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MORBIDITY AND VITALITY IN THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PAPACY

BY

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE*

The papal historian August Franzen says of his subject that "to arrive at truth one must wade through a swamp of calumnies and leave behind a forest of legends and anecdotes."[1] Franzen was speaking in particular of the history of historical writing about the papacy, an important topic that has never been satisfactorily handled. In very brief outline, that history might look something like this. In Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, papal history was only one among many histories that competed for the attention of contemporary historiographers and that continues to compete for the attention of modern historians. After

*Mr. Noble is a professor of history in the University of Virginia. This essay began as a paper at the 1992 meeting of the Medieval Academy of America. Developing versions were presented as lectures at the University of California, Berkeley, the University of Notre Dame, and the University of Pennsylvania. A near-final draft was written in the incomparable surroundings of the Institute for Advanced Study. The author acknowledges with gratitude the criticisms of Robert Brentano, Peter Brown, Donald Bullough, Gerald Caspary, Giles Constable, Ann Matter, Karl Morrison, Glenn Olsen, Edward Peters, Julia Smith, and John Van Engen.

[1]In Franzen and Remigius Bäumer, *Papstgeschichte: Das Petrusamt in seiner Idee und seiner geschichtlichen Verwirklichung in der Kirche*, 3d ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1982), p. 13.

the eleventh century, papal and church history seemed to merge as the papacy attained the high point of its ecclesiastical and secular domination. With only minor and occasional deviations, the story continued to be told that way until the early sixteenth century, when Robert Barnes, an English Protestant, fled to Wittenberg and wrote there under Luther's protection a papal history designed to prove that the popes were the "*vastatores fidei*." Shortly thereafter, the Catholic writer Michael Buchinger produced a papal history that reiterated the link between papal and church history. Protestants could neither let that link remain unbroken, nor ignore the long period of papal prominence in church history. Consequently, down to the eighteenth century, more papal histories were written by Protestants than by Catholics. Indeed, Harald Zimmermann, the greatest living Protestant historian of the papacy, once said that it almost appears as if the writing of papal history were a Protestant invention.[2] Protestants kept telling the story their way so as to rebut Catholic claims about the identification of papal and church history, and also to advance the thesis that papal history revealed the "*mysterium iniquitatis*."

So things stood until changes were wrought by four modern developments, three of them products of the nineteenth century and one of them more recent. The first was the emergence of the "higher criticism" that forced new, and less palpably confessional, readings of the essential biblical texts concerning authority, charisma, and power in the Early Church. The second, during the pontificate of Pius IX, was the decree of the First Vatican Council, *Pastor Aeternus*, on papal infallibility, which attracted little Protestant attention, because it seemed so characteristically arrogant and unhistorical as to require little comment, but which shattered Catholic consensus about the historical role of the papacy.[3] Third, the opening of the *Archivio Segreto* by Leo XIII in 1881, because of the nature of its contents, turned much papal historical writing into a subset of diplomatic and political history. Finally, the ecumenical movement has tended to temper po-

[2]Zimmermann, *Das Papsttum im Mittelalter: Eine Papstgeschichte im Spiegel der Historiographie* (Stuttgart, 1981); *idem*, *Ecclesia als Objekt der Historiographie: Studien zur Kirchengeschichtsschreibung im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* ("Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," philosophisch-historische Klasse, Band 235 [Vienna, 1960]).

[3]The reverberations are still being felt in this area. Witness the reactions to Brian Tierney's *The Origins of Papal Infallibility, 1050–1350: A Study of the Concepts of Infallibility, Sovereignty and Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1972). Cf. Alfons M. Stickler, "Papal Infallibility—A Thirteenth-Century Invention? Reflections on a Recent Book," *Catholic Historical Review*, 60 (1974), 427–441.

lemical rhetoric among Christians who belong to hierarchical, liturgical, and sacramental churches while sharpening the differences between them and the evangelicals. But, then, recent currents suggest that movements are underway to find common ground between Catholics and Evangelicals despite potent and lasting differences between them.[4]

This very rough sketch is relevant to the early Middle Ages in several ways. Both Catholic and Protestant historians have long been telling essentially the same story about the centuries after Gregory I, albeit they draw very different morals from that story. Here is the Protestant Johannes Haller's version:

> The papacy in the Roman Empire . . . was a papacy for the bishops, not for the individual Christian. In those things which concerned the ordinary man—certainty of redemption, penitence, forgiveness of sins, eternal life—the Roman pope had no more to offer than any other bishop or priest. . . . How different then when we enter the world of the converted Germans! For them the power of the bishop of Rome is a matter of faith. The heir and representative of St. Peter is for them not just the chief among the judges over his fellow bishops, but the guarantor and mediator of temporal and eternal salvation for all. No other bishop could compete with this fullness of power. Above all, the pope of Rome was, with his unlimited power over all souls from the beggar to the king, the lord of all Christendom.[5]

How had this startling change occurred? Like Haller, Albert Hauck and Erich Caspar believed that it had come about through a combination of the civilizational, imperial arrogance inherited by the popes from Rome and the work of the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface.[6] Otto Wissig believed that whereas early, and often Celtic, monks and missionaries had brought Christianity to Germany—a development he

[4]See, for instance, "Evangelicals & Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium," *First Things*, No. 43 (May, 1994), 15–22, whose signatories range from Cardinal O'Connor to Pat Robertson.

[5]*Das Papsttum: Idee und Wirklichkeit*, Vol. 1, 3d ed. (Hamburg, 1965), pp. 339–340. I cite the translation of Timothy Reuter, "Saint Boniface and Europe," in *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton*, ed. Reuter (Exeter, 1980), p. 85.

[6]Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Vols. 1 and 2, 5th ed. (Leipzig, 1935); Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft* (2 vols.; Tübingen, 1930, 1933); *idem*, *Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft* (Darmstadt, 1956). The latter volume was published posthumously from the author's papers and represents all that was written of what would have been Volume 3 of the previous work.

evaluated positively—Boniface had brought Roman papalism—which he deplored.[7] If one were to ask why Germans were receptive to this Bonifatian Romanism, the answer is that they had, or were able to cultivate, a special reverence for St. Peter. In some sense, they saw St. Peter as the heavenly leader of an earthly *comitatus* of which they were members.[8] Eventually Eugen Ewig demonstrated that, in the Frankish world, veneration for St. Peter stood far behind affections for and loyalties to old Gallic bishops and monks.[9] As Horst Fuhrmann pointed out a few years ago,[10] no one today accepts the view of Boniface's work propounded by the Haller school, and no one writes papal history in the archly polemical way that Haller himself and his contemporaries did. Yet some of the orthodoxy that ran right down to the 1950's, and that was barely ruffled in a memorial volume dedicated to Boniface in 1954[11] or in the recently reprinted biography[12] that Theodor Schieffer devoted to him in that year, remains textbook wisdom.[13] Old ideas die hard.

The relationship between Boniface and the papacy is only partly a matter of expanding papalism. It is also seen as a decisive factor in, perhaps even the immediate cause of, the momentous diplomatic re-

[7]Otto Wissig, *Iroschotten und Bonifatius in Deutschland: Eine kirchengeschichtlich-urkundenliche Untersuchung* (Gütersloh, 1932).

[8]Theodor Zwölfer, *Sankt Peter, Apostelfürst und Himmelspförtner: Seine Verehrung bei den Angelsachsen und Franken* (Stuttgart, 1929).

[9]Eugen Ewig, "Die Petrus- und Apostelkult im spätrömischen und fränkischen Gallien," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 71 (1960), 215–251. The theoretically powerful but practically limited impact of Boniface has been sensitively assessed by Arnold Angenendt, "Princeps Imperii—Princeps Apostolorum: Rom zwischen Universalismus und Gentilismus," in Angenendt and Rudolf Schieffer (eds.), *Roma—Caput et Fons: Zwei Vorträge über des päpstliche Rom zwischen Altertum und Mittelalter* (Kleve, 1989), pp. 25–33.

[10]Horst Fuhrmann, "Das Papsttum und die kirchliche Leben im Frankenreich," *Settimane di Studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* (hereafter *SSCI*), 27 (1981), 422–424.

[11]*Sankt Bonifatius: Gedenkgabe zum zwölfhundertsten Todestag* (Fulda, 1954).

[12]Theodor Schieffer, *Winfrid-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg, 1954; repr. Darmstadt, 1980).

[13]Cf. Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (London, 1968), pp. 48–51; Franzen and Bäumer, *Papstgeschichte*, pp. 103–104; cf. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, *Das Papsttum: Grundzüge seiner Geschichte von der Antike bis zur Renaissance* (Darmstadt, 1984), pp. 96–98, who—in my view, correctly—stresses that Boniface's motivation was personal, not Roman. American textbooks reflect varying interpretations, laying stress on both Boniface and on Rome: Brian Tierney and Sidney Painter, *Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 5th ed. (New York, 1992), pp. 121–123; C. Warren Hollister, *Medieval Europe: A Short History*, 7th ed. (New York, 1994), pp. 85–87; Edward Peters, *Europe and the Middle Ages*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1989), pp. 110–111.

orientation of the papacy away from Byzantium and toward the Franks. Without exception, papal historians array their material in a series of chapters that take major political and diplomatic encounters or programs as their focal points. Let us look at just a few examples. The major sections of Haller's first volume are: "The Beginnings of the Imperial Church"; "The Rising Course" (of power and rule); "In Contention with Emperor and Empire"; "In the Power of the Emperor"; "Separation from the East and Subjection to the West"; "The Papal State." This is like Caspar, whose second volume was entitled *The Papacy under Byzantine Rule* and whose unfinished third volume is *The Papacy under Frankish Rule.* Franzen and Bäumer have this to offer: "The Early Christian Church of Rome Down to Constantine"; "The Imperial Church to the End of Antiquity"; "The Early Middle Ages." If this scheme looks less obviously political than Haller's, one has only to look into its subheadings to find all the familiar diplomatic themes. Schimmelpfennig, author of the most recent general work, has major chapters on Byzantine and Frankish dominion in Rome. These approaches are ahistorical where the papacy is concerned, because they subsume papal history into other histories without first inquiring into the momentum of papal development itself.

If most scholars today would not see the history of the early medieval papacy primarily in terms of a grasping institution that systematically crushed the life out of Europe's incipient *Landeskirchen*, there are other aspects of Haller's thesis that reach right back to the Middle Ages and that remain powerfully influential today. Let us note the title of Haller's massive work: *Das Papsttum: Idee und Wirklichkeit.* For Haller, and also for Caspar, the papacy was primarily the historical embodiment of an idea that was born in Late Antiquity. Nurtured by inauthentic readings of scripture and by pretensions to rule encouraged by the power vacuums of the late Roman world, fifth-century popes articulated a set of claims about the papacy's place in the Church and in the world that hardly changed over the centuries. The main historical task of the papacy was to translate this "idea" into "reality," something which the popes did with only limited and varying degrees of success. That Haller and Caspar were Protestants does not seem to have dictated their point of view. Catholic scholars have tended to take the same approach. Walter Ullmann (see below) wrote extensively about the idea of the papacy, and the general history by Franzen and Bäumer is subtitled *The Petrine Idea in its Historical Realization in the Church.*

In other words, while it is possible to imagine a spectrum of interpretative possibilities for the *Wirklichkeiten*, the *Idee* remains re-

markably fixed. If for Protestants that idea is as erroneous in its origins as it is astonishing in its persistence, then for Catholics that idea was implicit, not in any mere historical realities, but rather in Christ's explicit mandate to Peter in the sixteenth chapter of Matthew's Gospel. Historical manifestations of that idea are simply the working out of a divine plan by means of a progressive unfolding of a theological and ecclesiological mystery. Walter Ullmann is the most representative figure in this school of thought. His *Growth of Papal Government* has remarkably little to say about the ordinary features of government—institutions and the like—but much to say about the achievement, by the twelfth century, of Late Antiquity's idea of the papacy's place in the Christian world.[14] Ironically, then, two figures as different as Haller and Ullmann wind up telling basically the same story, although their readers are expected to extract very different meanings from their respective tellings.

As a way of moving from a kind of papal history that seems increasingly moribund, and before moving on to other kinds that might show promising signs of new life, let me quote the admirably sensible Robert Markus:

> Ecclesiastical historians are, of all historians, most apt to see the historical development of their chosen subject—be it the papacy, or anything else—in terms of a straight line leading to the present moment. It makes only a minimal difference whether the present moment is something that a given historian views with approval or with disapproval. In the former case, he will offer the ecclesiastical equivalent of the Whig interpretation of history, in the latter a kind of inverted ecclesiastical whiggery. Either way, the perspective is linear, determined by the notion of a steady progress towards a given point. It is not at all difficult to represent the development of the medieval papacy in this kind of way. The whole of its earlier history can without undue difficulty be written in terms of leading in the direction most fully discernible, say, under the pontificates of Innocent III, or Boniface VIII.[15]

[14]Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3d ed. (London, 1970). Marcel Pacaut, *Histoire de la papauté, des origines au concile de Trente* (Paris, 1976), professes to write a history whose "recherche essentielle concerne cependant l'institution elle-même" but actually is a narrative of the conceptual frameworks that permitted the papacy to achieve leadership in western society only to lose it and wind up with leadership of a sort in the Church alone. The long opening chapter of Karl August Fink, *Papsttum und Kirche im abendländischen Mittelalter* (Munich, 1981), also explores the development of the "Kirchenverfassung" in an attempt to decide if the pope was more bishop of Rome or head of the universal Church.

[15]Robert Markus, "Papal Primacy: Light from the Early Middle Ages," *The Month*, 221 (1970), 352–353.

It is precisely this linearity, both as an idea and as a way of accounting for particular realities, whose obituary I should like to write.[16]

When a mighty oak has fallen one can either stare sadly into the massive absence it has left behind or plant in its place things that are young, vital, and promising. In what follows, I shall attempt to situate the early medieval papacy, the period from the accession of Gregory I in 590 to the death of John VIII in 882, in its own historical context. This period seems to me to be a legitimate one for purposes of discussion, because it is bracketed by pontificates that saw the papacy turn in a significant way to the West and that, in the murder of John VIII, saw the failure of the Franco-papal alliance and the resultant political turmoil that was so marked a feature of papal history in the tenth and early eleventh century. I shall talk often about continuity and discontinuity, but always as problems to be solved rather than as blunt instruments with which to beat my subject into its familiar shape. I shall look first at the sources to see what kinds of new or refined inquiries they might support. Papal letters will draw first attention, and then the records of some Roman synods, and finally the sources that bear on papal and Roman rituals. A second set of inquiries will investigate the popes and the papacy in their local, Roman setting. In this inquiry I shall point to lines of investigation for the mutual interplay between the papacy and the economic, social, and political history of Rome and its region. Third, by way of some concluding reflections, I shall say a little about how to think about the place of the papacy in the wider European world of the early Middle Ages. Through all my remarks I shall both bring to the foreground work that is actually being done and suggest programs of work that could be done. The principal objective of these reflections is to draw the

[16]Among currently available histories, four seem to me to avoid the kind of linearity against which I am objecting. One is Schimmelpfennig's (as in n. 12), but he does not escape the tendency to regard papal history as a series of political-diplomatic encounters with the major circumjacent powers, and his treatment of the high Middle Ages gives a slightly proleptic hue to his treatment of the earlier period. Another is Fink's (as in n. 13) who admirably but all too briefly charts tensions within the Church itself. The third is Jeffrey Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476–752* (London, 1979), a book that is prudently centered in the local realities of Rome and Italy but that is so radically anti-Ullmann as to be deprived of some of its value. It is one thing to misconstrue ideas and quite another to ignore them. Angenendt's essay (above n. 9) is a superbly nuanced account of the factors that contributed to, or checked, the development of papal leadership in the Church. Admirable, ecumenical, and too brief (!) is the superb little book by the Protestant Horst Fuhrmann, *Von Petrus zu Johannes Paul II. Das Papsttum: Gestalt und Gestalten*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1984).

attention of scholars to a field—early medieval papal history—whose traditional lines of inquiry have proved unattractive in recent years but whose sources and problems can support some of the most exciting kinds of contemporary research.

The best sources for this period are its 2,033 authentic papal letters. Although it is not the kind of work to attract scholarly interest these days, much of the surviving papal correspondence is badly in need of modern critical editions. The letters of Gregory I are accessible in two full editions and a partial one that meet the demands of exacting scholarship.[17] The letters of the seventh- and early eighth-century popes are still scattered through various volumes of Migne's *Patrologia*, and the same is true for some of the ninth-century letters. An important collection of letters, the so-called *Codex Carolinus*, namely, the letters sent by the popes to the Frankish kings after 739 and collected by Charlemagne in 791, are available in a *Monumenta* edition whose flaws were recognized shortly after its publication in 1892.[18] Most of the remaining eighth-and ninth-century letters are available in reliable *Monumenta* editions.

This corpus of letters invites some preliminary reflections.[19] First off, about 43% of the letters (866) come from Gregory I, and a further 21% (431) from John VIII, the first and last popes in the series. Broader chronological disparities are evident too. Apart from Gregory's letters, there are only 144 from the rest of the seventh century, and five of

[17]Gregory I, *Registrum*, ed. Dag Norberg (Corpus Christianorum, Vol. 140–140a [Turnhout, 1982]); *Registrum Epistolarum*, edd. Paul Ewald and Ludovicus M. Hartmann (2 vols.; MGH, Epistolae (hereafter Epp.) 1 [Berlin, 1957; repr. of 1897 ed.]); Grégoire le Grand, *Registre des lettres, Tome I* (in 2 vols.), ed. Pierre Minard (Sources Chrétiennes, Vols. 370–371 [Paris, 1991]).

[18]*Codex Carolinus*, ed. Wilhelm Gundlach (MGH, Epp. 3; Epistolae Karolini Aevi 1 [Berlin, 1957; repr. of 1892 ed.]), pp. 469–657. For the flaws in Gundlach's edition see Adelheid Hahn, "Das Hludowicianum: Die Urkunde Ludwigs d. Fr. für die römische Kirche von 817," *Archiv für Diplomatik*, 21 (1975), 17 and n. 10. It might also be mentioned that Gundlach's suggested dating for many of the letters is erratic. For some examples, with further literature leading to yet other examples, see Thomas F. X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter: The Birth of the Papal State, 680–825* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 138–183 *passim*. For an interesting study of how the letters can be used in particular circumstances see Gertrud Thoma, "Papst Hadrian I. und Karl der Grosse: Beobachtungen zur Kommunikation zwischen Papst und König nach den Briefen des Codex Carolinus," in Karl Rudolf Schnith and Roland Pauler (eds.), *Festschrift für Eduard Hlawitschka zum 65. Geburtstag* ("Münchener historische Studien: Abteilung mittelalterliche Geschichte, 5 [Munich, 1993]), pp. 37–58.

[19]The following enumerations are based on Philippus Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (hereafter abbreviated Jaffé, *RP*), 2d ed. (1885; repr. Graz, 1956).

that century's twenty-one popes left none at all. There are 332 letters from the eighth century, of which nearly one-third went to the Frankish court. The ninth century left behind 801, but more than half of these are John VIII's. These simple tabulations should make us very cautious and skeptical about our ability to characterize papal policies or interests. The geographical range of the papal correspondence counsels a like caution. North Africa got about 4% of the seventh-century letters but none thereafter. The Frankish world increased from just over 7% in the seventh century to more than 40% in both the eighth and ninth centuries. Dalmatia got a batch of letters in the seventh century because of the complicated affairs of the bishopric of Salona (Split) but few thereafter. The Franko-papal alliance opened up possibilities for correspondence that had not existed before, as did the Slavic missions in the ninth century. Of nearly two hundred letters dispatched to Frankish clerics in the ninth century, more than fifty went directly to Hincmar of Reims or to persons involved in struggles with Hincmar. No matter what vantage point we take, I think that we must conclude that our ability to comprehend the activity of the early medieval popes is severely compromised by this fragmentary distribution of the evidence.

A partial letter of Hadrian I from 788 and a complete letter of Paschal I from 819 are the oldest original remnants of the once vast papal correspondence.[20] Most of the extant letters descend to us via canonical collections, while others are preserved in copies of recipient copies. Not a single papal register has come down to us intact. Canonical collections, especially that of the eleventh-century Deusdedit of Milan, preserve valuable fragments of the registers of Honorius I, Gregory II, Zachary, and Leo IV.[21] An extract of 314 letters from the Register of John VIII survives.[22] Finally, there is the 852-letter extract from the Register of Gregory I (a further fourteen of his letters descend along other paths). In reality, as John the Deacon, Gregory's ninth-

[20]Noble, "Literacy and the Papal Government in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages," in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 86–87 and 87 n. 19.

[21]*Ibid.*, p. 87 and n. 20. Very important on the eighth-century register fragments—both for its own material and as a model for further work—is Pietro Conte, *Regesto delle lettere dei papi del secolo VII* (Milan, 1984).

[22]Jaffé, *RP*, nos. 3043–3385 (other letters are inserted into chronological sequence by Jaffé). This material has been studied by Dietrich Lohrmann, *Das Register Papst Johann VIII.* (Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rom, Vol. 30 [Tübingen, 1968]). Boniface, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Caspar (MGH, Epp. 7: Epistolae Karolini Aevi 5 [Berlin, 1928]), pp. 1–272, 287–312.

century biographer, tells us, Gregory's surviving letters form a collection which the pope himself made from the annual collections into which his letters were gathered in the papal *scrinium*.[23] We have only a fragment, that is, of Gregory's actual *Register*. Only 866 letters survive from a momentous fourteen-year pontificate: about sixty-two per year, or just over one per week. The fact that not a single papal archive survives for study and analysis has meant that no consensus has yet arisen on how the early medieval archives worked in practice.[24] If we cannot yet be certain about how or why records were kept, we ought to be careful about interpreting their use in the construction of historical arguments.

A crucial book by Ernst Pitz has recently demonstrated that 62% of the letters of Gregory I were rescripts.[25] That the rescript was taken over by the Roman Church from the chancery practice of the Roman Empire is interesting, but it is more important to be mindful of what the rescript actually was. It was, quite simply, an answer to a simple query or a formal petition. It was not a decree. Thus, letters that were rescripts cannot, at least not without much toilsome research, be read as grand statements of the "idea" of the papacy. Such letters tend automatically to repeat chancery formulae, to bear on only the matters to which they are immediately addressed, and to have their origin in many branches of the papal administration. The other large letter collections of the early medieval period should now be studied according to the careful and easily replicable methods laid down by Pitz. Two valuable results will follow such research. First, we will know more about the workings of the Lateran administration as a whole and perhaps about papal record keeping in particular. Second, we will know which letters were merely answers to questions that came from outside the papal government and which letters express the ideas, policies, and initiatives of individual popes. The difference is crucial.

It should by now be clear that an understanding of both the form and the context of papal letters is critical to their use in historical discussion. As my remarks to this point have been rather abstract, let me select a concrete example of how a properly informed understand-

[23]*Vita Gregorii*, 4.71, PL, 75:223A-B. See also Ernst Pitz, *Papstreskripte im frühen Mittelalter: Diplomatische und rechtsgeschichtliche Studien zum Brief-Corpus Gregors des Grossen* ("Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters," Vol. 14 [Sigmaringen, 1990]), pp. 33–38.

[24]Noble, "Literacy and the Papal Government," pp. 86–92.

[25]See n. 22. For a fuller appreciation of this book see my review in *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 1195–1197.

ing of the papal correspondence might change our picture of the early medieval papacy. I refer to the thorny matter of papal "jurisdictional primacy." This involves the claims made by the popes, or alleged by modern scholars to have been made by them, in an attempt to impose the papal will not adventitiously in particular circumstances but generally and on recognized canonical, doctrinal, or ecclesiological grounds.

Scholars have long recognized that the fifth century, especially the period including the pontificates of Innocent I and Leo I, was a rich time for the papacy's developing self-consciousness. The popes fashioned, or refashioned, statements about their inheritance from St. Peter, about the shape of the Church, about the integrity of the faith, and about the practical functioning of their hierarchy. To most commentators, it was in this period that the "idea" of the papacy was forged. Scholars like Ullmann speak of that idea in almost exclusively juridical terms, while others, for example, Michele Maccarrone, wonder whether ecclesiological and theological issues may not be as important as legal ones.[26] If we wish to take a "linear" view and read papal history backwards from the thirteenth century, then we must seek to find *plenitudo potestatis* present *in nuce* in the words of Leo I. But things look quite different if we run the tape forward and take each pope as we come to him.

No one has yet studied the intitulations of the papal correspondence. A couple of examples from the letters of Gregory I, nevertheless, are revealing. Gregory customarily accorded the emperors at Constantinople their full imperial dignity. In 591, for instance, Maurice was addressed as "Domino nostro clementissimo ac piissimo domno Mauricio Tiberio."[27] Germanic kings in western Europe, on the other hand, were usually addressed as sons.[28] Walter Ullmann interpreted this difference as meaning that Gregory was withdrawing his allegiance from Byzantium while claiming *principatus* over the rulers of the

[26]The first five essays in Maccarrone's *Romana Ecclesia, Cathedra Petri*, edd. Piero Zerbi *et al.* ("Italia Sacra," Vols. 47–48 [Rome, 1991]), pp. 1–327, are judicious and temperate. Ullmann's last statement of his views on this period are to be found in his *Gelasius I. (492–496): Das Papsttum an der Wende der Spätantike zum Mittelalter* ("Päpste und Papsttum," Vol. 18 [Stuttgart, 1981]). For brief, judicious assessments see: John Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Division: The Church, 450–680 A.D.* (Crestwood, New York, 1989), pp. 59–66, and Angenendt, "Princeps Imperii—Princeps Apostolorum," pp. 14–18.

[27]Gregory, *Registrum*, edd. Ewald and Hartmann, 1.16a (MGH, Epp. 1), p. 17.

[28]*Ibid.*, 13.11, vol. 2, p. 376.

West.[29] This "linear" reading of the texts fails completely to notice that Gregory was simply adhering to conservative Roman chancery practices. Roman, Byzantine, and papal epistolary practices had always tended to address "barbarians" as sons. While it is true that some subordination was implied by the use of such forms of address, it is also true that bureaucratic inertia was at play as well.[30] And a claim for moral superiority is hardly equivalent to political or institutional dominion. Here is one case, then, where a poor understanding of papal chancery practices renders dubious any judgments that depend in important ways on the form of the documents.

A second example from the letters of Gregory is instructive on another aspect of the importance of context. In June of 595 Gregory wrote to Patriarch John of Constantinople to complain about his use of the title "ecumenical."[31] The fact that this letter was written shortly before the inception of the mission to England was further evidence, for Ullmann, of Gregory's claim to *principatus*.[32] On the contrary, as Robert Markus has shown, objections to the use of the word "ecumenical" are explicitly stated by Gregory himself, in the very letter under consideration, to have been raised by his predecessor Pelagius II.[33] There is, thus, no programmatic link between the different events of 595. Moreover, in a letter to Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria, also written in June of 595, Gregory explained precisely why he objected to the use of the title "ecumenical" in Constantinople.[34] As he pointed

[29]*The Growth of Papal Government*, p. 37.

[30]Robert Markus, "Gregory the Great's Europe," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 31 (1981), 28–29; cf. Franz Dölger, "Die Familie der Könige im Mittelalter," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 60 (1940), 397–420, and Angenendt, *Kaiserherrschaft und Königstaufe: Kaiser, Könige und Päpste als geistliche Patrone in der abendländischen Missionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1984).

[31]*Registrum*, 5.44, edd. Ewald and Hartmann, 1, pp. 338–343: "Sed quo ausu quove tumore nescio, novum sibi conata est nomen arripere, unde omnium fratrum corda potuissent ad scandalum pervenire" (pp. 338–339).

[32]*Papal Government*, pp. 36–37.

[33]"Gregory the Great's Europe," pp. 29–32. The key passage of Gregory's letter reads: "Et quidem hac de re sanctae memoriae decessoris mei Pelagii gravia ad sanctitatem vestram [note well how the proprieties are observed] scripta transmissa sunt, in quibus synodi, quae apud vos . . . congregata est, *propter nefandum elationis vocabulum* acta dissolverent . . ." (emphasis added). The date will have been 587 or 588.

[34]*Registrum*, 5.41, edd. Ewald and Hartmann, 1.332: Gregory explains events in Constantinople in the time of Pelagius II, points out that after the Council of Chalcedon (451) the popes no longer used the title "ecumenical," and then continues: "Sed nullus umquam decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit, quia videlicet, si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen ceteris derogatur. Sed absit hoc, absit a Christiana mente id sibi velle quempiam arripere, unde honorem fratrum

out, the popes themselves eschewed the title. Indeed, no single bishop should use it, for universality belonged to all bishops simultaneously. The use of the title "universal" by any one bishop was an affront not to another individual bishop, but to the episcopal office and dignity. Here we have a case where a "linear" claim of *principatus* was achieved by wrenching a letter out of its conceptual and chronological moorings.

The ninth century provides additional, revealing examples of the need to contextualize papal pronouncements. Nicholas I, called by Ullmann "the personification of an idea,"[35] once said, "We stand trembling when we think that at the last judgment we shall give account for and on behalf of all who are held to bear the name of Christian."[36] Nicholas may have been making a remark of universal application, or he may have been answering the claim of the Carolingian rulers to be themselves responsible for the souls of those committed to their care.[37] He may have been making a juridical point, or he may have been echoing the deeply pastoral sentiments of Gregory I, as expressed in that pope's *Regula Pastoralis*. Nicholas also called the Roman Church the "caput omnium ecclesiarum" and said the popes were "principes super omnem terram."[38] The former term reflects language that goes back to Pope Innocent I and to the Council of Chalcedon, and that is often and interestingly exchangeable with terms such as "mater omnium ecclesiarum" or "magistra omnium ecclesiarum."[39] The idea of the pope, or of the papacy, as "mother and mistress" has never been fully explored.[40] Once again, detailed studies that are sensitive to context will be necessary.

Nicholas contended often with the Frankish clergy, especially with Hincmar of Reims. The first major case involving the two concerned Hincmar's deposition of Bishop Rothad of Soissons. Rothad appealed

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suorum imminere ex quantulacumque parte videatur. Cum ergo nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere, pensate, quam ignominiosum sit hunc sibi quempiam violenter usurpare voluisse."

[35]*Papal Government*, p. 191.

[36]Nicholas I, ep. 86, ed. Ernst Perels (MGH, Epp. 6: Epistolae Karolini Aevi 4 [Berlin, 1902]), p. 447.

[37]Noble, "The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious," *Revue Bénédictine*, 86 (1976), 235–250.

[38]Epp. 86 and 29, MGH, Epp. 6, pp. 447, 296.

[39]Maccarrone, "La teologia del primato romano del secolo XI," in his *Romana Ecclesia, Cathedra Petri*, pp. 546–549.

[40]Cf. John XXIII, *Mater et Magistra* (1961), a document almost wholly concerned with moral issues that could be lumped under the heading of "social justice."

to Rome and, according to Ullmann, "Hincmar's high-handed dealings with Rothad . . . gave the pope the opportunity of proclaiming the supreme jurisdictional powers of the Roman Church in a major case, such as the deposition of a bishop."[41] Perhaps. But Hincmar certainly denied any such jurisdictional supremacy, and although Rothad was reinstated, both Nicholas and Hincmar carefully avoided drawing any universal implications from this difficult case. Nicholas mainly wanted to establish that Rome should be consulted before bishops were disciplined, and Hincmar tried to maintain the ordinary jurisdiction of a metropolitan.[42] Moreover, this was precisely the time when a clever forger, maybe a team of forgers, produced the "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals." Among many themes raised in those remarkable texts, this one was central: Suffragan bishops had a right to appeal to Rome against their metropolitans.[43] To found that right, the forgers had to invent documents. A universal right of appeal to Rome did not exist. Nor could the forgers refer to a generally applicable papal primacy. The middle decades of the ninth century were, in short, a period of insti-

[41]*Papal Government*, p. 195.

[42]For a sensitive, although in my view slightly exaggerated, reading of Frankish attitudes toward Roman authority see Kevin Kennedy, "The Permanence of an Idea: Three Ninth-Century Frankish Ecclesiastics and the Authority of the Roman See," in Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich. Studien zu Theologie, Politik und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrfit für Friedrich Kempf* (Sigmaringen, 1983), pp. 105–116. Angenendt, "Princeps Imperii—Princeps Apostolorum," pp. 25–33, 34–38, stresses that in the second half of the ninth century the Frankish episcopate was trying to "activate the potential" of the (archi-)episcopal office, and that its struggles with the papacy were unintended consequences of that attempt. Yet Gerhard Schmitz, "Concilium Perfectum: Überlegungen zum Konzilsverständnis Hinkmars von Reims (845–882)," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, kanonistische Abteilung* 66 (1979), 27–54, shows that Hincmar, at least, was unwilling in principle to concede the need for papal supervision or corroboration of Frankish episcopal synods. For further discussion of Hincmar's views on this crucial matter see Hermann Josef Sieben, *Der Konzilsidee der alten Kirche* ("Konziliengeschichte," Reihe B: Untersuchungen, ed. Walter Brandmüller [Paderborn, 1979]), pp. 15–44, and Wilfried Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankreich und in Italien* ("Konziliengeschichte," Reihe A: Darstellungen, ed. Brandmüller [Paderborn, 1989]), pp. 245–330. The late antique background is studied in detail by Myron Wojtowytsch, *Papsttum und Konzile von den Anfängen bis zu Leo I (440–461): Studien zur Entstehung der Überordnung des Papstes über Konzile* ("Päpste und Papsttum," Vol. 17 [Stuttgart, 1981]), a thorough and learned study that is, I think, too rigid. Unresolved in my view remains the question of whether Hincmar and Nicholas were arguing on the basis of fundamental principles or simply seeking *ad hoc* solutions to thorny and immediate problems.

[43]Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit* (Schriften der MGH, Vol. 24.1–3 [Stuttgart, 1972, 1973, 1974]), vol. 24.1, pp. 195–236, vol. 24.2, pp. 237–288.

tutional uncertainty and redefinition. With language that was sometimes pastoral and sometimes juridical, prominent churchmen were trying to lay down rules precisely because no unambiguous ones existed.[44] The *Wirklichkeit* in all of this is that popes were rarely able to coerce members of the Frankish clergy, and that the papal *Idee* was generally articulated in the white heat of contention. Sensitivity to context is, once again, essential.

We noted earlier that Nicholas I once said that he would someday have to give account for all Christians. Leo IV spoke similarly when he said, "We received the pontifical summit so that we might have care and concern for everything that is to be found in the world."[45] While some would wish to read these statements as expressions of jurisdictional primacy, I would like to suggest another possibility. Gregory I, as is well known, styled himself *Servus servorum Dei.* His enormously influential *Regula Pastoralis* is, as Robert Markus expressively puts it, "soaked in the ministerial notion of ecclesiastical office."[46] Priestly ministry was fundamentally to be exercised to save souls. Gregory II told the Byzantine emperor that his iconoclastic decrees endangered the souls of those entrusted to their care.[47] Gregory III expressed to Boniface his joy at the number of souls won by the efforts of the great missionary.[48] Hadrian I, speaking to Charlemagne of his provisional endorsement of the second Council of Nicaea (787), spoke in especially moving terms: "If we had not accepted it [the council], and if they had returned to the vomit of their initial error, who besides us alone before the terrible and awesome scrutiny of divine judgment would have to lay down an account for the loss of so many thousands of Christian souls?" He went on to say, "We

[44]Problems of definition are well characterized by Karl F. Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought* (Princeton, 1964), pp. 3–9.

[45]Leo IV, ep. no. 10 MGH, Epp. 5: Epistolae Karolini Aevi 2, p. 589.

[46]Markus, "Hierarchy," p. 4.

[47]Jaffé, *RP*, nos. 2180, 2182. There is a formidable controversy surrounding the authenticity of these letters and the question of whether they were written initially in Greek. A recently challenged consensus held that they are essentially authentic: J. Gouillard, "Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: Le témoinage de Grégoire II?," *Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines: Travaux et Mémoires*, 3 (1968), 243–307; Hans Grotz, "Beobachtungen zu den zwei Briefen Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leo III.," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 18 (1980), 9–40. Helmut Michels, "Zur Echtheit der Briefe Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leo III.," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 99 (1988), 376–391, now raises serious objections to the reigning view. I am not yet persuaded by all of his arguments, but he makes it clear that the whole question has been imperfectly understood.

[48]Jaffé, *RP*, nos. 2239, 2251, are good examples.

desire much more to save souls and to preserve the faith than to possess authority in this world."[49] Gregory IV undertook, in the political strife of the 830's, to reconcile those who had disturbed the peace of the Christian world, for contention was sinful and dangerous to the soul.[50] When Nicholas I intervened in the matter of the divorce case of Lothair II he did so, he said, to fulfill his responsibilities, to uphold the sanctity of marriage, and to guard the souls of those whose sinful conduct might lead to perdition.[51] This kind of pastoral, ministerial language is just as prominent in early medieval papal letters as the kind of jurisdictional language I already discussed. It has hardly been investigated. And it reaches right back to Leo I, usually and rightly seen as a prime initiator of the idea of papal jurisdictional primacy, who preached movingly to those "wishing to entrust the salvation of their souls to his pastoral sollicitude."[52] The whole case of Lothair's divorce has ordinarily been interpreted in terms of either politics or law. Yet as Raymund Kottje has shown, Nicholas neither adverted nor responded to legal argumentation in issuing his decisions.[53] He worked on the basis of his understanding of the inherent duties, which I think may have meant the moral responsibilities more than the legal prerogatives, of his see.

Many unfortunate consequences have flowed from the long-standing tendency to read the papal letters almost exclusively as sources for legal, political, and diplomatic history. The form of the papal documents needs fuller, more precise investigation. The historical and institutional contexts in which documents were produced need to be considered carefully. How did the popes see themselves? How did they describe their office? Although seas of ink have been spilled over

[49]Hadrian I, ep. 1, MGH, Epp. 5, pp. 56, 57.

[50]Gregory IV ep. apud *Agobardi Lugdunensis Archiepiscopi Epistolae*, no. 17, MGH, Epp. 5, pp. 228–232. This letter is a dense net of contradictions. Lothair fetched Gregory from Rome to depose his father Louis. Gregory initially assumed that the bitterly divided Frankish world was genuinely placing a grave matter before him for resolution. He soon learned that he was wrong, and that a significant faction of the Frankish episcopate resented his intrusion. This acidulous letter is full of claims and counterclaims and serves well to show just how unclear, how context-bound, all assertions of power really were.

[51]Nicholas I, ep. 42, MGH, Epp. 6, pp. 315–316. There are many documents pertaining to this case. The one cited here is a good example.

[52]*Tractatus* 4.3–4, *Sancti Leonis magni romani pontificis tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. Antoine Chavasse (2 vols.; Corpus Christianorum, Vols. 138–138A [Turnholt, 1973]), 1:18–19. I am grateful to John Van Engen for this reference.

[53]"Kirchliches Recht und päpstlicher Autoritätanspruch: Zu den Auseinandersetzung über die Ehe Lothars II.," in *Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf* (as in n. 42), pp. 97–103.

this subject, we are actually very far from having a proper appreciation of it.

It is high time for someone to tackle these two thousand documents as texts in the history of spirituality. It has often enough been noted that none of the early medieval successors of Gregory I rose to his level as a spiritual writer. Actually, it is safer to say that none wrote big books as Gregory did. Many popes produced letters that are sensitive, thoughtful, well written, and learned. But to date no one has entered into the spirit of these letters. The biblical culture of the early medieval popes will have to be thought about long and hard. Which books were most frequently cited? Which passages? Did certain kinds of problems routinely generate reference to specific biblical texts? Is there anything to be learned about scriptural study in Rome from papal citations of the Bible? Do papal letters use the same biblical versions as papal liturgies? Do papal letters reveal anything interesting about the biblical version in use at Rome at any given moment? Was papal spirituality more biblical than canonical or patristic? Does papal use of particular passages reflect adherence to or departure from specific patristic traditions? Gender analysis may prove revealing. Some of the terms the popes applied to themselves and their office are grammatically masculine. But church, *ecclesia*, is feminine, as are words such as *mater* and *magistra*. Much of the language that employs such terms is metaphorical. What are the referents of those metaphors? Are there particular patterns in their application? There are real opportunities here for serious and sophisticated research of a kind that has hardly been begun.

The Latinity of papal letters has never been studied across the whole early medieval period.[54] Given that there is no other body of evidence comparable in volume, locus, and nexus to the papal letters, this absence is remarkable and points, furthermore, to how little we actually know about cultural continuity and education in Rome and in the West generally. The rhetoric of papal letters has not been inves-

[54]Norberg has some important things to say about Gregory I in the preface to his edition of the *Registrum*. There is important material on Gregory in Michel Banniard, *Viva voce: Communication écrite et communication orale du iv^e^ au ix^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1992). Some perspectives on the pre-Gregorian period may be found in C. Silva-Tarouca, "Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei papi," *Gregorianum*, 12 (1931), 349–397. See also Conte, *Regesto* (as in n. 21). Some aspects of the later part of the period are discussed by Paul Rabikauskas, *Die römische Kuriale in der päpstlichen Kanzlei* ("Miscellaneae Historiae Pontificiae," Vol. 20 [Rome, 1958]). For controversies over Greek and Latin see above, n. 44, and Noble, "The Declining Knowledge of Greek in Early Medieval Rome," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 78 (1985), 56–62.

tigated. I mentioned above the possibilities for gender analysis, for the language of spirituality, and for the mobilization of metaphorical frames of reference. Papal invective deserves a close look too. Papal letters are often quite colorful—the blues and purples not omitted. Who got which shades? Might the structure of language tell us if a Byzantine emperor who meddles in dogma is worse than one who raised the taxes? Did a recalcitrant archbishop of Ravenna merit more or less abuse than, say, Hincmar? Papal forms of address—that is, the forms by which they addressed others—have never been systematically assembled and investigated. There are interesting possibilities here for political, diplomatic, cultural, and intellectual history.

As a last point on the subject of the letters, we need to learn how the popes themselves used them. Fuhrmann has noted that the early papal correspondence was mainly available in Rome in various collections such as that of Dionysius Exiguus or the *Collectio Avellana*.[55] Popes rarely cited their predecessors. This is an interesting point whose implications for self-representation, institutional memory, and bureaucratic practice deserve study, especially in the light of the work of proponents of a linear view of papal history. Often, however, popes silently incorporated material from earlier papal letters. Here is a subject that would surely repay close analysis. The work would be painstaking, but could today be accomplished, I think, by electronic means. The published collections of correspondence could be scanned on an optical character reader and the resulting data translated into a standard word-processing format. The material could then be systematically searched in all kinds of ways. In the next few years I will be experimenting with some of this material in just this way. I shall in due course make a preliminary report on my findings. My hope is to produce a single data-bank of the papal correspondence down to 1049. If it proves feasible at all, this project will not reach fruition for several years.

Critical studies today usually see particularity and discontinuity where in the past scholars saw coherence and tradition. It may prove useful to approach the more than 2,000 surviving papal letters as discrete texts, as fragments suspended in space and time. Linear views tend to tell us what we *must* find in these documents, and how the letters relate to institutional frameworks and historical developments. That is, it is sometimes difficult to say if the letters permit us to write and interpret history or if our preconceived views of history force us

[55]"Kirchliche Leben," pp. 427–431.

to read the letters in a certain way. Perhaps it is time to listen to what these letters might tell us, might insist on telling us, if we only let them speak for themselves. And, of course, we should also try to hear the silences in these letters, try to understand what they do not say. Only when we have listened to each letter will we be able to tell if their voices ever merge into a single chorus. Perhaps, in the end, there is another caution to be entered with respect to the papal letters. After all, and ironically, much has in the past been drawn from papal letters that represent only one voice in the many conversations in which the popes were engaged. We have very few letters of Frankish kings or of Byzantine emperors to popes, for example, but this has stopped no one—including me at times—from building elaborate theories of papal-imperial and Franko-papal relations.

Although the papal correspondence has not attracted the editorial attention that it deserves, the records of Roman synods have been more fortunate. Rudolf Riedinger has produced a superb new edition of the *acta* of the Lateran Synod of 649, which met to tackle the bitter theological strife occasioned by the actions of the emperors Heraclius I and Constans II.[56] Riedinger has demonstrated that the *acta* were written in Greek in the first place by Maximos the Confessor and then translated into Latin, read out, and approved by Martin I. Based on this new edition, work seeking to re-evaluate the theological life of seventh-century Rome, to locate the Roman community within the Church as a whole, and to understand the conceptual foundations for the actions of Theodore I and Martin I is in full swing.[57] Hubert Mordek has prepared a new edition of Gregory III's Roman Synod of April, 732.[58] Gregory's anti-iconoclast synod of November, 731, is generally well known, but the April synod, where Gregory announced his foundation of an oratory in St. Peter's and saw to its liturgical arrangements, is much less familiar to historians. Among many points that Mordek stresses, this one is crucial: The synod is dated only by indiction years

[56]*Concilium Lateranense anno 649 celebratum*, ed. Rudolf Riedinger ("Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum," Ser. 2, Vol. 1 [Berlin, 1984]).

[57]Pietro Conte, *Il sinodo lateranense dell'Ottobre 649: La nuova edizione degli atti a cura di Rudolf Riedinger: rassegna critica di fonti dei secoli VII-XII* ("Collezione teologica," Vol. 3 [Vatican City, 1989]); *Martino I Papa (649–653) e il suo tempo*, Atti del XXVIII convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10–13 Ottobre 1991 (Spoleto, 1992).

[58]"Rom, Byzanz und die Franken im 8. Jahrhundert: Zur Überlieferung und kirchenpolitischen Bedeutung der Synodus Romana Papst Gregors III. vom 732 (mit Edition)," Gerd Althoff *et al.* (eds.), *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter: Karl Schmid zum fünfundsechsigsten Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 123–156.

and not by the regnal years of the emperor. These documents are valuable for the organization of the Roman Church and for its relations with the West, in particular with the circle of Boniface. Finally, Letha Böhringer has discovered new manuscript evidence for the poorly transmitted Roman Synod of 769.[59] Her discovery helps to clarify some references in the correspondence of Hadrian I, reveals new (albeit inauthentic) sources that were being cited in defense of images, and raises some fascinating questions for art historians concerning Marian images in Rome. The results of these new studies will need to be brought into general circulation, and the Roman Synods of the ninth century, at least their manuscript transmissions, should be examined.

Moving away from questions that are essentially source-driven, I would like to raise two sets of issues that should attract historical study. The first concerns the ritual manifestations and representations of the papal regime, and the second involves the popes and the papacy as figures in the history of Rome and central Italy. Research in the second area is fully underway, and I wish to do no more than draw attention to it and nudge it in a few new directions. In the former case, ritual, there is a near-total neglect that, in view of current historical interests, is astonishing.

No definition of a ritual is likely to win universal assent. Let me, for the sake of discussion, suggest some components of a working definition. I would emphasize a repeated action carried out by specified persons in particular circumstances. I would also emphasize that the ritual should have both purposes and meanings. Purposes might involve accomplishing a task: introducing a ruler, for instance, or healing a community's divisions, or proclaiming a community's identity. Meanings might be both immediate and self-evident or remote, referential, and abstruse. In some ways, however, there must be connections between the purposes and the meanings of a ritual.

Several ritualized processes in papal Rome would lend themselves to close analysis. For instance, we have fairly detailed material for the reception accorded by papal Rome to Byzantine emperors or their representatives, to exarchs of Ravenna, to Frankish kings and emperors, and to churchmen of every sort from wandering Englishmen like Wilfrid and Boniface to fugitive iconodule monks, or to Slavic missionaries.

[59]"Zwei Fragmente der römischen Synode von 769 im Codex London, British Library Add. 16413," Hubert Mordek (ed.), *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken: Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag* ("Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte," Vol. 3 [Frankfurt, 1992]), pp. 93–105.

All of this is well known. But to date no historian has troubled to assemble the data and to reflect creatively on them. Regimes rarely define themselves more precisely than in those moments when they encounter outsiders. A sensitive study of the ritual encounters in early medieval papal Rome would surely contribute powerfully to our understanding of papal self-understanding and representation.

Pursuing this point a bit, it is possible to say that the foreign policy and diplomacy of the early medieval papacy has not been studied in detail with a view to extracting general principles. I have already said that it is a shame that so much existing historical writing tends to reduce the history of the papacy to a kind of diplomatic history. I am not contradicting myself, because I have in mind two rather different ideas of the kind of work that needs to be done. First, foreign relations—as we would call them—should not be studied almost exclusively as a subset of papal jurisdictional primacy. Instead, the popes and their incipient state should be set into the context of early medieval foreign relations as a whole. Indeed, there is no thorough and thoughtful history of early medieval foreign relations.[60] Second, diplomacy can be separated for purposes of analysis from foreign relations and viewed as the set of protocols, behaviors, and processes that attend the meetings of two or more official figures. Here I return to the subject of ritual.

Papal elections followed prescribed practices, involved specific individuals, and took place in certain spaces. They were, in our period, not infrequently tumultuous. Political and institutional historians have mined the sources and have told us most of what can be said from their point of view.[61] A papal election began in a sense with the

[60]The work of T. C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux croisades* (Athens, 1980), is too limited to count as a general history. F. L. Ganshof, *The Middle Ages: A History of International Relations*, trans. Rémy Inglis Hall (New York, 1970), pp. 19–55, treats the whole early medieval period in two brief chapters. Donald Queller's fine book, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967), has no detailed treatment of the early medieval period, when, its author believes, the formal diplomatic procedures of later times were not yet in evidence. That contention may or may not be true, but it should not be taken to mean that there is nothing there to study. For a fine example of how to study early medieval diplomacy see Michael McCormick, "Diplomacy and the Carolingian Encounter with Byzantium down to the Accession of Charles the Bald," in Bernard McGinn and Willemien Otten (eds.), *Eriugena: East and West*, Papers of the Eighth International Colloquium of the Society for the Promotion of Eriugenian Studies, Chicago and Notre Dame, 18–20 October 1991 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1994), pp. 15–48.

[61]Nicholas Gussone, *Thron und Inthronisation des Papstes von den Anfängen bis*

obsequies for the dead pope and concluded with the consecration of a new one. Here is Turnerian liminality.[62] The whole electoral process is an inauguration ritual. Such rituals have been studied from Polynesia to the American presidency, but the early medieval papacy has escaped attention.[63]

Michael Borgolte has recently devoted a thick book to papal burials.[64] His primary focus rests upon what can be learned about papal ideology at any moment from the location selected by a given pope for his tomb. Although Borgolte is not blind to the rich topic of papal funerals, he chooses not to examine systematically and in detail the "social" dimension of the problem. It goes without saying that every pope who was elected died. But it deserves to be said that the obsequies of each pope brought together segments of the people and clergy of Rome in a solemn ritual encounter. There is room for a student to follow Borgolte's own well marked path in an attempt to explicate those encounters.

The *Ordines Romani*, superbly edited by Michel Andrieu, open with a text, *Ordo Romanus I*, which contains remarkably detailed information on the organization of the liturgical life of papal Rome.[65] Of course, any eucharistic liturgy is a ritual and can be interpreted as such. But the routines of papal Rome, which found the title priests serving in four of Rome's patriarchal basilicas, the suburbicarian bishops serving in the Lateran, the basilican monks serving in all five of the patriarchal basilicas, and the glittering papal entourage celebrating

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zum 12. Jahrhundert: Zur Beziehung zwischen Herrschaftszeichen und bildhaften Begriffen, Recht und Liturgie im christlichen Verständnis von Wort und Wirklichkeit ("Bonner historische Forschungen," Vol. 41 [Bonn, 1978]), delivers much, but less than its title implies. Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 188–205, investigates the mainly political aspects of the elections in the period 680–825. The rest of the ninth century still needs a study along these lines, but this is in any case different from the issue being discussed here.

[62]The reference is meant to evoke Victor Turner's works, such as, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, New York, 1974). In this book, and in others, Turner developed the ideas of Arnold van Gennep.

[63]See in particular Janet L. Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," and "Inauguration Rituals," in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 259–281, 282–307, with abundant references both medieval and non-medieval.

[64]*Petrus Nachfolge und Kaiserimitation: Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung* ("Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte," Vol. 95 [Göttingen, 1989]).

[65]*Ordo Romanus I*, ed. Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge* ("Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense," Vol. 23 [Louvain, 1948]), pp. 67–108.

stations throughout the year all over the city, were unusually complex.[66] Here people, rites, and spaces were intertwined in a system that has, so far, attracted primarily the interest of historians of liturgy. Liturgical sources can be terrifying to ordinary historians, and liturgists are not conspicuous for their receptivity to outside meddlers in their arcane science. Still, there is important work to do here.

The pontificate of Leo IV witnessed an unusual ritual whose interpretative possibilities have recently been opened up by Federico Marazzi. After the Muslim raid on Rome in 846, Leo organized a band of Neapolitans, Amalfitans, and Gaetans to drive off the attackers.[67] A little later, "the whole nobility of Rome" asked Leo to take thought for the church of St. Peter, which was of course across the Tiber and outside the city walls. Leo turned first to the Emperor Lothair for financial assistance and then sought the support of "all the faithful," as well as of Roman monasteries.[68] Within a short time a massive circuit of walls had been erected: forty feet high, twelve feet thick, and surmounted by forty-four towers.[69] Then, in the words of Leo's biographer:

> The blessed pope, in order that the above mentioned city, called by its founder after his own name 'Leonine,' might perpetually stand firm and strong, ordered that everyone, bishops and priests, every deacon, all the orders of the clergy of the holy, apostolic Roman Church, with great devotion and joyful hearts, after singing litanies and psalms should, barefooted and bearing ashes on their foreheads, make a circuit of the entire walls with him. Meanwhile, he instructed other cardinal bishops to bless water so that in the midst of the procession they might, during the offices of prayer, cast that water on the walls for the sake of their complete sanctification.[70]

The text goes on to say that Leo stopped three times during this procession to offer prayers at the gates in the city walls. The pope called on God and St. Peter to protect this new city, the Roman Church, and all the people of Rome. The pope then led this vast concourse to St. Peter's, distributing money all the while. Then, at the basilica, the

[66]For a wide-ranging introduction to these arrangements see Noble, *Republic of St. Peter*, pp. 212–217, with further literature. For an introduction to the specifically liturgical area see Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, 2d ed., trans. John Halliburton (Oxford, 1979), pp. 59–77.

[67]*Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne (repr. Paris, 1955), vol. 2, pp. 117–118 (hereafter *LP*).

[68]*Ibid.*, pp. 123–124.

[69]*Ibid.*, p. 123; see also Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 117–120.

[70]*LP*, p. 124.

pope and the clergy celebrated a Mass for the people and the city. The Roman nobles then made massive donations. It seems, finally, that celebrations of some sort continued to be carried out all over the city.

This passage alone ought to have attracted more attention, and it is not isolated. Leo IV carried out other building projects that were attended by rites for which we have at least fragmentary evidence. Gregory IV built his "Gregoriopolis" near Ostia, and John VIII built a small *borgo* around San Paolo fuori le mura, Johannipolis, replete with inscriptions lauding the "proceres togati," the "plebs sacrata Dei," and John himself.[71]

Chiara Frugoni seems to think that the early medieval city was thought of only as a ring of walls, as an empty fortress, as an ideogram.[72] She works from a handful of artistic representations to which she devotes prodigies of overinterpretation. Marazzi, on the contrary, has done the hard work of assembling and collating written, epigraphic, and archaeological information to arrive at a more satisfying picture of the buoyant expressiveness of early medieval Rome. But where is the Sabine MacCormack, Michael McCormick, Averil Cameron, Jinty Nelson, Frederick Paxton, or Geoffrey Koziol to interpret these remarkable ritual representations?[73] We have barely made a start on explaining what such rituals might mean, or how they might "mean."

The Roman ecclesiastical scene was always a rich and multi-colored one, but before the high Middle Ages the papacy has virtually monopolized the attention of scholars. At the end of the eighth century, for example, there were nearly two hundred churches in Rome. Only the five patriarchal basilicas, the twenty-eight title churches, and, more loosely, the basilican monasteries and the *diaconiae* (charitable foundations) made up the *Sancta Romana Ecclesia*—the pope's ecclesiastical corporation, as it were—in the strict sense. What kinds of spiritual, institutional, social, and economic life gathered around all those other churches? For many, perhaps most, of them we shall simply never know because evidence is lacking. But a significant portion of

[71]Federico Marazzi, "Le 'città nuove' pontificie e l'insediamento laziale nel IX secolo," in R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.), *La Storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (vi-x secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* ("Bibliotheca di Archeologia Medievale" [Florence, 1994]). I am grateful to Federico Marazzi for sending me a typescript of this fascinating paper in advance of its publication.

[72]Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City: Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. William McCuaig (Princeton, 1991), esp. chaps. 1 and 2.

[73]I merely mention some scholars who have treated late antique and early medieval rituals in recent years and in English.

those churches were monasteries, and about these evidence is available even if it is widely scattered both topographically and chronologically as well as frustratingly ambiguous in meaning.

The history of Roman monasticism itself is a subject badly in need of comprehensive analysis. Actually, thanks to the magnificent work of Jean-Marie Sansterre, the Greek monasteries of Rome are now well known and solidly understood.[74] Latin monasticism, however, is not much better understood today than it was when Guy Ferrari published his *catalogue raisonné* of Roman monasteries in 1957.[75] If we had a complete picture of Roman monasticism we could then situate the papacy somewhere in the tableau. The reasons for attempting this process are not far to seek. Several popes were educated in monasteries. More than one pope founded a monastery—Gregory I comes immediately to mind, and Paul I is another good example. Many popes made generous donations to Roman monasteries (for some of the implications of this activity see below). Popes routinely used monks as ambassadors, for instance, to Nicaea II in 787 and to the Frankish court. A whole group of monasteries was organized around Rome's patriarchal basilicas to see to the continuous psalmody in those settings. Greek monasteries, in particular, provided men and books that afforded continuous access to the twists and turns of Byzantine theological and ecclesiastical policy. Finally, even the realm of ritual offers some tantalizing possibilities. Each year "secundum consuetudinem," Hadrian II held a banquet (*refectio*) for the Greek and other foreign monks on the Friday after the third Sunday before Lent.[76] Might other such practices be discovered by careful study? In any event, the hows, whys, whens, and wherefores of papal relations with Roman monasticism are all awaiting their historian.

[74]*Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e siècle-fin du IX^e siècle* (2 vols.; Académie royale de Belgique: Mémoires de la classe des lettres, 2d sér., Vol. 66 [Brussels, 1983]). There is a résumé of some of Sansterre's major conclusions in "Le monachisme byzantin à Rome," *SSCI*, 34 (1988), 701–745.

[75]*Early Roman Monasteries: Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century* ("Studi di antichità cristiana," Vol. 23 [Vatican City, 1957]). There are scattered references in Gregorio Penco, *Storia del monachesimo in Italia dalle origini alla fine del medioevo*, 2d ed. (Milan, 1983). Two studies that point in useful directions are Réginald Grégoire, "Monaci e monasteri in Roma nei secoli VI-VII," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 104 (1981), 5–24; Letizia Pani Ermini, "Testimonianze archeologiche di monasteri a Roma nell'alto medioevo," *ibid.*, pp. 25–45. See below for further comments on the value of archaeological research for the general history of papal Rome.

[76]*LP*, Vol. 2, p. 176.

If understanding papal rituals is work that might be done, then understanding the economic, political, and social place of the popes in their local environment is work that has absolutely flourished in recent years. Although some gains have accrued as historians have returned in new ways to written sources such as the *Liber Pontificalis*, most of the increase in our knowledge is attributable to two generations of archaeologists who have made the territory around Rome the most comprehensively investigated and, accordingly, best understood region in early medieval Europe.[77] Obviously, I cannot follow up every lead in the vast literature, but I can offer a few suggestions.

There are strong reasons for beginning with the economy. Although many details remain to be filled in, the overall picture of Rome's economic development seems clear enough. The seventh century was a period of depression and turmoil. Lombard pressures, Byzantine exactions, and the collapse of the older Mediterranean commercial network contributed to general demographic collapse, specific rural depopulation, shrinking trade, and a virtual disappearance of local markets. Archaeologists have found few coins from this period, and they are of poor quality and constantly declining pure metal content. The pottery of the age is coarse in the extreme. Almost none of the kinds of foreign goods that would suggest commercial connections have been found. Building projects are impossible to detect. Everything looks bad.[78]

[77]Paolo Delogu and Lidia Paroli (eds.), *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici* (Bibliotheca di Archeologia Medievale [Florence, 1993]), is an outstanding starting point. The contribution by Richard Hodges, "The Riddle of St. Peter's Republic," pp. 353–367, provides a brief appreciation of the development of medieval Roman archaeology.

[78]See Delogu and Paroli, *La storia economica di Roma*. Delogu's opening essay, "La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo: Introduzione al seminario," pp. 11–29 is a good *tour d'horizon*. Important too are Marazzi, "Roma, il Lazio, il Mediterraneo: relazioni fra economia e politica dal VII al IX secolo," pp. 267–285, and Hodges, "The Riddle of St. Peter's Republic," pp. 353–366. Crucial on trade is Dietrich Claude, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters* ("Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen," philosophisch-historische Klasse, 3d ser., Vol. 144 [Göttingen, 1985]). See also Marazzi, "L'insediamento nel suburbio di Roma fra IV e VII secolo," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 94 (1988), 251–313; and "Il conflitto fra Leone III Isaurico e il papato fra il 725 e il 733, e il 'Definitivo' inizio del medioevo a Roma: Un'ipotesi in discussione," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 59 (1991), 231–257. The possibilities for studying rural settlement are displayed to good effect for one complex of papal properties in southern Tuscany in Joselita Raspi Serra and Caterina Laganara Fabiano, *Economia e territorio: Il Patrimonium Beati Petri nella Tuscia* ("Storia e teoria dell'arte," Vol. 1 [Naples, 1987]).

Scholars argue vigorously over the size of Rome's population in the eighth century, but Krautheimer's estimates of 30,000–40,000 after the Gothic Wars, 90,000 in the time of Gregory I, and slow decline thereafter continue to be widely cited.[79] These people had become the wards of the papacy. As a result of actions that have left no documentary trace, the papal administration had, by the time of Gregory I, assumed, or had been assigned, responsibility for provisioning Rome.[80] The economic dislocations of the seventh century weighed heavily on the popes. The papacy was able to provide for Rome's victualing through its extensive patrimonies in central Italy with, on many occasions, valuable supplements, in cash or in kind, from Sicily and North Africa. The Byzantine settlement of soldiers in central Italy, coupled with heavy taxation, put the papacy's landed wealth at risk at every moment. The loss of North Africa to the Arabs was a real blow to papal fortunes, but the greatest shocks came in the eighth century.

In what Marazzi has called the "*terremoto*" of 726–732, the Byzantine emperor Leo III forced the papacy onto a new path of historical development. By seizing the papacy's rich southern Italian and Sicilian patrimonies, and by stripping the popes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in those regions and also in Dalmatia, the emperors forced the popes back on the slender resources of central Italy. The papacy responded by leasing a good deal of its land, possibly land that had not yet been fully exploited. The leases went to military officers of the formerly Byzantine army in the Duchy of Rome.[81] But where did the farmers come from? Here is a question awaiting an answer. Leased lands are always hard to control; so the popes, beginning with Zachary, also developed a new form of rural estate, the *Domuscultae*.[82] These were

[79]*Rome*, p. 65. For problems see Hodges, "Riddle," pp. 356–357. Girolamo Arnaldi and Marazzi decline to hazard a guess: "Rom," *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 10 (Munich, 1994), cols. 967–972.

[80]The question of whether late antique and early medieval bishops achieved their immense power by delegation or usurpation is still very much in suspense. See, for a start, Martin Heinzelmann, "Bischof und Herrschaft vom spätantiken Gallien bis zu den karolingischen Hausmaieren: Die institutionellen Grundlagen," in Friedrich Prinz (ed.), *Herrschaft und Kirche: Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organizationsformen* ("Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters," Vol. 33 [Stuttgart, 1988]), pp. 23–82.

[81]On the duchy see Bernard Bavant, "Le duché byzantin de Rome: Origine, durée et extension géographique," *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome: Moyen âge—temps modernes*, 91 (1979), 41–88.

[82]Marazzi, "Insediamento," pp. 303–308, and "Roma," pp. 274–278. See also Noble, *Republic*, pp. 246–249.

large estates, formed by gathering together scattered parcels of land in a given area. They were inalienable and exploited directly for the papacy. The settlers on the *Domuscultae* could be armed. Down to the middle of the ninth century, the popes continued to found and to reorganize the *Domuscultae*. In addition, the Lateran administration refined its food distribution mechanisms in Rome through the *Diaconiae*.[83]

By the last decades of the eighth century, the economic life of central Italy had changed dramatically. A fine new pottery, glazed forum ware, had appeared.[84] Hadrian I issued fine silver coins.[85] Rome's walls were twice repaired and numerous urban churches were refurbished. Works of art were donated to many churches by the papacy. Most impressive are the fabulous sums of gold and silver spent by the popes on their various projects.[86] Most puzzling, however, is the sudden and broad appearance of artistic styles and skills that had not recently been in evidence. Much has vanished without a trace. But we can still marvel at the speed and solidity of the building work of Leo IV. This would have done an ancient emperor proud. And we can look in awe at the mosaics of Paschal I. Where did the master builders and artists come from? It may be perfectly acceptable to attribute the early eighth-century work at Santa Maria Antiqua to Greeks.[87] But this favored explanation of art historians for almost everything interesting or unexpected in early medieval western art (apart, of course, from insular decorative features) just will not do for the period after about 780. Some hard thinking needs to be devoted to this subject.

Economic prosperity clearly continued well into the ninth century. Consider the massive building projects of Leo IV to which we referred in a different context already. What accounts for them? Although for-

[83]Marazzi, "Roma," pp. 274 ff.; Noble, *Republic*, pp. 231–234.

[84]Lidia Paroli, "Ceramica a vetrina pesante altomedievale (Forum Ware) e medievale (Sparse Glazed). Altre invetriate tardo-antiche e altomedievali," in Lucia Saguì and L. Paroli (eds.), *L'esedra della Crypta Balbi nel medioevo (XI–XV secolo)* ("Bibliotheca di Archeologia medievale," Vol. 6 [Florence, 1990]), pp. 314–356.

[85]Philip Grierson and Michael Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 262–263.

[86]Paolo Delogu, "The Rebirth of Rome in the 8th and 9th Centuries," in Richard Hodges and Brian Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700–1050* (CBA Research Report, Vol. 68 [London, 1988]), pp. 32–42; *idem*, "Oro e argento in Roma tra il VII ed il IX secolo," in *Cultura e società nell'Italia medievale: Studi per Paolo Brezzi* (Istituto Storico Italiano per il medioevo, Studi Storici, Vols. 184–187 [Rome, 1988]), pp. 273–293.

[87]Pietro Romanelli and Per Jonas Nordhagen, *Santa Maria Antiqua* (Rome, 1964).

tifications were being built to counter Muslim threats, the fact that Italy had been generally peaceful for decades was surely important. Certainly peace in Italy was important. The Franco-papal alliance relieved some of the sources of economic pressure that had beset Italy for generations. Paolo Delogu has characterized the Roman economy in the period, roughly, 760–860, this way.[88] The base was agricultural, but the system had been rationalized. The tenor of urban life improved as more and better goods appeared on the local scene. Eastern trade connections were reopened. A market reappeared at Rome, although only luxury goods have been identified as its products. Whether Rome had exports is not yet clear.

The papal administration was at the center of this economic activity. Some of the papacy's expendable wealth certainly came from its lands in central Italy. But for food to be turned into money there must be surpluses and markets. This needs study. The assumption by the papal regime of temporal rule must have meant financial gains from the exercise of public power. The sources are not promising, but this subject also needs study. Delogu attributes the first great spurt to Carolingian largess and to the continuing generosity of pilgrims. Certainly it is interesting in this connection that when Leo IV built the Leonine City he took the foreign *scholae*, the residences of foreign residents and visitors, under direct papal control.[89] Still, I am skeptical about attributing Rome's prosperity to northern money if we must limit that money mainly to occasional royal donations and regular pilgrims' offerings. The economic mechanisms of central Italian agriculture need more study. We must look harder for markets and for signs of market exchange. The integration of central Italy into both Carolingian and Mediterranean market systems needs investigation. From Charlemagne's conquest of Italy in 774 to the institution of the aristocratic, post-Carolingian kingships in the late ninth century, northern and central Italy was densely imbricated in the social and institutional life of the continent.[90] It is time for historians to explore the economic dimensions of this phenomenon. Consider too the enormous number of building projects undertaken in this period—"city

[88]"Introduzione," pp. 24–25.

[89]Some hints of this papal activity can be extracted from Luigi Schiaperelli, *Cartario di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, no. 2, in *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 24 (1901), 432–437.

[90]Work has tended to build on the foundations laid by Eduard Hlawitschka, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien 774–962: Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien* ("Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte," Vol. 8 [Freiburg, 1960]).

planning on a large scale" in Krautheimer's words.[91] It is hardly venturesome to suggest that the persons who did all the work were paid for their labors. What did they do with their money?

Turning to Roman society and politics, we must first admit that in the present state of research we can only grasp the elite. More work on settlement around Rome and on the economic history of Rome's whole region may bring into focus at least an impressionistic picture of the lives of ordinary people, but we are far short of being able to paint such a picture today. For the elite, on the other hand, the basic historical outlines are quite clear—perhaps, in the absence of detailed studies, too clear.

During the seventh century the Duchy of Rome was led by a secular administration of a combined civilian-military sort. Officers and soldiers were assigned lands and salaries and given responsibility for protecting the region and for assuring basic governmental services.[92] The ecclesiastical hierarchy centered on the pope had not yet attracted many members of the local aristocracy and contented itself mainly with normal matters of church government, although the alimentary provisioning of Rome involved the Church in a good deal of quasi-public business.

In the early years of the eighth century everything changed. The popes took the lead in fighting off Byzantine efforts to raise taxes. They also rejected the heretical doctrine of iconoclasm. Coupled with their control of vast stretches of central Italian land and their responsibility for Rome's population, these political acts put the popes at the head of a massive uprising that dissolved the institutional bonds between central Italy and the Byzantine Empire.[93]

One of the immediate consequences of the papal assumption of temporal rule in Italy was the entry into the Roman clergy of the local aristocracy. Pope Stephen II and his brother Paul I were the first demonstrably noble popes and, for more than a century thereafter, no pope can with absolute certainly be excluded from the Roman nobility.

[91]*Rome*, p. 111.

[92]The key study is T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers* (London, 1984); also Brown and Neil J. Christie, "Was There a Byzantine Model of Settlement in Italy?" *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, 101 (1989), 377–399. (The answer is "no.")

[93]Noble, *Republic*, pp. 15–60. Peter Llewellyn, "The Popes and the Constitution in the Eighth Century," *English Historical Review*, 100 (1986), 42–65, offers modifications of my thesis that I cannot accept. He sees the break with Byzantium after the 770's. For confirmation of my arguments from the economic point of view see Marazzi's studies cited above.

Our sources are less full than we would like, but they do reveal a pattern of factional strife that lasted right down to the days when John VIII was bludgeoned to death by opponents.[94]

The *Liber Pontificalis* provides a number of leads on how to think about and to explain the tumultuous politics of papal Rome. Family aggrandizement was an issue. Stephen and Paul were brothers, as noted. Hadrian I came from an old, rich family and, after his death, some of his relatives attacked his successor, Leo III. Popes Stephen IV, Sergius II, and Hadrian II were members of the same family and, when Sergius was ill for a time, his brother, in an unprecedented act, served as sort of regent. There were cracks between the clerical and the military sides of this nobility. Soldiers from south of Rome were involved in the electoral strife of 768–769 and again in the time of Sergius II. Envoys of Benedict III were, on their way to Constantinople, arrested by soldiers loyal to Bishop Arsenius of Porto, whose son had been bested by Benedict in the election of 855. Nicholas I and Hadrian II were both opposed by the party of Arsenius, and one of the murderers of John VIII was a military officer. Arsenius was, as a suburbicarian bishop, a member of the Lateran administration. This is why it is better to speak of factions than of lay and clerical parties. Allegiances cut across lines. Likewise, frequent references to an "imperial" party beginning in the bloody pontificate of Paschal I seem to apply to a shifting group in and around Rome.[95] The stress in the sources on the concern which the popes often displayed for Rome's "poor" and the support the popes enjoyed from those poor suggests the mobilization of the urban masses in local politics. In this connection it is well to remember Karl Bosl's argument that the early medieval "poor" were not so much those who lacked material goods as those who were without power and influence.[96] On this reckoning the poor people who supported one pope or another may well have been a loosely organized proletariat apt to be swayed by political changes. Finally, identifiable papal properties in the countryside around Rome began being attacked regularly in the latter years of the pontificate of Leo

[94]Noble, "The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 568–574.

[95]In addition to the refefences in the *LP* see *Libellus de imperia potestate in urbe Roma*, ed. Giuseppe Zuchetti ("Fonti per la storia di Roma," Vol. 55 [Rome, 1920]), pp. 197–198.

[96]"Potens et Pauper: Begriffsgeschichtliche Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Differenzierung im frühen Mittelalter und zum 'Pauperismus' des Hochmittelalters," in his *Frühformen der Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Munich, 1964), pp. 106–134.

III. It seems clear beyond doubt that the ringleaders of these attacks were local notables and not aggrieved peasants.

Here there is much work to do, and work of an interesting kind. The *Liber Pontificalis* and papal letters provide scattered but abundant scraps of information on clerical careers in eighth- and ninth-century Rome. If this material were systematically collected and examined, it would provide precious insights into the clerical side of the nobility. But, as just noted, there were factions. We often know something about the families from which the popes came and about where their families held lands. This information too could be assembled and then correlated closely with the history of rural disturbances. The popes were great patrons in Rome. Delogu has recently devoted himself to counting how much the popes spent. I think it might prove highly revealing to map where they spent it. That is, was there a pattern to papal largess and building projects—which in any urban context cannot be sharply separated from largess. Were certain neighborhoods favored or neglected? Did particular popes shower their generosity on areas where they, their families, or their supporters are otherwise known to have had interests? These are only a few of the many questions that can be asked about early medieval papal Rome with some good hope of finding reasonably satisfactory answers. Those answers could be built up into a social and political history of Rome unparalleled for any other non-Byzantine or non-Muslim city of the early Middle Ages. The intensely local dimension of papal history, which I am inclined to regard as its most important dimension in this period, can be presented in fuller and more vivid detail than ever before.

By way of conclusion, let me suggest the need for a clear understanding of the place of the papacy within the early medieval world. While it is perfectly true that I consider the streets of Rome a more important quarry than the wider world for the building blocks of papal history, it is also true that the popes did interact with that world. But when? How? Why? The confessional and "linear" traditions with which I began have made it almost impossible for us to see these issues correctly.

The papal role as the guardian of dogma has not been studied.[97] Early medieval popes did not see themselves as formulators of dogma.

[97]Kennedy, "Permanence of an Idea," pp. 109–110; Noble, "The Papacy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," pp. 577–583, and "Tradition and Learning in Search of Ideology: The Case of the *Libri Carolini*," in Richard E. Sullivan (ed.), *The Gentle Voices of Teachers: Aspects of Carolingian Learning* (Columbus, Ohio, forthcoming 1995).

Rather they believed that they had a duty to uphold the teaching arrived at by the great ecumenical councils of Late Antiquity, especially those from Nicaea to Chalcedon. It is interesting and important, therefore, to see that, on most occasions, when conciliar formulations were challenged, the popes refused to contend. This was true in connection with the Monothelite battles of the seventh century and the iconoclastic struggles of the eighth. Historians have sometimes said that the popes were too unsophisticated to follow the tortuous lucubrations of Byzantine divines, or that Rome lacked good libraries, or that the popes were regularly cowed or bought into submission. This is as good an explanation as we have for the apparent absence of learned papal response to doctrinal challenges. I have another. The popes refused to dignify heretics by responding to them in detail. Modern diplomatic services to do the same sort of thing all the time. Hadrian I did send Charlemagne a considered response to a draft of the *Libri Carolini*, but he gave no ground and attempted to win over his friend and ally whom he knew to be perfectly orthodox. It is especially interesting, therefore, to remember that in the so-called *filioque* controversy, Charlemagne and Hadrian agreed to disagree. The ninth-century Carolingian world saw lively theological debates on baptism, the eucharist, and predestination—to mention just three—and these were carried on entirely independently of Rome. Rome may have been the font of the faith, but people drew remarkably few drafts from that font.

Vast lands were won for the faith in the early Middle Ages. Apart from the work of Gregory I in initiating the English mission, there is absolutely no evidence for papal leadership in missionary endeavor.[98] Boniface, always more Roman than Rome itself, decided on his own to become a missionary and then to go to Rome. Carolingian rulers selected mission fields and missionaries and then sent the latter to Rome for blessing. Cyril and Methodius sought papal approval for a project that was well underway. Actually, it only looks as if there was a change after Gregory I if we assume that Bede's account of the papal initiation of the English mission can be trusted. It cannot be. The

[98]Richard E. Sullivan, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages," *Mediaeval Studies*, 17 (1955), 46–106, and "Khan Boris and the Conversion of Bulgaria: A Case Study of the Impact of Christianity on a Barbarian Society," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 3 (1966), 53–139. The papacy is not accorded separate treatment in Knut Schäferdiek (ed.), *Die Kirche des früheren Mittelalters*, Vol. 2 of *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1978). The index has only six entries under "Papsttum."

English mission may have been Celtic, Kentish, or Frankish in its origins, but it almost certainly was not Roman.[99] Bede's elaborate fiction needs to be deconstructed. In the end, though, it is clear that missionary work was not a notable area of papal interest or activity.

It is well known that people in the north turned to Rome for "authentic" books—I use the word in the way of Donald Bullough.[100] The English hauled back many books to England. The Carolingians sought books of canon law, liturgy, church readings, and monastic rule from Rome. They copied some of their buildings at Aachen, St. Denis, Lorsch, and Fulda on Roman models. Miniatures in some Carolingian manuscripts may reflect paintings or even architectural details from Rome. People from over the Alps were avid collectors of Roman relics. All of this is well known.[101] The problem is, how do we explain it?

As Cyrille Vogel once said, the papacy's attitude toward liturgical usages was, "Please yourself."[102] No pope attempted to impose Roman canon law on the north. In fact, in our period it is not clear that the popes knew exactly what Roman canon law was. The popes tried to control the flood of relics out of the city and its surrounding cemeteries, but did not initiate the flow of relics.[103] No pope suggested that Roman norms in painting or building ought to be adopted. And, apart from a few well-known cases, Roman influences on northern art and architecture are not impressive.[104]

[99]Henry Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 2d ed. (State College, Pennsylvania, 1991), pp. 51–68; Ian Wood, *The Merovingian North Sea* (Alingsås, 1983) and *The Merovingian Kingdoms, 450–751* (Harlow, 1994), pp. 176–179.

[100]Donald Bullough, "Roman Books and Carolingian Renovatio," in his *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), pp. 1–38.

[101]Excellent and complementary introductions are: Mario D'Onofrio, *Roma e Aquisgrana* ("Collana di Studi di Storia dell'Arte," Vol. 4 [Rome, 1983]), and Rudolph Schieffer, " 'Redeamus ad fontem': Rom als Hort authentischer Überlieferung im frühen Mittelalter," in Angenendt and Schieffer, *Caput et Fons* (above n. 9), pp. 45–70.

[102]"La réforme liturgique sous Charlemagne," in *Karl der Grosse*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff (Düsseldorf, 1966), Vol. 2, pp. 217–232.

[103]John M. McCulloh, "From Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change in Papal Relic Policy from the 6th to the 8th Century," in Ernst Dassmann and Karl Suso Frank (eds.), *Pietas: Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting* ("Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum," Vol. 8 [Münster, 1980]), pp. 313–324.

[104]The case for Roman influence was pushed as far as it can be by Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," in his *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), pp. 203–242. More restrained are the views of Lawrence Nees: "Art and Architecture," in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.),

So what place did Rome occupy in the minds of those who turned there for information and inspiration? Was it a source of law and order? Yes, but the canonical collection called the Dionysio-Hadriana had to be heavily edited, "Frankified," before it could be used,[105] and the same is true of the so-called Gregorian sacramentary.[106] The Bible has long been seen as the definitive source for the whole program of Carolingian cultural and spiritual renewal.[107] Is it not at least puzzling that there is no evidence that the Carolingians sought an "authentic" Bible from Rome? Did Rome represent unity? Undoubtedly, but the Carolingian world was always characterized, as Raymund Kottje says, by both unity and diversity.[108] Scholars have been somewhat more attracted to the study of the persistence of the idea of pagan, classical Rome, than of Christian Rome.[109] In a famous study Richard Krautheimer attempted to differentiate between these two Romes as components of the mental furniture of later times.[110] On the contrary, I believe that we have only begun to open up these subjects for serious investigation. Lawrence Nees's exploration of the Hercules legends is a start.[111] Worthwhile, but unequaled for the period under consideration here, is Heinrich Fichtenau's brief exploration of the reputation of the tenth-century popes.[112] We need much more. As we would be inclined to say today,

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The New Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 809–844, and "Carolingian Art and Politics," in Sullivan, *Gentle Voice of Teachers* (as in n. 97). I wish to thank Larry Nees for letting me see these important papers well before their appearance.

[105]Hubert Mordek, "Kirchenrechtliche Autoritäten im Mittelalter," in Peter Classen (ed.), *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* ("Vorträge und Forschungen," Vol. 23 [Sigmaringen, 1977]), pp. 237–255.

[106]Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien*, 2d ed. (3 vols.; Freiburg, 1979). For the specific matter raised here see *idem*, "Le 'supplément' au sacramentaire grégorien: Alcuin ou Saint Benoît d'Aniane?" *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 9 (1965), 48–71.

[107]John J. Contreni, "Carolingian Biblical Studies," in Uta Renate Blumenthal (ed.), *Carolingian Essays*, Andrew Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies (Washington, D.C., 1983), pp. 71–98.

[108]"Einheit und Vielfalt des kirchlichen Lebens in der Karolingerzeit," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 76 (1965), 324–342.

[109]Elisabeth Pfeil, *Fränkische und deutsche Romidee des frühen Mittelalters* ("Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen und neueren Geschichte," Vol. 3 [Munich, 1929]), and Fedor Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1926). Medieval attitudes toward Rome are badly in need of a modern study.

[110]See above, n. 104.

[111]Lawrence Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, 1991).

[112]"Vom Ansehen des Papsttums im zehnten Jahrhundert," in Mordek (ed.), *Aus Kirche und Reich* (as in n. 43), pp. 117–124.

an idea of Rome was "constructed" in northern Europe in the early Middle Ages and then exported to the eternal city in the tenth century. We need to take a closer look at the building site.

The enterprising student who turns to the standard papal histories will almost certainly be put off by them. They are dull, conventional, unhelpfully polemical. They reveal a history that seems not very much worth knowing. But if that same student were to listen in on other conversations that are going on now, or even start some new conversations, then he or she might happily deploy some of the favored questions and approaches of our time: Interdisciplinary research; patronage networks; the formation of social hierarchies; cross-cultural analysis; discourse theory; the construction of realities; the invention of traditions. Rarely is a field with so old and dense a historiography so ready for a new start.

ACTIVES AND CONTEMPLATIVES: THE FEMALE RELIGIOUS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES BEFORE AND AFTER TRENT

BY

CRAIG HARLINE*

The study of religious women in early modern Catholicism is now indisputably a growth-industry.[1] It is a good time, therefore, to con-

*Mr. Harline is an associate professor of history in Brigham Young University. He wishes to express his gratitude to Jodi Bilinkoff, Walter Simons, and Paula Kelly for their comments and bibliographical suggestions, as well as to the several institutions that have supported the research from which this article grew, especially the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, the University of Idaho Research Council, and the College of Family, Home, and Social Sciences at Brigham Young University.

Abbreviations: AAM = Archive of the Archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels
NAGN = *Nieuw Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*

[1]This article is based on secondary materials (especially works in English) for conditions outside the Low Countries, and on both archival and secondary materials for conditions within. For a more general review of the literature on female religious, see the opening bibliographical note to my *Burdens of Sister Margaret* (New York, 1994). A sample of useful works for the particular subject of contemplatives and actives includes, for the medieval period, Clifford H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (New York, 1984); Lina Eckenstein, *Women under Monasticism* (New York, 1963); Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1922); John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order... to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968); William A. Hinnebusch, O.P., *The History of the Dominican Order... to 1500* (New York, 1966); Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio, 1977); Lillian T. Shank and John A. Nichols (eds.), *Medieval Religious Women.* Vol. II: *Peaceweavers* (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1987); Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago, 1991); and, for an excellent introduction to the medieval actives in the Low Countries, Vols. III and IV of the new *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1979).

For the early modern period see Outram Evennett's assessment of religious in *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1968); such overviews as Joyce Irwin's "Society and the Sexes," in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis, 1982); Kathryn Norberg's "The Counter-Reformation and Women, Religious and Lay," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. John O'Malley (St. Louis, 1988); F. Ellen Weaver's "Women and Religion

front a lingering problem in the generally healthy enterprise: the relative development and importance of active and contemplative orders.

Three themes stand out in my reading of the historical literature on this subject: (1) that the first significant and lasting emergence of an "active" spirituality or apostolate among women religious occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, (2) that this type of spirituality was characteristic of early modern religious sensibilities, and (3) that the decrees and agents of the Council of Trent successfully militated—at least for many decades—against the involvement of women in an active apostolate and insisted that they submit to long-approved contemplative forms. My intent is not altogether to refute these themes, but to suggest possibilities for refinement and further research, especially through illustration of conditions in the Catholic Low Countries—an area where none of the themes is very useful at all.

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in Early Modern France," *Catholic Historical Review*, LXVII (January, 1981), 50–59; and such synthetic contributions as Owen Hufton and Frank Tallett, "Communities of Women, the Religious Life, and Public Service in Eighteenth-Century France," in *Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, eds. Marilyn J. Boxer *et al.* (Oxford, 1987); Merry Wiesner, "Nuns, Wives and Mothers: Women and the Reformation in Germany," in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*, ed. Sherrin Marshall (Bloomington, Indiana, 1989); Sherrin Marshall, "Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Women in the Early Modern Netherlands," in the same volume; William Monter, "Protestant Wives, Catholic Saints, and the Devil's Handmaid: Women in the Age of Reformations," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, 2d edition, edd. Renate Bridenthal *et al.* (Boston, 1987). Helpful specialized works were Robert Lemoine, *Le Droit des Religieux, du Concile de Trente aux Instituts Séculiers* (Paris, 1973); Ruth P. Liebowitz, "Virgins in the Service of Christ: The Dispute over an Active Apostolate for Women during the Counter Reformation," in *Women of Spirit*, edd. Rosemary Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York, 1979), pp. 131–152; Gene A. Brucker, "Monasteries, Friaries, and Nunneries in Quattrocento Florence," in *Christianity and the Renaissance*, edd. Timothy Verdon and John Henderson (Syracuse, New York, 1990), pp. 41–62; in the same volume Nicolai Rubinstein, "Lay Patronage and Observant Reform in Fifteenth-Century Florence," pp. 63–82; Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of St. Teresa* (Ithaca, New York, 1989); Roger Devos, *Vie Religieuse Féminine et Société* (Annecy, 1973); Claire Dolan, *Entre Tours et Clochers: Les gens d'Eglise à Aix-en-Provence au XVI^e^ siècle* (Sherbrooke, 1981); Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes* (Montreal, 1990); Geneviève Reynes, *Couvents des femmes. La vie des religieuses contemplatives dans la France des XVII^e^* et XVIII^e^ siècles (Paris, 1987); Colin Jones, *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in Ancien Régime and Revolutionary France* (New York, 1988).

I. The Emergence and Endurance of Medieval Active Orders

It is well known that there were plenty of medieval precedents—some of them born in the Low Countries—for the active orders that rose up in early modern Catholicism: the quasi-religious Beguines and Beghards of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the Friars of the thirteenth century, the lay Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life in the fourteenth. It is also known that the female sides of the extramural Franciscans and Dominicans were rapidly transformed into cloistered nuns, and that Beguines and others like them were pressured to join more structured orders.[2] Less clear, however—at least among early modernists—is that various active female orders in the Low Countries not only left a foundation for later groups to build upon, but persisted conspicuously themselves, throughout the later Middle Ages and beyond.[3] Arguably the most significant of these enduring orders were the Augustinian Hospital Sisters, the regularly rejuvenated Beguines, the Franciscan Grey Sisters, and the Augustinian Black Sisters.[4]

[2]Moorman, *op cit.*, chapters 18, 32, reviews how the Clares originally intended to follow Francis, but the first rule given them was simply that for female Benedictines, cloister and all. Hinnebusch, *op. cit.*, writes similarly in chapter 13 about Dominican women.

[3]Liebowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 136, notes the decline of medieval Beguines but not their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century renaissance. Lemoine, *op. cit.*, p. 40, asserts that save for a few Beguines in Flanders, the Middle Ages knew only "Moniales," or nuns, in cloister. Rapley, *op. cit.*, p. 6, argues that the "appropriation by religious women of this new and expanded teaching function was itself a tremendous novelty," and that "the church of the Counter-Reformation closed the door on a feminine teaching apostolate." Each may have been true in France, but Rapley herself notes (p. 95) that there was a "venerable" tradition of uncloistered and active nuns in the Low Countries. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 95, asserts that medieval hospital-orders were dying out in the early modern period—but this is less true in the Low Countries.

[4]Specialized works on the medieval and early modern religious of the Spanish Netherlands are numerous in Dutch and French. A good, recent overview in Dutch is Ernst Persoons, "Panorama van de reguliere clerus in de 17de eeuw," in *NAGN*, VIII, 383–392; see also Constant Van de Wiel, "De begijnhoven en de vrouwelijke kloostergemeenschappen in het aartsbisdom Mechelen, 1716–1801," *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, 44 (1970), 152–212, 241–327; 45 (1971), 179–214; 46 (1972), 278–344, 369–428. In French there are good assessments in Edouard de Moreau, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique* (5 vols.; Brussels, 1952), vol. 5 (1559–1633), and Alexandre Pasture, *La Restauration Religieuse aux Pays Bas sous les Archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596–1633)* (Leuven, 1925). Most studies focus on particular orders; a fuller list of these may be found in the bibliographical survey in my *Burdens of Sister Margaret*, but three others not discussed there are Walter Simons, "The Beguine Movement in the Southern Low Countries: A Reassessment," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, LIX (1989),

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a boom time for women religious in much of Europe.[5] For the Low Countries, one historian has called it an "explosion of female convents and beguinages." In the light of my purposes, it is not necessary to enter the debate among medievalists over whether this explosion was an expression of female self-consciousness in a male-dominated society, or whether it was a consequence of urban upheaval. But it is necessary to know that women established convents by the hundreds, often in the face of opposition from the males of the very orders they wished to join. This growth was manifest in contemplative orders—nearly sixty female Cistercian convents were founded in the Low Countries between the twelfth century and 1360, along with several houses of Clares—as well as in such new active orders as the Filles-Dieu (imported from France), the Penitents of Mary Magdalene, the famous Beguines,[6] and the less-renowned, gradually evolving Hospital Sisters (who began as "Cell-Sisters" in quite loosely arranged organizations, often working right alongside "Cell-Brothers").

The fourteenth century produced few new orders, but instead much argument over existing versions of religious life—these were the hard-fought observant controversies. What was the true version of this order or that, or the true calling of religious women generally? Among many other landmarks, we can point to Boniface VIII's bull *Periculoso*, issued in 1298, which proclaimed explicitly what had been suggested before and what would prevail as the theory for centuries: to be a true female religious required the taking of solemn vows, and living under strict *clausura*. Yet the bull did not put an end to the many faces of religious life; even though the Beguines of the Rhineland died out as they obediently became members of approved groups (often the Franciscan third order), the majority of Beguines in the Low Countries appear to have survived in their idiosyncratic fashion, thanks to the support of local bishops.[7] Despite regular (and usually distant) pronouncements

63–105; "Een zeker bestaan: de Zuidnederlandse begijnen en de *Frauenfrage*, 13de–18de eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis*, 17 (May, 1991), 125–146; and *Bedelordekloosters in het graafschap Vlaanderen... voor 1350* (Brugge, 1987).

[5]This review of trends in medieval Europe and the Low Countries is based largely on works listed in notes 1 and 4.

[6]One might quibble about the inclusion of Beguines among active religious; though they existed mainly to provide a quasi-religious environment for unmarried women, and had no clear apostolate beyond that, many ended up running hospitals and teaching school.

[7]One Netherlandish beguinage whose members in 1469 became third-order Franciscans was in Zichem; Van de Wiel, *op. cit.*, 46 (1972), 334. For divergent fates of

over the centuries that they enter less nebulous orders, Beguines remained a familiar part of the religious scene in the Catholic Netherlands into the twentieth century. Hospital Sisters, though yielding to pressure to join an existing Franciscan or Augustinian rule and to form separate communities from men, also survived in the southern Low Countries in an active capacity, playing visible roles in religious life and health care to the present day.

A few more new variations occurred during the fourteenth century—new at least in the Low Countries. One of the most noticeable on the active side was the oft-studied quasi-religious group that thrived alongside the Beguines: the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life. Many Sisters eventually chose to join the more withdrawn, monastic expression of this movement, the Congregation of Windesheim, but in their heyday the Sisters outnumbered the Brothers. The other and longer-lasting active group with fourteenth-century lineage was the so-called Grey Sisters.[8] These women blossomed within the Franciscan third order, a version of religious life originally intended for lay people who wished to lead a more devout existence, but whose worldly responsibilities made it impossible for them to enter the first (male) or second (female) order. Third-order members expressed their devotion by wearing penitential clothing, giving alms to the poor, and caring for the sick. Such Franciscan-inspired lay devotion extended well into the seventeenth century. But some other strains developed within the third order as well. Many members became attracted to elements of traditional monasticism—organizing themselves into separate male and female communities, reciting together the Divine Office, observing silence at stipulated times, and instituting a novitiate. Some women even practiced cloister. By 1377, cloistered female houses with members who took solemn monastic vows were officially recognized, and known as third-order regulars. Except for their poor-cousin status, these Franciscan women differed hardly at all from the second-order Clares.

And the story gets more complicated still. Some of the third-order women who sought a more traditional monastic style retained an

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beguines in the Low Countries and Rhineland see Simons, "The Beguine Movement," and Joanna E. Ziegler, "The *curtis* beguinages in the Southern Low Countries and art patronage: interpretation and historiography," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, LVII (1987), 31–70.

[8]Discussion of the Franciscan third order may be found in Moorman, *op. cit.* For the Grey Sisters of the Low Countries, refer again to *The Burdens of Sister Margaret*, bibliographical note to chapter 2.

active apostolate. Thus while living in community and taking vows and saying the Office they still engaged in charitable works—most notably in hospital care and, usually incidentally, the education of young girls. The exact number of these women, who were often called Grey Sisters, is not known,[9] but it is clear that the main feature of third-order growth during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was the spread of active houses, full of women who labored in the world but who at the same time observed routines characteristic of monasticism—and many of these houses functioned in the southern Low Countries until at least the French Revolution.

The fifteenth century marked another period of vitality, exemplified in the appearance of the Poor Clares, a strict, contemplative movement within the Franciscan second order,[10] and the active, Augustinian Black Sisters. The latter will hold our attention here. Most of these women seem to have had their origins in the old hospital movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but were distinguished by caring for the sick in the homes of the sick, rather than in a common hospital. It was only after 1400, and feeling pressure to attach themselves to a sanctioned order, that these women joined the Augustinian family. After the switch they were busier than ever. Their modest houses popped up in cities all over the Low Countries, and they persisted with their nursing in the southern regions through the French Revolution and even beyond.

Apparent in this review of the abiding active groups in the Low Countries—Hospital Sisters, Beguines, Grey Sisters, and Black Sisters—is that precise figures are still hard to come by, both for the total number of houses at a given time and the number of women in each house. Though it is plain enough that they made their presence felt in society, it is difficult to state this with precision. What is possible is to take a photographic view of the situation at the end of the Middle Ages in the southern Netherlands, the area that remained Catholic after the Reformation.[11]

[9]I speak in such general terms because the provenance of Grey Sisters, or of Hospital Sisters and Black Sisters, is notoriously complicated. For example, the Grey Sisters were so called because of their habits, but not all who wore grey were Franciscan Grey Sisters.

[10]*NAGN*, IV, 400, stresses the period 1437–1450 for Netherlandish Clares.

[11]If any single date can be said to mark the end of the medieval religious system in the Low Countries, then 1559 is it. It was then that Philip II revamped—against much opposition—the structure of Netherlandish Catholicism, mainly by adding thirteen new bishoprics to the existing four. The confessional disputes in the area reached their peak soon after, and the war of independence against Spain was imminent.

Several decades ago, Edouard de Moreau listed the religious institutions founded between 1120 and 1559 within the boundaries of what is now Belgium. From that list we find 235 female houses and 44 beguinages still intact at the latter date, representing 22 orders.[12] Of these 150 were contemplative houses (17 orders), and 129 active or quasi-religious (five orders).[13] Other historians have approximated that by the same date the four orders of active women here highlighted occupied about half of the total religious houses in the *cities* of the southern Netherlands—and virtually all of these active houses were in place before 1500. Though the figures are imprecise and have changed since Moreau wrote, they are reliable enough to indicate that the proportion of active houses with solid medieval roots is striking.

That still does not reveal how many women were in each house. Medieval Hertogendael boasted 77 Cistercian nuns.[14] Tihon, who had the best overall set of data, calculated that at the end of the eighteenth century the average size of all female religious houses, excluding the beguinages, was about 22,[15] a figure which comes up again and again in the preceding century as well.[16] But what of the Middle Ages? Swollen beguinages might contain several hundred women, yet hospitals numbered anywhere from four to ten sisters—and so it goes, with scattered figure after scattered figure. While these continue to roll in, we can say only that the presence of active *houses* is notable—and this despite the shift to a contemplative lifestyle by most of the Sisters of the Common Life, the Clares, and the Dominican nuns.[17]

[12]Moreau, *op. cit.*, especially the supplementary volume with maps and indices. Figures cited from Moreau for 1559 are 302 male and female convents combined, plus 44 beguinages, but I count 235 female houses, plus 44 beguinages, at that date. He lists about the same number of male houses. Carlo De Clerq, "Seculiere geestelijken, mannelijke en vrouwelijke religieuzen te lande," in *Flandria Nostra*, edd. Jan L. Broeckx *et al.*, Vol. 4 (Antwerp, 1959), pp. 113–117, puts the total number of male and female convents and beguinages at 553 in 1559—which is closer to my calculations.

[13]This latter figure consists of the four groups here singled out, plus Moreau's seventeen houses of Franciscan tertiaries. I think he has overlooked some Hospital Sisters—his total of fifteen could be found in the archdiocese of Mechelen alone at 1559. But then he makes no "active" or "contemplative" distinction among the thirty-four houses of Grey Sisters.

[14]Persoons, *op. cit.*, p. 384. After 1600 most Cistercian houses held twenty or so.

[15]André Tihon, "Les religieuses en Belgique du XVIII^{e} au XX^{e} siècle: approche statistique," *Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine*, 7 (1976), 18–21. He excluded the beguinages partly because of their marginal status and partly because they were usually so much larger than convents that including them would have skewed the statistics.

[16]See my *Burdens of Sister Margaret*, chapter 2. Also De Clerq, *op. cit.*, who finds twenty to thirty a very reasonable estimate.

[17]In the southern Netherlands the contemplative tradition seems to have been

A look at a smaller region, the new archdiocese of Mechelen, with its firmer boundaries and slightly less-vacillating set of numbers,[18] imitates the larger pattern.[19] When the archdiocese was created in 1559, it contained more than 400 parishes and roughly 135 to 150 monastic or quasi-monastic institutions; 75 to 85 of these were female. By about 1600, when the first and most damaging stage of the war with the Dutch had passed—a fact I note to emphasize that almost no new houses were established in the meantime—there remained in this overall number the following active female religious establishments:

Hospital and Leprosy Sisters: 19 houses
Beguinages: 11
Grey Sisters: 8 houses (7 active, 1 contemplative)
Black Sisters: 5 houses

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stronger than in the north. The medieval south (about 500 male and female institutions) contained more houses of Carmelites, Carthusians, and especially Benedictines and Cistercians, while the north (477 houses in the old archdiocese of Utrecht) included more Augustinian canons and canonesses, Franciscan third-order houses, and Dominicans. See Moreau, *op. cit.*, supplementary volume, and Volumes III and IV of the *NAGN*.

[18]Moreau, for instance, found thirty-four houses of Grey Sisters, but Henri Lemaître, "Les Soins Hospitaliers à Domicile, donnés dès le XIV[e] siècle par des Religieuses Franciscaines, Les Soeurs Noires et Les Soeurs Grises," *Revue d'histoire Franciscaine*, 1 (1924), 180–208, counted fifty. In "Statuts des Religieuses du Tiers Ordre Franciscain dites Soeurs Grises Hospitalières," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 4 (1911), 713–731, Lemaître estimated one hundred Grey-Sister houses in Flanders and northern France. Since this article was completed, a more detailed study has appeared which confirms the patterns described here, even raising the number of female houses within the Archdiocese of Mechelen: Jaak Okeley, "Regulieren, monialen en religieuzen in het aartsbisdom Mechelen in de Nieuwe Tijd," in *Mechliniensia in honorem Prof. Dr. Constantini Van de Wiel*, ed. Raphaël de Smedt (Mechelen, 1995), pp. 65–80.

[19]The figures for the archdiocese are based on my work in the archives of the Archdiocese of Mechelen; on Van de Wiel, *op. cit.*; on various printed inventories by Van der Wiel, such as "Franciscaanse Archiefbronnen in het Aartsbisschoppelijk Archief te Mechelen," *Franciscana*, 31 (1976), 9–35; 32 (1977), 39–58; 33 (1978), 129–142; Jozef de Brouwer, *Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis van het Godsdienstig Leven en de Kerkelijke Instellingen in het Land van Aalst tussen 1550 en 1621*... (Aalst, 1961); and Jaak Okeley, *De Gasthuiszusters en hun ziekenzorg in het Aartsbisdom Mechelen* (2 vols.; Brussels, 1992).

Michel Cloet *et al., Het Bisdom Gent (1559–1991): Vier Eeuwen Geschiedenis* (Ghent, 1991), p. 169, puts the total number of female houses in the diocese of Ghent at less than fifty, but that diocese had less than half the parishes of Mechelen; the proportion, therefore, was about the same. These numbers always depend, of course, on what kinds of establishments are counted as religious.

These 42 active and quasi-religious houses represented around half the female religious institutions in the entire archdiocese.[20] Many were partially or wholly destroyed by war, but particularly impressive is the fact that most were rebuilt after 1600 and that almost all remained committed to their apostolate through, again, at least the French Revolution.

As if describing this pattern of medieval growth and early modern survival were not difficult enough—and there remains plenty to do on this subject—trying to explain it is even more complicated. The story is long and involved, influenced by different events and conditions over many centuries. Some answers have emerged, but for the moment they raise as many problems as they solve.

A leading explanation for the flowering and stamina of active houses is that though *clausura* was an important ideal, it was obviously not universally accepted or observed. Steadfastness of purpose among active sisters, or mere stubbornness among contemplative women who sought to maintain customary freedoms, played their roles in various

[20]I list here the dates of foundation and suppression (if any). Especially the dates of origin should be preceded by "circa." See note 19 for the sources used.

Hospital Sisters (15): Aalst 1242–present, Asse 1290–1967, Brussels, St. Gertrude's 1211–20th century, Brussels, St. Jan's (origins vague), Diest 1210–late 18th, Geraardsbergen 1200–20th, Kalfoort-Puurs, 13th–end 17th, Leuven, St. Peters 1080–20th, Leuven, St. Elizabeth's (origins vague), Liederkerke (vague, wasted end 17th), Mechelen 1198–20th, Rebecq 1300–late 18th, Ronse 13th–1916, Tienen early 13th-20th, Vilvoorde 1257–20th. De Brouwer lists five others: Herzele, Viane, Neigem, Massemen, Hauthem, but the provenance seems too vague to me to include them.

Leprosy Houses (4): Brussels, St. Peters 1150–late 18th, Leuven, Ter Bank 1210–late 18th, Ter Zieken Mechelen 1209–1783, Danenbroek Tienen 1425–1783.

Black Sisters (5): Aalst 1475, Brussels 1348 (became Black Sisters in 1459), Leuven 1438, Mechelen 1463, Ronse 1496.

Grey Sisters (8 before 1600): Aalst 1477–vague, Aarschot 1288–1575 (rebuilt 1655 on), Diest 1348–late 18th (and then rebuilt), Leuven 1402–1587 as hospital, became contemplative 1587–late 18th, Mechelen (15th–1587, contemplative), Ninove 1505–late 17th (active until then), Tienen 1414–late 18th, Velzeke (origins vague), Zoutleeuw 1644–late 18th.

Beguines (11 before 1600): Aalst 1261–1952 (rebuilt in 16th), Aarschot (origins vague), Grand Brussels 13th, Small Brussels 1646, Diest 1245–20th (ruined in French Revolution, but rebuilt), Geraardsbergen 13th-1880 (ruined in French Revolution but rebuilt), Grand Leuven 1234–20th (ruined in French Revolution but rebuilt), Small Leuven (origins vague, but pre–1559), Grand Mechelen 1207–19th (ruined in 16th, rebuilt, ruined in French Revolution, rebuilt), Small Mechelen (origins vague, probably after 1559), Tienen 13th–1798 (various ruinings and rebuildings), Vilvoorde, 13th–post 18th, Zoutleeuw 1242–1797 (ruined by Gueux, rebuilt).

communities—but the extent of this needs further study.[21] More evident is the vigilant defense of active women by wider society and local bishops, under whose jurisdiction virtually all active orders in the southern Low Countries stood, and who along with the laity recognized the useful role these active women played in providing direct social services and opportunity for unmarried, devout women unattracted to the contemplative life. This argument, too, needs elaboration, for other members of the upper church hierarchy helped to suppress or alter various female active orders—how many struggles remain untold?

Also high on the ladder of explanation is that many of these active orders took simple rather than solemn vows.[22] Much has been made of simple vows, since they were what women in the new active orders of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries would use to allow themselves a beyond-the-walls apostolate. But they present a number of problems. First, simple vows were hardly a novelty by the early modern period, having developed from the thirteenth century on. Second, such vows should not be viewed as a clever way to avoid

[21]Schmitz, *op. cit.*, p. 236, on the difficulty of enforcing *clausura* in that order, but each order's history contains similar events. Some wealthier houses or individual members avoided *clausura* not so much to engage in an active apostolate but to keep close contact with friends or patrons; some contemplative houses simply ignored the ideal.

[22]A common way to approach vows is to understand them as simple or solemn, temporary or perpetual, and private or public (i.e., recognized by the Church). Religious vows (poverty, chastity, and obedience) came to be public, but could either be simple or solemn, and either perpetual or temporary. As for the distinction between simple and solemn, there is still no absolute consensus. One view says that the key is revocability: that is, solemn vows were irrevocable. Furthermore, solemn religious vows for women came, in practice, to be associated with *clausura*—indeed, some contemplative orders formally required such a vow, while others argued that such was implied. But solemn vows in the Low Countries did not automatically mean *clausura*. The Brussels nuncio Lucio Morra, for instance, lamented in 1618 that though the Black Sisters took solemn vows they refused to accept cloister; see Lucienne Van Meerbeeck, *Correspondance des nonces Gesualdo, Morra, Sanseverino* (Brussels, 1937), p. 292. For more details and variations, see St. Antonio Pieruzzi (1389–1459) in his *Summa Theologica Moralis* (Verona, 1740), pars II, titulus XI, vol. 2, cols. 1117D–1118A, who associated solemn vows with entering the religious state, and opined that every vow not solemn was simple. Alberto Pio (1475–1531), in... *Tres et viginti libri in locos lucubrationum variarum D. Erasmi Roterodami*... (Paris, 1531), fols. ccxiii–ccxv, suggested that solemn vows involved serious matter, official approval, public ceremony, and cannot be dispensed but only commuted, while simple vows involved lesser matter, could be taken on impulse, and could be dispensed. My thanks to Professor Nelson H. Minnich for these references, and his efforts to help me clarify the issue.

church discipline; in theory and practice they were serious business. François de Sales explained that though countless hairs had been split about the distinction between vows solemn and simple, all professed persons were in "the state of perfection," a favorite phrase over the centuries to describe those who properly belonged to the religious life.[23] Less celebrated examples in the Low Countries supported that notion. Even the most marginal of the religious, the Beguines, were warned against trying to be released from their particular, simple vows in order to re-enter the world.[24] Beneath a didactic painting that still hangs in the Grand Beguinage of Leuven, we can read the rhymed inscription:

Begijn, ik zeghet u in trouwen,	Beguine, I tell you truly,
Gaet ghy hier van wt,	Should you ever leave,
Het zal u berouwen.	You'll come to regret it.

A servant of a Black Sisters' convent swore on her honor, without a formal vow, that she would remain in her position until her death—a promise that was serious enough to have been recorded in the archiepiscopal archives.[25] Such examples of the gravity of non-solemn vows could be multiplied. Was the employment of simple vows perhaps not so much to avoid *clausura* or discipline as to pre-empt inconvenience? After all, a bishop possessed the authority to release from simple vows, while the commutation of solemn vows was exceedingly complicated.

But this is speculation, and merely suggests how much is to be learned. After all, other authorities discouraged simple vows because they could *cause* inconveniences. Perhaps the thorniest was this: if a simply-vowed woman decided to leave the religious life—difficult but possible—would she take away the dowry she had brought to the house when she first entered? A solemnly-vowed religious was in most areas legally dead to the world, and had no claim on her goods after

[23]Lemoine, *op. cit.*, p. 43, discusses De Sales' argument, including the gradation he made among religious. On the first rung of the ladder to perfection were bishops, on the second solemnly-vowed religious, on the third simply- but perfectly-vowed religious (this included the Jesuits), fourth the imperfectly vowed (a vague category), and fifth, congregations. But he emphasized that all were on the ladder.

[24]As Florence Koorn has pointed out, Beguines and Sisters of the Common Life did not at first take any vows at all. See her "Women without Vows: The Case of the Beguines and the Sisters of the Common Life in the Northern Netherlands," in *Women and Men in Spiritual Culture: XIV–XVII Centuries, A Meeting of South and North*, ed. Elisja Schulte van Kessel (The Hague, 1986), pp. 135–147.

[25]AAM, Amatus Coriache, V/203, from 1501.

profession or if she was expelled—but this was less automatic for a simply-vowed woman. Of course, if women brought little or no dowry into an active, poor order, then the question was idle.

That raises a third and related problem surrounding simple vows: prestige. Did women who took such vows enjoy less of it than women in solemnly-vowed traditional orders?[26] And if so, was that primarily because of the vow, or the old-fashioned measures of prestige, wealth, and social status, both of which historians know to have mattered in convents? I raise this question because in the Low Countries, as elsewhere, there were unrenowned contemplative houses which were solemnly vowed, poor, and full of socially humble sisters. But there were also *active* houses of similar standing and obscurity which were *solemnly-vowed*. Which factor most affected status in the religious world? Carlo Borromeo pushed Ursulines of high social rank into a contemplative regime, but allowed those of lesser rank to carry out an active ministry.[27] But were there active houses that attracted significant numbers of elites—women who could transfer social prestige to their order? This scenario may have existed nowhere or rarely, but asking the question points out a want of knowledge about the nature and significance of vows among actives.

Here is the final difficulty about simple vows, and one of the great mysteries of female religious life. At least for three of the four groups named above (excluding Beguines, of course, who over time routinely took simple vows), what was the nature of their vows? As has already been suggested, though contemplative houses took solemn vows, active houses did not necessarily take simple vows. But of how many was this true? It is no elementary matter to detect the use of simple or solemn vows—not even when the profession oath is known, not even when such phrases as "eternal chastity" are included in that oath. For instance, by 1500 the sisters of the Leprosy house Ter Zieke in Brussels began taking simple vows, but this could not have been determined from their new oath of profession alone. This is known only because the house had recently experienced a scandal, and in the course of his efforts to patch things up the bishop stated explicitly that henceforth sisters there would take simple rather than solemn vows.[28]

[26]Among others, Liebowitz, *op cit.*, p. 145, notes that solemn vows are what made a "first-rate religious," at least until the nineteenth century.

[27]My thanks to Nelson Minnich for this reminder about Borromeo.

[28]This house had originally used simple vows, but over time—wishing to identify more with traditional religious—the women clothed themselves formally and won the

At least in the Low Countries, one must go from house to house, rather than from order to order, to determine the nature of vows. Not even contemporaries were always sure about the situation.[29] More than one learned ecclesiastical letter-writer fretted over the status of borderline houses: are these true religious or not? Usually the question revolved around the taking of simple or solemn vows, or even the taking of formal vows at all, and whether the sisters lived in community. A canon lawyer ruminating on the status of the women of the Leprosy house in Mechelen finally concluded, "We judge them to be true religious,"[30] though he failed to mention the type of vows these active sisters took. A discussant of another group of sisters (the lay sisters in the contemplative Benedictine convent of Cortenberg), concluded that "in rigore scholastico et stricto" they were not true religious, "because I believe that their vows are simple."[31] This is revealing for various reasons. Even this contemporary, close to the scene, was uncertain about the nature of the vows here. Moreover, he clearly considered the women to be less than true religious if in fact they did take simple vows. Yet his suggestion that the distinction was an academic one implies that the women enjoyed a *de facto* religious status in the ecclesiastical world.

This might also have been true of the Black Sisters, who were called "Sorores," a term that usually connoted something less than full status.

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right to take solemn vows. When the scandal came, the bishop expelled the solemnly-vowed women and brought in twenty unveiled, simply-vowed sisters, and prohibited any future demands for solemn vows; AAM, Kloosters, Ter Zieke Brussels, 1. Similarly, in 1509 the Hospital Sisters in Mechelen adopted simple vows; again this is not clear from the oath, but because the bishop stated that he was implementing here the pattern just laid down in the Leprosy house in Brussels; AAM, Kloosters, Hospital Mechelen, 1. For another debate about vows, see a suit between some third-order Franciscan sisters in Marie J. Goyens, "Soeurs du Tiers Ordre à Bruges: Textes inédits," *Franciscana*, 5 (1922), 191–193.

[29]For more on the early modern discussion of what constituted a true religious, and the fact that a "semi-religious" status had long been accepted, see Joanna E. Ziegler, "Secular Canonesses as Antecedent of the Beguines in the Low Countries: An Introduction to Some Older Views," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, NS 13 (1992), 117–135. For another example of the complexity of the problem, St. Antonio cites Petrus de Palude's opinion that adopting the religious habit did not necessarily constitute a solemn vow; see *Summa Theologica Moralis*, *op. cit.*, cols. 1113E–1114B. My thanks to Nelson Minnich for this reference.

[30]They lived in community and took vows (though the type of vow is not specified), "Ideoque iudicamus . . . vere esse religiosas." AAM, Kloosters, Ter Zieken Mechelen.

[31]The women lacked the three vows "in ordine approbato," taking only the vow of obedience. AAM, Kloosters, Generalia, a case from 1640. "Vota tamen credo tantum esse simplicia."

But likely the standing of these women was something more, since they were said to belong—quoting an exact phrase from their statutes—to the "religious state,"[32] and since the Brussels nuncio Lucio Morra believed that all Black Sisters took solemn vows.[33] The cousin Hospital Sisters and active Grey Sisters were both often referred to as "Moniales," suggesting full-fledged religious. Did such a label have to do with the taking of solemn vows by these active women, *de facto* religious status, social standing, or all three? For we know that some of the Hospital Sisters took solemn vows. But then what of the sisters in a Hospital in Diest, whom a seventeenth-century bishop claimed to bring up-to-date and referred to as "religious sisters," suggesting less than full status?[34] Or of house after house of active Grey, Black, and Hospital Sisters where the vows taken may well have been solemn?[35]

With that background, it is hardly surprising that it remains so difficult to determine how many active houses were solemnly or simply vowed. It is highly possible that the women of the Hospital Bijloke in the city of Ghent were solemnly vowed, even while running a hospital for outsiders.[36] More typical, however, is the kind of vagueness just reviewed. The third-order houses of the Grey Sisters offer the foggiest example. It was noted above that by 1377 those in this order who were inclined to a more "regular" lifestyle had their rights confirmed, including the right to take solemn vows; but at the same time those "regular" women who wished to continue in an active apostolate were allowed to do so.[37] A 1413 papal decree granted all third-order regulars a more formal set of "regular" statutes, but significantly al-

[32]See the statutes of the Black Sisters of Mechelen, in AAM, Kloosters, Black Sisters Mechelen, 39. Note that chapter 9 of these statutes reminded the women to renew their (unspecified) vows daily, while chapter 25 warned them of the serious punishment that awaited anyone who left the religious life after having made profession.

[33]Van Meerbeeck, *op. cit.*, p. 292, where Morra's letter to the Papal Secretary of State Borghese emphasized the inconveniences "resultant du fait que les soeurs noires de l'ordre de Saint-Augustin, bien que pronançant trois voeux solennels, n'acceptent pas la clôture."

[34]AAM, Kloosters, Hospital Diest, 1, a 1619 reform by the Archbishop of Mechelen, Matthias Hovius.

[35]See Michel Lauwers and Walter Simons, *Béguins et Béguines à Tournai au Bas Moyen Age: Les communautés béguinales à Tournai du XIII^e au XVI^e siécle* (Tornacum 3 [Tournai and Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988]), pp. 19–21, for a house of Black Sisters in this city who in 1501 requested the right to take solemn vows; to that point they had observed such vows "voluntarily."

[36]This I have from Constant Van de Wiel, archivist of the Archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels, who has studied the place.

[37]This brief review is based on Moorman, *op. cit.*, and other surveys of Franciscan development referred to in note 7.

lowed the sick-care to continue if a house pleased. Both the regular status and the optional sick-care were reconfirmed in decrees of 1428 and 1471, and all Grey Sisters persevered in considering themselves full-fledged religious. In 1521, Leo X, with enough confusion in the Church as it was, tried to clarify the status of the exuberantly sprouting branches of the third order by declaring that all Franciscan third-order female regulars were in fact true religious, for they all took solemn vows, and lived in community; however, he did not go so far as to absolutely require all to observe *clausura*! This decision was still left to each house, and many—along with houses of Augustinian Black Sisters—maintained their sick-care, right on through the famous declarations by Pius V in 1566 and 1568 about the absolute necessity of cloister for true religious women. Again, how many active women were solemnly vowed?

To sum up this section: the notion that the new active orders after Trent represented "Une Vocation Nouvelle" is not true for the Low Countries,[38] and the assessment that "on the whole, there were few medieval precedents for active female religious orders" is overstated—though understandably so, given the general lack of knowledge about this part of Europe.[39] If Netherlandish active orders persisted and thrived, the explanations of episcopal protection, societal popularity, and simple vows certainly mattered, but the presence of solemnly vowed active houses also means that firmness and determination played their usual leading roles—such houses were, according to numerous decrees, not supposed to exist, but they did. Together, this all suggests that in the Low Countries medieval—and early modern—religious women had a real choice in the type of religious life they wished to pursue. It is equally apparent that there is still much to be learned about the subject. My conclusions are a beginning rather than an end, for our knowledge of basic quantitative patterns or types of vows or consequences of those vows is sufficient at this point only to suggest that current assumptions, like favorite old clothes in middle age, are of questionable fit.

II. The Active Spirit of Early Modern Catholicism?

In establishing the growth and tenacity of female active orders in the Low Countries, I am not suggesting that such orders were from

[38]"Une Vocation Nouvelle" is the name of a chapter in Reynes, *op. cit.*, which is an excellent treatment of contemplative life in general.

[39]Liebowitz, *op. cit.*

that time on *more* important than contemplative orders. This raises a problem related to the second and third themes in the historical literature on early modern religious life: were the active orders, despite apparent opposition from Rome, characteristic of the early modern religious spirit?

It is difficult to answer this question, at least in the Low Countries.[40] One substantive difficulty in assessing the stature of this active spirit, at least among religious women, is noted by Kathryn Norberg: the lack of some very fundamental facts.[41] Despite the increased attention of historians to early modern female religious life, it is no easy matter to say just how many nuns and quasi-religious there were between 1600 and 1800, or how many institutions they populated, which makes it hard to state with any confidence what was characteristic of female religious life or not. And quantification is complicated by such problems as, who should be included in the tally? How free were women to enter this house or order? How many female groups were suppressed, thus skewing the totals?

It will help to look again at numbers available for houses in the southern Low Countries (which by now were called the Spanish Netherlands), this time for the seventeenth century. Among contemplatives we find little or no decline in the houses that existed before 1600, and the following signs of growth.

Benedictines: 11 male and female houses founded after 1600, total of 64
Holy Sepulchre: 3 female houses by 1600, 17 in 1650, 20 in 1700
Norbertine nuns: 2 founded after 1600, total of 8
Conceptionists (Franciscan): total of 9, all founded after 1636
Dominicans: 29 founded after 1600, 19 of them female
Carmelite nuns: 4 in 1597, 5 in 1640, 6 in 1700
Annunciation Sisters: 10 founded between 1608 and 1640, total of 12

We note also probable but as yet unquantified growth among third-order regular Capuchin nuns, and in the ninety houses of Augustinian

[40]Part of the difficulty may be the choice of words. Is "characteristic" an accurate way to put things? Evennett used the word "trend," which suggests growth and eventual numerical pre-eminence; *op. cit.*, chapter 4. Here he also argues that though such active orders as the Jesuits were influenced by important medieval precedents, there was by the sixteenth century "a difference of context and general climate of feeling." This argument is, of course, a general one, and not necessarily about the female religious alone.

[41]Norberg, *op. cit.*

canons and canonesses scattered around the Spanish Netherlands.[42] And this is not to mention one of the most telling facts: that so many of these contemplative houses, destroyed by war, were rebuilt after 1600, rather than simply abandoned as outmoded.[43]

Among active orders, the older versions are marked by stability.

Grey Sisters: around 30 houses, a few of which became contemplative[44]
Black Sisters: no growth, a total of around 25 houses
Hospital Sisters: some growth, now well above 50 houses

In addition, the significant renaissance of beguinages during this time must not be overlooked, a subject that is still being studied. Then, of course, came the new, and often modified active orders: eleven Ursuline convents after 1600, and four convents of Visitation Sisters. Mary Ward's group was memorably suppressed; the nuncio boasted that he had "kicked those birds from the nest," waving in front of their faces the decrees of Pius V regarding uncloistered religious women.[45] But in the archdiocese of Cambrai, thanks to the protection of Archbishop François Van der Burch and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, there emerged before 1640 five houses of the Filles de Notre Dame from France, and four houses of the Sisters of St. Agnes, who despite opposition in high, extra-regional circles kept right on with their schools for girls. And similar patterns can be detected around the Low Countries, especially during the second half of the century, in such groups as the so-called Maricollen with their six new houses.[46]

[42]Seventeenth-century statistics come from Persoons, *op. cit.*, p. 384 and *passim*. Note also the steady numbers of three Brigittine convents, around 30 Cistercian houses (perhaps 10 of them female), 21 Carthusian houses (only one of them female), 16 convents of the Windesheim Congregation (less than half of them female), 12 houses of Rich Clares, 11 of Poor Clares, 28 of female Discalced Carmelites.

[43]The *NAGN*, VI, 349, notes that thirty Cistercian convents alone were destroyed.

[44]Léon-L. Gruart, "Les Soeurs Grises de Comines," *Bulletin du Comité Flamand de France*, 14 (1951), 53–87, notes the enclosure of some formerly active Grey Houses. Most of this was the work of Peter Marchant, the third-order reformer from Ghent.

[45]This was the nuncio Lagonissa, in Léon Van der Essen, "La Situation Religieuse des Pays-Bas en 1634, d'après la relation finale du nonce Fabio de Lagonissa," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 24 (1928), 335, who refers to them as the "Jesuitesses" of Mary Ward. With the approval of the archbishop, he also showed them dispositions of Nicholas V and declarations by the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Council of Trent on what he and they believed a true regular religious to be—shut up and submissive.

[46]Some numbers of male active orders from the *NAGN* also give a sense of developments: Jesuit houses numbered 14 in 1598, 27 more by 1640, with 14 more soon after; there were 12 Capuchin houses by 1595, and 31 in the Flemish province alone by 1628, while the Walloon-speaking convents numbered 33 by 1683. Eight convents of Minims were founded during the seventeenth century, and 11 of Oratorians by 1632.

For the eighteenth century we can give a grand total in 1773 (before Joseph II and then the French Revolution changed the face of religious life): 400 male convents, 453 female, and 41 beguinages within the boundaries of modern-day Belgium. These numbers need further breakdown and investigation, however. At present we simply repeat Tihon's estimate of approximately twenty-two women per house.[47] Further, new active orders continued to emerge, many of them busy in sick-care or education, such as Onze Lieve Vrouw Presentatie, the Sisters of the Love of Mary, the Daughters of St. Joseph, and so on. But perhaps as impressive as anything else is that the number of female (or for that matter male) contemplative houses declined hardly at all.[48] In Benedictine houses, on which research has been done, professions remained quite constant until the arrival of Joseph II, and after his demise there was another short period of increase. Contemplatives were not the wave of the future, but what strikes me is their durability. Figures for the more concentrated area of the archdiocese of Mechelen follow a very similar pattern of slow growth among new orders, and the endurance of most old houses.[49]

From this panorama, and on the huge assumption that the numbers of women within these houses did not wildly fluctuate from the basic figure of 20-30 per institution, it is difficult to conclude that in the Low Countries female active orders were, either in the sense of what dominated quantitatively or of what was popular, characteristic of early modern spirituality—certainly not in the seventeenth century, per-

[47]See Tihon, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–21. We read here as well that there were still 500 women in 1717 at the Grand Beguinage of Brussels.

[48]For the eighteenth century, see the *NAGN*, IX, 389 ff., and VI, 391. In 1755 in the Duchy of Brabant, there were 2,727 male religious, and 3,804 female (this figure does not include beguines, who numbered about 1,000). By 1783, in all of Belgium, there were 10,000 female religious and 7,500 male. Best of all, however, is the article by Tihon, *op. cit.*, which shows the near-destruction of female religious life during the French Revolution, its resurrection soon after, and the pre-eminence of active orders during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Here was the golden age of active religious.

[49]*Female Contemplatives:* one new house of Benedictine nuns in 1623, one of Brigittines in 1624, one of Capuchins in 1658, three of Carmelites after 1607, and three new houses and one rebuilt house of Augustinians. *Actives:* a second beguinage in Brussels in 1646, a house of Grey Sisters re-established in Aarschot, a rebuilt house of Grey Sisters in Tienen in 1644, a new house in Zoutleeuw after 1644 (a reform of the old Hospital). Only the Grey Sisters of Ninove became contemplative. There also emerged three houses of so-called Apostollinen (or Conservatoriae), after 1680 in Brussels, Mechelen, and Berchem (near Oudenaarde), one house of Visitation sisters in Brussels in 1661, and three houses of Ursulines—at Brussels (1662), Leuven (1659), and Mechelen (1682).

haps not in the eighteenth century, and probably not until the nineteenth century. *Both* actives and contemplatives played leading roles on the religious stage, with both boasting new and old orders, and both showing "reform" and renewal and rebuilding.

But, of course, even flawless statistics on houses would, alone, not be enough to support such a judgment. Besides the obvious lack of information about the number of women within each house, there is the matter of how much choice women had to choose an active or contemplative order. The severe opposition—which I alluded to earlier in discussing Mary Ward's group, or as is seen in the transformation of the Visitation Sisters—from some elements in the Church's hierarchy is well known. The roster of medieval orders also contains female movements which began as active but which under ecclesiastical pressure ended up as quite contemplative. Is such pressure what drove women into contemplative lifestyles and what accounts for their survival, or even modest growth, after Trent?

I do not dispute that pressure was real, nor that it was genuinely discouraging, especially in the first half of the seventeenth century. But how concentrated was it, since some of the greatest protagonists of active female orders were the De Sales's, Geraard Groote's, the Van der Burch's—again, men within the regional or local church hierarchy?[50] Historians of the new religious orders themselves have pointed out that more was involved in opposition to actives than misogynist theology or sociology—among others, there were legal questions (the problem of simple vows and dowries, already mentioned), ecclesiastical politics, and inter-order rivalries.[51] Elizabeth Rapley has argued that the order of the Englishwoman Mary Ward was opposed in part because it tried to do "the work of men," but also because of competition between the Jesuits—with whom Ward's order identified—and other orders over the right to labor in England,

[50]Rapley, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8, emphasizes the determination of active women themselves; though she notes that some church officials were their greatest protagonists, the "religious energy of the women came first." On the other hand, bishops could work against active orders, of course. Pasture, *op. cit.*, p. 322, shows that bishops publicly praised Hospital Sisters in 1627, 1628, and 1630, but roundly criticized Black Sisters for their laxity. In 1642, the Archbishop of Mechelen, Jacob Boonen, complained about the Black Sisters again (p. 404). Liebowitz, *op. cit.*, 144, reminds us that the first new active order to get full church approval was Louise Marillac's, in 1633, just four years after the suppression of Mary Ward's order.

[51]Liebowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 139, points out the many forces that conspired against Angela Merici's Ursulines, Mary Ward's Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or Louise de Marillac's Daughters of Charity.

and because established institutions already were available to religiously inclined women.[52] Such competition, between Benedictines and Friars in the thirteenth century, and Friars and Jesuits in the sixteenth, is infamous; given the significant presence of female active orders in the Low Countries from the thirteenth century on, may it have played a role in the resistance to many new active orders of women during the early modern age? We recall, finally, that some circles in the Church were long wary of new orders, male or female—to what extent was opposition the result of fear of novelty?

Another explanation for the real importance of contemplative orders must be sought as well in the attraction of that style of living. Of course, this raises still other questions. To what were women attracted, to contemplation or the fact that this style had long enjoyed approval? To what extent were women "conditioned," religiously or socially, to join contemplative orders? The history of religious movements during the Age of the Reformations shows that even in the most hierarchical centuries, religious life was not merely dictated from above and blindly followed from below.[53] In other words, because the Church gave its biggest stamp of approval to contemplative orders was no guarantee that they would continue to be popular, nor that these orders would function exactly as the Church pleased. People always found ways to express their own religious devotion; one good evidence of this is the perseverance and mushrooming of active orders after a long line of discouraging decrees! Such determination was also present, in more subtle ways, within contemplative monasticism as well. Certainly some women were forced into the contemplative life and lacked a true vocation, but systematic research will not uncover everyone's motives for entering the convent, nor has it yet shown positively that forced entry was significantly absent from active orders. Still, we must try to uncover as possible the extent to which women entered cloistered orders *or* active orders because they felt attracted to that style.

When Teresa expressed ambivalence about her busy-ness outside the cloister, and her attraction to the contemplative life, was it merely

[52]Rapley, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–31.

[53]This topic commands increasing attention; for a review of some approaches to it, see my "Official Religion—Popular Religion in Recent Historiography of the Catholic Reformation," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 81 (1990), 239–262. I would add to my discussion there a recent and likely-to-be-controversial work, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1993).

the result of conditioning?[54] When a modern nun such as Lillian Shank recounts her own calling to the contemplative life with such words as, "No one but God could have done this to me," and that the Cistercian vocation was "tailor-made for me," or when a modern Carmelite nun states, "I know people feel that nuns should be out doing something about the state of the world... but we *know* that prayer is the answer to all," is it too far-fetched to imagine that similar sentiments from the past were any less sincere?[55] It was unquestionably easier for cloistered orders to survive, and many bishops worked hard to institute cloister, but I believe that women would have stopped entering had there been no fundamentally spiritual attraction. Indeed, the kind of quantitative exercise which I have carried out here would hardly have mattered to contemplative women; they assumed that but a few were destined for what many regarded as "the better part" of religious life.

Yet numbers could, of course, matter to the survival of orders, and they matter in historical reviews. Some impressive figures should, therefore, be weighed, along with various qualitative evidence. That so many contemplative houses destroyed by war were rebuilt in the Low Countries after 1600, and that new houses were established, again suggests the popularity of this style. That within the Archdiocese of Mechelen a number of seventeenth-century female houses pleaded with the bishop for the "privilege" of cloister, or willingly "embraced" cloister,[56] or prided themselves in the zeal with which they kept clois-

[54]This concern pervades much of her autobiography, *The Life of Teresa of Jesus* (New York, 1991), especially chapter 31.

[55]Shank, "Afterword," in *Medieval Religious Women*, II, 279–280, recounts her calling: "I didn't even like nuns; their lifestyle had always seemed cold and inhuman"; her family was not religious; vocation had never been discussed at home, and still the call came. She recognizes that many have come to the religious life with no vocation. The Carmelite, Sister Angela Thérèse, is quoted in Mary Loudon, *Unveiled: Nuns Talking* (London, 1992), p. 28.

[56]Pasture, *op. cit.*, p. 316, reviews the Cortenberg Benedictines who desired cloister, reformed the sisters of the hospital of Ghent, and inspired the abbey of Nonnenbossche (diocese of Ghent) to cloister as well. AAM, Kloosters, Blijdenberg Mechelen, Reg. 72, fol. 40, is a record compiled by a sister who noted that the convent was destroyed during the sixteenth-century wars, but that the sisters worked and raised money so that they could rebuild and once again enjoy cloister. In 1618 the women "freely accepted cloister according to the statutes of the Council of Trent, thanking and praising God that he had brought us so far." The bishop who established cloister here recorded in another source, "I celebrated in Blijdenberg and I heard every nun declare that they desired to be cloistered." AAM, Mechliniensia, 10 (Journal of Archbishop Hovius), January 2, 1618.

ter,[57] or scrimped and saved and borrowed to acquire the funds to physically enclose their houses so that they could live cloister to the fullest,[58] or that other cloistered women through the end of the Old Regime regularly complained to the bishop about lax observation of cloister within their house,[59] or that some houses became stricter *in order to attract* new members rather than lose them to more devout houses,[60] or that the regular third order of the Franciscans had begun at the initiative of lay people who wished to incorporate a contemplative element as well, or that Belgian thinkers bragged about their female religious—unlike women in Spain or Italy, they said—having little need for high, spiked walls and narrow grilles to compel them to keep cloister,[61] ought to make us pause and take notice. That some houses of early modern Benedictines and other traditionally cloistered houses were just as adamant that cloister would not be strictly enforced in their institutions, and that they defied bishops, nuncios, and

[57]Pasture, *op cit.*, p. 320; Mariendal in Diest "brillait par l'éclat de la discipline et de la clôture régulières: au dire de l'historien Van Gestel, Mariendael était la perle des monastères soumis à la juridiction archiépiscopale."

[58]According to AAM, Kloosters, Cortenberg, 2, the nuns fled their Benedictine house in 1604 because of war, but after they returned their reputation for discipline went out over all the land. They rebuilt with a vengeance, and pleaded for cloister, though wanting funds. "His Reverence could withstand these requests no longer . . . and thus he loaned our Mother the money to build the cloister," a total of 300 florins, which the sisters eventually paid back. When the archbishop visited in 1616, he said that the request for cloister "must be from the Holy Spirit, for it has been desired seven years long over three different visitations." This kind of desire is not uncommon in house-histories, most of which include miraculous, inspiring events intended to boost the faith of the members. But even if stereotyped, this history only confirms the importance of the ideal of cloister.

[59]AAM, Mechliniensia, 10 (Hovius' journal), December 4, 1617, is one of many such examples of Maters complaining about the excessive familiarity of various priests with her religious. One of the loudest complaints may be read about in my *Burdens of Sister Margaret*. Besides condemning excessive talking and visiting, Margaret argued that it did not befit lay sisters of contemplative convents to go out and take care of women in childbed—thus even those permitted to leave the cloister should not have engaged in such work, out of respect for the nature of the particular convent they served.

[60]Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 414, records that Franciscan observants had lost a good number of recruits to the Capuchins. To preclude a further exodus, there emerged the stricter Recollect reform. Similar sentiments were expressed in 1696 in the already cloistered house of the Grey Sisters of Leuven; the women desired to become stricter still, for otherwise there would be no new recruits. See Algemene Rijksarchief Brussels, Kerkarchief Brabant, 15309, November 7, 1693, which contains a pleading letter from the bursaress of the house; also AAM, Kloosters, Grey Sisters Leuven, 3, October 3, 1693, and visitation, plus file 11.

[61]Roger de Ganck, "Marginalia to Visitation Cards for Cistercian Nuns in Belgium," *Cîteaux*, 40 (1989), 237, contains interesting quotations on the matter.

political leaders in doing so,[62] is perhaps one of the best pieces of inferential evidence that those who desired strict cloister *truly* desired it.

Thus, just as important as investigating the development and successes of medieval active orders is the need to understand the extent to which contemplative orders thrived in the early modern period—for reasons other than that they were officially approved.[63] At least for the Low Countries, and perhaps for other areas of Catholic Europe as well, I think it is more helpful to consider these versions of religious life not so much as competitors, but as alternatives or complements of one another—and I think that many contemporaries saw it the same way. The two basic kinds of vocation had existed side-by-side since the Middle Ages and would continue to do so impressively through the Ancien Régime. Both cloistered and active female religious life after Trent need, therefore, to be understood.

III. Actives and Contemplatives Together

It may be that the above-depicted co-existence of longstanding medieval active orders, new early modern active orders, and ever-attractive contemplative orders existed in the Low Countries only. If so, then the general picture of female religious life in the late Middle

[62]The noble Benedictine convent of Groot Bijgaarden resisted cloister not to do active works but in line with traditional privileges—the journal of Archbishop Hovius, in AAM, Mechliniensia, 10, is full of references to the ongoing conflict. The Benedictine women at Denain maintained that they were not bound at all by the three basic monastic vows; Pasture, *op. cit.*, p. 315. Moreau, *op. cit.*, p. 403, describes how the Augustinian canonesses of Waasmunster, around 1625, resisted the pressure of the formidable bishop of Ghent, Anton Triest, who had solicited the aid of the pope, the nuncio, and the archdukes. He had even interdicted the house, but they simply put their case in the secular courts. When Archbishop Hovius gave the Mater of the convent called Cabbeek 200 florins to help finance the construction of cloister, she said it was too inconvenient now and so rejected his offer; AAM, Mechliniensia, 10 (Hovius' journal), September 18, 1619.

[63]For instance, Wiesner, *op. cit.*, p. 11, states, "The Counter-Reformation church wanted all female religious strictly cloistered . . . and provided no orders for women who wanted to carry out an active apostolate," while Monter, *op. cit.*, p. 209, concludes that "Rome only grudgingly learned to tolerate the socially useful nun, actively engaged in education or nursing," and that "The Council of Trent had no program of reform for female monasticism other than reaffirming thirteenth-century rules of rigid enclosure." These are not wholly wrong, but they might suggest that because of Roman opposition, active groups failed to succeed, or that contemplatives were strictly controlled.

Ages and early modern period needs only to be qualified. But it may also be that the relative development and appeal of both actives and contemplatives is not yet clear. If it is true that the broader picture needs further developing, then as we go about the task a word of caution may be in order: the avoidance of *a priori* bias against the cloistered religious.

Modern sensibilities about practicality and utility can lead one to sympathize more with actives than with contemplatives.[64] Ernst Kossmann once speculated that the numerous moderns who have called the style of painting in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic the most "characteristic" product of Dutch culture during the age, do so simply because they like it better than anything else they see from that place and time; it suits later tastes. But during the Old Regime itself, he went on, the pre-eminent artistic tendency in the Republic was the quite stale, now-forgotten imitation of French literary models.[65] Of course, modern or personal interests and tastes drive many of our inquiries into the past, and need not be condemned outright. It is simply worth reflecting on the eternal problem, being conscious of our biases, and asking to what extent they have distorted the past.

As a product of the utilitarian world myself, I am quite aware of, and quite sympathetic to, the idea most vigorously promoted by Joseph II of Austria that active orders were preferable because they rendered obvious services such as nursing or education, whereas contemplative orders were in a sense quite "useless." This is, however, complicated by the fact that many cloistered houses of nuns engaged in the education of young girls for centuries.[66] Granted that this was not their primary task, and some contemplatives complained about the schools disturbing the rhythms of monastic life, yet cloistered nuns regularly performed this service. And beyond such obvious signs of utility, we must keep in the mind the more important symbolic and psychological place of cloistered houses to early modern minds. Such houses could also make a difference in the world—through the physical or auditory beauty of their choir, which laypeople came to see and hear, or through

[64]More and more studies of cloistered religious are appearing, however. Some good recent examples include Judith Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1987); Jodi Bilinkoff, *op. cit.*; and Reynes, *op. cit.*

[65]Ernst H. Kossmann, "The Dutch Case: A National or a Regional Culture?" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 29 (1979), 168.

[66]Van de Wiel, "Begijnhoven en kloostergemeenschappen," especially the third installment, p. 369.

the frequent contacts at the grille, where some laypeople were certainly scandalized but many were also uplifted. The women of the city of Avila expected emotional and spiritual counseling from nuns in exchange for patronage of the house. Moreover, outsiders often knew what went on inside these cloistered convents—not only the shameful, but the edifying and holy. Teresa put it best: "What would become of the world if it were not for the religious?"[67] And in this context she did not mean the active orders, but the contemplative.

The cloistered house was therefore a church, a counseling center, and a potential source of comfort, for townspeople or peasants knew that inside women were praying not only for their own souls but those of the world. To conclude rather ruefully that the new and modified-from-above active sisters were eventually able to contribute in only "limited" ways to society suggests that contemplative contributions were even more limited and ineffective. Would most in the Old Regime have felt the same way?[68] How often were lay people moved by the prayers or singing of cloistered religious, in ways that altered or lightened lives?

There is also the idea that active styles provided more opportunity for women, evident in the sentiment that orders such as Mary Ward's or the Ursulines represented "genuine reform" of female monasticism. Perhaps this depends on what is meant by "genuine." If merely "new," then I have already suggested some evidence to the contrary; the real innovations of the early modern groups lay not in sick-care, nor in education per se, nor in their simple vows, nor in doggedness, but the exclusive rather than incidental devotion to education and the Jesuit-like effort to avoid communal recitation of the Office—and even that may not have been remarkably original in practice, for there were notes by or to ecclesiastical authorities that Black Sisters or Hospital Sisters were just too tired from their work with the sick to perform devotional responsibilities.[69] If by "genuine" is meant greater autonomy, then it is true that there were notorious cases of women who were forced to enter cloistered orders—but again, how common were these? It is very possible that women in each style of religious life found their version liberating, even though some used such terms as the then-comforting but to modern ears oxymoronic "divine slav-

[67]The quotation is from Teresa's *Life*, p. 305. See for more insight on Teresa's view of prayer as action a soon-to-be-published piece by Jodi Bilinkoff, "Woman with a Mission: Teresa of Avila and the Apostolic Model."

[68]Liebowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[69]For one example see AAM, Archiepiscopalia, Hovius, 8 (agenda), June 21, 1617.

ery."[70] And though it is true that women who entered early modern active orders tended to be in their twenties when they began the religious life—thus implying a greater freedom of choice than is evident in the scandalous ages of entry in some medieval convents—it is also true that studied, early modern contemplative convents saw the average age-of-entry rise into the twenties as well.[71]

Hence, admiration for the mettle of women who all over Europe—in medieval or early modern centuries—championed active styles of religious life, in the face of much opposition, and who in spite of that opposition kept their movements going, is deserved. But to call the active orders an "updated feminine religious life" or to say that "women experienced a true promotion" thanks to the new active orders may not be entirely helpful.[72] There is no denying the resolution of active women, or that leaders of active orders were proud of their style, but these acknowledgments do not negate the strong and lasting attractions to contemplation reviewed above, and they ignore that women in contemplative orders could be quite independent-minded as well in shaping their communities—in resisting cloister altogether, in concluding for themselves how strictly it should be enforced, or in determining other standards. Despite their label, contemplatives were hardly passive bystanders in the incessant contests over the tone and character of religious life.

Perhaps I have overstated the problem, but I think the consequences deserve consideration. The consequences of my larger argument are, I hope, quite clear. At least in the Low Countries, the roots of early modern active orders lay deep in the Middle Ages. Yet equally important on the Catholic religious scene was the persistence of contemplative orders through the early modern period.[73] Since actives and contemplatives co-existed in the Low Countries, women there had genuine choice—influenced, naturally, by the usual limits on choice, such as social standing, wealth, and spiritual inclinations, all

[70]This term is used as well by Shank, *op. cit.*, "Afterword."

[71]Among the Grey Sisters of Leuven, for instance, most of the thirty or so women who entered between 1600 and 1640 were from 21 to 27; one was 16. See *The Burdens of Sister Margaret*, chapter 2.

[72]Rapley, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 35; I do not wish to condemn this very interesting study, but to point out a few matters regarding comparative interpretation.

[73]I did not discuss at length earlier the fact that while the active orders of the Middle Ages were growing, so were the contemplative. See the *NAGN*, III, 203, for a review. This was also the age of Ruusbroec, who left busy Brussels for rural areas and better contemplation. Both traditions were important then, as well as later.

in their then-current idioms. It seems thus far that in both the medieval and early modern periods, some women preferred to enter one form, some the other. Only with greater precision and depth of research can this picture become clearer, so that early modernists can make more convincing and nuanced pronouncements on what was characteristic of female religiosity, before or after the Council of Trent.

AN UNEXPECTED CODA FOR THE EARLY AMERICAN CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE: *A LETTER FROM A ROMISH PRIEST*

BY

THOMAS W. JODZIEWICZ*

The publication of Mary Rowlandson's *The Soveraignty & Goodness of God* in Boston in 1682 marked the beginning of a new and vital literary genre in colonial America, the Indian captivity narrative.[1] The text, which appeared in fifteen editions before 1800, recounts in a clear and straightforward manner the eleven-week captivity of Rowlandson at the hands of Narragansett Indians during King Philip's War (1675–1676) before she was ransomed in the spring of 1676. As presented, her story established the main outlines of the captivity narrative as it would develop over the next two hundred years in far different American locales: capture, suffering, endurance, rescue and redemption. True to her own Puritan culture and beliefs, Rowlandson saw God's Providence at work in her circumstances, a righteous work

*Mr. Jodziewicz is an associate professor of history in the University of Dallas, Irving, Texas. An abbreviated version of this paper was read at the spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association on April 9, 1994, at the College of the Holy Cross.

[1]The principal title of the original publication of Rowlandson's work was *The Soveraignty & Goodness of God, Together, with the Faithfulness of His Promises Displayed; Being a Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson. Commended by Her, to All That Desire to Know the Lord's Doings to, and Dealings with Her. Especially to Her Dear Children and Relations.* The work is readily available in an edited version in Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark (eds.), *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676–1724* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981), pp. 29–75. The editors' introductory essay concerning the captivity narratives and an extensive bibliography are very useful. See also Phillips D. Carleton, "The Indian Captivity," *American Literature*, 15 (1943), 169–180; Roy Harvey Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," *American Literature*, 19 (1947), 1–20; and two works by Richard Van Der Beets: "The Indian Captivity Narrative as Ritual," *American Literature*, 43 (1972), 548–562, and the introductory essay in his edited *Held Captive by Indians: Selected Narratives, 1642–1836* (Knoxville, 1973). Full bibliographical information of the narratives may be found in R. W. G. Vail, *The Voice of the Old Frontier* (New York, 1949).

primarily intended to chastise her, but also through her to teach a surrounding New England society the necessary lessons of dependence and obedience, and the dire consequences of disobedience: "I have seen the extreme vanity of this world. One hour I have been in health and wealth, wanting nothing, but the next hour in sickness and wounds and death, having nothing but sorrow and affliction." Ultimately, however, God's mercy was far stronger than any human misery, any human troubles, a moral really experienced by the now doubly-redeemed Rowlandson:

> I can remember the time when I used to sleep quietly without workings in my thoughts whole nights together, but now it is other ways with me. When all are fast about me and no eye open but His who ever waketh, my thoughts are upon things past, upon the awful dispensation of the Lord towards us, upon His wonderful power and might in carrying of us through so many difficulties in returning us in safety and suffering none to hurt us.[2]

For the next several generations, the fundamental import of the captivity narrative remained true to its Puritan foundation: the retelling of a human experience which included an invitation to a more profound conversion on the part of its readers, and an exhortation to a deeper appreciation of an edifying lesson that spoke not only about God's righteous wrath toward a once-Godly community now in religious declension, but a lesson that dealt ultimately with God's mercy. Over time, however, other contemporary elements available in several of the earliest narratives, but of apparently secondary importance, began to dominate the genre. What had seemed at one time to be at heart a deeply personalized Puritan jeremiad, or a call to individual and community repentance and spiritual renewal, had become by the mid-eighteenth century a significant propaganda initiative specifically directed against Indians, but especially against the French and Roman Catholicism.[3] The original prominence of the Spirit in Puritan New England was not only being visibly modified by impulses toward secularization in what was now perceived as the land of the Yankees, but was also giving way to an awareness more focused upon the additional political and religious meanings imbedded in the continued warfare

[2]Vaughan and Clark (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 74.

[3]*Ibid.*, pp. 20–21. During the course of the century, the negative focus in such narratives would be transformed in the Revolutionary War into an anti-British animus before coming full circle to an anti-Indian perspective: see Van Der Beets (ed.), *Held Captive*, pp. xvii-xx, and *idem*, "'A Thirst for Empire': the Indian Captivity Narrative as Propaganda," *Research Studies*, 40 (1972), 207–215.

between the French in Canada, and their Indian allies, and the English (1689–1763).

An early example of this ancillary, but significant anti-Catholic element may be found in John Williams' *The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion* (1707), a captivity narrative nearly as popular as Mary Rowlandson's *Soveraignty & Goodness of God.*[4] Taken captive at Deerfield in February, 1704, along with his wife and five children, the Puritan minister was especially sensitive during his two-and-one-half-year stay in Canada to the earnest proselytizing efforts of French Catholic priests. His sensitivity extended even to the composition of a poem, included in his text, about the situation of his fellow captive Englishmen:

> After a tedious journey some are sold,
> Some kept in heathen hands; all from Christ['s] fold
> By popish rage and heathenish cruelty
> Are banished. Yea, some compelled to be
> Present at Mass. Young children parted are
> From parents and such as instructors were.
> Crafty designs are used by papists all
> In ignorance of truth them to enthrall.

Several pages of *The Redeemed Captive* are in fact taken up by a copy of a lengthy letter by Williams to his captive fifteen-year-old son Samuel, who for a brief moment had seemed about to become a convert to Catholicism. Responding to Samuel's positive descriptions of Catholic doctrine and ritual, Williams offered a traditional Protestant apologetic concerning the Blessed Virgin, the mediatory role of Christ and the saints, the position of St. Peter in the early Church, the Eucharist, and purgatory.[5] While the minister's efforts regarding Samuel were successful—"God, who is gloriously free and rich in His grace to vile sinners, was pleased to bless poor and weak means for the recovery of my child so taken"[6]—one of his children, eight-year-old Eunice,

[4]The complete title is *The Redeemed Captive, Returning to Zion. A Faithful History of Remarkable Occurrences in the Captivity and the Deliverance of Mr. John Williams, Minister of the Gospel.* This is one of the narratives included in Vaughan and Clark (eds.), *op. cit.*; a fuller introduction is available in John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion*, edited by Edward W. Clark (Amherst, 1976). See also Emma Lewis Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada, Between 1677 and 1760 during the French and Indian Wars* (2 vols.; Portland, Maine, 1925), II, 44–64.

[5]Vaughan and Clark (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 205–220. See also Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 49–51.

[6]Vaughan and Clark (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 219.

was never redeemed. She became one of those New England captives who remained with the Indians, as others remained with the French in Canada, a convert and the wife of an Indian, despite the continued efforts of her family to effect her permanent return to New England.[7]

Williams did see his daughter one last time. In the spring of 1714 he was part of an official Massachusetts commission sent to Canada at the end of Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) to seek the release of English captives. While Eunice was unmoved by her father's entreaties to return with him to Massachusetts, the commission was able to effect the release of twenty-six captives, one of whom was the daughter of a captive Englishwoman mentioned in Samuel Williams' earlier pro-Catholic letter to his father.[8] Ironically, then, Williams, a "redeemed captive," was unable to persuade his own convert daughter to "redemption," but was one of a group of English colonists able to accomplish the "redemption" of the Catholic daughter of an Englishwoman who herself refused to accept the role of "redeemed captive." To enrich the irony, John Williams died in 1729, the same year that an apologetical exchange of letters between a French Canadian priest and Massachusetts' Protestant governor was published in Boston, an exchange concerning the fate of the Catholic daughter in whose "redemption" Williams had participated fifteen years earlier, and some twenty-two years after the first publication of Williams' own apologetical efforts regarding his son Samuel. Entitled *A Letter from a Romish Priest in Canada, To One Who Was Taken Captive in Her Infancy, and Instructed in the Romish Faith, But Some Time Ago Returned to This Her Native Country. With an Answer Thereto, By a Person to Whom It Was Communicated*, the small volume would surprisingly bring the captivity narrative life-cycle, or mythos, to a more complete and even definitive conclusion.

I

Throughout the years of the English-French colonial struggle in North America, the English colonists had been extremely attentive to

[7]Alexander Medlicott, Jr., "Return to the Land of Light: a Plea to an Unredeemed Captive," *New England Quarterly*, 38 (1965), 202–216; C. Alice Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives, Carried to Canada during the Old French and Indian Wars* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 128–154; Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 54–63.

[8]Vaughan and Clark (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 206. The "Madam Grizalem, an Englishwoman," was undoubtedly Grizel Otis Robitaille. The French too had a great deal of trouble in transcribing English names.

regaining their neighbors captured by the Indians and French. While the phenomenon of "white Indians" was difficult enough for the English to comprehend and accept, the refusal of English converts living with the French to return to New England even when allowed by French authorities probably shook New England's confidence and sense of mission in what was assuming the proportions of a far larger political arena than the English, or New Israel, contest with the Indians, or nearby Canaanites.[9] Accordingly, alongside private efforts, New England colonial governments sent various commissions, as in 1714, and offered monetary inducements as well as land grants to encourage repatriation.[10] Aside from the purely personal and familial aspects of the situation, it appears that the sense of apocalyptic-like struggle with the French which grew throughout the wars, reaching a crescendo by the 1750's, was an important ingredient animating the efforts to reclaim New England's lost sheep. The context was indeed monumental, a contest between papist, authoritarian, illiberal, and Roman Catholic France and free, liberal Protestant England; a battle, according to New Englanders, between the anti-Christ and God's true legions.[11] The captivity narratives themselves illustrated the region's self-conscious and on-going realization of the true meaning and consequences of the wars. Rather than merely reverent recitations of God's providential testing and then deliverance of His chosen people, the narratives were being transformed into tracts in which the anti-French and anti-Catholic accents would become predominant.

Thus, the return of twenty-six captives in 1714, including in particular a twenty-five-year-old convert who soon renounced her Roman faith, was cause for jubilation and vindication of New England's righteousness. The young woman, whose apostasy would even be glowingly recounted in her death notice fifty-nine years later, was Christine

[9]*Ibid.*, pp. 16–17. See also James Axtell, "The White Indians of Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., XXXII (1975), 55–88, and Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel K. Richter, "Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605–1763," American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, 90 (1980), 23–99. Eunice Williams was one of the most famous of those English who refused repatriation: cf. Medlicott above, n. 7.

[10]Arthur J. Riley, *Catholicism in New England to 1788* (Baltimore, 1936), pp. 163–174. Riley estimates approximately 37 of 165 captive converts returned to New England in the colonial period: pp. 279–280.

[11]See Nathan O. Hatch, "The Origins of Civil Millennialism in America: New England Clergymen, War with France, and the Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., XXXI (1974), 407–430. For Puritan New England's visceral hatred of Catholicism, see Riley, *op. cit.*, and Sister Mary Augustina Ray, B.V.M., *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936).

Baker of Dover, New Hampshire.[12] On June 28, 1689, three-month-old Margaret Otis had been captured, along with her mother Grizel Warren Otis, a sister, and three brothers in an Indian attack upon Dover in which her father and another sister were killed. Taken to Montreal, Margaret was baptized Christine Otis and educated in a convent. On June 14, 1707, Christine married Louis Le Beau. Before his death in late February, 1713, the couple had three children: Louis (1708–1709), Marie-Anne Christine (1710–1726), and Marie Madeleine (1712–). Meanwhile, Grizel Otis had become a Catholic, baptized Marie-Madeleine in 1693, and had remarried late that same year to Philip Robitaille. The Robitailles had five children, four of whom were alive in May, 1710, when Marie-Madeleine Robitaille and her daughter Christine were both granted French citizenship. Christine's mother died a widow in Montreal in 1750.[13]

When the 1714 Massachusetts commission headed by Captain John Stoddard of Northampton arrived in Montreal in early March, 1714, the group included not only the Reverend John Williams but also Captain Thomas Baker of Brookfield, himself a Deerfield captive in Canada along with John Williams and his family. Apparently there was a strong natural attraction between Baker and Christine, and by late September, 1714, the commission and its redeemed captives, including Christine, were back in Boston. Christine had left Canada over the protests of her mother and in the face of legal obstructions concerning

[12]See Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–34; Coleman, *op. cit.*, I, 149–154; Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 291–293; and Alice N. Nash, "Two Stories of New England Captives: Grizel and Christine Otis of Dover, New Hampshire," in Peter Benes (ed.), *New England/New France, 1600–1850*, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 1989 (1992), pp. 39–48. Her death notice appeared in the *Boston Evening Post*, March 15, 1773 [reprinted in New Hampshire Historical Society, *Collections*, VIII (Concord, 1866), 405]:

> Died at Dover, Mrs. Christina Baker, born there in March, 1688–9; and when the town was taken and destroyed by the Indians, in June following, she was carried captive, with her mother, to Canada, and there brought up in the Romish faith, married, and had several children; but upon her husband's death a strong desire led her to return to the land of her nativity upon an exchange of prisoners in 1714.
>
> After her return she married Captain Thomas Baker, then of Northampton (Ma.), when she renounced the errors of the Romish religion, and joined with the church under the care of the Rev'd Mr. Solomon Stoddard. An attempt was made to recover her by Monsieur Siquenot, a Romish priest, who sent a long and affectionate letter to her from Canada, which, being laid before the late Governor Burnet, His Excellency wrote a solid and judicious confutation of the erroneous principles therein advanced.

[13]Coleman, *op. cit.*, I, 147–149; Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–335.

her first husband's estate and her two young daughters, whom she was forced to leave in Canada in the care of Philip and Marie-Madeleine Robitaille.[14] In December, 1714, Christine was granted land in Brookfield on condition that she marry Thomas Baker, as she did a short time later. Over the next twenty-odd years, the Bakers raised a family of seven children while they lived in Northampton, Brookfield, and Mendon, all in Massachusetts, Newport, Rhode Island, and finally Dover, New Hampshire. In Dover in 1733, Christine, rebaptized Margaret by the Reverend Solomon Stoddard after her return from Canada, was given a license to keep a tavern as well as a grant by Massachusetts of 500 acres in Maine. Thomas died in 1753; Christine, or Margaret, on February 23, 1773.[15]

As with other families separated by the fortunes of the imperial struggle, the Otis-Robitaille family maintained intermittent contacts with each other. In the early 1720's, Christine's half-brother Philip Robitaille stayed with the Bakers in Brookfield for a year. The family visit seems to have been the occasion for a March, 1722, memorial from the Bakers to the Massachusetts House of Representatives seeking aid for a projected mission to Canada:

> the said Christian [Christine] from her natural affection to her Children in Captivity at Canada [. . .] and in hopes of Recovering them, Designs to Undertake a Journey thither, That She is Encouraged to hope she may be Useful to persuade many others, in the Hands of the French & Indians to return to their Country, and Religion & praying a Suitable allowance for her Support in this affair.

The Bakers did go to Canada in April, 1722, but they were unsuccessful in effecting a reunion of Christine with her daughters.[16] Her only other

[14]Coleman, *op. cit.*, II, 34, 65–66, 112–113. After one unsuccessful attempt, Baker had escaped in May, 1705. John Stoddard was a son of Rev. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton. The story of the commission may be followed in "Stoddard's Journal," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, V (1851), 21–42. Governor Vaudreuil was not pleased with the projected departure of Christine, according to the Journal (p. 36):

> The Governor would neither consent to her going home, nor to her going to Quebec, but promised, by the faith of a gentleman, that he would obtain the liberty of the Court of France for her return, and, if possible, it should be sent before winter. We thanked him, and told him she was now spirited to return, and that she had been so long vexed and plagued in this country that she could be no longer easy here, and that she had sold her household goods and could not well subsist.

[15]In the various sources, she is usually referred to as Christine.

[16]Coleman, *op. cit.*, I, 152–153.

recorded connection with her Canadian past and family occurred when she received a letter from a French priest in the summer of 1727, a letter occasioned in part by the death of Christine's first daughter, Marie-Anne Christine, and her infant granddaughter in Quebec in December, 1726.

The four-thousand word letter, dated June 5, 1727, was written to Christine by Father François de Seguenot.[17] Seguenot was born in 1644 at Rouvray in the Diocese of Autun. He joined the Society of Saint-Sulpice in 1668 and served as a parish priest or curé for several years near Paris and in his home diocese southeast of the French capital until his removal to Canada in late 1673. First arriving in the French part of the new world in 1657, the Sulpicians centered their missionary and educational work in Montreal, and accordingly Seguenot became the first curé of the nearby parish of the Infant Jesus at Pointe-aux-Trembles. In 1694, he left Pointe-aux-Trembles to become the chaplain or spiritual director of the sisters who staffed the hospital in Montreal, the Hôtel-Dieu. From 1699 to 1715, and again from 1718 until his death in 1727, Seguenot served as vicar of Notre Dame, the principal Sulpician parish in Montreal, with a brief return to Pointe-aux-Trembles as curé in 1715–1718. Until her death in 1714, Seguenot was the spiritual director of a much-admired and celebrated recluse and mystic, Jeanne le Ber.

The scant evidence available directly concerning Seguenot's activities indicates that his service in a colonial Canada informed by the French Catholic spiritual revival of the seventeenth century was successful and that he himself was a revered and respected figure.[18] A glimpse of his own interior spiritual formation and the difficulties of a missionary in Canada may be discerned in several letters to Seguenot from Father Louis Tronson, Superior of the Society of Saint-Sulpice,

[17]See Henri Gauthier: *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada* (Montreal, 1912), p. 90; and *Sulpitiana* (Montreal, 1926), p. 262. I appreciate the kind assistance of Father Emilius Goulet, S.S., Provincial Superior, and Father J. Bruno Harel, S.S., Archivist, both of Les Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice de Montréal, which included a copy of "Notes Biographiques sur François Seguenot, Sulpicien," by Carméline S. Germain of the Société Historique de la Pointe-aux-Trembles. In addition, Father John W. Bowen, S.S., Archivist at the Sulpician Archives in Baltimore was generous with his interest and assistance, as was Dr. Robert Allen of the University of Dallas Department of History who, while visiting the Sulpician archives in Paris, obtained information for me as well as the generous response of l'Abbé Noye, director of the archives.

[18]See Cornelius J. Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto, 1976), especially Chapter VI.

1676–1700.[19] In his first few years in Canada, Seguenot needed counsel about a tendency to be directly critical about conditions in the Sulpician seminary in Montreal. Amidst a lingering loneliness in the rough wilderness, Seguenot comes across as an individual who was extremely serious about his priestly vocation and his own efforts to abandon himself to God's Providence in an environment so very different from what he was used to in France. Father Tronson's letters reveal Seguenot as a priest seeking direction in the practice of self-control and the attainment of spiritual perfection, a priest sensitive to his responsibilities regarding the souls in his charge, such as, late in his life, Christine Baker.

The tone of Seguenot's letter to Christine is by turns personal and intense. He signed his letter "Seguenot [,] Priest of the Seminary at Ville-Marie [Montreal]: You know me very well."[20] Both Christine and her mother had been members of a religious society in Montreal directed by the priest, and since the death of Madame Robitaille's former confessor in early 1726, Seguenot had assumed the same role.[21] Frequently, he likened Christine to the prodigal son,[22] imploring her to return from New England and to abjure her apostasy from "the Catholick Church, the sole Church and Spouse of Jesus Christ her only Husband."[23] She was assured that the Church and her parents stood ready to welcome her and her husband if she would recant her errors. Land, or work if he had a trade, would be available for her husband.[24] Included with this letter were two other letters, now lost, which concerned Christine's daughter Marie-Anne Christine, who had died in December, 1726, a "happy and Christian Death." Seguenot had been her spiritual director before her marriage earlier in the same year and subsequent move to Quebec. She had been "infinitely indebted to the Mercy of God, and the watchfulness of her Grand-mother, for having

[19]L. Bertrand (ed.), *Correspondance de M. Louis Tronson, Troisième Supérieur de la Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice* (3 vols.; Paris, 1904). The letters to Seguenot are in Vol. II.

[20]*A Letter from a Romish Priest*, p. 13. See also John Gilmary Shea, "The Earliest Discussion of the Catholic Question in New England—Seguenot and Burnett [*sic*], 1727," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, VI (1881), 216–228, a rather triumphalistic and enthusiastic, but undocumented, dismissal of Burnet and tribute to Seguenot; and William Stetson Merrill, "Catholic Authorship in the American Colonies before 1784," *Catholic Historical Review*, III (1917), 308–325, which includes a brief notice of *A Letter from a Romish Priest*.

[21]*A Letter from a Romish Priest*, pp. 1–2.

[22]*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9, 11.

[23]*Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

[24]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

withstood her voyage to New-England, and not suffered her to follow you thither." Unhappily, Christine would not be able to emulate her daughter's "tranquility" at death and her "inward Peace" if she did not return to Canada and the Church.[25] Rather, "Your Soul, my dear Christina, like that of the Prodigal Son, dies with hunger in the strange Land whither you are gone."[26]

Seguenot's letter was focused on one principal consideration, the unity and apostolicity of Christ's true church. And, while he did make several other apologetical points, he asked Christine to direct the attention of Massachusetts ministers to the question of unity and apostolic succession: "shew it to your Ministers if you think it proper, or to whom else you please, and if they will answer me, let them do it in Latin or Greek, if they cannot conveniently write in French, I shall reply in Latin or Greek, for I cannot speak the English nor the Dutch tongue."[27] He would hope to refute their responses as erroneous "with the grace of God, and the assistance of the Holy Ghost who is the Spirit of truth." Seguenot recognized that there were many differences between Catholics and Protestants, but "it would be endless to go over every Article wherein we differ from one another; which as it draws to no conclusion, serves only to maintain the Dispute." The fundamental and essential question, he contended, concerned "the unity of one true Church, the only Spouse of Jesus Christ."[28] The Roman Catholic Church, according to Seguenot, was that church, founded upon St. Peter: "Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will establish my Church, which all the infernal Powers shall never overset" (Matthew 16:18).[29] And, according to St. Paul: "There is . . . but one God, one Jesus Christ, one Faith, one Baptism, one single Body which is the Church, one single Spirit which animates and directs her" (Ephesians 4:4–5). Noting the many divisions and differences in Protestantism, including the sectarian situation in England—"The Puritans in England make up one [religious body], the Nonconformists another, the Presbyterians one, the Episcopals another, the Quakers one, the Anabaptists another"[30]—Seguenot summed up his position:

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 6.

[26]*Ibid.*, p. 9.

[27]*Ibid.*, p. 11. Seguenot's letters were written in French and translated by an anonymous individual into English. Burnet's reply was originally in French, but translated into English, again by an unnamed New Englander.

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

[29]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

> . . . let them shew me that the same Jesus Christ sent Luther, or Calvin, or Zuinglius [*sic*] to establish that same only Church, as he sent St. Peter and the other Apostles to preach his Gospel, and to found that one Church. 'Tis what they can never do, who have fram'd many Churches, all differing the one from the other; and it is what evidently proves that they err: and that those that follow them are maintained in an Error: All their pretended Churches being no other than a Tower of Babel, which by its confusion and multiplicity destroys itself.[31]

Seguenot's apologetic, then, is a fairly traditional Catholic emphasis upon the four marks of Christ's true church, i.e., it is one, holy, catholic [universal], and apostolic. While his particular approach is scriptural and historical, his attention to the English situation was perhaps influenced by the contemporary work of one of France's leading apologists, both for the Church and (not uncritically) for Louis XIV's royal absolutism, Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704).[32] In such works as his *Discourse on Universal History* (1681) and especially in his *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* (1688), Bossuet underscores the internal dissensions and divisions within the Protestant world.[33] His chapter on the English situation in *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches* is faithfully echoed in Seguenot's harsh treatment of Henry VIII's cruelties toward such as Anne Boleyn, Thomas More, and John Fisher, as well as the anomaly of Henry's initial opposition to Martin Luther along with his own later doctrinal errors.[34]

One further point made by Seguenot is of particular interest. In his description of the English, he reminds his reader(s) that at one time the English, as Roman Catholics, had been able to attend the sacrifice of the Mass and to receive the Eucharist, the very Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: "Why then do the English at this time no longer acknowledge the truth and reality of the Presence of Jesus Christ in that awful Sacrament?"[35] The context of Seguenot's consideration of the Eucharist develops from his definition of religion:

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

[32]See Avery Dulles, *A History of Apologetics* (New York, 1971), pp. 128–131.

[33]See Orest Ranum (ed.), Bossuet, *Discourse* (Chicago, 1976), part 2, chap. 31, pp. 289–295; *History of the Variations* (2 vols.; Dublin, 1845), Vol. I, Preface, pp. v–xxv; Vol. II, Book XV, pp. 280–388.

[34]*History of the Variations*, Vol. I, Book VII, pp. 259–326. A principal source for this part of Bossuet's study is Bishop Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation of the Church of England* (2 vols.; London, 1679–1681).

[35]*A Letter from a Romish Priest*, p. 8.

> It is a vertue by which we worship God as the sovereign and absolute Lord of all his Creatures, whether by Sacrifice and real Offering with Blood, as did of old the Priests Aaron and his Successors under the Mosaical Law, in killing Bullocks, Rams, and Lambs, or mystically tho' very really as do the Priests under the Law of Grace, in sacrificing and offering every day to the most adorable Trinity Jesus Christ upon our Altars.[36]

This new sacrifice instituted by Christ had replaced the old Mosaic sacrifice, enabling a believer to receive the grace of God since this new sacrifice contained "the merits of the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ and of his adorable Blood." Thus, the believer was offered "a real entrance into the Adoption of the Children of God." Contending, then, that even the pagans in Asia and Africa and America subscribed to this elemental sense of the need for sacrifice in their own activities vis-à-vis "their false Gods," Seguenot concluded "that the real sacrifice of some Victim is essential to Religion."[37] And, therefore,

> ... there is no Religion either in Old or New-England, nor in Holland, nor in part of Germany, nor at Geneva, nor in the Swiss Cantons that follow Zuingluis [*sic*], because in all those places there is neither Sacrifice nor Sacrifices, though they know as we do, the true God, and because by a most deplorable blindness they have banished from amongst them the Priesthood of Jesus Christ.[38]

Seguenot, then, stood ready to "dialogue" with New England ministers, in Latin or Greek, if not French, in order to persuade Christine Baker to return to Canada. Aside from a few comments about several Protestant reformers, and his personal entreaties to his former "Spiritual Daughter," Seguenot sought to center this anticipated conversation between New England and New France on one specific ground: the unity of Christ's visible church, and just where would it be found? Additionally, he raised the question of the perennial human urge to offer sacrifice to God: where was this authentic mark of religion now observed?

II

The notice of Christine Baker's death that appeared in the March 15, 1773, *Boston Evening Post* alluded to her return in 1714 "to the

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 3.
[37]*Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
[38]*Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

land of her nativity" and Seguenot's "long and affectionate letter" which attempted to convince her to come back to Canada. According to the newspaper, the letter was "laid before the late Governor Burnet," who composed "a solid and judicious confutation of the erroneous principles therein advanced."[39] The extended title of *A Letter from a Romish Priest* indicated that the "Answer" was "By a Person to whom it was Communicated." The brief preface claimed that public interest had developed not only concerning Seguenot's letter, "written in French in a very crabbed and hardly legible hand," but also about the reply, in French, by "a Person of distinction among us." This unnamed person's curiosity had been piqued by the situation, and subsequently he had been prevailed upon to draft a response which could be read both by Baker and Seguenot. Popular interest had then caused both letters to be translated into English and published, although with much attendant difficulty. According to the bookseller, the person who had answered Seguenot had "no desire of appearing in Print in a matter that had given him but little trouble, and could be of no benefit to him, and besides [the answer] had been done pretty hastily."[40] Without much doubt, many Massachusetts ministers were available who would have been little troubled to respond to Seguenot. Massachusetts' new governor, William Burnet, who is generally credited as the author of the response, may have had more immediate reasons for making use of his facility with French in his new colony, however. His championing of the Protestant cause and his entry into the captivity narrative genre and apologetical lists might have offered him certain benefits and stature in his ongoing political struggle with the Massachusetts general assembly.

When he arrived in Boston in July, 1728, after eight years as the royal governor of New York and New Jersey, the forty-year-old Burnet was recognized as a figure of considerable importance, the godson of the late King William and Queen Mary, and the son of their celebrated champion, Bishop Gilbert Burnet (1643–1715).[41] The elder Burnet had made his mark not only as a forthright defender of the Protestant cause and succession during the heated 1680's and 1690's, but also

[39]See above, n. 12.

[40]*A Letter from a Romish Priest*, pp. i–ii.

[41]For William Burnet, see Allen Johnson, *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1927–), II, 295; and William Nelson (comp.), *Original Documents Relating to the Life and Administration of William Burnet* (Paterson, New Jersey, 1897). For Gilbert Burnet, see Leslie Stephen, *et al.* (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1885–), VII, 394–405; and T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1907).

as a prominent author, especially of English history. After a somewhat checkered academic career at Cambridge, William Burnet had finally made his own mark as a colonial governor. During the 1720's he had worked hard in New York, if unsuccessfully, to end the Albany-Montreal trade, which tended to undercut British imperial plans to deal directly with the Indians themselves rather than through an imperial rival.[42] After the death of George I in 1727, Burnet was transferred to Massachusetts, where, despite a grand reception into the colony, he was immediately involved in a persistent political and constitutional debate with the general assembly concerning a permanent or established salary for the royal governor.[43] Burnet stood by his instructions to have the assembly make such a grant for his entire governorship; the assembly countered with their charter right to grant revenues or support as they saw fit, i.e., to maintain the governor's political dependence upon them. The debate was initiated between Burnet, supported by the British Crown, and the assembly, well-seasoned in the matter, soon after his arrival and continued until his death on September 7, 1729.[44] Thus, Burnet, an Anglican, may have been seeking to ingratiate himself with his new constituents, well

[42]For Burnet's efforts as New York governor, see Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York, a History* (New York, 1975), chap. 8; for New Jersey, see John E. Pomfret, *Colonial New Jersey, a History* (New York, 1973), chap. 6.

[43]Two poems were published in Boston welcoming Burnet. One was by a lifelong friend of Benjamin Franklin, Rev. Mather Byles (1706–1788), an early American poet as well as Congregational minister. To offer a flavor:

> Long have we wish'd the golden Hours to rise,
> And with distinguish'd Purple paint the Skies,
> When, thro' our wondring Towns, in Raptures gay,
> The pompous March should shape it's shining Way;
> While breathing Trumpets try their silver Strains,
> And whirling Chariots scour along the Plains;
> When the glad City should unfold it's Gates,
> And the long Triumph grace the glowing Streets.
> O BURNET! how we bad the Minutes run,
> Urg'd the slow Hours, and chid the lingring Sun!
> Impatient, met each Post, and call'd aloud,
> 'When will his Wheels smoke rat'ling o'er the Road?
> 'When shall we say, *He's come!* with big Delight,
> 'And with his Aspect feast our longing Sight?

Nelson (comp.), *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[44]The controversy may be followed in Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, edited by Laurence Shaw Mayo (3 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936 [1764–1767]), II, 246–277.

known to be peculiarly sensitive in matters of religion, by entering the Seguenot-Baker situation.

At the same time, Burnet was a cosmopolitan and learned English gentleman who was accustomed to eager audiences and the sound of his own ideas, and he had already published a volume in the mid-1720's on the Old Testament Book of Daniel, the New Testament Book of Revelation, scriptural prophecy, and the approaching end of Roman Catholicism.[45] Given his pedigree and his own efforts, then, he was already at ease in religious discussion. As Thomas Hutchinson, a later Massachusetts governor, described Burnet, he was a man of "superior talents" whose "free and easy manner of communicating his sentiments made him the delight of men of sense and learning." Burnet saw himself as a late bloomer, a condition, according to Hutchinson, possibly brought on by "the exact severe discipline of the bishop's family." Perhaps this background also accounted for his somewhat lax attendance at public worship in Massachusetts, or perhaps it was really "owing to an abhorrence of ostentation and meer formality in religion." As his father had been tolerant of various Protestants and accordingly favored a broad-bottomed Protestant establishment in England, so his son: "He was a firm believer of the truth of revealed religion, but a bigot to no particular profession among christians and laid little stress upon modes and forms."[46] Like his father, however, William Burnet was thoroughly anti-Catholic.

If the tone of Seguenot's letter was personal and intense, the most apt description of Burnet's reply, dated January 8, 1729, and approx-

[45]Burnet, *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy; Wherein It Is Endeavoured to Explain the Three Periods Contain'd in the XIIth Chapter of the Prophet Daniel. With Some Arguments to Make It Probable, That the First of the Periods Did Expire in the Year 1715* (New York, 1724). The date 1715 was significant as the year of King Louis XIV's death. Roman Catholicism would be defeated, according to Burnet, by the end of the eighteenth century.

[46]Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, II, 276–277. According to William Smith, a New York admirer of Burnet:

> The excessive love of money, a disease common to all his predecessors, and to some who succeeded him, was a vice, from which he was entirely free. He sold no offices, nor attempted to raise a fortune by indirect means; for he lived generously, and carried scarce any thing away with him, but his books. These and the conversation of men of letters, were to him inexhaustible sources of delight.

William Smith, Jr., *The History of the Province of New York, from the First Discovery to the Year 1732*, edited by Michael Kammen (2 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972 [1757]), I, 187.

imately the same length as the first letter, is assured, even arch. Seguenot had greeted his correspondent as "My dear Christina, and whom I may call my Spiritual Daughter; since I esteem'd and directed you as such, whilst you were here." Burnet began "The Answer" in this fashion: "Madam, I Am very sensible of the Disadvantage I lie under, in not being able to address my self to you under as endearing a Title as that which Mr. Seguenot takes to himself." Of course, she would understand that sort of flattery was "commonly made use of for want of good Arguments." And now, Burnet confidently continued, he would proceed "to destroy the Principles which he [Seguenot] has advanced in that Letter."[47]

As for Seguenot's major point, the question of unity, Burnet admitted the possibility of one church established by Christ. The question, however, was which church fit this description? According to Burnet, Seguenot offered no proof that it was the Roman Catholic Church, or that the pope was the successor of Peter, or that St. Peter had ever even been to Rome. Moreover, the allusion in St. Peter's first epistle (5:13) to the church at Babylon, a term which usually was interpreted as a reference to Rome, ought to make "Papists blush." Everyone knew the Roman church, as the Whore of Babylon, was being referred to in such as Revelation 17:4–6, explained the author of *An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy*.[48] As far as Burnet was concerned, in little over a page he had demonstrated "that Mr. Seguenot has proved nothing of what he should have done, in that very place of his Letter, where he seems resolved to muster up all his strength to over-power us." Still, Seguenot had written some other things "which might startle you," and so Burnet would demonstrate their falsity.[49]

Surely, at least the first generation or two of the Puritan exodus to New England, which had been most sensitive to the creation of a visible church of invisible saints and had insisted on the demonstration of a saving experience for full communion, would have cringed at Bishop Burnet's son's further clarification regarding the unity of Christ's church: "For my part, I say, that this Church contains all the Faithful of all Ages dispersed all over the World." Indeed, "neither is it necessary, that this unity of the Church should be visible." Making use of Seguenot's quotation from St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, Burnet continued: "if this [one] Spirit conducts it, the Church has no

[47]*A Letter from a Romish Priest*, pp. 1, 14.
[48]*Ibid.*, pp. 15, 17.
[49]*Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

need of a visible Head on earth." The one visible mark of Christ's followers, according to John 13:35, was that his disciples love one another.[50] Given its history of persecution and religious wars, according to Burnet, this obviously did not include the Church of Rome.[51] And, in fact, true Christians were those who were persecuted by this church.[52] And, finally, regarding the question of unity: the various Protestant groups, "though they constitute different Congregations under different Regulations; this does not hinder them from looking upon one another as Members of the one only universal Church of Christ." Yet, to look at the Catholic Church was to see Dominicans and Jesuits arguing about grace, even as Calvinists and Arminians so argued. It was to hear disputes among papists about infallibility, whether located in the pope or, as the French Roman Catholic Church argued, in the pope only with the concurrent assent of a church council. In sum, according to Burnet, "I have said enough to let you see, that if Protestants have not Unity among themselves, the Church of Rome has it no more than they."[53]

As to the matter of sacrifice, Burnet put forward several verses from St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews (9:25–28) to the pointed effect that Christ had offered Himself as a sacrifice once for all. Thus, according to Burnet's understanding of the Mass, to pretend to offer Him up in sacrifice again and again, as a priest did, was shameful.[54]

Burnet did manifest a command of certain sources when he offered a series of lengthy corrections concerning Seguenot's brief comments about John Calvin's death, Martin Luther's marriage, and Henry VIII's marriages to Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn.[55] He also countered the import of Seguenot's points with a rehearsal of the history of bad popes, from Catholic sources, and a charge that French clergymen kept concubines or even married privately.[56] And, as to Christine's daughter dying "like a good Catholick," since she had not had any real religious instructions, how could she believe otherwise? "She judged according to the Light she had; and if she was mistaken, it is to be hoped that the Lord will forgive her on account of the false guides, who have hid the truth from her and taught her falshoods

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 16.
[51]*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 24–25.
[52]*Ibid.*, p. 17.
[53]*Ibid.*, p. 18.
[54]*Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.
[55]*Ibid.*, pp. 20–23.
[56]*Ibid.*, pp. 23–24, 21.

[*sic*]."[57] Burnet did warn Christine about being taken in by Seguenot's "flattery" and promises of forgiveness and land and a livelihood for her husband in Canada: once back in the Roman church's power she would be treated with severity.[58] Further, in his single comment which moved beyond anti-Catholicism to a pronounced anti-French sentiment, Burnet suggested Seguenot must be making his promises about land and work in Canada "out of ignorance." Why? "For Persons that know what it is to live in a free Country, to go, and throw themselves headlong into the clutches of an absolute Government; it cannot be imagined that they can do such a thing, unless they have lost their Senses."[59]

In sum, according to Burnet, it was the Protestant reformers who had stood up to the corruptions of Christ's religion by the anti-Christ and brought His followers "back into the right path." He suggested that Christine send his letter back to Canada so that she could then hear the answer of the other side, examine the two positions, and then she would "be able to fix on what is best for the Happiness of your Life, and the Salvation of your Soul; which is the hearty desire of Madam, your unknown but humble Servant."[60]

III

The virtually melodramatic yet real events culminating in *A Letter from a Romish Priest in Canada* must have touched most of those involved at a deep human level. The anguish associated with forest warfare and loss of family, the exhausting march into captivity at the hands of Indians already likened to savages, and the subsequent ransom by the initially despised French with their foreign ways and language were closely followed by two wars (1689–1697, 1702–1713) between the French and their Indian allies and the English left at home. Despite their own initial disorientation in Canada, played out before them anew by fresh supplies of English captives, numbers of these unwilling immigrants freely chose after a time to remain in their new home. Such was Grizel Otis, while her infant daughter, raised in Canada, never really knew any other home. After twenty-five years, the family was broken up again when the young widow Christine Le Beau

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 19–20.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

decided to move to New England, against her Canadian family's wishes and without her own two young daughters. Thirteen years later, the wounds were reopened with the death of one of those daughters and a new and urgent appeal for Christine to return to her Canadian home and family and former church. The colonial canvas itself is colorful even without the epochal scenes and figures evoked by Francis Parkman or the procrustean mythos of English liberty challenging French and Roman authoritarianism. There was much human suffering and nobility threading their way through the story of the Otis-Robitaille-Le Beau-Baker families.

The Whiggish spectacle of liberty and non-liberty in mortal combat is painted in religious nuances in the conversation between the French priest and the English politico. The rich irony here, of course, is that both would have accepted the first designation of freedom for himself and reserved the latter description for his adversary. In an additional irony, New France, without its own printing press, had been (unknowingly) able to make use of one of several in New England with which to state part of its own case as to who it was that enjoyed freedom—in its most radical sense. There were in fact two cultures at odds in North America, and *A Letter from a Romish Priest* provided firsthand evidence of them.

But there was still at least one other meaning to the exchange of views in this small work. It was as if Seguenot and Burnet were combining to fashion a coda for an emerging literary genre into which seemingly both of them had wandered. Their letters can be viewed as the appropriate conclusion to the unwritten captivity narrative of Christine Baker, at least from the English perspective. When John Williams had constructed his own apologetic against Catholicism in his own captivity narrative, he had contended with his adversaries for the most part indirectly, through the agency of his son who needed to be saved from those very adversaries. As the triumphant subtitle of *A Letter from a Romish Priest* demonstrated—*To One Who Was Taken Captive in Her Infancy, and Instructed in the Romish Faith, But Some Time Ago Returned to This Her Native Country*—this later redemption was special, a matter of mature choice by one actually raised as a Catholic but providentially rescued from such errors. But this time the very adversary, the captor, was speaking for himself; and that adversary's arguments for Christine's continued captivity were being thrown back in his face, as it were, and by the colony's governor no less. The early captivity narratives told tales of suffering and redemp-

tion; never before had one such published tale contained the very breath of the enemy. Of course, Seguenot himself had died in the summer of 1727 just after sending his letter; and Burnet would be dead within a short time of the publication of their brief exchange. More's the pity as it would probably have been an interesting dialogue if it could have continued.

OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE: AN AMBIGUOUS SYMBOL

REVIEW ARTICLE
BY

STAFFORD POOLE, C.M.

Documentos guadalupanos: Un estudio sobre las fuentes de información tempranas en torno a las mariofanías en el Tepeyac. By Xavier Noguez. (Mexico City: El Colegio Mexiquense, A.C., Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1993. Pp. 280; appendixes 11; illustrations 27.)

The Image of Guadalupe. By Jody Brant Smith. Second and revised edition. (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press in association with Gracewing/ Fowler Wright Books Ltd. 1994. Pp. xvii, 132; appendices 8; illustrations 15. Paperback.)

Our Lady of Guadalupe: Faith and Empowerment among Mexican-American Women. By Jeanette Rodriguez. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1994. Pp. xxxvi, 227; appendices 8; illustrations 4; tables 9. $35.00 clothbound; $13.95 paperback.)

The devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe of Mexico, based on the story of the Virgin's appearance to a native neophyte named Juan Diego at the hill of Tepeyac in December 1531, has an enduring fascination. The Virgin Mary was said to have directed Juan Diego to go to the bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, with a request to have him build a church on the place where she appeared. There, she promised, she would be the natives' mother, comfort them in their sorrows, and hear their prayers, tears, and entreaties. As proof of this, she had Juan Diego collect flowers from the hill at a time when they were not in season and take them in his cloak (*tilma*) to Zumárraga. When Juan Diego unfolded his *tilma*, the Virgin's image was imprinted on it. In the past two centuries Guadalupe has become central to Mexican religion and nationality and today is one of the most powerful religious/national symbols in the world.

Though the traditional date of the apparitions is 1531, there is no incontrovertible evidence for them before 1648. In that year the Oratorian priest Miguel Sánchez first made the story known in his book *Imagen de la Virgen María*. Sánchez's thesis was that the mariophany was an affirmation of the special position and divine election of the *criollos* of New Spain. Six months

after Sánchez's work appeared, Luis Lasso de la Vega, the vicar of Guadalupe, published the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* (1649), an extended treatment in Nahuatl (Aztec) of the apparitions, the shrine, and the miracles worked there. The description of the apparitions, known by its opening words as the *Nican mopohua*, has come to be regarded in many quarters as the authentic version, perhaps dating back to the very time of the apparitions. Its authorship is often attributed to the famed Nahua scholar and governor, Antonio Valeriano.

The story and meaning of Guadalupe has fascinated and continues to fascinate scholars in a variety of disciplines. Historians, ethnologists, anthropologists, linguists, and theologians have mined it for a variety of cultural, political, and religious interpretations. The result has been strong, sometimes acrimonious debate. As Xavier Noguez remarks, "el tema parece inacabable" (the subject seems endless). The three books reviewed here reflect this ongoing fascination, and each approaches the controversial devotion from a different point of view.

Noguez's *Documentos guadalupanos*, an outgrowth of his doctoral dissertation at Tulane University, is a study of the earliest sources of the Guadalupan account. The author has set certain limits to this study, "the more basic and useful objectives" (p. 13), that is, a detailed examination of the written documentation principally during the first two centuries of Spanish rule. The documents include both originals and those that have survived only in copies. In the latter case Noguez has chosen only those of some certainty and has excluded such hearsay evidence as the account that, according to some testimonies, Zumárraga supposedly wrote. He also excludes Zumárraga's letter to Fernando Cortés, published by Mariano Cuevas and dated by him December 24, 1531, which has no real connection with the Guadalupe phenomenon. Noguez shows how the various documents add to our knowledge of this phenomenon in an incremental way. He divides them into those of native (Nahuatl) origin and those of Spanish origin. In the first part of the book he describes each document in detail, then in a later section he analyzes them, and in a third he gives his conclusions. The disadvantage of this arrangement is that it breaks the flow of description and analysis, and some readers may find it confusing. Noguez rightly dismisses the idea that any mention of Guadalupe prior to 1648 automatically supports the antiquity of the apparition account. Many authors, including anti-apparitionists, have fallen into the snare of believing that references such as donations in wills automatically refer to the Guadalupe of the apparitions.

Noguez calls the *Nican mopohua* the "official version" and rightly concludes, against Cuevas and Ernest Burrus, that no original of it exists. Neither Sánchez nor Lasso de la Vega gave a clear idea as to the sources of their accounts. Noguez also points out that the miracle stories in the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* (known by their introductory words as the *Nican motecpana*) do not have a common origin and most likely were not written by Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, as is often asserted. He rejects the so-called "pregón del

atabal," actually a postconquest Nahuatl song (*teponazcuicatl*) of the mid-sixteenth century, as an authentic source since it makes no clear reference to the Guadalupe events. Noguez's analysis of the various Nahuatl chronicles (*anales*) that contain Guadalupan references is the most judicious, balanced, and thorough that this reviewer has yet encountered. It will be of value to all historians of the period, not just those interested in the Guadalupe devotion. He criticizes Cuevas for intruding Guadalupan interpretations into some of these *anales*, interpretations for which there is no basis. He also rejects the theory that the chapel pictured in the Mapa de Santa Cruz is an accurate depiction of the *ermita* of Guadalupe.

With regard to the documents written in Spanish I believe that his analysis of the Montúfar-Bustamante dispute of 1556, in which the Franciscan provincial, Francisco de Bustamante, condemned the devotion at Tepeyac as neo-idolatry, is too brief. Bustamante claimed that the image was painted by an Indian named Marcos, whom Noguez identifies as the Indian artist Marcos Cipac de Aquino, though some historians believe that Cipac and Aquino were two different persons. He has a keen analysis of Sahagún's famous condemnation of the devotion at Tepeyac in the appendix on superstitions in the *Historia general*. He cites the letters of both Diego de Santa María and the viceroy Martín Enríquez in 1575 concerning the origins of the chapel at Tepeyac but does not explain the connection between them. As for the *Relación* of the *visita* of the Franciscan commissary Alonso Ponce, he correctly points out that the author, Antonio de Ciudad Real, knew something of a prehispanic devotion at Tepeyac, but this could easily have come from Sahagún or his confreres.

Surprisingly, the author does not devote much space to Miguel Sánchez's *Imagen de la Virgen María*. I must disagree with his assertion that there is a consensus among researchers that the *Huei tlamahuiçoltica* was antecedent to and the basis of Sánchez's work. Sánchez made only the vaguest references to his sources and never mentioned either Lasso de la Vega's book nor any Nahuatl source. In addition there are differences in the accounts given by the two authors. Noguez's statement that one of the sources of information for Sánchez was Bartolomé García, vicar of the *ermita* of Guadalupe from 1624 to 1646, is also, to my mind, inaccurate. He gets this from a statement in *Testimonios históricos guadalupanos*, edited by Ernesto de la Torre Villar and Ramiro de Anda (Mexico City, 1983), p. 152, which is an assumption by the editors. On the contrary, Sánchez admitted that there were no official or authentic sources, but he made only one vague reference to a possible oral tradition among the natives. Noguez seems to consider the comments by Juan de Torquemada in his *Monarquía indiana* and Jacinto de la Serna in his *Manual práctico* as independent testimonies to a preconquest Nahua devotion at Guadalupe rather than as borrowings from Sahagún (as with Martín de León in the *Camino del cielo* of 1611).

His analysis of the archdiocesan inquiry of 1666 is thorough and balanced.

However, Noguez gives more importance to the papers of Francisco de Tapia Sosa y Albornoz (1694) than they deserve. They belong to a time when the apparition account was already well known and popular. These papers give the name of Juan Diego's home town as San Juanico, which Noguez considers to be an addition to the Guadalupan corpus. More probably it was a mistake. He has a good analysis of the Códice de Teotenantzin. He rightly discards the will of a female relative of Juan Diego as dubious but does not enter into the incredible complexity of the history of this will.

There are two areas of analysis in which I must disagree with Noguez. The first concerns the origin of the *Nican mopohu*. Noguez believes that the "versión oficial" of the apparitions had its origin "in a group of traditions of collective creation coming from various indigenous contexts already acculturated to Christianity" (p. 185). On page 186 he again accepts the idea that Sigüenza y Góngora identified Antonio Valeriano as the author of the *Nican mopohua*, though in fact he did no such thing. He accepts Garibay's hypothesis of a "literary team" directed by Sahagún, out of which came the *Nican mopohua*. He refers to the natives who lived after the conquest as "the primary begetters of the information of Guadalupe" (p. 190), though what they begot was a European story. The fact is that it is impossible to trace the origins of the *Nican mopohua*. Given the Franciscan hostility to Guadalupe throughout the sixteenth century, the story could not have originated among them. Antonio Valeriano was clearly not the author in any sense of the term of the *Nican mopohua*, nor is it the same as the Nahuatl relación mentioned by Luis Becerra Tanco and Sigüenza y Góngora. Given the silence that shrouds the apparitions, the account could not have originated much earlier than the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The second area of disagreement is the importance that Noguez attaches to the Nahuatl document known as the *Inin huey tlamahuiçoltzin*, often inaccurately called the *Relación primitiva*. He calls it "one of the three most important sources in the Nahuatl language about the mariophanies" (p. 160). It is, in fact, a rather cryptic document that omits many key elements of the apparition story, including the names of the protagonists. He is correct in rejecting Angel María Garibay's arbitrary assertion that it was an eyewitness, stenographic account of the meeting between Juan Diego and Zumárraga. Noguez fails to point out that the original is to be found in one of ten volumes of model Nahuatl sermons, the *Santoral en mexicano*, in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico. The *Inin huei tlamahuiçoltzin* is an eighteenth-century sermon outline for use by those who preached to the natives.

There are a number of less important points to which one may take exception. Noguez asserts (p. 166) that Laso de la Vega omitted the incident in which Zumárraga sent his servants to spy on Juan Diego, though it is in the *Nican mopohua*. Zumárraga became an archbishop in 1547, not 1548 (p. 170). He gives more importance to the Jesuit Juan de Alloza's *Cielo estrellado*

than I do (p. 186). He does not emphasize enough that Guadalupe was a *criollo* devotion, not an Indian one before the eighteenth century.

Despite these differences, I consider this book to be a valuable addition to Guadalupan literature. It is judicious, balanced, and within the self-imposed limits comprehensive. It is essential reading for anyone interested in one of the most important aspects of Mexican history.

The works by Smith and Rodriguez belong to another genre. Though not historical in the specific sense of the term, both raise important questions about the relationship of historical criticism to other disciplines, such as theology, anthropology, and the social sciences. Both works rely on historical facts or assertions to support their theses, while at the same time regarding historical objectivity as unnecessary or dissociated from their conclusions.

Jody Brant Smith's work is a study of the image from a scientific and iconographic point of view that also includes much about the history of the Guadalupe legend and its transmission. He begins by briefly summarizing the account as it is found in the *Nican mopohua*. Subsequent chapters deal with the origin of the image, his personal experiences in examining the image and tracing its history, a digression on Marian iconography, the supposed figures in the Virgin's eye, and science and the miraculous. The appendices include a translation of the *Nican mopohua*; a translation of the *Inin huei tlamahuiçoltzin* made by James A. Guest from an uncredited original; a commentary on the Codex Saville that has little relevance to the Guadalupan story; a commentary on the *apologia* of Servando Teresa de Mier; a translation of part of Becerra Tanco's comments on the sources; a translation of the Annals of Bartolache; the reply of Juan de Tovar to José de Acosta concerning the reliability of native manuscripts; and a totally irrelevant commentary on the relationship between Guadalupe and Pensacola, Florida.

In his foreword to Smith's work, Keith Thompson states, "By differentiating the picture from the question of origin, and these from the issue of historical context, Dr. Smith brings a rare sophistication to his empirical approach" (pp. ix-x). On page 79, Smith says that the Guadalupan mystery exists, whether or not it happened in historical time. Here we encounter the fundamental difficulty. Does the devotion stand independently of any historical basis? If so, what objective significance can it have? And what is one to say about the accounts themselves? that they are legends? that even if false, they contribute to faith? The impression this reviewer received from both Smith and Rodriguez is that in the long run historical truth or falsity are irrelevant, so long as one can gain a deep religious significance or experience from the devotion. This reviewer is also convinced that it is precisely this indifference to the historical reality that makes both works ultimately useless.

This is particularly true of Smith's book. It is not "a rare sophistication" that he brings to bear but an appalling lack of command, or even knowledge,

of the sources and current scholarship. The book is riddled with errors, demonstrably false assertions, and an inexcusable carelessness in dealing with the sources. There are no footnotes, even for direct quotations. Sources are not cited, for example, "One of the earliest pieces of printed matter in the New World is a small line engraving of the Image that must have been distributed by the thousands to the newly converted Christians of Central America" (p. 48), but he never says what it is or where it can be found. He claims, "Recent scholarship, especially among the Indian Archives of the Mexican National Library, has brought to light several documents that, if they do not prove the actuality of the Virgin's supernatural appearance before an Indian peasant in 1531, do at least confirm the fact that belief in that appearance was widespread in those times" (p. 27). This is welcome and perhaps surprising news for historians, but Smith does not identify these documents further. Sometimes, after the manner of Bermuda Triangle documentaries, he reaches conclusions by asking a question. "Is there any reason to doubt that Guadalupe was chosen as the name for the Mexican shrine on Tepeyac because, as in Spain, an apparition of the Virgin occurred there?" (p. 47).

Among the lesser errors, both factual and typographical: he says that Montúfar gave his Guadalupan sermon on September 8, some weeks before the formal inquiry (p. 15), whereas the sermon was delivered on September 6; Bustamante's reply was on the 8th, and the inquiry opened on the 9th. He has G. Velázquez, for Primo Feliciano (p. xiii); he translates *Manifiesto satisfactorio* as "Satisfactory Manifestation" (p. xvi). He gives the name of a witness at the Bustamante interrogatory as De Maseques (p. 14), when it was actually de Maseguer. There are *Tlanabuicoltica* for *Tlamahuiçoltica* (p. 23), Estramadura for Extremadura (p. 80), Beneducci Boturini for Botturini Benaduci (p. 51), Bercero for Becerra (pp. 108, 113), Ixtlilcóatl for Ixtlilxochitl (p. 51), Tepatl for tecpatl (p. 97, itecpal on p. 98; he translates *tecpatl* as stone, though it means flint).

Smith translates Motolinía as "threadbare" (p. 49) when a more accurate meaning is "a poor person" (Molina, *Vocabulario*, Nahuatl/Spanish, 60v). Though *axayacatl* is constructed of the words for water and face, it does not mean "face in the water" (p. 99) but was a type of aquatic insect valued for its eggs. *Itzcoatl*, which is translated "sword-back serpent," can mean either obsidian snake or a species of fish. *Cihuacóatl*, which is given as "chuacóatl" and translated as "female serpent," is better translated "woman serpent" (p. 102). Though Smith says, "It is tragic that he [Botturini Benaduci] was already dead when the king of Spain appointed him 'Historiographer of the Indies' " (p. 51); he was actually appointed in 1747, eight years before the date usually assigned for his death.

Smith devotes a chapter to the examination of the image that he and Philip Serna Callahan made in 1979. For four hours they were able to inspect the image at close range outside of its protective coverings and to take photographs with special infra-red film. Smith, however, is not a scientist, and Cal-

lahan is described as an entomologist with a background in biophysics (p. 31). The photographs that they took are instructive and interesting and confirm the extensive retouching of the original image. Still the fact is that the *tilma* has never been subjected to the kind of intensive scientific testing that was done to the shroud of Turin.

Other assertions made by Smith are so wild or patently inaccurate as to make one's mouth gape. There is not one iota of evidence for his statements that, "The Ixtlilcóatls [*sic*], father and son, believed implicitly in the miracle on Tepeyac hill. When Sigüenza, who had been skeptical, read through the documents, he also was convinced" (p. 51); or that Echeverría Vetia [*sic*] was "not originally a believer in the miraculous Image" but became one through some document he found in Botturini's collection (p. 52); or that "The Botturini collection now rests in the archives of the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City" (p. 52). Then there is the astounding statement that "The treaty that ended the Mexican-American War of 1846–1848 was named the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, further evidence of the overwhelming devotion accorded the Image in the nineteenth century" (*ibid.*).

According to Smith, Garibay discovered and translated Montúfar's sermon in the mid-1940's, and published it in 1955 and 1961 (p. 15). In reality, Montúfar's sermon has not survived, and the papers of the inquiry were first published by Vicente de Paúl Andrade in 1888. He erroneously says that Cuevas and Bravo Ugarte discovered four of the most impressive Nahuatl *anales* (p. 17). Cuevas, not Garibay, located the *Inin huey tlamahuiçoltzin* (pp. 19, 93). One of his more bizarre claims is that doubt was cast upon the very existence of Antonio Valeriano but that it was proven by a document in the National University that bore his signature (pp. 18, 83). Such an assertion cannot be reconciled with the abundant biographical data on Valeriano found in the works of Torquemada, Sigüenza y Góngora, Mendieta, Fernández de Uribe, and García Icazbalceta.

The book has an abundance of internal contradictions. "For four hundred and fifty years the colors of the portrait have remained as bright as if they were painted yesterday" (p. 1), but later he speaks of the deterioration of the gold rays (p. 63). At one point he claims that "none of the alterations affected significant areas of the Image" (p. 25) and later says that it is generally agreed that the entire lower third of the painting is a later alteration (p. 67). Smith also accepts the unsupportable assertion that mass conversions of the natives followed on the Guadalupe apparitions. "In just seven years, from 1532 to 1538, eight million Indians were converted to Christianity" (p. 6), though later he gives the figure of nine million (p. 50). In support of this, he cites Motolinía (p. 49) without giving a specific reference, though Motolinía never mentioned Guadalupe, and his figures are now considered highly exaggerated.

The translation of the *Nican mopohua* given in the appendix was made by Cleofas Callero from the Spanish of Primo Feliciano Velázquez (who is not acknowledged) as published by Mariano Cuevas. It first appeared in Harold

J. Rahm, S.J., *Am I Not Here?* (Ave Maria Institute, 1961). Hence, it is a translation of a translation and contains expressions that are awkward, literal, and at times unintentionally funny. Let one example suffice. "Que sólo los molestaba" is translated as "of being the molesting type" (p. 90).

Enough. It is incomprehensible how this work was published by a responsible press. It is useless for both the general reader and the specialist. It will mislead the former and exasperate the latter.

Jeanette Rodriguez's book raises similar questions about the relationship of history and theology, or at least theological reflection. Her study, which she admits is exploratory, is based on a survey of a select sample of Mexican-American women as a means of ascertaining the place of the Guadalupe devotion in their personal lives. Twenty women were surveyed, all of them young married mothers between the ages of twenty-two and thirty from the San Francisco Bay area. Though I am not a social scientist or statistician, the sampling appears to be rather narrow. It is not a typical grouping, and while their attitudes are interesting, and even perhaps directional for future research, it would be rash to extrapolate from them to any degree. In addition, the criteria do not take into consideration the regional background of the respondents—families from Jalisco would not have the same religious attitudes as those from Tabasco or Chiapas—and the reasons for their family's migration.

Rodriguez also includes chapters on the historical context of the Spanish conquest, on Our Lady of Guadalupe as story, icon, and experience, and on the insights from the experience of Juan Diego as the first perceiver of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Chapters 4-8 deal with the experiences of Mexican-American women, the methodology of the survey, an analysis of the questions, the theological significance, and the conclusions.

The first theological significance that Rodriguez finds in the Guadalupan devotion is in the area of popular religiosity. "She is God's action on the side of the poor, as is Juan Diego. In his encounter with the religious powers of the time, he is the protagonist, representing all who are marginalized" (pp. 144–145). The marginalized include Mexican-American women. "Guadalupe comes and stands among them to reflect who they are—mother, woman, *morena*, mestiza—and gives them a place in a world that negates them" (p. 145). It is through popular religiosity that Guadalupe interacts with and empowers her people to deal with an oppressive and alien society. According to Rodriguez, the Virgin of Guadalupe is closely associated with nature: with flowers, *las mañanitas*, the stars, the sun, and the moon. There is also a tactile element. "It is not enough to recognize a symbol: it must be held, experienced, and received" (p. 149). The symbol "manifests the creating energy and creative power which is God" (p. 150). As commentators have observed since the seventeenth century, "Our Lady of Guadalupe becomes a symbol and a manifestation of God's love, compassion, help, and defense of the poor" (p. 150). Thus Guadalupe "is grounded in Mexican history, but functions as a symbol of God's love, not only for Mexicans but for everyone" (p. 151). Finally,

Guadalupe is seen as the "feminine face of God" (p. 152). She manifests God's compassion, his divine power and might, his presence, and his recreating energy.

Yet, how is this related to the objective, historical nature of the Guadalupe apparitions and the devotion that follows from them? In a revealing statement, Rodriguez says, "The question as to whether the apparition did in fact occur is inconsequential: for those who believe, no explanation is necessary; for those who do not believe, no explanation will satisfy" (p. 127). This is too facile a dismissal of a basic question, both epistemological and hermeneutic, that lies behind all her conclusions. The objective historical nature of the Guadalupe apparitions, without which all claims and interpretations are valueless, is very consequential. It is precisely because many of Rodriguez's premises and interpretations rely on an inadequate or erroneous historical basis that they must be judged with skepticism.

The first of these premises is the totality of the devastation and shock of the Spanish conquest. Rodriguez, like Elizondo, accepts uncritically the black legend of Spanish cruelty and destruction. "For a people who were stripped of everything, she restores to them their dignity, their humanity, and their place in history.... Virgilio Elizondo contends that only a divine intervention could have turned around the devastation caused by the conquest" (p. 46). Church and state are accused of having worked together to uproot the native cultures and reduce the indigenous peoples to total subjugation, from which they were rescued by the Virgin of Guadalupe. Elizondo states in his foreword, "When the Spanish church was trying to crush and dominate the natives in the name of the Gospel, it was Our Lady of Guadalupe who intervened and produced something new.... She came at a time when the people were spiritually dead, abandoned by their gods, with no reason to live" (pp. xiii-xiv, 157). In interpreting the incident in which Zumárraga's servants attempted to steal the flowers from Juan Diego's *tilma*, Rodriguez quotes Clodomiro Siller, who interprets this action symbolically "as the dominant culture's attempt to take the truth away from the Indian. For Juan Diego, the conquerors and dominant culture have already taken his land, his goods, his city, his form of government, and his reasons for being and acting. Now they want to take away his truth, which is all he has left" (p. 44). Typical of her approach is the statement that the Spaniards "introduced" smallpox (p. 42).

Recent research is showing that such flag-waving but simplistic claims are unsupportable. In both her text and the bibliography Rodriguez shows no familiarity with recent works in the history of the conquest and immediate postconquest periods. Many towns and villages in New Spain never saw a conquistador; their first contacts with Spaniards were with missionaries, government officials, or tribute collectors. James Lockhart, in particular, in his *The Nahuas after the Conquest* (Stanford, 1992) has shown how in many locales the earliest postconquest Nahuatl documentation indicates that life was going on as before. For many of the native peoples the Spaniards were

simply the new tribute collectors. This does not mean that the picture was completely rosy. There was an appalling level of death and destruction, plunder and exploitation. It is just that the picture was vastly more complex than in the Elizondo-Rodriguez world view.

A second, implicit premise is that the personality and attitudes of the Mexican and Mexican-American were formed entirely by the experience of oppression, both Spanish and Anglo-American. Here again simplistic assertions abound. There is no consideration of regional differences in Mexico and the varying responses of the natives to the conquest. Likewise there is no treatment of the impact of the wars and disorder of the nineteenth century, the oppression of the native classes during the *porfiriato*, and the civil and religious upheavals of the twentieth century. It is inconceivable that these overwhelming events had no impact on the religious and social attitudes of the Mexican and Mexican-American. Even popular religiosity is viewed as "rooted in marginality and oppression" (p. 148), ignoring the fact that much popular religion was rooted in an attempt to control or at least modify the capricious and destructive forces of nature. She also ignores the essentially local nature of much popular religiosity. Her treatment of this subject would have benefited from a reading of William Christian's works on Spanish popular religion in the late medieval and early Renaissance periods.

Rodriguez bolsters this premise with proofs that betray a lack of familiarity with preconquest language and customs. "During the second apparition, Juan Diego addresses the Virgin as *Señora, la más pequeña de mis hijas* (Lady, the smallest of my daughters). By referring to the Virgin in this manner, he is implying that she, too, is poor and depreciated in the same way that he is. . . . Juan Diego then asks forgiveness from the Virgin for any pain he may have caused her by his failing to convince the bishop of her message. His self-hatred and sense of unworthiness exhibited in this passage are the tragic result of the conquest, wherein the Aztec people took on a 'victim mentality,' leading to a loss of a sense of their own self-worth" (pp. 41–42). These statements ignore the fact that Juan Diego was using standard, polite Nahuatl speech, the same that can be found in Karttunen-Lockhart, *The Art of Nahuatl Speech: The Bancroft Dialogues* (Los Angeles, 1987). The Spanish and American conquests are treated in the same simplistic manner. "Both the Spaniards and the Anglo-Americans gained power over the Mexican and Mexican-American people by military force and advanced technology" (p. 69). Spanish military and technological superiority, if such existed, was sorely tested on the *Noche Triste*. The forces that contributed to the Spanish and American victories were much more varied and numerous. The complex web of preconquest rivalries and inter-*altepetl* hostilities that made the Mexica prey for their indigenous enemies is completely ignored.

Rodriguez's book also contains many debatable, and even blatantly erroneous, assertions. Citing Elizondo for support, she accepts the twelve omens of Sahagún and the return of Quetzalcoatl as blue-eyed white man (p. 3),

though current scholarship generally sees these as postconquest rationalizations of defeat. Her view of preconquest Nahua life is idyllic. "Before the arrival of the Spaniards, Aztec society incorporated women at all social levels" (p. 4). Thus, before the arrival of the Spaniards "women in Aztec society were equally valued with men.... The new social system displaced women regardless of their race or class" (p. 5). One would like to see documentary support for such sweeping generalizations, especially in view of the progressively hierarchical structuring of preconquest Mexica society. Rodriguez speculates that the additions to the image were made in order to clarify the Nahuatl symbolism (p. 29), though it is more likely that they were intended to make it resemble the choir image at Guadalupe in Extremadura. She cites with approval Siller's theory that the use of "dios inninantzin" [*sic*] for Mother of God "suggests that the use of Spanish may be part of a mechanism of dialogue intended to widen the communication from Nahuatl to Spanish" (p. 40). It was just the opposite, an attempt to introduce a term for which the indigenous language had no equivalent, a standard procedure in Stage 1 Nahuatl. She quotes Siller about the prominent role played by uncles and claims that uncle referred "only to the brother of the mother and it was the uncle who willed his inheritance to the nephews and not to the sons" (p. 43). No dictionary I have consulted gives such a narrow definition of "tlahtli," and Molina, in fact, defines it as "hermano de padre o madre" (*Vocabulario*, Nahuatl/Spanish, 140r) nor does this statement agree with what is known of Nahua kinship and inheritance practices. "The uncle was the maximum expression of respect that one could give an adult" (*ibid.*). I have never encountered such a usage and would appreciate knowing in what Nahuatl documents it can be found.

Together with Smith, Elizondo, and Siller, Rodriguez accepts the large number of conversions in the aftermath of the apparitions. "The real turning point in the conversion of the Aztecs to Christianity came with the miraculous appearance of the Indian Virgin of Guadalupe in 1531.... Only six years after the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe, nine million Aztec people had been baptized into the Christian faith" (p. 45). The dubious nature of that claim has been explained above.

Rodriguez finds important, if exaggerated, meaning in Juan Diego's native name. "His name before the coming of the Spaniards was Cuauhtlatoatzin, 'he who speaks like an eagle,' that is, he who explains the wisdom of the Knights of the Order of Eagles or he who explains the wisdom of God (the sun). ... His name suggests that he may in fact have been one of the elders or wise men in the Nahuatl [*sic*] culture" (p. 52). No source gave a native name for Juan Diego until 1689, when Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora mentioned it almost in passing in his *Piedad heroyca de Don Fernando Cortés*. The assertion that Juan Diego was a pre- or postconquest *principal* has been advanced by some recent commentators, but there is no justification for it in any of the sources, which always referred to him as a commoner (*macehualli*).

Rodriguez's book is an instructive example of what happens when theology and history are encapsulated and divorced from one another. For far too long the two disciplines remained separated in the Catholic Church, with the result that theology grew sterile, deprived of any sense of context or development, and evolved into what Michael Novak called "non-historical orthodoxy." The situation is worsened when the historical basis of theologizing and theological speculation is erroneous or misleading.

Vincentian Studies Institute
Los Angeles

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

A History of the Bible as Literature. Volume One: *From Antiquity to 1700*; Volume Two: *From 1700 to the Present Day.* By David Norton. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 375; xii, 493. $75.00.)

David Norton's two volumes bring together an immense amount of material. At once conclusive and provocative, Norton's work is a history of ideas—ideas about literature, social ideas, cultural ideas, and ideas about the changing nature of the English language. While the focus of the study is upon the KJB (1611), Norton says from the start that he does *not* argue from a literary-critical or a translator's view of the work of the translators. Rather, indeed, he says that his aim is to present as fully as possible how people have thought about literary aspects of the Bible and how one may view the relationships between the translators and the qualities of their work as English.

The legacy of the English Bible must, of course, begin with the varied and diverse nature of the Bible itself, recognizing that the Bible for students of literature and religion needs to be viewed textually as well as a-textually. Norton begins his task with Augustine's reading of the Bible. Moving backward in time, he weaves a tight fabric, including the legends of the Septuagint and the concerns of writers such as Justin, Tatian, Tertullian, and Origen. Immediately a big question leaps out, one that continues to fret modern readers of Scripture. Elegant language or salvation? The pressure weighed heavily on Jerome's struggle with *dynamic equivalent translation*, that is, "that the new language is given equal weight with the original and that the translator attempts to make his work equivalent not just in meaning but in quality of style" (I, 33). Significantly, Jerome's position was not that of Tyndale or Coverdale, who worked without a sense of a literary standard for English. Yet for Jerome the anti-literary pressures were sufficient in strength to halt him from a consciously literary version. Norton gives a clue of what is ahead. How much more would these pressures affect the English translators, "themselves just as aware of the opposition between sacred and profane, but in no conflict over their allegiance to the sacred" (I, 37)?

Since substantial changes were taking place between Tyndale and the KJB in the English language, it is unlikely that early English translators would have

used a literary language if they had had it, for their attitude toward literature was "fundamentally hostile" (I, 65). Thus Tyndale had to invent his own appropriate English, setting a model for subsequent translations. Though Tyndale's influence is well-recorded, Norton examines the principal aspects of Tyndale's emphasis on meaning—feeling and study—so that some literary sense of the Bible may be inferred as Tyndale invokes terms with aesthetic weight. Here Norton asks us to look at the work of Mozley and Gerald Hammond to begin to assess Tyndale's variety of renderings for single words and his repetitiveness. Semantic or stylistic?

In the years following, the language of the Bible became a political issue as well as a theological one, and a succession of English translations followed—the Great Bible, the Geneva version, the Bishops', and the Douai-Rheims. While the "official" Protestant Bibles encourage a studiously devout reading of the Bible "without hinting at pleasure of any sort" (I, 118), the Catholic translation, largely the work of Gregory Martin, does give some attention to literary issues. Even though Martin troubled himself over the expressive ability of English, he clearly set before the KJ translators a version they could not ignore.

In the following chapter (chap. 10) Norton turns directly to the KJB. King James' "fifty-four learned men" faced a challenge not encountered by Wyclif, Tyndale, or Coverdale. Not only did they have a number of translations from which to work but they also had very explicit guidelines. The specified basic text was the Bishops' Bible, "to be as little altered as the truth of the original will permit." While Norton does not include the complete set of instructions for the translators, he does give those relating to the central issue—scholarly accuracy. The topic is significant. It has been for over a century a commonplace of KJB studies to see the translation as a work of inspired, creative genius. Norton says this: "Many arguments work against it: so much of the quality of the KJB depends on an established tradition of literal translations of the originals, and so much depends on translations already made, that, even if there was strong evidence that the KJB translators (or even Miles Smith) intended to make the language of the translation literary, they had little scope for doing so" (I, 149). The notes of John Bois, edited by Ward Allen, and the preface to the KJB Norton uses to build his case, concluding that "while the translators had a literary sense of their work, it was totally subordinated to their quest for accuracy of scholarship and translation" (I, 159).

In Chapter 11, Norton discusses presentations of the text, 1525-1625. Here one would be happily served to take a look at F. H. A. Scrivener's *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible (1611), Its Subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives* (Cambridge, 1884). Long out of print, Scrivener is a valuable supplement, prodding Norton's readers to ask textual questions beyond the scope of Norton's *History*. Chapters on the struggle for acceptance of the KJB and the gradual decline of the Geneva's popularity follow. The concluding chapters touch on Wither's Psalter and the gains in poetic form; Donne's use of the Bible, as well as that of Herbert, Cowley, Milton, and

Bunyan. Norton does not claim in these compact chapters to do more than he does—to survey briefly the possibility for these writers to incorporate the language of the KJB into creative work.

Volume One concludes with an appendix comparing various versions from Jerome to the KJB. Nowhere, to my knowledge, is such a comparison, however brief, easily available, since Weigle's *Octapla*, Bagster's *Hexapla*, and Butterworth's *Literary Lineage* are scarce items even as we look for comparisons of English translations. There is, additionally, a series of splendidly photographed plates following page 174, a Biblical index, and a useful bibliography.

Volume II begins with the early eighteenth century and the KJB. In this section Norton sketches a summary of the force that called for a new kind of effectiveness to balance the power to persuade—an effectiveness that moved to the heights of emotions. Names behind this force—many relegated to the footnotes of history—made a difference: John Husbands, Cornelius Nary, and Richard Blackmore. Better remembered are Sir William Temple, Edward Young, and Anthony Blackwell. For these men biblical appreciation was colored by the religious dimensions of Longinus's ideas on the sublime. But the most substantial influence in the eighteenth century was that of Robert Lowth, "a major figure in the progress of English attitudes to the KJB" (II, 97) even though Norton says that there is every likelihood these attitudes would have developed even if he had not existed. In an age where dictionaries helped standardize meaning, spelling, and pronunciation and grammars fixed notions of punctuation, Lowth, Norton says, keeping more of the KJB than any of his successors, anticipates to some extent the RSV in form. Even so, a point that Norton does not address—one that lurks in the notes of John Bois—is the "ordering" of punctuation in eighteenth-century versions, a pattern that seems to suggest that the KJB translators (where their successors did not) used punctuation to cultivate deliberate ambiguity (See Allen's edition of Bois as well as Scrivener's comments on Paris and Blayney).

Punctuation may not, indeed, put salvation at risk, but such a seemingly minor point was symptomatic of the many thorns that pricked those debating the versions and the eighteenth-century resistance to change amidst the reactionary spirit of deism. To explore this turbulent background Norton turns his attention to Thomas Paine and Thomas Paine's examination of the Bible. Paine's work anticipates later textual scholarship "although the conclusions he [Paine] comes to about the value of the books are naturally different" (II, 129).

The influence of the KJB on the Romantics—especially Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Byron—follows. This integration of biblical language into poetry outside the bounds of institutional religion epitomizes the movement toward reading the Bible as literature rather than as a guide to religious thought. Chapter 4 closes with a fascinating peek at Brontë's integration of KJB language into the language of *Jane Eyre*. In just a few passages we see

how *Jane Eyre* creates in a remarkable way a literary appreciation of the Bible unlike, for example, Bunyan.

By far the most important chapter in the second volume is Chapter 6, "The Revised Version." Of the instructions issued to the makers of the RV (II, 219-220), the second jumps out: "To limit, as far as possible, the expression of such alterations to the language of the Authorised and earlier English versions." By no means, nonetheless, did this rule clear an easy path to follow. Norton's evidence is solid and explicit. In the NT over 36,000 changes were made, but by one count the RV NT is more archaic than the KJB in at least 549 places. Norton's source for these statistics is Samuel Hemphill's *History of the Revised Version of the New Testament* (1906), but the conclusions are Norton's own insights, insights that call up the names of John Ellicott, B. F. Westcott, T. W. Chambers. It may be that the RV was "a compromise between the irresistible need to revise and the immovable monument of the KJB" (II, 222). It may be that the RV stood at the beginning of a new era of textual instability "which shows no signs of coming to an end for most Christians outside those sects that continue to adhere reverently and dogmatically to the KJB" (II, 221). It may be that the RV NT was tempered with respect for the KJB's language, but "it was no more than a tempering" (II, 232).

The culmination of the modern literary argument about the Bible in English is the NEB. Nowhere is Norton's fair-mindedness toward biblical translation so evident as here. The mainstream versions from 1611 had been revisions within an established literary framework, but the NEB's linguistic aim and change of language shifted the balance with the result that it belongs to what Norton calls maverick translations. Still, Norton does not accept, for example, Ian Robinson's outspoken, yet significant, criticism of the NEB without challenge. One must beware of commentary that becomes assertion, of insight that becomes literary fundamentalism. Perhaps with the KJB a great time produced a great Bible. Perhaps a great Bible bespeaks a great time. Perhaps our time, shallow and faithless, produces a Bible that is both its symptom and its image. Perhaps Bibles for personal computers, the hand-held electronic Bibles, and the latest in linguistic technology make continuous, contextual reading of the Bible fragmented and our sense of the Bible as literature little more than an uncertainty.

Norton claims that his work is for any "interested reader." A modest claim that is. No doubt any "interested" reader will discover early on that Norton's uncluttered, straightforward style makes this thorough, scholarly work "user-friendly." But the volumes are good tools for research. One brief example must serve. Tucked neatly in Vol. II, Chap. 6, are ten pages or so on Noah Webster's *Holy Bible . . . in the Common Version* (1833). His Bible, Norton says, makes him a stalking-horse for approaching the way the RV deals with the language of the KJB (II, 243). What about American revisers? Were British committees for the RV directly aware of Webster's work? Norton's volumes on every page answer questions, on every page gesture toward further study.

Volume 2 also has a comparison of texts discussed, detailed footnotes packed with information other than routine bibliographical data, and a useful bibliography. Yes, *A History of the Bible as Literature* for readers of many interests is cause for rejoicing.

S. G. HORNSBY, JR.

LaGrange College

Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil. By Bernard McGinn. (San Francisco: Harper SanFrancisco. 1994. Pp. xiii, 369. $35.00.)

Bernard McGinn is now established as one of the greatest living historians of Christian thought. His series *The Presence of God* (Crossroad, 1991-) has no peer in the history of spirituality and can be compared in depth and scope only to Jaroslav Pelikan's monumental five volumes on *The Christian Tradition* (Chicago, 1971-1989). In addition to his grasp of spirituality, McGinn has also published extensively on the history of eschatology and of apocalypticism. From this background, the author was well placed to investigate the history of the Antichrist from the first through the twentieth century.

As the second millennium approaches, speculation about eschatology has increased, though mostly among fringe groups. But the film *2001* already prepared the way for a broad and general interest in the idea of millennium, and McGinn's book speaks with great clarity and readability to the general audience as well as to the scholar. McGinn is one of the historians, like Pelikan, Francis Oakley, and Alan Bernstein, demonstrating that the history of ideas is not only alive and well but is producing better work now than ever before.

The existence of Antichrist beyond the human imagination is not the main point at play here. Rather, the author emphasizes that the concept of Antichrist, like the concept of the Devil, informs us about human perceptions of evil. Theoretically, the Antichrist is best defined as the evil essence of human opposition to the goodness of Christ. Historically, there have been many diverse ideas of what the Antichrist "really" is: a single son of Satan, who will appear at the end of the world; a collection of people such as apostates and heretics; an institution; a symbol of the evil in others or in ourselves, the last an idea not invented by modern subjectivists but going back at least as far as Augustine.

The book is successfully organized along chronological lines with attention to a variety of topics in each period. Though the emphasis is on theology, McGinn successfully treats graphic arts, literature, and popular religion as well.

Beginning with a study of Jewish thought before the time of Christ, in which among other things he connects the origins of Antichrist with the origins of Satan, particularly in apocalyptic literature, McGinn goes on to early Christianity. The first mention of Antichrist is in the Johannine letters. McGinn

shows how the Jewish tradition of concentrating evil in a historical figure such as Antiochus IV developed into the Christian pattern of identifying tyrants such as Nero as the Antichrist, though there was also a tendency to identify Antichrist as a group of heretics such as gnostics, or as a political institution such as the Roman Empire. Augustine identified the Antichrist with heretics and schismatics but cautioned that we must also guard against Antichrist in the evil inclinations within ourselves. For Augustine and his successors, the Antichrist was above all "the power of the Lie."

Without dwelling on trivial details, McGinn provides a good account of important depictions of Antichrist by such medieval figures as Gregory the Great, Adso, Joachim, and Gerhoh; he also points out the increasing use of Antichrist as a rhetorical device against one's opponents during the reform controversies of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. The rhetorical utility of the Antichrist increased still more from the thirteenth century, when the Emperor Frederick II could be named Antichrist by papalists. Papal propagandists reaped the whirlwind in the later Middle Ages, when John Wycliff and then John Hus called the pope, or the papacy in general, the Antichrist. The political rhetoric of Antichrist reached its height among the Protestant reformers of the sixteenth century, when Catholic theologians such as Bellarmine and Suarez had to spend (or waste) considerable ink in refuting the identification of the pope with Antichrist.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Protestant propagandists used the Antichrist as a tool against other Protestants as well as against Catholics. The English Civil War was the last major explosion of such rhetoric, and McGinn shows that since 1660 the Antichrist has not often been taken seriously by either politicians or theologians. The revival of Antichrist in the twentieth century in radical Protestant thought such as Dispensationalism is an historical anomaly. Antichrist is unlikely to rear his/her ugly head, even in the movies, as the third millennium approaches.

No more could be asked from this book—save one thing: a formal bibliography. Since the publishers' blurb represents the book as having more pages than it actually does, one assumes that a mistaken editorial decision deleted a previously existing bibliography. Though McGinn's footnotes are desirably full, nothing replaces a bibliography for the convenience of readers.

JEFFREY B. RUSSELL

University of California, Santa Barbara

Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation: Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung. By Michael Borgolte. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 95.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1989. Pp. 430, with two fold-out charts and 28 black-and-white plates.)

From Petrus Mallius in the twelfth century to Ferdinand Gregorovius in 1857 to Renzo Montini in 1957 to Michael Borgolte, the tombs of the popes have attracted the interest of scholars. Mallius looked mainly for epigraphic records while Gregorovius and others were concerned especially with the art history of the papal tombs. Borgolte studies primarily the places where the popes were buried in an attempt to see what those locations can tell us about wider themes in papal history.

Borgolte identifies two basic kinds of burials: the purely personal that depended on the choice of the pontiff and the successive burial of popes in the same place. This book is really about the latter kind of burial, and the author emphasizes three traditional locations. From 217 to 314 the popes were buried in the catacomb of San Callisto. Between the early sixth and the early tenth century St. Peter's was the location of papal burials. In the twelfth century the Lateran served as the final resting place for ten of sixteen popes. Borgolte reviews the literature concerning the location of Peter's tomb and the graves of his immediate successors, but concludes that too little can be known for certain about these burials to permit speaking of an early tradition of burial *ad Sanctum Petrum*. The periods between the demonstrable successive burials display certain trends as well. After the Constantinian peace of the Church popes were in the fourth and fifth centuries buried in a number of locations around Rome, although there was a concentration in the catacomb of Priscilla. In the tenth and eleventh centuries popes were buried in various places around Rome but also in other Italian and even German cities. As the thirteenth century opened, Innocent III spoke of burial at St. Peter's as a custom ("sicut moris est"), but he was buried elsewhere, and most thirteenth-century popes were indeed laid to rest in various Italian cities that belonged to the Papal States. Not surprisingly, the Avignon period found papal burials taking place in France whereas the Great Schism was accompanied by burials in a variety of locations. With Nicholas V papal burials returned to St. Peter's, where they have remained ever since with only a few exceptions. Some of the Borgia and Medici popes were moved to or from St. Peter's because of building projects or political turmoil, and Pius IX lies at San Lorenzo fuori le mura. John XXIII lies at St. Peter's but wished to be buried at the Lateran, where Leo XIII is entombed.

What does all of this mean? The graves in San Callisto were distinctive because ancient, and for that matter medieval, burials were private and familial for elites and for everyone else. Thus the burial of a succession of office-holders in a given spot was meant, in times of persecution, to assure and to proclaim continuity in the tradition. The graves are the physical analogy to Eusebius's bishop-lists. The later burials at St. Peter's were "Petrine" in the sense that they were meant to stress continuity of office with the Prince of the Apostles and thus to articulate a theme of primacy. Burials at the Lateran, the administrative nerve-center of the expanding papal government, spoke too of power and jurisdiction, but now the conception was official (literally)

rather than Roman or Petrine. The fact that thirteenth-century popes could be buried anywhere was partly due to continuous strife and partly due to the canonical dictum "*Ubi est papa, ibi est Roma.*"

Borgolte's approach is fresh and original, his learning vast, and his curiosity boundless. But the result, nevertheless, is unsatisfying in many ways. Borgolte mentions many times the social and institutional groups who claimed or who were assigned responsibility for the papal *memoria*. At the end, however, he weakly concludes that the curve of *memoria* does not quite run parallel with his curve of successive burials. I think the matter of *memoria* could have been pursued to better effect. Borgolte talks often of the art in the papal burial chapels. He has pointed and interesting things to say, for example, about John VII in the early eighth century or about Calixtus II in the early twelfth. I agree almost completely with his ideological readings of the art programs of these and other popes. But I am not sure that Borgolte always connects those programs effectively with the location of the pope's grave. That is, I am not convinced we are looking at two sides of the same coin. Where art is concerned, it may be objected that Borgolte has drawn scanty draughts from the deep well of art-historical criticism of the papal tombs of the Renaissance period. If the ideology of early medieval wall painting is worth pursuing, then why not the breath-taking sculpture of the sixteenth century?

Borgolte notes that three Renaissance popes were buried in re-used imperial sarcophagi. He notes, too, that there are Constantinian and Sylvestrian themes in the art of some medieval popes. He also says that popes may have been led to place their graves near St. Peter's in the first place because of the placement there of the imperial mausolea of the Theodosian dynasty. These few cases are all that Borgolte can adduce in the way of "Imperial Imitation." Thus it is legitimate to inquire about the aptness of Borgolte's title. That *Kaiserimitation* is an important theme in papal history goes without saying. But I do not think that Borgolte has shown that papal burial practices reflect that "imitation" very well. And are we to understand the title as meaning that the popes *either* imitated emperors *or* stressed Petrine succession? Or is the *und* a genuine *and*? Were the popes doing both simultaneously? The evidence of the book militates against such a conclusion. As suggested above, burial practices sometimes played down the idea of Petrine succession.

Borgolte has not really found a new path through nearly two millennia of papal history. He has, instead, provided illuminating perspectives for papal historians of many individual periods.

THOMAS F. X. NOBLE

University of Virginia

The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages. By Clarissa W. Atkinson. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 274. $24.95.)

Early in this impressive book, Clarissa Atkinson reminds us of the exemplary case of the young North African matron, mother, and martyr, Perpetua. Writing her own account of the events preceding her death, at the very beginning of the third century, she rejected her father's appeal to her familial and maternal ties with proud insistence that the only name by which she would identify herself was the name of "Christian." For Perpetua and her companion, Felicitas, who went to the arena fresh from childbirth, motherhood was "neither an obstacle nor an avenue" to holiness, to the martyrdom by which they proclaimed their Christian identity and sacred vocation. When the present study reaches its end, in the early modern centuries, motherhood itself had come to define the "good" Christian woman. For both Protestants and Catholics, "women's reproductive labor served both God and man; developing ideologies idealized and enforced such service." To discover how and why these and earlier ideologies came to share in the "construction" of Christian motherhood is the central purpose of an inquiry that belongs, as its author carefully notes, more to the history of ideas than to social history.

In her excavations of motherhood's "vast buried history," she is by no means inattentive to the "real," that is, biological mothers who appear, at times significantly, often fleetingly, in the pages of this book. They appear most actively as the late medieval "mothers of love and tears" whose saintly achievements contributed to a major reshaping of Christian motherhood. With these and similar exceptions, however, this artifact of history and ideology was largely the creation of men rather than the work of mothers themselves. Its ideologies were formed and reformed in a world controlled, broadly speaking, by fathers, a world whose religious and intellectual life, during much of this period, was dominated by the celibate men who powerfully influenced successive phases in the Christian construction of motherhood.

Assembling the building-blocks of the new "institution" in its diverse ancient contexts, Atkinson's early chapters focus on the challenges that Christian mothers offered to, and encountered in, traditional social and physiological views of motherhood. To ancient notions of maternity as women's sole or primary claim to status and significance, early Christian women such as Perpetua opposed a conviction that motherhood was essentially irrelevant to their spiritual aspirations. Challenging these aspirations in more complicated ways were the sometimes conflicting, chiefly male notions of physical motherhood and, more generally, of women's bodies, and the meanings of sex and gender, propagated in the works of ancient and medieval science and medicine. Often stressing female inferiority, learned writers might well convey ideas of maternity supporting the incompatibility of "health" and "holiness."

Holiness was, in any case, the goal strongly stressed by the exaltation of virginity and spiritual motherhood that marked the new ideology most vigorously fostered by the dominant monastic life and culture of the early Middle Ages. In spiritual motherhood, the only religious leadership open to women, as Atkinson notes, the term "mother," transformed, retained its ancient power.

Its early representatives, commonly virgin abbesses of women's monasteries, displaced the physical mothers to whose often precarious fortunes during these centuries we have a singular witness in the manual of advice composed by the ninth-century Frankish noblewoman, Dhuoda, for her young son.

Uniquely joining virginity and maternity, the changing images of the Virgin Mary introduce the next phase in the remodeling of motherhood, which Atkinson explores in a perceptive analysis of the stages in the theological, and popular, construction of the Mother of God. Replacing the early medieval "queen-empress," the new images of the tenderly loving and beloved mother, fostered by the new affective piety and the passionate devotion of monks and clerics, found their most eloquent devotee in the Cistercian abbot, Bernard of Clairvaux. But the adulation of this "greatest of Mary's praise-singers" was rivaled by Hildegard of Bingen's "high Mariology," her close attention to the feminine and maternal aspects of the divine. Her works remind us, as Atkinson wisely notes (p. 124), that "twelfth-century attitudes to Mary, motherhood or any other matter are as varied and complex as our own."

In this spirit we may consider two earthly mothers whose experience relates significantly to the new images of Christian motherhood. One of these mothers is Heloise's friend and co-founder of her second daughter-house, Countess Mathilde of Champagne, to whose complaint of her ill treatment by her eldest son Bernard of Clairvaux responded by urging her to "practice the virtues of the good Christian mother, patience and loving devotion to her children, despite the suffering and sorrow they might cause." Another important theme is exemplified by Heloise herself, not only the imperfect parent presented in this study but, as abbess of the Paraclete, a distinguished representative of a spiritual motherhood associated with leadership rather than sanctity. Like her famous contemporary, Petronilla of Fontevraud, among others, Heloise embodied both physical and spiritual motherhood in a time when both widows and married women were entering an expanding religious life in unprecedented numbers.

Though even the great mother-abbesses of the twelfth century could hardly compete in holiness with the late medieval maternal saints, they point to lines of continuity that would link spiritual and physical motherhood with sorrow and suffering in the newer ideology of this time. With strong and detailed emphasis on an environment of social and religious change, on a new appreciation of marriage, family, and domesticity, the ideas of motherhood they supported are eloquently explored in a chapter dominated by the actions of such maternal figures as Elizabeth of Hungary, Dorothy of Montau, and above all, Birgitta of Sweden. For the vast archive encompassing her life and works is an unrivaled source for late medieval spirituality, and for Birgitta herself, with her portrayal of mothers as "godlike in power," as well as in sorrow and responsibility for her children's salvation.

After Birgitta, it is something of a shock to turn a few pages and find the traditional male managers of Christian motherhood in control again, more efficiently than ever, thanks to the vigorous efforts of sixteenth-century hu-

manists and reformers. For they appear as major architects of an institution apparently familiar and timeless, but actually, as Atkinson demonstrates, a new phenomenon of early modern times. Its central image is "the mother at home, installed in a patriarchal household and naturally inclined toward service and sacrifice" (p. 235) and the obedience these entailed. The outcome of a "domestic revolution" compellingly surveyed in its political and social, as well as its religious setting, the new construction not only fostered the exclusion of "good mothers" from the public sphere but often encouraged more dire forms of exclusion for other kinds of women.

Placing motherhood in the contexts of massive historical change, in a study that traverses more than fifteen centuries, is a formidable enterprise and one that Clarissa Atkinson has accomplished with remarkable success. As she explores an immense, varied body of evidence, she invites her readers to participate in her quest, to reflect on the questions of interpretation it raises as well as the answers it offers. Reminding us constantly of the gulf that separates the ideologies of motherhood from the realities they were meant to shape, her book also reminds us even more urgently how much of this "vast buried history" remains to be exhumed.

MARY MARTIN MCLAUGHLIN

Millbrook, New York

With Great Liberty: A Short History of Christian Monasticism and Religious Orders. By Karl Suso Frank, O.F.M. Translated and with a postscript by Joseph T. Lienhard, S.J. [Cistercian Studies Series, Number 104.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 1993. Pp. 269.)

Karl Suso Frank, O.F.M., professor of ancient church history and patristics at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität in Freiburg-im-Breisgau, is well known for his important publications in the field of the history of monasticism. In 1975 he published his *Geschichte des christlichen Mönchtums*, well received by reviewers and public alike. The Cistercian Studies Series presents here a translation of the fourth edition of Frank's work, supplemented by the translator, Joseph T. Lienhard, S.J., with a "Translator's Postscript" chronicling contemporary developments and a "Further Reading" section, nineteen pages of well-chosen books and articles on the history of religious orders, the greater majority in English, with a few German, French, and Italian titles. Unfortunately, there is no index provided, nor are there any of the usual maps or chronologies students and educated readers find so helpful.

The book offers the reader a résumé, intended for a broad audience, of the history of Christian monasticism from its origins through the twentieth century, highlighting periods of transition and innovation. Proposing a volume that will "demonstrate the adaptability of the monastic ideal, namely: living

for God in the quest of one's own perfection, amid a community of brothers or sisters, serving the Church and the world," Frank intends monasticism to be understood here as Christian religious life, the history of which "encompasses all the realizations of the monastic idea up to the present, from the monks of the Egyptian desert to the members of secular institutes who live in the midst of the modern world" (p. 15). Under this broad rubric, Frank (and his continuator, Lienhard) treat not only monastic history narrowly defined (Benedict, Cluny, Cîteaux, Solesmes, Beuron, etc.) but the history of religious orders in general, including such disparate groups as canons regular, mendicants, missionary congregations, Mother Teresa of Calcutta's Missionaries of Charity, and Opus Dei. Nor are Protestant and Orthodox monasticisms ignored.

For this reader, the first was the most successful of the twelve chapters. Here Frank presents a lucid discussion of the movement in the Church from asceticism to monasticism, highlighting the fact that the Gospel was proclaimed in a world familiar with the ascetical life, a world that provided a milieu open to the ascetic impulse. The remaining chapters deal in a rather straightforward and perhaps by now slightly stale fashion with the development or transformation of this original ascetic ideal throughout the centuries as it met challenges presented by the Church and world it was designed ultimately to serve. This book has much to recommend it, not the least of which is the fact that it is a fairly complete survey of the history of religious orders in the Christian church, presented in a pleasant and accessible style.

THOMAS SULLIVAN, O.S.B.

Conception Abbey, Missouri

Historia del Carmelo Español. Vol. II: *Provincias de Cataluña y Aragón y Valencia, 1563–1835.* Vol. III: *Provincias de Castilla y Andalucía, 1563–1835.* By Balbino Velasco Bayón, O.Carm. [Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana, Vols. XVIII and XIX.] (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum. 1992, 1994. Pp. 679; 712. Paperback.)

Los Carmelitas: Historia de la Orden del Carmen. Vol. IV: *El Carmelo Español (1260–1980).* By Balbino Velasco Bayón, O.Carm. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. 1993. Pp. xlvi, 457. Paperback.)

The Carmelites began as a group of lay hermits on Mount Carmel *ca.* 1200, became a mendicant order by 1247, were joined by a Second Order of women in 1452, contributed through Teresa of Jesus and John of the Cross classical texts to the Western mystical tradition, became two separate orders with the creation of the Discalced Carmelite Order in 1593, and gave the Church one of its most popular saints ever in Thérèse of Lisieux (d. 1897).

Yet, the history of this order that will soon celebrate its eight hundreth anniversary has been tardily told with much research yet to be done. However,

Father Velasco's prodigious published research on Carmelite men and women in Spain has made the Iberian Carmelites the envy of the rest of the order. A review of Velasco's first volume, *Historia del Carmelo Español... c. 1265–1563* has already appeared in this journal: LXXVIII (October, 1992), 644–645.

Velasco's decision to begin the story of the various Spanish provinces in 1563, the year in which the Council of Trent concluded its work, is a surprise. Would not 1593, the date of the definitive break between the Calced and Discalced Carmelites, have been a more logical date to begin a story which deals exclusively with the history of what Velasco calls the "old order," the O.Carm.'s, not the O.C.D.'s (the Discalced Carmelites). Velasco's histories of the Spanish provinces conclude in 1835 at the time of the suppression of religious houses in Spain.

The subtitles of these two volumes indicate Velasco's administrative divisions of his research. Each province receives monograph-length coverage. Velasco has amassed a staggering amount of historical detail about Carmelite life in these regional divisions. The Spanish historian's volumes contribute a veritable encyclopedia of Carmelite history and culture in Spain. Velasco covers numerous facets of Carmelite life not treated in more narrowly conceived histories of religious orders.

Each of these two volumes contains a long list of manuscript sources from many locations along with an extensive bibliography of printed sources and secondary works. Of immense help to researchers who find themselves only tangentially involved in the complex world of Spanish Carmelitana are the very full indices which take up thirty-five pages in Volume I and forty-nine pages in Volume II. Libraries which purchase Velasco's volumes will do their patrons a service since few individuals will be able to own these extensive texts.

The third book under review is another matter. Those who work on Spanish religious history will want to have this compact study on their book shelves. Most historians will not need the detail found in the above two volumes, but Velasco has thoughtfully provided readers with a very useful handbook of Carmel's history in Spain. This easy-to-use manual is, for the most part, an abbreviation of his multi-volume history of the Carmelites in Spain. However, this handbook covers a longer period of time than the larger histories. The handbook begins with a brief introduction to Carmelite legends and early history, then takes up the history of Carmel in Spain from its advent there *ca.* 1268 and finally continues that history all the way to 1980.

This abbreviated history has many of the same assets that make the longer histories so useful: a list of manuscript sources, extended bibliography, and a very full index. In addition, this volume has helpful tables with useful statistics and maps as appendices.

With his excursion into modern Spanish Carmelite history, Velasco treats briefly a number of topics not widely known outside the Carmelite order, e.g., the devastation of the male and female Carmelite houses and the martyrdom of fifty-seven friars and four nuns during the Spanish Civil War of 1936–1939 (pp. 390–393). For a somewhat longer and more detailed coverage of this devastating episode in the modern history of religious persecution, see Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, Vol. 4: *The Modern Period, 1750–1950* (Darien, Illinois: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1985), pp. 223–233.

The three volumes of Velasco's history of the Carmelite provinces in Spain as well as his condensed manual contain at the end of each volume (unpaginated) a collection of photographs of Carmelite architectural remains, plans, religious decorations, and in some instances notable Carmelite men and women. Anyone who has tried to supply such illustrative material for historical texts will appreciate Velasco's tireless dedication to giving his readers a sense of immediacy with Carmelite life as it has been lived in Spain with its many variations since the thirteenth century. The Institute of Carmelite Studies and the Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos are to be commended for allowing Velasco so much scope for his unbelievably extensive research into Iberian Carmelitana.

KEITH J. EGAN

Saint Mary's College
Notre Dame, Indiana

La Chiesa nella storia. By Giuseppe Alberigo. [Biblioteca di cultura religiosa, 51.] (Brescia: Paideia Editrice. 1988. Pp. 335. Lire 35,000 paperback.)

The author is director of the Istituto di Scienze Religiose in Bologna and editor of the historico-theological review *Cristianesimo nella storia*, a periodical of outstanding scholarly import also in consideration of interests associated with the Transalpine schools of theology. The present book is fundamentally a history of ecclesiology in the second Christian millennium, that is, from the Late Middle Ages to Vatican Council II, so that a subtitle indicating the chronological boundaries would have been in order. This volume contrasts vividly and sharply the ecclesiastical trends originating in the pontificate of John XXIII and the council with the major lines of the preceding ages. Professor Alberigo, who has been teaching these matters for several decades in the University of Bologna and is a co-editor of the *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta* (latest edition: Bologna, 1991), has produced a substantial number of thoroughly articulate studies on historico-theological issues of the councils and especially on ecclesiology from the Council of Florence (1431–1445) to Vatican Council II. The present work deserves to be treasured by both Catholic and Protestant theologians and professors of

ecclesiology. It is difficult to resist the temptation to underline his points regarding the re-evaluation of the universal priesthood of the people of God and the reappraisal of the *sensus fidelium.*

Yet a sort of pessimism, often too polemically pungent, with regard to the entire ecclesiology of bygone ages deserves further criticism; indeed, expressions such as "*regime sinodale*," "*antico regime di comunione*," "*cristianesimo occidentale*," "*cattolicesimo romano*," "*obbligatorietà sociale del cristianesimo*" (social mandatory status of Christianity) suggest caution, since they promote a theological construction of thought often cleverly political and quite contradictory of the ecumenical and irenical spirit otherwise continually recommended. Ecumenical respect for Protestant tenets or organizational elements of the Eastern Churches may not always require so much rigor in criticizing facets of Western Christianity or of the Roman tradition. The re-evaluation of the pontificate of John XXIII goes, it seems, beyond the proper limits, as we read that "above all, then, the pleasure of and need for historical research were rediscovered" (p. 7), as if these had been forgotten after the Council of Trent. One must regret that with Alberigo's criticism of "Roman Catholicism" in the sense of what is dominated by the Papacy (today's word is "The Vatican") no attention is paid to the critical work of the Roman historical school; I mean principally the school of the Vatican Library, the Vatican Archives, and the documentary art collections in the historical research prompted, with Theodor Mommsen, in the monumental contributions of Giovanni Battista De Rossi, Ludwig von Pastor, Achille Ratti, and Giovanni Mercati. The meager appreciation of Ambrogio Traversari, with the omission of Cardinal Bessarion, goes along with a sort of "ideological" tone of Alberigo's ecclesiology, which loses the chance to treasure important, truly decisive aspects of sacred philology ("Ecclesiastical philology," Bacchini). Two of the eleven essays in this volume were previously unpublished; the other nine had appeared in *Concilium*, *Cristianesimo nella storia*, and *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia.*

GIOVANNI MONTANARI

Archives of the Archdiocese of Ravenna-Cervia

Papal Diplomacy in the Modern Age. Edited by Peter C. Kent and John F. Pollard. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers. 1994. Pp. xiv, 288. $59.95.)

The nineteen essays in this volume were originally presented at a symposium, "The Holy See in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," held at the University of New Brunswick in 1991. In their introduction the editors assert that modern papal diplomacy is unique because the Holy See is unlike other international actors in its organization, objectives, and methods. While the subsequent essays vary in the degree to which they develop or even address

this thesis, they provide a useful, if necessarily episodic, survey of the Vatican's place in the diplomatic history of the last two centuries. The contributions range chronologically from the Congress of Vienna to the fall of the Berlin Wall and geographically from North America to Southeast Asia by way of Nicaragua, Ireland, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Israel, and Lebanon. Some of the ground has been plowed before, but several essays explore new territory. In separate papers Roberto Perin and Phyllis Leblanc consider the way in which issues of language and ethnicity drew the Holy See into Canadian affairs at the turn of the century. John Conway offers several thoughtful insights into the contentious debate over the Vatican's response to Nazi Germany and the Holocaust. Describing Pope Paul VI's futile efforts to mediate the Vietnam War, Roy Palmer Domenico demonstrates that the war marked a significant reappraisal by the Vatican of its tacit alliance with the United States against communism. Finally, the late Peter Hebblethwaite provides an interesting appreciation of the Holy See's role in post-*Ostpolitik* Europe.

The scope of any collection such as this is necessarily limited by the research interests of the contributors, and the editors certainly make no claim for comprehensive coverage of their subject. Still, given the title of the work a reader might be surprised by certain omissions. The twenty-five-year pontificate of Leo XIII is represented only by the above mentioned papers on ecclesiastical affairs in Canada. One might expect greater interest in a pontificate which sought to reclaim for the Papacy a significant role in international affairs and whose engagement in such areas as the Caroline Islands dispute, the Spanish-American War, the First Hague Peace Conference, and the French *ralliement* represented the Papacy's most ambitious diplomatic agenda in more than a century. The treatment of papal diplomacy during World War I as little more than an introduction to the diplomacy of the 1920's is curious, especially since historians have hardly begun to mine the riches of the wartime files of the Secretariat of State and the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs which are now entirely open for study. Specialists might also regret the absence of a chapter on the diplomatic institutions of the Holy See. There is an extensive literature on the foreign ministries and diplomatic services of other states, and students of American, British, French, or German diplomacy have long been aware of the organizational determinants of such diplomacy. Aside from Lajos Pasztor's pathbreaking studies of the early nineteenth-century Secretariat of State, we still know very little about the organization and procedures of papal diplomacy. Consequently, we cannot say to what extent that diplomacy may have been influenced by such factors as recruitment and promotion policies for papal diplomats or budgetary limitations on the Secretariat of State or the absence of secure communication facilities. Other avenues of investigation which are proving fruitful in the broader field of diplomatic history might have complemented the rather traditional approach of the essays in this collection. Diplomatic historians have sufficiently documented the impact on modern diplomacy of such forces as the media, interest groups, and bureaucracies that one might imagine an

informative essay on the role of Vatican Radio in papal foreign policy or the influence of missionary orders or the Congregation for the Eastern Churches on that policy. The new field of intelligence studies, in particular, could shed some interesting and revealing light on the Vatican's diplomatic record. Our appraisal of Vatican diplomacy during World War II might change when we learn that the papal diplomatic codes had been broken by all the major (and some of the minor) belligerents who thereby gained access to the Secretariat of State's secret communications with the nuncios and delegates, or that the vaunted intelligence service of the Vatican was a myth and that Pius XII was so desperate for information that he begged the British representative to provide transcripts of BBC news broadcasts, or that an employee of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches passed information to both Germany and the Soviet Union during the war.

Of course, it is rather facile to fault the editors for failing to compile a volume different from the one at hand. These observations are not intended to detract from what in this reviewer's opinion is a strong collection of essays. If anything, such observations suggest that this volume may provide the double service of surveying the current state of research on papal diplomacy while suggesting avenues for future study.

DAVID ALVAREZ

Saint Mary's College of California

Katholische Konzilsidee im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. By Hermann Josef Sieben. [Konziliengeschichte, Reihe B: Untersuchungen.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1993. Pp. xx, 432. DM 128,-.)

The well-known church historian and specialist in councils, H. J. Sieben, has already published major monographs for the series *Konziliengeschichte* illustrating how councils were understood in the Early Church (1979), in the Latin Middle Ages from A.D. 847 to 1378 (1984), and from the Reformation up to the Enlightenment (1988). In this final volume he tackles the daunting task of describing theological judgments about the nature of councils before, during, and after the First and Second Vatican Councils. The study is a mine of information, replete with numerous astute insights and useful factual data.

The book is organized into thirteen chapters. The first of the opening five chapters treats the startlingly modern views of the Italian ex-Jesuit Giovan Vincenzo Bolgeni (1733-1811), whose teachings about the nature of councils anticipated by more than a century emphases on episcopal collegiality that emerged in the writings of Vatican Council II. Chapter two establishes how a gradual shift in the way theologians and historians in the first half of the nineteenth century contextualized Constance's decree of 1415, *Haec sancta*, prepared the way for Vatican Council I. Chapters three and four contrast the opposing theological assessments of councils first by Henri Maret (1805–

1884), the liberal dean of the Sorbonne theology faculty, in sharp contradistinction to his Ultramontane counterpart, Johann Baptist Heinrich (1816–1891), professor of dogmatic theology at Mainz. The fifth chapter cites numerous articles and editorials from the Jesuit review *Civiltà Cattolica*, which during the papacy of Pius IX served as a semi-official mouthpiece for the pope's personal theology of councils.

Chapter six shows how various new accents shifted the traditional idea of a council's significance that gradually emerged after the papal convocation of Vatican Council I in 1868. After some 300 years without a council, theologians now began to consider a council as holding significance not only for the Church but also, in God's providence, for society at large. A council was now considered to bear witness in the presence of, in opposition to, and for the sake of the world (*vor, gegen, und für die Welt*).

Chapter seven focuses specifically on the years between 1870 and 1908 to show how the dogmatic assessment of the nature of a council gradually shifted as historical-critical studies clarified who had de facto convoked councils. In this regard the work of the Tübingen historian Franz Xaver Funk (1840–1907) published in his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen* deserves, according to Sieben, particular credit for contextualizing how councils were convoked.

Ecclesiologists will find the next six chapters a wealth of information. The most fascinating chapter for me was chapter eight, which analyzes in detail how various Catholic *De ecclesia* tractates published between 1870 and 1960 described the status and purpose of councils. The theologians here cited, most of whom wrote treatises in Latin, French, or German, held a variety of views about the significance and status of councils. During this era Sieben correctly singles out the pioneering and prophetic works of Adrien Gréa and Hermann Schell (the latter clearly inspired by the writings of J. A. Möhler). Schell's critique of "Kurialismus" has a modern ring to it. Chapter nine cites new emphases about the nature of a council that appeared in various writings by Yves Congar, Karl Rahner, and Hans Küng. The following chapter describes how Pope John XXIII conceived what a council could and should achieve in the search for *aggiornamento*. The final three chapters cover ground that is currently receiving much attention among church historians and systematic theologians: the development of the notion of "reception" following Vatican Council II and councils as understood by various international bilateral consultations between the Roman Catholic Church and other Christian churches from 1976 to 1991. Sieben's final chapter is a brief summary of recent research on papal infallibility and fruitful suggestions for developing an appropriate hermeneutic for interpreting a council such as Vatican Council II.

This volume will long be a standard reference work for interpreting the First and Second Vatican Councils. Occasionally the research needs to be supplemented on specific items such as the minority views of the French and American bishops at Vatican Council I, the work of Vatican Council II's pre-

paratory theology commission, and the shifts that occurred during the last council's four sessions. The projected multi-volume history of Vatican Council II currently in preparation at the University of Leuven will doubtlessly serve as a companion piece.

MICHAEL A. FAHEY, S.J.

University of St. Michael's College
Toronto, Canada

Vaticanum I, 1869-1870. Band III: *Unfehlbarkeitsdiskussion und Rezeption.* By Klaus Schatz. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1994. Pp. xviii, 358.)

This third volume in Schatz's comprehensive study of the First Vatican Council (see *ante*, LXXX [October, 1994], 771–773) covers both the conciliar debate on infallibility, which culminated on July 18, 1870, with the promulgation of *Pastor Aeternus*, the "first dogmatic constitution on the Church of Christ," and the subsequent "reception" of the conciliar teaching, a process that continued for several years after the Council was officially prorogued on October 20, 1870.

The "infallibility debate" at Vatican Council I has often been characterized as a conflict between a Majority of prelates favoring the definition and a Minority—perhaps some twenty percent of the bishops—in opposition. Rather than presenting this debate in strictly chronological fashion, which would have been awkward and repetitious, since the prelates did not really debate, but spoke in assigned order from prepared texts, Schatz has helpfully summarized the gist of these speeches under three headings: the Church and the present world situation (the opportuneness of the definition); infallibility in the history of the Church (the warrants for the doctrine from Scripture and Tradition); and the contentious issue of infallibility as "personal, separate, and absolute" (the theological explanation of infallibility in an ecclesiological context).

This coverage of the debates reveals some frequently overlooked aspects: although the bishops of the *Deputatio de Fide*, the committee responsible for redacting *Pastor Aeternus*, were, with one exception, members of the Majority, there was a certain amount of tension within the *Deputatio*, both in regard to the way that the proposals of the Minority should be handled and, more importantly, in regard to the interpretation of infallibility itself. In addition, as Schatz perceptively indicates, there were really three theological groupings at the Council: ultramontanes, who insisted that most papal decisions come under infallibility; moderates, who wanted to restrict the exercise of infallibility to matters concerning revelation; and exponents of what today is called "collegiality," who emphasized that a papal exercise of infallibility must involve the College of Bishops. Theologically speaking, the moderate Majority was much closer to the Minority than to their ultramontane colleagues.

Unfortunately, this theological affinity got lost in the heat of the debate. There was at least a reasonable chance that the Minority could have obtained a text for which it could have voted affirmatively, had it not been for its negative vote (eighty-eight *non placet*) on July 13. Where the Minority saw this demonstration of its strength as a demand for compromise, the Majority interpreted it as obstinacy and then introduced a number of amendments distasteful to the Minority, whose members, with two exceptions, then absented themselves from the solemn session at which *Pastor Aeternus* was promulgated.

Nonetheless, the Minority bishops subsequently accepted the teaching of *Pastor Aeternus*, though not all did so immediately, and though they did so using a variety of minimalistic interpretations, which the Vatican proved willing to accept. This latitude in interpretation was both theologically based and ecclesiastically expedient. On the one hand, every conciliar definition represents a type of collegial consensus, rather than univocal agreement; on the other hand, none of the Minority bishops joined in the schism of the *Altkatholiken* in Germany or the *Christkatholiken* in Switzerland. Moreover, this schism, along with the *Kulturkampf*, instead of alienating Catholics from Rome, seemingly furthered the acceptance of the Pope as "Pastor and Teacher of all Christians."

As might be expected, Schatz focuses mainly on the process of "reception" in German-speaking countries, where the postconciliar schisms occurred; surely more might have been said about the difficulties that arose in England and other countries about accepting *Pastor Aeternus*. Also, Schatz is concerned about defending the freedom of the participants both at the Council itself and in their subsequent acceptance of its teaching from the attacks of August Bernhard Hasler, *Pius IX. (1846–1878), Päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit und 1. Vatikanisches Konzil* (see *ante*, LXV [October, 1979], 667-669; a provocative condensation of Hasler's book was published in English as *How the Pope Became Infallible* [1981]); yet where Hasler was excessively biased, perhaps Schatz has been a bit sanguine.

Such a critique, as well as that of some specific issues, should not, however, detract from the impressive achievement of this volume. Indeed, specialists will find many interesting sections, such as a summary of the final discussion on the universal catechism, an assessment of the fascinating confrontation between Pius IX and Cardinal Guidi, a survey of theological opinions about which papal decisions are *ex cathedra*, a useful time-table of the conciliar proceedings, etc. On the whole, Schatz is to be commended for synthesizing an enormous amount of primary material, treating it with enviable perception, and incorporating the results of many recent studies in an engaging text. In sum, Schatz provides a synthetic view of Vatican Council I which will benefit both historians and theologians.

JOHN T. FORD

The Catholic University of America

Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century. By Timothy Yates. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 275. $59.95.)

The author has provided missionaries, missiologists, and anyone else interested in the missionary work of the Church in the twentieth century with a clear, solid, and very readable presentation of the development of "mission theory" or "mission theology" in this century. It is not a description of the mission work itself; rather it is an account of the people as individuals and groups who have stimulated, reflected on, and guided this work.

The author has chosen to approach this topic by addressing the major themes which seemed to dominate each decade. While there is, of course, continuity and overlap between the decades, the schema basically works. This is especially true for the 1950's (mission as presence and dialogue) and 1960's (mission as proclamation, dialogue, and liberation).

An important value of the book lies in its presentation of the major ecumenical meetings held during this century both in terms of their context and their content; in its personal and intellectual portrait of the many people who played a significant role in the development of mission thought; in its description of the institutions that grew out of and then affected the missionary movement; and in its clear and penetrating analysis of the recurring themes that appear during this century. The author has an obvious command of both the primary and secondary sources, but he wisely chose to allow the official documents and significant authors to speak for themselves, using an abundance of quotations. There is also a most useful index.

This is such a very good book that one is reluctant to criticize it. In attempting to portray such a grand picture one must necessarily pick and choose, and this will always be somewhat personal. This reviewer was disappointed in only two facets of the choices made. First, while the author at the beginning of each decade talks about the major events happening on the world stage, there is little description of what was happening on the "mission/church" stage. The author rightly points out in his introduction that mission theory was very much shaped by mission experience; yet this correlation is not duly developed in the text. Secondly, this reviewer was surprised that Roman Catholic contributions to mission theory, apart from a passing reference to Schmidlin in the early pages, is not acknowledged until the period of post-World War II with the distinctive contributions of the Worker-Priests, Vatican Council II, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, and Liberation Theology. The work of the missiological centers at Münster, Louvain, and Rome—the names of such people as Pierre Charles, Thomas Ohm, and Jean Daniélou—the distinctive contributions of Wilhelm Schmidt and the *Anthropos* Institute are not even mentioned. In fact, it seems that very few of the developments in continental mission theory are treated in any depth. While the contributions of the Ecumenical Meetings, the WCC, and the outstanding Anglo-Saxon mission theologians (e.g., Warren, Neill, Cragg, and Newbigin) cannot be overestimated,

these ought to have been balanced with those of the continental and Roman Catholic authors who prepared the way for post-World War II developments, including Vatican Council II.

LAWRENCE NEMER

Yarra Theological Union
Melbourne, Australia

Pope John Paul II: The Biography. By Tad Szulc. (New York: Scribner. 1995. Pp. 542. $27.50.)

Aptly subtitled *The* (not merely *A*) biography of Pope John Paul II, Szulc's timely book will predictably have the field to itself for the indefinite future. All of the other biographies of the Pope accessible to this reviewer, whether in the original language or in translation, pale in comparison to it or, in the vernacular, cannot hold a candle to it.

Born and raised in Poland, Szulc has spent his entire adult life working, first, as a highly respected reporter for *The New York Times* in New York City, Rome, and several Latin American capitals and, more recently, as an unaffiliated free-lance writer with a dozen books to his credit, plus a number of nationally syndicated interviews, including one with John Paul II on Catholic-Jewish relations. It is tempting for some critics to denigrate even serious historical works by an academically uncredentialed writer as "mere" journalism which, in their view, does not measure up to the exacting standards of professional scholarship in the field. In the case of Szulc's book, that would be a serious mistake. The incredible range and depth of his on-the-spot, person-to-person research in Poland, Rome, the United States, and other countries; his unprecedented personal access to John Paul II and to the Pope's closest friends, colleagues, and collaborators both in Poland and in Rome; his firsthand knowledge of the Vatican and the Roman Curia; his personal knowledge of the political situation in Poland; and his privileged entree to the leaders of both Church and State in Poland, Rome, and elsewhere, will be difficult for future historians to match simply on the basis of archival research.

In short, there is something to be said for the writing of serious history by an experienced reporter while all or most of the principals are still alive and accessible and, because they have confidence in his judgment and respect his expertise and professional integrity, are willing to provide him on the record with essential background information which is not available, and may never become available, in their official archives. On the latter score, Szulc has uncovered several "scoops" which are of more than passing interest and significance:

The never-before told story of how the Polish Communist regime influenced the elevation of Bishop Wojtyła to Archbishop, the key step on his road to the papacy;

The real story, based on handwritten notes, of the delicate negotiations between Gorbachev, the Pope, and General Jaruzelski, concerning the rise of democracy in Poland;

The moving drama of John Paul II's secret conduct of the developing relationship between the Vatican and Israel;

The detailed, hour-by-hour, inside story of Wojtyła's election as Pope as revealed by cardinals who were present at the conclave.

It is important to note, however, that Szulc's intimate portrait of the Pope goes far beyond and beneath the Holy Father's public persona. As he reports in his preface, when John Paul II and he first discussed his plans to write his biography, the Holy Father remarked that "a biography must be more than dates, facts, and quotations. . . ." It must convey, the Pope stated in Polish: "the person's heart, soul, thoughts. . . ." Szulc acted upon the Pope's advice in this regard by studying in depth Polish history and literature and immersing himself in the Pope's voluminous writings both before and since his election to the papacy.

Szulc's extensive study of the Pope's phenomenal output of articles and books leads him to conclude that "Karol Wojtyła simply *had* to be the most prolific writer in Poland."

In this connection it would be fair to add that no pope in history has ever written as much in his own name and in his own hand as John Paul II has done on an astonishingly wide variety of subjects. Indeed, one gets the impression that writing is and always has been a veritable passion with the man, and this despite the fact that throughout his entire adult life he has been burdened with administrative duties that would have made it impossible for a less energetic and less disciplined man to have found time for anything more than casual and routine writing.

Szulc's book is not an authorized biography of John Paul II. Neither the Pope nor any of his collaborators read the book before it appeared, nor did they ask to read it. Clearly, however, they strongly encouraged its writing and provided help to Szulc to a degree that will be the envy of other writers hoping to gain access to the Pope and his entourage. Yet, even though Szulc was an insider, so to speak, at the Vatican, those who turn to his biography of the Pope looking for a polemical or a gossipy treatise on Church "politics" will be disappointed. Szulc, who is not of the Catholic faith, set out to write a biography of the Pope, not an ecclesiastical tract for the times. Nevertheless, honesty has compelled him to comment respectfully on certain of the Pope's personal traits and to show his own hand on a number of controversial church issues. A few examples will suffice. He emphasizes the Pope's Polishness ("an often disorienting blend of conservativism and modernity") as a defining di-

mension of the Holy Father's political personality. He also asserts, "To the surprise of many Catholic experts, John Paul II restored in effect, an ancient monarchic and absolutist model of the papacy seemingly abandoning the principles of collegiality instituted, with his participation, by Vatican Council II. Yet his basic approach to his new task was in character. He was not a man who accepted compromises. Under the cheer, the charm, and the charisma, there was pure steel."

Szulc also disagrees with the Pope's negative approach to liberation theology and his arms-length treatment of the late Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador. This, he says, "was not the Church's finest hour."

In addition, Szulc sensitively demythologizes the ambivalent relationship between Wojtyła and the Polish Primate, the late Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, arguing on what appear to be solid grounds that, contrary to the conventional wisdom, the Primate was not the one who promoted Wojtyła to the episcopacy and was not one of the cardinal electors who promoted his election to the papacy. He also reports that the two did not always agree on how to deal with the Communist regime in Poland.

Szulc also appears surprised that "the most political of Popes" does not want priests to get involved in any way in politics. Moreover, he obviously has his own doubts about the Pope's strong support of Opus Dei and his earlier disapproval of the Society of Jesus. He says flat out, "Wojtyła, this highly intelligent Pontiff, never grasped the reasons for Catholic women's rising unhappiness with the Church."

On the positive side, Szulc repeatedly stresses the Pope's courageous and unwavering support of human rights, his strong commitment to the poor and the marginalized, his commitment to ecumenism and interreligious dialogue, especially in the field of Catholic-Jewish relations, his profound spirituality, and his nuanced criticism of capitalism. On this latter point, Szulc will probably incur the ire if not the wrath of American neoconservatives for pointedly reminding them that John Paul II—in line with an old Polish tradition—is more critical of capitalism than they are willing to admit.

In summary, Szulc has profound admiration for the Pope as a truly great figure in modern church history and profound respect, if not affection, for the Pope as a person. "In the end," he concludes, "events will define his role as the supreme pastor of his Church and will provide judgments of his guidance of Catholicism into the third millennium of the Christian era. There is no question, however, that this man of broad smiles, brooding silences, steely stamina, and endless tenderness for the young, the sick, and humanity will have left a profound impact on our world. There has been no one quite like him in our time."

GEORGE G. HIGGINS

Washington, D.C.

Western Plainchant: A Handbook. By David Hiley. (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xcvii, 661; 25 illustrations [19 plates, 6 maps, 1 diagram]; 38 tables; 205 musical examples; 3 indices. $75.00.)

In this important study, Hiley arranges a vast array of material into eleven chapters. Chapter 1 provides the details necessary to understand the structure of the major liturgical services, the Church's calendar, and some special aspects of Christian worship. The next chapter describes and differentiates among the principal genres of chant, their forms and styles, and their place in the complex scheme of worship in the Roman rite; and Chapter 3 gives an overview of the liturgical books themselves. The first and third chapters in particular, with their up-to-date liturgical perspective, will be of assistance to musicologists and others who work with manuscripts and the chants they contain, but who may not have had the opportunity to take systematic training in liturgy. The second chapter, by examining and documenting thoroughly the many kinds of pieces within the chant repertoire, serves as a kind of encyclopedic catalogue: over 240 pages long, this section is in itself a valuable resource for the standard medieval chant repertoire for Mass and Office, as well as other genres such as liturgical drama and Latin liturgical songs.

Hiley examines next the matter of notation, its origins, and its evolution into the various families used in the manuscripts of Western Europe. He gives careful attention to the controversial issue of rhythmic elements in notation, and elaborates on notational systems, from those given in theoretical treatises of the Middle Ages to that used in printed chant-books from the fifteenth century onward. The discussion is supplemented by fine plates of chant manuscripts which demonstrate the diversity of notation in different regions and periods of development.

A group of chapters focuses particularly on the historical dimensions of chant and its development. In Chapter 5, Hiley reviews the major theoretical writings of the Middle Ages which apply to chant, especially in regard to how chant repertoire related to the Greek system of pitch and in regard to modality. Chapter 6 sketches aspects surrounding the emergence of chant up to the earliest recorded sources of the eighth century, and Chapter 7 recounts some of the stages in the establishment of Roman chant in the Frankish kingdom during the Carolingian period. A comparative survey of chant repertoires of the various liturgical families occupies Chapter 8, and a group of richly informative historical vignettes called "Persons and Places" comprises Chapter 9. The final two chapters provide a synopsis and evaluation of the numerous attempts at the reform of chant over the centuries and its restoration in modern times.

The musical examples in this volume are transcribed onto modern five-line staves; the music itself is given a nuanced commentary throughout Hiley's text. A great asset for the reader is that the manuscript sources from which

chants are taken are precisely identified (not all publications on chant in the past named their sources).

Hiley's book reflects the breadth of scholarly activity in chant study during the past decades, both in regard to varied aspects of the author's own research, and also in his recognition of the work of other scholars from many countries. The volume includes an exhaustive bibliography consisting of the usual published items along with numerous unpublished studies, such as dissertations. Subsequently, throughout the work, Hiley lists and often alludes to relevant writings on each specific topic, so that his volume genuinely fulfills the function of a scholarly handbook by providing direct, accessible reference information both on the subject itself and on primary and secondary sources. As such, this book will be of interest both to new scholars and to those with long experience in the study of chant.

Another salient and welcome characteristic of Hiley's volume is its contextualization of the music: chant is treated not only as a musical phenomenon, but is seen in its relationship to liturgy, as well as in its historical and cultural setting (and Hiley's own studies have previously made an excellent contribution to that field). For instance, the attractive—and deceptively simple—sketches in Chapter 9 describing some of the people and locales associated with chant history collectively reveal not only Hiley's own panoramic view but also the wide range of areas related to an understanding of chant in its broad milieu.

Earlier books about chant also sought to present a synthesis of the field: best known—and Hiley refers to them both in his introduction—are Willi Apel's *Gregorian Chant* (1958), and Peter Wagner's *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien* (3 vols., 1895-1921). Appearing near the end of the twentieth century, Hiley's *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* admirably summarizes and generously serves the study of ecclesiastical chant today. This wonderfully organized, well-written, and comprehensive volume by a distinguished scholar is assured a place among the significant books written about chant in the Western tradition.

JOAN HALMO

University of Saskatchewan

A History of Lincoln Minster. Edited by Dorothy Owen. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 334. $69.95.)

As befits a cathedral considered by John Ruskin to be "out and out the most precious piece of architecture in the British Isles," Lincoln Minster has been more than usually fortunate both in the survival of its records and the quality of its local antiquaries. All the more surprising perhaps that the many devotees of Lincoln Cathedral have had to wait until 1994 for the first systematic history

of one of the greatest institutions of the English Church. The waiting has certainly proved worthwhile; for the labors of Dr. Dorothy Owen and her five colleagues have ensured that their survey of Lincoln Cathedral will now hold a distinguished place within the current spate of other cathedral histories. Indeed, theirs is a highly vivid contribution to most of the complex patterns of English church history throughout nearly nine centuries, a contribution which owes much of its originality to the different ways in which all the authors have made such excellent use of the unrivalled—and largely unpublished—records of Lincoln Minster itself.

The writing of a satisfactory history of a Christian cathedral, that terrestrial house of many mansions, is, of course, a good deal more difficult to achieve than might be supposed. *A History of Lincoln Minster* solves most of the many possible structural problems by providing the reader with three detailed and predominantly narrative "historical surveys," respectively the work of Dr. Owen herself (1091-1450), of Margaret Bowker (1450-1750), and finally of David Thompson, who accomplishes the heroic task of describing the cathedral's history between 1750 and 1949 in a chapter of over one hundred pages. Throughout these chapters attention tends to focus, appropriately enough, less on the bishop than on the chapter and minor minster clergy of Lincoln; but one is never left in any doubt that the latter's fortunes can only be explained in terms of developments outside the precinct walls. Indeed, this volume inevitably owes much of its appeal to being a sustained and fascinating exercise in the study of institutional resistance to political and social change. Such no doubt is true of nearly all cathedral histories, to the extent of making it only too easy to neglect the endless acts of liturgical observance which constitute the primary religious function of the *matrix ecclesia*. No such neglect occurs in *A History of Lincoln Minster*; and in their two learned chapters on "Music and Worship" (from their origins to 1980), Roger Bowers and Nicholas Thistlethwaite surpass all expectations and have provided the single most accomplished treatment of their subject yet available for any English cathedral. One would hardly suppose that Peter Kidson's chapter on the well-worn theme of Lincoln's "Architectural History" could prove quite so original: but it is in fact revisionist to a degree, not least in suggesting that soon after the fire of 1124 Lincoln Minster rather than Durham Cathedral may have been "the first major English church to have been completely vaulted."

In the closing paragraph of his chapter, and therefore of this book, David Thompson observes that no history of a cathedral like Lincoln can do proper justice to its subject. Dr. Thompson's point is well taken; but the fact remains that no reader who reaches the last page of this *History* will be likely to conclude that it presents a particularly edifying story. Lincoln Cathedral was apparently created (in 1072) for political reasons, to counter the claims of the archbishop of York to Lindsey; and jurisdictional rivalries, within and without the cloister, seem thereafter to have been its regular rather than occasional lot. Perhaps one of the most significant turning-points in the history

of the Minster came at the end of the thirteenth century when "almost 150 [*sic*] years of litigation began, not now between the bishops and the chapter, but between the deans and their chapters." Not surprisingly perhaps, contempt for the authority of the dean and chapter on the part of the lesser clergy and servants of the cathedral (like Thomas Mudd, its drunkenly insubordinate organist in 1663) runs like a *leit-motiv* through the pages of this volume; and it is hardly less surprising that the chapter should have fallen victim to one of the most notorious and ruthless ecclesiastical patronage networks in the country after William Pitt nominated George Pretyman as bishop of Lincoln in 1787. No doubt Lincoln Cathedral has suffered more than its due share of internal faction; and no doubt too it has suffered from its comparative isolation and from the irony that the mother church of medieval England's largest diocese should be so unsuitably located. Not that any of these disadvantages inhibited the erection of what William Cobbett called "the finest building in the whole world." Might it even be that Christian cathedrals derive much of their creative energy from human strife and frailty? Perhaps we should positively hope so; for otherwise Peter Kidson's belief that the future history of Lincoln and other cathedrals can only be one of "temporary reprieve or decent mummification" is too disquieting to contemplate.

R. B. DOBSON

Christ's College, Cambridge

Ancient

Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians. By L. Michael White. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, for the American Schools of Oriental Research. 1990. Pp. xviii, 211. $27.50.)

This volume may be considered, in my opinion, a very important contribution to the history of the primitive and early Church, especially in regard to the Church as building. The bibliography on this subject, particularly with relation to the Christian community in Rome, comprises a long series of titles; and with respect to other cities of very early Christianity, apart from Dura-Europos, which is dealt with in many works both large and small, towns such as Antioch have been thoroughly investigated; in the case of Antioch special attention is due to André Marie Jean Festugière's *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*. But the very special feature of L. Michael White's book is to stress, with a large apparatus of critical information, the connection between early pagan, Jewish, and Christian places of worship. Architectural adaptation is the principle, but architecture goes hand in hand with other forms of religious syncretism or, more so probably in the case of Christianity, of highly valuable

eclecticism. Rightly for the Roman world is to be understood that *ecumene* of political, administrative, and military government unified under the leadership of Rome as capital of the Empire. Yet, as is well known, the Oriental part of it transcended, by and large, even the realm of the Hellenistic conglomerate of states to allow Jewish and then Christian penetration of the Caucasian regions—Georgia, Armenia, and then Persia, Ethiopia, and farther remote enclaves in Asia, Africa, and the Arabian peninsula. Whether through the witness of monuments still existing or through the testimony of written texts, inscriptions, and other archaeological finds, the reconstruction of this world done by Dr. White in his solid chapters is impressive first of all for its accuracy; secondly, it is very instructive in comparative methodology. This is perhaps the moment to recall that the author had already published a prior volume; in his words, "The present study is based on the collection of archaeological and documentary materials first assembled in the author's Yale dissertation and now published separately under the title *Christian Domus Ecclesiae and Its Environment*" (p. xi) (with the subtitle *A Collection of Texts and Monuments* in "Harvard Theological Studies," Vol. 36, in association with the American Schools of Oriental Research [Minneapolis: Augsburg-Fortress, 1990]). So the environment of the Christian *Domus Ecclesiae* is given here in the exposition of God's house in the early adaptations among pagans, Jews, and Christians from Dura-Europos to Roman Brittany. A sample of the whole matter is given in these words of the introduction: "It cannot be forgotten . . . that on the same street at Dura two other cultic facilities were found that had been renovated from private houses. One was a Mithraeum, the sanctuary of the Romanized cult of the Persian god Mithras. The other was a heavily decorated synagogue" (p. 8). Two points emerge with great clarity in a book in which some shortcuts, so to speak, and abbreviations had to go hand in hand with the in-depth sections of detailed exposition: first, the connection between house and church, i.e., a special room in the house (*triclinium*, dining room) is to become the permanent sacred place of Christian worship. A nuance may be added: the pagan usage, also in rural areas and not only in the beautiful residential *domus* or *palatia* of the cities, but also in certain villas in the West (known as Roman villas), was to have a sort of domestic shrine. Secondly, even in the transition from the pre-Constantinian era (*ante pacem*) to the Constantinian period, in a large number of cases it was not a new basilica that was built but either a pagan building or even a pagan shrine (sometimes a real temple, as in the case of the cathedral of Syracuse) was transformed into a Christian house of prayer or church, and sometimes in the true form of a basilica. New evidence on this matter is being brought to light these days in several outlying provinces of the Italian peninsula, in Piedmont and Lombardy, where new interest has been aroused by the reports on findings following archaeological research and investigation—reports presented in the published contributions of several scholars among whom I should name Silvia Lusuardi Siena and Gisella Cantino Wataghin. The bulk of such ample information leads us to stress a distinction not clear in

White's book, namely, that which concerns Rome on the one hand and especially the Near East on the other. For it seems evident that, apart from the opposition of other religious groups in micro-Asiatic environments and generally in Near Eastern rural centers, Christian communities had freer access to accumulating real estate properties and private ownership of goods and proper religious buildings earlier than this might have been possible *in Urbe*, where the center of imperial government seems to have had a heavier hand on control, if not on persecution. Indeed, the argument of persecution should have been set forth in more express terms in this book. Probably, for Rome, materials so broadly investigated in the two volumes by Charles Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, could have been better utilized. The same is also true of Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann's *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (1983), which contains an accurate and very detailed account especially of the situation in the Near East and related enclaves. Likewise no reference to Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* appears in these pages, although it is still useful in many respects. Mistakes in citations of Italian titles are more frequent than of German. But these are minor flaws in an admirable work.

GIOVANNI MONTANARI

Archives of the Archdiocese of Ravenna-Cervia

Novitas Christiana: Die Idee des Fortschritts in der Alten Kirche bis Eusebius. By Wolfram Kinzig. [Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Band 58.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 702. DM 198,–.)

While there is a vast literature on the concept of progress, the author in his *Habilitationsschrift* from Heidelberg maintains that most of the scholarship on the subject is defective because there has not been a deep and thorough study of the early Christian notion of progress. This work proposes to fill that lacuna. He defines progress as an advance of mankind for the better, whatever the cause. He begins by exploring the literature on the subject dating from the past two centuries. Thoughts of progress were rare in pagan antiquity, nor were they, as defined here, to be found in Scripture. While it is clear that Jesus' coming was something new, Kinzig feels that the thought of progress remained foreign to Jewish-Christian thought through the end of the first century.

Christian apologists were torn between two tendencies. The thought of emphasizing Christian newness was tempered, if not sometimes extinguished, by the need, in view of ancient presuppositions, to stress the antiquity of Christianity. This was done by underlining Christianity's continuity with Judaism. The fading of eschatological expectation in the second century led to the need for theorizing about the continued existence of Christianity in time.

The basic framework for doing this was that of two covenants of God with his people, with the second constituting progress over the first.

At this point, starting with Irenaeus, Kinzig begins his detailed analysis of the idea of salvation history as progress. The Montanists raised the possibility of ongoing revelation. For Tertullian, this took the form of a more stringent discipline by means of which the Church would become progressively better. But these ideas did not receive general acceptance. He shows how Clement, Origen, and Arnobius all contributed to the growth of the idea of salvation history as progress, but, for them, this was primarily a justification of Christian origins.

The author sees the culmination of the development of the Christian idea of progress in the work of Lactantius and Eusebius at the beginning of the fourth century. The defining event of this time was, of course, the conversion of Constantine. The Church was psychologically unprepared for this great turnabout, but, he insists, the work of authors like Origen had laid the theoretical foundation for the conclusions drawn by Eusebius. The latter did not politicize theology; rather, he formulated a theological politics. For Eusebius, the Constantinian empire emerged as the vanguard of a God-directed progressive development. The Christian empire became an anticipation of God's kingdom. Since Eusebius had little interest in eschatology, one can conclude that this progress would not stop soon but would continue in this world for a long time to come.

Kinzig concludes with a modest amount of editorializing, exhorting Christians to abandon the idea of progress. Eusebius, not for the first time, emerges as a sort of theological villain whose spiritual myopia cost the Church dearly. While scholars in the future will continue to debate these issues, the painstakingly amassed data and careful analysis of this work will no doubt furnish them with a place to start.

ROBERT B. ENO, S.S.

The Catholic University of America

Le Martyre de Pionios Prêtre de Smyrne. Édité, traduit et commenté par Louis Robert; mis au point et complété par G. W. Bowersock et C. P. Jones. (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. 1994. Pp. x, 152. $35.00.)

The third-century *Martyrdom of Pionius* was already well known to English readers from Herbert Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). Musurillo's edition, however, has come in for a good deal of criticism, not least from Louis Robert himself, who had been working on an edition for *Sources Chrétiennes* since at least 1960. The work under review is a posthumous production, which reproduces Robert's edition of the

Greek text and his French translation *en face* (pp. 21-45). The commentary (pp. 49-121) is based on the "vast and wide-ranging files" entrusted by Mme Jeanne Robert to Professors Bowersock and Jones, who have "edited and supplemented them in French so as to incorporate, wherever possible, his original words" (p. viii). Robert's unequalled knowledge of the topography, prosopography, archaeology, epigraphy, numismatics, and local calendar and cults of Smyrna converges to shed radiant new light on every one of the twenty-six paragraphs that make up this *Martyrium*. Above all, he dissipates any lingering doubts about its authenticity, and firmly situates it in the persecution of Decius rather than of Marcus Aurelius. Also included here are eight plates illustrating the agora, the coinage and inscriptions of Smyrna, an extract from a very moving lecture on Pionios, delivered to a Warsaw conference by Robert in 1968 (pp. 1-9) and (for the first time) a French translation of the Old Slavic text by André Vaillant (pp. 123-136).

Robert considered the *Martyrium Pionii* not only authentic but a "jewel" among ancient texts. It is a pleasure to accord the same rating among modern editions to the present work.

THOMAS HALTON

The Catholic University of America

Constantine the Great: The Man and His Times. By Michael Grant. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1994. Pp. xii, 267. $27.50.)

The renowned and prolific British historian Michael Grant has written several dozen books concerning the different periods, personalities, and phenomena of classical antiquity. In this work, he expands upon subject matter he had touched upon more briefly in his earlier book *The Climax of Rome* (New York: The New American Library, 1968). Though many of his other works have been thoroughly researched, well written, and useful to students of antiquity, such is not the case with this attempt to portray the first Christian emperor and his times.

After a brief introductory section on the ancient sources, and Constantine's rise to power amid the pagan Tetrarchs of the early fourth century (I), Grant divides the core of the book into three parts, dealing respectively with "Constantine at War" (II), "Constantine and the State" (III), and "Constantine and Christianity" (IV). He concludes with a short section on the emperor's last days, succession plans, and significance (V). In the center of the book there are some lovely illustrations of Constantinian coins, statuary, and architecture, but the current locations of these ancient artifacts and structures are given neither in the initial "List of Illustrations" nor in the illustration captions. At the back of the book there are some concise tables on chronology, genealogy, and emperors, a few maps, a short reference section, a brief list of books, and

an index. Unfortunately, few aspects of this work will satisfy either historians of late antiquity or scholars of early Christianity.

The root of the problem behind this work is that the author and his team of assistants at "Michael Grant Publications Ltd" have failed to do enough research in the ancient sources and the modern scholarship on Constantine and have slapped the book together too quickly. An unwieldly organizational structure, an uneven writing style, incorrect facts, and incomplete notes are the sad results. By offering a bare political-military narrative first, the author fails to set Constantine's campaign against Maxentius in 312—when he converted to belief in the Christian God, or his war against Licinius in 324—when he fought a "holy war" to determine the right deity for the empire, in their proper religious context. By compartmentalizing the various aspects of Constantine's reign and policies too tightly, Grant constantly has to refer forward or backward to other parts of the book, and offers a writing style that often appears choppy and repetitive, contradictory and disjointed. He confuses Bishop Miltiades and the Synod of Rome in 313 with Bishop Sylvester and the Council of Arles in 314 on one page (166); and both correctly dates Constantine's victory over Licinius in the east to 324, and then incorrectly dates his first letter to the Arian disputants there to 323 on another page (170). Elsewhere, he dates the building of St. Peter's basilica in Rome much too late (p. 196), and mixes up Constantine's Hagia Irene church with Justinian's church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus (renamed Küçük Aya Sofya by the Turks) in Constantinople (p. 201). Quite often he pretends to quote ancient documents in the text, but only provides references to modern works in the notes. This lack of careful research and mature judgment flaws the whole book.

Many Church historians will be pleased to see that Professor Grant clearly grasps the reality of Constantine's conversion to Christianity and his devotion to the Christian God (Chap. 8). Some will be less sanguine with the author's portrayal of his subject as a cruel murderer in domestic affairs (Chap. 6). Though there were many facets to Constantine's personality and policies, and he was certainly interpreted differently by Christian and pagan sources, Grant cannot seem to make up his mind whether the first Christian sovereign was a good emperor trying to upgrade the morality and material conditions of his subjects, or an autocratic tyrant running the Roman Empire to ruin.

It is the incomplete research behind and the uneven writing within this book that make it a disappointing work from the hand of a distinguished historian. I have happily used books by Michael Grant in my university courses, and confidently recommended works by him to readers interested in classical antiquity. I can do neither for this book. Historians of late antiquity and scholars of early Christianity will have to look elsewhere for a more accurate and satisfying biography of Constantine and his times.

CHARLES M. ODAHL

Boise State University, Idaho

Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529. By Frank R. Trombley. 2 vols. [Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, Volumes 115/1 and 115/2.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1993, 1994. Pp. xiv, 344; xvi, 430. $100.00; $114.50.)

The study of paganism in Late Antiquity has become something of an industry in recent years, with books by Fox, Bowersock, Brown, and Fowden, and many important articles. Frank Trombley's book may well be the best of them all, and in any case its arguments and point of view will have to be considered in any serious discussion of religion in this period, whether concerned with paganism or Christianity. This two-volume work is in many ways a treasure for scholars to come, and it will certainly be a mine of information for all. The first volume contains a general overview of late paganism and the Christianization, with detailed case studies of the situation in Gaza and Athens, where the literary sources are relatively full. The second volume is based much more on epigraphic evidence, and it focuses further on rural phenomena, although it also takes a case-study approach that is required by different situations in the various parts of the eastern Mediterranean. Appendices are used for detailed discussion of particularly difficult problems.

The book as a whole is idiosyncratic and individual: Trombley has his point of view, and he lets the reader know clearly what he thinks. Nonetheless, its value is old-fashioned and solid: Trombley knows the sources like few before him; he is completely at home in hagiography (Syriac as well as Greek and Latin), epigraphy, archaeology, and the voluminous theological literature of the period. He has read the sources through carefully, and even those who disagree with him will benefit from his commentary on the texts.

To make a complex thesis simple, Trombley argues that paganism was not a moribund religious system in Late Antiquity, but rather it still had much that appealed to people of the Mediterranean basin. The fact that Christianity ultimately triumphed was not due to the inherent superiority of the new religion but to the cleverness of its leaders (the bishops) and to their ability to use a combination of state control and pragmatic accommodation in the winning of souls. He realizes that the modern distinction between secular and spiritual society was not valid in this period, and he accepts as dominant the role of demons, holy men, and—generally—the miraculous.

Trombley brings to his research a principle that has not always characterized research on this period: he takes his sources at their word and assumes that the authors meant what they said. He seeks to probe into the religious sensibilities of people in this complex period when paganism and Christianity both stood apart from each other and merged together. He is fully aware of the ambiguities of this transformation and he seeks to interpret it in ways that are understandable to the modern reader.

Given a view as broad as this, there are bound to be criticisms. These will surely fall into two camps: those who fail to understand what Trombley is trying to do and those who admit that in the breadth of such an attempt there are bound to be points that can be questioned. It would be easy for a reviewer,

with specialized knowledge of individual texts or archaeological sites, to point out areas where the author oversteps or perhaps misunderstands the evidence. Thus, it is odd that he says that "not one of the early Christian basilicas built next to great shrines . . . survives. . . ." (I, 118): but they do, at least enough to allow a study of "local basilica construction." Yet, Trombley is right in the larger sense, since no one *has* in fact done such a study. One thinks, on occasion, that the introduction of the ideas of Eliade, etc. (e.g., I, 149) may be a little "after the fact," but one has to praise Trombley for making the attempt and for realizing that such concepts have a place in the study of Late Antiquity, and we had better start to consider them!

In short, the best review of the present book is the spate of discussion that will surely follow. Many scholars will take exception with one or another of Trombley's ideas—as well they might—and one hopes they will make their case as cogent and as carefully argued as he has. Nonetheless, this book is important (obviously an overworked term, but appropriate in the present instance): scholarship on Late Antiquity (and Early Christianity for that matter) will from now on have to consider the serious and detailed arguments made in this text.

Perhaps most seriously, anyone interested in the religious interaction in this period will benefit enormously from Trombley's consideration of the texts. They will certainly read his interpretation of the texts and then be driven inescapably back to the evidence itself for confirmation or contradiction. One cannot ask for more in a modern analysis of an important problem.

TIMOTHY E. GREGORY

Ohio State University

The Rule of Benedict. A Guide for Christian Living. The Full Text of the Rule in Latin and English with Commentary by George Holzherr [Abbot] of Einsiedeln. Translated by the Monks of Glenstal Abbey. (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 355. $29.50 paperback.)

It is a commonplace to scholars in many disciplines that in recent years historians have vastly expanded our understanding of the late antique, medieval, and monastic worlds, and of the short document that is the cornerstone of all organized religious life in the West, *The Rule of St. Benedict.* Much of this research elucidates particular chapters of the *Rule:* e.g., Peter Brown, *The Body and Society. Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (1988), whose valuable discussion of chastity bears on parts of chapter 4 of the Rule; John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers. The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (1989), which explicitly informs chapters 59 and 58; Caroline Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast* (1987), whose provocative treatment of food and health interprets chapters 39 and 40; Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (1982), which helps to explain chapters 48 and 49; Michel

Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages* (1986), whose appreciation of poverty, hospitality, sickness, and the porter of the monastery informs chapters 36, 53, and 66; Dom Pierre Salmon, *The Abbot in Monastic Tradition*, which treats chapters 2 and 64—to cite only a few obvious titles. The book under review, contrary to the opening sentence of the preface: "This chapter by chapter commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict incorporates much of the analytical study of many scholars in recent decades . . . ," reveals a blissful innocence of all historical research, European and American, of the last half-century. It is a work of spirituality, written on the premise that spirituality exists in a social, intellectual, political, and economic vacuum.

The book provides an introduction which, apart from a modification of the dates of St. Benedict's life, contains very traditional information; an English translation of the *Rule* by the monks of Glenstal in County Limerick, Ireland, that "parallels" (?) a German translation by Abbot Holzherr of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, which in turn was based on the edition of H. Rochais and E. Manning, *Règle de Saint Benoît*; the Latin text of the *Rule*; and a commentary and notes for each chapter. References to Benedict's scriptural sources are given in the margins of the English translation.

A curious enterprise. The English translation is very clear, though smoothness has been sacrificed for literalness with the result that it lacks the intimacy and gentleness of the *RB 1980* edited by Timothy Fry, *et al.*, the edition with which most English-speaking monks and nuns are probably familiar. Although approximately 10,979 Benedictine nuns and 9,096 monks around the world (1990 figures) guide their lives by the *Rule*, the language of the commentary and notes is exclusively masculine. Although this edition reveals Abbot Holzherr's deep appreciation for scripture, his introductory remark that "the present commentary deals mainly with those sections of the Rule which are spiritually of significance" (p. 1), rather begs the question. Abbot Holzherr acknowledges that he has "deliberatively avoided a systematically constructed commentary" (p. 2), and, in fact, he restricts the commentary to a discussion of the *Rule of the Master*, Cassian, Basil, and other Church Fathers; it is not a commentary based on the abbot's practical experience of governing a large and famous monastery in the late twentieth century. What is the purpose of the Latin text, since even candidates for priestly ordination are no longer required to study Latin? Abbot Holzherr concedes his reliance on de Vogüé's magisterial edition of the *Rule*, and his notes to the introduction treat the diplomatics of the document.

A Polish edition has already appeared. It is Abbot Holzherr's pious hope that this edition of the Rule of Benedict, "although written for monks," will help to open the spiritual riches of the East to lay Christians, as the Second Vatican Council urged. But for its fluid translation, its learned appendices, and for the rich wisdom of its Notes, *RB 1980* has not been superseded.

BENNETT HILL, O.S.B.

Georgetown University

Medieval

Christendom and Christianity in the Middle Ages: The Relations between Religion, Church, and Society. By Adriaan H. Bredero. Translated by Reinder Bruinsma. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1994. Pp. xiii, 402. $29.99.)

Adriaan Bredero, professor emeritus of medieval history at the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, has, over a distinguished career, published many scholarly articles and two important monographs, *Cluny et Cîteaux au douzième siècle* (Amsterdam, 1985) and *Bernardus van Clairvaux (1091–1153): tussen Cultus en Historie* (Kampen, 1993). The present collection of essays, assembled mostly from lectures, reviews, and previously printed pieces, first appeared in Dutch in 1986, and then in a second edition of 1987. This translation is based on the latter, but the author has made further revisions and added a chapter on the early Franciscan Order, which had been separately published in Dutch in 1988.

Despite its composite character, the volume embodies an overall plan and purpose. Convinced that a proper historical understanding of anything requires a grounding in its social context—a point he reiterates repeatedly—Bredero expresses concern that contemporary conceptions of the Catholic Church are too often unaware of how Christianity has been shaped by forces peculiar to past times (p. 277); in particular, he worries that the idealization of the "Christian Middle Ages" can blind believers to necessary distinctions between the transcendental values of the tradition and those elements which were temporally conditioned and might therefore be changed, or—to put it another way—to "how medieval the Christianity of our times still is" (p. ix). To combat this ahistorical tendency, Bredero intends to show in this collection that the medieval Church was not a static or unchanging entity, but one which possessed "the ability . . . to experience at crucial moments an *aggiornamento*, an adaptation that prevented its degradation from an institution of salvation into a relic of the past" (p. 8). Such an awareness, he implies, will facilitate the *aggiornamento* called for in our own day by the Second Vatican Council, helping to ensure both the preservation and the purification of the tradition.

Bredero begins with a supple, frequently insightful overview of the development of European Christianity from the early Middle Ages to the fifteenth century, and then proceeds to investigate individual elements in that process: the topics treated include the significance of Jerusalem in religious thought and practice, the nature of the *pax Dei* movement and its impact on medieval society, changing conceptions of sanctity, the slender boundary between reformist impulses and heresy, and the character of medieval anti-Semitism. His arguments evince wide learning and an impressive ability to draw perceptive, often imaginative conclusions from the evidence. Nonetheless, it should come as no surprise that the studies which leave the greatest impression are those

on subjects in which he has special expertise: a chapter on Cistercians and Cluniacs is notably strong, and the periodic references to Bernard of Clairvaux are unfailingly enlightening. Likewise, the final chapter—a substantial survey of religious life in the Low Countries from 1050 to 1384—is particularly impressive.

But despite its many strengths, the book is somewhat problematical as the general work it apparently aspires to be. Bredero has rearranged and supplemented the original material with obvious care, but ultimately the volume does not entirely escape a patchwork quality; this is most apparent at the very close, when a book review suddenly appears as an appendix, with little obvious relation to what has preceded. The annotation, moreover, is relatively scanty (and at times eccentric): the inclusion of many important secondary sources in an unannotated bibliography does not excuse the failure to cite them in the text where reference would have been natural (e.g., Le Goff's *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* at p. 78, or McKitterick's *The Carolingians and the Written Word* at p. 357).

Even more troubling are instances of textual imprecision which significantly impede understanding. One can forgive the occasional misspelling ("Van Enghen" for "Van Engen" at p. 321, n. 2) as merely a technical oversight, just as one might explain away the unfortunate transposition of the Council of Soissons from 1121 to 1211 (p. 232). But the average reader may become justifiably irritated when, in the midst of a complicated discussion of Bernard of Clairvaux's role in Cluny's internal disputes during the 1120's, a letter of Abbot Peter the Venerable is misattributed to his ousted predecessor Pons (p. 144), and we are erroneously informed that the papal investigator was unable to interview Pons, when it was actually Bernard who declined the legate's request for a meeting (p. 146).

Many of these difficulties might be the fault of the translation, which is frequently halting and inexact. It is hard to accept, for instance, that Bredero really means to say that medieval "nobles had in the monasteries a way to continue *worshiping* their ancestors" (p. 118, emphasis mine). And a reader cannot help but stumble mentally when confronted by the following, on the second *Vita Adalberti*: "Almost all of its miracles are recent as the text is written" (p. 153; the meaning, of course, is: "Almost all the miracles it records were recent at the time of its composition").

Adriaan Bredero has, therefore, performed an estimable service in reminding us of the dynamic nature of medieval Christianity, and his studies demonstrate both painstaking research and sensitive analysis. The flaws in this English version of his work, however, make the volume more suitable for his colleagues in the field, who can employ it with appropriate discretion, than for general readers and less advanced students. Its price, on the other hand, is quite reasonable, given the current publishing climate.

FRANCIS R. SWIETEK

University of Dallas

Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew. By David M. Olster. [Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 203. $32.95.)

Men of Late Antiquity, whether pagan or Christian, took it for granted that there existed a close relation between political and military success, on the one hand, and the proper worship of the gods (or God) on the other. There is, I believe, a distinction to be drawn, which the author of this book does not mention: whereas for pagans (e.g., Zosimus) the crucial thing was the punctilious performance of certain public rites irrespective of what people did or did not believe in their hearts, for Christians it was rather the adherence to a given doctrine, coupled with a virtuous life. Setting aside this difference, there can be no doubt that the Christianized Empire adopted a 'triumphalist' philosophy: the cross guaranteed victory. If things went wrong, blame was usually laid on the emperor, who bore a collective responsibility for his people.

The crunch came earlier in the West than it did in the East. Having produced no Orosius in the fifth century, the Byzantine Empire survived until the early seventh before it was faced with catastrophic collapse in the form of the Persian and Arab invasions. At that point the problem had to be faced: for what reason had the Christians been so crushingly humiliated to the extent of even losing their Holy Places? Several answers were on offer (punishment for sins; final convulsions leading to the end of the world; dissociation between victory and the right faith). None proved sufficiently convincing in the long run; hence, we may suppose, the massive defections to Islam.

Such is the topic of Olster's book, whose centerpiece is provided by a set of anti-Jewish dialogues produced, mostly in the Near East, in the seventh-eighth centuries. These obscure texts are currently being subjected to a searching analysis by Vincent Déroche. I am afraid that Olster has not done a comparably thorough job, with the result that some of his conclusions may not stand the test of time. To take one example, he asserts that the *Disputatio Gregentii cum Herbano Iudaeo* was produced in Jerusalem in about 650–680, not in the sixth century as some scholars have supposed. He has not taken the trouble, however, to investigate the whole dossier of St. Gregentius, with which the *Disputatio* is associated, at any rate in the manuscript tradition. Had he done so, he might have been led to different conclusions. Nor has he delved sufficiently deeply into the relations between (Melkite) Christians and Jews before, during, and after the conquests to find out how far the dialogues reflect local preoccupations and why nearly all of them (with one possible but very obscure exception, I mean the small fragments attributed to a certain John of Thessalonica) were produced not at Constantinople, nor elsewhere within the Byzantine Empire, but in the conquered territories or their immediate fringes (such as Cyprus). These factors certainly affect his view, repeated several times, that the Jew was a rhetorical construct, a kind of invented whipping-boy to divert attention from the more real problem of the Muslim. For my part, I would suspect that the Jew was far from being a construct; indeed, that actual Christian-Jewish disputations did take place,

although the preserved texts are, of course, heavily edited versions in which the Christian always wins. The absence of anti-Muslim polemic before ca. 750 is perfectly understandable in Arab-held areas (it was too dangerous). It is another matter to explain why none was produced at Constantinople before the ninth century.

Olster has raised some interesting questions. Much more spadework of an old-fashioned philological kind is needed, however, before we can come up with convincing answers.

CYRIL MANGO

Exeter College, Oxford

Vie chrétienne et culture dans l'Espagne du VII^e au X^e siècles. By Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz. [Variorum Collected Studies Series.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Company. 1992. Pp. x, 292.)

Among specialists in late antique and early medieval Spain, the author of this collection of articles is without equal in his knowledge of the Latin literature and manuscripts originating in the Iberian peninsula. He is the author of the standard handbook, *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum*, with its list of late antique and medieval Latin works written in Spain, together with manuscripts in which they appear, and such fundamental manuscript studies as *Libros y librerías en la Rioja Altomedieval.* The collection of essays under review, written in Spanish, French, and English, represents a small but important selection of his work dealing with Christian life and literature in the Visigothic and early Mozarabic periods in Spain. Three of the articles in English were translated for inclusion in the now defunct periodical, *Classical Folio*, an enterprise fostered by the late Jesuit scholar, Joseph M.-F. Marique, to provide those without Spanish with the works of such eminent scholars as Díaz.

The articles in the collection are grouped mainly around three themes: liturgical, monastic, and miscellaneous. The liturgical articles can be subdivided into those on the Old Spanish or Mozarabic liturgy and those on the ancient Spanish *passionaria* and the festival *orationale.* Díaz's treatment of the Latin and literary aspects of liturgical texts is of particular interest because few specialists in medieval liturgy consider their subject in this way. Noteworthy is his conclusion that the literary complexity of the liturgical texts suggests that they were intended to be understood and appreciated not so much by the 'people' as by an elite clerical class.

Among the articles on monasticism, perhaps the most important are those on the manuscript tradition of the *Regula Isidori.* Here Díaz outlines the various early and interpolated forms of the *Regula* and their use and transmission outside of Spain, especially by the Visigothic counsellor of Louis the Pious, Benedict of Aniane, whose renowned manuscript from Trier is now

kept in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Further, Díaz deals with the interesting problem to what extent the survival of the rule was actual or literary as new monastic rules, such as the Benedictine, came to the Iberian peninsula. In his treatment of the manuscripts of the *Regula*, Díaz noted a lost Lerins manuscript mentioned by Mabillon, whose supposed origins in Lerins and more likely in Narbonne Díaz examines in another article in the collection.

Among the articles on miscellaneous subjects is one repeatedly cited for its information on the circulation of manuscripts and Spanish texts from the eighth through the eleventh centuries both within and outside the Iberian peninsula. Especially enlightening is the treatment of the social, economic, and political contexts explaining why and how the manuscripts circulated. The conclusions of this long article, first published in the *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, have been confirmed frequently by subsequent discoveries since its appearance in 1969. Many of these are cited in the supplemental notes after the articles and at the end of the collection, and to these can be added several others. For example, Díaz's treatment of Lucca as a center for early manuscripts written in Visigothic script, such as the renowned Lucca Biblioteca capitolare 490 with its text of the canon law *Epitome hispanica*, has recently been confirmed by this reviewer in several discoveries in that Italian city: folios of a great Visigothic pandect Bible in three columns of the ninth or early tenth century, and a folio of a large Visigothic codex of the *Collectio canonum hispana*. Another surprising conclusion of Díaz, that the works of the Venerable Bede were very early in circulation in the Iberian peninsula, has also recently been confirmed by this reviewer with the discovery in Utrecht of twenty-nine new fragments and offsets in Visigothic script, some with the works of Bede. In short, although this article was written nearly a quarter-century ago, it retains its significance for research in manuscripts written in the Iberian peninsula.

Few scholars in medieval studies work with such ease as Díaz across as many disciplines: palaeography, codicology, literary analysis, transmission of classical texts, liturgy, monasticism, and canon law, to name but a few. This collection of articles is a tribute to the broad learning in a multiplicity of disciplines of this distinguished Spanish scholar.

ROGER E. REYNOLDS

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto

En rémission des péchés. Recherches sur les systèmes pénitentiels dans l'Eglise latine. By Cyrille Vogel. Edited by Alexandre Faivre. [Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS450.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1994. Pp. x, 354. $99.95.)

Cyrille Vogel (1919–1982) was an outstanding historian of the medieval liturgy who wrote extensively on the early history of penance and confession.

This Variorum collection reprints twelve of Vogel's articles written between 1952 and 1982. As is the practice of the series, the articles are identified by Roman numerals (I–XII) and each article retains its original pagination. The scholarly articles are bracketed by the first and last, which address general audiences. They are valuable reflections on the relevance of the history of confession to contemporary developments in the Roman Catholic Church.

The ten scholarly articles deal with different aspects of medieval confession, with an emphasis on the sanctions and penances that were inflicted on wrongdoers (e.g., prayers, fasts, pilgrimages, and excommunication). Some of the articles are quite substantial, originally written in several parts. Of particular note is the informative account of the sanctions inflicted on clerics and the laity by early Gallo-Roman and Merovingian councils (II), the lengthy account of the provisions made for enabling penitents to alleviate the often harsh penances prescribed by the penitentials (V), and the detailed examination of early hagiographical literature for evidence of penitential practices (VI). Virtually all the articles reflect Vogel's guiding thesis that the institution of medieval penance developed in three stages: ancient penance, tariffed penance (penitentials), thirteenth-century reorganization. The editor (p. viii) claims that he has respected the classification of Vogel's studies that was found among the author's papers. That may be the case, but I believe a collection of this sort would be more helpful if it respected the chronological order in which the articles were published.

Anyone with an interest in the history of medieval penance and who does not have access to a large medieval library should welcome this collection. It does not only have archaeological value, but many of Vogel's articles could be used as fruitful points of departure for future studies. For example, his discussions of hagiography (VI) and superstition (X) suggest directions for the study of medieval women.

Other articles stand in need of substantial correction, particularly those that deal with the penitentials. Vogel's acquaintance with the printed state of the question regarding the penitentials was substantial, but he seems not to have paid enough attention to the current work of his day on those manuals. Even today much reliable information about the penitentials is *sub iudice* while we await the appearance of better editions. In 1978 Vogel wrote a guide to the penitentials in the series "Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidentale" (noted by the editor, p. ix, n. 7). One would have expected to find in that note an additional reference to the updating by Frantzen: C. Vogel, *Les "Libri paenitentiales,"* Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidentale, 27, mise à jour par A. J. Frantzen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985).

A brief preface by the editor offers some personal remarks about the author and an updated orientation to the Vogel bibliography. In a series of indexes (Bible, Sources [in alphabetical order with several large subgroups: Councils, Penitentials, Vita], Ancient Persons, Modern Authors) the editor has done as good a job as could be expected with the different ways that authors and

works were cited by Vogel over the years. However, even with an overview of the whole index and considerable background knowledge, use of the index can be frustrating and misleading.

This is a welcome, valuable collection. I hope its value is not negated by its price.

PIERRE J. PAYER

Mount Saint Vincent University
Halifax, Nova Scotia

Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075. By John W. Bernhardt. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, 21.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 376. $69.95.)

Ottonian and Salian power was no foregone conclusion. Where recent studies of the tenth and eleventh centuries have emphasized German monarchy's ideological strength and reliance on episcopal support, John Bernhardt's prime focus is on the painstaking construction and maintenance of royal power through the control of monasteries. And since monastic life, unlike episcopacy, never has been for men only, Bernhardt reveals (without quite accenting) the immense contribution of women to the working of monarchy. Itinerancy as a method of government imposes its own requirements. Before they staged representations of monarchy, sacral kings (and queens?) needed bed and breakfast. Though Bernhardt does not side-line ideology, he puts center-field the management of economic and military resources. His book, drawing discriminatingly on a vast historiography largely in German, will be as welcome to empiricists, and not least to anglophone students, as to exponents of conceptual history. Its organization is rock-solid: three chapters on the kingdom's political, ideological, and economic structures; four chapters on regional case-studies.

What did monasteries do for German monarchy? Rather than attempting a legalistic formula, Bernhardt maps the relationship onto the political contours of the realm. Royal monasteries were situated in the base-zones of royal power, but, still more often, in the regions of the transit *between* those zones (excellent maps demonstrate this), regions therefore "militarily and politically strategic," and regions in which by definition few royal lands were located. First and foremost, monastic *servitium* meant hospitality. Using methodology developed by E. Müller-Mertens, supplemented where possible by archaeological evidence, Bernhardt can show that the number of royal stays at certain major monasteries, Quedlinburg, Hersfeld, and Fulda, for instance, was much greater than hitherto thought. A further kind of service, selectively required, was military, performed by warriors endowed with monastic lands. Bernhardt argues persuasively that, following Carolingian precedents, monastic property

was divided between abbot/abbess and community and that the royal *servitium* fell only on the abbatial portion. But abbots/abbesses were often driven by royal demands to encroach on conventual resources.

The relationship between monarchs and monasteries, inherited from the Carolingian Empire, developed in the tenth-century east on similar lines to the ninth-century west. Henry II, like Carolingian rulers, aimed at the twin goals of better monastic conduct and improved economic management because both served the realm. Bernhardt's emphasis here is a welcome corrective to the misconception entertained by some modern historians (though not by modern ecclesiastical managers) that religious reform and efficient financial arrangements are somehow mutually exclusive. For the king, monastic reform brought in increased benefits economic and spiritual alike. For the monasteries themselves, though, tensions resulted. The abbot/abbess might have to recoup by recovering property alienated to the local nobility. Vocal criticism could ensue. Responsible for public services and for the management of property to support them, suspected almost *ex officio* of liability to "diabolic presumption," he/she faced dilemmas that the original Benedict never foresaw.

German kings' reliance on monastic services was not merely a benign Carolingian inheritance; nor was it merely forced upon them by the sheer size and structure of their realm. Bernhardt argues that it was an option deliberately chosen and carefully worked on by the kings themselves. They chose wisely. Especially important in Saxony were the active services of royal women, as patrons and donors of land for monastic endowment and as monastic personnel. When Otto I founded Quedlinburg in 936 on the fortress burial-site of his father, he granted the community ten wagons of wine and forty large buckets of honey a year: the canonesses would have the wherewithal to offer royal breakfasts aplenty for the seventeen halts Otto and his entourage made at Quedlinburg in the course of his reign. The abbesses were invariably royal princesses. Queenly dower-lands (Walbeck, Eschwegen, Nordhausen, Kaufungen) were used to endow several of these great convents, and queens took a keen interest in their activities. Royal women were intimately involved in the family enterprise that was German monarchy in this period—just as noble women were involved in the maintenance of their families' local power. Monasteries could function as points of convergence *between* royal and noble power. At Hilwartshausen, a convent originally founded by a noble widow with royal support to exclude the interests of co-heirs, conflict was averted when successive kings appointed the canonesses' local protectors (advocates) from among the circle of the foundress's kin. Something similar happened at Kaufungen with the kin of Queen Kunigunda.

Monasteries functioned in a political culture within which liturgy was central. In these numinous spaces, sometimes by the tombs of kings, always in the presence of holy relics, the Ottonians and their successors presented and renewed their kingship. Royal power depended on securing not only bed and breakfast and military support but the power of the saints. (Here too women's

special role in liturgical commemoration underpinned their monastic activities.) Well might Henry II say: "to whom much is entrusted, from them much is demanded." In showing just how much was entrusted and demanded, Bernhardt reveals a governmental system at work: for anyone interested in medieval life and thought, his book is indispensable.

JANET L. NELSON

King's College London

Rom im hohen Mittelalter: Studien zu den Romvorstellungen und zur Rompolitik vom 10. bis zum 12. Jahrhundert (Reinhard Elze zur Vollendung seines siebzigsten Lebensjahres gewidmet). Edited by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig and Ludwig Schmugge. (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1992. Pp. xiv, 186. DM 88,-.)

The core of this handsome volume is a set of revised papers from a symposium which was convened in 1987 at Augsburg, on conceptions of Rome and Roman politics from the tenth to the twelfth century (augmented by four studies, by Blumenthal, Schieffer, Schmidt, and Wolfzettel, not delivered there). It was published as a *Festschrift* in celebration of the seventieth birthday of Reinhard Elze, formerly professor at the Free University in Berlin, and from 1972 to 1987 director of the German Historical Institute at Rome. Professor Elze is renowned for his studies on medieval papal and imperial "Herrschaftszeremoniell" and institutions, and best known for his work on the *ordines* for imperial coronations.

Following a *laudatio* to the dedicatee by Arnold Esch, and an introduction by Bernhard Schimmelpfennig to the genesis of the collection, which reaches back to a colloquium in 1982 at Dumbarton Oaks on imperial symbols and symbolism of the eighth to twelfth centuries, the essays herein are grouped under four headings: "The Emperor," "The Popes," "The City," and "Rome Seen from the Outside." The essays treat a wide variety of interrelated themes—art historical, religious, political, canonical, liturgical/ceremonial, and literary—as follows. A single contribution appears under the heading "The Emperor," by Hermann Fillitz, on real and imaginary insignia as symbols of imperial Roman dominion. Four papers are grouped under "The Popes": Werner Maleczek, on control and renovation of Rome by the papacy; Uta-Renate Blumenthal, on Rome in canon law during the period of the Gregorian Reform; Horst Fuhrmann, on the concepts "Roman church" and "universal church"; and Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, on the significance of Rome in papal ceremony. "The City" includes articles by Ingrid Baumgärtner, on the relation between notions of Roman renewal, on the one hand, and practice, on the other, focusing on the office of *bibliotecarius* (librarian) in the context of the twelfth-century Roman commune; Hans Martin Schaller, on symbols of power of the Roman commune; and Peter Cornelius Claussen, on *renovatio Romae* in view

of eleventh- and twelfth-century Roman architecture (including twenty-two black and white plates, among which are views of the central interior of the churches of SS. Quattro Coronati, S. Clemente, S. Crisogono, and S. Maria in Trastevere [according to an early-modern drawing]). The final section comprises studies by Rudolf Schieffer, on descriptions of Rome by German historians of the tenth to the twelfth centuries; Friedrich Wolfzettel, on Rome in Old French literature, with emphasis on the late twelfth-century writer Gautier of Arras; Paul Gerhard Schmidt, on Rome from the viewpoint of the thirteenth-century Parisian scholar Johannes de Garlandia; and a final paper by Ludwig Schmugge, useful but somewhat out of place under this heading, offering a summary of the proceedings of the conference at Augsburg and the printed papers, titled "Kirche—Kommune—Kaiser." An index to persons and places will help readers to see the variety of issues dealt with in this important collection, and no one concerned with papal and imperial history from Ottonian times through the twelfth century should neglect to do so.

ROBERT SOMERVILLE

Columbia University

The Complete Works of Rather of Verona. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Peter L. D. Reid. [Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, Volume 76.] (Binghamton, New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, State University of New York. 1991. Pp. xi, 625. $35.00.)

This excellent, readable collection and English translation of treatises, tracts, sermons, and letters by one of the most prolific authors of the tenth century provides interesting insights into the minds and concerns of the pre-Gregorian ecclesiastical reformers. It also furnishes glimpses into the political issues of the tenth-century Church, both internal and external, especially the political relationships between high-ranking German and Italian ecclesiastics and the Ottonian court.

Rather's letters, sermons, and tracts are replete in describing and denouncing examples of concubinage, simony, and venality among clerics, ostentatious displays of wealth and enjoyment of secular pleasures (such as entertainments by players and mimes) by high-ranking bishops and abbots. One must remember that these may be the somewhat exaggerated complaints of a zealous reformer. Rather was driven from his bishopric in Liège, and thrice from his bishopric of Verona, because his stiff-necked attitudes toward ecclesiastical and political reforms created such ill-will among both the influential clergy and the local nobility of those dioceses that nobles and clerics joined forces to oust him. Yet despite what might be exaggeration and a certain amount of self-serving self-pity, Rather's letters revealing these intrigues do illuminate the reasons for, and the thrust of, the reformers of the last half of the tenth

century. They also reveal the symbiotic relationship that had emerged between the Ottonian dynasty and the German church, and the fact that reformers in Italy may have come to view reformers in Germany as their chief source of support. For it is to high-ranking ecclesiastical kinsmen and appointees of Emperor Otto I, as well as to Otto himself, that Rather most often appeals for aid, and whom he seems to view as most likely to support his attempts at reform.

In short, Rather's writings, especially his letters, provide us with a protagonist's view of the major political and ecclesiastical issues of his day: educational, monastic, and cathedral reform, the establishment of the Ottonian Reich, Italian and papal politics. Though scholars have recognized the importance of the tenth century as the seedbed for the dramatic, European-wide, ecclesiastical and political events of the next century usually subsumed under the label of the Investiture Controversy, that recognition has not spread much beyond the circles of those who are experts in that area. Therefore, Reid's translation, which makes Rather's works accessible to scholars and students of medieval and church history who are not specialists in that era, is a welcome and valuable addition to studies dealing with the tenth century. Of particular use are Reid's indices. Reflecting the tastes and pretensions of tenth-century clerical scholars, especially one who was trying to gain the notice and patronage of high-ranking fellow clerical scholars, Rather's works are full of biblical and classical allusions, many of which probably were obscure in his own day, let alone to a modern reader. Reid's indices of Scriptural and classical citations, therefore, not only help to identify these allusions, but indirectly these indices give us insight into the classical and patristic works tenth-century reformers believed most important, and were themselves emphasizing in their program of reform and education.

JAMES H. FORSE

Bowling Green State University

King Saint Stephen of Hungary. By György Györffy. [Atlantic Studies on Society in Change, No. 71; East European Monographs, No. CCCCIII.] (Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Monographs; Highland Lakes, New Jersey: Atlantic Research and Publications, Inc. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1994. Pp. viii, 213. $32.00.)

The volume is an abbreviated version in English translation of the author's *István király és müve* [King Stephen and his work] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), a book I have reviewed in *Austrian History Yearbook*, 17–18 (1981–82), 356–359. The English version does not, of course, offer the relatively rich picture and illustrative material included in the original, and it lacks the comprehensive bibliography of seventy-three pages in small print of the original. The latter is replaced by a barely ten-page list of books; and the double

column index of fifty-six pages in small print of the original is substituted by a seventeen-page index of place and personal names. The list does not cite original primary sources individually, by name, except the Emericus Szentpétery (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* (2 vols.; Budapest, 1937–38), collection—a critical edition of numerous narrative chronicles, and of the *Admonitiones* of King St. Stephen (997–1038), addressed to his heirs on the throne. On the other hand, A. F. Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae* (4 vols.; Budapest, 1937–1941), is unacceptable as a reliable critical source collection. The existence and availability of Emericus Szentpétery and Iván Borsa (eds.), *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica* (2 vols.; Budapest, 1923–1987), a rich trove of royal writs and diplomas, ought to have been at least acknowledged in the listings. What the latter renders is a relatively recent English translation of Hungarian laws, and György Györffy, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Ungarn um die Jahrtausendwende* (Budapest, 1983), whose appendix (pp. 251–331) carries an annotated text of eleventh-century Hungarian laws and the synodical enactments of King Coloman the Learned of Hungary (1095–1116).

The translation is reliable, and provides smooth reading. The author narrates the early history of the Magyars and their emerging social structure after their conquest of the mid-Danubian region in the mid-890's. Györffy speaks of the "raids" in western Europe and the Byzantine southeast, depicts the predecessors of King Stephen, the rule of his father, Prince Géza (972–997), Géza's domestic and foreign policies, and the beginnings of Christianization among the Magyars during his rule. Györffy analyzes Stephen's succession to power—how he successfully defended his throne from his opponents, who came from among the ranks of the pagans opposed to the acceptance of Christianity and to his approach toward joining the Latin European mainstream. He describes the establishment of Hungarian kingship, the centralization of government, and the king's active participation in organizing the Catholic Church in the land. The church hierarchy supported royal power and dignity.

Györffy speculates about the attitude taken by King Stephen toward the expansionist policy of the German court, and makes an analytical appraisal of the royal armed forces; he takes up time and space to debate the levying and collecting of taxes, matters pertinent to the royal treasury, and the issue of money. He also deals with eleventh-century Hungarian art and literature. He goes into detail on the succession to the throne upon Stephen's death, because Emery, Stephen's son and heir, had died prematurely in a hunting accident.

The English version of Györffy's book has most probably been published with the aim in mind that it become recommended outside reading in upper division courses in east European history, or at the introductory graduate level in American colleges and universities. The book will serve that purpose well.

ZOLTAN J. KOSZTOLNYIK

Texas A&M University

Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200. By Thomas E. Burman. [Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, Volume 52.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1994. Pp. xv, 407. $94.50.)

This book consists of two distinct but related parts. The second of these is a 173-page edition and translation into English, on facing pages, of the Latin manuscript entitled *Liber denudationis sive ostensionis aut patefaciens* along with the editor's introduction to it. The manuscript exists but in a single copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is a late medieval translation from the original Arabic, partially abbreviated, of a Christian polemic against Islam composed sometime between 1085 and 1132. The original was the product of a Mozarab author, possibly a resident in Toledo.

The work was divided into twelve chapters that denounced severally Islam, Muslims, Muhammad, and the *Qur'ān*. Known to both Ramon Lull and Ramon Martí, it figured as well in the later medieval Christian religious polemic against Islam in the Iberian peninsula.

The first half of the book is comprised of a 211-page study of the intellectual vitality of the Mozarab community in Iberia in the period 1050 to 1200. That study is based, as the author cautions us, upon the *Liber* itself and four other much shorter works that total only eighty-five pages of Arabic and Latin text. Nevertheless, the author's reading is close and sophisticated and yields results out of proportion to the scant, available material.

Burham is able to demonstrate, to his satisfaction and to that of this reviewer, that his Mozarab polemicists were conversant with not simply the *Qur'an* itself but a variety of the collections of Hadith literature and Muslim commentaries. They knew and utilized as well the Christian polemical literature that had already developed in the world of the Muslim Near East. Finally, though here the argument is more labored, that they also drew on the near-contemporary Christian theology of the medieval West.

Clearly this is a valuable albeit highly specialized study but its conclusions have implications for medieval Iberian studies generally. This reviewer is more convinced every day that the vitality of the Mozarab community in Iberia before A.D. 1200 has been underestimated where it has even been noticed. We are unlikely to get very much further with our deductions as to its quantitative importance, but studies such as this should lead us to revise sharply upward our notions of the complexity and the quality of its life.

BERNARD F. REILLY

Villanova University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The president of the American Catholic Historical Association, Jay P. Dolan, has appointed Jo Ann Kay McNamara of Hunter College of the City University of New York chairwoman of the Committee on Program for the seventy-seventh annual meeting, which will be held in New York on January 3–5, 1997. Proposals for papers or (preferably) complete sessions should be sent to Professor McNamara by January 9, 1996, at her home address: 500 West 111th Street, Apartment 5B, New York, New York 10025; telephone: 212-749-6299.

Conferences, Seminars, and Programs

A seminar on "Sanctity and Society in the Medieval West" is being conducted by Thomas Head of Washington University for the Center for Renaissance Studies at the Newberry Library in Chicago every Thursday afternoon from October 5 to December 14, 1995. It is designed as an introduction to hagiography. Various facets of the cult of the saints in the Middle Ages are being examined, and the recent work of scholars in various fields such as the history of spirituality, art history, social history, and literature which is based on hagiography is being studied.

At the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference that will take place in San Francisco on October 26–28, 1995, Massimo Firpo of the University of Turin will be chairman of a round table on "Recent Works on the Reformation in Italy" and speaker at the luncheon and second plenary session; his topic will be "The Italian Reformation and Juan de Valdés." The Society for Confraternity Studies will sponsor two sessions: one on "The Iconography of Confraternal Piety," in which papers will be read by James R. Banker of North Carolina State University on "Processional Banners of Italian Renaissance Confraternities"; by Laura MacCaskey of the State University of New York at Binghamton on "Sacred Representation of the Life of the Virgin at Santa Maria della Consolazione"; and by Liana Bertoldi Lenoci of the University of Trieste on "Faith and Action of Charity: The Ospedale di Santa Maria della Pietà in Bari"; the other on "Confraternities as Political Agents in Early Modern Italy and France," in which papers will be read by Konrad Eisenbichler of the University of

Toronto on "The Politics of Playing: Confraternal Drama and the State"; by Christopher Stocker of the University of British Columbia on "The Confraternity of the Holy Name of Jesus: Religious Devotion and Political Organization in Paris and Orleans under the Catholic League"; and by Nicholas Terpstra of the University of Regina on "The Hand of the Brother, The Hand of the Law: Confraternities, Magistrates, and Orphanages in Early Modern Florence and Bologna." Craig Harline of Brigham Young University will be the chairman of a session on "Catholic Spiritualities of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in which Francesco Cesareo of John Carroll University will present a paper on "The Spiritual Teaching of Archbishop Girolamo Seripando"; Barbara B. Diefendorf of Boston University on "The Devout Family in Counter-Reformation France"; and Susan Eileen Dinan of the University of Wisconsin at Madison on "Creating Gender in the Catholic Reformation: The Development of the Daughters of Charity in Seventeenth-Century France." Elisabeth G. Gleason of the University of San Francisco will preside at a session on "The Eucharist and Counter-Reformation Images in Italy"; Frederick McGinness of Mount Holyoke College will speak on "Eucharistic Devotion and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome"; Thomas Worthen of Drake University on "Eucharistic Imagery at the *Banco* of the Venetian Scuola del SS. Sacramento during the Counter-Reformation"; and Michelle M. Fontaine of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock on "The Bishop, the Eucharist, and the Image of Religious Unity in Counter-Reformation Modena."

The twenty-sixth annual conference of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies of Ohio State University will be devoted to the theme "Crucibles of Conflict: Religious Confrontation and Compromise in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe." It will be held on February 22–24, 1996. Papers in which the interrelationships of religious movements through official and popular expressions of faith, philosophical and theological writings, historical and literary texts, canon and secular law, and visual and musical representations are explored are especially sought. Participants from all disciplines will be welcome. Scholars who wish to present a paper should submit a one-page abstract of it, along with a curriculum vitae, to the Conference Co-ordinating Committee of the Center at Ohio State University, 306 Dulles Hall, 270 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210-1311; telephone: 614-292-7495; fax: 614-292-1599. Proposals of complete panels will also be acceptable.

One of the six selected topics in a program on "Teaching Gender in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," which will be presented from the spring of 1996 to that of 1997 at the Center for Renaissance Studies of the Newberry Library, is entitled "Gender and Religion." In the session that will take place from May 13 to the eighteenth, 1996, Clarissa Atkinson of the Harvard Divinity School will lecture on "Sanctity and Sexuality: Reading Gendered Meanings in Medieval Christian Texts," and Janel Mueller of the University of Chicago on "Problematics of Gender in Women's Religious Writings of the English Reformation." The lectures will be open to the public. Further information

may be obtained from the Center at 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610; telephone: 312-255-3514.

The twenty-first International Conference on Patristic, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies will be held at Villanova University on October 4–6, 1996. Anyone wishing to present a paper should submit a one-page abstract of it in duplicate by March 15, 1996, to the Program Committee, of which Thomas A. Losoncy and Joseph C. Schnaubelt, O.S.A., are co-chairmen. Inquiries may be addressed to either of them in care of Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania 19085-1699.

An interdisciplinary conference on "Pope Innocent III and His World" will anticipate the eighth centenary of his election to the Chair of Peter in 1198. It will be held on May 1–3, 1997, at Hofstra University. Since Innocent's pontificate had an impact on Europe, the Greek East, the Muslim world, and beyond, papers are being sought that will illuminate the cultural diversity of the period and will examine the ways in which Innocent's papacy influenced the surrounding world or was influenced by it. The keynote speaker will be Leonard E. Boyle, O.P., Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and "featured speakers" will be Brenda M. Bolton of Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, and Robert Chazan of New York University. To propose a paper one should send either the full text or a 500-word summary of it by October 1, 1996, to the conference director, John C. Moore, in care of the Department of History, 115 Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York 11550-1090; telephone: 516-463-5020; fax: 516-463-4861; e-mail: HISJCM@VAXC.HOFSTRA.EDU. Selected papers will be published in the proceedings of the conference. The registration fee is $65 up to April 18, 1997, or $75 thereafter; for students it is $15. A check or money order should be sent to Professor Moore.

Beatifications

Father Damien (Joseph de Veuster), SS.CC. (1840–1889), was beatified during a Mass celebrated in the square in front of the Basilica of Koelkberg in Brussels by Pope John Paul II on June 4, 1995, in response to a formal petition presented by the Bishop of Honolulu, Francis X. Di Lorenzo. Father Damien, whose cause was originally introduced in 1938, had been declared venerable in 1977. At the ceremony the Belgian bishops gave Bishop Di Lorenzo Father Damien's right hand, contained in a polished koa wood reliquary, which was to be reinterred in Damien's original grave outside the Church of Saint Philomena at Kalaupapa on the island of Molokai, where Damien worked among the lepers for the last sixteen years of his life. In 1936 the Belgian government obtained permission to have his body exhumed and returned to his native soil; it rests in the crypt of Saint Joseph's Chapel in Leuven, which belongs to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and

Mary (Picpus Fathers), in which he was professed in 1860. Bishop Di Lorenzo brought the reliquary back to Hawaii; on July 15 a special celebration "Aloha e Kamiano" (Welcome Home, Damien) was held at Iolani Palace in Honolulu with the governor of the state, Cardinal Godfried Danneels, Archbishop of Mechelen-Brussels and president of the Belgian Episcopal Conference, and other dignitaries in attendance. Other celebrations were held on each of the major islands throughout the month of July. Finally, on July 22, the solemn reinterment ceremony was held at Kalawao.

Mother Mary Theresa (Anna Maria) Scherer, foundress of the Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross, who was born on October 31, 1828, in Meggen, Canton Lucerne, Switzerland, and died on June 16, 1888, in Ingenbohl, Switzerland, will be declared "blessed" by Pope John Paul II on October 29, 1995. The mother house of the Holy Cross Sisters in the United States is located in Merrill, Wisconsin.

Centenary

The foundation stone of Westminster Cathedral in London, now visible on the left side of the chancel as one faces the altar, was laid on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, June 29, 1895, by the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, at a ceremony attended by the Primate of All Ireland and Archbishop of Armagh, Cardinal Michael Logue, the Catholic bishops of England, diocesan and religious priests, the ambassadors of Italy, France, Belgium, Portugal, and other traditionally Catholic countries, and prominent English Catholic lay people. Thus the dream of the two preceding archbishops of Westminster began to be realized at last. This event is commemorated in an exhibition entitled "100 Years of Art, Architecture and Treasures," set up in the adjoining hall, which contains a recreation of the typically Victorian office of the architect chosen by Vaughan, John Francis Bentley (who also designed cathedrals for Brooklyn and Richmond in the United States which were never executed), some of his contract and working drawings, the original wooden model, portraits, and sacred vessels and vestments. The centenary is also being celebrated with special liturgical functions and musical performances. A history, *Westminster Cathedral: From Dream to Reality*, by Rene Kollar, O.S.B., of Saint Vincent's Archabbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, has been published by Faith & Life Publications, Ltd., of Edinburgh.

Institute

The Institut für franziskanische Geschichte (Saxonia), established seven years ago, is the only scholarly institute in Germany that is specially concerned with the history of the Franciscan Order, particularly in Saxony, from its origins

in the thirteenth century to the present. It publishes two series of books, viz., "Saxonia Franciscana" and "Franziskanisches Leben." The former is intended for more professional readers and is made up of the following publications, all edited by Dieter Berg: 1. *Bettelorden und Stadt. Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1992; DM 54,-); 2. *Spiritualität und Geschichte. Festgabe für Lothar Hardick OFM zu seinem 80. Geburtstag* (1993; DM 49,80); 3. *Franziskanisches Leben im Mittelalter. Studien zur Geschichte der rheinischen und sächsischen Ordensprovinz* (1994; DM 49,80); 4. *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen,* Band 1: *Franziskaner in Westfalen* (1994; DM 74,80); 5: *Kaspar Elm, Vitasfratrum. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eremiten- und Mendikantenorden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts. Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag* (1994; DM 59,80); and 6. Ingo Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Franziskaner, Klarissen, Dominikaner und Augustiner-Eremiten im Mittelalter* (1995). The other series takes up particular themes from the overall range of activities of the Franciscan family of orders and addresses a broader readership; it contains the following two titles, also both edited by Professor Berg: 1. M. Ancilla Röttger and M. Petra Gross, *Klarissen. Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Ordensgemeinschaft* (1994; DM 19,80), and 2. Silke Logemann, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Lüneburg* (1995). Copies of the books may be ordered from Professor Berg at Steinring 34, 44789 Bochum, Germany; telephone and facsimile: 0234-301444.

Archives

Peter D. Conmy, former librarian of the City of Oakland, teacher in the public schools of San Francisco, and historian of the Native Sons of the Golden West and the Knights of Columbus in California, has entrusted his immense collection of notes, manuscripts, writings, books, and ephemera to the Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. Dr. Conmy, now ninety-four years old and residing in the Mercy Retirement Home in Oakland, wanted his personal papers and historical documents to be made available to researchers of a new generation.

Fellowships

The Folger Library has awarded a resident fellowship to Frances E. Dolan of Miami University in Ohio, whose research project is entitled "Sinister Competence: Catholicism, Women, and the Law from the Gunpowder Plot to the Popish Plot."

Awards

At the last meeting of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, which was held in San Antonio on March 3, the Carlos E. Castañeda Service Award was conferred on Patrick Foley, who was praised by the awards committee for his scholarly dedication to historical research, writing, and publishing, his unbiased, non-political quest for knowledge, his love for the Catholic Church, and his gentlemanly and disarming manner. At the same time the Paul J. Foik Scholarship Award was presented to Gilberto M. Hinojosa, who was lauded as an objective historian dedicated to careful archival research, synthesizing voluminous materials in a very readable fashion, intertwining general history with that of the Catholic Church, and presenting solid, critical, and balanced insights into the role of minority groups vis-à-vis the Church even up into recent times; in particular, the committee wished to recognize his work in co-editing *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900–1965*, and especially in contributing the section in that volume on "Mexican-American Faith Communities in Texas and the Southwest."

At Alhambra Recognition Night, held on July 31, 1995, in conjunction with the forty-sixth biennial convention of the International Order of Alhambra in Denver, Colorado, Vincent A. Lapomarda, S.J., of the College of the Holy Cross, was awarded a plaque for his "outstanding personal dedication and service" to the Order as chairman of its Committee on Historical Memorials since 1981 and for his recent book, *The Order of Alhambra: Its History and Its Memorials* (1994).

Historical Site

On July 30, 1995, the Order of Alhambra unveiled a plaque proclaiming the Mother Cabrini Shrine in Golden, Colorado, a National Catholic Historical Site. The shrine was founded by Saint Frances Xavier Cabrini (1850–1917), who during a visit in the early twentieth century arranged many white rocks in the form of a heart near the summit of the mountain where today stands the giant statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Publications

" 'Der Antichrist': Religion, Geschichte, Ideologie," is the theme of the second number of the *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* for 1995 (Volume 47). The following articles are included: Heinz-Dieter Heimann, "Antichristvorstellungen im Wandel der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. Zum Umgang mit einer Angst- und Hoffnungssignatur zwischen theologischer Formalisierung und beginnender politischer Propaganda" (pp. 99–113); Hans J.

Hillerbrand, "Von Polemik zur Verflachung. Zur Problematik des Antichrist-Mythos in Reformation und Gegenreformation" (pp. 114–125); Winfried Frey, "Zacharias Bletz und die neue Zeit. Zum Luzerner Antichristspiel" (pp. 126–144); Michael Ley, "Der Antichrist in der Moderne" (pp. 145–159); and Claus-E. Barsch, "Der Jude als Antichrist in der NS-Ideologie. Die kollektive Identität der Deutschen und der Antisemitismus unter religionspolitologischer Perspektive" (pp. 160–188).

The proceedings of the colloquium organized by the Société d'histoire religieuse de la France and held at Toulouse on March 18–20, 1994, and of the study day of the Association française d'histoire religieuse contemporaine held at Paris on September 24, 1994, have been published under the title "L'enseignement catholique en France aux XIX^{e} et XX^{e} siècles" in the *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* for January-June, 1995 (Volume LXXXI, Number 206). The editors are Gérard Cholvy and Nadine-Josette Chaline; the former has written the introduction (pp. 7–11). The contributors and their papers are: Louis de Naurois, "L'enseignement libre catholique au XIX^{e} siècle. Aspects juridiques" (pp. 13–23); Michel Lagrée, "L'histoire de l'enseignement primaire catholique. Le problème des sources" (pp. 25–34); Germain Sigard, "L'offensive de laïcisation de 1870–1871" (pp. 35–46); André Lanfrey, "De l'école congréganiste à l'école catholique" (pp. 47–61); Christian Amalvi, "La censure des manuels d'histoire en usage à l'école primaire. De l'empire 'autoritaire' à la République 'radicale' (1852–1914)" (pp. 63–71); Yves Gaulupeau, "L'Église et la nation dans la France contemporaine. Le témoignage des manuels confessionels (1870–1940)" (pp. 73–104); Brigitte Basdevant-Gaudemet, "Monseigneur Pie et l'enseignement" (pp. 105–119); Jean-Claude Meyer, "La Congrégation de Notre-Dame de la Compassion" (pp. 131–144); Louis Secondy, "La formation des professeurs de l'enseignement secondaire catholique entre 1890 et 1914" (pp. 145–167); Daniel Moulinet, "*Les Lettres chrétiennes*. Une revue au service de l'enseignement chrétien à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle" (pp. 169–182); Marcel Launay, "Défense et illustration de l'enseignement secondaire catholique dans l'Ouest. Les associations d'anciens élèves à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle" (pp. 183–195); Patrick Cabanel, "Le grand exil des congrégations enseignantes au début du XX^{e} siècle. L'example des Jésuites" (pp. 207–217); Jacques-Olivier Boudon, "L'épiscopat français et le développement des hautes études ecclésiastiques au XIX^{e} siècle" (pp. 219–235); Brigitte Waché, "L'École des Carmes, 1845–1875" (pp. 237–253); Clément Nastorg, "L'Institut catholique de Toulouse. Les années de fondation" (pp. 255–268); and Bruno Neveu, "L'enseignement universitaire de la théologie catholique en France de 1875 à 1885" (pp. 269–294).

A "Chronology of American Baptist Churches, USA," compiled by Ronald E. Schlosser, is presented in the issue of *American Baptist Quarterly* for June, 1995 (Volume XIV, Number 2). It consists of the following sections: "Chronological History of the Board of International Ministries, 1793–1994" (pp. 108–121); "Chronological History of the Board of Educational Ministries,

1824–1994" (pp. 122–138); "Chronological History of the Board of National Ministries, 1817–1994" (pp. 139–157); "Chronological History of the Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board, 1908–1994" (pp. 158–166); and "Chronological History of the American Baptist Churches, USA, as a Denomination, 1907–1994" (pp. 167–175).

The volume (6) of the *Journal of Texas Catholic History and Culture* for 1995 contains the lecture that Dolores Liptak, R.S.M., delivered at the preceding meeting of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, "The Immigrant Church in America and Texas Catholic History" (pp. 11–17), and the following articles: "Holy Rosary School and Church, 1887–1914: A Pioneer Catholic Effort among African American Texans," by T. Lindsay Baker (pp. 18–34); "Pierre Yves Keralum, O.M.I.: Architect for God on the Texas Border," by Eugene George (pp. 35–46); and "The Carmelites of Marienfeld and the Missions of West Texas, 1882–1901," by John-Benedict Weber, O.Carm. (pp. 47–65). James F. Vanderholt has added a list of "Dissertations and Theses on Catholic Texas" (pp. 66–76).

Part Two of the series of "Essays in Memory of John Tracy Ellis," which was begun in the winter issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* (see *ante*, [July, 1995], 483), is continued in the spring issue (Volume 13, Number 2) under the heading "The Intellectual Life." The essays are: "From *Pascendi* to *Primitive Man*: The Apologetics and Anthropology of John Montgomery Cooper," by Elizabeth McKeown (pp. 1–21); "The Last Supernaturalists: Fenton, Connell, and the Threat of Catholic Indifferentism," by R. Scott Appleby and John H. Haas (pp. 23–48); "'A Catholic Way of Doing Every Important Thing': Catholic Women and Theological Study in the Mid-Twentieth Century," by Sandra Yocum Mize (pp. 49–69); "*Commonweal* and the Catholic Intellectual Life," by Rodger Van Allen (pp. 71–86); and "Catholic Intellectual Life: Reflections on Mission and Identity," by Thomas Landy, S.J. (pp. 87–100).

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association's *Historical Studies* for 1995 (Volume 61) contains papers read at its annual meeting of last year, which was held at the University of Calgary and for the most part devoted to the theme "Christian Experience in the Canadian West." The contents follow: Robert Carney, "Aboriginal Residential Schools before Confederation: The Early Experience" (pp. 13–40); Michael Cottrell, "John Joseph Leddy and the Battle for the Soul of the Catholic Church in the West" (pp. 41–51); Duff Crerar, "In the Day of Battle: Canadian Catholic Chaplains in the Field, 1885–1945" (pp. 53–77); Terence J. Fay, "A Historiography of Recent Publications on Catholic Native Residential Schools" (pp. 79–97); Elizabeth W. McGahan, "The Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception: A Canadian Case Study" (pp. 99–133); Mary Olga McKenna, "Paradigm Shifts in a Women's Religious Institute: The Sisters of Charity, Halifax, 1950–1979" (pp. 135–151); Vincent McNally, "Who Is Leading? Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Priests and People in the Archdiocese of Dublin, 1787–1823" (pp. 153–170); Alexander Reford, "St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto, 1958–1978: The

Frustrations of Federation" (pp. 171–194); and Margaret Sanche, "A Matter of Identity: St. Thomas More College at the University of Saskatchewan, 1961–1977" (pp. 195–214).

The same volume contains the *Études d'histoire religieuse 1995* (Volume 61) of La Société canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église catholique, viz., Michel Lagrée, "La monographie diocésaine et les acquis de l'historiographie religieuse française" (pp. 9–41); Guy Laperrière, "Pourquoi l'histoire diocésaine ne s'est-elle pas développée au Québec comme en France?" (pp. 43–61); Sylvain Gosselin, "Les archives des diocèses catholiques du Canada" (pp. 63–79); Christine Hudon, "Le prêtre, le ministre et l'apostat. Les stratégies pastorales face au protestantisme canadien-français au XIX^{e} siècle" (pp. 81–99); and Nive Voisine, "Les rendez-vous de Rimouski de M^{gr} Georges Courchesne" (pp. 101–113).

Between the English and French sections is a forty-seven-page "Current Bibliography of Canadian Church History" compiled under the supervision of Michel Bergeron.

Personal Notice

Timothy J. Meagher has been appointed archivist and museum director of the Catholic University of America. In recent years Dr. Meagher has been a program officer in the Museums Programs and chief program officer in the Special Projects Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Obituaries

Hugh Joseph Nolan, a member of the American Catholic Historical Association from 1942 to 1990, died in Philadelphia on February 1, 1995. He was highly regarded as a professional historian and as a dedicated priest, with a lifetime of both clerical and scholarly activity. His world was the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, both professionally and personally. Nolan was born there on July 8, 1911, a few months before the demise of the local famed journalist-historian Martin I. J. Griffin, who inspired many later scholars. Ordained from the Philadelphia seminary on June 7, 1941, Nolan did his doctoral studies in church history from 1941 to 1944 at the Catholic University of America. John Tracy Ellis was his major professor, and Peter Guilday, Nolan's fellow Philadelphian, also influenced him greatly. He received his Ph.D. degree on June 8, 1949, with a dissertation that was his first major publication: *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830–1851* (Philadelphia, 1948). After three years of teaching in an archdiocesan high school, 1944–1947, he worked for another three years at St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, before returning to his native city as chaplain and professor

of theology at Immaculata College for two decades. In 1974 he was appointed pastor, and in 1989 emeritus, at St. Isaac Jogues parish in suburban Wayne, Pennsylvania. On the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination, in 1991, he received the title of honorary prelate of His Holiness (Reverend Monsignor).

While writing his Kenrick biography, Nolan edited and wrote for *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* from 1943 to 1958; thereafter he contributed in diverse ways as an officer of that organization. His twelve entries in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* are mainly biographical accounts of local figures. He wrote two crisp chapters for the official *History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia* (1976). For years he wrote for the archdiocesan newspaper, *The Catholic Standard and Times*: unsigned editorials, popular sketches, and book reviews. Having regularly attended the annual national bishops' conferences, he was authorized to edit and publish in four volumes the *Pastoral Letters of the United States Catholic Bishops 1792–1984* (Washington, 1983–1984). This project received an award from the Catholic Press Association as Best Book of the 1984 Year for Professional and Educational Publications. It immediately became one of the basic books for the study of American Catholic history, and will remain so far into the future.

RAYMOND H. SCHMANDT

St. Joseph's University (Emeritus)

Newman Charles Eberhardt, C.M., professor of history in Saint John's Seminary, Camarillo, California, for fifty-four years, died suddenly in his room after returning from his customary morning walk on May 26, 1995. He had turned in his grades for the semester and was working on a homily for the Feast of the Ascension.

Born in Chicago on July 10, 1912, Newman Eberhardt attended local Catholic schools before his affiliation with the Congregation of the Mission. Professed in 1932, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1939, just prior to World War II. The youthful Vincentian was then sent to Rome where he acquired a licentiate's degree in Sacred Theology at the Athenaeum Angelicum. Some years later, he received his advanced degree in history from Saint Louis University.

Assigned to Camarillo in 1941, Father Eberhardt spent his early professional years teaching philosophy, patrology, and history. During the summers, he taught at De Paul University in Chicago. Eberhardt's reputation was firmly established on the national level with his publication, in 1961–1962, of *A Summary of Catholic History*. That two-volume compendium was described by one reviewer as "an accurate, readable, and comprehensive" treatise. An-

other scholar writing for the *Catholic Historical Review* was "impressed by the generous bulk of material succinctly compressed into its 900 pages; by the prevailing tone of objectivity; by the refusal to slur over awkward facts; by the adroit summaries of major issues, [and] by the great attention given to the secular background."

The name "Eberhardt" thereafter became a recognized tradition in seminaries throughout the nation. One prominent authority explained that phenomenon by observing that "Father Eberhardt's style is simple, uncomplicated, historical rather than apologetic, with an occasional touch of humor."

In 1964, Eberhardt's supplementary study, *A Survey of American Church History*, appeared on the bookstalls. It too was greeted with wide acclaim. The late Hugh J. Nolan described the 308-page book as "a truly valuable work for seminarians, novices, college students, and the general Catholic reader." It was a sound, attractively written, and carefully documented study.

In 1972, without slowing his pace at Camarillo, Father Eberhardt embarked on a third career, a teaching apostolate for the Permanent Deacon Program of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. Two nights a week, after a full schedule with the seminarians, he drove fifty-five miles to Los Angeles, where he functioned as academic co-ordinator and teacher in the training classes. Eberhardt's national reputation was confirmed in 1981, when members of the American Catholic Historical Association elected him second vice-president.

In his lectures and books, Father Eberhardt always treated the Church with deference, respect, and love. Perhaps more than others, he knew the Church's human imperfections and shortcomings, but he always chose to dwell on what was good and uplifting.

Vicariously, as spiritual director and academic professor, Father Eberhardt touched the lives of hundreds of thousands of Catholics in the Metropolitan Province of Los Angeles. He epitomizes what is best in the evolving traditions of the Church—probably because he has always abided by his own dictum: "An historian ought to give testimony, not prophecy."

Placed next to his casket at Saint Vincent's Church in Los Angeles was the *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* medal which he had been awarded by Pope John Paul II in 1989. The archbishop, Roger Cardinal Mahony, seven bishops, and over 300 priests concelebrated the Mass of the Resurrection. Father Charles Miller, C.M., gave the homily and Monsignor Francis J. Weber delivered the eulogy.

FRANCIS J. WEBER

Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles

George J. Gill, associate professor of history at Fordham University and a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1962, died on

June 27, 1995, at the age of sixty-eight after a long battle with cancer. A graduate of Cathedral College's high school division, he began his association with Fordham in September of 1945, when he arrived on campus as a freshman. After receiving his bachelor's degree in 1949, he was appointed an assistant instructor of philosophy at the University and spent the next two years juggling his teaching responsibilities with his master's work in history. Upon the completion of his master's degree, he joined the faculty of Regis High School in New York, where he taught for ten years, during which time he completed his doctorate at Fordham. A specialist in American diplomatic history during the presidencies of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, he returned to his alma mater in 1961 to begin a teaching career that spanned thirty-three years. During this time, he served the University with distinction and with quiet grace in the classroom and on a succession of committees. He was cherished by both his faculty colleagues and his students, all of whom benefited from his unfailing kindness, his tireless generosity, and his wisdom. At the time of his retirement, the students at Fordham College asked the University to bestow upon him a special award to recognize his contributions to both their education and the life of the University. The citation that accompanied the award noted that "when his students speak of him, they use a word that all too infrequently is heard when students refer to their professors: 'saint.' They revered him, and they flocked to his legendary end-of-term sessions (even those who no longer had him in class) when, the material covered, he would put his books aside and give them a talk on the meaning of life and the richness of Saint Ignatius' vision of education." Ever the Christian gentleman and a man of great faith, on his deathbed George promised to pray for those whom he left behind—his beloved wife Winnie, his children, his colleagues, and his many students. As his life and teaching career were blessings for all who knew him, his death leaves a void that will be hard to fill.

JOSEPH M. MCSHANE, S.J.

Fordham University

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