of the Great Schism* (London, 1948), pp. 183 ff.; Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*; H.-X. Arquillière, 'L'appel au Concile sous Philippe le Bel et la g n se des th ories conciliaires', *Revue des questions historiques*, Vol. XLV (1911), pp. 23-55.

²⁷⁰ The Conciliarists 'were determined to unite the Church by giving it a single head, but precisely in order to bring about that result they had to assume that the Church could act as an effectively united organism even when it lacked such a head, to maintain, in effect, that the powers of the whole Church could be exercised by an authority other than the Pope... It seemed that Christendom could only be given a single Pope by a procedure which implicitly denied the unique competence of the Papacy; the steps necessary to end the Schism involved an attack on the very institution that had always been regarded as the indispensable keystone of ecclesiastical unity.' (Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, p. 240.)

²⁷¹ cf. E. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent* (tr. E. Graf, Edinburgh-London, 1957-) Vol. I, pp. 41-2.

²⁷² cf. Bernice Hamilton, *Political Thought in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 69-97, 164-6.

with God in service and worship.²⁷³ It was therefore entirely in keeping with the mediaeval tradition that Catholic reformers of the sixteenth century should grapple with the monolithic legal system of the mediaeval Church as something which in some respects had hindered the spread of Christ's kingdom. Thus, in its *Consilium de emendenda Ecclesia*, presented in consistory on 9th March 1537, Pope Paul III's select committee – which included Cardinals Contarini, Pole and Sadoletto – felt it necessary to single out, as the first cause of the disorders which had provoked the new religious crisis, the flattery of the canonists who had told Popes that their word was law:

'Ita quod voluntas pontificis, qualiscunque ea fuerit, sit regula quae eius operationes et actiones dirigantur; ex quo proculdubio effici ut quicquid libeat, id etiam liceat. Ex hoc fonte, sancte pater, tamquam ex equo Troiano, irrupere in ecclesiam Dei tot abusus et tam graves morbi, quibus nunc conspicimus eam ad desperationem salutis laborasse.'²⁷⁴

Nevertheless, conflicts are not important solely for the theory they establish; they also impose a form and a style on the society in which they arise, and we should not be blind to the defects of mediaeval Christendom which revealed themselves in the same conflicts. 'The transformation of Christianity itself into the established religion of a "sacral" society for a millenium after the conversion of Constantine was an anomaly which produced many anomalies, as well as all that we call Christian civilisation. Not least of these anomalies was the Inquisition and the *De haeretico comburendo*... Yet the 'sacral' ideal has its attractions and the mediaeval ideal of the synthesis of Church and State is so impressive that we have been slow to see that it was an anomaly rather than a norm. But its departure should be a matter of rejoicing rather than for the nostalgic regrets of the apologists of the "Europe is the Faith" school.'²⁷⁵ To espouse the sacral ideal would not merely be impractical for the modern world, but would run a serious risk of distorting the very conception of the Christian community – for 'whatever qualities might characterise a society which acknowledged God as its Supreme Sovereign, as did the human society of the Middle Ages, neither sin nor death were done away with, or could be done away with, by such a society. It seems, therefore,

²⁷³ cf. R.W. and A.J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. III, pp. 6-9; Vol. V, pp. 451-5.

²⁷⁴ cf. B.J. Kidd, *Documents illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (Oxford, 1911), p. 308; H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, Vol. I, pp. 423-5.

²⁷⁵ Victor White, 'Religious Toleration', *The Listener*, 30th July 1953.

that to confuse the bringing about of such a society, of such a state of the present world, with the coming of the Kingdom of God is to make a great mistake. The result of such a mistake must be the deterioration of the whole idea of the Kingdom, an impoverishment that takes away from it almost all its evangelical content.'²⁷⁶ We have already seen how attempts to establish a theocratic society, whether by mediaeval canonists or by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Calvinists, have generated their opposite: they may develop a tremendous power to shape the history of a country or a continent, but we can rarely say that their achievement shapes human society nearer to the will of God.

The need for today seems to be for a sense of Christian community which does not conceal the relation of sacred and secular by uniting them in a subordination of the latter to the former. 'Only since the end of sacral Christendom, with its monastic and clerical set-up, have we been able to get the full measure of the extent and requirements of the secularity of things and of the fidelity we owe them',²⁷⁷ and for a century and a half some of the most notable Catholic clergy and laity have struggled to establish the rights of the secular against 'the canonical point of view' which 'has increasingly taken over the mind of the clergy and become the essential determinant in their attitude to pastoral matters.'²⁷⁸ 'We must dare to say that, in principle, a legalistic way of understanding the Gospel, on condition that it keeps itself within reasonable limits, is perfectly defensible and that it is also a means of progress; only we must also say it is palpable that between the Christian religion and law the correspondence is not complete, and all the verities of our doctrine are not equally susceptible of finding in law the kind of exposition which suits them. Our union with Christ in particular, pregnant with charity and piety, differs to the point of contrast from the rigidities with which the codes deal, and the legalistic spirit does not tend to speak of that union with fulness and force.'²⁷⁹

Modern theology, stemming from Moehler and Newman, has taken as one of its principal concerns the endeavour to show that there is no inherent contradiction between Christianity and any truly human value, and that the human ideal finds its completion in the man who is not closed in upon himself but open to God's gift of Himself in grace.²⁸⁰ It has deve-

²⁷⁶ Louis Bouyer, *Life and Liturgy* (Eng. tr., London, 1956), p. 259.

²⁷⁷ Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, p. 100.

²⁷⁸ Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

²⁷⁹ E. Mersch, *Le Corps mystique du Christ*, Vol. II, p. 152.

²⁸⁰ cf. J. Mourroux, *The Meaning of Man* (New York, 1948); J. Maritain, *True Humanism* (5th ed., London, 1950).

loped with increasing depth a criticism of any ecclesiology which tends to ignore the individual *charismata*,²⁸¹ and it has restored the doctrine of the mystical Body of Christ, in which the varying *charismata* receive their corporate completion in the saving act of Christ who, through the Spirit, lives in each of them. 'It may be said that the visible elements in the notion of the Body of Christ have receded in order to give an ever greater place to the invisible elements – the union of men with Jesus Christ either by sanctifying grace or by the grace of predestination.'²⁸² Recent discussions of the Petrine office and the collegiality of the episcopate even suggest a reform of the Catholic administrative outlook which would conform the Church's external structure more closely to its mission of incorporating all men in Christ,²⁸³ and now that the kings and princes are gone who represented the lay people in all the Councils up to Trent, we may hope for a new system of representation of the corporate 'royal priesthood' in the present Council.²⁸⁴

The *schemata* and miscellaneous proposals before the second Vatican Council are many and varied. It is not clear that the Fathers will be able to deal with more than a fraction of them. We do not even know whether we may see the elementary reform of canon law whereby what the clergy have a duty to give will be re-defined as what the laity have a right to receive.²⁸⁵ It is certain, however, that the will to reform and adapt, even though it proceed from the highest authority and mobilise prelates and theologians in its service, cannot become alive and effective without the co-operation of the lay people at large.²⁸⁶ It is certain, too, that the Church cannot carry out any fruitful mission to the modern world if her lay members share within her what so many share outside her – the consciousness of being disinherited.²⁸⁷ It is not enough for the Church to claim to give life and to favour lay initiative, nor even to be able to produce show-piece laity, which has never been difficult. The demand is for something both larger and deeper. As Paul Claudel says: 'The proof of bread is that it nourishes, the proof of wine is that it inebriates; the proof of truth is life; and the proof of life is that it makes one live.'²⁸⁸

²⁸¹ cf. K. Rahner, *Das Dynamische in der Kirche* (Freiburg, 1958), pp. 38-73.

²⁸² C. Lilliane, 'Une étape en ecclésiologie', *Irénikon*, Vol. XIX (1946), p. 134.

²⁸³ cf. K. Rahner and J. Ratzinger, *The Episcopate and the Primacy* (Eng. tr., (1962); H. Küng, *Strukturen der Kirche*, pp. 206-308.

²⁸⁴ cf. H. Küng, *Strukturen der Kirche*, pp. 75-104.

²⁸⁵ cf. Yves Congar, *Lay People in the Church*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

²⁸⁶ cf. Yves Congar, *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Eglise*, p. 280.

²⁸⁷ cf. A.G. Hebert, *The Form of the Church* (London, 1944), p. 68; W. Nutting, 'The Church's Proletariat', *Orate Fratres*, Vol. XXIII (1948-9), p. 70.

²⁸⁸ Paul Claudel, *Positions et Propositions*, Vol. II, p. 136; qtd H. de Lubac, *The Splendour of the Church*.