

the translators add, as well as a passage on unceasing prayer from the original editors, a few pages from Gregory Palamas, the fourteenth-century hesychast, which are not the least interesting in the book.

But if any section stands out above the others, it is the Four Centuries on *agape* of Maximus the Confessor. The translators surely are right in calling them 'one of the most profound and beautiful works in all Christian writing'. These series of short paragraphs contain much that the veriest tyro knows, and much more that is far beyond him: but the spirit behind them, the simplicity of expression, rendered into straightforward and unhackneyed English, give them the impact almost of a revelation. 'Pure spiritual milk' indeed, encouraging in the very reading that state of passionlessness to which Maximus, as a good Easterner, so often recurs. But the Centuries are not the whole of the book, and there is not a page that does not repay attention and encourage thought.

The previous selection from the *Dobrotolubiye* was widely and warmly welcomed; it is to be expected that this second instalment will be equally successful. The writers were in the main addressing themselves to monks; but it is pretty clear that, *mutatis mutandis*, they were also talking to everybody: 'Through the loving-kindness of our Creator there are very many ways to salvation, which convert souls and lead them to heaven', is a reminder given more than once. The reader is struck again and again by the 'contemporariness' of these ancients, and by the relevance of their teaching to the needs of Christians today: not least perhaps in this, that they expound an adult doctrine in an adult way ('adult' does not mean 'highbrow'), and they respect the mind and responsibility of their disciples. Here is nothing mechanical, no 'short way' or 'easy method': Christian life is made to appear what it is—a most difficult undertaking, for anybody. But 'actions pleasing to God are assisted by all creation' (Mark the Ascetic).

D.A.

CHURCH AND STATE FROM CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS. By S. L. Greenslade. (S.C.M. Press; 7s. 6d.)

These are the Frederick Denison Maurice Lectures for 1953, delivered in King's College, London, by the Van Mildert Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham. They form a very compact little monograph (supplemented by tables and a select bibliography), that traces the emergence of the Dualistic Theory of Church and State from the *de facto* and tacit recognition of Constantine's position by the Church in East and West after the Edict of Milan in A.D. 313, down to the clear ascendancy that the Church had established in the West (though not in the East) by the end of the fourth century.

The pre-eminence given to Constantine at the outset, by Eusebius, is not only for himself but as 'the Emperor', to disobey whom is (almost) to disobey God. And Constantine, far from refusing the implications of this, and far from trying to preserve an impossible neutrality between Catholicism and heresy, actually summons the Councils that are to deal with the Donatists and the Arians. Upon his death, Constans does likewise in the West and Constantius in the East, the latter forcing the Bishops in 355 to choose between condemning Athanasius and going into exile. 'If religion is to be a mighty force in the common life', says the author in summing up this period, 'the State cannot be indifferent to the internal quarrels of the Church. But if the State intervenes, is it not well nigh inevitable that peace will be preferred to truth?' It is not till Valentinian that we have the dualist principle hinted at in an imperial utterance ('I am but one of the laity', etc.); and even this has to be seen in the setting of a generation in which when Donatus asks what the Emperor has to do with the Church, the Catholic Bishop Optatus replies that the Church is within the State, not *vice versa*. Dualism was already possible in theory, but the inclination to preach it grew very slowly.

Professor Greenslade sketches very graphically the landmarks which reveal the freedom of the Church emerging piecemeal during these years. We have the Canons of the Council of Antioch in 341, against any reinstatement by the Emperor of an excommunicated bishop; the protest of Hilary of Poitiers against 'coerced religion'; Donatus's own pertinent question (above); the bishop's plea at Milan in 355 that 'canon law prevented them from doing what the Emperor required'; the reply of Pope Liberius to Constantius ('If I stood alone', etc.); the warning of Hosius of Cordova lest Constantius *offend* by taking on the government of the Church; St Athanasius's *Defence of his Flight* (357); St Martin's taking grave exception to the Emperor (a secular judge) trying an ecclesiastical cause; St Ambrose's stand in refusing to hand over the basilicas of Milan in 385; and, all the time, the steady growth of *ad hoc* Councils and the growing exemption of clergy from the lay courts. But all the time too, says the author, with an eye to the future, it was important that an independent Church should eschew clericalism and the resulting anticlericalism.

The ascendancy of the Church is in fact manifest well before the famous triumph of St Ambrose over Theodosius. Even sanctuary and episcopal intercession for criminals, which had begun as custom, could be held to overstep a strict dualism, in so far as they came to represent the Church calling the 'political' power to order in a clearly 'moral' issue. If the Emperor has a duty to God, it is only a step to call him to listen to God's ministers, and from this to invoking

spiritual sanctions—at first against imperial servants for what they do in their public capacity, and then against their master himself. It is this development that finds its first climax, at the end of the period, in St Ambrose. 'If St Ambrose had been asked to expound his theory of Church and State, we may be confident that he would have done so in dualistic terms.' With him, issues of State come so far within the purview of the Church, however, that not only does he refuse to rebuild the synagogue at Callinicum on the Euphrates after the riot of 388, but he holds on inflexibly till the Emperor alters his rescript about it. 'The Church has prevailed against him' and 'successfully imposed a spiritual sanction upon an Emperor on the score of an administrative or political action not directly involving the Church. . . . We are on the road to Canossa.'

If the dualism that emerges from the events themselves is not strictly clear, at least the theory, from its one extreme to the other, of Church-State relations, is fully deducible by the end of this fourth century. Professor Greenslade argues the extremes, in the last of his three lectures, and dismisses both. This throws him into a middle position, which the Catholic Church has been trying to stabilize ever since Boniface VIII so fatefully overshot it, whereby, 'on the basis of its self-consciousness as the Church of God, it may seek by friendly though cautious contacts to hold that position in the State which, adapted from time to time as the course of history requires, shall best manifest the Christian profession of the nation and secure to the Church any proper vantage-point for educating the nation in the things of God'.

A. C. F. BEALES



NOTICES

THE FATHER McNABB READER, edited by Francis Edward Nugent, is to appear in an English edition in the near future, so that we will reserve a review for that event. But we must welcome this American initiative in presenting Father Vincent again to the world in all his variety of interests and with some of his most telling wit. It includes his verse and his biographical writings, and as the editor remarks the whole anthology has the tone of autobiography as every sentence 'betrays the man behind the pen'. We are grateful to P. J. Kenedy and Sons for presenting this volume (price: \$3.50).

BEING AND BECOMING, by Dr D. J. B. Hawkins (Sheed and Ward, 10s. 6d.), as a philosophical work does not call for an extended review