



Cathedral and Crusade: Studies of the Medieval Church, 1050 - 1350, by Henri Daniel-Rops, translated by John Warrington. *E. P. Dutton. \$10.*

AS THE DIVINE DRAMA, recorded by St. Luke, mounts toward its climax, there occurs a cryptic text (22: 38) when Our Lord, warning the disciples that they will henceforth be regarded as outlaws, advises them to sell their cloaks and to buy swords; whereupon, "See, Lord, they told him, here are two swords. And he said to them, That is enough." For the heirs of the Apostles, the men of the great period of Christendom, 1050-1350, this text became the basis of a famous medieval theory of power, the Doctrine of the Two Swords, which finds its best expression in the words of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, for whom the two swords represented the spiritual and the temporal power: "Both belong to Peter; one of them he actually wields, the other is at his disposal as and when circumstances require. Referring to the latter, our Lord told his Apostle: 'Put up thy sword in its scabbard.' It was Peter's sure enough, but not to draw with his own hand."

The development of the Doctrine of the Two Swords, the attempts to implement it, its vicissitudes, triumphs, and failures, these are the threads suggesting the motif of the third volume, the first to be translated into English, of Mr. Henri Daniel-Rops' monumental (the word here is used most advisedly) *Histoire de l'Église du Christ*, under the title of *Cathedral and Crusade*. Vast as is the scope of M. Daniel-Rops' *Histoire*, which has now been extended through a fourth volume, *L'Église*

de la Renaissance et de la Reforme (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1955) the volume now available to English readers is complete in itself, requiring no previous study of the earlier parts, *L'Église des Apôtres et des Martyres* (1948) and *L'Église des Temps Barbares* (1950). Standing alone, *Cathedral and Crusade* is history in the grand manner, luminous and penetrating, such as rarely appears in the twentieth or any other century, such as is worthy a member of *l'Académie Française* to which M. Daniel-Rops was elected in 1955 simultaneously to his being invested by Pius XII with the order of the Grand Cross of St. Gregory.

Where G. G. Coulton, despite his crabbed and curious erudition, has succeeded only in piecing together unsympathetic and distorted medieval panoramas which are patchwork, M. Daniel-Rops has woven a tapestry depicting fully the abundant variety without sacrificing the unit of a truly great era, heralded late in the ninth century by Pope John VIII's application of the term *Christianitas* ("hitherto . . . used in an abstract sense, to signify the Faith of Christ, or the fact of being a Christian") to a "concrete entity, the temporal society of mankind." Christendom was born, and to the world of the eleventh century, its significance dawned high in the Apennines, in 1077, when the Emperor Henry IV, barefoot and in sackcloth, shivered three wintry days at Canossa, while the Countess Matilda and cardinals pleaded with Gregory VII until the deposed penitent "prostrated himself before the stocky little man in whom shone forth the power of the Apostle." Christendom comes of age, hopefully, in the year 1111, with a youthful Bernard of Clairvaux, surveying across a lush Burgundian scene, the patch of dark forest concealing a monastery, the versatile and poised spiritual athlete whose words keynote the age: "I am not one of those who say that the peace and freedom of the Church is harmful to the Empire, or that the Empire's prosperity is

harmful to the Church. On the contrary, God, who is the author of both, has linked them in a common destiny on earth, not for the sake of internecine strife but that they may strengthen one another."

Christendom reaches its meridian, perhaps, if not in Bernard's hopeful vision, on the field of Legnano, the corpse of the imperial standard bearer stiffening, while Barbarossa dutifully held the stirrup of Alexander III and received from him the papal kiss of peace; while the great cathedrals of Notre Dame, Canterbury, and Soissons were a-building; while Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, his flesh rotting from leprosy, heroically hurled back the forces of Saladin. In the full sun of Christendom's afternoon, St. Francis wagered the Sultan of Egypt his divinely impulsive life, in a fiery oven, against that embarrassed paynim's baptism; St. Thomas, confessing that mystical contemplation had taught him things "compared with which all writings are mere straw," precisely adjusted the parts of his *Summa*; St. Louis in his hairshirt, held holy sway over France, dying as a crusader, of cholera, in Tunisia; Innocent III, the ablest of the Popes, administered the See of Peter, guardian of Sicily, suzerain of England.

But history cannot stay the arc of the sun in whose rays Boniface VIII mistakenly thought he could still bask, when, in 1300, appearing too confidently in public, wearing the imperial insignia, he was preceded by two swords and the cry of his heralds: "I am Cæsar! I am the Emperor!" Three years later, the sun suddenly dropped below the horizon, when the minions of Philip the Fair of France, bursting doors upon a deserted and praying Boniface, placed him under an arrest which an outraged populace thwarted, to return him from Agnani to Rome, where a month later he died of a humiliation that is the old age of Christendom. And an era has ended to the sound, or dubious rumor of the sound, heard round the world, of the blow in the face which Sciarra Colonna

was alleged to have struck Boniface at Agnani; but, rumor or fact, Dante, beholding his enemy Boniface succumb to the insult, cried out "in horror at this sudden collapse of Peter's throne." In the twilight of an epoch, it remained for the poet to write the epical summa which was Christendom's epitaph; to lament (*Inferno*, XIX, 115-17) the Donation of Constantine with bitter tears of human hindsight: "Ah, Constantine! to how much ill gave birth, not thy conversion, but that dower which the first rich Father took from thee"; to diagnose (*Purgatorio*, XVI, 127-9) the fatal malady: "The Church of Rome, by confounding two powers in herself, falls into the mire, and fouls herself together with her burden."

But the burden was not that only of the Church; it was that of all Christendom, the Two Swords, which for three centuries was not only a Doctrine, but a problem extending down to the ruins of time. We can do no better than to quote M. Daniel-Rops' (p. 167) statement of it:

The spiritual and moral problem which the Church endeavored so courageously to solve was not the only one with which she was confronted; for in order to accomplish her supernatural mission, it was necessary that she should clarify her relations with the civil power. The two realms of authority appear at first sight to be unconnected; actually they are inseparable. Christ Himself emphasized that the Church is "not of this world;" her essential purity tends to raise her above the things of earth. Nevertheless, her works lie *in* this world, among men, within the framework of their interests and institutions. She can no more be indifferent to the laws upon which her freedom depends than to those material resources which enable her ministers to carry out their supernatural function. She is a spiritual society, foreshadowing the City of God; but she is obliged to maintain close con-

tact with the City of the World, and that is no easy task.

The problem is everlasting. It is the most difficult of all those which Christendom has been called upon to solve; and if no satisfactory solution has yet been found, it is surely because none exists, because it is in the nature of things that there should be continual tension between the spiritual and temporal order. Three situations are possible. The secular power may be opposed to the Church upon ideological grounds, which means persecution; or the State may ignore religious activity and treat the spiritual society as non-existent, which means neutrality. But persecution had ended in the fourth century, and neutrality was quite unthinkable in the Middle Ages; so there remained a third possibility, collaboration.

Except when Peter impetuously drew the sword of temporal power, which was his "sure enough, but not to draw with his own hand," the choice of persecution, neutrality, or collaboration was that of the civil power, not of the Church, which occupied the position, perilously difficult but not impossibly anomalous, of "a society within a society." As much "collaboration" (in the admirable root sense of that word) as the Church could actually get, or realistically expect, would come from a great saint, a Louis IX of France, who, ever mindful of the duties of his secular magistracy and remembering his spiritual obligations, could reconcile the double burden, while, at the same time, he did "not hesitate to speak his mind . . . upon excessive increases of ecclesiastical taxation," nor permit "interference from Rome with his own politics." From such a magistrate as St. Louis, the Church could hope for a collaboration freely cooperative, born of charity and based on justice. But not all monarchs were so obviously saints as was Louis, who was canonized in the hearts of the common people long before the Bull

of Boniface VIII made official the recognition of the Church. Yet where, in varying degrees, such collaboration as that of St. Louis did exist, born of a love "dyed in the blood of Christ," Christendom, carefully distinguished by M. Daniel-Rops from the Church, which was its major premise, did exist, and more than did exist, did flourish, producing the marvellous accomplishments of the Middle Ages. Such was Christendom under the Doctrine of the Two Swords, which were sometimes extended parallel in the cause of Christ, sometimes crossed, sometimes standing at cautiously lowered points, but never both sheathed at one and the same time for three centuries.

Yet *Cathedral and Crusade* is more than the history of the Doctrine of the Two Swords; it is truly the history of the Church of the God-Man, in its broadest, most Catholic and even catholic sense, of a society baptized in His Name, wayfaring pilgrims passing through the three centuries of Christendom. What is Christendom? One may bound it in time, as does M. Daniel-Rops, between 1050 and 1350. One may describe it geographically, as extending from Scandinavia and Iceland in the North to north African missions in the South; from schismatic (but still Christian) Byzantium, the short-lived Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and Poland in the East, to Spain of the Reconquista and Ireland in the West; its spiritual center in Rome, its intellectual in Paris. Still one would not have described it. Even less could one comprehend it, in the phrase of Glanvill and the late Carl Becker, as a "climate of opinion." True, it lasted its three centuries, which, in the eye of God, may be as the day which passes over men's heads. But Christendom did not pass over, nor through men's heads. It was anchored in their hearts, whose blood they shed at the sieges of Jerusalem and Antioch, and it soared above the spires and vaultings of the cathedrals. If we must define it, perhaps we can say that Christendom was a historical manifestation, in time, in space,

of the Holy Spirit; that it was nothing more, nor less, than the love generated, on a gigantic communal scale, between Christ's Church and Society, and mutually reciprocated.

If this definition seems to claim too much for the three centuries of *Cathedral and Crusade*, we can offer here only a small earnest of detail from the wealth of M. Daniel-Rops' pages, which convincingly limn a Christendom that animated the great architects of the cathedrals, a Villard de Honnecourt, a Master Jean Mignot of Paris; which induced "powerful men, proud of their birth as their wealth" to harness themselves with penitential prayers to carts with loads so heavy that "more than a thousand persons, men and women," were needed to draw a single cart. Thus was built Notre-Dame de Chartres, so loved by Henry Adams, whereas the Cathedral of Paris was financed "largely . . . with the farthings of old women," except for a chalice or a window (such was medieval discretion that we are not sure which) offered by the "guild" of prostitutes and unobtrusively accepted by the Bishop, who had satisfied his misgivings after consulting a theologian. Whatever the theologian told the Bishop, it is easier for us to accept M. Daniel-Rops' simply profound two-word explanation: "They believed."

True, Christendom had its heretics, such heretics as only Christendom could have, and M. Daniel-Rops devotes a brilliant chapter to sketching the perils, which were genuine, of heresy, from Manichæism to Catharism, the Waldensians and the Albigenses, but often enough, if not always, these heretical doctrines were, as Chesterton says, "Christian truths gone mad." Were there then no absolute skeptics in this Christendom? A few, perhaps, the most notorious of whom was supposed to be Frederick II of Sicily, whose "contemporaries took him for antichrist, 'the beast rising from the sea, its mouth full of blasphemy, with the claws of a bear, the

body of a leopard, and the fury of a lion.' " Perhaps we can better conceive him as an amalgam of Sir Epicure Mammon, the Baron d'Holbach, and the Marquis de Sade. Frederick had nurtured himself into infidelity by inviting to his court Moslem scholars who "introduced him to the study of physics and chemistry, and thereby persuaded him that Christian dogmas had no meaning." He maintained an oriental harem, but his intellectual lust was even more notorious. According to one legend, he had a man sealed hermetically in a barrel "to prove that when it was opened no soul would fly up to heaven." Yet, and perhaps more than even Christendom speaks in that "yet," Frederick "died and was buried in a Cistercian cowl."

It would be easy to continue a list of details from *Cathedral and Crusade*, but even Christendom, as the book reminds us, had an end. Why? M. Daniel-Rops examines three tentative, partial, and certainly not original explanations: 1) "too many Christians, even among the higher clergy, were . . . unfaithful to their vocation;" 2) "the Church was too closely linked with the fate of secular society;" and 3) there was "an intellectual revolt against the data of Revelation." But none of these reasons satisfies M. Daniel-Rops, any more than do the cyclical theories of Spengler, Toynbee, and Sokorin. "Perhaps," he suggests, "the answer . . . is one that transcends those founded upon direct historical observation." Certainly in *Cathedral and Crusade* there is sufficient "direct historical observation" for its readers to agree or disagree with M. Daniel-Rops, but it would be unfair to ignore his speculation:

Maybe it was simply that medieval society, which had emerged from the fiery furnace of a barbarian age, had grown feeble after a triumphant career of three hundred years. Earthly successes are always transient; having attained their zenith, they start immediately to decline. And this is even more true in the case of a human society

whose end is not temporal glory, whose Master chose to conquer the world by defeat and death. . . . In a different age, and in many respects, a new equilibrium had to be found. The Church of Christ would have to play a part in this new world. . . . She would effect a new synthesis between the transient facts of history and the eternal principles of Christ.

Beyond M. Daniel-Rops' meditative requiem for Christendom, let any reader of his *Cathedral and Crusade* go, if he would account for the demise of Christendom. But after such a reader has surveyed this mass of "direct historical observation," he might be reminded of the statement of the philosopher Imlac in *Rasselas*: "I know not what reason can be given, but the unsearchable will of the Supreme Being."

Reviewed by WARREN L. FLEISCHAUER

The Kirk and the Continent, by A. L. Drummond. 252 pp. Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press. 25 shillings.

UNTIL VERY RECENT YEARS, Scottish school boards were dominated by ministers of the Kirk of Scotland; but Progress and Centralization have changed all that, with a corresponding decay of popular education in Scotland, which country formerly (like yesteryear New England) attained a degree of popular literacy almost unequalled in the Western world. It was scholars like the Reverend A. L. Drummond, coming from a long line of ministers of the Kirk, who gave that educational system its tone. This new book is a model, in accuracy and style, for the writing of church history. Dr. Drummond, the minister of a small Clackmannanshire burgh, is learned in church architecture, psychology, English fiction, modern history, and American religious thought. Among other books, he has written *The Story of American Protestantism* (Beacon Press, 1950).

Although the Church of Scotland, with

its Presbyterian tenets, has been a national church since the sixteenth century, it also has exerted an interesting influence in the European continent, not merely through its relationships with the Calvinism of Geneva (at which city one still can see the church where John Knox preached), but also in France, High Germany, Holland and even Italy. The chapter "Italian Protestantism Revived" discusses the support given by the Kirk to the Waldensians in Italy, a story known to few Americans.

A "Presbytery of Southern Europe", almost an "extinct volcano", still exists, with churches in Malta, Genoa, and Rome. But there are many more churches of the Church of England in the Continent than of the Church of Scotland; probably the absence of episcopal organization in the Kirk is one cause of this. It also seems true—a point Dr. Drummond makes by implication—that the old zeal has gone out of the Kirk (even though, in Scotland, the proportion of church-goers is much higher than in England). Some years past it was found difficult to persuade any minister of the Kirk to accept a call to the Presbyterian Kirk in Jerusalem, the "church on the brink of Hell", overlooking the Vale of Gehenna. Old John Knox would have rejoiced mightily to be called to preach on the brink of Hell; and the more he was sniped at by Jews and Arabs, the more energetically would he have "dinged the pulpit to blads."

Reviewed by RUSSELL KIRK

The Moral Basis of Burke's Political Thought, by Charles Parkin, Cambridge University Press, 1956. pp. 145. \$2.50.

MR. PARKIN'S ESSAY is an effort to show that the writings of Burke, although drafted to deal with political contingencies of his own day, nevertheless derive from a coherent and enduring moral philosophy of man and community. Burke's thought is a "formulation of the moral beliefs on