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WHO BENEFITED FROM TITHE REVENUES IN LATE-RENAISSANCE BRESSE?

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This examination of the practical functioning of tithe collection and of who specifically benefited from tithe payments shows that structures of ecclesiastical and secular domination continued to be highly fragmented during the late Renaissance. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of episcopal visitation records and other sources from the Francophone province of Bresse reveals, among other things, that the fiscal and political impact of tithe payments was quite complex, that local priests were often not the major beneficiaries, and that tithe grants could serve as a mechanism permitting sovereigns to tax church revenues belonging to actors subject to other sovereigns.

Keywords: absolutism; church revenue; clerical compensation; tithes; visitation records

Tithes figured significantly in the local economic, political, and religious landscapes of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Curiously, however, few studies have examined precisely how the general mechanics of tithe collection operated nor have they analyzed the ways in which the institution of the tithe reflected the structure of domination (both ecclesiastical and secular) in late Renaissance Europe.This article considers evidence from early-seventeenth-century visitation records in the province of Bresse (subject to the house of

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Savoy until 1601 and thereafter to the French crown) to elucidate how the tithe functioned in one particular area and to identify the range of political relationships implicit in tithe extraction. This investigation of who benefited from Bresse tithes, and how, raises new questions about the effective organization and application of political power in Europe as a whole. It underscores the degree to which local domination could be exercised by a variety of clerical and nonclerical actors, resulting in a power structure whose fragmentation continues to be underestimated in many histories of early-modern political culture.

Processes of tithe extraction (and resistance) shed some light on the specific nature of this political structure, highlighting its multipolarity and the variety of resources that it offered to actors of all stripes for the defense of their interests. A brief look at tithe payment practices in a few parts of Europe is followed by an examination of the economic and political context in Bresse during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, and then by a quantitative analysis of local tithe structures in *c.* 1613–14.

1. Tithe Payments in Some Other Parts of Late-Renaissance Europe

The organization of tithe payment and collection varied widely throughout premodern Europe and took place on multiple levels (from producer to collector, as well as transfers occurring from collectors either to owners and/or to representatives of other actors who had been granted the right to receive some or all of these tithe revenues). In Castile, the crown was supposed to receive a third of the tithe, but collection was problematic because of variations in annual harvests, evasion, and the difficulties of transporting payments in kind. There, the royal third was farmed out to the highest bidder, who paid his bid in advance to the treasury and then assumed the responsibility of collecting.[1] In the Nuremberg region some tithe revenues belonged to clerical institutions and others to laypeople. Three kinds of tithe payments existed there: the "great" tithe (on rye, wheat, barley, and oats), the small tithe (on millet, peas, hay, and flax), and the living tithe (on livestock).[2] Throughout Europe, the tithe was in reality subdivided into smaller tithes assessed on specific products.

[1]Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516–1700* (Baltimore, 1990), p. 194.

[2]Lawrence P. Buck, "Opposition to Tithes in the Peasants' Revolt: A Case Study of Nuremberg in 1524," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 4, no. 2 (1973), 11–22, here 12–13.

In early-modern Württemberg the tithe frequently belonged to the prince and was auctioned off to villagers who were able to estimate the likely size of the harvest. Sometimes groups of villagers interested in bidding would make arrangements beforehand with the local official (the *Schultheiss*) who organized the auctions "so that various interest groups each got their turn at offering the low bid." Despite the official, thoroughly documented air of the auction process, "in fact the central government was being shortchanged." But the tithe was a resource to which local factions felt entitled, and the power and prestige of the *Schultheiss* depended on his skill in balancing the interests of these factions.[3]

There have been few analyses of who actually received what from local tithe revenues. One scholar has suggested that in early-modern France most of the proceeds "went to the clerical hierarchy composed of bishops, archbishops, abbeys, monasteries, and seminaires," while the local priest was "relatively short-changed by the tithe" and "got no more, and sometimes less, than one sixth."[4] As we shall see, such was not always the case in Bresse, although this precluded neither conflicts between priests and villagers over tithe payments nor disputes between parishioners and "the monasteries and urban collegiate churches that held the vast majority of the tithing rights." In the Archdiocese of Lyon, such conflicts were never the result of rural priests "antagoniz[ing] their parishioners by authoritarian attempts to reform popular religion or popular culture," since Tridentine reforms would only penetrate the rural parts of the archdiocese during the later seventeenth century.[5]

Tithes first had to be collected from peasant cultivators, a process that has also received scant attention from historians (see below for how this worked in Bresse). When secular lords had been given papal grants for revenues from this collection, these sums then had to be transferred from collectors to clergy representatives or secular officials. The process of assigning collectors and determining modes of payment was an important aspect of tithe politics. Negotiations sur-

[3]David Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (New York, 1985), pp. 193–94.

[4]James C. Scott, "Resistance without Protest and without Organization: Peasant Opposition to the Islamic *Zakat* and the Christian Tithe," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 29, no. 3 (1987), 417–52, here 440.

[5]Philip Hoffman, *Church and Community in the Diocese of Lyon 1500–1789* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 69–70.

rounding the 1570 papal tithe grant to Venice, for example, took into account how the present grant might be used politically in future negotiations, how the assessment and collection was done, and even the precise language used to describe the grant.[6] In France, where the crown also enjoyed a right to a portion of the tithe revenues, the receiver-general collected payments from the dioceses (once tributes in kind had been converted to cash) with the help of the provincial commissioners and had the money transported to Paris where the rents assigned to the clergy were paid. This involved the receiver in myriad financial interactions with the receivers of the city of Paris and other municipal authorities.[7]

But this extraction of wealth from producer to collector and from collector to ecclesiastical or secular fiscs did not occur in an obstacle-free environment. Wherever tithes were collected in premodern Europe, their payment was also resisted. Some scholars have minimized this resistance,[8] but in many places it was explicit and linked to multilateral regional politics. There were anti-tithe revolts in the Nuremberg area in 1524, and in 1590–91 the kingdom of Naples experienced a vast refusal by its peasantry to pay tithes and rents. In the Veneto, despite the fact that tithe revenues contributed importantly to the budget of the aristocratic republic, even nobles avoided payment.[9]

What is missing in the scholarship is a close examination of how the structure of tithe payments and tithe beneficiaries fit into a specific

[6]See *Nunziature di Venezia*, ed. Aldo Stella, [Fonti per la storia d'Italia 65], (Rome, 1963), 8:227–28, 271, 274, 420, 424.

[7]The first receivers of the French clergy were Lyonnais and were chosen "due to the financial primacy of the city of Lyon in the first half of the sixteenth century, and because the city on the Rhône was the center of financial operations for the French clergy with respect to Rome." Various fees for ecclesiastical paperwork were paid in Lyon, where members of the Italian banking community then transferred payments to Rome. See Claude Michaud, *L'Église et l'argent sous l'Ancien Régime: les receveurs généraux du clergé de France aux XVI^e^–XVII^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1991), pp. 51, 60–61, 80–85.

[8]See Giles Constable, "Resistance to Tithes in the Middle Ages," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 13, no. 2 (1962), 172–85 and Piotr Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes, and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland c. 1100–c. 1250*, [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 83], (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 116.

[9]Buck, "Opposition to Tithes," pp. 12, 18–20; Rosario Villari, *The Revolt of Naples*, trans. James Newell and John Marino (Cambridge, UK, 1993), pp. 37–38, 175–77; Giuseppe Del Torre, *Venezia e la Terraferma dopo la guerra di Cambrai: Fiscalità e amministrazione (1515–1530)* (Milan, 1986), p. 97.

local political environment during the late Renaissance.[10] One area for which we have some information about how the tithe mediated political relations between local clergy and the secular ruler is the province of Bresse, located on the east bank of the Saône River between the Franche-Comté and Dauphiné. Bresse and the neighboring smaller province of Bugey in the Jura foothills were among the states ruled by the dukes of Savoy until 1601, when the Treaty of Lyon handed them over to the king of France in exchange for the Alpine marquisate of Saluzzo. Existing research on political relations between the clergy assembly of Bresse and Bugey and Duke Emanuel Filibert of Savoy during the later sixteenth century shows that the clergy of this area (located within the Archdiocese of Lyon[11]) exercised considerable control over their own ecclesiastical revenues. Still, the clergy assembly willingly honored papal grants providing for the payment of a significant portion of these to the duke of Savoy, largely because of the military protection offered by the duke of Savoy during the period of the French wars of religion.[12] But what was the local political impact of such payments to secular rulers such as the duke of Savoy or the king of France? Answering this question requires a more detailed examination of tithes in Bresse during this period, which in turn invites preliminary consideration of the local economic and political context.[13]

[10]Most of the contributions in the volume *Les fluctuations du produit de la dîme. Conjoncture décimale et domaniale de la fin du Moyen Age au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Joseph Goy and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie (Paris, 1972) use tithe records to construct a macro-level economic history of early-modern Europe. However, the contribution of J. Vogt ("Pour une étude social de la dîme. Esquisse de la tenure de la dîme en Alsace XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles") focuses on the social impact of tithe collection, looking at conflicts among those to whom tithe owners farmed out collection rights, disputes between co-owners of tithes, and the identities of tithe farmers; see esp. pp. 105–07, 123, 126–33.

[11]Much of Bugey lay within the Diocese of Belley, whose bishop from 1536 to 1575 was Antoine II de La Chambre (member of one of the most illustrious Savoyard noble houses), followed from 1576 to 1604 by Jean-Geoffroy Ginod (a jurist from the Val d'Aosta), and then by Jean-Pierre Camus (1608–29). Very few records survive for the history of this diocese during this period; see Louis and Gabrielle Trenard, *Le diocèse de Belley* (Paris, 1978), and Louis Alloing, *Le diocèse de Belley: histoire religieuse des Pays de l'Ain* (Belley, 1938). The Diocese of Belley also included parishes located in Dauphiné and others located in Savoie; references in this article to ecclesiastical structures in "Bresse and Bugey" refer to the province of Bresse and those parts of Bugey located within the Archdiocese of Lyon.

[12]See Matthew Vester, "The Bresse Clergy Assembly and Tithe Grants, 1560–1580," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 35, no. 3 (2004), 771–94; and *id.*, "Perché l'autonomia istituzionale non significò meno tasse nella Bresse savoiarda (1560–1580)," *Quaderni storici*, 40, no. 1 (2005), 41–72.

[13]For older works on tithes in late-Renaissance and baroque France, see G. d'Avenel, "La dîme sous Richelieu," *Académie des sciences morales et politiques*, n.s., 28 (s.d.,

2. Economics and Politics in Late-Sixteenth-Century Bresse

Bresse seems to have been relatively better suited to agriculture than many of the other mountainous transalpine provinces that had been subject to the duke of Savoy prior to 1601. Grain from Bresse was transported not only to Lyon when food shortages struck there but also to other Savoyard provinces and even to Piedmont when necessary. The population of Bresse and Bugey was also large with respect to the rest of the transalpine domains, perhaps accounting for 200,000 inhabitants out of a total transalpine population of around 500,000.[14] The rule in economic relations between the Lyonnais and Bresse was free exchange of grain, goods, and people, Lyon's 60,000 inhabitants (*c.* 1550) depending on grain imports from surrounding areas and Bressan peasants seeking opportunity in the city.[15]

Richard Gascon argued that Bresse and Bugey were favorably located geographically to benefit from the export of local products to Lyon and the transport of goods across its territory.[16] Denise Turrel paints a different picture of the Bressan economy. She has emphasized the peripheral and divided status of Bresse, the southern portion of

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1916?), 690–704 and Paul Viard, *Histoire de la dîme ecclésiastique en France au XVI^e^ siècle* (Lille, 1914). These studies do not analyze who specifically owned or benefited from tithes. For works focusing on the eighteenth century, see P. Gagnol and H. Marion, whose early-twentieth-century articles were reprinted in *La dîme ecclésiastique en France au 18^e^ siècle* (Geneva, 1974).

[14]Venetian ambassadors to Turin during Emanuel Filibert's reign estimated the population of the transalpine domains at 500,000. Beloch thinks that the population probably dropped 20 percent by 1600 or so, due to war and famine, and also estimates an average of about thirty-three inhabitants per square kilometer in these lands. He refers to a 1601 Venetian ambassador's report to suggest that the loss of Bresse, Bugey, and Gex to France during that year meant a population loss of 200,000; see Karl Julius Beloch, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens* (Berlin, 1961), 3:282–83. Denise Turrel identifies thirteen Bressan towns with more than 1000 inhabitants in 1561: in Montluel there were around 5400 inhabitants and about 4000 in Bourg, but the next most populous town had only 1400 inhabitants. In Bugey, the largest towns were Belley (with about 2100 inhabitants in 1670) and Seyssel (about 1200 inhabitants in 1605). There were about 4600 residents of Chambéry, the capital of the transalpine provinces, in 1561; see Denise Turrel, *Bourg en Bresse au 16^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1986), pp. 122–25, here 125n48.

[15]Turrel, *Bourg en Bresse*, p. 109; Timothy Watson, "The Lyon City Council, c. 1525–1575: Politics, Culture, Religion" (PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 1999), pp. 31, 44.

[16]Richard Gascon has documented the extensive commercial interactions among Bresse and Bugey and French, Imperial, and Swiss territories; see Gascon, *Grand commerce et vie urbaine au XVI^e^ siècle. Lyon et ses marchands (environs de 1520–environs de 1580)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1971), 1:116–17, 165–67.

which was oriented toward Lyon and the western portion toward the Saône River. Turrel finds that the swampy province was "completely off of the beaten path" until the eighteenth century, due in part to the fact that the roads were so bad there that traffic was really only possible between May and September.[17]

Differences in these assessments of the sixteenth-century Bressan economy could be partly due to the changing fortunes of the Lyonnais economy during the sixteenth century. Of regional significance was the meltdown in the municipal finances of Lyon in 1557–58. King Henry II had increasingly relied on the good credit of the city to broker loans for him (underwritten by municipal taxes) for use during his wars against the Habsburgs. By the late 1550s, tax revenues were no longer sufficient to make interest payments to bondholders. The city had borrowed more (in the form of bond sales) than it could pay back. As a result, during the 1560s and 1570s Lyon lacked public confidence and was unable to reorganize a system of public credit, and the city was reduced to borrowing from wealthy individuals.[18]

The fiscal crisis of 1558 also had a political dimension. A central conflict in Lyonnais politics was between the merchant-dominated city council and the canon-counts of the chapter of St. Jean. After 1558 the city needed to create new taxes to fund its debt. A city council proposal for new excise taxes on merchandise sold in the city infuriated the clergy, since this would have burdened clerics who produced food and wine on their rural lands for sale in the city. The clergy accused the city council of creating an exemption regime that benefited sales of their own products (cloth, spices). In the end the clergy agreed to a new tax in exchange for exemptions for the products of clerical lands. "[The clergy] even went so far as to exploit this exemption by importing duty-free wine into Lyon and selling it at the tax-inflated price."[19]

Because of these new taxes, commercial transit formerly carried by the Rhône was diverted, and the province of Bresse was bypassed: one alternate route for goods such as spices was Nice-Piedmont-Chambéry-Geneva. Thus, the financial-fiscal crisis in Lyon destabilized the Bressan economy. On the other hand, the decline of the Lyon fairs

[17]Turrel, *Bourg en Bresse*, pp. 26, 29, 110.

[18]Roger Doucet, *Finances municipales et crédit public à Lyon au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1937), pp. 75, 81.

[19]Hoffman, *Church and Community*, p. 17.

and the new tax burden had the effect of transferring some manufacturing activity (such as the production of dyed thread) to the Bressan countryside.[20]

Bresse was part of the Archdiocese of Lyon, except for 1515–16 and 1521–35, when there was a bishopric at Bourg.[21] From its origin, the city of Lyon had to contend with a powerful archbishop. In fact, the city was given legal autonomy by permission of the archbishop, Pierre de Savoie, in 1320. But since the king of France did not wish to see the archbishop become the head of an urban principality, especially in the territory of the old kingdom of Arles, he set about establishing jurisdictions near Lyon and eventually in the city (the *sénéchal*). Royal power grew in Lyon at the expense of the church, which lost most of its temporal power in the city over the course of the fifteenth century. As the Lyonnais clergy declined, a new mercantile oligarchy seized power in the city. By the early 1500s, "the clergy had almost no part in the political life of the city," except on extraordinary occasions, after civic assemblies barred attendance by the clergy, and clerics were not invited to council elections. During the sixteenth century the city council regularly received royal exemptions from dues owed to the church. The archbishop remained an important national figure during the sixteenth century, but his official's tribunal "was staffed largely by bourgeois officials and was subject to appeals to the sénéchaussée." Complaints by the city council resulted in the suppression of the court under King Francis I in 1531, but it was "restored by Henri II in 1547 as a personal favour to the archbishop Hippolyte d'Este, and survived as an independent body until the outbreak of the religious wars." Since there was no *parlement* in Lyon, "the most significant powers in the region were personal rather than institutional." However, the weakening of ecclesiastical privileges and the archbishops' frequent absences from the city during the sixteenth century created a power vacuum. Este was archbishop from 1540 to 1550 and was followed by François de Tournon (1550–62), Antoine d'Albon (1562–73), and Pierre d'Epinac (1574–99).[22]

[20]Doucet, *Finances municipales*, pp. 90–91. On the issue of trade routes, see Marc Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon au XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1914).

[21]Turrel, *Bourg en Bresse*, pp. 11, 97. In 1515 the bishop of Bourg was Louis de Gorrevod. On the delayed impact of Trent in the Lyonnais, see Hoffman, *Church and Community*.

[22]Watson, *Lyon City Council*, pp. 10–11, 57, 79, 81–82; Jean-H. Mariéjol, *Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie duc de Nemours. Gouverneur du Lyonnais, Beaujolais et Forez (1567–1595)* (Paris, 1938), p. 3.

Although it may have lost political influence, the cathedral chapter of St. Jean "remained the richest proprietor in the region, and all Lyon's collegiate and parish churches enjoyed significant income from real estate." Property and tax disputes frequently arose between the clergy and the laity, especially renters of ecclesiastical land. As taxation levels increased after the 1540s, the clergy made a bid to reacquire its political role, portraying itself as the defender of the commoners against the merchant-dominated council and demanding the right to examine the city's accounts. In December 1558 the clergy made an official accusation against the council and won the right to attend the council election. A compromise was reached in April 1559, the council agreeing "to respect the clergy's traditional tax exemptions, to invite them to general assemblies of more than twelve notables, and to permit them to inspect the council's accounts of the 'deniers patrimoniaux.'" For its part, the clergy waived its right to attend the election. By the mid-1560s, "representatives of the upper clergy were also included in the Lyon *conseil d'état*, a new and important council of local notables" designed to reorganize Catholics in Lyon following the Protestant takeover of the city (1562–63). For Richard Gascon, the rapprochement between the urban elite and the clergy was a "miracle."[23]

Thus, despite some setbacks, "the canon-counts of Saint-Jean were, in fact, the preeminent lords of the region." Evidence of their strong position in Bressan tithe structures (described below) reinforces this assessment. Within Bresse itself, political institutions were marked by local control and the absence of commanding leadership. The duke of Savoy appointed a governor (Laurent de Gorrevod for most of Emanuel Filibert's reign), but his role was not highly visible. The capital of the province, Bourg, was slightly larger than other Bressan towns and barely attained the role of a regional relay node between the rest of Bresse and Chambéry. Youngsters from Bresse had to go to Chambéry to attend a *collège*. During the late-fifteenth century the dukes of Savoy differentiated Bourg from other Bressan towns by granting its syndics the ceremonial privilege of wearing green robes. By exercising this privilege, the Bourgeois simultaneously demonstrated their town's role as regional capital and affirmed their allegiance to their sovereigns, since their green robes provided "an explicit reference and a pledge of fidelity to the Savoyard dynasty, through the constant commemoration of the Green Count [of Savoy, Amadeus VI, 1334–83]." The presence of

[23]Watson, *Lyon City Council*, pp. 55, 58; Gascon cited in Hoffman, *Church and Community*, pp. 34–35.

a lower appellate court in the town and the construction of a fortress there in the 1570s further solidified Bourg's leading role in Bresse.[24]

According to Jean-Pierre Gutton, few communities in early-modern Bresse had much in the way of communal property: usually there was no town hall, there were few or no archives, and there were elected officials only from time to time. The chief function of town leaders was tax collecting. Despite this absence of formal political structures, these communities had a collective life, in which confraternities, such as that of the Holy Spirit, played a central role. The confraternities owned property, "facilitated the consolidation of communal autonomy" and "permitted a local group to arrange and to serve an apprenticeship in municipal life," meeting at the place where the fiscal community also assembled. In fact, the procurators of the confraternity were often the procurators of the community also, and all three collectivities [parish, village assembly, and confraternity] typically gathered in the house of confraternity, "beneath its primitive frescoes of the Holy Spirit and the parish patron saints" (Hoffman). At Ceyzériat, in 1601, "entry into the resident community and use of common lands were tied to admission . . . to the confraternity of the Holy Spirit."[25]

Historians differ in their assessment of the pace of religious change in the archdiocese. Gutton argues that from the 1560s onward, in the French part of the Archdiocese of Lyon, royal officials began to suppress the confraternities and that bishops and priests sought to purify and transform them. He claims that records of conflict between parishioners and priests show "that villagers were not happy to accept assaults by Tridentine curés on ancient customs and institutions."[26] Hoffman emphasizes continuities in local forms of religiosity until at least 1650. He points to the existence of "societies" of priests,

[24]Hoffman, *Church and Community*, p. 13; Turrel, *Bourg en Bresse*, pp. 26, 29, 110, 116–17; *Id.*, "L'Identité par la distinction: les robes syndicales des petites villes de Bresse (XV^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècle)," *Cahiers d'histoire*, 43, nos. 3–4 (1998), 475–87, here 477.

[25]Jean-Pierre Gutton, "Confraternities, Curés and Communities in Rural Areas of the Diocese of Lyons under the Ancien Régime," in *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800,* ed. John Burke (London, 1984), pp. 202–03, 205; Hoffman, *Church and Society*, pp. 59–60. For more discussion of the ecclesiastical culture in Bresse and Bugey (societies of priests and their revenues, collegial chapters, confraternities, relations between Huguenots and Catholics in the early-seventeenth century, and the 1613–14 Bressan visitation of Denis-Simon de Marquemont, the archbishop of Lyon), see Alloing, *Le diocèse de Belley*. For some details on the tithe in Ceyzériat, see J. Manissier, *Histoire de Ceyzériat* (Bourg-en-Bresse, 1967), pp. 61, 84.

[26]Gutton, "Confraternities," pp. 209–10.

established to perform liturgical duties for pious foundations in small towns and villages throughout the Lyonnais countryside. Usually members of these societies were natives of the locales where they served, were close to their flocks, and often lived with relatives. These priests played little role in local politics and virtually none in confraternity affairs. In Hoffman's judgment, rural Bressan clerics "were as yet hardly affected by the Counter Reformation" during the first half of the seventeenth century. He states unequivocally that "the end of the sixteenth century definitely witnessed no dramatic rise in pious bequests in the countryside."[27]

In the Archdiocese of Lyon, certain products were tithed, and others (such as the produce of one's *jardin*, newly planted vines, certain fallow or nonfertile lands, and the livestock of other parties under the care of villagers) were exempt. At the time of the harvest, the farmer was supposed to leave what he produced in the field for twenty-four hours before bringing it into his barn, so that the tithe collector would have time to gather up his portion. Marie-Thérèse Lorcin found that by the end of the medieval period, the tithe rate in the archdiocese was generally about a tenth and never less than a twelfth, but that by the late-eighteenth century, it was slightly lower (between an eleventh and a thirteenth).[28]

Peasants in the archdiocese sought to minimize their tithe payments in several ways. They tried to extend as much as possible the list of exempted products and expanded their definition of what constituted their "*jardin*" when these were tithe-free. When new vines were exempt, they planted them along with old ones and claimed exemptions for the whole lot. They argued about what was fallow or infertile and about what percentage was due for such plots. As their crops matured, villagers all harvested at the same time, making it more difficult for the tithe collector to complete his rounds in twenty-four hours. The villagers of Firminy (*c.* 1450) argued that if they owed the tithe, it could only be to their parish priest, "ubi omnia sua sacramenta ecclesiastica recipient," and not to the monastery that claimed to own their tithes. Above all, the peasants endeavored quietly to introduce new practices resulting in lower payment rates so that they could later argue that such practices were customary (and therefore legitimate).

[27]Hoffman, *Church and Community*, pp. 48, 50, 52–53, 57, 65–66.

[28]Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Un musée imaginaire de la ruse paysanne. La fraude des décimables du XIV[e] au XVIII[e] siècle dans la région lyonnaise," *Études rurales,* 53 (July–September, 1973), 112–24, 112–19, 124.

Such actions were referred to by James Scott as resistance without protest and without organization. Scott makes the important point that although such resistance is often invisible to modern researchers (because its very success depends on the failure of authorities to notice and document it), it was probably the most effective form of peasant resistance in the premodern world. Through techniques such as those described here, peasants in Bresse and elsewhere were able "to keep much of the tithe for themselves and sometimes avoid payment altogether." Lorcin summarizes:

> In their patient nibbling, the peasants benefited occasionally from disputes between co-collectors of tithes, or between collectors and the local priest. They were frequently supported by the bourgeois or nobles who owned farms or estates and also wanted to avoid tithe payments. However, the strongest support of those who owed tithes was . . . the inequality of custom: what was taxable, rates, and collection mechanisms were variable and exposed the tithe to all manner of attacks.

According to Lorcin, the Archdiocese of Lyon experienced four "agitated periods" of tithe resistance: 1450–1500, 1500–66, 1633–66, and 1750–1800. Thus, from the end of Emanuel Filibert's reign until the second third of the seventeenth century, the tithe regime in Bresse changed little.[29]

The final issue to be addressed in this brief sketch of the economic and political impact of the tithe on the Bressan countryside is who actually collected the tithes. Archival sources permitting a comprehensive quantitative analysis of this question have not been located (in Lyon, Bourg, Chambéry, or Turin); at best, the departmental archives in Lyon provide occasional anecdotal references to some tithe beneficiaries and/or collectors in specific localities.[30] Therefore, the question

[29]Lorcin, "Un musée imaginaire," pp. 112–19, 122–23; Scott, "Resistance without Protest."

[30]In the Archives Départementales du Rhône (hereafter, ADR), there are forty-three registers of ecclesiastical insinuations for the *officialité* of the diocese, for the years 1554–1614 (4G 78 through 120). They have been microfilmed and contain notarial acts of various sorts (appointments of priests to parishes; awards of benefices; resignations; decisions made by the *chamarier*, who shared temporal jurisdiction with the bishop; *prises de possession* of churches and chapels; sales of annuities; testaments; and so forth), some in French, some in Latin, and some copies of acts issued in Rome. These were sampled, as was 4G 185 (a register that deals specifically with acts regarding Bresse, from 1558 to 1559), but no references to tithe disputes were found. The ADR also holds a few surviving records documenting disputes between inhabitants of Bressan parishes and tithe-owning church bodies from Lyon; see 10G 1593 (for a dispute

of who benefited must be addressed from sources not normally associated with the study of tithes. For late-Renaissance Bresse, the most useful source has proved to be episcopal visitation records.[31]

3. Tithe Beneficiaries in Bresse, *c.* 1613–14

On July 11, 1613, Denys Simon de Marquemont, the archbishop of Lyon, began visiting parishes in Bresse as part of his visitation of the Archdiocese of Lyon as a whole. The visitation of Bresse (and of a few localities in the Franche-Comté) lasted until early October and was then finished up in early May 1614. The records of this visitation contain many details concerning the local structure of ecclesiastical domination in Bresse during the general period of its transition from Savoyard to French rule.[32] Although it is possible that between the death of Emanuel Filibert in 1580 and the visitations of 1613–14 the structure of tithe ownership or local religious organization changed somewhat, it is unlikely that these changes would have been significant.[33] The 1613–14

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between a village in the parish of Bâgé-la-Ville and the canons of St. Jean of Lyon in 1586); 10G 2054 (for early 1540s conflicts between the same canons and the parishioners of Balan and Nievre); 10G 3281 (for a 1553 compromise between the canons of the collegial church of St. Martin de l'Isle Barbe and the parishioners of Birieux); and 10G 3316 (for another compromise between the canons of l'Isle Barbe and the parishioners of St. Julien de Baynost). For a number of years during the late Renaissance, there was also a dispute between the curé of Cormoranche (supported by the clergy assembly of Bresse) and the sacristan of the church of St. Etienne of Lyon, over claims of wax owed by the former to the latter; see 10G 1713.

[31]Visitation records have been used by historians in a remarkable variety of ways, although, to my knowledge, they have not yet been used to study tithes. Like any source, they have their limitations, most obviously in their tendency to reinforce claims of episcopal authority (they were obviously never intended to provide a clear picture of "actual practice"). But this bias does not seem to have created distortions in terms of the visitation records' picture of tithe revenue distribution. We will see below that these records show, surprisingly, that nonclerical actors were significant beneficiaries of tithe revenues, despite the fact that the bishop might have been expected to reinforce the claims of clerical beneficiaries at the expense of secular ones. This study's heavy reliance on visitation records—a source that might be expected to skew the evidence in favor of clerical claims to tithe revenues—actually shows the opposite, validating the appropriateness of using these records to study this problem. For a brief overview of different historical uses of visitation records, see Angelo Torre, *Il consumo di devozioni: Religione e comunità nelle campagne dell'Ancien Régime* (Venice, 1995), pp. 5–11.

[32]ADR, *Recueil des visites pastorals du diocese de Lyon aux XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles (1613–1614)*, vol. 1 (Lyon, 1926) (hereafter, *Recueil*). The visits of the Bressan parishes appear on pp. 79–189, 214–16, 231–54, 262–63, 273–98, 304–05, 334–38, and 341–47.

[33]Note that Hoffman mentions no significant changes in church structures in the Archdiocese of Lyon until the later seventeenth century.

visitation records remain our best barometer of religious life in Bressan parishes during the half century after the Council of Trent.

The data concerning the distribution of power and privilege in early-seventeenth-century Bressan parishes have been grouped into 128 separate tithe units (usually parishes, but occasionally there were parishes that were subdivided into one or more tithe regimes). For each tithe unit, a number of questions were asked and responses (when available) recorded:

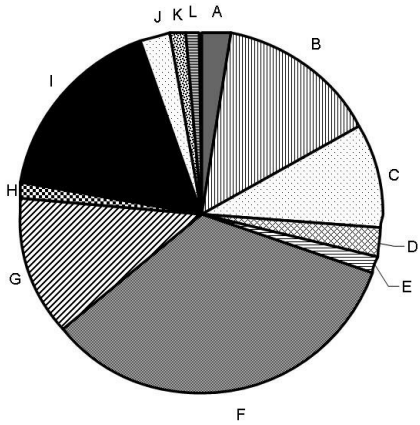
- Whether anyone (or any institution) from Lyon received a portion of the tithe or enjoyed patronage rights in the parish. In thirty-nine out of 128 cases (30.5 percent of the time), it was possible to establish that a person or group from Lyon benefited from Bresse tithe arrangements.
- Whether anyone enjoying a portion of tithe receipts or patronage rights was a noble. This was the case in thirty-two out of 128 cases (25 percent).
- Whether the curé was present in the parish (he was present 70.3 percent of the time).
- How many ways the tithe receipts were divided (see below).
- How many different tithes were mentioned (this information was imperfect, however, since it is clear that a comprehensive list of kinds of tithes was rarely, if ever, given).
- What percentage of tithe receipts was kept by the curé.
- The identity of the curé.
- The identity of the person or group that received the largest portion of the tithe receipts for the tithe unit (the tithe was often split in two or three equal portions).
- Whether the person or group receiving the largest portion resided outside of the lands subject to Savoyard jurisdiction prior to 1601.
- The identity of the person or group enjoying patronage rights in the parish and whether that person or group resided outside of the lands subject to Savoyard jurisdiction prior to 1601.
- Whether the curé counted among his revenues collections in cash or kind taken from parishioners on a per-hearth basis.
- When available, the total value of the tithe; the total value of the curé's revenues; the number of communicants in the tithe unit; and the number of hearths in the tithe unit. For the value of the tithe, see below. The total numbers of communicants were given for eighteen out of 128 cases and ranged from fifty to 3500. The numbers of hearths were given on four occasions and ranged from sixty to 296.

This information can be analyzed from a variety of perspectives to shed light on how the tithe fit into structures of ecclesiastical domination in Bresse during the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth centuries. To begin with, although it is very difficult to establish an average value of the tithe per tithe unit, the few numbers provided by the 1613–14 visitations (the values of only fifteen tithe units were given) provide a mean of £328 (*livres tournois*). Since some of these total values came from obviously wealthy tithe units, an extremely conservative estimate of the average value of a tithe unit could cut this average in half, to £164. If this average is relatively accurate, then the total tithe revenues for early-seventeenth-century Bresse (128 tithe units) would have amounted to £20,992, or roughly 72,160 Savoyard florins.

This figure can be compared to the amount of tithe revenues transferred by the clergy assembly of Savoyard Bresse and Bugey to Filibert on the occasion of papal grants to the duke of Savoy during the late-sixteenth century. While there were significant inflationary pressures between the end of Filibert's reign (1580) and 1614, there would also presumably have been underreporting of total tithe values. Tithe revenues disbursed to ducal treasurers by the clergy assembly of Bresse and Bugey between 1564 and 1580 ranged from 19,100 to 24,200 florins.[34] What was the total value of tithe revenues in Bresse compared to the amounts transferred from ecclesiastical to secular officials? If one takes the conservative estimate of 72,160 florins for Bresse tithes alone (*c.* 1613) and cuts it in half (to 36,080), without taking into account the revenues that also would have been collected from Bugey, then the portion of the tithe revenues from the Savoyard part of the Archdiocese of Lyon transferred to the duke of Savoy in the late-sixteenth century probably constituted between 53 and 67 percent of all tithes collected. It seems more likely that the percentage was actually far smaller, somewhere between a quarter and a third. Thus, in the late-sixteenth century the dukes of Savoy were clearly not the only beneficiaries of Bresse tithe revenues, despite papal grants of these revenues in their favor.

A political analysis of tithe revenues and their transfer to secular authorities should identify who benefited and who suffered in this process. The first, most obvious way in which groups benefited from tithes was through the collection of the actual revenues themselves. The visitation records indicate that in ninety-four cases there was a

[34]Vester, "Bresse Clergy Assembly," p. 790.



	Largest taker	% of total
A	Bishop or archbishop	2.61
B	Lyon chapter	14.38
C	Smaller town chapter	9.15
D	Official of smaller town chapter	2.61
E	Society of some town	1.31
F	Prior, abbot, monastery	33.33
G	Noble (if also prior, counted as noble)	12.42
H	Prevost de L'Isle Barbe	1.31
I	Curé	17.00
J	Official of Lyon chapter/monastery	2.61
K	Some other person	1.31
L	Priest from another parish	1.31

FIGURE 1. Identities of largest beneficiaries of Bresse tithes. Source: *Recueil*.

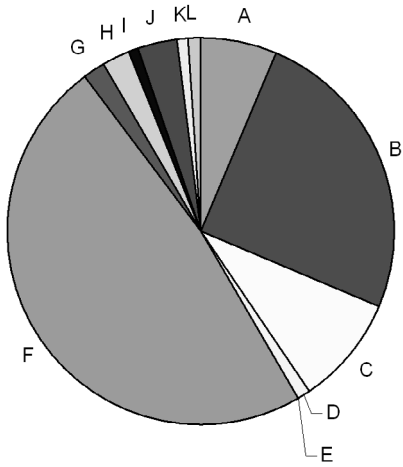
single largest beneficiary from tithe revenues in a given tithe unit. In seventeen cases there were two largest beneficiaries (when tithe revenues were split fifty–fifty, for example), and in eight cases there were three largest beneficiaries. The total number of largest beneficiaries amounts to 152. The identities of these beneficiaries are broken down in figure 1.

According to figure 1, the greatest beneficiaries of Bresse tithes were religious houses or their heads, followed by curés, religious chapters from Lyon, and nobles. However, it should also be noted that on ten out of the twenty-six times that the curé was identified as the largest beneficiary, the curate was actually held by a religious society from the same parish (three times), by a member of a chapter from a

nearby town (four times), by a chapter in a different town (one time), or by a priest from a different parish (two times). If the seven cases in which the curé is from outside of the parish are removed, then on only nineteen out of 152 occasions (12.5 percent of the time) was a local priest one of the largest beneficiaries of the tithe. Those groups that benefited most consistently from Bresse tithes were clearly religious houses or their heads (the abbot of Ambronay, the abbot of St. Claude, the abbot of Tournus, the prior of Nantua, and the prior of Gigny) and religious chapters from Lyon (together these two groups were the largest beneficiaries about 48 percent of the time).

Groups also benefited from tithes in a second, less direct way: through patronage rights over the parish in question. Out of the ninety-six cases in which the identity of the person or group who exercised the right to name curés to specific parishes was indicated, 47.9 percent of the time the patron was a religious house or its head, and 25 percent of the time it was a religious chapter from Lyon. Together, these groups exercised patronage rights 72.9 percent of the time (see figure 2).

Taken together, the data on who received the largest portion of tithe revenues and who exercised patronage rights in Bresse parishes suggest that the groups that had the most to lose from the transfer of tithe revenues to secular authorities (whether the duke of Savoy during the late-sixteenth century or the king of France after 1601) were religious houses and their heads, and religious chapters from Lyon. Also, while the transfer of tithe revenues undoubtedly made patronage rights less valuable, it is not clear how this transfer affected the various beneficiaries of actual tithe income in a particular tithe unit. As the preceding discussion indicates, a single beneficiary hardly ever collected tithe revenues: out of 112 cases, the mean number of ways in which a tithe was divided was 2.3, and 24 percent of the time it was divided between three and six ways. As indicated above, the exact portion of the total Bresse tithe revenues that was delivered to ducal treasurers is not known (although 25–30 percent seems a reasonable estimate), nor do we know how this portion was divided up among the beneficiaries of a particular tithe. For example, if in a given parish 50 percent of the tithe revenues were collected by the abbot of Ambronay, 25 percent by a local noble, and 25 percent by the curé, and if 30 percent of the tithe revenues of the parish as a whole were transferred to the duke, did this 30 percent come from the abbot's, the noble's, or the curé's portion (or from some combination of them)? It seems proba-



	Patron	% of total
A	Bishop or archbishop	6.25
B	Lyon chapter	25.00
C	Smaller town chapter	9.38
D	Official of smaller town chapter	1.04
E	Society of some town	0
F	Prior, abbot, monastery	47.92
G	Noble (if also prior, counted as noble)	2.08
H	Prevost de L'Isle Barbe	2.08
I	Curé	1.04
J	Official of Lyon chapter/monastery	3.13
K	Some other person	1.04
L	Priest from another parish	1.04

FIGURE 2. Patron identities. Source: *Recueil*.

ble that tithe income would most likely be transferred from the percentage of the tithe allotted to the beneficiary without a local presence in the parish. In other words, in the parish described above, if the abbot (who resided in another town) collected £50 worth of products annually in tithe revenues, a local noble £25, and the curé £25, and if the duke's portion of the tithe was set at £30, it seems likely that this £30 would be taken out of the £50 owed to the abbot. On the other hand, if the abbot of Ambronay were involved in drawing up the registers upon which the tithe receivers based their collections, he would presumably endeavor to shift the burden to parishes from which he did not collect part of the tithe. Unfortunately, the documentary record

does not provide this level of detail, so our analysis must remain somewhat speculative.

But what is clear is that non-Savoyards (individuals or groups residing outside of lands subject to Savoyard jurisdiction in 1601) figured significantly amongst the largest beneficiaries of tithe revenues and amongst those exercising patronage rights. At least sixty-five out of the 152 identified largest recipients of tithe revenues (42.76 percent) were non-Savoyard. Likewise, out of the ninety-five cases in which it could be ascertained, on sixty-two occasions (65.3 percent of the time) the patron of the parish was non-Savoyard. The bulk of these non-Savoyard beneficiaries were Lyonnais. Again, it is possible that between 1580 and 1613–14 (and especially after 1601, when Bresse was attached to the kingdom of France), more Lyonnais acquired Bressan ecclesiastical privileges, but it seems unlikely that the structure of ecclesiastical domination in the region (which had already been part of the Archdiocese of Lyon) would have changed much during that period.

A closer look at the relationship between curés and tithe regimes again shows, from a slightly different perspective, that they were only one party among others who benefited from ecclesiastical extractions. Out of the ninety-nine cases in which the curé's portion was identified, the mean percentage of the tithe collected by him was 35.6 percent. This percentage varied somewhat according to a variety of parameters (selecting only those cases in which someone from Lyon benefited; in which a noble benefited; in which the curé was unambiguously "local"—that is, when the curé was held by a "society" or a member of a "society" from the same parish or from a nearby town; in which the curé was an unaffiliated individual; and in which the patron was non-Savoyard). A graphic representation of the results is provided in figure 3.

The most striking indication here is that for the twenty-seven occasions on which the curé was unambiguously "local" (21.1 percent of the time), the average percentage of his portion of the tithe increased to 49.8 percent. When the curé was local, the identities of the largest beneficiaries and the patrons also shift significantly (see figures 4 and 5).[35] Under local curés, patrons were clearly non-Savoyard only 33.3

[35]For the largest beneficiaries when the curé was local, there were twenty-six responses (one missing). For the patron identities under a local curé, there were nineteen responses (eight missing).

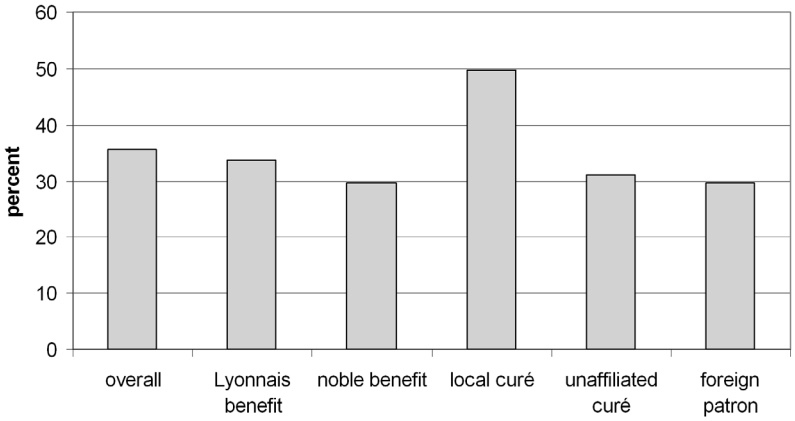
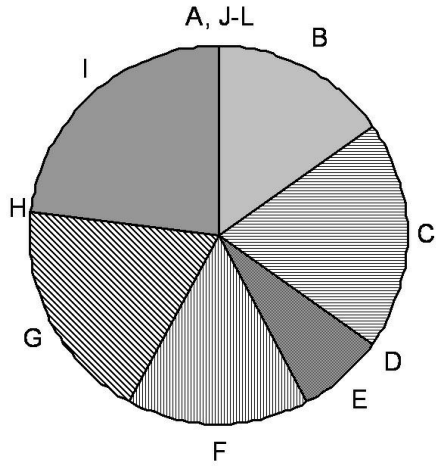


FIGURE 3. Portion of tithe kept by curé. Source: *Recueil*.

percent of the time. This reinforces the link between territorial location and one's ability to exploit one's claims. When local religious societies are closely involved in local ecclesiastical decision-making, the distribution of ecclesiastical benefits differs considerably. This seems intuitive; the evidence from the 1613–14 visitations bears it out. The question of how local religious societies managed to acquire such influence is a separate one. For present purposes, one is limited to the suggestion that if territorially-distant beneficiaries were more likely to bear the brunt of tithe transfers to secular authorities when the curé was not local, they were probably even more likely to do so when local religious societies were generally able to retain more local ecclesiastical benefits for themselves.

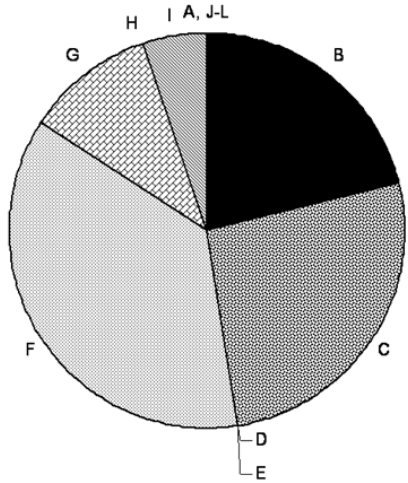
One might suspect that if cases in which the curé is local provide evidence of a slightly different structure of ecclesiastical domination, cases in which hearth-based collections were made might do the same. Hearth-based collections were made in seventeen out of 128 cases, or 13.3 percent of the time, in a geographic region concentrated in the Jura foothills of northeastern Bresse. The phenomenon of hearth-based tithe collection is interesting, since in this model the curé extracts wealth in the name of the church from individual families, in the same way that the secular authority operates. However, data collected from the seventeen cases in which this kind of ecclesiastical extraction took place do not bear out the suspicion that this phenomenon is indicative of a different kind of culture of domination. Most of the numbers from these cases resemble the overall numbers from the



	Largest beneficiary	% of total
A	Bishop or archbishop	0
B	Lyon chapter	15.4
C	Smaller town chapter	19.2
D	Official of smaller town chapter	0
E	Society of some town	7.7
F	Prior, abbot, monastery	15.4
G	Noble	19.2
H	Prevost de L'Isle Barbe	0
I	Curé	23.1
J	Official of Lyon chapter/monastery	0
K	Some other person	0
L	Priest from another parish	0

FIGURE 4. Largest beneficiaries when the curé is local. Source: *Recueil*.

region, with a few exceptions. In 70.6 percent of these seventeen cases the curé was an unaffiliated individual (as opposed to 63.9 percent of the time otherwise); in 55.6 percent of the cases the largest recipient of tithe revenues was a religious house or its head, or a religious chapter from Lyon (as opposed to 48 percent otherwise); in 50 percent of the cases the largest recipient was non-Savoyard (as opposed to 42.8 percent otherwise); and in 85.7 percent of the cases the patron was a religious house or its head, or a religious chapter from Lyon (as opposed to 72.9 percent of the time otherwise). For six out of these seventeen cases the number of communicants was indicated; the mean number was 395. Thus, despite the fact that curés from tithe units in which hearth-based collection took place were slightly more likely to



	Patron identity	% of total
A	Bishop or archbishop	0
B	Lyon chapter	21.1
C	Smaller town chapter	26.3
D	Official of smaller town chapter	0
E	Society of some town	0
F	Prior, abbot, monastery	36.8
G	Noble	10.5
H	Prevost de L'Isle Barbe	0
I	Curé	5.3
J	Official of Lyon chapter/monastery	0
K	Some other person	0
L	Priest from another parish	0

FIGURE 5. Patron identities when the curé is local. Source: *Recueil*.

be unaffiliated individuals; religious houses, chapters from Lyon, and non-Savoyards exerted slightly more influence in these more remote areas of Bresse than in other parts of the region.

Quantitative evidence from the visitation records permit four general conclusions, several of which are also sustained from qualitative evidence from the same records. First, the fragmentation of tithe receipts in a given parish (both in terms of different kinds of tithes and in terms of multiple beneficiaries) underscores the complexity of the political and fiscal impact of tithe payments. This complexity is immediately apparent in the case of the parish of Isernore. There, the bishop

of Belley exercised patronage rights over the parish, but tithe receipts were divided between the lord of Vologna and the lord of Heyria (who had in turn mortgaged part of it to the monks of the abbey at Nantua). The curé, Jean Chardon, benefited from some other parish revenues, as did another vicar in the parish, which was formed by eight different villages (including an annex church at the village of Gevreyssia). The precise nature of tithe extractions varied from village to village within the parish of Isernore, including in some locations a flat rate per hearth, in others a percentage of the harvest of different kinds of products, in others different elements that came due at different moments during the calendar year, and in others the transmission of tithe dues in the form of a banquet (on the day of the malt harvest, for example). There was also some disagreement about whether the revenues of the office of bell-ringer (*mariglerie*) or candle-overseer (*luminaire*) were included in the tithe. A memoir prepared by Chardon for the archbishop declared further that

> the papers and documents regarding the rights of the curate of Isernore have been scattered and lost, either because of the passing of time or due to the malice and connivance of those who owed payments, such that the curé and priests are obliged to refer themselves to the word and prudence [integrity] of the parishioners.[36]

The Isernore case was further complicated by the fact that in the village of Gevreyssia Chardon was involved in a dispute over the office of bell-ringer. Pierre Reydellet, a notary, held the office in the name of his son, Jean Reydellet, "clerc." Pierre then subcontracted the job of ringing on his own, without Chardon's knowledge, collecting twelve measures of oats from the Gevreysset tithe as his payment. Pierre had also held the office of bell-ringer of Isernore, for which he collected another set of revenues (and subcontracted the job), since 1578, when Pierre's brother, François, obtained it from another Pierre Reydellet, who had at that time been curé of Isernore:

> And since that time [in Chardon's words] the office had always been held and occupied under the title of a simple benefice by those of the house of Reydellet, even though it is only a rural office, as it is easy to see, that is [rightfully] dependent on the charge and dignity of the curate, who more than anyone else in the parish should name the servants of his church and not be served at the discretion of a particular member of the parish.[37]

[36] *Recueil*, pp. 179–84.
[37] *Ibid*.

It was impossible to separate the question of tithe payments from the other elements of local religious politics in the village of Isernore, making it difficult for the researcher to generalize about how tithe structures and practices affected tithe owners, parish priests, and local residents (and thus about how tithe transfer payments to the secular ruler affected the same groups).[38]

Second, the quantitative evidence shows that since local priests were often not the major beneficiaries of tithe revenues (indeed, according to the visitation records they were absent from the parish 30 percent of the time), the burden of papal tithe grants to secular authorities often fell on the more powerful institutions (cathedral chapters, monasteries, bishops, and so forth) that did in fact benefit from these revenues. However, the unavailability of the actual tithe registers that indicated precisely which tithe beneficiaries were supposed to contribute how much to these revenue transfers makes a definitive claim impossible. It does seem likely, however, that these powerful beneficiaries would have had the most to lose from a Huguenot victory in the region and would thus have been willing to pay a secular ruler (whether the duke of Savoy or the king of France) for protection.

A third general conclusion afforded by the quantitative evidence is that it is quite likely that during the late-sixteenth century non-Savoyard actors had actually borne an important part of the cost of tithe transfer payments to the dukes of Savoy. The visitation records provide no direct qualitative support for this conclusion since they were created in post-Savoyard Bresse, but if in 1613–14 the beneficiaries of Bressan tithes included actors such as the prior of Gigny (in the

[38]Since tithes were often farmed out by owners to collectors, these tithe farmers must also be taken into account as yet another group that benefited from tithe structures, further complicating our picture. J. Vogt has shown that tithe farmers in early-modern Alsace could be inhabitants of either rural or urban areas (see Vogt, "Pour une étude social de la dîme," pp. 127–33). This was also true in Bresse: in 1565 the "revenu de Roan [taken from the communities of St Martin de Miribel, St Julien de Beynost, St Maurice, Tramoyes, and other places]," which belonged to the church of St. Jean of Lyon and most likely included tithe revenues, was farmed out to "honneste homme Claude Brun laboureur de Miribel, Jehan Brun de Tremoye, et George Brun dudit Miribel, ses enfans," for an annual sum of 60 *livres*. Five years later the revenues were farmed by Ennemond Perret, a dyer from Lyon, and Philibert Ballufier, ducal notary and castellan of Miribel; see ADR, 10G 965. In 1567 the canons of the collegial church of l'Isle Barbe farmed out one-third of the tithe of Bressolles to Sr. Annemond Chevillard (ADR, 10G 3253), and in 1621 they farmed one-sixth of the tithe of Bussige [?] to Francoys Gourdan, a grain merchant from Lyon (ADR, 10G 3249).

Franche-Comté), it is likely that thirty to fifty years earlier Bressan tithes were also owned by a number of individuals and groups from outside of Bresse.[39] The fact that, in the case of Bressan tithes, non-Savoyard actors were subsidizing a foreign sovereign (by seeing some of their tithe revenues delivered to the duke of Savoy) is perhaps not so strange—after all, even today one pays taxes to foreign sovereigns for property held in that sovereign's territory. But this phenomenon seems more indicative of a different, late-Renaissance kind of sovereignty in which borders were ill defined and porous, and authority was shared by a variety of actors. When the archbishop and his suite was received in Bourg (and in smaller towns like Poncin and Nantua) in 1613, they were honored with elaborate entries and processions of the sort usually associated with princes or provincial governors.[40] These processions demonstrate that in 1613 the archbishop of Lyon exercised a kind of authority over Bresse and Bugey whose quality differed little from that of the secular sovereign, at least if representational forms are any measure.

The fourth conclusion supported by the quantitative evidence is that while local political structures affected the impact of church authority on localities, the variability of local practices (such as hearth-based collection) did not always make a difference when it came to who benefited from tithes. The visitation records suggest that there were more shared religious practices than diverse ones in Bresse and Bugey. For example, almost everywhere, everything seemed to be rentable. Not only tithes but also the curate itself was frequently rented out in Bresse parishes. Another shared practice was the use of information (or its absence) to improve one's fiscal status. In addition to the example of Isernore mentioned above, in the village of Tossiac, the contracts regarding the *luminaire* of one of the chapels were lost during the religious wars, such that in 1613 the *luminaire* only enjoyed £6 in annual revenues.[41] This meant that villagers in Tossiac

[39]In 1567 the monastery of l'Isle Barbe paid to Savoyard agents 186 *livres* "pour les décimes de Bresse," and in 1574 they paid another 172 *livres* for the same reason. The 1574 payment was received by the canons of Pont de Vaux, by "la vefve de Claude Bocher," and by a "Monsieur Dufour" (ADR, 10G 3253). Between 1608 and 1631 there was litigation between the archbishop of Lyon and the clergy of Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gex concerning whether and how much those clergy were required to contribute to the *décimes* transferred from the province of Lyon to royal officials, since their *décime* contributions to the duke of Savoy had been structured differently (ADR, 7G 87).

[40]For the Bourg entry, see *Recueil*, pp. 129–30; for Poncin, see *ibid.*, pp. 160–63; for Nantua, see *ibid.*, pp. 171–73.

[41]*Recueil*, pp. 154–56.

had the wit and the wherewithal, as did political actors at all levels of society throughout early-modern Europe, to take advantage of missing information to restructure more favorably the relations of domination in which they found themselves.

Political relationships at the beginning of the age of European absolutism thus remained extremely fragmented, and (if the evidence from Bresse is at all representative) nowhere is this more obvious than in the organization of one of Europe's most basic and widespread extractive institutions—the tithe. One way to measure the degree to which "absolutism" altered concrete political relationships would be to measure changes in the structure and practice of tithe payments in the mid-eighteenth century. Were beneficiaries more rationally distributed, and local priests, rather than absentee patrons, increasingly able to use these revenues to meet parish needs? Was the strong link between the territorial location of tithe beneficiaries and their ability to assert fiscal claims (or resist those of others) discontinued? It is possible that the answer to questions like these is "yes," but in the absence of actual studies, one may reasonably be skeptical. It seems more likely that the fragmentation of local political life—as reflected by the division of tithe revenues and by the variegated political impact of the transfer of some of those tributes to secular rulers—persisted well into the eighteenth century. The structure of domination reflected in the institution of the tithe in late-Renaissance Bresse was subdivided in multiple ways and fraught with internal contradictions and external obstacles. Neither the house of Savoy nor the house of Bourbon was able simply to seize control of this institution and instrumentalize it for the purposes of state-building. Rather, to receive some benefit from the Bresse tithe, these sovereign dynasties were obliged to respect the autonomy of what amounted to a separate structure of locally determined power relations that remained beyond the control of the state.

THE POLITICS BEHIND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MODERN CHURCH OF THE ANNUNCIATION IN NAZARETH

By

Masha Halevi*

The Church of the Annunciation is built on one of the most sacred places for the Catholic world. According to the New Testament, this is where the angel Gabriel announced to the Virgin Mary that she would bear the son of God (Luke 1:26–38). In 1969, an Italian architect, Giovanni Muzio, built the modern church on the site, and this monumental Christian symbol stimulates political struggles to the present day. This article analyzes the various tensions and decisions pertaining to the Church of the Annunciation, including attempts to thwart its construction and to limit its size, as well as the political interests that enabled the largest Franciscan church in the Middle East to be built.

Keywords: Barluzzi, Antonio; Church of the Annunciation; Franciscan Custody; Muzio, Giovanni

The History of the Church

The site of the Annunciation has belonged since the seventeenth century to the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land.[1] The first Francis-

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[1]For further information, consult Custodia Terrae Sanctae (Franciscan mission) and Berardo Rossi, *The Custody of the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1981); Andrea Giovannelli, *La*

cans arrived in the Holy Land shortly after the establishment of the order in the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth century Pope Clement VI bestowed the title "Guardians of the Holy Places" on the Franciscans serving in the province of the Holy Land. From that time until 1847, when the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem was re-established, the Custody was the sole representative of the Holy See and the Catholic Church in the Holy Land.

The first attempt of the Franciscan Custody to build a church dedicated to the event narrated in the Gospel—when the angel Gabriel announced to the Virgin Mary that she would bear the son of God (Luke 1:26–38)—occurred in the eighteenth century with the construction of a modest church (see figure 1). Subsequent attempts were crowned in 1969 with the culmination of Franciscan monumental construction in the holy places in the Holy Land, the modern Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth.

The idea of erecting a monument worthy of the sacred event originated in 1924 as an initiative of Ferdinando Diotallevi, the custos, or the head of the Franciscan Custody (in office 1918–24), with the approval of Pope Pius XI.[2] Diotallevi meant to entrust the building of the church to Antonio Barluzzi,[3] a young architect who had already proved his abilities and qualifications by building the Church of All Nations (Gethsemane) in Jerusalem and the Church of the Transfiguration on top of Mount Tabor (1919–24). Barluzzi was asked to submit his plans for the Church of the Annunciation, but for reasons that are still not completely clear and that involved political tensions inside and outside the Custody, the project was aborted.[4]

Santa Sede e la Palestina: La Custodia di Terra Santa tra la fine dell'impero ottomano e la guerra dei sei giorni (Rome, 2000); *Alessandro Mombelli, La Custodia di Terra Santa* (Jerusalem, 1934); Michele Piccirillo, ed., *La Custodia di Terra Santa e l'Europa* (Rome, 1983); Michelle Piccirillo, *In Terra Santa: dalla crociata alla custodia dei Luoghi Santi* (Florence, 2000); Paolo Pieraccini, *Cattolici di Terra Santa (1333–2000)* (Florence, 2003).

[2]Antonio Barluzzi, *At Nazareth There Is Being Built the Sanctuary of the Incarnation* (Jerusalem, 1954), pp. 5–6, in file Barluzzi Nazaret, the Archive of the Franciscan Custody in Jerusalem (Terra Santa Archive–ACTS). Many documents in the archive of the Custody of the Holy Land cited here are not catalogued. Most of them are placed in cardboard boxes (noted hereafter in the categories *files*, *subfiles*, and *folders*).

[3]Little was published about Barluzzi outside the ecclesiastical press. More information about his life and work can be found in Daniel M. Madden, *Monuments to Glory* (New York, 1964), and Peter C. Nicholson, *The Churches of Antonio Barluzzi* (London, 1996).

[4]Barluzzi to Giuseppe Monticone, archivist of Propaganda Fide, December 10, 1956, file Barluzzi Nazaret, ACTS.



FIGURE 1. Church of the Annunciation, Nazareth, March 1, 1945. Photo by Matson Photo Service, Matson Registers, vol. 2 (1940–46). G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-DIG-matpc-12641.

The idea of rebuilding the church emerged again fifteen years later when the new custos, Alberto Gori (in office 1937–49), reappointed Barluzzi to the project. By that time Barluzzi was a well-appreciated architect who had rebuilt most of the major churches of the Holy Land for the Catholic Church. Among other edifices, he built the Church of the Flagellation, the second station on the "via dolorosa" (1928–29); the Church of the Beatitudes in Galilee (1937–38); and the Church of the Visitation in Ein Karem (1938–40). He was also entrusted with other important projects: the Church of St. Lazarus in Bethany (1952–54), the Church of the Shepherd's Fields in Beit Sahour (1952–54), the church of Dominus Flevit on the Mount of Olives (1955), and the incredibly ambitious project of rebuilding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (the new plan was prepared by Barluzzi and Luigi Marangoni and was not executed).[5]

[5]"Curriculum Vitae di Antonio Barluzzi," file Barluzzi Nazaret, ACTS. Some of the documents and articles cited in the notes appear without the name of the author. Nicholson, *Churches of Antonio Barluzzi*, p. 8.

Barluzzi's Plan for the Church of the Annunciation: The Church as a Symbol of Evangelical Memory

Barluzzi's goal was to build in Nazareth the most important church on Earth dedicated to the Annunciation and Incarnation.[6] The church was to serve as a huge architectural symbol that embodies the memory of these Gospel events, transmitting it to the viewers through both the power and grandiosity of the church on the outside and through the interior atmosphere glorifying the unification of man and God that took place at the site. The Franciscan Custody published a detailed description of the plan in 1954 in a twenty-four-page booklet written by Barluzzi (see figures 2, 3, 4, and 5).[7]

The style proposed by Barluzzi was not "modern"; instead, it was eclectic, and its only disposition to modern art was manifested in the use of reinforced concrete (although covered mostly by local stone) and the relative simplicity of the decorations. The church was a concentric building dominated by a large dome and surrounded by four towers dedicated to the four evangelists. The towers symbolized the voices announcing to the four corners of the world the event of the Incarnation. In the plan, the length of the church was 90 meters, and the height from the ground to the cross on top of the dome was 72 meters.

The inner structure of the church was composed of a rotunda that contained the holy grotto dedicated to the conservation of memory and four wings allocated to the requirements of the liturgy. Barluzzi was involved in the smallest details of the inner decoration far beyond the usual level of architectural planning. For each statue he designated a location, character, symbolic meaning, and connection to the main theme of the church. He even dealt with the details of the paving and the mosaics, as well as the number and location of the confessionals.[8] In 1941, Barluzzi prepared a model on scale of 1:100 and many sketches of the church, and his plans were approved by Father Leonardo Bello, the minister general of the Franciscan order.[9] Most of the plan was prepared in 1941, but World

[6]Paolo Greganti, "La Basilica di Nazaret," *La Terra Santa* (May–June, 1948), 93–94.

[7]Barluzzi, *At Nazareth.*

[8]More on symbolic meaning that Barluzzi attributed to the church and its ornaments, mosaics, and architectural details can be found in the detailed description in *At Nazareth,* here summarized briefly.

[9]Barluzzi, *At Nazareth*, p. 7; Paschal Kinsel, *The Crusader's Almanac 1955*, pp. 16–17, file Barluzzi, ACTS.

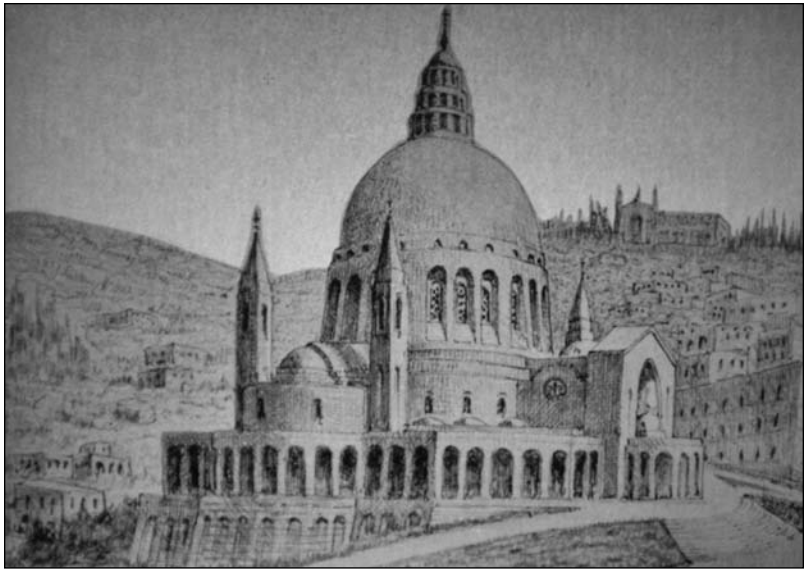


FIGURE 2. Drawing by Antonio Barluzzi of the exterior of the Church of the Annunciation, from Barluzzi, *At Nazareth There Is Being Built the Sanctuary of the Incarnation* (Jerusalem, 1954). Image courtesy of the Archive of the Franciscan Custody, Jerusalem.

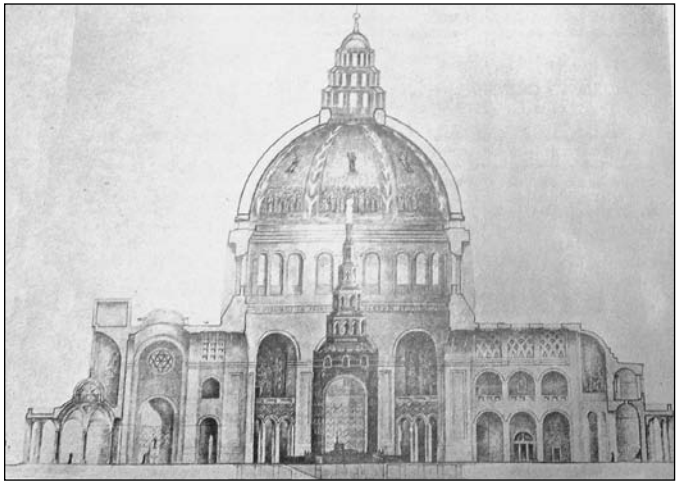


FIGURE 3. Cross-section of the Church of the Annunciation by Barluzzi, from Barluzzi, *At Nazareth*. Image courtesy of the Archive of the Franciscan Custody, Jerusalem.

War II and the 1948 war between Israel and the Arab nations prevented its implementation.

The Custody continued to promote the project under the new custos, Giacinto Maria Faccio (in office 1950–55). In 1950, the model was exhibited at an exhibition of sacred art in Rome and received very positive reactions.[10] The plan of the church was praised in important newspapers around the Catholic world that encouraged Catholics to participate in its construction through their prayers or financial donations.[11] Much money was raised, and the Franciscans started to purchase and empty private buildings as well as relocate the ancient graveyard that was situated on the building site.[12] In 1954, the year designated by the Vatican as the Year of Mary, a decision was made to start the construction of the new church. All the necessary permits were obtained from the State of Israel, and in December 1954, the cornerstone of the church that corresponded to Barluzzi's plan was laid in a crowded ceremony.

However, slandering reports and fierce critiques of Barluzzi's plan had started to emerge in the foreign, especially French, press. The first published critique of Barluzzi's plan appeared in the July–August 1954 issue of *L'art sacré* that was dedicated to Japanese art. Written by Dominican friar Maurice Hyacinthe Lelong, it praised Japanese art and architecture, especially the simplicity of lines and building materials, and compared Japanese architecture to Barluzzi's plan for the Church of the Annunciation. The illustration accompanying the article shows the model of Barluzzi's church and above it an image of a dragon. The

[10]Valerio Vigorelli, "Una basilica per il luogo più sacro del mondo," *Arte Cristiana,* 442, nos. 1–2 (January–February, 1956), 9–18, here 10. The current research does not deal with the additional two plans of the church prepared by Barluzzi between the years 1955 and 1957. Those plans were prepared after the publication of the fierce criticism of his first plan and according to changes required by the Vatican. There is no essential difference between those plans and his first plan. The additional plans are less detailed, and Barluzzi's artistic freedom is clearly restricted by contradictory demands he received from the Vatican and the various archaeologists, architects, and other parties who examined his work.

[11]Pacifico Torres (commissary of the Holy Land), "Una nueva Basílica de la Anunciación se va a levantar sobre al gruta que habitó la virgn como ofrenda y plegaria de la catolicidad en el año mariano," file Barluzzi, ACTS; Cesare Filippi, "La chiesa di Nazaret," *Il nostro tempo*, Anno IX, 44 (November 7, 1954), p. 2; Ignazio Mancini, "Sorgerá sulla Grotta di Nazaret una nuova Basilica dell'Annunciazione," *Corriere di Napoli* (December 3–4, 1954), 3.

[12]Angelo Ahmarani (the parish priest of Nazareth) to Giacinto Maria Faccio (custos), August 14, 1954, file Nazaret costruzione basilica, ACTS.

caption under the illustration reads "Voici la monstrueuse Basilique de A. Barluzzi qu'on est à la veille de dresser sous le ciel de Galilée, à Nazareth, si les chrétiens ne s'élèvent pas contre ce projet insensé."[13] The article raises some of the main claims against Barluzzi's church that would appear in other articles and letters sent to the Custody. One major objection was the amount of money slated to be spent on the church; it was asserted that this money should be distributed to the poor instead. Another important issue was opposition to the grandiosity of the church and its size. Other sources stated that the projected church was too imposing aesthetically and functionally for the little town of Nazareth and its small Catholic community.[14] Architectural and artistic arguments against Barluzzi's plan criticized his eclectic approach; the lack of modernity; and the shape of the church, which resembled a mosque.[15]

Faccio supported Barluzzi and sent an intriguing response to the editor of *L'art sacré*:

> Le R. P. Lelong s'efforce de faire remarquer le profond contraste qui existerait entre le projet de la basilique de Nazareth et "les pures images authentiquement évangéliques" qu'il nous a rapportées du Japon. Il sait pourtant qu'un parallèle n'est possible que si les termes de comparaison sont, de par leur nature, sur le même plan . . . C'est ainsi, par exemple, qu'il ne viendrait à l'idée de personne de comparer l'humble chapelle de la léproserie du P. Damien Deveuster à Molokai avec la basilique grandiose qui fut édifiée à Lourdes, et sur les lieux mêmes où la Vierge Immaculée, apparaissant à la petite bergère des Pyrénées, n'avait demandé qu'une humble chapelle. Pourtant ce magnifique sanctuaire de Lourdes n'est certainement pas considéré par les chrétiens comme la "projection accablante de la mésestime" qu'ils ont conçue pour la Pauvreté évangélique, mais bien comme l'expression de la foi vivante et de l'ardent amour de leurs pères. La même réflex-

[13]M. H. Lelong, "Djiring ou Nazareth?," *L'art sacré*, 11–12 (July–August, 1954), 36–37.

[14]Faccio to Paschal Kinsel (commissary of the Custody in the United States), October 5, 1955, file Nazaret Costruzione Basilica, ACTS.

[15]Barluzzi's plan resembles the plan of the church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul after it was converted into a mosque and four minarets were erected around it. As a result, Hagia Sophia (and the Church of the Annunciation) are reminiscent of common mosques in Turkey. It is interesting to note that the mosque planned to be erected in front of the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth in 2000 is similar to Barluzzi's plan. I did not find, however, in any document a conscious attempt by Barluzzi to create a plan that would appeal to the eastern, Arab Muslim audience. "On voudrait infliger à Nazaret cette basilic!", *Le Figaro* (December 10, 1955), file Nazaret costruzione basilica, ACTS; Piero Bargellini (a member of Comune di Firenze) to Faccio, January 28, 1955, file Nazaret costruzione basilica, subfile Lavori basilica Nazaret, ACTS.

> ion s'imposerait pour nos belles basiliques romanes, nos sanctuaries constantiniens de Terre-Sainte, les cathédrales gothiques . . . la Custodie de Terre-Sainte . . . a l'intention d'ériger un monument qui soit comme une glorification solennelle de "la plus humble des creatures" et une évocation grandiose du Mystère de l'Incarnation du Verbe . . . Serait-ce une insulte et un scandale, que de vouloir glorifier, dans sa patrie terrestre, l'humble Vierge de Nazareth en lui élevant une basilique de gloire? Serait-ce une chose "indécente" que de vouloir réaliser ce rêve séculaire? Pourquoi et en quoi cette œuvre devrait-elle "affliger" et "scandaliser", voire "outrager" le monde catholique? Le R. P. Lelong pense-t-il que, si l'on proposait aux catholiques un choix . . . les catholiques répondraient qu'ils pencheraient plutôt pour la première formule: église de village? Nous ne croyons pas cela, quant à nous. Nous pourrions même nous permettre d'affirmer le contraire. Car nous aussi nous connaissons le people chrétien.[16]

Another criticism of Barluzzi's plan pertained to the preservation of the archaeological remains in the structure of the new church. Barluzzi was reproached for devoting insufficient attention to preserving the remains of the village that was exposed during excavation.[17]

Four years later, in 1958, the new Franciscan custos, Alfredo Polidori (in office 1957–62), took the project from Barluzzi and handed it to another architect, Giovanni Muzio, who then managed to successfully carry out his own plan for the church.

On the surface, the discourse around the Church of the Annunciation appears to be a dialogue over architectural-artistic topics, but an analysis of the juxtaposition of the plans of Barluzzi and Muzio illustrates that other nonartistic factors contributed to the change in architectural plans for the church. To proceed with the comparison, it is necessary to understand Muzio's version of the Church of the Annunciation that was eventually carried out.

Muzio's Plan for the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth

Muzio is considered one of the leading architects of the Novecento style,[18] constructing major Catholic and, in particular, Franciscan mon-

[16]"La Basilique de Nazareth," *L'art sacré*, 9–10 (May–June, 1955), 28–31, here 28–29.

[17]Pierre Benoit, "Une église pour Nazareth," *La vie intellectuelle* (June, 1955), 23–37, here 28–30.

[18]The term *Novecento* has contradictory meanings. For some, it describes art nouveau; for others, it means the spectrum of the innovations of the avant-garde movement, while still others perceive it as a synonym for rationalism or as an antistylistic approach.

uments, and building churches, monasteries, and religious complexes across Italy—especially in the Milan area. Muzio's architecture successfully integrated the perceptions and the policy of the Vatican toward sacred art and building design. Among his major works are the Catholic University of Milan (1921–49); the St. Angelo monastery and the Angelicum in Milan (1939); and the Franciscan general Curia in Rome, the seat of the general government of the worldwide Franciscan order (1942–50).[19] Muzio first arrived in Israel in 1958 after being asked to plan the Church of the Annunciation, the first structure he built in the Holy Land.[20] The planning and the building of the new church lasted for more than ten years, and the church was consecrated in 1969.

The Church of the Annunciation was planned as a fortress. It was important to Muzio to contrast the new church with the remains of the previous basilicas preserved on the site. With the powerful appearance of the new church, he meant to convey that its fate, unlike that of its predecessors, would be different.[21] The fortified nature of the church is evident in its size and strength, its seclusion from the urban surroundings, and the details of the building. Muzio intended to create a connection between the existing monastery and the new church, thus creating a mystical setting to embody the sacred remains. His aim was to produce an isolated religious complex segregated and protected from the secular, noisy surroundings of the city of Nazareth.[22] This seclusion was obtained by a large court protected from south and west by a tall wall with an inner arcade.

To enable the best possible conduct of the liturgy and to protect the valuable archaeological remains, Muzio erected two churches, one on

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In Muzio's case it refers to the negation of eclectism and estrangement from futurism that stems from neoclassicism and a search for a modernistic change. See "La cultura del Novecento debatio," *Edilizia moderna*, 81 (December, 1963), 60–66, here 63; Guido Canella and Vittorio Gregotti, "Il novecento e l'architettura," *Edilizia moderna*, 81 (December, 1963), 2.

[19]Fulvio Irace, *Giovanni Muzio 1893–1982* (Milan, 1994), pp. 208–09; Gianni Mezzanotte, *Giovanni Muzio: Architetture Francescane* (Milan, 1974).

[20]In 1979, not long before his death in 1982, Muzio planned the Franciscan Casa Nova hospice in Bethlehem. The Church of the Annunciation and the Casa Nova are the only two edifices constructed by Muzio in the Holy Land.

[21]Giovanni Muzio, "Progetti dell'erigenda Basilica dell'Annunziata," *La Terra Santa* (August–September, 1959), 212–19, here 212, 218; Rossi Berardo, *The Custody of the Holy Land*, p. 40.

[22]Gaudenzio Governanti, *The Shrine of the Annunciation in Nazareth* (Milan, 1962), p. 36.

top of the other. The lower church functions mainly as a museum. It preserves and exhibits the remains of the Byzantine-era church, which are displayed next to the holy grotto, and the perimeter of the modern church follows the outer limits of the walls of the crusades-era church, left in situ.

The upper church is designated for the celebration of the liturgy. The monastery is connected to the upper church by a suspended courtyard that creates a substitute for a cloister[23] for use by the monks of the monastery. At the same time, the courtyard provides shelter for the underlying remains of the ancient village of Nazareth from the time of Jesus that was discovered during excavation work in 1955.[24]

The lack of uniqueness in design and the specific adjustment of the Church of the Annunciation to its surroundings can be seen by comparing this church to a St. Antonio church that was built by Muzio in Varese, Italy, a few years earlier.[25] It is clear that the church in Varese served as a prototype for the Church of the Annunciation.

By Israeli (and Middle Eastern) standards, the Church of the Annunciation is undeniably a monumental building. The church dimensions are 44.6 meters long and 27 meters wide, and the dome height is 55 meters. The modern style of Muzio's work manifests itself in the extensive use of exposed reinforced concrete, sharp angles, and modern reliefs and engravings that decorate the southern and western façades. The artwork on the façade depicts the biblical events of the Annunciation and the Incarnation. The outer walls are covered in light-colored combinations of local stone. The narrow windows, almost slits, are suitable for the intense light of the Israeli sun and contribute to the fortified perception of the church.

The inner part of the church is decorated by works of art dedicated to Mary and to the Annunciation that were donated by different nations. Muzio was not involved in deciding the artistic ornaments that were not directly part of the architecture. The commissariats of the

[23]A cloister is an element that forms part of cathedral, monastic, and abbey architecture. It usually consists of four corridors with a courtyard in the middle. In many cases, the cloisters connect between the dwellings of a monastery and a church.

[24]Mezzanotte, *Giovanni Muzio*, p. 136.

[25]Luciano Crespi and Angelo del Corso, *Un secolo di architettura a Varese* (Florence, 1990), p. 83; Mezzanotte, *Giovanni Muzio*, p. 136.

Holy Land[26] chose acknowledged artists in sacred art from all over the world and ordered specific works of art to adorn the church. Every nation of the Catholic world contributed to the glorification and the splendor of the church, and this global involvement confirmed the ecumenical approach of the basilica's founders.[27]

The Comparison of the Two Plans for the Church of the Annunciation

The juxtaposition of the plans in view of the criticism is striking in its similarities.

Is Muzio's plan more aesthetic than Barluzzi's? Beauty, as we all know, is in the eye of the beholder. Although there were no complaints on aesthetic grounds of Muzio's church from the Catholic world, widespread criticism came from Israeli journalists covering the building process. They criticized the design as "gray as the highway," called it "a mass of reinforced concrete," and joked about the appearance of the dome that "looks like a pile of hay or a cork of a bottle."[28]

The criticism of the large sums of money spent on the new church referred to Muzio's plan as well. The budget for the church, according to Barluzzi's plan, was estimated by the Custody as just over $1 million.[29] The final cost of Muzio's built church, according to the Israeli periodical *Christian News from Israel,* was about $2 million.[30]

[26]The commissariats are entities of the Custody that operate outside the Holy Land. The main aim of these commissariats is to have an effective means of spreading Franciscan information about its deeds and to increase the interest in the Holy Land as well as to collect money and donations to the Custody. The commissariats were officially established in the sixteenth century. In the 1920s the Custody had more than forty commissariats in Europe and America. Today there are eighty-two commissariats scattered across the world.

[27]Benedetto Antonucci, "La nuova Basilica di Nazaret," *La Terra Santa* (November, 1964), 318–21; for more on Muzio and the Church of the Annunciation, see Sandro Vavassori, "L'architetto Muzio ci illustra la sua basilica di Nazaret," *L'eco di Bergamo* (February 26, 1964), 3; "Grazie per Nazaret," *La Terra Santa* (January, 1967), 16–18; Giuseppe Gambirasio and Bruno Minardi, eds., *Giovanni Muzio opera e scritti* (Milan, 1982); Gino Concetti, "La nuova basilica di Nazaret," *Osservatore Romano*, 70 (March 26, 1969), 3. More information about the progress of the constructions can be found in the articles of *Terra Santa* (1961–67).

[28]The citations are taken from Sandro Vavassori, "L'architetto Muzio," p. 3. All the translations in the text from Italian, French, or Hebrew were made by the author.

[29]C. W. (probably Chaim Wardi, the editor of the periodical), "The Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth," *Christian News from Israel*, V, nos. 3–4 (February, 1955), 17–20.

Muzio's church is not as high or as spacious as that featured in Barluzzi's plan; still, it is one of the largest churches in the Holy Land, and it is greatly disproportionate to the surrounding city of Nazareth. Muzio also detached the church from its urban surroundings and enclosed it behind a high wall, which contributes to the sense of size. As the church was quickly nicknamed by the local inhabitants *Knise Kbire* (Arabic for "big church"), it is clear that this is not the modest church envisioned by the critics of Barluzzi's plan.

It is notable that Muzio's plan is more suited to the demands of modern art than Barluzzi's, yet many elements transform the church into a largely traditional one—in particular, the traditional church dome and the stone cover. It is certainly not as modern as other churches that were built at the same time around Europe.

Muzio emphasized the importance of the archaeological remains. However, it must be noted that Barluzzi was not blind to the need for such preservation. The main difference between the two architects was not the implementation (or the aims of implementation described in Barluzzi's booklet), but rather the degree of preservation. Barluzzi claimed that in the conflict between the need to preserve the archaeological sites and the aesthetic and symbolic needs of the new church, he would give preponderance to the latter.[31] Yet close attention to the many churches he built, his meticulous methods of archaeological preservation, his display of archaeological materials at the core of his design, and his detailed plans to implement the preservation of artifacts suggests that the criticism of his work was exaggerated. However, it is important to note that Barluzzi's first plan did not substantially change after the remains of the ancient village were found during the 1955 excavations, and it is quite possible he did not provide the necessary adjustments for the preservation of the new findings.

It seems that the project was taken from Barluzzi and handed over to Muzio in response to criticism leveled against Barluzzi, yet Muzio's plan does not respond to that criticism. In fact, both projects suffer from nearly the same problems.[32]

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[30]"Consecration of the Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth," *Christian News from Israel*, XX, nos. 1–2 (June, 1969), 12–13.

[31]Barluzzi, *At Nazareth*, pp. 12, 17.

[32]The plans of the churches, the critiques of Barluzzi's plan, and the further implications of these critiques are detailed in Masha Halevi, "The Inter-Ecclesiastical Discourse

National Politics and the Franciscan Custody

A case can be made that in spite of the importance ascribed to the architecture, design proportion, archaeological preservation, and the sacred symbolic meaning of the Church of the Annunciation, the main reason for the rejection of Barluzzi's plan was political. The Catholic Church did acknowledge the symbolic importance of the church. Its importance was not only as a symbol of memory or identity but also as a symbol of the power and potency of the Church.

Barluzzi never believed that the criticism against him was pertinent to his plan. As proof, he reminded his critics of the vague circumstances under which the project was first taken away from him in the 1920s. He believed this first rejection was based on political intrigues of French, Italian, and Spanish elements[33] inside the Franciscan Custody (which was an international body with Italian predominance).[34] He believed it was a French conspiracy headed by a French cardinal, Eugène-Gabriel-Gervais-Laurent Tisserant, the head of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches in the Vatican. Barluzzi claimed the French wanted to open the design of the Church of the Annunciation to an international competition so as to win it and build the church themselves. Since the French lined up support from a body that was part of

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Concerning the Construction of the Modern Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth," *Cathedra*, 126 (2007), 83–102 (published in Hebrew). This article proposes additional explanations for Muzio's choice.

[33]From 1740 and until 1920 the French held the protectorate of the Catholics in the Ottoman Empire. The Spanish king, Charles III, proclaimed in the eighteenth century that he was the direct descendent of Robert of Anjou, king of Naples and Jerusalem, and claimed the patronage over the holy places that were created *ex novo* by Robert of Anjou or redeemed by him from the Muslims. Spain renounced the patronage only in 1980. Inside the Custody, by papal decree, the custos always had to be Italian, the vice custos French, and the treasurer Spanish. The members of the custodial council, the discretorium, had to be Italian, French, Spanish, and German. The Spanish in the Custody also held exclusive rights of administration of some convents. See Paolo Pieraccini, "La comunità cattolica di Terra Santa: problemi d'identità," in *Europe, Its Borders and the Others*, ed. Luciano Tosi (Naples, 2000), pp. 15–70; Ignazio Mancini, "L'aggiornamento della legislazione della Custodia di Terra Santa," in Piccirillo, *La Custodia di Terra Santa*, pp. 28–30; Giuseppe Buffon, *Les Franciscains en Terre Sainte (1869–1889): Religion et Politique. Une recherche institutionnelle* (Paris, 2005), pp. 14–15; Daniela Fabrizio, *Fascino d'Oriente: religione e politica in Medio Oriente da Giolitti a Mussolini* (Geneva, 2006), pp. 58–61.

[34]Barluzzi to Monticone, December 10, 1956, file Barluzzi Nazaret, ACTS; Barluzzi to Angelo Dell'Aqua (the secretary of state for the Vatican), August 26, 1956, file Nazaret, ACTS; Donato Baldi, August 24, 1956, file Barluzzi Nazaret, ACTS. See also note 37 below.

the Vatican bureaucracy, the Vatican started to show an unusual interest and intervention in the church design.[35] In a letter that Barluzzi wrote to the Italian ambassador to Israel in 1956, he stated that he did not believe that his new plan would be accepted. The unusual intervention of the Vatican and its ambiguousness made him believe that the last refusal originated from the demands of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches in the Vatican, which was influenced by the French. He claimed that he knew that the custos must be aware of the present situation and the political and artistic problem of Nazareth. Although he understood the caution and the considerations required in the relationship with the Vatican, he believed that there must be a way that acknowledged the moral rights he deserved after years of commitment, the large amount of work already done, and the credit he received for his previous works in the Holy Land.[36]

There are not many documents available to support Barluzzi's theory, but although an Italian architect eventually built the church, his suspicions should not be dismissed. Most of the criticism on the project did come from French sources. The tension between French and Italian elements inside and outside the Franciscan Custody had a long history. It is quite possible that Muzio was chosen as the new architect of the church also because of his excellent and well-documented relationship with the French and his admiration for French culture and intellectuals. Unlike Barluzzi's high level of involvement in his projects (designing a church, supervising the construction, and choosing only Italian artists), Muzio's work was much more decentralized. He designed the church but an Israeli firm built it—a firm that employed local Arab workers who were supervised by a Jewish architect. In addition, artists worldwide donated artworks, further reinforcing the ecumenical aspect of the church.[37]

[35]Barluzzi to Cardinal Celso Costantini, September 2, 1956, file Barluzzi Nazaret, ACTS; Barluzzi to A. Cursola (the head of the Franciscan order), September 11, 1956, file Barluzzi Nazaret, ACTS.

[36]Barluzzi to Benedetto Capomazza (Italian ambassador to Israel), December 5, 1956, file Barluzzi Nazaret, ACTS.

[37]In this context it is interesting to note that years later, the national tensions inside the Custody were still apparent, as can be seen in the report of M. Mandes, vice director of a department of Christian communities in the Ministry of Religions from 1955. In this report, he referred to a French Canadian monk who complained to him that Faccio started construction of a large number of churches and thus forced the Custody into debts that hurt its financial structure. He also blamed Italian Franciscans for economic fraud, claiming that the money was transferred to their families in Italy and adding that although most of the donations to the Custody arrived from United States and Canada,

The exceptional intervention of the Vatican and especially the Congregation for the Oriental Churches was not a figment of Barluzzi's imagination, but it was not directed against Barluzzi personally. This intervention had political interecclesiastical reasons that were related directly to a perception of the church in a holy place as a symbol of power. It is not certain that Tisserant led or even inflamed the criticism of Barluzzi's plan that came from French sources, but he most probably used it to promote both the Vatican's interests and his own that were opposed to the ones of the Custody in the context of monumental ecclesiastical construction in the Holy Land.

The Relationship between the Vatican and the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land

To better comprehend the reasons for the intervention[38] of the Vatican in the construction of the Church of the Annunciation, it is necessary to understand the historical background that led to the unique status of the Custody in the Holy Land and its relations with the Vatican throughout the years.

The Custody served for hundreds of years as the representative of the Catholic Church in the Holy Land and the responsible body of the guardianship of the holy places. Through its long service it gained an autonomous and privileged status. One aspect of the anomaly of the Custody was political and expressed itself in holding official simultaneous connections with various entities of the Catholic Church. On some issues the Custody reported to a range of individuals and institutions such as the minister general of the Franciscan order, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in the Vatican, the Congregation for the Oriental Churches in the Vatican (after 1938), and the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. When issues involved the holy places, tensions between the Catholic and Orthodox churches, relations with patronage claims regarding the holy places by various nations, and

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all the rights were in the hands of Italians and Spanish members of the Custody. The Italians, according to him, wanted to take over the Custody. M. Mandes, "The Report of the Franciscan Custody," December 19, 1955, sec. 98, file 5803.2 ג, IAS.

[38]This section is based mostly on Giovannelli, *La Santa Sede* and Paolo Pieraccini, *Gerusalemme, Luoghi Santi e comunità religiose nella politica internazionale* (Bologna, 1997). Giovannelli first proposed the connection between the inner Catholic struggle and the Church of the Annunciation, and the additional documents found during this research support his original proposal.

other issues, the Custody invariably maintained direct contact with the Holy See, from which it solely received instructions.[39]

Another aspect that contributed to its unique position was an economic one. The historical circumstances that developed due to the increased needs of guardianship of the holy places, the need to increase the Catholic mission and charitable activities in the area, and the importance of exposing the West to the unique problems the Custody faced in the Holy Land led to creation of a structure that established links between the Custody and the West. In this way, the commissariats of the Holy Land that officially represented the Custody could be established in many countries. In addition, a pontifical decree from 1887 stated that all donations collected in the world on Good Friday were to be given to the Holy Land and managed directly by the Custody.[40] In this way, the Custody collected donations from all over the world and did not depend economically on any particular nation.

Since the re-establishment of the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem in 1847 relations between it and the Custody were extremely tense. The tensions derived, among other things, from the lack of clear definition of the authority of each body. During the British Mandate, there was an attempt on the part of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to limit the autonomy and the authority of the Custody and to transfer some of its authority to the Latin Patriarchate by restricting the role of the Custody to that of the guardianship of the holy places and by subjugating missionary activity to the patriarch. In 1923 the Vatican published a "*Modus Vivendi*" between the Custody and the Patriarchate that constituted a compromise between the pontifical approach (pro-Custody) and that of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (pro-Patriarchate). The missionary activity of the Custody was reapproved, but it was not allowed to open new schools, monasteries, and even chapels without the permission of the Latin patriarch.[41]

A new attempt to diminish the autonomy and the functions of the Custody started with the appointment of Cardinal Tisserant as the head of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches in the Vatican. During

[39]Giovannelli, *La Santa Sede*, pp. 5–6.

[40]Giovannelli, *La Santa Sede*, pp. 5–6.

[41]Ferdinando Diotallevi, *Diario di Terrasanta*, ed. Daniela Fabrizio (Milan, 2002), pp. 9, 30; Paolo Pieraccini, *Cattolici di Terra Santa (1333–2000)* (Florence, 2000), pp. 70–71; Saul Colbi, *Christianity in the Holy Land* (Tel Aviv, 1969), p. 96.

the 1950s, Tisserant tried to achieve a double goal: to reduce the power and the autonomy of the Custody and to diminish the Latinization[42] of holy space in the Holy Land. His activity to reduce the autonomy of the Custody manifests itself, among other things, in the decree published on July 14, 1955, that restricted the rights of the Custody. The decree limited the right of election of the members of the leadership of the Custody to the head of the Franciscan order and eliminated direct correspondence between the custos and the Holy See.[43] The reason for diminishing the status of the Custody lay in the apprehension by Tisserant that the Custody, due to its great autonomy, would not carry out fully the instructions the Congregation for the Oriental Churches issued to the Catholics in Palestine to reduce the Latin influence. This attempt of the Vatican to reduce the Roman Catholic influence in the Holy Land is puzzling without the historical context.

As far as Tisserant was concerned, it was imperative to stop the Latinization process of the Eastern Orthodox and Catholics (various Eastern churches that reunited themselves with the Catholic Church such as Greek Catholic and Armenian Catholic) that was directed by the Custody and the Latin Patriarchate.[44] For many years Eastern Catholics complained that the two leading entities that represented the Vatican in the Holy Land—the Franciscan Custody and the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem—made efforts to convert Orthodox Christians to the Latin rite instead of facilitating their conversion to the local Eastern Catholic churches. They demanded the right to appoint a Greek Catholic patriarch instead of a Latin one, to put an end to Latin missionary work, and to reduce the number of Latin priests that served in the Holy Land. At this time, Greek Catholics constituted the vast majority of Catholics in the Holy Land, and the Vatican could not disregard their claims. The priests belonging to this community were traditionally involved in the national Palestinian front, and they struggled against the presence of Western Catholic priests in the area who were not fellow Arabs. The Eastern Catholic community claimed that the fact that the Latin priests were foreigners led to a lack of involvement in the difficulties of the local Christian community that derived from the political situation in Israel.[45]

[42]The term *Latinization* refers to conversion of the population to the Latin rite, and *landscape Latinization* refers to establishing symbols of power of the Western Roman Catholic Church.

[43]Faccio to Barluzzi, September 9, 1956, file Nazaret, ACTS.

[44]Giovannelli, *La Santa*, p. 222.

[45]Pieraccini, *Gerusalemme,* pp. 106–07, 423–28.

Their demands aligned with the interests of the Holy See to avoid the identification of Western Catholics residing in the colonial and oriental countries with their Western "oppressors." At this time, the Vatican decided to give priority to the Eastern rites in the appointment of local priests. The goal of these ongoing efforts was to turn Catholicism in a direction that allowed significant expression of the local realities in Asia and Africa and to present Catholicism as an indigenous and not a foreign religion imposed by Europe on the local population. Following this line of thought, Pope Benedict XV in 1919 issued a decree, *Maximum Illud*, that stressed the vital importance of the local Catholic churches. Yet the decree did not put an end to Latin missionary activity in the Holy Land promoted by both the Custody of the Holy Land and the Latin Patriarch Luigi Barlassina, who held the position of patriarch throughout the British Mandate in Palestine.[46]

One of the most zealous promoters of anti-Latinization was Tisserant. One way to reduce the process of Latinization was to avoid the building of monumental and pretentious symbols of Roman Catholic power such as the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. It is not surprising that a few months after the publication of the decree reducing the autonomy of the Custody, an order came from the Vatican to suspend work on the church's construction.[47]

The custos of the time, Faccio, was an obstacle to Tisserant. The construction of a monumental church in Nazareth was not only a fulfillment of years of work and longing by the Custody but also was a declaration of its power against the power and authority of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches.

The correspondence between the two sides documents a fierce and obstinate struggle. An example of the vital importance that Faccio attributed to the building of the church in Nazareth was the fact that the ceremony of the laying of the church cornerstone was set for December 1954. Previously, in May 1954, Tisserant wrote to the head of the Franciscan order complaining that the custos collected funds for the church at a time when the Holy See was not at all convinced that the project should proceed. In July 1954, Tisserant applied directly to the custos:

[46]Pieraccini, *Gerusalemme,* pp. 106–07, 423–28; Pieraccini, "Il Patriarcato latino di Gerusalemme (1918–1940): Ritratto di un patriarca scomodo: mons. Luigi Barlassina," *Il Politico*, LXIII, no. 2 (1998), 207–56 and no. 4 (1998), 591–639.

[47]Giovannelli, *La Santa*, p. 220.

> Questa S. Congregazione si sente in dovere di esprimere il suo dispiacere nell'aver appreso che ella, nel far propaganda per la costruzione della basilica dell'Annunciazione in Nazareth, si è servita e si serve della lettera che la medesima Congregazione le ha scritto a tal riguardo il 13 marzo scorso, adoperando solo la parte favorevole e tacendo completamente la riserva che riguardava l'incertezza politica in Terra Santa.[48]

Despite the obvious dissatisfaction with his actions, Faccio continued to promote the building of the church. He decided on his own to schedule a ceremony for the laying of the church's cornerstone, which occurred after the publication of fierce criticism against Barluzzi's plan and without the final approval for the construction from the Vatican. Faccio did not invite to the ceremony (or even notify) the apostolic delegate, the representative of the Vatican in the region, a fact that enraged Tisserant.[49] In January 1955 the Congregation for the Oriental Churches wrote again to Faccio in an attempt to prevent him from building the church on the basis of its large, dominating proportions. In response, Faccio claimed that the value of a work of art is not determined by its size. The philosophy that always guided the Custody in the construction of churches was its testimony of faith to the Christian and Muslim worlds. Faccio announced that work on demolition of the old church had already started and that once the demolition was completed, work would commence on the archaeological excavations and the laying of the foundations to the new church.[50]

In making this unilateral decision, Faccio stated that the right of the Custody to make its own decisions to construct churches in the holy places of the Holy Land and its right to promote the mission of the Latin rite there were longstanding and valid. In both cases, the church in Nazareth served as a tool and a symbol for reaching those goals. As stated previously, in July 1955, the Vatican published an official decree with substantial changes to the status of the Custody, and a few months later the secretary of state of the Vatican announced to Faccio the suspension of work on the church in Nazareth to allow for a review of Barluzzi's plan.[51] The Vatican's next step was the removal of Faccio from his position as a custos six months before the official end of his

[48]Qtd. in Giovannelli, *La Santa,* p. 220.

[49]Agostino Sepinki (head of the Franciscan order) to Cardinal Eugène Tisserant (the head of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches), file Nazaret costruzione basilica, subfile Lavori basilica Nazaret, ACTS.

[50]Giovannelli, *La Santa*, p. 221.

[51]Giovannelli, *La Santa*, pp. 221–23.

term of office. It is important to note that the rebuilding of the church by Muzio started in 1959, the year Tisserant resigned from his position as the head of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, suggesting perhaps more than mere coincidence.[52]

The Church of the Annunciation was perceived by all the entities involved (the Custody, the Vatican, and the Eastern Catholics) as the symbol of the power of the Roman Catholic Church as well as that of the Custody. For that reason as well as political internal interests, the Vatican tried to prevent its construction or, at the very least, to drastically reduce its size.

The Relations with the Israeli Government

The attitude of the recently founded State of Israel to the process of building the Church of the Annunciation in Israel was extremely important, since it was the Israeli government that issued the permission to build the church in 1954. Granting permission to build a monumental church is not an easy decision for a non-Christian government. The only massive churches that were built in the Holy Land were built during Christian regimes, and even then, the government was often reluctant to grant a permission to build imposing churches.[53] It is worthwhile to examine the reasons that led the Israeli administration to allow the construction of the biggest Franciscan church in the Middle East, which was believed by the Israeli authorities at the time to be one of the largest Christian churches in the world, second only to the basilica of St. Peter in the Vatican.[54] The permission to build a monumental church is more startling given the fact that the church was to be built in a city with a mixed Christian-Muslim population and would surely be regarded unfavorably by the Muslims. Indeed, the best example of the rivalry that developed over the holy landscape of the city was the Muslim effort to build in front of the Church of the

[52]Since the Vatican's documents pertaining to the secretary of state of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches are not yet accessible, the direct influence of Tisserant's office in the replacement of the architects or the date of the beginning of the actual works cannot yet be determined.

[53]For example, in the case of Barluzzi's construction of the Church of All Nations in Gethsemane (1919–24), the British authorities limited the size of the church and asked to reduce its already modest dimensions. See Harry Charles Luke (assistant governor of Jerusalem) to Luigi Barlassina (Latin patriarch of Jerusalem), September 2, 1921, ATQ/1625, the Israel Antiquities Authority Archives (hereafter IAA).

[54]"New Nazareth Church to cost $1,500,000" (March 31, 1954), S71.1655, the Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter ZA).

Annunciation a huge mosque dedicated to Shihab a-Din, the nephew of Saladin, in 1999. The mosque was supposed to be higher than the Church of the Annunciation, and its construction commenced, not by chance, to coincide with the Christian millennium.[55]

The dual approach of the Israeli authority to its Christian population should be noted. The majority of Christians in Israel were Arabs, with all the implications and the associations implied. At the same time, the Catholic Church in Israel was considered the representative of the World Catholic Church and the Vatican, a perception that bestowed on it power and political importance far beyond its relative proportion of the local population. It seems that the permission to build the church was beneficial to Israeli politics on both of those levels of perception.

The Israeli-Arab war of 1948 had negative consequences for the Christian presence and interests in the Holy Land. During the war, much church property was damaged and confiscated, many Catholic religious orders left the area, and many Christian Arabs became refugees.[56] Many Christian inhabitants left their homes and villages but stayed in the territory belonging to Israel, thus becoming refugees forbidden to return to their homes. Five thousand refugees crowded into Nazareth, a main center for Arabs in the State of Israel. About two-thirds of the Arabs living in Nazareth were Christians, although their number was declining due to emigration.[57] Until 1952, these refugees received their refugee certifications from UNRWA,[58] which distributed food and assisted them with finding employment. In summer 1952, the State of Israel declared that the assistance and the employment of these

[55]The Israeli government issued a permission to build the mosque as well but soon after the laying of the foundation, it was cancelled due to immense international pressure. More about the affair can be read in Raphael Israeli, *Green Crescent over Nazareth* (London, 2002); Raphael Israeli, "The Anti-Millennium: The Islamization of Nazareth," *Nativ*, 73, no. 2 (2000), 52–57 (published in Hebrew); R. Shaked, "The Apparent Compromise in Nazareth: A Mosque to Be Built in the Area of the Dispute," *Yedioth Ahronoth* (September 30, 1999), 12 (published in Hebrew); R. Weiss, "The Mosque Destroyed without Resistance," *Yedioth Ahronoth* (July 2, 2003), 23 (published in Hebrew).

[56]Giovannelli, *La Santa*, pp. 180–87. The list of the closed institutions and the religious orders that left the area during the war is to be found in the archive of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem in *Statistiche miscellanea*.

[57]In 1952 about 14,000 Christians and 7,000 Muslims resided in Nazareth. See "The Tension in Nazareth Raised This Morning," *Yedioth Ahronoth* (April 15, 1952), 1 (published in Hebrew).

[58]United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East.

refugees was the responsibility of the Israeli state, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs determined that there were no more refugees inside the borders of Israel. Shortly afterward the Ministry of Labor initiated a large-scale effort to find employment for the refugees.[59]

According to the emergency regulations in effect after the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, the occupied territories, which belonged to the Arab state, entered under military government. The area under the military government (that operated from September 1948 until 1966) included the Galilee, the triangle in Samaria, and the Negev, as well as the cities of Ramla, Lod, and Ashkelon. The northern parts belonged to the northern military government (its southern limit passing near Nazareth and Valley of Jezreel).[60]

One important effect of the military government on the population of Nazareth was its contribution to the rise in the unemployment rate. It reduced the number of permits for workers who worked outside of the city, causing them to lose their jobs, but could not offer enough employment within its limits.[61]

The difficult situation of the inhabitants of Nazareth influenced the relationship of the State of Israel with the Vatican as was noticed in 1948 by Jacob Herzog, then the director of the department of the Christian communities in the Ministry of Religion:

> In the circular letter from 18 November 1948, I pointed out to some of the ministers the difficult situation of the residents of Nazareth because of the unresolved problems of unemployment in the city and its surrounding area. The officials from my office who communicate with the residents reported about the bitterness prevailing in the city and quoted the clergy who claimed that the government of Israel did not take the necessary steps to win the sympathy of the town residents by providing for their basic needs. Steps, which should have been taken *in preparation for the international discussion that will be held regarding the fate of Nazareth* [emphasis added]. I have explained the difficulty of providing necessary work places for Nazareth. There are not enough working places inside the city and bestowing the needed amount of permits for work outside the city will

[59]Hillel Cohen, "The Internal Refugees in the State of Israel: The Struggle for Identity," *The New East*, 43 (2001–02), 83–102, here 94–95 (published in Hebrew).

[60]Sara Ozacky Lazar, "The Military Government as a Mechanism of Controlling the Arab Citizens: The First Decade 1948–1958," *The New East*, 43 (2001–02), 103–31, here 104–05 (published in Hebrew).

[61]G. Giladi, "What Was Nazareth Agitated about?" *Hamishmar* (August 4, 1953), s71.1655, ZA (published in Hebrew).

> pose a serious security problem. The answer of a special representative of the apostolic commissionaire to this claim was that the government of Israel should be responsible for its actions. If it wants to control the city and its surroundings it should take care of the needs of the population. *I would like to state that the current state of things can cause troubles with our relationships with the Vatican and other Christian elements around the world that are very much interested in Nazareth* [emphasis added]. Therefore, I would ask that everything possible be done to ameliorate the situation, and perhaps the prime minister will agree to appoint an interministerial committee that will take care of this problem.[62]

The relationship between the Vatican and Zionist adherents, already tense before the foundation of the State of Israel for theological and political reasons, was further aggravated. The interest of the Vatican in the Holy Land was first and foremost to maintain the rights of Catholics in the holy places and therefore to keep them safe from the danger of a Jewish takeover. The Vatican also opposed the arrival of the Jewish pioneers in Palestine because they were perceived as Bolsheviks who would endanger the traditional way of life in the Holy Land. Mostly, the Vatican feared that the Zionist immigration would drive the Christians out of Palestine and destroy its Christian character and that the Jews, along with the modernization they were bringing with them, would radically alter the way of life of the local population and damage their morals.[63] When the Jewish state in Israel became a reality, the Vatican, in the hope of minimizing the damage, strove to internationalize the holy places, including those in Nazareth. To accomplish its goal, the Vatican collaborated with the United Nations and in September 1949 tried to reach an agreement with Belgium to accept guardianship over Nazareth, particularly its holy places.[64] The demands for internationalization of Nazareth still prevailed among the Christians in Nazareth in 1954, the year the permission to build the Church of the Annunciation was granted.[65]

Since military government usually takes place only in occupied territories of a hostile state, which are not regarded by the occupying

[62]Jacob Herzog, "Speech Proposal for the Minister of Religion for the Governmental Meeting," February 13, 1949, the Ministry of Religions, sec. 98, file ג 5811/10, ISA.

[63]Sergio Minerbi, *The Vatican and Zionism: Conflict in the Holy Land 1895–1925* (New York, 1990), pp. 3–4, 116, 133, 147–48.

[64]"France Asking for Protectorate over Bethlehem,", *Yedioth Ahronoth* (September 11, 1949), 1 (published in Hebrew); "With a Majority of 9 for, 6 against and 2 Abstained the Subcommittee of Jerusalem Decided to Establish a Trusteeship," *Yedioth Ahronoth* (December 2, 1949), 1 (published in Hebrew).

[65]J. Waschitz, "Don't Remove the Nazareth Affair from the Public Agenda," *Hamishmar* (June 25, 1954), s71.1655, ZA (published in Hebrew).

state as an integral part of it, it was claimed that the existence of military government in Galilee contributed to the communist demands for the assignment of Galilee to the Arab state as well as facilitated Christian demands for the internationalization of Nazareth.[66]

Israel opposed any attempt of the United Nations and the Vatican to internationalize sections of its territory but at the same time did not wish to destroy the more cordial relationship with the Vatican that was beginning to take root. The Vatican did not have any official diplomatic relationships with Israel and was affected more by Arab claims (most of the Christians in Israel were Arabs), but its relations with Israel warmed up gradually until the Vatican's official recognition of Israel in 1993.[67] An example can be found in the private meeting between Moshe Sharett, the Israeli minister of foreign affairs, and Pope Pius XII in 1952.[68]

In addition, there was a matter where Israel and the Vatican had a mutual interest: the fear of communists. In July 1949 Pius XII published a decree that excommunicated Catholics who voted for communist parties or parties that had a joint front with the communists.[69] The impetus for the publishing of the Papal Bull was the rise of the Communist Party in postfascist Italy.[70] In Israel, an active communist party, MAKI, was part of the political equation. It was a mixed Jewish-Arab political party and the only one that expressed the national aspirations of the Arabs in Israel. In those years, Christians took a notable part in MAKI, both as leaders and voters, although most of the Christians in MAKI were Greek Orthodox and Anglicans.[71] The fact that the Christians who supported MAKI belonged to the Eastern and Protestant rites only strengthened the anticommunist stand of the Catholics in Israel, a position that was well integrated with the official stand of the Vatican.

In 1954, the year in which the State of Israel issued the permits to build the Church of the Annunciation, the tension in Nazareth among

[66]Lazar, "The Military Government," p. 117.

[67]Sergio Minerbi, *The Vatican and Zionism*, p. 236; article by Aharon Lopez, Israeli ambassador to the Vatican from 1997, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, <http://www.jcpa.org/jl/jl401.htm>.

[68]"Mr. Sharett's Visit to the Vatican," *Christian News from Israel*, 3, nos. 1–2 (June, 1952), 3.

[69]Daphne Tsimhoni, "The Political Organization of the Christians in Israel," *The New East*, 32 (1989), 139–64, here 142 (published in Hebrew).

[70]The first pope who initiated negotiations between the Vatican and the communists was John XXIII in the early 1960s.

[71]Tsimhoni, "The Political Organization," p. 147.

communists, Catholics, and the State of Israel reached its peak in the democratic municipal elections held in Nazareth on April 12.[72] In the elections in Nazareth religious parties composed of Muslims, Orthodox individuals, and Catholics ran against the Communist Party. The representatives of the Latin and Eastern Catholic congregations decided to join forces against the communists. The communists claimed that the Vatican was actively interfering with the elections in Nazareth; however, in spite of the alleged intervention, the communists won the elections. The Catholic party came in second and received half as many votes as the communists. The failure of the collaboration between the Catholic congregations led to fierce polemics between two groups: the Greek Catholic congregation, headed by Bishop George Hakim (later Patriarch Maximos V Hakim), and the Latin congregation, headed by Monsignor Antonio Vergani, the patriarch's representative in Israel. Vergani and Hakim left separately for Rome to report on the situation to the pope.[73]

The political advantages Israel gained from authorizing the building of the monumental Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth were both in international relations with the Vatican and in the internal affairs of the state, as part of the solution to the social and political problems of the city.

Since Nazareth is one of the holiest places for Christendom and was then the city with the largest Christian population in Israel, the Vatican was unusually interested and active in its affairs. Its interference shifted from the global level, an attempt to internationalize the city, to great interest and perhaps even intervention in local municipal elections. Israel refused to discuss any possibility of internationalization, but by

[72]For more about the municipal elections in Nazareth, see "The Leaders of the Congregations in Nazareth Protesting against the City Council," *Haaretz* (March 2, 1951), file S71.804, ZA (published in Hebrew); "Civil Disobedience against the City Council of Nazareth," *Haaretz* (July 12, 1953) (published in Hebrew); "Red Flag over Nazareth," *Maariv* (September 16, 1952), s71.1655, ZA (published in Hebrew); "Nazareth: 'Hard Nut' That Was Not Cracked," *Yedioth Ahronoth* (April 11, 1954), 2 (published in Hebrew); Saul Colbi to the chairman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 14, 1954, the Ministry of Religions, sec. 98, file ג 5811/10, ISA; A. Shaanan, "The Elections in Nazareth in the British Press," *Davar* (April 15, 1954), 1 (published in Hebrew); "MAKI Won the Elections," S71.1655, ZA.

[73]"The Pope Will Receive a Report on the Situation in Nazareth," *Hador* (May 16, 1954), s71.1655, ZA (published in Hebrew); "Conflict among the Catholics in Israel Following Their Failure in the Elections in Nazareth," *Haaretz* (May 11, 1954), s71.1655, ZA (published in Hebrew).

granting permission to build such an important monument in Nazareth, it communicated to the Vatican its willingness to collaborate when possible and stressed its liberal attitude to the Christian holy places and to Israeli Christian citizens.

A good example of this approach can be seen in the periodical *Christian News from Israel* that was issued by the Ministry of Religion in Israel and abroad:

> The church that is about to be built [in Nazareth] is going to be one of the largest in the Middle East. The church is built not only due to a local demand but it represents a symbol and a monument. The Custody is going to spend on its construction about three or four million dollars that it hopes to collect from the Catholic faithful around the world. *The State of Israel holds to its liberal principles and willingly allowed the construction* [emphasis added]. The size of the church that was built in 1730 was 22 meters long and 17 wide and it was extended a little during the nineteenth century. The new church is going to be 90 meters long and 72 meters high—larger than the Crusader basilica.[74]

It is interesting that the article mentions the dimensions of Barluzzi's planned church so specifically as well as indicates the State of Israel's approval so clearly. But the advantages for Israel were substantial. The local population benefited through the promise of jobs for many workers over several years. After Israel took responsibility from UNRWA for the refugees there was a pressing need to find job opportunities for the Arab refugees to show the world that the Israel could manage its affairs and that the refugee problem no longer existed. The suppression of unemployment could also remove from the communists one of their leading issues, and as stated above, Israel and the Vatican shared the objection to the communists. Vergani wrote:

> The decision [to build the basilica] has been taken at a moment of special and humanitarian value. Statistics and accurate calculations establish the fact that at Nazareth today a third of the laborers are without work; consequently a third of the population (of 21,000 souls) is without bread . . . in the name of the little town of the Holy Family, of which I am proud of being an honorary citizen, I thank your Paternity and the Ven. Discretorium for your courageous initiative, regarding an undertaking of religious and social significance and I am looking forward to seeing very soon the majestic cupola of the Annunciation dominating the little town of the Annunciation.[75]

[74]C. W., "The Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth," pp. 17–20.
[75]Barluzzi, *At Nazareth*, p. 8.

Paschal Kinsel cited the Latin Patriarch Alberto Gori: "... often I have asked myself what can be done to eliminate Communism in Nazareth, where it began to take root in 1948 (the time of the partition of the Holy Land), and the answer has always been: provide work for the people by the construction of the basilica."[76] Kinsel added: "Anything you can do to encourage this necessary undertaking for the suffering labouring class of Nazareth and the honor of Mary Immaculate will be much appreciated by the Franciscans in the name of holy Mother Church."[77] At the bottom of the brochure was printed in a large, bold font: "Combat Communism in Nazareth. The building of the basilica of the Annunciation will provide work for the poor and needy."[78]

Israel emphasized the fact that the church would be built with local materials and by the local population.[79] In fact, one of the leading architects and the local work director were Jewish—the architect Lewkowitcz (who was a past disciple of Muzio) and the building company was Solel Boneh (a Jewish company). Many of the local workers were Arabs.

When the request of the Franciscans to build the church was received, it was discussed at the highest levels including the prime minister, minister of foreign affairs, and minister of the interior. They instructed the minister of religion to be understanding toward the Custody and to try to facilitate the work and ease the administrative matters.[80] Not many documents regarding the matter have been found, probably because many of the files regarding the relations of the State of Israel with the Christians inside its boarders are still confidential. However, a record exists of a discussion in the cabinet regarding the Church of the Annunciation that was initiated by Israel Rokach, the minister of the interior. Rokach described the monumentality of the church and stated that since it was a public building there was no legal way to refuse permission to build, at least not on technical grounds such as building regulations, the strength of the building, or similar matters. He added that the construction was about strengthening the Catholic Church in Nazareth and that the building of the church would

[76]Kinsel, *Crusader's Almanac*, pp. 16–17.

[77]Kinsel, *Crusader's Almanac*, pp. 16–17.

[78]Kinsel, *Crusader's Almanac*, pp. 16–17.

[79]Israel Rokach (minister of the interior) to Faccio, March 7, 1954, the Ministry of Religions, sec. 98, file 5803/2 ג , ISA.

[80]Saul Colbi to the district commissioner of Jerusalem and Mr. Giler from the Ministry of the Interior, December 31, 1954, the Ministry of Religions, sec. 98, file 5803/2 ג , ISA.

create job opportunities for its residents for a year or longer. Prime Minister Moshe Sharett mentioned that withholding permission would result in an international scandal, but steps should be taken to ensure that the funds for the construction would pass through the Ministry of Finance.[81] This comment illustrates one reason why permission was granted, as the funds for the construction of a multimillion-dollar church would add considerably to the state treasury. Probably this also was the reason for the Ministry of Finance's refusal to the repeated requests of the Custody for a lower rate of exchange due to the large amount of money exchanged.[82]

It is hard to accept that Rokach was right about the impossibility of restricting the building of the church. Since the Franciscans built on land that belonged to them he probably could not have forbidden the construction, but he surely could have restricted its height and size as the British and the Ottomans had done in the past. Since Israel granted the Christians the same rights that were given to them in the past by the prior authorities, it seems that there were sufficient reasons to allow the Franciscans to pursue their plans without interference. The permission to build a monumental church contributed to Israeli relations with the Vatican and the Catholic Church around the world as well as on the internal level as a partial solution to the problems of Nazareth, a city that received many refugees, suffered from extremely high rates of unemployment, and served as a base for the activity of the Communist Party.

Conclusion

This article highlights an apparently bizarre contradiction. The center of the Catholic faith, the Vatican, whose expected role was to encourage the building of an imposing monument celebrating its power in one of the holiest places in Christendom, tried to arrest or at least to limit the size and the importance of the new church. At the same time the Israeli government, which would be expected to object to the construction of such a monumental building in a city with a mixed Muslim-Christian population, encouraged it, or at least did not obstruct the Franciscans. The story behind the construction of the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth reveals a fascinating narrative of politics, struggles, and various interests that ultimately led to its present structure.

[81]Governmental meeting no. 32/314, February 28, 1954, ISA.

[82]Faccio to the Israeli Ministry of Finance, February 16, 1954, file Nazareth Costruzione Basilica, ACTS.

SLOVAK IMMIGRANTS COME TO TERMS WITH RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN NORTH AMERICA

BY

M. MARK STOLARIK*

Religious diversity in North America was often a painful experience for Slovak immigrants. Finding no churches to serve them in their own language, they established their own as Slovak Protestants had done. Roman Catholics were confronted by a largely Irish-dominated Church that rejected lay trusteeism and thus fueled many disagreements between the lay founders of the parishes and their clergy. The second, U.S.-educated generation largely gave up the struggle. In contrast, Slovak Greek Catholics, who had insufficient numbers to establish their own churches in the United States, were largely subsumed into Rusyn-dominated parishes, although many reverted to Orthodoxy because of the unwillingness of U.S. bishops to recognize the Union of Užhorod. In Canada, where Rusyns were few, Slovak Greek Catholics established their own parishes and bishopric. Today the struggle has turned into one for survival, as U.S. and Canadian bishops seek to close or consolidate parishes with declining attendance.

Keywords: lay initiative; lay trusteeism; national parishes; Union of Užhorod

Among the immigrants who came to the United States and Canada in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were 500,000 Slovaks seeking work in the industrial heartland of North America.[1]

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[1]This is an estimate based upon the fact that Slovakia (then called Northern Hungary) lost 650,000 people to emigration between 1871 and 1914.The Slovaks also had a return

These Slovaks were divided into four Christian denominations that would have to adapt to North American conditions. This essay will deal with how various Slovak Christians adjusted to new-world conditions.

Those Slovak immigrants who moved to North America between the 1870s and 1914 settled largely in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, and in the Rocky Mountains of the Canadian West. Two-thirds of them hailed from the eastern Slovak counties of Spiš, Šariš, Zemplín, and Abov in northeastern Hungary. They found work in the coal mines, steel mills, oil refineries, and slaughterhouses of North America. The vast majority of these immigrants were single or recently married young men who hoped to make their fortune (the goal was usually $1000), return home, buy some land, and become prosperous peasants.[2]

Shortly after they arrived in the United States, however, these Slovak immigrants discovered that their employers and the local, state, and federal governments provided virtually no social services. Thus, if someone fell ill, was injured on the job, or died, no one compensated the victim or his family. Therefore, the first institution that immigrant workers established was the fraternal-benefit society, a self-help organization. It was usually begun informally—a group of male immigrants met in a neighborhood saloon, contributed a small amount of their wages, drafted by-laws, and elected officers. Once the society was established, any member who fell ill, was injured, or was killed received a certain amount of money to compensate him or his family. Some of these fraternal-benefit societies were based on the guilds that had existed in Hungary before 1873. Others were modeled on religious fraternals that had existed in the old country for centuries. Others still may have been inspired by American examples. By 1890, Slovak immigrants had established fifty fraternal-benefit societies in their neighborhoods of residence.[3]

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rate of approximately 30 percent. The federal census counted 619,866 first- and second-generation Slovaks in the United States in 1920. *Cf.* Ján Svetoň, "Slovenské vyst'ahovalectvo v období uhorského kapitalizmu" (Slovak Emigration in the Era of Hungarian Capitalism), *Ekonomický časopis* (Bratislava), 4, no. 2 (1956), 171, 179; Juliana Puskás, *From Hungary to the United States (1880–1914)* (Budapest, 1982), p. 27; and *Population: General Report and Analytical Tables, Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920* (Washington, DC, 1922), 2:973.

[2]These facts are documented in M. Mark Stolarik, *Immigration and Urbanization: The Slovak Experience, 1870–1918* (New York, 1989), pp. 23, 35–36.

[3]For a discussion of Slovak fraternals in America, see M. Mark Stolarik, "A Place for Everyone: Slovak Fraternal-Benefit Societies," in *Self-Help in America: Patterns of Minority Business Enterprise*, ed. Scott Cummings (Port Washington, NY, 1980), pp.

Once they had taken care of their material needs, the immigrants turned to their spiritual yearnings. As a result of the seventeenth-century Reformation in Europe, Slovak immigrants reflected the religious divisions of Northern Hungary. Thus, while more than 70 percent of the immigrants were Roman Catholic, about 12 percent were Lutherans, and the rest were either Greek Catholics or Calvinists.[4] Each group had established its own local and national fraternal-benefit societies, and those fraternals that were founded specifically on the basis of religion led the way in establishing the second pillar of Slovak communities in America—the parish churches.

When the first Slovak immigrants came to North America in the 1870s and 1880s, they found no parishes that could serve their spiritual needs in their own language. Therefore, they initially sought out already established parishes where they could understand the priest or find a welcome. These would include Czech, Polish, and German parishes, which already existed because these ethnic groups had preceded the Slovak migration by several decades.[5] Thus, in Cleveland,

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130–41. For a longer description and a list of these fraternals, see Štefan Veselý, "Prvé slovenské spolky v Spojených štátoch amerických" (The Earliest Slovak Societies in the United States of America), *Slováci v zahraničí 4–5* (Martin, Slovakia, 1978), 9–57. Anne Hartfield also showed that fraternal-benefit societies preceded parishes in "Profile of a Pluralistic Parish: Saint Peter's Roman Catholic Church, New York City, 1785–1815," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12, no. 3 (1993), 30–59, here 47.

[4]Since the United States does not collect statistics based upon religion, the author has had to rely upon old-world statistics for these numbers. Hungarian statistics from before 1914 are unreliable because the government set out to assimilate all non-Magyar nationalities and therefore tended to undercount them. Therefore, the author relied upon the first Czechoslovak census of 1920 for statistics on nationality and religion. Since interwar Czechoslovakia contained more than 600,000 Magyars (60 percent of whom were Roman Catholics and 40 percent Calvinists), almost 140,000 Germans (most of whom were Lutherans), and 86,000 Rusyns (most of whom were Greek Catholics), it is impossible to ascertain precise figures for the religions of the Slovaks. See Anton Štefánek, *Základy sociografie Slovenska; Slovenská vlastiveda III* (The Fundamentals of Sociology in Slovakia) (Bratislava, 1944), p. 180. For the deformation of pre-World War I Hungarian statistics, see Július Mésároš, "Some Deformations in the Interpretation of Censuses in Recent Magyar-Slovak Controversies," in *Slovaks & Magyars (Slovak Magyar Relations in Central Europe)*, ed. Pavol Stefček (Bratislava, 1995), pp. 63–84.

[5]For the story of Czech, Polish, and German parishes, see Anton Peter Houšt, *Krátké dějiny a seznam Česko-katolíckych osad ve Spoj. Státech Amerických* (A Short History and Listing of Czech-Catholic Parishes in the United States of America) (St. Louis, 1890); Joseph Cada, *Czech-American Catholics, 1850–1920* (Lisle, IL, 1964); William Galush, *For More Than Bread: Community and Identity in American Polonia, 1880–1940* (Boulder, 2006); Joseph John Parot, *Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850–1920*; and Colman Barry, *The Catholic Church and German-Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953).

Roman Catholic Slovaks initially worshiped in the Czech parish of Our Lady of Lourdes where, coincidentally Reverend Štefan Furdek, a Slovak from Orava county, had become pastor in 1883.[6] In Minneapolis, on the other hand, Slovaks first congregated at the Polish parish of the Holy Cross, where Reverend Jakob Pacholski saw to their spiritual needs.[7] Slovaks in South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, meanwhile, initially tried to worship at the nearby territorial (Irish) parish of the Holy Infancy but were rejected by the icy stares of the locals and the occasional stones thrown at them after Mass. Therefore, the Slovaks switched to the more distant St. Bernard's parish (later renamed Holy Ghost), which catered to Austrian Germans, and where Reverend William Heinen welcomed them.[8] Similarly, Slovak Lutherans sought out German Lutheran parishes for their first services. Slovak Calvinists and Greek Catholics, due to their smaller numbers, initially congregated with Slovak Lutherans or Roman Catholics.

Even though the immigrants had found already existing parishes of their own faith, this did not satisfy them. They wanted, as much as possible, services in their own language. Thus, in Streator, Illinois, which was a center of the bituminous coal-mining industry, Slovak Lutheran immigrants initially worshiped in the home of Ján Kožlej, who had

[6]"Rev. Štefan Furdek," *Národný Kalendár, 1903* (Pittsburgh), 198–202. Before the Czech parish was established, Furdek, who arrived in Cleveland in 1882, celebrated Masses for the Slovaks at the Franciscan parish of St. Joseph.

[7]George Dargay, *Historical Sketch of the Church of St. Cyril of Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1891–1941* (Minneapolis, 1941), pp. 2–3.

[8]Ján J. Bartoš, "Prehl'ad dejín osady ssv. Cyrilla (sic) a Methoda v Bethlehem, Pa." (A Survey History of Ss. Cyril and Methodius Parish in Bethlehem, PA) in *Dejiny Betlehemských Slovákov v Spojených Štátoch v Severnej Ameriky* (A History of the Slovaks in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania in the United States of America), ed. Milan P. Pauliny (Bethlehem, 1921), p. 81; and author interview with Elizabeth Lipovsky, Bethlehem, July 27, 1976. For the full story of the Slovak Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Lutheran parishes in Bethlehem, see M. Mark Stolarik, *Growing Up on the South Side: Three Generations of Slovaks in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1885–1976* (Lewisburg, PA, 1985). Almost from the founding of the first Catholic parishes in the United States in the late-eighteenth century, they have been divided into "territorial" and "national." This tradition had developed in Europe centuries earlier and continued in the United States with one major difference—the Irish came in such huge numbers in the mid-nineteenth century that they overwhelmed the Church and turned its territorial parishes into defacto Irish parishes. See Eileen McMahon, *What Parish Are You from? A Chicago Irish Community and Race Relations* (Lexington, 1995), p. 18. She pointed out that the sixty-three "territorial" parishes in Chicago were, in fact, Irish. This was also true in other American cities. For a discussion of national parishes, see Joseph E. Ciesluk, *National Parishes in the United States* (Washington, DC, 1944).

arrived in 1873 from Kuková in Šariš county. For the next ten years Kožlej presided over Slovak funerals by reading from the bible, and he also led the Sunday prayers of a growing congregation of laymen in his home. Finally, in 1884 Reverend Cyril Droppa arrived from Štrba, Liptov county, in response to a "vokator" (call) from Kožlej to serve this congregation.[9] This kind of lay initiative was common among Lutherans in the old country, and it continued to be practiced in the United States. Slovak Calvinists also practiced lay initiative in establishing parishes and issuing calls for pastors to come and serve them.[10] The main difference between Slovak Lutherans and Calvinists was in the availability of pastors—Lutheran pastors were more numerous and available whereas Slovak Calvinist pastors were few and far between. Thus, Slovak Calvinists had to rely heavily on pastors who were Magyar or "Magyarone" (pro-assimilation into Hungarian language and culture) and could speak Slovak.[11]

The issue of pastors and their linguistic abilities reflected a wider problem that faced many immigrants and their churches in North America—that of ethnic and linguistic affiliation. For instance, St. Peter's, the first Roman Catholic church in New York City, which was founded in 1785, started out as an all-encompassing territorial parish. However, the overwhelming number of Irish in this congregation, who celebrated portions of the Mass in English, alienated its French and German members, who wanted the vernacular portions in their own languages and who ultimately broke away and established their own parishes.[12] Similarly, Slovak Roman Catholics in Cleveland, who in 1888

[9]Letter of Droppa to *Národnie noviny* (Martin, Slovakia), July 31, 1884, p. 3; Ignác Gessay, "Streatorski Slováci a ich pokrok" (Streator Slovaks and Their Progress), *Národný Kalendár, 1911*, 117–21.

[10]For another example of Lutherans issuing "Vokators," see the ms. "Zapisna Kniha pre cirkev Sv. Jána Krstitela v So. Bethlehem, Pa., 1911–1976" (Minute Book of the Parish of St. John the Baptist in South Bethlehem, PA, 1911–1976), in the care of Reverend John Daniel, pastor of Concordia Lutheran parish in Bethlehem. I am grateful to my dissertation adviser, the late Timothy L. Smith, for stressing the role of lay initiative in the founding of religious congregations in the United States during his graduate seminar at the University of Minnesota in 1967–68. See Smith, "Lay Initiative in the Religious Life of American Immigrants, 1880–1950," in *Anonymous Americans: Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Social History*, ed. Tamara Hareven (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971), pp. 214–49.

[11]This becomes clear when one reads the histories of the individual parishes established by Slovak Calvinists in America. *Cf.* "Krátke dejiny cirkví" (A Short History of Our Parishes), in *Kalendár pre slovenskych Kalvínov na rok 1927* (Pittsburgh, 1927), pp. 97–147.

[12]Hartfield, "Profile of a Pluralistic Parish," pp. 30–59.

had initially joined with Magyars from the same region of northeastern Hungary in creating St. Ladislaus parish, tired of their struggle with Magyar parishioners over who would have their own Mass at the coveted Sunday timeslot of 10 a.m. and decided to expel the Magyars in 1890, and to pay them $1000 in compensation. The Magyars then established their own St. Elizabeth parish a few blocks away. Slovak Lutherans and Calvinists in other localities did likewise.[13]

Establishing their own parishes in the New World was a new experience for Slovak Roman Catholics, although they did have old-world models to draw upon. In Hungary, most parishes had been established centuries earlier by wealthy nobles, whether secular or clerical; by city governments; and, in some cases, even by village authorities. Whoever established the parish became its patron, under the ancient right of "ius patronatus." This patron secured the land, built and maintained the church, and paid the priest's salary. In return, the patron had the right to participate in the appointment or recall of the pastor.[14] In the county of Spiš, for example, which contained seventy-eight parishes in the early-twentieth century, forty-eight of the parishes had lay patrons, nineteen had religious patrons (largely the bishop), and only eleven were without a patron. Of the lay patrons, twenty-one were rich noble families, nineteen were Hungarian government ministries, and eight

[13]Ján Pankuch, *Dejiny Clevelandskych a Lakewoodskych Slovákov* (A History of Cleveland and Lakewood Slovaks) (Cleveland, 1930), pp. 12–16. For the story of Slovak Lutherans and Calvinists, see "Krátke dejiny cirkví" (A Short History of Our Parishes), 97–147, and George Dolak, *A History of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America, 1902–1927* (St. Louis, 1955). This splintering of parishes in North America reflected another interesting phenomenon—the fluidity of ethnic identities. While a theoretical discussion of ethnicity is beyond the scope of this essay, Slovaks in America, as did other ethnic groups, gradually moved from a regional to a national identity. See June Granatir Alexander, "Diversity within Unity: Regionalism and Social Relationships among Slovaks in Pre-World War I Pittsburgh," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 70 (October, 1987), 317–38. For theoretical discussions of ethnicity as "primordial," see Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973) and Harold R. Isaacs, *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change* (New York, 1975). For ethnicity as "symbolic" or "invented" by intellectuals, see Herbert J. Gans, "Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America," in *On the Making of Americans,* ed. Herbert J. Gans *et al.* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 193–220 and *The Invention of Ethnicity,* ed. Werner Sollors (New York, 1989), pp. x–xv. For a response by leading historians of immigration to America that stresses that ethnicity is a process of "negotiation" between groups and societies, see Kathleen Neils Conzen *et al.*, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the USA," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12 (Fall, 1992), 3–41.

[14]Štefan Luby, *Dejiny súkromného práva na Slovensku* (A History of Civil Law in Slovakia) (Bratislava, 1946), pp. 363–64.

were city or village governments.[15] Thus, Slovak immigrants, even though they overwhelmingly came from the peasantry, must have known about these patrons, and their rights and duties.[16]

Therefore, when Slovak Roman Catholics in North America decided to establish their own parishes, they acted as if they were lay patrons. In most cases the leaders of the local fraternal-benefit societies, once they had enough members, took up a collection, bought some land in the neighborhood where they had settled (usually near their employment), excavated the land, erected a church building, and sent for a priest. They also elected a board of trustees to oversee these actions.[17]

Although such lay initiative was common in Protestant congregations, American bishops discouraged it. Indeed, as early as 1829, the First Provincial Council of Baltimore condemned lay trusteeship and rejected the German American claim to lay patronage.[18] However, with

[15]*Katolícke Slovensko* (Catholic Slovakia) (Trnava, Slovakia, 1933), pp. 73–81.

[16]Ivan Chalupecký, the foremost historian of Spiš and Eastern Slovakia, wrote the following: "I am certain that our emigrants brought with them [to America] knowledge of the law of patronage. The "ius patronatus" had existed [in Slovakia] for hundreds of years and it was not abolished until the era of socialism, sometime in the 1960s" (e-mail in Slovak to the author, June 26, 2007). Indeed, Furdek also reminded his readers that "ius patronatus" did not exist in the United States, and, therefore, individual immigrants had to build and support their parishes. See Bl. Tatranský (Štefan Furdek), "Zo zápiskov amerického farára" (Notes of an American Priest), *Kalendár Jednota* (Cleveland, 1902), 120–23; and "Slovenské osady v Amerike" (Slovak Parishes in America), *Kalendár Jednota* (1906), 33. Even after the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, Slovak bishops faced problems associated with lay patronage. See Františka Čechová, "K problematike farských patronátov v Nitrianskom biskupstve za episkopátu Karola Kmet'ka" (Problems with Parish Patronage in the Diocese of Nitra during the Episcopate of Karol Kmet'ko), *Historický časopis* (Bratislava), 55, no. 3 (2007), 464–86. Without presenting any evidence, Alexander denied prior knowledge of lay patronage by Slovak immigrants to the United States, in *The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880–1915* (Pittsburgh, 1987), p. xxi.

[17]For a good example of how such a board of trustees functioned, see ms. "Protokolna knyha Zapisnika rKat. slovenskeho kostola Sv. Ap. Cyrilla a Methoda v Minneapolis, Minn." (Minute Book of the Recording Secretary of the Roman Catholic Slovak Church of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Minneapolis, Minnesota), 1898–1910, Microfilm, St. Cyril's Parish, Slovak Collection, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota.

[18]Patrick W. Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeism* (Notre Dame, 1987), p. 253. Carey pointed out that the lay founders of some of the earliest Catholic parishes in America, dating back to the late-eighteenth century, particularly those with a German-speaking majority, had insisted upon applying the ancient rights of lay patronage in the governance of their churches. Indeed, Hartfield pointed out that eighteenth-century New York required all churches to elect a board of trustees ("Profile of a Pluralistic Parish," p. 30).

the arrival of millions of new immigrants from Eastern Europe in the 1870s and the 1880s, the third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 allowed the election of lay trustees, but in most cases only if they were nominated by the parish priest or bishop and only if the pastor retained effective control over them.[19] As we shall see, this is not what most Slovak laymen had in mind when accepting the post of church trustee. Thus, depending upon the circumstances, the creation of a new parish in an American Roman Catholic diocese could be a joyous or a very traumatic experience.

In the case of Slovak Catholic parishes, many endured some sort of traumatic experience involving the lay founders, the local bishop, and the new priest.[20] In Minneapolis, for instance, the Ss. Cyril and Methodius Society, which was founded by laymen in 1888, decided in 1891 to create a Slovak parish and actually bought the land by the time Father Pacholski reminded them that they needed the permission of the local archbishop to do so. Pacholski then led a delegation consisting of members of the Ss. Cyril and Methodius Society to meet with Archbishop John Ireland, and he granted them permission to incorporate a parish. However, he had apparently never heard of the Apostles of the Slavs[21] and therefore told them that "one saint was enough." As a result, the church was officially named St. Cyril, although the parish trustees defied the archbishop by using letterhead that read "Ss. Cyril and Methodius," erecting statues of both saints on either side of the main altar, and referring to their parish in the trustee minute-book as Ss.

[19]Alexander, *The Immigrant Church*, pp. 56–57.

[20]In studying only four Slovak Roman Catholic parishes in Pittsburgh before 1915, Alexander found very little trauma. Therefore, she termed relations between Slovak church trustees and their bishops as "assertive deference" (p. xx). It is likely that, had she studied all thirty Slovak parishes in the Archdiocese of Pittsburgh over a longer period of time, she would have found plenty of trauma. For instance, St. Anne's (Slovak) parish in Homestead seceded from the Roman Catholic Church in 1909 (see fn. 47), and in 1925, Bishop Hugh Boyle fired the parish committee of Holy Name of Jesus (Slovak) parish in Monessen and excommunicated those who defied their pastor, the Reverend Emil Sloupský. See the correspondence of the Supreme Secretary of the First Catholic Slovak Union with the Secretary of Branch 311 in Monessen, 1912–1927, First Catholic Slovak Union Collection, file 885, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota.

[21]Even though Pope John Paul II elevated Ss. Cyril and Methodius to the rank of co-patron saints of Europe (along with St. Benedict) only in 1985 on the 1100th anniversary of the death of St. Methodius, the Slovaks had a centuries-old tradition of veneration of these two brothers. See Imrich Kružliak, *Cyrilometodský kult u Slovákov* (The Cult of Ss. Cyril and Methodius among the Slovaks) (Prešov, Slovakia, 2003).

Cyril and Methodius.[22] Similarly, Slovak Catholic laymen led the way in establishing their own churches, whether it was in Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, or Canada. By 1955, when their parishes had peaked, Slovak Roman Catholics has established 240 churches in the United States.[23] In Canada, which had attracted about 5000 Slovak immigrants before 1914 and 40,000 in the interwar period, Roman Catholics established eight parishes between 1907 and 1960.[24]

The next issue that faced the Roman Catholic laymen was the question of who would recruit and control the priest. In those places where the laymen were in touch with their bishop, they asked him to write one of his counterparts in Hungary to request a priest. This happened in Streator, Illinois, where in 1884 the Roman Catholic Slovaks, who had established St. Stephen's parish, asked Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of the Diocese of Peoria to find a pastor for them. He then contacted Monsignor Žigmund Bubics, the bishop of Košice in eastern Slovakia, and the latter sent Reverend Jozef Kossalko to the parishioners.[25]

In other parishes, the laymen sent for a priest themselves, and this often led to problems. The most spectacular example of problems arising from this kind of lay initiative occurred in Minneapolis. Here local

[22]Dargay, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 2–3; Articles of Incorporation of the Church of St. Cyril of Minneapolis, St. Cyril's Church, Corporation File, February 23, 1891, Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Paul (hereafter AASP). For the defiant letterhead see the petition to have Skluzaček removed, February 1, 1920, file on Skluzaček. See also fn. 17.

[23]Philip A. Hrobak, comp. and ed., *Slovak Catholic Parishes and Institutions in the United States and Canada* (Cleveland, 1955), pp. 31–165.

[24]Elena Jakešová, "Slovak Emigrants in Canada as Reflected in Diplomatic Documents (1920–1938)," *Slovakia*, 35 (1991–92), 7–8, and J. M. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 225–39.

[25]Jozef G. Skurka, "Prvá slovenská rim. katolícka osada v Amerike" (The First Slovak Roman Catholic Parish in America), *Kalendár Jednota, 1911*, 90–95. Dolores Liptak speculated (erroneously) that the first Slovak Catholic parish in the United States was St. John Nepomucene in Bridgeport, Connecticut, founded in 1891; see Liptak, "The National Parish: Concept and Consequences for the Diocese of Hartford, 1890–1930," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 71 (1985), 52–64, here 55–56. Since Liptak is not versed in Slovak, she was unaware of Skurka's article, which was based upon original sources and interviews with the founders of these parishes. Furthermore, Hoffman's *Catholic Directory* of 1889 and 1892 provided misleading information, as it listed the Slovak parishes of St. Joseph in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, and St. Stephen's in Streator, Illinois, as "Hungarian." This occurred because both of their founding pastors were Magyarones, and that is how they initially referred to their churches. However, the vast majority of their parishioners were Slovaks from the outset. For the controversy surrounding the 1884 founding of the first Slovak Catholic parishes in America, see Stolarik, *Immigration and Urbanization*, pp. 83–84.

Greek Catholic immigrants (also known as "Uniates"), who were a mixture of Rusyns and Slovaks from eastern Slovakia and who spoke similar dialects, had initially joined their Roman Catholic brethren in the Ss. Cyril and Methodius Society.[26] In 1888 they established their own St. Mary's parish and then wrote to Greek Catholic bishop Ján Vanyi of Prešov to send them a "pop," as they called their priests. Reverend Alexis Tóth, a former seminary professor and chancellor to the bishop in Prešov, arrived in Minneapolis in December 1889. His parishioners then introduced Tóth to Reverend Jakob Pacholski, who had initially attracted a variety of Slavic ethnic groups to his Polish parish. Pacholski advised Tóth that he should visit Archbishop Ireland in nearby St. Paul as soon as possible because, according to canon law, Tóth could not officially function as a priest without the permission of the local ordinary. There was, as yet, no Greek Catholic bishop in America to whom Tóth could report. On December 19th Tóth paid a visit to Ireland. When the archbishop discovered that Tóth was a widower, however, he refused to allow Tóth to function in his archdiocese, saying that "I have already written to Rome protesting against this kind of priest being sent to me." Ireland may not have known about the Union of Užhorod (1646), the Eastern Rite, and the right of Greek Catholic clergy to marry. On the other hand, because Ireland was a chief exponent of the "Americanization" of the U.S. Roman Catholic Church, he may have refused to recognize the Union of Užhorod for fear that such a move would slow the Americanization movement.[27]

Since Tóth was so summarily rejected by one of America's leading archbishops, he returned dejected to his flock. His parishioners told

[26]Ms. "Založeni Slovenski Rimsko Katolicki nemoci podporujuci Spolek Svateho Cirila a Methoda Svatich apostoloch" (Established Slovak Roman Catholic Sick Benefit Society of Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Holy Apostles), November 12, 1888, Microfilm, St. Cyril's Parish, Slovak Collection, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota. The Roman Catholic secretary of this society referred to "our brothers, the Greek Catholics" in these minutes.

[27]*Ibid*., and Paul Robert Magocsi, *Our People: Carpatho-Rusyns and Their Descendants in North America* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 26–27. For a very good history of the competing claims of Russian, Ukrainian, and emerging Rusyn leaders for the allegiance of Hungarian "Ruthenians" see Keith P. Dyrud, *The Quest for the Rusyn Soul: The Politics of Religion and Culture in Eastern Europe and in America, 1890–World War I* (Philadelphia, 1992). For the "Americanization" movement, see Jay Dolan, *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (New York, 2002), pp. 92–126. Marvin R. O'Connell noted in his *Biography of John Ireland and the American Catholic Church* (St. Paul, 1988) that "if Ireland's advocacy of the blacks [discussed earlier] displayed him at his best, his belligerence toward the Uniates showed him at his bull-headed worst" (p. 271).

him to ignore Ireland, but Tóth understood the rules of the Church and realized that he could not function without a bishop. He heard about a Russian Orthodox bishop in San Francisco and paid him a visit. After some negotiations, Tóth reported to his flock that Bishop Vladimir Sokolovsky of the Russian Orthodox Diocese of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands was willing to accept him as a priest, but only if Tóth and his congregation reverted to Orthodoxy. They did so on March 15, 1891. This was the first of many schisms that would rock the Greek Catholic church in America and result in thousands of the faithful returning to Orthodoxy.[28]

In spite of the fact that Greek Catholicism was practiced by many ethnic groups in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Austrian province of Galicia in the nineteenth century, in the United States it would eventually become dominated by the two largest ethnic groups from those regions—the Rusyns and the Ukrainians. This happened because in 1916, the Vatican finally created two ecclesiastical administrations for the Greek Catholics in the United States—the "Hungarian" Greek Catholic administration centered in Pittsburgh (for the Rusyns and others) and the Greek Catholic administration centered in Philadelphia (for the Ukrainians). In 1924 they were both elevated to full eparchies (bishoprics and later into archbishoprics), and the one in Pittsburgh became known as the Byzantine Ruthenian Catholic Church while the one in Philadelphia came to be known as the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Those Slovaks who remained Greek Catholics were subsumed into one or the other (most are in the Archdiocese of Pittsburgh) while those who followed Tóth and other Greek Catholic parishes that broke with Rome ended up in a variety of Orthodox dioceses. As a result, there are no exclusively Slovak Greek Catholic (or Orthodox) parishes in the United States.[29]

In Canada, on the other hand, the Slovak Greek Catholics have had their own bishop (eparch) since 1964 and their own independent diocese (eparchy) since 1980. This happened because the vast majority of Greek Catholics in Canada are of Ukrainian origin, and, as a result, there are no Ruthenian dioceses in Canada that might have subsumed the

[28]Magocsi, *Our People*, p. 27; for the schisms, see pp. 33–38. For an article that is critical of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in its relations with Greek Catholics in America, see Christopher Zugger, "História Byzantskej katolíckej cirkvi v USA" (A History of the Byzantine Catholic Church in the USA), *Theologos* (Prešov), 5, no. 2 (2004), 5–19.

[29]Magocsi, *Our People*, p. 32. See also Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review*, 83 (December, 1978), 1155–85, here 1171.

Slovaks. Therefore, when laymen founded the first Slovak Greek Catholic parish of Ss. Peter and Paul in the coal-mining city of Lethbridge, Alberta, in 1921, it belonged to the Ukrainian Eparchy of Edmonton.[30] Similarly, Slovak Greek Catholic parishes, which were established in the interwar period in Windsor and Montreal, originally fell under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian eparch in Toronto. However, in 1951 Reverend Michal Rusnák, a Basilian refugee from communist persecution in Czechoslovakia, arrived in Canada and began to organize Slovak Greek Catholics into their own grouping. Because many of his coreligionists had also fled to Canada after World War II, Rusnák persuaded them to establish parishes in Welland, Hamilton, Toronto, and Oshawa. Recognizing his leadership, Izidore Borecký, eparch of Ukrainian Catholics in Eastern Canada and resident in Toronto, named Rusnák dean of the Slovak Greek Catholic parishes in his eparchy in 1959. In 1964 the pope elevated Rusnák as Borecký's auxiliary for Slovak Greek Catholics in Canada. In 1980 the Vatican created the first Slovak Greek Catholic Eparchy in Canada and elevated Rusnák to head it. Since the communist regime in Czechoslovakia had forcibly dissolved the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Presov in 1950, Rusnák became the only Slovak Greek Catholic eparch in the world until the downfall of communism in 1989.[31]

While Slovak Greek Catholics in Canada achieved official recognition from the Vatican, their story is marred by the rise and demise of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration in Markham, Ontario. Soon after Rusnák arrived in Canada, he met and befriended the Slovak Greek Catholic multimillionaire Stephen B. Roman, who was then known as Canada's "Uranium King."[32] The latter helped Rusnák in his various endeavors, and, when Roman became a billionaire in the 1980s, he decided, with Rusnák's blessing, to build a huge Greek Catholic cathedral modeled upon his village church in Velký Ruskov, eastern Slovakia.

[30]Michal Dorčák, "Slováci v kanadskom vojsku" (Slovaks in the Canadian Army), *Jednota* (Middletown, PA), February 16, 1916, 1; "Prvé slov. gr. katol. primície v Lethbridge, Alta" (The First Slovak Greek Catholic Mass in Lethbridge, Alberta), *Kanadský Slovák* (Winnipeg, Manitoba), June 20, 1953, p. 2. See also Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, pp. 250–52.

[31]Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, pp. 249–68; and *Our Heritage of Faith: Consecration of the Slovak Cathedral of the Transfiguration by His Holiness Pope John Paul II, September 15, 1984*, comp. and ed. Helen Roman-Barber and Anne C. R. Roman (Toronto, 1985), pp. 32–34.

[32]The best account of Roman's initial success can be found in Peter C. Newman's *The Canadian Establishment* (Toronto, 1975), pp. 269–72.

The cathedral was to be built in Unionville, near Roman's home in Markham. Furthermore, Rusnák and Roman even persuaded Pope John Paul II, who was visiting Canada in 1984, to depart from his official program and to bless the still-unfinished Slovak Greek Catholic Cathedral of the Transfiguration.[33] It was generally understood, once the cathedral was completed, that it would belong to the Slovak Greek Catholic Eparchy. However, before the understanding between Roman and Rusnák was formalized, Roman died in 1988. The Slovak Greek Catholic Foundation, which had been established by Roman and Rusnák to raise and expend funds for the cathedral, had already spent $20 million, but the building was still unfinished. Moreover, Roman's various investments had begun to crumble even before his death. Roman's eldest daughter, Helen Roman-Barber, who succeeded him as chairman of his various enterprises, could not prevent their collapse.[34]

Meanwhile, after Roman died, Rusnák concluded that, if the cathedral was to be completed, he would need Roman-Barber's support. Therefore, he asked Roman-Barber to replace her father on the six-member board of the Slovak Greek Catholic Foundation. She did so, but they could not agree on the final ownership of the building. Rusnák died in 2003 and was succeeded by the American-born monsignor John Pazak. The latter also failed to reach an agreement with Roman-Barber regarding ownership of the cathedral. Therefore, Pazak officially closed the still unfinished Cathedral of the Transfiguration on June 1, 2006. It is uncertain what will become of this monumental building.[35]

Meanwhile, Slovak Roman Catholics, whether in the United States or in Canada, continued to face many problems when establishing

[33]Magocsi explained these circumstances very well in a letter to the editor of *The Catholic Register* (Toronto) dated October 27, 1984, repr. in *Kanadský Slovák*, November 3, 1984, 4.

[34]For Roman's death, see the May 1988 issue of the monthly *Mária*, which is dedicated to Roman and published in Toronto by the Slovak Greek Catholic Diocese. For Roman-Barber's succession, see the articles "Tough, Untried Roman-Barber Takes Father's Crown into Battle," *Globe & Mail,* April 9, 1988, B1; "An Example of Murphy's Law," *Ottawa Citizen*, April 15, 1991, B6, and "Last Roman Family Member Resigns from Denison Board," *Globe & Mail*, December 1, 1999, B9.

[35]Letter of Bishop John Pazak, May 27, 2006, to "Parishioners and Friends of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration," *Kanadský Slovák* (Toronto), June 10, 2006, 5. See also Bob Reguli, "In Cathedraltown, the Cathedral Is Now Empty," *Globe & Mail*, June 17, 2006, 6; and e-mail from attorney John V. Stephens to M. Mark Stolárik, July 26, 2006. The author had many conversations with Rusnák regarding the unfinished cathedral in the 1990s.

their parishes. Among them were the issues of lay trustees, parish finances, the appointment or recall of a priest, loyalty to Hungary, and even the dialect in which the priests were to preach. It took several generations for these issues to be resolved, although some of them continue to crop up even today.

Since laymen established most Slovak parishes in America, they organized themselves into parish trustees and raised the funds to buy the church property, build the church, and pay the priest's salary. Copying the example of other ethnic groups, the trustees initially elected lay collectors ("kolektori") who, until the Great Depression, visited each Slovak household to collect a yearly assessment of parish dues.[36] From this fund the laymen paid their priest. However, if the lay trustees clashed with their priest, they stopped paying him and ordered him to leave. This happened to Kossalko, who preached, among other things, loyalty to Hungary. This led to his moving, first from St. Stephen's parish in Streator, Illinois, to Plymouth, Pennsylvania, in 1887 and his later departure to St. John's in Bridgeport, Connecticut.[37] In other parishes, laymen might simply publicly rebuke their pastor, as did Štefan Kokoška, president of the trustees at Ss. Cyril and Methodius parish in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, who, during a sermon, rose and yelled at Reverend Andrej Fekety, "A budz cicho! Co ty znás?" ("Ah, shut up! What do you know, anyway?").[38] In rare instances, they would even resort to violence. For instance, when Reverend Matús Jankola, pastor of St. Joseph's parish in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, decided in 1907 that the church organist should no longer teach in the parochial school, as had been the custom in Slovakia, some of his parishioners bombed his rectory. He eventually left for the new parish of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Bridgeport.[39]

[36]Reverend Matúš Jankola described the "American" system of lay collectors and parish finances in "Črty z katolíckej slovenskej farnost v Pittston, PA" (Sketches from a Slovak Catholic Parish in Pittston, PA), *Tovaryšstvo*, *III* (Ružomberok, Slovakia, 1900), 301–05. This article appears as "Matthew Jankola, Sketches from a Slovak Catholic Parish in Pittston, Pennsylvania, 1900," trans. M. Mark Stolarik, in *Keeping Faith: European and Asian Catholic Immigrants*, ed. Jeffrey M. Burns, Ellen Skerrett, and Joseph M. White (Maryknoll, NY, 2000), pp. 187–90.

[37]*Národnie noviny*, October 24, 1889, p. 4.

[38]Stolarik, *Growing Up*, p. 53.

[39]*Slovák v Amerike* (New York), November 18, 1907, p. 3. In spite of Jankola's difficulties with his parishioners in Hazleton, his reputation among American Slovaks remains intact because in 1909 he established the Slovak teaching order of the Sisters of Ss. Cyril and Methodius, which eventually found a home in Danville, Pennsylvania. Altogether American Slovaks founded six teaching orders of nuns between 1907 and

In other parishes Slovak laymen took the legal route to rid themselves of an unwanted priest. Thus, in 1919, after Reverend František Hrachovský had bankrupted St. Cyril's parish in Minneapolis, the parish committee petitioned Archbishop H. E. Austin Dowling for his transfer, and Dowling agreed.[40] The same fate befell his successor, Reverend Wenčeslaus Skluzaček, who attempted to impose his own parish committee upon his flock. The trustees complained to the archbishop about Skluzaček's "terrorism" and arrogance, especially since he had referred to the congregation as "stupid and illiterate," and the archbishop removed him in 1921.[41] The same kind of lay initiative occurred at St. Peter's parish in Fort William (now Thunder Bay), Ontario, which was founded in 1907. Although the Slovak parishioners appreciated that their French-Canadian Jesuit pastor, Reverend François Maynard, had learned to speak Slovak, they still preferred to have a native pastor. Indeed, in 1914 some of the parishioners even brought in a Polish priest to serve them, but he disgraced himself through drunkenness. The bishop of Sault Ste. Marie then replaced Maynard with Reverend Ján Novotny, a Slovak.[42]

Not only did Slovak laymen often participate in the removal of an unwanted priest but also actively recruited priests they regarded as more attuned to their needs. Thus, after the parishioners of St. John Nepomucene parish in Bridgeport failed to persuade the "Magyarone" Kossalko to support their efforts to build a parochial school, they broke away and, in 1907, established the new parish of Ss. Cyril and Methodius and called upon the nationalist Jankola, formerly of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, to serve as their pastor.[43] Similarly, no sooner had the parishioners of St. Cyril's in Minneapolis rid themselves of Skluzaček than they contacted Reverend Michal Judt of Holy Trinity

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1953. For their histories see František Hrušovský, *Slovenské rehole v Amerike* (Slovak Religious Orders in America) (Cleveland, 1955), pp. 161–435. For an English description of Slovak religious orders in the United States (which is beyond the scope of this essay), see M. Mark Stolarik, "Slovak Catholics," in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, ed. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley (Collegeville, MN, 1997), pp. 1325–26.

[40]File on František Hrachovský and the Corporation file, 1919–20, St. Cyril's Church, AASP.

[41]File on Wenčeslaus Skluzaček and Corporation file, 1920–21, St. Cyril's Church, AASP.

[42]*Jednota,* July 8, 1914, 1 and August 19, 1914, 5–6. See also Roy Poviesana, *Hope and Charity: An Illustrated History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Thunder Bay* (Thunder Bay, 2002), pp. 71–72.

[43]*Slovák v Amerike,* September 18, 1906, p. 4, September 28, p. 3, October 27, 1907, p. 2.

parish in Racine, Wisconsin. They had heard that he and his congregation had a troubled relationship, and he was anxious to leave. Therefore, they persuaded him to transfer his services to their parish.[44] As Edward Hoban, the chancellor of the Archdiocese of Chicago, remarked in a letter to Archbishop Dowling regarding such a lay initiative, "the people, on their part, feel that by agitating, they can obtain whatever they want."[45]

Sometimes agitation was not enough, and a few Slovak parishes copied their Polish coreligionists and seceded from the Roman Catholic Church when they could not get their way.[46] This happened in Homestead, Pennsylvania, in 1909, when a group of parishioners seceded from St. Michael's parish and established St. Anne's Independent Slovak Catholic Church because the local bishop rebuffed their request to transfer their pastor. They affiliated with the Polish National Catholic Church until 1915, when they returned to the Roman Catholic Church after they were promised a pastor to their liking.[47] Similarly, a group of parishioners at St. Wendelin's church on Cleveland's west side, who wished to establish their own parish on the south side, seceded from the Roman Catholic Church in 1917 when Bishop John Farrelly refused their request. They, too, affiliated with the Polish National Catholic Church. However, the dissidents returned to the fold in 1922 only after Farrelly had died and his successor, Bishop Joseph Schrembs, gave them permission to establish Our Lady of Mercy parish.[48] Finally, in Passaic, New Jersey, a group of parishioners

[44]Parish Committee of St. Cyril's Church to Dowling, February 27, 1921, and May 1, 1920, and Judt to Dowling, March 7, 1921, in Corporation file, 1920–21, St. Cyril's Church, AASP.

[45]Hoban to Dowling, October 21, 1920, in Corporation file, 1920–21, St. Cyril's Church, AASP.

[46]For the story of the Polish National Catholic Church, see William Galush, "The Polish National Catholic Church: A Survey of Its Origins, Development and Mission," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 83 (September–December, 1972), 131–49.

[47]*Jednota,* January 3, 1912, p. 4; Jozef Hušek, "Prehl'ad vážnejších udalostí z dejín IKSJ" (A Survey of the More Important Events in the History of the First Catholic Slovak Union), *Kalendár Jednota,* 1916, 53; Jozef A. Kushner, *Slováci Katolíci Pittsburghského Biskupstva* (Slovak Catholics in the Diocese of Pittsburgh) (Passaic, 1946), p. 61. Even though Alexander knew of this schism, she downplayed it in favor of stressing that Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics showed "assertive deference" rather than rebelliousness toward the local hierarchy. See *The Immigrant Church and Community: Pittsburgh's Slovak Catholics and Lutherans, 1880–1915* (Pittsburgh, 1987), pp. xx, 43.

[48]"Committee of Ten" to Bishop John Farrelly, September, 1912; Augustín Tomášek to Farrelly, October 24, 1912, and May 2, 1914; Chancellor Scullen to George Moss, January

of St. Mary's church in 1922 rejected Bishop John O'Connor's inexplicable transfer of their curate, Reverend Imrich Jeczusko, back to his original diocese of Košice in Slovakia. They much preferred Jeczusko to their pastor, Reverend Imre Haitinger, because the latter was a haughty "Magyarone," whereas Jeczusko was an easygoing Slovak. Since the bishop refused their petition to rescind Jeczusko's transfer, one-third of the parishioners seceded from the Roman Catholic Church and established the independent Holy Name Slovak National Catholic Church. In 1925 it affiliated with the Polish National Catholic Church, and in 1963 it was raised by the latter to the status of a bishopric for Slovak National Catholics, although it consisted of only one parish.[49]

As we have already seen, another major problem that afflicted Slovak Roman Catholics was the issue of "Magyarone" versus nationalist priests. After the 1867 "Ausgleich" between the Habsburgs and the Magyars, which gave Hungary complete home rule in Austria-Hungary, the Magyar-dominated government set out to completely assimilate ("Magyarize") all of its subject nationalities, starting with the Slovaks. While the Slovak nobility had accepted "Magyarization," based upon its class interests, the Slovak bourgeoisie did resist, but was too small and weak to be effective. Only the Slovak clergy, whether Catholic or Lutheran, was numerous enough to try to resist.[50] While some Slovak priests, particularly from the eastern counties, where Slovak nationalism was weakest, went along with Magyarization, the vast majority, largely from the central and western counties, did not. For this reason the Hungarian government and hierarchy, particularly Bishop Bubics,

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23, 1917, and Scullen to Tomášek, September 14, 1917; Farrelly to Tomášek, October 5, 1917, File on St. Wendelin's Parish, 1909–24, Archives of the Diocese of Cleveland (hereafter ADC). See also *Dedication of Our Lady of Mercy Church* (Cleveland, 1949), pp. 13–14.

[49]Raymond J. Kupke, "The Slovak National Catholic Church, Passaic, New Jersey and the Jeczusko Affair," *Slovakia*, 33 (1987–1988), 63–86. Kupke identified another independent Slovak parish in the diocese—Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Perth Amboy, New Jersey—but provided no details (p. 83n4). No one has yet written a history of the independent Slovak Roman Catholic parishes in the United States, nor even identified them all.

[50]The best exposé of "Magyarization" in the English language is still Scotus Viator (pseud. of R. W. Seton-Watson), *Racial Problems in Hungary* (London, 1908; repr. New York, 1972); in Slovak, see Karel Kálal, *Mad'arizácia: Obraz slovenského utrpenia* (Magyarization: A Picture of Slovak Suffering), (Prague, 1930; repr. Bratislava, 2006). Reverend Andrej Hlinka of Ružomberok, who led the resistance to Magyarization and spent several years in jail for his efforts, proudly recalled this resistance by the Slovak clergy in "The Influence of Religion and Catholicism on States and Individuals," in *Slovakia Then and Now*, ed. R. W. Seton-Watson (London, 1931), pp. 167–82, here pp. 173–74.

promoted the emigration of "Magyarone" priests to America and tried (but failed) to restrict the emigration of nationalist priests.[51] Therefore, while a small number of Magyarones, such as Kossalko and Haitinger, tried to continue the practice of Magyarization in North America, the vast majority rejected this philosophy and sought to preserve their faith and their language with the motto "Za Boha a národ" (for God and the nation).[52] The leading exponents of Slovak nationalism among the clergy in America were Furdek and Jankola, who organized the Slovak clergy in America into the "Society of Slovak Roman Catholic Priests Under the Protection of Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in 1896.[53]

[51]Reverend Ján Staš to Reverend František Sasinek, February 27, 1896, Literárny archív Matice slovenskej (Literary Archive of the Matica slovenská), Martin, Slovakia, 37-065, and Minister of Culture and Education to the Cardinal Primate of Hungary, February 4, 1902, #393, as published in *Národnie noviny*, July 1, 1902, p. 2. See also Monika Glettler, *Pittsburg, Wien, Budapest: Program und Praxis der Nationalitätenpolitik bei der Auswanderung der ungarischen Slowaken nach Amerika um 1900* (Vienna, 1980), pp. 122–24. Bela Vassady, Jr., in "Mixed Ethnic Identities among Immigrant Clergy from Multiethnic Hungary: The Slovak-Magyar Case, 1885–1903," *The Ethnic Enigma: The Salience of Ethnicity for European-Origin Groups*, ed. Peter Kivisto (Philadelphia, 1989), pp. 47–66, claimed that upwardly mobile Slovak priests from the northeastern counties of Hungary had "mixed Slovak-Magyar identities" but in the United States, they eventually became Slovaks, largely to satisfy their flocks, who also increasingly discovered their Slovak identity due to the efforts of nationalist priests and newspaper editors. On Bubics and "Magyarization" in the Diocese of Košice, see Peter Zubko, *Dejiny košickej kapituly (1804–2001)* (A History of the Chapter of Košice, 1804–2001) (Košice, 2003), pp. 194–96.

[52]Furdek founded the nationwide fraternal-benefit First Catholic Slovak Union of the United States in 1890 and its weekly newspaper *Jednota*, and both adopted the motto "Za Boha a národ." See Jozef Paučo, *75 rokov Prvej Katolíckej Slovenskej Jednoty* (75 Years of the First Catholic Slovak Union) (Cleveland, 1965), pp. 10–11. Both the society and the newspaper still exist. American Poles also used this slogan, although Victor Greene mistranslated it as "For God and Country." See Greene, *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America, 1860–1910* (Madison, 1975).

[53]Ms. "Society of Slovak Roman Catholic Priests in America under the Protection of Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Minutes (in Slovak), November 10, 1896, Spolok Sv. Vojtecha (Society of St. Adalbert), Trnava, Slovakia, Fasc. 299, C, #14, on microfilm at Slovak Collection, Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota. Barry noted that German American Catholics, a decade earlier, had also formed a "Deutsch-Amerikaner Priester-Verien" (*The Catholic Church and German-Americans,* pp. 98–99). So did the Lithuanians who, in 1909 established the "Lithuanian-American Roman Catholic Priests' League." *Cf*. Arunas Alisauskas, "Lithuanians," in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), p. 671. According to Timothy L. Smith, in 1976 Hispanic clergy formed a "Hispanic American caucus" in the United States. See Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity," p. 1173. It seems likely that priests from other ethnic groups also organized themselves into similar groupings in the last two hundred years. No one, to the author's knowledge, has explored this subject.

Furthermore, in a 1903 meeting of this society in Philadelphia, the delegates voted overwhelmingly to preach to their congregations in literary Slovak and not in the eastern Slovak dialects.[54] This was a major victory of the nationalists over the Magyarones, who favored the eastern dialects to weaken the growing nationalism of American Slovaks. Indeed, as Bela Vassady has shown Magyarone priests in early-twentieth-century America had lost the battle for the hearts and minds of American Slovaks.[55] Furthermore, in 1911 the nationalist priests led the way in establishing the Slovak Catholic Federation, which was a mixture of clergy and laymen interested in promoting Slovak Catholicism (and nationalism) in America.[56] It survives to this day.

After World War I, as Edward R. Kantowicz pointed out, most American bishops followed the lead of Archbishop Mundelein of Chicago in aggressively pursuing the Americanization of Catholic immigrants.[57] This was in line with the U.S. government's policy of Americanization, which started during World War I and continued well into the 1920s.[58] As a result, English became the principal language of parochial schools, and it also crept into church services. Mundelein's policies also led to curbing the powers of church trustees. Among the Slovaks this policy was largely enforced by priests trained in American seminaries, who were taught the "evils" of trusteeism and who set out to control the elections of parish trustees to get rid of the independent-minded ones.[59] It also led to the priests proclaiming themselves to be the presidents of the parish councils, in order to better control the trustees. Since the American-trained priests were young when appointed, they outlived the original church trustees and eventually

[54]"Society of Slovak Roman Catholic Priests. . .," September 3, 1903.

[55]Vassady, "Mixed Ethnic Identities," pp. 58–64.

[56]Joseph V. Adamec, "The Slovak Catholic Federation: A 65-Year Perspective," in *Slovaks in America: A Bicentennial Study*, comp. Joseph C. Krajsa *et al.* (Middletown, PA, 1978), 223–32, here p. 223. Adamec apparently did not know about its predecessor, the Society of Slovak Roman Catholic Priests. The Slovak Catholic Federation is the last Slovak organization in the United States that publishes an annual almanac—*Good Shepherd/Dobrý pastier*.

[57]Edward R. Kantowicz, "Cardinal Mundelien of Chicago and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century American Catholicism," *Journal of American History*, 68 (June, 1981), 52–68.

[58]Alexander documented the government's Americanization policies and Slovak resistance to them in *Ethnic Pride, American Patriotism: Slovaks and Other New Immigrants in the Interwar Era* (Philadelphia, 2004).

[59]Reverend Patrick J. Dignan stressed the evils of trusteeism in *History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States (1784–1932)* (Washington, DC, 1933).

triumphed over them. A good example was the Reverend George Dargay of St. Cyril's in Minneapolis. Born into a Greek Catholic family, but raised and educated as a Roman Catholic in Minneapolis–St. Paul, Dargay was appointed pastor of St. Cyril's in 1926. Soon thereafter, he dissolved the old parish committee, appointed a new one, and declared himself "the boss." When his congregation protested, he told them to "pay, pray and shut up." As a result, a group of laymen petitioned Archbishop John Murray in 1933 to remove Dargay, but by then, the latter had skillfully exploited the divisions between the Slovak-speaking "old timers" and the U.S.-born generation. The latter was educated in either American parochial or public schools, was more deferential toward the clergy, and favored more acculturation. They did not sign the petition. As a result, Murray rejected the request, and Dargay remained the pastor and dominated his parish committee until his retirement in 1962.[60]

Slovak Lutherans and Calvinists, unlike Roman Catholics, had no problem with the principle of lay initiative. What they did encounter in North America, however, was a multiplicity of Protestant denominations and synods, and a shortage of clergy. The earliest Slovak Lutherans and Calvinists worshiped together until they had enough individual followers to create their own congregations. This happened, for instance, in Mount Carmel, Pennsylvania, where the Lutherans and Calvinists established a joint parish in 1888. However, the more nationalist Lutherans resented certain Calvinist pastors who preached in both Slovak and Magyar, and, therefore, the Lutherans broke off in 1895 and established their own parish. The Calvinists, meanwhile, continued to be served by Magyar or Magyarone pastors until 1917, when the Slovaks expelled the Magyars over the issue of the language used in services. Thereafter they struggled to find a Slovak-speaking pastor and reorganized as the Slovak Presbyterian Congregation in 1924. The other eight Slovak Calvinist parishes, stretching from Pennsylvania to Illinois, experienced similar transformations. Once they were established, they affiliated themselves with the Presbyterian Church in America.[61]

Slovak Lutherans, meanwhile, also established parishes through lay initiative, but were divided by synodical affiliation. After the Slovak

[60]See the file on Reverend George Dargay and the Corporation file on St. Cyril's Church, Minneapolis, AASP, 1926–1962.

[61]For the history of the Slovak Calvinists in America, especially their parishes, see "Krátke dejiny cirkví" (Short Histories of Our Parishes). Reverend J. V. Kovár wrote the history of the Slovak Calvinist church in Mt. Carmel, PA, pp. 101–04.

Lutherans created their first parish (Holy Trinity) in Streator, Illinois, in 1884, a group of Slovak Lutheran pastors met for the first time at the fifth convention of the secular Slovak Evangelical Union (established in 1893) in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1899. In 1902 these same pastors established the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in America at a meeting in Connellsville, Pennsylvania. A few years later, they affiliated themselves with the German-dominated Missouri Synod, which was headquartered in St. Louis.[62] However, about half of the pastors, as well as laymen, found the Missouri Synod too conservative. They especially resented the stand of the conservative pastors against the participation of the Slovak Evangelical Union in funerals and other religious observances. Therefore, the more liberal pastors in 1919 organized themselves into the Slovak Zion Synod and affiliated themselves with the Lutheran Church in America.[63]

One can illustrate the fortunes of Slovak Lutherans in America by focusing on communities in Minneapolis and Bethlehem. In Minneapolis a small group of Lutheran Slovaks, with the assistance of a German pastor from the Missouri Synod, established in 1888 the Holy Emmanuel Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church, which became a part of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and affiliated with the Missouri Synod. However, a smaller group was converted to the Baptist faith in 1919 and established the First Slovak Baptist Church in Minneapolis. Moreover, in 1923 another group of Lutherans, who found the Missouri Synod too conservative, broke away from Holy Emmanuel and set up Holy Trinity Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church, which joined the Slovak Zion Synod and eventually affiliated with the Lutheran Church in America.[64]

In Bethlehem, on the other hand, Slovak Lutherans appeared in such small numbers that they struggled to establish a parish in 1911.[65] However, they had to wait for twenty-five years before they attracted a

[62]Dolak, *A History*, pp. 42–45.

[63]Ján Body, *History of the Slovak Zion Synod LCA* (Pittsburgh, 1976), pp. 126–34. For an up-to-date discussion of the varieties of American Lutheranism, see Mark Noll, "American Lutherans, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," and Mary Todd, "The Curious Case of the Missouri Synod," in *Lutherans Today: American Lutheranism and Identity in the 21st Century*, ed. Richard Cimino (Grand Rapids, 2003), pp. 3–25 and 26–44.

[64]These parishes were first described in M. Mark Stolarik, "The Slovaks," in *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups*, ed. June Drenning Holmquist (St. Paul, 1981), p. 355.

[65]Stolarik, *Growing Up,* p. 47.

permanent pastor. After the American-born and educated Reverend John Daniel accepted the congregation's "vokator" in 1936, he quickly perceived that, to ensure his success, he had to attract non-Slovak parishioners. Therefore, he started to preach to his congregation in both Slovak and English, and, by 1976, he had attracted so many non-Slovaks that he "Americanized" his parish and renamed it simply Concordia Lutheran.[66] One wonders how many other Slovak American Lutheran churches did likewise. Altogether Slovak Lutherans established eighty-one parishes in the United States, of which thirty-nine belonged to the Slovak Synod and forty-two to the Zion Synod.[67]

Such divisions also occurred among Slovak Lutherans in Canada. For instance, the Nativity Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in Windsor, Ontario, which was founded in 1927, is a member of the Slovak Zion Synod and is affiliated with the Lutheran Church in America.[68] On the other hand, Holy Trinity Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in Fort William (now Thunder Bay), Ontario, founded in 1935, joined whichever synod sent it a pastor. Since the Slovak Synod sent it more pastors, it settled for the latter.[69] Similarly, the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Ascension in Montreal, founded in 1929, is a member of the Slovak Synod and is affiliated with the Missouri Synod as is St. Paul's Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church in Toronto, which was founded in 1942.[70]

Even though the Roman Catholic Church in the United States and Canada experienced a period of relative peace during the period of

[66]Stolarik, *Growing Up,* pp. 56–58.

[67]To arrive at these numbers, the author counted the congregations listed in the index to Dolak's *A History*, pp. 189–207 and in Ján Body's list, published in *History of*, pp. 199–200.

[68]"Nativity Lutheran Church, Windsor, Ontario," *70th Anniversary Synodical Album, Slovak Zion Synod, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1919–1989* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 222–23.

[69]"History of Slovak Lutherans," in *Slovak 100th Anniversary 1886–1986, Thunder Bay, Ontario*, comp. Jean Suffak (Thunder Bay, 1986), n.pag.

[70]"Krátke dejiny Cirkvi Nanebevstúpenia" (A Short History of the Church of the Ascension), in *Pamätnik, 1929–1954, Z príležitosti 25-ho výročia založenia Slovenskej Evanjelicko Luteránskej Cirkvi Nanebevstúpenia, Montreal, Quebec, Canada* (Jubilee, 1929–1954, on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the Founding of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Ascension in Montreal, Quebec, Canada), (Montreal, 1954), n.pag.; Jozef Borov, "Spomienky na naše začiatky" (Memories of Our Beginnings), in *Štyridsat' rokov slovenskej evanjelickej a.v. cirkvi sv. Pavla, Toronto, 1942–1982* (Forty Years of the Slovak Evangelical Augsburg Confession Church of St. Paul in Toronto, 1942–1982), (Toronto, 1982), pp. 32–33.

consolidation that lasted roughly from the 1930s through the early 1960s, the issue of lay initiative would not die.[71] For instance, starting in the 1970s, as Slovak Roman Catholic parishes witnessed a sharp decline in their membership due to many families moving to the suburbs, American bishops reacted by closing their central city national parishes, urging their parishioners to worship in suburban territorial parishes, or merging several central city parishes. Only one Slovak parish—Ss. Cyril and Methodius of Detroit—managed to move to the suburbs in 1989, with the permission of Archbishop Edmond Szoka.[72] In Philadelphia, on the other hand, Archbishop John Krol concluded in 1977 that the local Slovak community had grown too small to support two parishes. Without conducting a proper census, he decided to close St. Agnes parish in the Northern Liberties section of the city rather than the parish of St. John Nepomucene in South Philadelphia. St. Agnes, however, was the larger parish, and its parishioners begged him not to close their parish. When Krol did not respond, they picketed his residence, carrying a coffin with the sign "Please Don't Bury Our Parish!". They also wrote to Archbishop Jean Jadot, the apostolic delegate in Washington, DC; appealed to their local state representatives; and publicized their plight in one of the city newspapers. As a result, Krol relented and merged the two parishes at the St. Agnes location.[73] Despite this kind of lay initiative, however, Slovak Roman Catholics in 2006 could claim only 158 parishes in the United States. This was down from 240 in 1955.[74]

Slovak Roman Catholics in Canada, meanwhile, displayed a similar resolve. We have already seen that they established their first parish in Fort William, Ontario, in 1907 and struggled to find a suitable Slovak priest. In 1929 Reverend Emery (Imre) Vodicska arrived from Slovakia but quickly alienated the parishioners with his Magyarone attitude. Indeed, Vodicska even published some articles in *The Catholic*

[71]Jay Dolan, in *The American Catholic Experience*, p. 384, dates the peak period of calm "devotional Catholicism" between 1918 and 1948. This may have been true for the Irish and Germans, but for the Slovaks, and I suspect that for other eastern Europeans as well, it was one decade later.

[72]"Rev. Elemir J. Mikus Notes Special Life and Ministry Milestones," *Slovak Catholic Falcon* (Passaic), July 18, 2007, 4.

[73]*The Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia), April 17, 1977, A–5. I wrote the history of these joint parishes on the occasion of their diamond jubilee: "A History of St. Agnes-St. John Parish, Philadelphia, 1902–1982," in *Church of St. Agnes–St. John Nepomucene, Diamond Jubilee, 1902–1982* (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 9–33.

[74]Hrobak, *Slovak Catholic Parishes*, pp. 31–165; *Good Shepherd 2006* (Pittsburgh), pp. 241–52.

Register (Toronto) in which he extolled the virtues of "His Apostolic Majesty" Otto von Habsburg and called for a revision of the Treaty of Trianon in favor of Hungary.[75] As a result, the parish committee drove him out in 1934. Meanwhile, the trustees contacted Monsignor Karol Kmet'ko, the bishop of Nitra, for a replacement, but he forwarded the request to the Slovak Benedictines in Cleveland. The latter had broken off from the Czech Benedictine order in Lisle, Illinois, and had organized themselves into a priory in 1927 and a full-fledged monastery in 1934. The Slovak Benedictines staffed St. Peter's parish from 1935 to 1950.[76] In that year, with the blessing of the Slovak Benedictines, a son of the parish, Reverend Joseph Reguly, was appointed pastor by the bishop of Sault Ste. Marie. Reguly remained until his death in 1988. After him came Reverend Abraham Kappanunkel, a missionary from Kerala, India, followed in 1993 by Reverend Bernard Campbell. Since the number of Slovak speakers at St. Peter's had dwindled to a small minority by the 1990s, the parish remained viable by attracting many local Italians, and it has become a de facto territorial parish.[77]

Slovak Roman Catholics in Montreal, meanwhile, also established a parish, but under different circumstances. Like the majority of Slovak Canadians, most Montreal Slovaks came to Canada seeking work in the 1920s.[78] In 1927 the Roman Catholics organized themselves into the Ss. Cyril and Methodius branch 784 of the First Catholic Slovak Union, and these members sought out the Polish Monsignor Wincenty Helenowski to help them establish a Slovak parish. With his help they organized themselves into a parish committee in January 1928 and then petitioned the archbishop of Montreal for permission to establish a Slovak mission. The archbishop agreed, and Helenowski celebrated Masses for the Slovaks in various churches for the next two years. In 1930 a group of Slovak Minor Franciscan Conventual Fathers, headquartered in Binghamton, New York, offered their services to the Slovak community of Montreal, and the latter accepted.[79] By 1944, the

[75]*Slovák v Kanade* (Montreal), September 23, 1933, pp. 2–3 and May 5, 1936, p. 3.

[76]George Reguly *et al.*, "St. Peter's History," *90th Anniversary of St. Peter's Church, 1908–1998* (Thunder Bay, 1998); Hrusovsky, *Slovenské rehole,* pp. 23–39.

[77]Reguly, "St. Peter's History," and Roy Poviesana, *Hope and Charity*, p. 74.

[78]For an overview of Slovak immigration to Canada in this period, see Elena Jakešová and M. Mark Stolarik, "Slovaks," in the *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples*, ed. Paul R. Magocsi (Toronto, 1999), pp. 1168–79.

[79]In 1928 a group of Franciscans from Slovakia established the Commissariat of the Most Holy Savior in Avalon, Pennsylvania, and they later spread to other locations. Hrusovsky, *Slovenské rehole,* p. 136.

mission of Ss. Cyril and Methodius became a full-fledged parish. The Conventual Fathers continued to serve it until 1995, when the order withdrew its priests due to the aging of its members and a corresponding decline in their vocations.[80]

Meanwhile, due to a decline in priestly vocations in the United States, which had provided many of the priests that served Slovak Catholic parishes in Canada, the trustees of several Slovak Canadian parishes turned to the ancient homeland for help.[81] This became possible after the collapse of communism in 1989 and the subsequent increase in priestly vocations in Slovakia. Thus, the trustees ("wardens") of Ss. Cyril and Methodius parish in Montreal asked the archbishop of Košice for a Slovak priest to serve their congregation. Monsignor Alojz Tkáč responded in 1997 with the middle-aged Reverend Gabriel Juruš. However, Juruš spoke French but not English, behaved arrogantly toward his parishioners, and tried to dominate the parish council. As a result, the trustees turned against him and in 1999 asked the archbishop of Montreal to remove him. The archbishop agreed and, working with the archbishop of Košice, replaced Juruš with a younger and more amenable priest from Slovakia.[82]

[80]Wincenty Helenowski, "Narodenie osady Sv. Cyrila a Methoda" (The Birth of the Parish of Ss. Cyril and Methodius), and Vojtech Mirga, "Nad históriou osady" (About the History of the Parish), in *Pamätná kniha k 50. výročiu založenia slovenskej osady Sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Montreale, 1928–1978* (Jubilee Book on the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Slovak Parish of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Montreal, 1928–1978), (Montreal, 1978), pp. 31–33 and 46–62 and J. M. Kirschbaum, *Slovaks in Canada*, pp. 228–29. See also Ms. "Parish Information Bulletin," July, 1999, issued by Gabriel Zemanovich on behalf of the church wardens (trustees). Copy in author's possession thanks to Paul Čarnogurský, formerly of Montreal, who provided his file on the parish of Ss. Cyril and Methodius.

[81]For instance, Ss. Cyril and Methodius parish in Toronto, which laymen had established in 1934, received Reverend (later Monsignor) Michael Shuba from the Diocese of Cleveland, and he remained its pastor until 1970. After that refugee Slovak Jesuits, whose order had been dissolved by the communists in Czechoslovakia in 1950, and who had re-established themselves in Cambridge, Ontario, in 1952, saw to the spiritual needs of Slovak Roman Catholics in Toronto, Windsor, and New Westminister, BC until their recall to Slovakia in 1997. See Michael Shuba, *I'm Just Reminiscing* (Cleveland, 1978); *Slovenskí jezuiti v Kanade* (Cambridge, Canada, 1972) and Felix J. Litva, S.J., *Kanadský experiment: Polstoročie činnosti slovenských jezuitov v Kanade* (The Canadian Experiment: Half a Century of the Slovak Jesuits in Canada), (Trnava, Slovakia, 2005).

[82]"Parish Information Bulletin," July, 1999, and file on Ss. Cyril & Methodius Church. Incidentally, the archbishop of Košice also provided pastors for the Slovak Roman Catholic parishes of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Toronto, Windsor, and New Westminister after the Jesuits withdrew from Canada.

It should be apparent, therefore, that the adjustment of Slovaks to the various forms of Christianity in North America was often a painful process. Not only did the arrivals have to deal with the culture shock of experiencing an essentially Anglo-Saxon society but also they had to rebuild their religious institutions from scratch. Gerald Shaughnessy, one of the earliest observers of this phenomenon, asked rhetorically of the millions of Catholic immigrants who came to the United States in the long nineteenth century, "Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?" He answered "yes" by pointing out that in 1820 the United States had contained only 200,000 Catholics in a missionary church, whereas by 1920 it had 20 million followers and had long since become the largest single Christian denomination in America.[83] Shaughnessy might have asked the more nuanced question, "how has the immigrant kept his or her faith?," because, apart from the Czechs, who are a special case, most immigrants, as recent scholarship has shown, sought to preserve their faith in the New World.[84] As we have seen with Slovak immigrants, they struggled mightily to establish and maintain their own parishes, no matter what the denomination.

When confronted with Irish-dominated "territorial" parishes, which held services in English, Roman Catholic Slovaks, like other immigrants, opted to establish their own national parishes, served by priests in their own language. Since no such priests initially existed in North America, laymen had to send for them, either through the offices of the local bishops, or through their own correspondence. Since laymen took the initiative in establishing their own parishes, they naturally assumed that they would have the same rights of patronage over their priests and parishes as had lay patrons in Europe. However, since American bishops had condemned lay trusteeism in the first Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1829 and had sought to strictly control it in the Third Plenary Council of 1884, conflicts between laymen and their pastors or their bishops over the control of parish finances, parish

[83]Gerald Shaughnessy, *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York, 1925), pp. 73, 214.

[84]Karl D. Bicha, "Settling Accounts with an Old Adversary: The Decatholicization of Czech Immigrants in America," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 8 (November, 1971), 45–60 shows how two-thirds of Czech immigrants to the United States abandoned the Roman Catholicism that had been forced upon them by the Catholic Habsburgs after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. For the religiosity of most European immigrants to the New World, see Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *passim* and Robert F. Harney, "Religion and Ethnocultural Communities," *Polyphony,* 1 (Summer, 1978), 3. Both deal with a wide variety of Christian and non-Christian religions and ethnic groups.

property, and even the appointment or removal of pastors occurred in many Slovak parishes. Furthermore, even though the American hierarchy, which was dominated by the Irish, sought to suppress lay trusteeism in the 1920s through its "Americanization" program, it never completely succeeded.[85] Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of Roman and Greek Catholics, principally Poles, Rusyns, and Ukrainians but also a few thousand Slovaks, seceded from the Roman and Greek Catholic churches in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries due to the ignorance and intransigence of certain Roman Catholic bishops.

Slovak Roman Catholics in Canada, on the other hand, showed just as much lay initiative in establishing their own parishes as did their American cousins. However, because of their small number, they had to rely upon their American cousins to supply them with priests for many years. When this source of supply withered, and after communism had collapsed in Czechoslovakia, some Slovak Canadian parishioners sent for priests from Slovakia, with mixed results.

Meanwhile, the American hierarchy was largely unprepared to deal with the hundreds of thousands of Greek Catholics who emigrated to the United States. Through open hostility toward married Greek Catholic clergy, the American hierarchy caused several schisms from the Greek Catholic Church back to eastern Orthodoxy. Several hundred Slovaks became Orthodox at this time, although thousands remained loyal to Greek Catholicism. Because the Vatican established only two dioceses (later archdioceses) for Greek Catholics in the United States, Slovak Greek Catholics have had to submerge their ethnicity to either the Ruthenian archdiocese in Pittsburgh or to the Ukrainian one in Philadelphia. Most opted for the Ruthenian archdiocese.

In Canada, meanwhile, Slovak Greek Catholics did better. Because the vast majority of Greek Catholics in Canada were of Ukrainian background, with their own hierarchy, no Ruthenian hierarchy arose that might subsume Slovak Greek Catholics into if because of the similarity of their two dialects. Therefore, in Canada a Slovak Greek Catholic diocese would eventually be created to supervise the Greek Catholic parishes that were established through lay initiative.

[85]Dolan points out that, by 1900, two-thirds of all American Roman Catholic bishops were Irish. See *The American Catholic Experience,* p. 180.

As far as Slovak Protestants were concerned, they faced challenges that were both similar to and different from those of their Roman and Greek Catholic neighbors. While Slovak Lutherans and Calvinists had practiced lay trusteeism in the Kingdom of Hungary since the Protestant Reformation and continued to do so in North America, the Lutherans were faced with a choice of several different synodical affiliations. Therefore, the Lutherans split into the Slovak Synod, which affiliated with the conservative and German-dominated Missouri Synod. Here the pastors tolerated no lay interference in church services. More tolerant Slovak Lutheran pastors, who welcomed lay participation in religious services, established the Zion Synod and affiliated with the more liberal Lutheran Church in America. Slovak Calvinists, a tiny minority, had to initially rely upon Magyar or Magyarone pastors to serve them and only slowly separated from them, as Slovak pastors finally became available after the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. The Calvinists eventually affiliated with the Presbyterian Church in America.

Since this essay is only a survey of the four Slovak Christian denominations in North America, much work remains to be done. While Alexander has studied Slovak Roman Catholics and Lutherans in Pittsburgh up to 1915, and I have studied them in the dioceses of St. Paul, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Sault Ste. Marie, and Montreal over a longer period, no one has yet written a comprehensive history of Slovak Roman Catholics in either the United States or in Canada.[86] Slovak Greek Catholics have fared even worse. I have studied those in Bethlehem and in the Slovak Greek Catholic Diocese of Canada while Robert Zecker has looked at one mixed Rusyn Slovak parish in Philadelphia.[87] How many Slovak Greek Catholics exist in the United States, in which parishes they can be found, and in what number remain a mystery.

Slovak Protestants in North America have also received scant attention. Apart from institutional histories of the two major Slovak synods in North America, as well as parish jubilee books, there are no social histories of Slovak Lutherans. While I have studied the Lutheran com-

[86]Thomas J. Shelley recently wrote an outstanding history of Slovak Catholics in Yonkers, New York, as well as in neighboring Slovak and other national parishes in *Slovaks on the Hudson: Most Holy Trinity Church, Yonkers, & the Slovak Catholics of the Archdiocese of New York, 1894–2000* (Washington, DC, 2002).

[87]"'All of Our Own Kind here': The Creation of a Slovak-American Community in Philadelphia, 1890–1945" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1998).

munities of Minneapolis and Bethlehem, and Alexander has covered those of Pittsburgh up to 1915, there are dozens more that deserve investigation. Apart from my limited studies of the Slovak Calvinists in the United States, there are virtually no others. The number of still-existing Slovak Lutheran and Calvinist parishes is also unknown.

While several scholars in the United States and Canada have partially reconstructed the institutional history of Slovak religious denominations in these countries, they have barely addressed the devotional aspect of the story. I touched upon Roman Catholic devotional practices in my dissertation, in my study of the Slovaks in Bethlehem, and in my history of St. Agnes–St. John Parish in Philadelphia.[88] However, comprehensive studies of Slovak Roman and Greek Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist devotional practices largely remain "terra incognita."[89]

The most intriguing question that remains to be answered is: In which direction is the assimilation of Slovak Americans and Canadians going? In other words, does religion matter in the choice of marriage partners, education, work choices, and residence? Do Slovak Catholics, after three or four generations in North America, largely intermarry with fellow Catholics or not? If they do, which Catholics (ethnicity)? If they do not, which groups do they prefer, if any? With whom do Slovak Lutherans and Calvinists intermarry over several generations? Which schools and universities do they attend? Do they live in the same suburbs or not? With whom do they socialize? Is their rate of social mobility the same or not? These are just a few of many questions about the Slovak experience in North America that remain to be answered.[90] Hopefully, future scholars of immigration and religion in America will try to answer them.

[88]Stolarik, *Immigration and Urbanization,* pp. 74, 83, 97–99; Stolarik, *Growing Up on the South Side*, pp. 52–55; and Stolarik, *Church of St. Agnes–St. John Nepomucene*, pp. 26, 29.

[89]For an excellent overview of Catholic devotional practices in the twentieth century, see *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America*, ed. James M. O'Toole (Ithaca, 2004).

[90]Some of these questions were inspired by Harold J. Abramson's fine study on *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America* (New York, 1973).

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

"Augustinianism": Studies in the Process of Spiritual Transvaluation. By J. D. Green. [Studies in Spirituality, Supplement 14.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2007. Distrib. in the U.S. by David Brown Book Co., Oakville, CT. Pp. viii, 113. $70.00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-91976-1.)

Augustinianism is a term that arouses a range of expectations, from a form of Christian Platonism to Jansenism. This book is not at all about Augustinianism in such a sense. Rather, J. D. Green sees the heart of St. Augustine's thought as a capacity for transformation, or as he puts it, "transvaluation." In the case of Augustine himself, this is the transvaluation of late-antique philosophy by the Gospel that is found in Augustine's own spiritual journey and in the way he introduces his congregation in Hippo to this journey of transformation—essentially, the reformation of the image of God in their lives as a result of grace. He focuses on the *Confessions* and the *De Trinitate* for his exposition of the return of the triune image of God found in the soul and of the transformation achieved as the mind comes to remember, understand, and love God, and then briefly explores how this pattern is found in the *Discourses on the Psalms*. The following three chapters of the book take as examples of this "Augustinianism" Pope and Saint Gregory the Great, William of St. Thierry, and Walter Hilton—all thinkers and even mystics whose thought was deeply influenced by their reading of Augustine. What Green concentrates on, however, is Augustinianism in his own sense: the transvaluation we find in their thought. With Gregory, this transvaluation is found in his rethinking the traditional theme of the active and contemplative lives; with William in the transformation from the traditional Benedictinism that he pursued most of his life to the contemplative Cistercian ideal of his revered friend, St. Bernard; while Hilton, in the rapidly changing world of the late-fourteenth century and the decline of Scholasticism, recovers in a new idiom the transformation of the image in "thought and feeling" through a life of prayer. What is original about Green's book is not found at the level of interpretation—he knows and makes good use of the most widely respected scholarly literature—but in the perspective he brings to his exposition in finding in the notion of transvaluation the heart of the Augustinian inheritance. The result is a wise and compelling book.

University of Durham ANDREW LOUTH

The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism. By Richard P. McBrien. (New York: HarperCollins. 2008. Pp. xxx, 496. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-061-24521-3.)

Richard McBrien has long been a steady and reliable promoter of enlightened Vatican II ecclesiology through his numerous books, weekly newspaper column, and sought-after theology lectures at the University of Notre Dame. He closely monitors and analyzes contemporary ecclesiastical documents and theological publications to identify trends and developments. Throughout his writings he reflects a notable familiarity with the various ecumenical international consensus statements, as well as the works of a wide cross-section of men and women theologians whose works are available in English including the writings of feminist and Latino/a theologians. He possesses a knack for explaining complex concepts and specialized terminology to Catholics who are not specialists in this field. Not surprisingly, therefore his books on the Church are widely read and used even as texts for college courses.

Here again in *The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism* his mastery is evident, his prose clear and accessible. In addition to eight informative chapters he includes seventy-one pages of useful footnotes, a twenty-one-page glossary of technical terms, a select bibliography, and several indices.

Part 1, the introductory material, provides a workable definition of the Church and touches briefly upon ecclesiology's systematic, pastoral, ecumenical, and even controversial character. In the following section, part 2, he reviews the major themes related to Church in the New Testament as interpreted over the last seven decades by biblical scholars. He is quick to highlight the fact that in the first century, there was no uniform order or organizational structure in the various Mediterranean-based communities.

Part 3, which extends from the end of the New Testament period all the way up to the mid-nineteenth century, is—because of its considerable time span—the least rewarding section, although the brief treatments of Martin Luther's and John Calvin's ecclesiologies are notable.

McBrien's special interests focus on the periods spanning the mid-nineteenth century to the pre-Vatican II era (part 4), and then the ecclesiology of Vatican II (part 5). The next two parts are devoted to probing the post-Vatican II ecclesiologies (the Church *ad extra* and *ad intra*). The study is rounded off with a look into the possible future.

Although the table of contents would seem to indicate that McBrien is following a strictly chronological historical approach, at times he jumps ahead and brings in material that emerged years later. This can be somewhat disorienting, especially in his chapter on Vatican I. In other words, especially in parts 4 and 5, he inserts twentieth-century insights into the nineteenth century.

The book is rather optimistic in that it does not sufficiently address the dark side of contemporary Catholicism, such as sexual abuse, ineffective lead-

ership, understaffed churches, fall-off of church attendance, declining interest in ecumenism, arguments about liturgical changes, and tensions between so-called liberals and conservatives. Still, amid the numerous publications on the theology of the Church, McBrien's book holds a pride of place.

Boston College MICHAEL A. FAHEY, S.J.

The Religious Crisis of the 1960s. By Hugh McLeod. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. x, 290. $110.00. ISBN 978-0-199-29825-9.)

From the impressively wide range of reading Hugh McLeod cites in this volume, there is a consensus that the 1960s ("a time when history moved faster," p. 15) was a period of religious crisis. McLeod does not dissent, but is circumspect. He prefers to speak not of a decline in religious practice—although he does, and often—because this is quantitative, but of the "decline of Christendom," which he regards as a qualitative change. Christendom he defines as a society in which there are close links between the elites of church and society, where laws are said to be based on Christian principles, and where the majority of people are presumed to be Christian. A Catholic might be disposed to think that the end of Christendom, in the *integriste* sense, came with the Declaration on Religious Liberty at the Second Vatican Council, but that document is not mentioned. Indeed, although he acknowledges Vatican II as being of "pivotal significance" (p. 29) in the 1960s, along with the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War, he devotes relatively little space to it. He does not believe that it was particularly responsible in itself for the ferment within the Roman Catholic Church. More important than the Council itself, he seems to suggest, was the disappointment felt by many at the perceived failure to implement the Council's outcomes. Proponents of Vatican II had, he says more than once, unrealistically high expectations, but he does not explicate this charge further.

McLeod's is a vast canvas. He takes in the United Kingdom (but especially England, where he has access to primary sources), the United States, France, Germany, and occasionally Spain and Italy. The "white" British Commonwealth is also well represented, but as he remarks, he has little to say of the church in Africa and Asia. Unlike several of the authors with whom he takes issue, he proposes no "master theme" for the decline of Christendom. It was, he very sensibly argues, the result of a combination of factors, although he appears to favor especially the increasing affluence of the postwar period, followed by the decay of collective identity—although this may itself have been a consequence of growing prosperity. In the prosperity stakes, he suggests, the United States had a head start, which should have led to an earlier decline in church attendance. He has interesting things to say about the apparent disparity between religious practice in the United States and in Europe, always excepting, at this period, Ireland and Italy—Malta, also an exception, does not get a mention.

The major difference, he appears to suggest, between Europe and the United States is one of scale: in the United States, the Christian vote can be mobilized to make a difference, whereas this rarely happens in the United Kingdom or elsewhere. The apparent political clout of religion gives the adherents of the various denominations a sense of identity in a manner not available in Europe. While Britain, he says, had a "moral majority" before Jerry Falwell's, on the whole the churches in the United Kingdom were leftward-leaning. McLeod makes the point that much of the liberal legislation in the United Kingdom in the 1960s had the backing of the churches, including the abolition of the death penalty and, perhaps surprisingly in the current context, the relaxation of the law criminalizing homosexuality. Much of it, on the other hand, was ushered through Parliament by Roy Jenkins, a *bon vivant* with little overt commitment to Christianity. In the index to Jenkins's autobiography, notes McLeod, religion is referenced only three times, while champagne is mentioned five times and claret seven.

Heythrop College, University of London MICHAEL J. WALSH

Ancient

Tertullian's Aduersus Iudaeos: *A Rhetorical Analysis.* By Geoffrey D. Dunn. [North American Patristics Society, Patristic Monograph Series, Vol. 19.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 210. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21526-6.)

In his monograph, *Tertullian's* Aduersus Iudaeos*: A Rhetorical Analysis*, Geoffrey Dunn defends the integrity and authenticity of Tertullian's often neglected "pamphlet" on Jews and Jewish scriptural interpretation. Dunn argues that *Aduersus Iudaeos* provides evidence not only of Tertullian's attitude toward Jews but also of Jewish-Christian engagement in late-second-century Carthage. The major contribution of Dunn's study is to affirm the placement of the entire tract in the early Christian *Aduersus Iudaeos* tradition, alongside more well-studied texts such as the *Epistle of Barnabas* and Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho.*

This monograph is a revision of Dunn's 1999 dissertation, and he retains a helpful review of scholarship on Tertullian, ancient rhetoric, and Jewish-Christian relations. In particular, he builds on Robert D. Sider's study of Tertullian's rhetorical practices to argue that the structure, argument, and style of *Aduersus Iudaeos* not only attest to Tertullian's training in classical rhetoric but also conform to his rhetorical practice in other treatises. Dunn demonstrates that *Aduersus Iudaeos* takes the form of a *controuersia*, a common exercise in juridical oratory. Whereas most examples of ancient *controuersia* addressed fictional cases, Tertullian used this mode of speech to provide "a template for Christians to use in future encounters with Jews in arguing about their religious truth claims" (p. 31).

Dunn argues for the unity and integrity of Tertullian's text by offering a detailed examination of its structural elements, including the *exordium*, *narratio, partitio*, *refutatio*, *confirmatio*, and *peroratio*. He concludes that *Aduersus Iudaeos* is a "work in progress" (p. 96). Most scholars agree that chapters 1–8, which are more polished than the later chapters, are from Tertullian's pen. Dunn maintains that chapters 9–14 are also the work of Tertullian, but these chapters remain unfinished and in need of revision. Dunn explains the vexing similarities between these later chapters and passages of *Aduersus Marcionem* by claiming (with Gösta Säflund and Hermann Tränkle) that Tertullian wrote *Aduersus Iudaeos* before *Aduersus Marcionem* and that he reworked some of the later passages of *Aduersus Iudaeos* and incorporated them into *Aduersus Marcionem.*

Although Dunn focuses mainly on the rhetorical features of Tertullian's pamphlet, he resists any reading that would deny the "reality" of Christian-Jewish interaction in second-century Carthage. Dunn suggests that readers should take at face value Tertullian's opening claim that the idea for his text was sparked by a recent debate between a Christian and proselyte Jew. According to Dunn, the subsequent text thus comprises Tertullian's recommendations for how Christians can defend their case in future debates with Jews. Tertullian aims to persuade his audience "that God had replaced the Jews with the Christians as the people of divine favor" (p. 95), and he defends this position by citing "evidence" from the Hebrew Scriptures.

By defending the unity and authenticity of *Aduersus Iudaeos*, Dunn reminds his readers of the importance of analyzing Tertullian's pamphlet as an early example of Christian anti-Jewish literature. Dunn's rhetorical analysis paves the way for future work on the social and historical contexts of this pamphlet, including a study of Tertullian's understanding of *Iudaeus* as a religious identity marker as opposed to an ethnic or geographic one (a topic that Dunn mentions briefly). In general, Dunn's monograph is clearly structured and well documented. It includes a full bibliography, general index, and index of citations of Tertullian's works and of Scripture. Its lucid descriptions of Tertullian's rhetorical practices and purposes in *Aduersus Iudaeos* make it accessible to students of ancient rhetoric and early Christian-Jewish relations, in particular.

Macalester College SUSANNA DRAKE

Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri. By AnneMarie Luijendijk. [Harvard Theological Studies, 60.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2008. $25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-674-02595-0.)

In this innovative study AnneMarie Luijendijk mines documentary texts from Oxyrhynchus (letters, edicts, etc.) that cast light on Christians living in or near that important Egyptian city. She succeeds in showing both the use-

fulness of these documentary texts and also the limits and difficulties involved in drawing firm inferences from them.

After an introduction to Oxyrhynchus and the discovery of the massive trove of manuscripts by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (from *c*. 1890s onward), Luijendijk explores the various markers of Christian identity in these texts, including use of the term *Christian* (rare and used solely by non-Christians) and given names as indicators (showing names to be of limited usefulness in that many Christians continued to bear non-Christian names). There follows a chapter on the "*nomina sacra*" (especially the Greek words for *Jesus*, *Christ*, *God*, and *Lord*), which were written by Christians in a distinctive way, abbreviated and with a horizontal stroke over the abbreviated form. The presence of any of the "*nomina sacra*" in a manuscript is commonly regarded by specialists in ancient Greek paleography as a strong indication of a Christian provenance, and Luijendijk notes that this scribal convention appears in Christian letters as well as Christian copies of their literary texts (e.g., Scriptures).

The next two chapters focus on a particular Christian named Sotas, who appears in several documentary texts, including letters sent by and to him. The letters from Sotas include letters of recommendation, which Luijendijk proposes must have been a common responsibility of Christian bishops in the third century, enabling Christians to travel for various reasons and to be received hospitably by coreligionists in their journeys. Other texts indicate that Sotas was involved in fund-raising and traveling (perhaps to participate in a church council in Antioch). Luijendijk also offers a basis for the intriguing proposal that the production of Christian books may have been sponsored by Sotas in Oxyrhynchus.

Chapter 6 discusses the documentary evidence of Roman governmental persecution of Christians. This includes the *libelli*, certificates in which people were required (by Emperor Decius) to attest that they had always participated in the worship of the pagan deities and that posed a major religious crisis for Christians. Luijendijk also attempts to correlate these documentary items with statements of early Christian authors about Roman edicts and actions against Christians. In chapter 7, Luijendijk discusses evidence of Christian efforts at passive resistance and subversion of Roman efforts to suppress them. The texts reviewed in this chapter refer to the official inspection of a church in rural Egypt, to Christians who served as "readers" in churches, to a certain Paul of Oxyrhynchus who was martyred in the persecution of 305–06 AD, to Christian tactics directed to avoiding the confiscation and destruction of their Scriptures, and to Christians such as a certain Aurelius Athanasius who seems to have been a Christian employed in the imperial administration of Egypt in this period.

For anyone interested in the *realia* and particulars of early Christians, this book will be interesting reading. For those unfamiliar with the sort of evi-

dence mined in the book, Luijendijk proves an engaging and accessible guide. She provides the Greek text of each text considered, along with her English translation. In the copious notes and thirty-two-page bibliography, she also gives thorough pointers for further research. She is sure-footed in handling the issues and scholarly debates. Indices of primary sources (including all ancient manuscripts cited), authors, and subjects complete this very useful and stimulating study.

New College, University of Edinburgh LARRY W. HURTADO

A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Vol.VI: *The Communion, Thanksgiving, and Concluding Rites.* By Robert F. Taft, S.J. [Orientalia Christiana Analecta, No. 281.] (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale. 2008. Pp. 857. €58,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-872-10361-4.)

There is probably no one more qualified than Robert Taft, emeritus professor of Oriental Liturgy at Rome's prestigious Pontifical Oriental Institute, to write the history of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. This is the concluding volume in a series he began in 1975. Although this is the last volume of the series, one more remains to be published: volume 3 on the Anaphora or Eucharistic Prayer. Taft notes some nine articles he has already published on the Anaphora of St. John Chrysostom, the most employed Eucharistic prayer in the Christian East, and so one can hope that the series will reach completion. Taft has sometimes been called "the Byzantine Jungmann." The truth of the matter is that Taft himself has written far more extensively about the Christian East than Jungmann did about the Roman Rite. One can imagine that someday people might refer to Jungmann as "the Roman Taft."

The current volume on the Communion and concluding rites is both massive and impressive. Taft seems to leave no question untreated—and he deals with every question with extraordinary depth and scholarship, using the time-honored method of comparative liturgy. This volume sheds light, therefore, not only on the Byzantine liturgy of St. John Chrysostom but on the other Byzantine liturgies (St. Basil, the Presanctified), and other Eastern and Western rites as well.

Perhaps the most significant improvement over past volumes in the series is Taft's attentiveness to the history of the "everyday," the incidental literature that gives us not liturgical texts themselves but rather the historical and liturgical context in which they were experienced. This volume is filled with reports from the desert monastics, sermons, and other literature that sheds light on how the Communion rites were celebrated and understood.

In addition to his encyclopedic scholarship, Taft is at his best when writing about method, as he does in the excursus on the *skeuophylakion* (sacristy) and processions at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople's "Great Church." Here he shows step-by-step how he has come to conclusions that differ signifi-

cantly from other scholars such as André Grabar and Neil Moran. As he does elsewhere throughout the history, he provides texts—often in the original as well as translation—and clear, concise summaries of his arguments and conclusions. The general conclusion is a splendid example of theological reflection together with a truly moving coda on his life's work.

The most fascinating and valuable part of the book is Taft's excursus on the frequency of Eucharistic celebration and on the frequency of Holy Communion. As he ably demonstrates, these are distinct questions. His attention to detail makes it very difficult for the reader to hold onto what might have been cherished shibboleths—such as the opinion that solitary celebration of the Mass is an invention of the medieval West or that there ever was a golden age when everyone received Holy Communion regularly. As always, good historical research makes popular and easy generalizations difficult if not impossible.

This volume will serve as a gold standard not only for students of the Byzantine liturgy or liturgical historians in general but also for any scholar or student eager to understand how such a complex phenomenon as Christian ritual works and is understood. The introduction and conclusion should be required reading for any serious student of the liturgy—East and/or West.

School of Theology and Ministry, Boston College JOHN F. BALDOVIN, S.J.

Freedom and Necessity: St. Augustine's Teaching on Divine Power and Human Freedom. By Gerald Bonner. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 142. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21474-0)

Apart from the role played by "personal emotion" (p. 17), St. Augustine's unwavering fight against the Pelagians was ultimately due to his conviction that his doctrine of grace, and the consequent theory of predestination, was the expression of true orthodoxy. This was no novelty. The Pelagians, too, were convinced that their doctrinal position was consistent with Holy Scripture and the Church's tradition. In point of fact, at the origin of their controversy there was a different attitude as to the interpretation of Adam's Fall and its effects on his descendants. Augustine was adamant in asserting universal sinfulness: all human beings, as a result of the Fall, make up the *massa damnata* in that they inherit Adam's guilt—in the sense that they actually share his responsibility. In fact, even when baptized, their nature remains "corrupted" and cannot achieve good without the help of grace, which is ultimately responsible for perseverance and salvation. In his predestination, God mysteriously delivers from the *massa damnata* only those he wishes to save and leaves those who are not reached by his unfathomable mercy to be doomed eternally.

In opposition to Augustine, the Pelagians were at pains to stress that in spite of Adam's Fall, free will had not lost entirely the power of acting and pursuing good, and the ability to refrain from sinning. Therefore they rightly empha-

sized—although overoptimistically—man's responsibility. Moreover, they would contend that it would be impossible to maintain the agency of free will in the light of Augustine's somber doctrine of predestination whereby the election of the few and the consequent damnation of the many lay utterly in God's inscrutable designs. With regard to this, Gerald Bonner's conviction that, according to Augustine, "predestination whether to salvation or reprobation, is absolute" (p. 100) should be nuanced. It is certainly "absolute"—and positively so—with regard to salvation, but it could only be "relative" (in the sense that it can be inferred) with regard to reprobation. To maintain the contrary would mean to attribute to God the positive will to consign lots of people to perpetual damnation. Although we might indeed be left with the impression that "having proclaimed the mystery, Augustine then sought to defend it by argument" (p. 116), nevertheless it should be clear that predestination is a category that, set against the background of the *massa damnata*, must be applied *only* to salvation. In fact, however incomprehensible it may be, reprobation is merely a "consequence" of not being elected. In this light, the radicalization of Calvin's supralapsarian approach to predestination and its openness to a double predestination (see p. 46) does not translate Augustine's intention, although one may say that finally the result is the same.

Bonner masterfully synthesizes in a few chapters the difficult topic of the relationship between grace and free will and its extreme outcome, *viz.*, predestination. Although at times it lacks systematization, the presentation is on the whole quite balanced and often supported by primary sources. Finally, even the fact that the problems considered are set in a wider context and are interconnected with the different aspects of Augustine's theology and that of his opponents, it is not only a sign of a necessary, comprehensive approach but also a proof of Bonner's extensive knowledge of both Augustinism and Pelagianism. This is a sufficient guarantee for the book itself.

Abbazia Madonna della Scala DONATO OGLIARI, O.S.B.
Noci, Italy

Empire Chrétien et Église aux IV^e^ et V^e^ Siècles: Intégration ou « Concordat »?: Le Témoignage du Code Théodosien: Actes du Colloque International (Lyon, 6, 7, et 8 octobre 2005). Edited by Jean-Noël Guinot and François Richard. (Paris: Institut des Sources Chrétiennes. Les éditions du Cerf. 2008. Pp. 485. €70,00. ISBN 978-2-204-08661-5.)

This book collects and publishes the papers delivered at an international conference held at Lyon in October 2005 in association with the publication of an edition of book XVI of the Theodosian Code in the series Sources Chrétiennes. Contributions in other languages have been translated into French. A useful composite bibliography has been compiled, but no index is provided, which would have facilitated the use of the book, since several laws are discussed, or at least cited, by several different contributors.

As with many such publications, this is a very mixed bag both in quality and style, varying from wide-ranging, rather general essays and useful research contributions to specific problems raised by groups of laws. Unfortunately, not all contributors are conversant with recent research on the Code (largely in English), which endeavors to set each law in the historical context of the time of its issue, not the time of its incorporation into the Code. This ignorance weakens several arguments—in particular, the widely recognized contingent character of Theodosius's edict to the people of Constantinople known as *Cunctos populos* (CTh 16.1.2) is often ignored and the text therefore unhistorically claimed as having made Nicene orthodoxy "state religion" (whatever that might have meant at the time).

The first major section of the book, "The Christianization of Power," is in this respect the weakest section. François Richard argues that the Church had always regarded itself as the sole religious source of blessings for the state, which Constantine merely accepted; Elio Dovere establishes the increasing use of conciliar argument in legislation after 435; and Emmanuel Soler discusses the use of the term *catholic* in the laws of the Theodosian dynasty. Gian Luigi Falchi argues unconvincingly that the Roman Empire could be called a "confessional state" before Constantine, but that the "Edict of Milan" (which he overinterprets) made the state neutral ("laic"), only to become confessional again under Theodosius, thanks to *Cunctos populos* (which he also misinterprets). Laurent Guichard, who examines the style of Valentinian I, ignores the objection that emperors did not write their own laws and reaches the harmless conclusion that the quiet style reflects Valentinian's quiet policy. Christel Freu discusses the rhetoric associated with the contrasting pair rich-poor in some laws of the period, and Béatrice Caseau investigates the use of *profanus.* Josep Vilella examines at great length two canons of the pseudo-council of Elvira, and the section ends with Richard Pusa's rather superficial and incomplete review of some recent work on the Code.

Sections 2 and 3 are concerned with some of the concrete historical problems emerging from individual laws, or groups of laws, and it is here that the main substantive value of the book lies. Important subjects treated include the growth of the ecclesiastical patrimony (Carles Buenacasa Pérez), the fiscal privileges of the Church (Roland Delmaire), the *audientia episcopalis* (Olivier Huck), the Christian calendar and the Games (Angelo Di Berardino), Constantine's creation of a workfree Sunday (Klaus Martin Girardet), Christian influence on legislation relating to women (Patrick Laurence), the language used to describe heretics and its specific function (Victoria Escribano Paño), the exclusion of Jews from public office (Capucine Nemo-Pekelman), *munera publica* and the Church (Claude Lepelley), Theodosius's defence of orthodoxy (Antonella Di Mauro Todini), and the legislation concerning apostasy (Andrea Cococcia). These are all systematic and up-to-date contributions to important subjects, which together make the book worth perusing and incorporating in a patristic library.

Universität Marburg ROBERT MALCOLM ERRINGTON

Die ersten Jahrhunderte christlicher Pilgerreisen im Spiegel spätantiker und frümittelalterlicher Quellen. By Markus Schauta. [Grazer Altertumskundliche Studien, Band 10.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2008. Pp. 161. $52.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-56437-0.)

This *Diplomarbeit* of the Karl-Franzens-Universität in Graz seeks to provide a study of pilgrimages in the Holy Land and in Egypt during late antiquity and the high Middle Ages in terms of cultural history. The first two sections (chapters 2 and 3), based on some well-known sources (*Itinerarium Burdigalense*, Egeria, the Pilgrim of Plaisance, and so forth), try to evoke the journey and its realities on one side and on the other, the places visited and the practices that were tied to them (cult of saints and of relics). The last section (chapter 4) has practically no connection with what precedes it, although it is ostensibly about the impact of pilgrimages. There is the question of the spread during the medieval period of the cult of St. George on the one hand and on the other, the Calvaries and ways of the cross, up to the *Sacri Monti* of the Piedmont. Some images illustrate the purpose.

The rare Greek sources used are not manifestly read except in translation. The *Dialogues* of Sulpicius Severus are at times called *Vita Martini*, something that lends to confusion (p. 20). The interesting Latin version of the *Vita Melaniae* recently republished is passed over in silence. The short bibliography of this small work ignores essential works or studies, beginning with the *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* of Pierre Maraval, without speaking of the studies of Irfan Shahid on the Saracens or that of Peter Grossmann on Saint Menas. It lacks a map of the regions to which it alludes. The whole work is very superficial and barely instructs the *addetto ai lavori.* In brief, it is difficult to discern what audience is envisioned for this publication.

École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris MICHEL-YVES PERRIN

Medieval

Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe: New Perspectives. Edited by Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 159. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24069-6).

Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe explores how medieval Europeans identified themselves, specifically when religion and gender converged. Spanning Tertullian to St. Thomas Aquinas, the five essays that compose the book employ a variety of media to reconstruct the spectrum of medieval gender and religion, including litanies, medicine, and sacred spaces.

In the opening essay, Dyan Elliot maintains that when the third-century theologian Tertullian first conferred the title *sponsa Christi* on women, he was more concerned with creating a logical position for humanity within the

created order than establishing a venue for female discipline or the preservation of gender hierarchy. Instead, Tertullian's original intent was to deal with concerns of humans attaining angelic status, which he determined could only happen through a proper union with Jesus. As a result, Tertullian separated the brides of Christ from their male counterparts, the voluntary eunuch, and effectively gave them sexually neutralized but gendered bodies on earth to ensure their future heavenly entry.

Next, Jacqueline Murray illustrates the fluidity of the Christian sex/gender continuum through medical views of the body from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Because monastic men adopted the virtues of mercy, meekness, and obedience, they lived in direct contrast to the external signs of hot, masculine virility most evident in waging war and sexual activity. As a symbol of their piety, monks tonsured their heads, openly signifying the cooling of their bodies in an effort to serve Christ. Consecrated women, however, were deemed more masculine and were often reported to have more heat than normal females, such as Mary of Oignies, who did not fear the cold because of her internal heat. Thus, Murray concludes that it may be possible to recognize a third gender in the medieval world as men and women were united as one flesh in the same cause, reconciling their sex/gender differences for a higher purpose.

Using Aquinas as a prime example, Ruth Mazo Karras challenges the notion that monks, who had taken vows of chastity, or secular clergy, who had the obligation of celibacy, were somehow less masculine because of their sexual renunciation. Since the Desert Fathers, the model of masculinity rooted in the sort of strength necessary to struggle against the individual will was held as one of the greatest battles fought on behalf of the Christian faith. Thus, Karras concludes that while ecclesiastics often used the same language that identified secular notions of masculinity, including those referencing war, by the thirteenth century, the Church had a long-standing, competing model of masculinity that upheld the otherwise seemingly contradictory notion of virile chastity.

Spanning France, England, and Germany from the sixth through the mid-eleventh centuries, Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg's essay examines the conflicting notion of attracting pilgrims of both genders to convents' patron saint cult sites without compromising the moral propriety or reputation of those cloistered. During the Merovingian period, monastic houses often had multiple churches, providing space for the patron saint's tomb in one and space for secondary relics in others. By the Carolingian period, however, monastic communities began restructuring their churches, adding ring crypts and various other features to handle the flow of pilgrims. Schulenburg concludes that these arrangements provided mixed-gendered lay access to the sacred spaces of cloistered communities without compromising their virtue and, consequently, allowed women to have a much a greater role in maintaining cult pilgrimage shrines than has been previously recognized.

In the concluding essay, Felice Lifshitz argues that as the Carolingian period witnessed the use of litanies as instruments for "reforming" liturgical and other practices in an effort to exclude women from the most important historical leadership roles, including martyrs, the litany category of *virgo* emerged as the primary tool that prevented the eradication of women from Christian liturgical activity and officialdom. Because the term *virgo* was so multivalent and stemmed from the cult of the Virgin Mary, it could not be altered to eliminate women in the same manner as the masculine gendered categories, such as *apostle*. As a result, achieving the title of *virgo* wielded such power that some virginal men sought to reclaim the status for themselves.

Overall, the collection is an admirable attempt at defining those points in the medieval world where gender and religion intersect. Because the essays span more than a thousand years of the Western religious tradition and employ a wide array of techniques, they explicitly demonstrate how many venues are yet left to explore before historians can understand fully medieval concepts of gender and religion. Perhaps, the greatest achievement of the collection as a whole is that it clearly demonstrates the fluidity of such notions.

Coastal Carolina University ANEILYA BARNES

Martyrdom, Murder, and Magic: Child Saints and Their Cults in Medieval Europe. By Patricia Healy Wasyliw. [Studies in Church History, Vol. 2.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2008. Pp. 203. $67.95. ISBN 978-0-820-42764-5.)

Patricia Healy Wasyliw has produced a general survey, and at the same time an impressively thick description, of the veneration of children as saints across fifteen centuries of Christian Europe. The *Acta Sanctorum*, the *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, and many other more specific sources and studies have been learnedly excavated and ransacked. The work is heavily footnoted (indeed, so much so that readers will long for the notes to have been placed at the bottom of the page rather than at the end of the text). A complicated historical route has been ably traced through the literary, liturgical, and popular devotions surrounding deceased children in Europe. We hear of the Holy Innocents, child martyrs, children murdered (often not for any ostensibly religious motives), and alleged victims of specifically ritual murders. Although an admittedly marginal subject matter, sainthood that was accorded to children is a fascinating and colorful historical thread running through Europe's formative centuries. Wasyliw's marshaling of evidence sheds light on the place of children and on ideas of childhood within European society. It also illuminates developing conceptions of sanctity, piety, and innocence within that society. The world described in this study—a world of relics, miracles, and shrines; of hagiography and theology; of chronicles and histories—helps to document the intersection of lay, clerical, and theological forces at play in the often problematical fashioning of the infant or youthful saint, whether for a local audience or on a larger stage that often included much of Europe. The author can be quite pithy in describing the complexities of her subject:

"When life rather than death is viewed as the crucial factor in demonstrating sanctity, children are at a distinct disadvantage" (p. 64). Or again: "The cult of the Holy Innocents perfectly exemplifies both the substantial difficulty of promoting children as saints and the immense popularity of doing so" (p. 31).

The book deserves a bit more copyediting. The use of *passios* as a Latin form is irritating, as is the use of the hyphen for a dash. More important, there appears a woeful inexactitude in passing references to the "worship" of saints or the Virgin Mary (pp. 2, 91, 135). The Conclusion does not so much draw conclusions as show the survival of the phenomenon of the child saint into early modernity and even into our own day. One is thus left with a somewhat vague sense of what these medieval centuries of childhood and sanctity amount to. Use of works on sainthood in society by Gerhart B. Ladner and A. J. Festugière and a greater reference to the ideas of Peter Brown on the same topic might have made for a richer sense of historical context and led to firmer overarching conclusions. For the most part, however, the author does strive to place individual instances of cults of holy children in their historical contexts. (In one striking instance, however, she may not have gone far enough. Surely, Pope Urban II's canonization in 1098 of the popular but controversial Nicholas Peregrinus must have had something to do with the fact that this youthful saint who wandered about Italy was an easterner, born in Greece in 1075, and thus an opportune model and prod, from the papal perspective, for the coming together of Latin and Byzantine cultures just as the era of the crusades was getting underway.) Whatever one's quibbles and questions, however, the author's meticulous wrestling with complicated and varied data in many given instances over many centuries tells a general and valuable story and shows how a narrow but rigorously lingering focus on a marginal question can serve to give life and substance and coherence to our historiographical images of the spiritual, cultural, and ecclesiastical realities of medieval Europe.

The Library of Congress F. Thomas Noonan

Bobbio in the Early Middle Ages: The Abiding Legacy of Columbanus. By Michael Richter. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. in the United States by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2008. Pp. 211. $65.00. ISBN 978-1-846-82103-5.)

The Italian monastery of Bobbio deserves a monograph outlining its early-medieval history. Michael Richter's book is marred by too many errors and misjudgments to be wholly recommendable, although interesting issues are raised. Organized chronologically, it provides an outline narrative from the community's foundation in 613 to the early-tenth century. Throughout, there is careful engagement with the surviving written sources, often quoted directly, but almost no discussion of archaeology, despite excellent recent work by Eleonora Destefanis (*Il monastero di Bobbio in età altomedievale*, Florence, 2002). Richter opens with the earliest royal documents in favor of the community without commenting on what Bobbio was like before the monks arrived, even though evidence of Roman settlement shows that Bobbio

was less remote than Jonas suggested. Richter's assumption that King Agilulf's grant to Columbanus was initiated by a king who "was quite familiar with the area" (p. 18) is hard to sustain: It is probable that Columbanus, who knew of comparable grants made by Merovingian kings, requested it. The contemporaneous "exile" of the Milanese bishop to Genoa may have allowed Columbanus to deal directly with the king. Further, more discussion of references in these charters to properties held by laymen Sundrarit and Zusso would also have helped to complicate the top-down story. Richter's opinion that Columbanus was "one of the formative figures of early medieval Europe" (p. 24) seems unlikely, given that his cult was small; his works hardly read; and his Rule barely followed, even at Bobbio. The valuable discussion of the seventh-century monastic scriptorium concludes that only the arrival of new Irish monks at Bobbio could have resulted in the production of the surviving manuscripts, even though they are few. Moving on, Richter's eighth century is unsurprisingly "dark" because he utilizes only three pieces of evidence: the so-called *Carmen de synodo Ticinensi*, Bishop Cumian's marble funerary stone, and a *preceptum* of Ratchis. Ignoring the few, admittedly fragmentary, contemporary records of land transactions that demonstrate that the monks interacted with locals as well as elites, he stresses the community's Irishness. The Carolingian chapter should have been contextualized with developments north of the Alps, but at least some nonroyal donations are discussed. The weak economic chapter relies disproportionately on a *libellus* of 844 and the two famous *adbreviationes* of 862 and 883, ignoring the ecology of the area. The relative quality of monastic lands thus goes unnoticed, as do seasonal agricultural patterns such as transhumance. The integrated functioning of the whole economy is left unclear by statements suggesting that increased agriculture "must have been at the expense of previous woodland" (p. 133), when the two types of management work in tandem, especially in upland areas. The section on woodland needed to mention leaf fodder for animals and the shredding practices that produced it. Further, grassland does not just produce fodder but also green grass for summer grazing, salt renders may have been used to cure meat and preserve cheese, and chestnuts were human and animal food. The conclusion that the monastery was largely self-sufficient is unconvincing as many of Bobbio's products were eminently tradable and money was clearly available. The final chapters expand on Bobbio's supposed Irishness, even though Richter notes that "there are no Irish names known among the community after Columbanus" (p. 56n45), and many names of monks are—most unusually—known. If "Bobbio does not emerge as a centre where the Irish language was much written in the eighth century" (p. 185), was it in any real sense an Irish monastery? Throughout the author claims exaggerated originality, undervalues recent work in the field by Ian Wood and François Bougard, and almost completely ignores archaeological work on other north Italian monasteries—especially St. Giulia in Brescia, Novalesa, and Nonantola—to give the impression that Bobbio was more distinctive than it was. There are many technical flaws. The six plates between pages 96 and 97 are useful, but plates 4 and 5 are nowhere discussed, despite the obvious interest of the images. The *libellus*

dated *c.* 850 in plate 6 is correctly dated 844 at pages 126 and 127. Typographical errors abound: pp. 9 and 186, Valeria Polonio (not "Valerie"); p. 28, *Praefatiuncula* (not "*Paefatiuncula*"); p. 32, Columbanus (not "Colmbanus"); p. 33n51, Hilty 2001 (not Hilty); p. 41, tandem (not "tanderm"); p. 50, Piedmont (not "Piemont"); p. 58, Bobbio (not "Bobio"); p. 59, Theodelinda (not "Theodeline"); p. 79, Schiaparelli (not "Sciaparelli"); p. 87n4, MGH (not "MG"); p. 96n57, Fiori 1996 (not "Fiori"); p. 190, Archivio (not "Archico"); p. 193, Stefano (not "Stefan") Gasparri. There is unnecessary repetition in places (e.g., p. 146n33 is given verbatim as p. 154n74). There also are gaps in the bibliography, some serious, with no works cited of Mayke De Jong, Jean-Pierre Devroey, Albrecht Diem, David Ganz, Simon MacLean, Rosamond McKitterick, or Claire Sotinel. The maps are poor, mostly without scales or topography; those in Destefanis, *Il monastero di Bobbio* are much better. Overall, the definitive monograph on early-medieval Bobbio remains to be written.

University of Nottingham ROSS BALZARETTI

The Latin Church in Norman Italy. By G. A. Loud. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 577. $140.00. ISBN 978-0-521-25551-6.)

G. A. Loud has produced an extremely valuable contribution to the history of Norman Italy and Christianity in the high Middle Ages. It is an especially important book because it discusses a topic that has never before been given such a thorough and in-depth treatment.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the pre-Norman era, when the southern Italian Church lacked organization and coherence, and weak episcopates and the absence of parish structures meant that the region was dominated by private churches. Chronologically the chapter begins with the sixth-century crisis, when many bishoprics in southern Italy disappeared and organized monasticism went into decline, then moves to the monastic revival of the seventh and eighth centuries, ending with the reign of Otto I, who patronized imperial monasteries and created new archbishoprics in southern Italy, which was the first step toward a more organized ecclesiastical structure.

Chapter 2 examines the impact of the Norman conquest on the southern Italian church, demonstrating how it was both a victim of Norman predation as well as a beneficiary of Norman patronage and protection. Loud does an admirable job of showing the complex relationship between the new Norman rulers and the ecclesiastical foundations in the region, focusing most of his efforts on demonstrating the ways in which the Norman conquest both aided and transformed the religious landscape.

Chapter 3 examines the relationship between the papacy and the new Norman rulers, which was an alliance he sees as beneficial for both sides. For the Normans, the popes provided legitimacy, while the papacy received military assistance and revenues, as well as the ability to help in the reform of

the southern Italian Church. Loud provides detailed accounts of the actions and attitudes of the different popes and rulers, demonstrating well the complexity of the Norman-papal relationship, as well as its uniqueness.

Chapter 4 focuses on the relationship between the papacy and churchmen in southern Italy and how together they created a more organized and rational ecclesiastical system. These two chapters demonstrate well the mutually beneficial relationship among Normans, popes, and local churchmen, and how the alliance between popes and Normans allowed the southern Italian Church to develop in a stable environment.

Chapter 5 focuses on the role of the Sicilian kings as protectors and patrons of the southern Italian Church. They gave donations, reconfirmed privileges, built new ecclesiastical foundations, and provided peace and security for the Church so it could prosper. As a result, most churchmen viewed the kings and royal justice in a positive light. Thus Loud sees the Norman kings as conventionally pious and refutes the idea that the Church's reliance on royal revenues meant that it was subservient to royal interests. Chapter 6 looks at the military role of ecclesiastical foundations, whose clergy were required to help defend the kingdom, especially in frontier regions. These two chapters demonstrate well the symbiotic relationship between the kings and churchmen in the Regno.

Chapter 7 examines the spiritual life of the secular clergy and their relationship with the laity, emphasizing the local role of bishops who administered small dioceses and participated minimally in royal politics or government. In the twelfth century a number of changes occurred to the secular church, including the appearance of parish churches and archpriests in some dioceses, the development of urban confraternities, the gradual separation of the property of the cathedral chapter from that of the bishop, and the slow disappearance of proprietary houses. During this time, the bishops' role changed, as they moved from merely carrying out passive sacramental duties to leading the clergy and religious houses in their dioceses with real authority.

Chapter 8 discusses monastic reform, in particular the spread of the Benedictine rule and the emergence of large abbeys with numerous properties and dependent cells, obtained both through donation and purchase. Although eremitic forms of monasticism, characteristic of pre-Norman era, survived, they were largely domesticated within the Benedictine tradition by the end of the twelfth century, while new religious orders from northern Europe, such as the Cistercians, did not appear until the 1190s.

The final chapter of the book discusses the relationship among Latins, Greeks, and non-Christians. There was no attempt to Latinize the church, and Greek clerics and practices continued to be found in the region through the Norman era and beyond. The only new requirement was that Greek clerics place themselves and their religious houses into the newly established eccle-

siastical hierarchy in the region, subject to the pope. Similarly, the Norman rulers of the twelfth century tolerated Muslim and Jewish populations, who were important components of both the government and the economy up through the end of the twelfth century. According to Loud, the Norman rulers took a pragmatic approach to the diversity of religions in their kingdom, allowing the practice of other religions to guarantee the continued prosperity of their kingdom.

Loud has written a well-researched and highly detailed study of the transformations brought to the southern Italian Church after the Norman conquest. It contains a wealth of information on the people and institutions that made up the Norman Church, reflecting Loud's intimate knowledge of the archives and sources. It also provides useful points of comparison between the Church in Norman Italy and other parts of Latin Christendom. It is a book that will be useful for scholars of Norman Italy as well as anyone interested in the history of the Church in the Middle Ages.

Wellesley College VALERIE RAMSEYER

Diplomatik, Kanonistik, Paläographie. Studien zu den historischen Grundwissenschaften. By Peter Herde. [Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze, Vol. 3]. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 2008. Pp. ix, 629. €89,00. ISBN 978-3-777-20810-7.)

Volume 3 of Peter Herde's Collected Studies reflects his research in the historical auxiliary sciences over a forty-five-year period from 1961 to 2007. The fifteen articles are photo-mechanically reproduced. Therefore, a section is added with the original place and date of publication, updated information, and corrections (pp. 621–29). Besides the thirteen articles in German, one in Italian and two in English are provided. This volume is essentially a review of Herde's first decade of research interspersed with later reflections on similar themes as well as extended comments on canon law and diplomatics. The author stands in the long tradition of the Munich school of medieval Latin paleography made famous by Ludwig Traube. He utilizes the insights of B. L. Ullman, Traube's last pupil. Bernhard Bischoff was Herde's instructor in this discipline, which became an integral part of his work in terms of editing Latin texts of the high Middle Ages and for his comments on the nature and development of writing during the early Italian Renaissance.

His early work involves the empire and the papacy—namely documents, petitions, or letters from the emperor, the archbishop of Mainz, King Rudolf of Habsburg, and the Augustinian canons at Ranshofen, Upper Austria. The next complex involves papal administration, which reflects his dissertation published in 1961 on the papal chancery and diplomatics and his habilitation of 1965, both with Peter Acht as adviser. The third area considered by the author is the administrative culture of early Renaissance Florence, while in

volume 1 of his Collected Studies his focus is its political culture. The one difficulty an uninitiated reader might have is readily finding the source for manuscripts photographed. This observation only applies to CP, which Herde properly identifies as *Consulte e Pratiche.* However, he only cites literature (D. Marzi [1910]), but not the archival source (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Consulte e Pratiche).

The critically edited material from medieval manuscripts is quite substantial, often accompanied by clear and readable photographs. Among these texts are two items relating to papal document studies by Marinus of Eboli, vice-chancellor under Pope Innocent IV from 1244 to 1252. These texts are accompanied by an index of Latin words. Another text is a formula book of sixty-one pieces that served as a model for documents, written by Gerard of Parma, *auditor litterarum contradictarum,* in 1277, to which Herde adds an index of names and Latin words. Other texts are a petition sent to Pope Clement IV by the Augustinian canons of Ranshofen (September 8, 1267), along with two forged documents of Emperor Henry III (January 1040, Regensburg); and two transcriptions—a letter of justice of Pope John XXI concerning ecclesiastical penalties against the bishop of Worcester and the prior of Provence of the Hospitallers (September 30, 1276, Viterbo), and a letter in which King Rudolf of Habsburg urges the archbishop of Mainz to receive the deacon of St. Omer, sent by Pope Nicholas III (March 22, 1279, Vienna). Further critically edited material concerns a letter by Archbishop Christian of Mainz, imperial legate for Italy, who urges Viterbo not to rebuild Ferento (February 13, 1174, Foligno).

The discussion of the "güldene Freiheit" of Würzburg includes photographs of nine manuscripts from 1135 to 1170, along with a gold bull, attached to the second copy of the famous document issued by Emperor Frederick I for Würzburg on July 10, 1168. Eleven photographs dating from 1409 to 1453 from the Florentine chancery are very instructive in depicting the transition from the Gothic to the humanistic script. An article on public notaries at the curia informs us about the nature of papal administration at various levels. The author discusses two highly placed public notaries: Richard of Pofi, active in the 1260s, and Bonaiuto of Casentino (d. 1312). Three articles reflect his habilitation: one about the later registers of the *Contradictarum* in the Vatican Archive *anno* 1575 to 1799; another about papal formularies for letters of justice and their significance for medieval canon law; and the third about the *iurisdictio delegata,* which from about 1200 arose beside normal papal jurisdiction and persisted until its disappearance under Pope Pius X in 1908. The broad topic of forgeries is seen from the perspective of Roman law and canon law in the Middle Ages, a phenomenon that the author views as a triumph of the human mind over local views of law. The law of Sulla (the *Lex Cornelia de falsis)* and the modified views of Fritz Kern (1884–1950) lie at the core of this discussion.

The author's initial article of this volume sets the tone in terms of perspective and title. Written in 2006, Herde considers the relationship between

the more practical, newer field of diplomatics and the more abstract, traditional discipline of canon law in the twentieth century. In 1922 Hans Hirsch pointed out the need of a synthesis. Historians were becoming aware that diplomatics was a better reflection of historical reality than collections of canon law. However, canon law continued to maintain its dominance well past mid-century, but in the 1940s scholars like Rudolf von Heckel and Walther Holtzmann saw the need to combine them. By the mid-1950s and early 1960s studies in canon law began to flourish in England and North America. In England Walter Ullmann sought a connection between political philosophy and canon law. His pupils Christopher Cheney and then Jane Sayers in the 1980s took the lead in diplomatics, while Othmar Hageneder assumed a similar role in German-speaking countries. In the United States, Stephan Kuttner established the study of classical canon law with a greater focus on the Church and general history, not diplomatics. Nonetheless, a group of younger scholars has given studies in canon law a firm footing here. The author strikes a note of pessimism about the current state of the European university, especially in Germany, in terms of the loss of research institutes, university chairs, and libraries in these and related disciplines. In any event, by 2004, general medievalists in diplomatics had reversed the earlier position in favor of canon law and its juristic and theological adherents.

Newport News, VA JOHN R. EASTMAN

Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204. Edited by Mary Whitby. [Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. 132.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2007. Pp. xxvii, 428. $125.00. ISBN 978-0-197-26378-5.)

What are the geographical and cultural boundaries of the Byzantine world? This seemingly simple question gave birth to this volume. While it never completely answers that question, the volume is extremely useful nonetheless. The British Academy project, "Prosopography of the Byzantine World" (PBW), has for many years combed through Greek sources to identify and store in a database information on thousands of individual Byzantines. At its inception the PBW defined its geographical scope, logically enough, as the empire at the death of Emperor Basil II in 1025. Of course, the years after 1025 saw a dramatic contraction of Byzantine borders, leaving many of its citizens in foreign lands. Furthermore, the movement of Muslim powers and the onset of the crusades meant that the line between the Byzantine and the non-Byzantine became muddied. In response, the PBW expanded its definition of the Byzantine world, extending it not only to western crusaders who crossed, conquered, or settled in it but also to the crusader states, including Jerusalem itself. Travelers, visitors, merchants, mercenaries—all of these could be seen as part of Byzantium. By this definition, members of the Byzantine world were no longer just Greeks but also Normans, Turks, Armenians, or even Scandinavians.

Just as the PBW was finishing up with its Greek sources, it began to suspect that they were only the beginning. This expanded Byzantium would naturally require the expertise of more than just Byzantinists. Responding to that need, the British Academy hosted a colloquium in 2002 at which scholars from a variety of fields were asked to consider the limits of Byzantium as well as to identify non-Greek sources that could be used with the PBW database. This book is the result.

One thing is clear: the organizers of the colloquium (Judith Herrin and Michael Jeffreys) certainly knew how to pick their experts. It is difficult to imagine someone better to survey the western Latin sources for pilgrims and crusaders than Jonathan Riley-Smith. The same can be said for Peter Edbury with Near Eastern crusader sources, Michel Balard with Genoese sources, or Carole Hillenbrand with Arabic sources. Michael Angold's chapter on Venice is especially good, evaluating not only primary sources but also surveying major historiographical questions in Veneto-Byzantine relations such as the vexing chrysobull of 1182 (or was it 1184 or 1192?).

While different contributors approach their task differently, all of the chapters have certain elements in common. Each provides a brief historical background to the interface between Byzantium and its subject culture. Aside from those already mentioned, there are chapters on sources from south Italy and northwestern Europe, as well as Slavonic, Georgian, Armenian, and Syriac sources. There is also an excellent section on Jewish sources by Nicholas de Lange. After a description of the relevant primary sources and major secondary literature, each contributor then provides a handy and sometimes extensive bibliography of editions, manuscripts, and scholarship on the sources.

Whatever the original purpose of the colloquium, the resulting collection is an extremely handy resource for anyone interested in the medieval Mediterranean world. New students and seasoned researchers will find it equally useful.

Saint Louis University THOMAS F. MADDEN

Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100. By Rebecca Rushforth. [Henry Bradshaw Society for the Editing of Rare Liturgical Texts, Vol. 117.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer for the Henry Bradshaw Society. 2008. Pp. ix, 79. $70.00. ISBN 978-1-870-25223-2.)

Medievalists expect volumes in the Bradshaw Society series (now published by Boydell & Brewer) to contain newly edited medieval liturgical texts, such as missals, breviaries, litanies, and so on. The work reviewed here, however, is somewhat unusual in its purpose as a supplement and companion to an existing HBS edition, Francis Wormald's *English kalendars before A.D. 1100* (HBS 72, London, 1934). Wormald had promised an introduction, notes, and indices to follow in a subsequent volume, which never appeared. Rebecca

Rushforth's welcome publication compensates in several ways. The core of the book is a set of twelve "synoptic tables," each table displaying in spreadsheet format the essential contents (not the precise wording) of all the entries for feast days in a given month from twenty-seven surviving calendars and calendar fragments of Anglo-Saxon provenance (Wormald printed only nineteen calendars). The twelve tables are preceded by a valuable introduction to Anglo-Saxon manuscript calendars in general; the Easter tables that often accompany them in the manuscripts; and the criteria for, and pitfalls of, dating and localizing manuscripts by means of saints' feasts and *computus* chronologies. Rushforth prefaces the tables with descriptions of individual calendars in their manuscript contexts and with up-to-date bibliographies of published scholarship, supplemented by her fresh inspections of many of the manuscripts.

The volume's considerable usefulness as a research tool is further enhanced by its large print format on A4 paper (210 mm × 297 mm) and by the addition of thirteen foldout sheets of A3 paper, containing the synoptic tables proper (between pp. 58 and 59, but not reflected in the LOC catalog citation). The two adjacent A3 sheets devoted to each month can be unfolded side by side to allow uninterrupted perusal of all the entries for the month as found in all twenty-seven manuscripts, arranged in columns across an expanse of 297 × 840 mm (approx. $11^1/_2$" × 30"). Anyone who has tried to research the observance of one or more saints' feast days in Anglo-Saxon England by thumbing laboriously through Wormald's nineteen separate calendars will appreciate the marvelous convenience of Rushforth's tables, with all their data on the feast days in Wormald's texts (plus those of eight additional calendars he omitted) and also her exhaustive "Index nominum," which greatly facilitates the tracking of individual saints among the calendars. The eight calendars omitted by or unknown to Wormald, but incorporated in Rushforth's tables, are from the following manuscripts: London, B.L. Egerton 3314; Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv Raritäten-Selekt 108; Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 27 (*S.C.* 5139); Paris, B.N. lat. 7299, 10062, and 10837; Regensburg-Hauzenstein, Gräflich Walderdorffsche Bibliothek (no number); and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Y.6 (274).

Inevitably in a complex production of this sort there are slips and inconsistencies: for example, p. 2, "something of which a sense is necessary" must mean "some sense of which is necessary," and the reference in note 10 to "the table on p. 00" should refer to p. 17. Some readers will also find it peculiar that many saints' names in the tables are partially anglicized, preserving the Insular Latin spellings of the originals, but omitting their Latin genitive suffixes: for example, *Audomari* is rendered "Audomar" (not Omer), *Berhtini/Bertini* becomes "Berhtin" or "Bertin," and *Cuthberhti* becomes "Cuthberht." Some other saints' names, however, are completely anglicized in modern spelling: for example, *Mauricii/Mauritii* becomes "Maurice"; and we also encounter "Andrew," "Gregory," "Luke," "Mary," and "Matthew." However, the Archangel Michael (September 29) is rendered variously as "Michahel," "Micahel," and "Michael" (but "Michael" in column 7 of table IX

should be "Michahel"). A serious proofreading problem affects the entries for the Cross feast on September 14, which Rushforth renders in all twenty-seven calendars as "Exultation," rather than the expected "Exaltation." But of the calendars checked in Wormald's edition, only three actually have *Exultatio*; the rest have, more correctly, *Exaltatio*.

Queens College and the Graduate Center, CUNY E. GORDON WHATLEY

Matilde e il tesoro dei Canossa: Tra castelli, monasteri e città. Edited by Arturo Calzona. (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan: Silvana Editoriale. 2008. Pp. 607. €35,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-836-61168-3.)

Three exhibitions on Matilda of Canossa were held in 2008 in Mantua, in Reggio Emilia, and at the monastery of San Benedetto Polirone. The volume under review is the catalog for the Reggio Emilia show, and it exemplifies both the strengths and weaknesses of the current culture of exhibiting in Italy. The opportunity to engage a broad public audience in an exploration of the medieval past is salutary, of course, and one must applaud the public entities and corporate sponsors that make such encounters possible. It seems, however, that one model of engagement has overcome all others: the big, blockbuster exhibition. Some topics and themes are well adapted to this model, but others are merely smothered by it.

The Reggio Emilia show is a case in point. At the core of this exhibition was an interesting collection of sculptural fragments, mosaics, and liturgical objects from the cathedral of Reggio Emilia and parish churches in the region. Other pieces were sensibly added—chiefly manuscripts, tomb reliefs, and inscriptions—to illustrate the patronage of the countess Matilda. This relatively modest assemblage offered an opportunity to reflect upon local ecclesiastical cultures and assess the impact of a figure such as Matilda whose cultural horizons and contacts were so much broader. An important interpretive question surfaces in several of the contributions to this volume that could have given it real coherence: Was there a distinctive culture of "reform"? The mini-monograph (more than 150 pages) by Massimo Mussini on ecclesiastical architecture in the countryside argues that Matilda's support for the adoption of the common life as a tool of reform is evident in the forms of rural churches. The evidence here is too tenuous to sustain the claim, but the systematic overview of surviving structures is valuable. Giacomo Baroffio's contribution on medieval musical notation and the diffusion of a Roman style in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is also tantalizing, even if the connection to reform is more suggestive than solid. Three more methodologically acute essays on this issue are Giuseppa Z. Zanichelli's intelligent analysis of Matilda's manuscript patronage as supporting reform but also memorializing her lineage, Dorothy Glass's nuanced reading of the Genesis frieze on the façade of the cathedral of Modena as a local articulation of reform concerns, and Peter Cornelius Claussen's incisive survey of the very different architectural and sculptural

styles evident in Rome across the "reform" era. Also extremely valuable are Tiziana Lazzari's essay and maps charting the development of the family patrimony inherited by Matilda. The publication of these essays and objects makes a worthwhile contribution to our understanding of Matilda and reform.

A great deal of extraneous material was added, however, to make this a big exhibition and a huge catalog: objects with no apparent connection to Matilda or the "treasury" of the Canossa and equally tangential essays (e.g., on the First Crusade). One can understand the desire to avoid a focus on Canossa, since the place and event were treated in a 2006 exhibit in Paderborn, but the chosen conceit—of the "treasury" of the Canossa being the castles, churches, and monasteries of the territory around Reggio Emilia—seems ultimately to have been overwhelmed by the urge to aggrandize. While we can be grateful for the publication of several fine essays and numerous color photographs of medieval objects, we can also hope that the "grande pubblico" is addressed more coherently and directly in future exhibitions.

University of California, Berkeley MAUREEN C. MILLER

The Chronicle of the Czechs, by Cosmas of Prague. Translated with an introduction and notes by Lisa Wolverton. [Medieval Texts in Translation.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 274. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21570-9.)

The Chronicle of the Czechs written by Cosmas, the dean of the Prague chapter (died 1125), is the first state-national chronicle and the oldest historical work in the Czech Lands in general. Its author described the mythical origin and the history of the Czech people up to the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century. It belongs to the same category of historical works as the chronicles by Gregory of Tours, the Venerable Bede, Paulus Diaconus, or Widukind of Corvey. This chronicle has been known—in addition to the Latin original—in modern Czech, German, Russian, and Polish translations. Now, Lisa Wolverton presented this work to the English speaking readers. In doing this, she could exploit her rich knowledge and experience acquired during her work on the monograph about the history of the medieval Czech Lands, *Hasting toward Prague: Power and Society in the Medieval Czech Lands* (Philadelphia, 2001), where the Cosmas Chronicle was one of her main sources and where she made the acquaintance of the Czech history of the period concerned.

In the introduction Wolverton informs readers about the author and his work and introduces them to Cosmas's world. There she uses her good knowledge of the professional literature and her own research results. Further, she describes Cosmas's style, introduces readers to the problems of the translation, and pays attention to the difficulties of the medieval Latin text and its translation into the modern vernacular language (such as the details of Cosmas's language and interpretation of his terminology; the title of the chronicle).

The translation adequately expresses the content and style of Cosmas's chronicle, as well as the characteristics of the period and milieu. (It was not possible to convey Cosmas's rhymed prose in the translation.) Wolverton translates the proper names according to the ethnicity of persons. The place names should be given according to modern usage (see p. 23), which are inconsistent. For example, for Zbečno Wolverton created the nonexistent—and for Czechs unpronounceable—name Ztibečná, and the Saxon Dohna is translated by the Czech name Donín. Readers might be unable to locate the mentioned places and other geographical items. The adjoining map might provide some help, but it lacks a commentary (e.g., Mt. Osek in the central Vltava river region, which has not been pinpointed to date, needs some explication).

The notes refer to the words and phrases borrowed from ancient authorities; to Cosmas's wordplay, which generally cannot be translated into modern languages; to his mistakes; and to the interpretation of some terms.

For a better understanding of the chronicle and its context, the book supplies maps; a genealogy of the Czech ruler dynasty, the Přemyslids; a list of the Přemyslid dukes and kings (which unfortunately, because of its scope, does not encompass the eleventh-century Polish rulers Wladiwoy and Boleslaw Chrobry); lists of the bishops of Prague and Olomouc; a list of works cited in the notes; and an index.

Charles University, Prague MARIE BLÁHOVÁ

Peter Abelard after Marriage. The Spiritual Direction of Heloise and Her Nuns through Liturgical Song. By Thomas J. Bell. [Cistercian Studies Series, No. 211.] (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications. 2007. Pp. xxxviii, 346. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-879-07311-4.)

In recent years much interest has been shown in the spiritual writings that Peter Abelard composed for the nuns of the convent of the Paraclete after 1129 when they came to their new house in Champagne. Abelard's wife, Heloise, was abbess, and she persuaded Peter, himself an abbot, to provide new works, including hymns and sequences, that would be suitable for use in the chapel and for reading in the refectory over the full course of the liturgical year. Bell is here chiefly concerned with two liturgical sequences that he considers, upon extensive inquiry, to form a part of these original compositions. Both were inspired by the Song of Songs, and they are known from their opening words as *Virgines castae* and *Epithalamica*. They were listed by their *incipit*s in the Paraclete Ordinary and Breviary and set to be sung at Eastertide and on the feasts of saints who were virgins. Mention of them there, along with numerous other musical, liturgical, and homiletic items taken from a wide range of sources, does not necessarily mean that Abelard composed them. But the oldest extant copies are found, with musical notation, in a late-twelfth-century manuscript from Nevers (Paris, BnF, nouvelle acquisition latine 3126)

where they are accompanied by two of Abelard's poetic *Planctus*. Bell transcribes the sequences from this manuscript only on pp. 16–23. He acknowledges that not all scholars share his conviction over authorship, and he does not seek to "prove" this (p. xxviii), but he does believe that his book deepens and buttresses the case for their attribution to Abelard. He provides a detailed study of their musical setting and their rhetoric, including their rhymes, cadences, and similarities with those found in Abelard's *Hymns* and *Planctus*, especially the *Planctus*, "*Dolorum solatium*." His enquiries include explorations of verbal and thematic similarities between the sequences and some other writings by Abelard, including his first and thirteenth sermon. He provides an interesting study, too, of the literary traditions on which they drew; I do not recall, for example, previous commentary on Abelard's use of the unicorn legend. Nonetheless, it does seem best to remain cautious over the question of attribution at a time when debates over the wider "Paraclete *corpus*" are far from over. Bell succeeds in highlighting important issues, but he has not taken into account the essay by P. Dronke and G. Orlandi, "New Works by Peter Abelard?" (*Filologia mediolatina,* XII [2005], pp. 123–77) nor the earlier studies by G. Iversen and D. Wulstan that are cited there. Finally and sadly, misprints of Latin words are frequent in the text.

University of Sheffield DAVID LUSCOMBE

Die Register Innocenz' III. Pontifikatsjahr, 1207/1208: Texte und Indices. Edited by Rainer Murauer and Andrea Sommerlechner. [Publikationen des historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturforum in Rom, II. Abteilung: Quellen, 1. Reih: Die Register Innocenz' III, Band 10.] (Vienna: Verlag de Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 2007. €165,00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-700-13684-2.)

After a slow start in 1964, the edition of the registers of Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) has hit its stride with the appearance of the present volume for the tenth year of the pontiff's reign. The Austrian Historical Institute at Rome has projected a critical edition of these registers to replace the seventeenth-century edition of Etienne Baluze, which has long been widely available in the reprint by the Abbé Migne in the *Patrologia Latina*. Innocent's were the first of the papal registers to survive in their near entirety. The papal chancery made transcripts of a small selection (10–20 percent) of letters that were dispatched in the pope's name, including an occasional letter received. The original manuscripts are preserved in the Vatican Archives and consist of beautifully calligraphic volumes, virtual deluxe copies produced by one scribe for the text and others for the rubrics. By the tenth year the scribes no longer embellished the volumes with illuminations as they had in the opening volumes.

Innocent's tenth regnal year extended from February 1207 to February 1208. The scope of his correspondents ranged from Scotland in the west to Jerusalem in the east with major concentrations in the heartland of Latin

Christendom—principally Italy, the Empire, France, England, and Iberia—but he also wrote to the distant kings of Denmark, Hungary, and Bulgaria. A sizable proportion of the correspondence referred to routine matters such as protecting and confirming the possessions of individual churches, resolving disputed elections, and performing other ecclesiastical formalities. Major issues involved defending Stephen Langton's election to the see of Canterbury against King John's opposition, urging Philip Augustus to receive Queen Ingeborg back as his legitimate spouse, and enacting measures against the spread of the Albigensian heresy in Languedoc. The pope also treated social concerns such as the definition of marriage and legitimacy of birth, the repression of tournaments and usury, and the regulation of the Jews and the nascent university at Paris, but he could also attend to small details such as protecting a poor widow's dowry against the maneuvers of a powerful abbess or reinstating a priest to his sacerdotal functions after he had lost a finger on his left hand.

Rainer Murauer and Andrea Sommerlechner have sought to reproduce as accurate a transcription as possible of the registers' text. In rare cases when a recipient's copy has been located they have collated the two versions. Their introduction does not leave unexplored any analytical tools such as paleography and codicology. The contextual apparatus is truly monumental: all proper names of persons and places have been identified; cross references to other papal letters and to the collections of canon law abound; allusions to theological treatises composed at Paris have been uncovered. The footnotes read like bibliographic and historical monographs on the disparate subjects of each letter. In confirming the properties of individual churches each obscure hamlet or villa is identified in areas as distant from each other as St. Andrews, Scotland; Reading, England; Sens, France; and Geronrod, East Saxony. The modern editors are certainly better informed about the possessions of these churches than the clerics of Innocent's chancery who merely copied documents that were presented to them. Five indices provide comprehensive access to the materials of the volume. Thanks to the meticulous industry of the Austrian Historical Academy in Rome, we shall soon have a complete edition of Innocent's registers that will rival those that have been produced by the Ecole Française de Rome for the popes of the thirteenth century. The chief remaining lacuna in this period is Innocent's successor Honorius III (1216–27).

Johns Hopkins University JOHN W. BALDWIN

Saint Louis. By Jacques Le Goff; translated by Gareth Evan Gollrad. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xxxii, 948. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03381-1.)

Jacques Le Goff has given us a very personal account of St. Louis and has entered intimately into his life. Although he never completely abandons his

role as a critical historian, he embraces Louis not merely as a great king but also as a person and, from that perspective, as a saint. For, while he begins and ends his massive volume with the question "Did Saint Louis exist?", his book is his response to that question, and it is positive. Moreover, he leaves no real doubt that he regards Louis as the greatest of French kings and one who has much to offer to contemporary French citizens. His St. Louis is a multifaceted personality with a profound sense of his role as king and a deep commitment to peace and justice. Early on, Le Goff makes it clear that he does not put Louis's leadership of the crusade as the central feature of his book, leaving that chiefly to others, particularly to Jean Richard and William Chester Jordan, the works of both of whom he admires.

Le Goff divides his volume into three parts. The first is devoted to the place of Louis in the royal family of his age and his emergence as king under the tutelage of his mother, Blanche of Castile. It emphasizes the strength of this youthful figure. Part 2 presents the sources that have given us St. Louis, beginning with a discussion of administrative sources and moving on to hagiography, the making of the legends surrounding his identity, and discussing Joinville's biography. He leaves no doubt about his own reliance on Joinville's account. The final section is, in many ways, a lengthy conclusion, probing the questions of Louis's use of language and gestures, his rulership, and his religion. This is balanced by chapters on conflict and criticisms, and his sainthood.

One issue that recurs in this volume is Louis's strong sense of the role of kingship and his willingness to oppose the hierarchy and the papacy when he believed that ecclesiastical policies encroached on his rights. In this, he was very much in the mold of his grandfather, Philip Augustus, and a model for his successors, especially Philip the Fair. Le Goff discusses his relationship with Pope Innocent IV in a number of places, but the result is not entirely satisfactory. In fact, he seems rather ambivalent, as he tries to balance Louis's undoubted loyalty to the Church and the papacy with his disagreements with the pope on specific issues. This question is especially evident in the manner in which he deals with Emperor Frederick II. While Le Goff recognizes Louis's efforts to resolve the conflicts between the emperor and the pope, he misses an opportunity to broaden his picture of Louis himself. There is no question that Louis tried to mediate, but the matter goes deeper. Louis had a much better understanding of the problems faced by a king in the early-thirteenth century than did the pope, for he shared many of the same goals and issues. His commitment to peace and justice mirrors the fundamental theme of Frederick's Constitutions of Melfi. Unfortunately, Le Goff seems to become too enmeshed in the picture of Frederick presented by Ernst Kantorowicz's biography and the essay of Antonio Marongiú on the Kingdom of Sicily as the first modern state. The valuable biography by David Abulafia is not mentioned; also missing is an appreciation of the degree to which the problems confronting Frederick both in Germany and Italy were similar to those that faced the Capetians. If Louis was a feudal king to a greater degree than

Frederick, it was because differences have received more emphasis than similarities. But behind those differences, there was a shared concept of rulership that motivated Frederick as well. Moreover, both men may well have been influenced by similar forms of piety to a greater degree than has been understood until recently. Frederick certainly had problems with the Dominicans over the Moslems of Lucera, but he seems to have been closer to the Franciscans. Moreover, he was buried in a Cistercian habit.

The Louis that exists in these pages is real in two senses. The first is Louis the king and saint, presented here in a fully believable manner. There is no question but that the *vita* of Joinville has served Le Goff well in this respect. Louis lives and walks through these pages. What Le Goff has given us is more than a biography; it is a work of literature. The second Louis also lives. This is the king who embodies much that is part of the French nation. With St. Jeanne d'Arc, he lives as a symbol. LeGoff has given us glimpses of this Louis, who loves the French language and gives insights into the meaning of being French. The two are not exclusive. In fact, they embrace one another. Little did Philip the Fair realize in his efforts to secure canonization or Pope Boniface VIII in pronouncing him a saint how much they were defining the France of the future.

Given the length of this book, many will be intimidated and will not take up its challenge. That is a pity, for Le Goff has much to offer here. There is no chapter that does not contain information and ideas that deserve to be discussed further.

Syracuse University (Emeritus) JAMES M. POWELL

Schools and Schooling in Late Medieval Germany: Regensburg, 1250–1500. By David L. Sheffler. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 13.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2008. Pp. xvi, 417. $186.00. ISBN 978-9-004-16664-6.)

This is a very detailed study that brings to light from archives, manuscripts, and printed sources everything there is to know about education in late medieval Regensburg. Chapter 1 reviews the scholarship on German schooling in the late Middle Ages; it is a useful chapter for nonspecialists unfamiliar with a topic on which much recent work has been done. Chapter 2 analyzes Regensburg's schools in detail. Sheffler finds that Regensburg had ecclesiastical schools (collegiate schools, the cathedral school, and schools of the mendicant orders) and private masters, but no municipal school. The education that they provided seems to have been competent and extensive. He teases out indirectly from the documents a little information about the education of girls and women. And he notes that the Jewish community, some 500 to 600 strong, must have had a large elementary school, although documentation is lacking.

Chapter 3 takes the reader inside the schools in order to determine what was taught. Most of it was standard medieval fare found elsewhere in Europe. The teachers and students of Regensburg also used the fifteenth-century text *Es tu scolaris?,* which was an attractive question-and-answer Latin grammar manual. Sheffler finds that teachers taught good morals and religious matter as well as Latin. The most interesting figure to appear in Regensburg was Canon Conrad of Megenberg (d. 1374) who had many comments to make about the local schools. Sheffler's examination of inventories of the libraries of some ecclesiastical institutions reveals that the works of such authors as Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Marsilio Ficino were beginning to appear by the end of the fifteenth century. This was evidence of the penetration of Italian Renaissance humanism, although as a committed medievalist Sheffler cannot bring himself to use that awful word "Renaissance." Chapter 4 is an interesting and very detailed analysis of residents, mostly clergymen, from Regensburg who studied at universities. The number increased greatly after 1375, thanks to more university foundations in central Europe and a greater desire for university education. The University of Vienna was the most popular destination for Regensburg students.

In his conclusion Sheffler speculates that Regensburg had a literacy rate of at least 14 percent and probably a little higher, a figure consistent with other areas of northern Europe. He emphasizes the importance of ecclesiastical schools and comments that the mendicant order convent schools offered a curriculum rivaling that of universities. By contrast, Sheffler does not see the growth of "bürgerliche Bildung," i.e., education for the lay middle class, in Regensburg. Nearly 150 pages of biographical and other data on students, teachers, and university students, plus several useful tables and a very extensive bibliography, complete the book. Criticisms are minor. The author does not translate Latin and German quotations, which leaves a reader who is not fluent in late-medieval German at sea sometimes. There are a number of typos in the notes. The book does not advance any startling theses; one would be skeptical if it did. The book is an extraordinarily well-documented study full of detailed information about German education that other scholars will find useful.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) and Chapel Hill, NC PAUL F. GRENDLER

The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England. By Beth Allison Barr. [Gender in the Middle Ages, Vol. 3.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2008. Pp. x, 171. $95.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83373-4.)

The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England by Beth Allison Barr adds new dimensions to our understanding of the pastoral care of women in late-medieval England. It is also a valuable addition to the developing field of medieval gender studies. Employing the insights and methods of gender analysis, Barr attempts to illuminate women's experiences by recov-

ering male clerics' perceptions of, and attitudes toward, their female charges. To recover those perceptions and attitudes, Barr examines Middle English vernacular pastoral literature, concentrating on John Mirk's sermon compilation *Festial* (*c.* 1380s) and his manual for pastoral care, *Instructions for Parish Priests* (*c.* late-fourteenth century), exploring how the sermons, exempla, and advice it contains might have shaped the thinking of the parish priests for whom it was written.

Barr uncovers a much more complex set of perceptions and attitudes than is commonly assumed. Although clerical misogyny is certainly in evidence in these texts, Barr contends that it is attenuated by the practical day-to-day pastoral concerns they were meant to address. To demonstrate this, she carefully combs through twenty-two extant manuscripts of Mirk's *Festial*, which she considers to have been the most influential, the one stand-alone manuscript of Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (MS Cotton Claudius A II), and numerous other contemporary sermon compilations and pastoral handbooks. Examining the use of gendered language in those texts, Barr shows that gender-inclusive language is consistently used in the discussion of issues pertaining to pastoral care, such as the administration and reception of the sacraments, thus suggesting "a particular concern for female parishioners to experience spiritual care on a more personal and individual level" (p. 43). Her analysis of the exempla incorporated into the sermons, on the other hand, reveals contradictory images of women. Although they tend to reify the stereotype of woman as the daughter of Eve, dependent upon men and sexually lascivious, Barr also finds evidence of more realistic and positive representations of women and the complexities of their lives. Similar contradictions are discovered in the advice dispensed in the manuals of pastoral care, leading Barr to assert that women are presented in at least some Middle English pastoral literature as "ordinary parishioners who posed extraordinary problems for priests" (p. 96).

This study adds new layers of complexity to our picture of the pastoral care of women in medieval England. Barr convincingly argues that Mirk and some other clerical authors of Middle English pastoral literature not only recognized their responsibilities to teach, preach, and care for women. They also acknowledged women's lifecycle stages and their changing pastoral needs according to those stages. Nevertheless, this awareness was tempered by their limited ability to "perceive women outside of their dependence on men and by their continued portrayal of women as sexually dangerous" (p. 19).

This study is also a valuable contribution to the developing field of medieval gender studies. *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England* began life as Barr's doctoral dissertation and still bears some of the marks. The reader is walked carefully through the analysis. Each step is thoroughly explained, exhaustively illustrated, and generously documented, and generalizations and bold assertions are studiously avoided. Although that is often considered a weakness in a monograph, here it is a strength, providing

a clear and accessible model of skillful gender analysis. *The Pastoral Care of Women in Late Medieval England* will make an excellent textbook for college and university courses in the history of pastoral care, medieval church history, and medieval gender studies and women's studies. It will also be a welcome addition to the libraries of scholars in those fields.

York University, Toronto BECKY R. LEE

The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion after the Black Death. By Katherine L. French. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 337. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24053-5.)

The history of the English parish has been studied for more than a century. Toulmin Smith published *The Parish* (London, 1857), and F. A. Gasquet issued *Parish Life in Medieval England* (London, 1906). But it became a fashionable subject only recently. S. J. Wright edited *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350–1750* (London, 1988). This was followed by a volume edited by Katherine L. French, Gary G. Gibbs, and Beat A. Kümin, *The Parish in English Life, 1400–1600* (Manchester, UK, 1997). Then came N. J. G. Pounds with his massive *A History of the English Parish* (New York, 2000), and Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy's edited collection of fine essays, *The Parish in Late Medieval England* (Donington, UK, 2006).

Katherine L. French established herself as a leading student of the medieval English parish with *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese* (Philadelphia, 2001). Her new publication *The Good Women of the Parish* looks at various aspects of women's parochial involvement in the light of the traumatic and dramatic social and economic changes of the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The book examines the meaning that women found in the communal activities of all-women's seating, all-women's guilds and stores, female saints, and the transformation of household goods into items of religious and liturgical significance. This kind of collective action undertaken within the context of the parish actively promoted submissive behavior among women. Yet at the same time, it created opportunities for their public visibility and action, giving some of them an official role in the parish's administration. An example of this form of collective action was Hocktide, a fund-raising activity on the second Monday and Tuesday after Easter that provided some women with leadership opportunities. On Monday, women tried to catch the men, tying them up and releasing them upon payment of a forfeit. On Tuesday, they reversed roles, and the men captured and tied up the women. Such activities did not bring about changes in the social order of the parishes. However, collective action created moments of solidarity among women, while raising and spending money for the church created a permanent physical demonstration of the power of this collective action.

In the epilogue French argues that the Reformation changed women's behavior and opportunities in the parish. They found their parish involvement

significantly altered. She gives the following example: in 1536, a group of women in Exeter went to the priory of St. Nicholas and assaulted the men hired to dismantle the rood screen. This was a reflection that much of women's activities and opportunities in the church were lost in the Reformation. The religious behavior of women was "no longer as collective, visible and active" (p. 230).

The analysis draws on a rich collection of archival records, which the author has mined very well. Churchwardens' accounts are most central to the book, but the author uses also wills, visitation reports, tax, and ecclesiastical court records. Much insight is taken from sermons, didactic literature, saints' lives, parish wall paintings, and stained-glass windows.

This meticulously researched and engaging publication—graced by photographs, maps, graphs, tables, and two appendices—is a good book indeed, which enhances French's reputation even further. The discussion is rich with new insights and information. This is certainly a book suitable not only for the specialist but also for the general reader. The author's mastery of the sources and her deep understanding of the subject make joyful reading and a significant contribution to our understanding of "the good women of the parish."

University of Malta FRANS CIAPPARA

The Tribunal of Zaragoza and Crypto-Judaism, 1484–1515. By Anna Ysabel D'Abrera. [Europa Sacra, Vol. 3.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2008. Pp. x, 240. €60,00. ISBN 978-2-503-52472-6.)

The subject of this industrious monograph is *converso* life in the late-fifteenth century, as relayed by inquisition records originally compiled in the city of Zaragoza, in the kingdom of Aragón. An inquisition tribunal was established in Zaragoza in 1482 and began work two years later; D'Abrera's evidence comes predominantly from the tribunal's 142 extant trials conducted between 1484 and 1515, 131 of which occurred between 1484 and 1492. Modern scholars have long known that the Spanish Inquisition was created in 1478 to combat the heresy of judaizing, in which Christians of Jewish ancestry, called *conversos*, allegedly continued to follow aspects of Mosaic Law. Historians have used surviving inquisition trials to study the social history of *conversos* who attracted the inquisitors' attention. They have also turned these legal sources toward sweeping arguments about religion and race: on the one hand, scholars such as Haim Beinart view the *conversos* largely as practicing Jews, not Christians; on the other, Benzion Netanyahu insists that fifteenth-century *conversos* were fully assimilated into Christianity and maintains that the Inquisition deliberately falsified charges of judaizing to wipe out the Jewish race. Provocatively—and problematically, from a methodological perspective—both sides are debating evidence about sincerity and religious belief for actors who left no holograph writings and made no statements outside a courtroom. D'Abrera intends to enter this debate on Beinart's

side: she believes that the *conversos*' daily lives in Zaragoza were "marked by the rituals of Judaism" (p. 187) and that "the image of converso life as revealed in the records is . . . an accurate one" (p. 196).

D'Abrera spends the first three chapters establishing a historiographical context for her work, explaining (in a highly condensed way) the history of Spanish Jewry and outlining the Inquisition's legal processes. Some mistakes and infelicities creep in here: The Inquisitor-General was Fernando de Valdés, not Francisco; and Bernardo Gui published in the 1320s, not the 1230s (pp. 54, 56). There is a contradiction between noting that 57 percent of the accused were men (p. 45) and then stating that a majority of the accused were female (p. 76). The argument that inquisitors understood Judaism because they had read medieval compendia on heresies begs important questions that are not addressed (pp. 55–59). The overview of how inquisitors worked needs the scholarship of Edward Peters, particularly in regard to the relationship between the Inquisition and Roman law. The summary of scholarship is fragmented in terms of argument, while the rather harshly worded attacks on Netanyahu's and Norman Roth's scholarship seem unnecessary.

The book becomes much more interesting and valuable in its second half. Dividing her evidence according to observance of the Sabbath, Holy Days, dietary laws, and prayer life, D'Abrera finds clues that inquisitors distinguished between rote actions and intent, and, more important, she illuminates a constant interaction between *conversos* and Jews. *Conversos* sent their servants to the Jewish quarter (*judería*) on the Sabbath to light fires and prepare food (pp. 84–85); *conversos* also participated in Passover celebrations (p. 111), gave oil as an act of charity, and used Jewish butchers to slaughter their meat, despite laws that forbade such interchanges. Most provocative are the testimonies that bespeak a borrowing of concepts from one religion to another, such as the notions that the fast of Yom Kippur could get relatives released from purgatory (p. 97), that prayers said by Jews had the same effects as ones said by monks (p. 146), or that spinning on Saturdays offended the Virgin Mary (p. 88). Ironically, D'Abrera uses this evidence to prove the inquisitors were right: they were correct to fear that the line between Jews and Christians was "exceedingly blurred" (p. 140). But her larger concern is to prove that numerous *conversos* in and around Zaragoza were practicing Jews, and there is no doubt she has provided us with poignant testimony to that effect. The reader wishes she had engaged in more comparative analysis with, for example, Ciudad Real, whose trial records are beautifully edited; she might also have spent more time thinking about how the Inquisition's legal framework affected the responses she has excavated. But her sensitive expositions of *conversos*' statements before the Inquisition add to our understanding of that complex community.

College of William and Mary LU ANN HOMZA

The Register of Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln (1420–1431. Vol. 2. Edited by N. H. Bennett. [The Canterbury and York Society, Vol. 99.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 203. $47.96. ISBN 978-0-907-23971-0.)

The present volume carries a step further the edition of this important episcopal register. The first volume, edited by Bennett, was published as volume 73 of the Canterbury and York Society in 1984. The edition wisely keeps to the order of folios in the manuscript, even though entries in the register itself do not follow precisely in chronological order. With the present volume, folio 204 and the year 1426 have been reached. The material is given in calendared form, mostly in the form of summaries in English, but the Latin original is given where it seems desirable. This approach makes for easier reading and provides a manageable length for the publication.

Regarding the present volume, Bennett notes (2:viii): "Folios 88–204 of the register are covered here, including the institutions for the archdeaconries of Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Oxford and Buckingham, collations of dignities and prebends, ordinations, and the acts of Archbishop Chichele during his visitation of the diocese in 1424–5." The contents may be described as routine and undramatic, yet they are quietly revealing of the complex and efficient government of this large diocese in the early fifteenth century. Bishop Richard Fleming was abroad for much of the time, as King Henry V's envoy to Emperor Sigismund and the German princes in 1422 and at the council of Pavia-Siena in 1423–24. Accordingly, diocesan officials and auxiliary bishops carried out much of the work recorded in the register. Lollardy is not mentioned; although we know that Fleming was involved, outside the diocese of Lincoln, as witness and judge at the trial of William Taylor in 1423. The acts relating to Chichele's visitation of the diocese in 1424–25 (pp. 110–19), which was carried out as part of his role as archbishop of Canterbury, pertain to ordinations performed by John Crancroyt—auxiliary bishop of the Diocese of Lincoln, acting on the archbishop's authority—and to institutions to benefices by other delegated authorities. Fleming was active in ordaining clergy as well as in instituting and collating, in person, some of the clergy to benefices. Various other ecclesiastics were responsible for most of the institutions and collations to benefices: Robert Leek, vicar-general of the diocese, and the archdeacons of Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, Oxford, and Buckingham.

The number of ordinations is particularly striking. On June 1, 1420, in the church of St. Catherine's priory outside Lincoln, Crancroyt ordained sixty-two men as acolytes (four beneficed acolytes, twelve acolytes in religious orders, forty-six unbeneficed acolytes); fifty-eight men as subdeacons (four beneficed subdeasons, thirteen subdeacons in religious orders, forty-one unbeneficed subdeacons); forty-six men as deacons (one beneficed deacon, ten deacons in religious orders, thirty-five unbeneficed deacons); and forty men as priests (two beneficed priests, twelve priests in religious orders, twenty-six

unbeneficed priests). Seven further ordination services took place within the next twelve months, all conducted by Fleming, with the numbers of ordinands in several cases approaching those of June 1—remarkable figures indeed for a diocese serving between 500,000 and 750,000 people.

An exhaustive "Index of Persons and Places" (pp. 129–203) mentioned in the second volume concludes this valuable work.

Pontifical Gregorian University NORMAN TANNER

Early Modern European

Trois pommes pour un mariage: L'Église et les unions clandestines dans le diocèse de Sion, 1430–1550. By Valérie Lamon Zuchuat. [Cahiers lausannois d'histoire médiévale, Vol. 46.] (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne. 2008. Pp. iv, 304. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-940-11059-X.)

Clandestine marriage posed a perennial problem for the medieval Church. The difficulty became acute following the pontificate of Alexander III (1159–81), who authoritatively established the teaching that when a man and woman exchanged consent to marry one another, they were validly married from that moment forward, provided that they did so in the present tense and no impediments to their union stood in the way. This opened the floodgates to informal marriages that the parties often enough later came to regret. The Church managed to largely resolve the ensuing difficulties in 1563 through the matrimonial legislation of the Council of Trent.

Zuchuat's investigation of the treatment of these problematic unions by church courts in the Swiss diocese of Sion in the canton of Valais during the century before Trent offers valuable insights into the difficulties that confronted judges and couples alike prior to the Tridentine legislation. His book, which originated as a thesis for the licentiate's degree at Lausanne, is based on a corpus of 101 documents, mainly from the archives of the cathedral chapter of Sion, supplemented by a smaller number from the Archives de l'État du Valais, that contain records of judicial proceedings from the court of the bishop of Sion between 1430 and 1550 concerning alleged clandestine marriages, together with a scattering of private notarial documents that relate to litigated actions. Transcriptions of forty-four of those documents, accompanied by a French translation of them by Pierre Dubuis, who directed Zuchuat's thesis, make up roughly two-thirds of the book (pp. 88–285). Zuchuat's eighty-page analysis of those documents includes some interesting and important observations. The term *clandestine marriage* might suggest that these unions were secret, but as the author points out (and the printed documents confirm), they were almost always well known, even notorious, within the communities where the parties lived. He further notes that although these marriages were "clandestine" in the sense that they were not preceded by the publication of the banns as required by law and were not

accompanied by any public ceremony or priestly blessing, nearly all of them seem to have followed much the same sort of informal ritual. They almost always involved an offer, or occasionally an exchange, of gifts of small value, most often a coin or two; sometimes a few apples or pears; or even a pair of shoes, a goblet, or a cask of wine. The couple usually exchanged words that might at least imply marital consent. The bishop's judges were properly skeptical of self-serving declarations. Most cases in these documents involved a claim by the plaintiff (*actor*) that he or she was married to the defendant (*reus*). Plaintiffs lost thirty-four of the thirty-nine cases where the judge's final decision survives.

Zuchuat's book is not free of flaws. His command of the substantial literature on medieval church courts, their procedures, and their records, for example, is uneven, as is his knowledge of recent treatments of the history of clandestine marriage. It seems odd, too, that he fails to cite canonical texts dealing with marriage formation directly from the sources, but relies instead on accounts of them in secondary works, many of them seriously dated. He frequently abbreviates the texts of the records that he edits, while the translation compresses them even further. These blemishes, however, should not outweigh the genuine contribution that he has made by rescuing this body of texts from oblivion.

University of Kansas (Emeritus) JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

Savonarola's Women: Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy. By Tamar Herzig. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 333. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-226-32915-4.)

Cleverly riding on the crest of a wave of academic interest in nuns and convents, this very accomplished book both charts and analyzes the fortunes of various mystical women committed to the memorialization of Savonarola's teachings and beliefs, and the depiction of Savonarola as a divine prophet, in the years up to the 1540s. While some of the material is known, much of it is newly discovered and unpublished, and the list of archival sources (often gleaned from less visited archives) is extremely impressive. Equally impressive is the handling of a large corpus of texts and documentation in conjunction with a substantial and ever-growing body of secondary literature on these religious women. The author writes of Savonarola's women—a phrase that plays on ambiguity—but also talks persuasively of Savonarolan activists, and these new understandings of Savonarola's followers illuminate the attractions as well as the disadvantages of alliance with and allegiance to a celebrity martyr.

The book has six chapters, and clearly and authoritatively charts the networks of connection and succession between Savonarola and Savonarolan "holy women." It moves from a general discussion of Savonarola's relationship with his female followers in Florence while still alive, to case studies of a string of Dominican tertiaries who kept faith with his memory (and by so

doing staked out new authority for themselves): Colomba Guadagnoli in Perugia; Lucia Brocadelli in Ferrara; Osanna Andreasi in Mantua; Stefana Quinzani in Soncino; and two exceptions to the rule, an Augustinian nun in Milan, Arcangela Panigarola, and a silk weaver in Racconigi, Caterina Mattei. The case studies allow the details of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering to be observed, but deeper patterns, such as the constant invocation to—and attempt to trace a line of descent from—St. Catherine of Siena, are also analyzed. The overriding message is that the split between supporters and opponents of Savonarola ensured that, even after his death, two ideological factions continued to feed off their opposition to each other, fighting for control over his posthumous reputation. The women under discussion here claimed to have had visions in which they met and held conversations with Savonarola, who often had gained the status of a saint in heaven. This type of endorsement of someone who had been excommunicated and burnt at the stake shows how these women's zeal was only increased by the difficulties and dangers of being on the losing side in this ferocious ideological clash.

The study highlights the importance of the contested political context in which convents operated in Renaissance Italy. The secular rulers often shared considerable control over convents with various ecclesiastical authorities, but life inside the convent was also so politicized that sometimes religion seems to have been eclipsed. In a fascinating section, the author discusses new material she has found on Lucrezia Borgia, who masterminded a move against Lucia Brocadelli because Brocadelli had openly criticized her father, Alexander VI. The fallout from this meant that nuns from another convent were allowed to gain a commanding position (indeed, one was elected prioress), an anti-Savonarolan confessor was appointed, and *clausura* was enforced, which all cut Brocadelli off from conduits to power within and without the convent, and thus silenced a key, vociferous champion of Savonarola's memory.

This is an important new book, setting the record straight in complex areas like the intertwining of politics, religion, geography, and reputation. It is thoroughly to be recommended.

Queen Mary, University of London KATE LOWE

Nil Sorsky: The Authentic Writings. Translated, edited, and introduced by David M. Goldfrank. [Cistercian Studies Series, Vol. 221.] (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications. 2008. Pp. xxiv, 369. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-879-07321-3.)

The work of Nil Sorskii (d. 1508) is the culmination of medieval Russian monastic spirituality. A major figure in his own lifetime, he left a small body of writings that contained his conception of the monastic life and continued the traditions of Orthodox asceticism. After his death his followers turned toward a struggle over the propriety of monastic landholding, eventually losing to the

followers of Nil's contemporary, Joseph Volotskii. Nil's heritage soon moved to the margins of Russian religious history and was revived only in the nineteenth century, leading to his recognition as a saint in the twentieth.

The study of Nil's work has long been burdened with the controversy over his own attitude to monastic landholding. Nineteenth-century scholars used the works of his followers and his own preference for hermitage as evidence for his rejection of landholding. This conception was at best a great exaggeration, and Ia. S. Lur'e demonstrated its limits as early as 1960. More recently, Fairy von Lilienfeld, G. M. Prokhorov, and other historians have turned to Nil's ascetic writings, correctly seeing them as the core of his legacy. Nil has inspired several translations into Western languages, including one into English by Father George Maloney (New York, 2003) in the series Classics of Western Spirituality. In this new translation Goldfrank offers two improvements over Maloney's version. One is a much more complete introduction, summarizing and discussing the latest scholarship on the various textual issues, Nil's use of Byzantine monastic writings, and the controversies about his relationship to Joseph Volotskii. The other improvement is a translation much closer to the original, not mediated by later adaptors and commentators as is the case with the Maloney translation, in Goldfrank's view. Goldfrank also places in italics the many quotations and references to earlier ascetic writers.

The result is a version of considerable interest to scholars, if somewhat less accessible to other readers. Goldfrank believes in more literal renderings and thus conveys more of the flavor of the text, its quirks as well as its rhetoric, than other translators. He takes the reader into the mental world of Russian monastic spirituality, emphasizing to what an extent Nil was part of a living and continuing textual tradition as well as a tradition of practice. He is very careful about the translation of the technical vocabulary, of words for *mind* and *intelligence*, and particularly the crucial term *pomysl*, which renders the Greek *logismos*. There were eight such *pomsyly/logismoi*, from gluttony to pride, the ancestors of the seven deadly sins of the West. Goldfrank departs from other translators, Maloney included, who employed "thought" for *pomysl*, which is literally correct, but somewhat misleading, and puts in its place the English "urge." This choice seems better, since "thought" excludes the association of desire in *pomysl*. Goldfrank might have overcorrected here, since American readers, at any rate, may take *urge* in a much too emotional, even carnal, sense. In any case, he provides a careful discussion (pp. 86–95) of the issues, and the reader will be able to make any mental adjustments that seem necessary. One wishes more translators were so conscientious.

In the introduction Goldfrank's rather colloquial style ("ascetic smorgasbord," p. 30) and American references (Kinko's student packets) may make it a bit inaccessible to the international reader. Its solid content, however, rounds out an exemplary edition and translation.

Yale University PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus. Edited by Erika Rummel. [Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, Vol. 9.] (Boston: Brill. 2008. Pp. viii, 334. $195.00. ISBN 978-9-004-41573-3.)

The question of how to study the Bible permeates the Christian tradition throughout its history. In the western Middle Ages the text of the Bible was approached by using the dialectical disputation developed after the eleventh century in the increasingly complicated Scholastic method. At the very end of the fourteenth century new historical and philological methods began to be favored. This in turn led to an awareness of the original languages of Scripture to which are attached the names of scholars such as Giannozzo Manetti, Johannes Reuchlin, Desiderius Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, Martin Luther, and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. Together with a high regard for the Hebrew and the Greek texts, a beginning was made in the methodology of source criticism, a study of Patristic and Jewish (philological) commentary, and a confrontation of the Latin translations with the originals. All of this gave rise to a confrontation between members of the faculties of arts and those of theology at universities such as the new foundation at Louvain and the University of Tübingen.

The present volume presents aspects of this debate in a set of articles under four headings: (1) The reaction against biblical humanism in Spain (Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, Alejandro Coroleu, and Charles Fantazzi), (2) The Faculty of Theology at Paris and the "Theologizing Humanist" (Guy Bedouelle and James K. Farge), (3) The campaign against biblical humanism at the University of Leuven (Cecilia Asso, Marcel Gielis, and Paolo Sartori), and (4) Critics of biblical humanism in sixteenth-century Italy (Paul F. Grendler, Nelson H. Minnich, and Ronald K. Delph). These four sections are preceded by Erika Rummel's introduction and by two essays: John Monfasani, "Criticism of Biblical Humanism in Quattrocento Italy," and Daniel Ménanger, "Erasmus, the Intellectuals, and the Reuchlin Affair." A general bibliography and a useful index complement the volume.

The volume as a whole seeks to focus on the controversy between humanists (concentrating on Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Lefèvre d'Étaples) on the one hand and Scholastics (such as Martin Dorp, Jacob van Hoogstraaten, and Luis de Carvajal) on the other. The essays give fascinating close readings of these controversies. Moreover, there are often interesting asides with regard to the fortunes of the debate in connection with political change. A case in point is the falling away of the patronage of the French court for the humanist approach when King Francis I was captured by Emperor Charles V at the Battle of Pavia (1525). In another telling case, Paul Grendler shows how important the stimulus of the papacy was for the endeavors of the highly important philological approach of Sante Pagnini. All in all, Erika Rummel is right in pointing out that the humanist and Scholastic parties learned much from each other and that their views were far from being mutually exclusive: "They clashed only when the parties insisted on the exclusive merit of their

approach or expertise" (p. 13). As an historian of the pedagogical tradition, she wisely sums up: "With the assimilation of humanism into the theological curriculum, the debate between scholastics and biblical humanists lost much of its urgency and gradually abated" (p. 13). This remark indeed raises the question whether a second volume might not be useful in which an analysis would be given of the variety of Catholic and Protestant approaches to the philological exegesis of the Bible in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

University of Groningen ARJO VANDERJAGT

Radikalität der Reformation. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen. By Hans Jürgen Goertz. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 2007. 378 pp. €61,60. ISBN 978-3-525-55200-1.)

Hans-Jürgen Goertz, longtime holder of the chair in social history at the University of Hamburg, began his scholarly career some forty years ago with a study of the theology of Thomas Müntzer, the charismatic figure in the early German Reformation (much beloved by Marxist historians because of his involvement in the German peasants' war) who challenged Martin Luther's new theology with the insistence on the primacy of suffering, spiritual and physical, in the life of the Christian. Since then, Goertz has been an active and trail-blazing participant in the scholarly conversation about the fringe groups of the Reformation, variously labeled "Left Wing" or "Radical Reforma-tion." The present volume brings together over a dozen essays on that phenomenon. Since most of these essays were previously published, the expert will find little that is new here, as is the case with all such collected essays that are publications of mature and seasoned scholars. By the same token, however, by putting the results of some twenty years of scholarship into a single volume (the essays were published between 1986 and 2006), we are afforded a splendid coherent summary of Goertz's understanding of the dissidents or radicals of the Reformation. Since some of the essays were originally published in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* and other English-language publications, the volume will prove to be more useful for German-reading scholars.

The distinctiveness of Goertz's understanding of the "radicals" has been its revisionist character. When he appeared on the scholarly scene, the orthodox view was that the emergence of the Anabaptist movement in the Reformation occurred in Zurich was characterized by a single-minded commitment on part of the earliest Anabaptists to bring Luther's and Ulrich Zwingli's biblical insights to their proper conclusion, and that all subsequent Anabaptist groupings can be traced back to Zurich. Goertz pointed out that Anabaptist conventicles emerged in other places as well, that one can speak of a homogeneous Anabaptist movement only with great difficulty, and that there are identifiable connections between Anabaptists and social unrest in Switzerland and Germany in 1524–25.

Goertz's contribution to this new perspective a generation ago was substantial, and several essays in the present volume show his originality and insight. Like all revisionists, however, there has been a tendency to overstatement, and his striking openness to approach the past aided by categories coming from Derrida and Foucault is not universally shared. Indeed, there are indications that the revisionist school of Anabaptist studies, which he represents, is triggering revisionism itself (for example, Andrea Strübind, *Eifriger als Zwingli*, Berlin, 2003).

The essays in this volume cover the gamut of early Reformation "radicality"—iconoclasm, biblical exegesis, community of goods among the Hutterite Anabaptists. What is important here is Goertz's insistence that the term *radicality* must be used for the entire spectrum of radical sentiment, that such "radicality" itself underwent a development as time passed, and that the phenomenon must not be understood as exclusively theological.

The book cements, if such were necessary, Goertz's pivotal place in the study of the dissenters of the Reformation during the last generation. The focus on "radical" movements, however, means that his other, major contribution to Reformation scholarship—calling attention to the ubiquitous phenomenon of anticlericalism in the early-sixteenth century as catalyst for the Reformation—receives only passing attention.

Duke University HANS J. HILLERBRAND

Life Writing in Reformation Europe: Lives *of Reformers by Friends, Disciples and Foes*. By Irena Backus. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xxxiv, 259. $114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66055-2.)

Benjamin Disraeli once observed that one should prefer biography to history, for biography is "life without theory." Of course, Disraeli's remark says more about his view of the kind of history being written in his own day than it does about his notion of biography. To be sure, biography is not a neutral enterprise and often can reveal as much about the context of the biographer as it does about its subject or perhaps even more. Such is the focus of Irena Backus in her study, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe*. Exploring a number of important biographies or *Lives* of reformers written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Backus hopes to shed light not only on the methods and genre of these *Lives* but also on how they function as part of the reception and propagation of the European Reformations. Their accuracy or approximation to modern standards is not her primary concern. Rather, she argues that studying this kind of literature provides windows into the theological, polemical, and civic climate of this period.

While *Lives* are not a fundamentally new genre, those in the Reformation do have unique characteristics that distinguish them from the classical

models found in Plutarch and Suetonius as well as Christian examples in the *Vitae* of church fathers and legends of the saints. This is especially true of *Lives* that depict reformers as heretics—a category of biography without precedent. Yet even sympathetic biographies found it necessary to distance themselves from medieval hagiography or pagan *encomia*. There was certainly an apologetic or polemical dimension to these *Lives*, but this is not, Backus argues, the primary purpose. *Lives* favorable to the reformers had a pedagogical function, intended to edify the faithful. This might be directed to Protestant doctrine or piety, or, as in the case with the Swiss *Lives,* a more nationalistic picture of the Reformation.

Following a chronological structure, the first chapter is devoted to sixteenth-century biographies of Martin Luther. Already Backus is able to demonstrate how these lives are moving beyond the traditional genres. Detail of the reformer's person is unimportant in these *Lives*, for Luther is not to be approached as a medieval saint, either for veneration or emulation. Rather, Luther is situated in the course of salvation history as a prophetic figure, an instrument of God. As such, his life and his doctrine are identified and thus justified. Likewise, hostile lives of Luther depict the man as an instrument of the devil that then *de facto* condemns Protestant doctrine.

Zurich and Swiss *Lives* inculcate a broader, more nationalistic corporate narrative of the Reformation. Major figures like Zwingli and Bullinger are not only depicted as heads of Reformed Christendom but also as exemplars of Protestant piety for all to imitate. This extends to *Lives* of other Swiss Protestants who embody ideals of citizenship, scholarship, and servants of a Christian state.

However, it is the *Lives* of the Genevan Reformation that receive the most attention by Backus and perhaps exhibit the most interesting complex of context, doctrine, and the fashioning of Reformed identity. Beza's various attempts to compose a *Vita* of Calvin are closely examined, observing how the successor of Calvin struggled to find a form of biography that followed biblical models rather than classical and yet steered away from medieval hagiography. It is finally the Catholic biography of Jean-Papire Masson that moves the Calvinistic biography into a more "objective" direction that would ultimately influence the "Calvinography" of later centuries. Yet despite this shift, the old images derived from Beza's saint and Bolsec's sinner continue to have a lasting influence on the picture of Calvin even to the present.

In the end, Backus provides the reader with a very thorough and stimulating entry into the *Lives* literature of the Reformation, which in turn provides further insight into larger questions of *Wirkungsgeschichte* in Reformation Europe.

Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis ERIK HERRMANN

Italian Reform and English Reformations, c. 1535–c. 1585. By Anne Overell. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xiv, 250. $114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65579-4.)

Following an introductory overview, the first chapter in the body of Anne Overell's book sets forth a cast of Englishmen such as Cardinal Reginald Pole who traveled to Italy for learning in the 1520s and 1530s, and of Italian religious reformers in the 1530s and 1540s. The next four chapters discuss aspects of "the most important point of intersection" "between England and Italian reformers," the reign of King Edward VI (p. 41). Overell starts with the Edwardian career of Bernardino Ochino, a "star" who in some ways "outshone [Peter Martyr] Vermigli" at the time (p. 42), although he had less influence than Vermigli with Archbishop Thomas Cranmer or at court. Then Overell turns to Edward Courtenay's translation of *Il Beneficio di Cristo* and to the reception of Italian influence by other Edwardian Englishmen, especially the group of Cambridge humanists centering on John Cheke who had gained important court positions. All of this makes Overell's point that the relatively well-known English career of Vermigli had a "political and social context provided by [an] Anglo-Italian network in England" (p. 105); in chapter 5, the account of Vermigli's own mixed experience, of isolation at Oxford but great influence with Cranmer, completes the picture of the role of Italians and Italophiles in Edward's reign, in so many ways "the defining moment" (p. 205) of the English Reformation.

The next two chapters are on the Marian years, first the experience of Edwardian courtiers whose turn it now was to go into exile, and who chose to sojourn in the Veneto for mixed reasons that Overell explores. Then she discusses Pole, who during his years in Italy had in effect become an Italian reformer, albeit one who stayed within the Roman Church, and whose leadership of the Marian Church can be seen as a second wave of Italian reform influence on England, different from the Edwardian wave but with origins in the same milieu in Italy decades before. Overell also describes Pier Paolo Vergerio's vilification of Pole as a Nicodemite who concealed his real views to win a cardinal's hat.

The penultimate chapter deals with a nonevent: the fact that Vermigli and other Italian reformers were not invited back to England by Elizabeth, for reasons including the queen's flirtation with the Lutherans. Finally, Overell reviews a spate of translated Italian reform works printed in England in the 1570s and 1580s. Certain texts, including the *Beneficio di Cristo* and the story of the repentant apostate Spiera, along with certain major characters, Ochino, Vermigli, Pole, and Vergerio, figure recurrently throughout Overell's chapters.

As she says, the book is "not primarily a history of . . . theology," but instead of the "cooperation" and "interaction" of groups of English and Italians who carried reform ideas back and forth between the two countries (p. 105).

Overell conducts her narrative expertly, tracing the interactions of numerous figures over several decades without confusion or repetitiousness. The book is readable and vivid; one wishes for illustrations, presumably impossible because of cost. Overell is entirely capable of analyzing theological distinctions when appropriate, as in her discussion of the *Beneficio di Cristo*. The style is racy at times but never out of control, and the absence of all but a very few (and very minor) typographical errors is refreshing.

Italian reform was, of course, only one of the lines of thought from mainland Europe that shaped the English Reformation. Torrance Kirby's *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Boston, 2007) deals with another of these lines, in a very different way. We need more books that in one way or another "encourage Tudor historians never to neglect the view across the Channel," as Diarmaid MacCulloch comments on the back cover of Overell's book. She has done a superb and timely job, marshaling a complex body of material in an enlightening and stimulating work.

New College of Florida (Emeritus) JOHN F. MCDIARMID

Adhortatio ad concordiam. By Isidoro da Chiari. Edited, translated, and annotated by Marco Cavarzere. [Temi e testi, Vol. 63.] (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 2008. Pp. lii, 117. €25,00. ISBN 978-8-884-98489-0.)

In 1537 the papal commission led by Cardinal Gasparo Contarini produced the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia,* in which the "serious ills" of the Church and the abuses of the Roman curia were outlined. Martin Luther's introduction to a pirated edition of the leaked report, which was supposed to prepare the way for a general council and the healing of religious divisions in Christendom, was gleeful and sarcastic: "The pope is trailing his poor council around like a cat with kittens . . . so now they have invented a new stratagem, and that is this booklet which so beguilingly proclaims the reformation of the whole Church. If this lie meets with belief, no council will henceforth be necessary." In spite of these comments, there were a number of men on the Catholic side during the 1530s who thought that some conciliation with Luther, Philip Melanchton, and the mainstream of German reformers was still possible. One of these men was the Benedictine Isidoro (Taddeo Cucchi) da Chiari who dedicated his *Adhortatio ad concordiam* to Contarini. Adriano Prosperi has described this work as "tra i più singolari della cultura del Cinquecento italiano" (p. vi), and it has been considered by Silvana Seidel Menchi as a notable Italian expression of Erasmian piety. In this first modern edition of the text, the editor and translator, Marco Cavarzere, has made available a text that embodies many of the hopes and contradictions of the "moderate" reformers led by Contarini, and that helps to throw light on the failure of the project of conciliation by *c.* 1542.

As Cavarzere suggests, Isidoro da Chiari's irenic and Erasmian humanist outlook, which is evident throughout the *Adhortatio,* was probably shaped

by his experience of the learned environment of the Cassinese congregation in Parma after 1517. However, the title page of the *editio princeps,* published in Milan in 1540, prominently asserts Isidoro's Brescian origins, and perhaps it is worth noting that there were Erasmian circles in Brescia during the first two decades of the sixteenth century; indeed, the first Italian vernacular translation of Erasmus's *Enchiridion* was published in that city in 1531. Moreover, in 1524 Pope Clement VII wrote to the nuncio in Venice condemning the spread of heresy in the Bresciano, and three years later, it was necessary for the local authorities to issue a proclamation against the "rebelli de la religion Christiana et del divino culto" who were blaspheming against God, the Virgin, and the saints during the night. However, the critical factor in the production of the *Adhortatio* was undoubtedly Isidoro's presence in Rome at the behest of Gregorio Cortese, a member of the reform commission and the Benedictine abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. Isidoro's work was as learned and conciliatory in tone as many of Cortese's works, and it was directed toward reformers like Melanchthon, whose *Loci communes* of 1535 seemed to offer grounds for hope of conciliation. Isidoro deplored the discussion of theology and the airing of doctrinal differences in public, and he argued that the vast majority of laypeople could not understand the finer points of difference. Although he attacked the Lutheran sense of justification and the denial of free will, he also followed an Erasmian strategy of taking some points of dispute as *adiaphora* and focused instead on a core belief in divine mercy. As Cavarzere remarks with some understatement: "L'adiaforismo alla fine non ottenne la palma della vittoria nell'agone dottrinale cinquecentesco" (p. xxix). More generally, Isidoro's views (based on the earliest texts of Luther rather than the banned later works) were recognized as hopelessly inadequate by German commentators like the embattled Johannes Cochlaeus, who was disappointed by Isidoro's desire to leave more uncomfortable points of difference to one side. Cochlaeus was much more realistic about the prospects for conciliation, and he argued that arms were needed to bring the German princes and the newly converted King Henry VIII of England into submission.

The *Adhortatio* therefore belongs to a moment in the history of Catholic reform reflected in the *Consilium*, with which it shares some characteristics, and in the irenic works of Contarini or Pier Paolo Vergerio. These works were produced when the hopes for the success of a council of conciliation under imperial patronage were high, and the *Adhortatio* may stand as the most complete statement of the "moderate" party. However, as Cavarzere recognizes, Contarini and his colleagues in the commission were in a minority in the college of cardinals; and in concentrating on humanist solutions of *adiaphora* and Nicodemism rather than institutional stumbling blocks, they ultimately failed to provide a bridge to reform.

University of Edinburgh STEPHEN BOWD

Vittoria Colonna and the Spiritual Poetics of the Italian Reformation. By Abigail Brundin. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xiv, 218. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-64049-3.)

Abigail Brundin's book centers on the doctrinal contents of two of Vittoria Colonna's verse collections, one of which was sent to Michelangelo in 1540 and the other presented to Marguerite of Navarre at about the same time. Although both manuscripts are used to illustrate Colonna's reformist beliefs, the second in particular is read to show the basis of a reformed Mariology that is taken to serve the poet in advocating a protofeminist use of poetry as an evangelizing tool whose persuasive power was to reverberate to the end of the century.

To establish Colonna's evangelical persuasion the texts considered are the *Beneficio di Cristo* and the "Meditatione" writings, respectively reworked and authored by Marcantonio Flaminio during the Viterbo years. Tracing a direct derivation of poetry from any specific text is a difficult task, not only because of the allusive nature of poetry and because of the caution implanted in any proselytizing tract but especially because the very desire for renewal and topics of meditation such as the inspirational role of the Virgin and Christ's passion, the latter depicted either in suggestive physical terms or in a joyful mood, are common to devotional writings of all inclinations. What weakens the derivation argument is Brundin's disregard for chronology. The *Beneficio*, which was made ready in the 1540s, can hardly have influenced poems likely to have been written in the 1530s. Many evangelical implications must be read, as Brundin actually does, in the light of a general earlier Valdesian evangelism and of what the poet wrote or revised years later.

In the sonnets to Marguerite of Navarre Brundin views the Virgin as teacher and active participant in the life and passion of Christ, hence as the appropriate guide for Colonna's self-assigned role of disseminator of true faith, a role supposedly acknowledged by the queen and potentially extended to all women with an evangelizing mission. This thematic slant is retrospectively bolstered with a statement on the Virgin found in a letter sent by Colonna to Costanza d'Avalos and published in 1544. The entente between Colonna and Marguerite of Navarre is, of course, predicated on the assumption that the preparation of the gift manuscript was done by Gualteruzzi, the marquise's scribe and agent. In discussing that preparation, however, Brundin omits mentioning what for Carlo Dionisotti and Augusto Campana was the clinching argument against the attribution to Colonna's agent: i.e., the manuscript is not in his hand.

If slender evidence can be claimed for the poet's desired leadership in a communal religious advocacy, stronger doubts rise about her correspondents' acknowledgment of such role. Laudatory expressions of greeting in the artist's and in the queen's letters, Michelangelo's avowed admiration for the "man, in fact a god" in the "woman" (p. 74)—a hyperbolic take on a rather trite

compliment—give no ground from which to infer even an awareness of it. More dubious is the acknowledgment of Vittoria's assumed function on the part of Pier Paolo Vergerio and Cardinal Reginald Pole. Pole's explanation in answer to Colonna's remonstrations for his neglect of her, rather than as an expression of a reformist concept of a nonreciprocal gift (p. 70), should be read as follows: "Divine Will shall amply reward you as He rewards all those who are beneficent" (with *benefico* translated as "beneficent," not as "worthy"). Pole's was indeed a doctrinally unimpeachable reply and a tactful one in addressing a woman whose attachment to him was judged by friends to have morbid connotations.

Overall, Brundin's analysis confirms and amply illustrates Colonna's insistent need for religious assertion and investigation. The marquise went on to express her evangelical beliefs in both poetry and prose, but only in her last years did she assume an open stance of opposition to the authorities and of agreement with the Viterbo group, certainly in reaction to the latter's failure in advancing their plan of compromise and reconciliation with the reformists. As to the acceptance of Colonna's writings after her death, her poetry was certainly understood by those who were already of an evangelical persuasion, but to what extent it may have influenced people without similar concerns is a matter of conjecture. It is a fact that Colonna's sonnets remained in the mainstream of Petrarchism for centuries to come and only in our times, when a better knowledge of the evangelical movement was established, have scholars become alert to their specific religious content.

Queens College, CUNY RINALDINA RUSSELL

Teresa de Ávila: Lettered Woman. By Bárbara Mujica. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 272. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-826-51631-2.)

Bárbara Mujica has made a significant contribution to Teresian studies with her book on Santa Teresa de Jesús, better known in English as St. Teresa of Ávila. In the title Mujica plays with the sense of "lettered" as both a reference to the saint's learning as well as to her authorship of letters to a variety of people during her lifetime. Even as she examines Teresa's epistolary output within the context of the saint's life and times, she also reveals the pragmatism and the principles of the saint.

The book begins with a background history of the *devotio moderna*, the move to reform monastic practice in Europe as a whole and in Spain in particular, and, finally, of the Carmelite Reform specifically. Within this discussion, Mujica adds the function of letters as instruments of reform, especially in the case of St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuits as well as with Teresa and her nuns. As she explains, "by examining Teresa's letters, we can watch the Carmelite reform unfold as it was experienced by Teresa herself" (p. 11).

Chapters 1 and 2 provide more background on both the saint and on letter writing in general. Mujica makes a compelling case for the influence of *converso* experience in the composition of petitions, legal documents, and letters on the young Teresa. She explains the place of writing in the Cepeda household and its possible effect on the later actions of the foundress in her own letter writing. The history of letter writing, the postal delivery system, and the production of paper fill the second chapter. Mujica ties these details to the burden of letter writing as it affected Teresa with special attention to the protocols, rules, style, and etiquette involved in the process.

The second half of the book focuses on the letters themselves as a reflection of the author and her endeavors. In chapter 3, Mujica asserts that Teresa "saw herself as God's warrior, and letters were weapons in her arsenal" (p. 68). The connection to her other writing is evident in her use of the vocabulary and tactics of war. The primary battlefield for these letters was Andalucía where Jerónimo Gracián struggled to extend the discalced reform in the face of resistance from the calced: "For Teresa and her contemporaries, the personal, the political, and the tactical were all intertwined" (p. 84).

Chapter 4 concentrates on letters sent to her four principal correspondents: Gracián; the prioresses María de San José and María Bautista; and the saint's brother, Lorenzo de Cepeda. Not only the subject of the reform but also the relationships among this group are evident in the content and tone of Teresa's letters. While she "considered Gracián and María de San José her 'spiritual children,' her epistolary writing reveals different relations with each" (p. 116). As Mujica observes: "although Teresa loved María, she adored Gracián. He was the favorite" (p. 118). With her relatives, María Bautista and Lorenzo, both intimacy as well as exasperation were present. Still, the letters to both "show that she was concerned with family as well as convent business" (p. 132).

Chapter 5 examines letters as revelatory of the different roles Teresa adopted in her lifetime, including those of administrator, Mother General, legislator, educator, disciplinarian, politician, and diplomat. The author asserts that "every letter [Teresa] wrote was an act of self-representation that served to affirm and solidify the authority she needed to achieve her end" (p. 140). The last chapter considers the history of Teresa's letters after her death. It focuses especially on a collection of documents in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (Ms 12.764) that is indicative of attempts to "reconstruct [Teresa], to transform her into a model of feminine virtue" (p. 183). Mujica shows how hagiographers and others attempted to move her canonization forward even as they altered Teresa to fit a procrustean view of female spirituality. Along with written encomia, Mujica also considers the use of iconography both in Spain and in the New World as a means of defining Teresa for future generations.

Tufts University ELIZABETH TERESA HOWE

Alessandro Valignano S.I., Uomo del Rinascimento: Ponte tra Oriente e Occidente. Edited by Adolfo Tamburello; M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J.; and Marisa di Russo. [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S. I. , Vol. 65.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. 2008. Pp. xxxviii, 394. ISBN 978-8-870-41365-6.)

Second only in importance to St. Francis Xavier, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) is one of the towering figures in the story of the Jesuit missions in Asia in the early-modern period. Born in Chieti to an aristocratic family and schooled in law at Padua, Valignano brought considerable intellectual and social status with him when, after joining the Society of Jesus, he was appointed Visitor (plenipotentiary inspector) to his order's Asian enterprises. His legacy was prodigious: Valignano devised the policy of "accommodation" by which the Jesuits would adapt themselves to the political and social norms of Japan and China to preach a Christianity that was not overburdened by European attributes. Absent colonial power, Valignano reasoned, the Jesuits had to adapt themselves to local circumstances, and so he gave the necessary orders to reshape the Japan mission and its incipient counterpart in China. Historians have lauded this insight as either the arrival of "the Renaissance" in Asia or a glimpse of "modern" tolerant attitudes before their time.

The latest generation of scholars is not the first group to find Valignano fascinating. In fact, much of the best work on him—whether analyses of his writings or the publication of his voluminous writings—was done between the 1940s and 1970s by the great Jesuit scholars Josef Franz Schütte and Josef Wicki. The massive tomes of the *Documenta Indica* and other key transcriptions published by the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu not only reveal the figure of Valignano in lucid detail; they are also invaluable resources for the history of missionization and, more generally, the history of Asia. Given this pedigree and the importance of the subject, it therefore comes as a disappointment to see that the same publisher has produced this uneven volume of essays on Valignano.

This volume represents the proceedings of a conference that was held in Chieti on the 400th anniversary of Valignano's death in 2006. A combination of Italian and international scholars contributed articles in either Italian or English, and their work is divided into five sections: Introduction, The Man, The Missionary, The Writer, and The Inheritance. The articles focus primarily on Valignano's texts about Japan, but some mention in given to his presence in India, his efforts on behalf of the China mission, and his family connections in the Abruzzi region. Basic facts about his life, however, are repeated far too often in the volume. It does not appear that the conference organizers did much editing, since the articles do not have a strong sense of cohesion nor a uniform quality. While it is not surprising to find essays of uneven quality in such volumes, the variety in *Alessandro Valignano* is particularly marked.

There are nevertheless a few articles of note here. Paolo Aranha offers a way to understand Valignano's apparent racial bias for East Asian over South

Asian and African peoples through the context of his encounters in those lands; Ubaldo Iaccarino and Pedro Lage Reis Correia present analyses of his reactions to the arrival (and martyrdom) of Spanish Franciscans in Japan; M. Antoni Üçerler and Jesús López-Gay analyze the main documents that Valignano wrote about Japan, the *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón* (1583) and the *Principio y Progresso de la Religión Christiana en Japón* (1603–04); and Marcello Valignani and Marisa di Russo present specific details about Valignano and his family relations in Italy. Valignano, however, deserves better, and it is hoped that this volume will not dissuade young scholars from delving into his rich legacy.

Michigan State University LIAM BROCKEY

Catholic Culture in Early Modern England. Edited by Ronald Corthell, Frances E. Dolan, Christopher Highley, and Arthur F. Marotti. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2007. $40.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02294-5.

The editors of this collection, who are leading figures in early-modern Catholic studies, have brought together a superb and wide-ranging group of essays. "Culture" for this collection means writing, but also relics, interior decoration, and embroidery; "England" is more a category up for analysis than a firm demarcation—geographic, linguistic, or otherwise—as evinced in the book's reach into Latin literatures, international religious politics, and European Catholicisms. The result is a book that moves in a number of promising directions for research in the burgeoning field of early-modern Catholicism.

In the collection's lead essay, Peter Davidson focuses on what he calls "symbolically articulated spaces," buildings whose space or structure bear a "demonstrable relation to the kinds of mental or interior space articulated in contemporary books of devotion" (20). In doing so, he shifts the study of the spaces of English Catholicism beyond priest holes or domestic chapels to consider other forms of devout spatiality. In "Women Catholics and Latin Culture," Jane Stevenson demonstrates the importance of Latin literacy not only for future nuns but also for educated Catholic households and offers a useful comparison of Latin literacy in Catholic households with more familiar paradigms of Protestant gentlewomen's education. Sophie Holroyd's innovative and richly illustrated essay focuses on the embroidered vestments produced by Helena Wintour and argues that the texts and emblems of Wintour's embroidery express her devotional choices (emphasizing especially her devotion to the Blessed Virgin). Caroline Hibbard's study of Queen Henrietta Maria's court, a cosmopolitan one by any standard, emphasizes the international character of early-modern Catholicism and outlines the considerable tension between Henrietta Maria's international religious and political connections and England's post-Reformation political climate in which an insular antipopery played such an important role.

In a lucid and rich essay, Gary Kuchar proposes Mary Magdalene as an important model for the recusant subject, arguing that Robert Southwell's popular *Mary Magdalene's Funeral Tears* uses the shift from Mary's longing for Christ's body at his tomb to her spiritual relationship to Christ after the resurrection to comment on "the recusant experience of social isolation and religious abandonment, while providing a model example of how one should cope with such marginalization" (136). Mary's melancholy is ultimately restrained within the terms of classical moderation, suggesting, Kuchar argues, some unease with the powerful feminine spiritual model she represents. Heather Wolfe provides a detailed and fascinating study of the work of Dame Barbara Constable, who "wrote and compiled at least eleven original works and collections . . . transcribed twenty-five spiritual works, maintained her community's register of letters and instructions, and emended scribal copies of contemplative treatises" (158). Her translating and transcribing labors were crucial for ensuring the continuity of traditions of medieval English contemplative writing, and her original works suggest a similar interest in aiding Catholic devotional practice both in exile communities (lay and religious) and in England. An appendix provides a list of Constable's transcriptions and original works.

Molly Murray's essay argues for the importance of formal conventions and patterns in Catholic conversion narratives, and especially for the importance of the Augustinian model in William Alabaster's narrative of his conversion. She thereby contests the notion that early-modern life-writing became more expressive as Protestant and especially Puritan writers broke free of old constraints and expectations. An appendix provides the formal questions that those admitted to the English College in Rome had to answer, questions prompting some of the life-writing Murray examines. Anne B. Myers studies relics as discussed in John Gerard's *Autobiography of a Hunted Priest*; for Gerard, to document the survival, preservation, and veneration of relics is to record the ongoing and defiant vitality of the English Catholic community. Mark Netzloff analyzes English Catholic writing for its role in the early-modern conceptualization of English nationhood "as a locus of identification ('Englishness'), one that was open to contestation and reimagining, rather than as a stable or monolithic entity ('*the* English nation') that could be dominated by any particular community" (237; emphasis in original). He turns to the English Catholic diaspora to locate Catholic constructions of nationhood, especially in attempts to preserve "English" traditions in Catholic colleges on the continent and in Richard Verstegan's antiquarianism.

Sanok pushes the generic and temporal boundaries of self-conscious national mythologizing to include Catholic hagiographies, focusing on *The Lives of Women Saints of Our Contrie of England*, in which gender may have been deployed to shame masculine readers into imitations of female saints' staunch faith, even as the collection marked a difference between a feminized past and the more masculinized present. In the collection's final

essay, Donna B. Hamilton studies Anthony Munday's translations of Iberian chivalric romances, in which an emphasis on an international, unified, and Catholic Christendom would seem to conflict with English Protestant fears of Catholic foreignness and contamination, whether or not particular details of Catholic worship and practice are maintained or excised in translation.

This book may legitimately claim to be the most important current essay collection on its subject. It is strongly recommended reading for any scholar interested in pursuing research in the area.

University of Notre Dame SUSANNAH BRIETZ MONTA

Histoire littéraire des Bénédictins de Saint-Maur, Vol. 1 *(1612–1655)*, Vol. 2 *(1656–1683)*. By Philippe Lenain. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Fascicules 88 and 89.] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Érasme. 2007, 2008. Pp. iv, 559; iv, 665. Vol. 1, €65.00; Vol. 2, €75.00 paperback. ISSN 0035-2381, fasc. 88, 89.)

In 1621, Pope Gregory XV issued a bull establishing a new branch of the Benedictine order known as the Congregation of Saint-Maur. This exclusively Gallican reform movement stressed stricter adherence to the Rule of St. Benedict while also allowing for some interpretation of the Rule to suit contemporary needs and preferences. Most notably, intellectual labor, rather than physical, constituted the *labora* of the members of the order. They took up their pens and poured over ancient and medieval texts with all the fervor and attachment to duty that the first disciples of St. Benedict would have given when grasping their plows in the service of the Rule. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even on the eve of the French Revolution, the Maurist literary production was prolific and profound, earning for the order a reputation for superior scholarship in the humanities and sciences.

In the late-eighteenth century, when the usefulness of religious orders was called into question and their very existence threatened, the Maurist Dom René-Prosper Tassin attempted to compile a list of all the literary works written by the members of the Congregation, no doubt, among other reasons, to showcase the contributions of Maurists to the intellectual life of France. He completed this monumental task in 1770 at age seventy-three, but his work remained incomplete. Later researchers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries added to Tassin's catalog especially with the inclusion of works after 1770. The reprinting of key texts by members of the Congregation in the early-twentieth century revealed the need for an updated compilation. Prompted by the monastic historian Dom Yves Chaussy, Philippe Lenain undertook this task with the publication of this multivolume work, *Histoire littéraire des Bénédictins de Saint-Maur*.

To date, Lenain has published the first two volumes, which cover Maurist literature from 1612 to 1655 and from 1656 to 1683. He envisions two more

volumes, which will encompass Maurist writings up to 1787. By his own admission, his catalog will be incomplete as it will not include the works contained in the numerous departmental and municipal archives. Also, by ending the final volume with 1787, Lenain's work will not cover the letters and essays by Maurists in defense of their order in 1789 and 1790. Nevertheless, Lenain's volumes and the well-organized data that they present will serve as invaluable tools for researchers.

After some prefatory remarks, the first volume begins with a bibliography on the Congregation of Saint-Maur. While the bibliography includes mostly French sources and lacks the most recent scholarship, it does include both printed primary sources and key secondary works. Lenain then presents two lists, one chronological and one alphabetical, of all Maurist authors from the beginning of the order until its suppression in 1790. (He also has plans to publish a CD-ROM version of the list.) The individual entries of monastic authors follow. Tassin ordered his catalog chronologically to demonstrate the progress of the Congregation over two centuries. In deference to Tassin, Lenain has chosen this same format. For each Maurist, Lenain gives a biographical sketch, list of works and their current locations, primary sources for the monk's life, and secondary bibliographic references.

Lenain has undertaken a monumental task, but one worthy of its subject. The lists of monks and entries on individuals serve as valuable resources for researchers of the Congregation of Saint-Maur while his chronological organization should serve well scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the volumes have their limitations, as did Tassin's catalog, Lenain not only provides a significant research tool but also his systematic approach and attention to detail do justice to the lives and works of these scholarly monks.

Lourdes College MARY KATHRYN ROBINSON

Prosopographie Génovéfaine: Répertoire biographique des Chanoines Réguliers de Saint Augustin de la Congrégation de France (1624–1789). By Nicolas Petit. [Matériaux pour l'histoire, Vol. 6.] (Paris: L'École nationale des Chartes. 2008. Pp. 597. €38,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-900-79197-4.)

The French congregation of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, headquartered at the abbey of St. Genevieve in Paris, was a major manifestation of the resurgence and renewal of religious life and of priesthood that occurred in seventeenth-century France. Several French scholars have recently brought attention to this congregation, Yves Breton and Isabelle Brian among them. Brian's 1994 doctoral dissertation on this topic was published as *Messieurs de Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris, 2001). In contrast to many French historians, Brian enjoys the gift of succinctness. In a very helpful preface (pp. 7–14) to the present work by Nicolas Petit, Brian explains that within ten years of 1624, when reform of the abbey of St. Genevieve began, the number of

canons had soared and a national congregation created. The years of the reign of King Louis XIV correspond to the golden age of the congregation. In the eighteenth century, the congregation suffered internal division between Jansenists and Jansenist opponents; the 1745 chapter of the congregation took a firm position against Jansenism. The eighteenth century also saw a decline in vocations, although numbers were rising again by the 1770s. Most of the canons were priests, and parish work was the most frequent occupation. Brian praises Petit's work for many things, not the least of which is its inclusion of what ex-canons did after the National Assembly dissolved the congregation in 1790.

An archivist, Petit was for a long period conservator at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris and more recently has been a rare book librarian at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. In his introduction to this volume, Petit explains that he devoted seventeen years of research to gathering the information needed. He points out what is and is not included in this prosopography: this is an alphabetical catalog of the 5352 members of the congregation for the years 1624–1789. Each entry includes names with variant spellings; dates of birth, religious profession, and death; functions or offices and appointments held; and indications of where to find more information on a canon. The volume also provides a useful table of dates of profession, a chronological necrology, indices of places, and a map showing where the 119 houses of the congregation were located. The northern half of France was more endowed with these houses than was the south. Although Petit adds a bibliography of both primary and secondary sources he has used, he does not mention works published by the canons themselves. This is indeed the subject of his current research, and he promises that such a bibliographical volume will be forthcoming to accompany the present work.

At first glance, this large volume looks no more tantalizing than a telephone directory. Yet it is a reference work full of significant information for any scholar interested in religion and society in early-modern France, and it certainly belongs in any serious research library.

College of the Holy Cross THOMAS WORCESTER, S.J.

Galileo y el Vaticano: Historia de la Comisión Pontificia de Estudio del Caso Galileo (1981–1992). By Mariano Artigas and Melchor Sánchez de Toca. [Historia y hagiografia.] (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. 2008. Pp. xxiv, 225. €14,50/$19.36. ISBN 978-8-479-14919-2.)

On November 10, 1979, at a meeting of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences commemorating the centennial of Einstein's birth, Pope John Paul II delivered a speech that also discussed Galileo's trial and condemnation by the Inquisition in 1633. John Paul II admitted candidly that church officials committed not only errors but also wrongs; and he proposed boldly that the Galileo affair is highly instructive and ought to be studied more deeply because it embodies the lesson

that science and religion are harmonious, and not incompatible as claimed by traditional accounts. Accordingly, in 1981 he appointed a commission to study the affair, which for a decade sponsored publications, conferences, and other projects. Finally, on October 31, 1992, at a meeting of the academy occasioned by a conference on complexity in natural science, the commission's coordinator, Cardinal Paul Poupard, formally reported on its conclusions, and the pope made a new speech on Galileo. The pope did more than accept Poupard's report, declare the commission's work completed, and reiterate the views of his earlier speech. He explicitly praised Galileo's biblical hermeneutics over that of his theological opponents and insightfully connected the Galilean principle of separation of scriptural interpretation and natural-scientific investigation to the epistemology of complexity.

This is the tip of the iceberg studied in this book. It examines the documents found in the archives of the Vatican Secretariat for Nonbelievers, the Pontifical Council for Culture, and Poupard's personal papers. There are at least thirty-seven such documents, consisting of letters, reports, and drafts of speeches. Although a few of these were known, the great majority were previously inaccessible to scholars. In this book, many documents are quoted in full or in part. They can be utilized even by scholars who will reach different conclusions. For such reasons, this book is welcome and deserves to be translated into English.

The book has other merits. It establishes the key historical facts of this thirteen-year episode and formulates several well-argued theses. For example, the commission met only six times between 1981 and 1983. For the next six years, its four autonomous sections continued the work they had projected then, but the commission as a whole was completely inactive. In May 1989, John Paul II asked Poupard about the commission. It took Poupard a month to reconstruct the situation, with the help of the chancellor of the academy. This papal inquiry led to the realization that the commission had done all it could be expected to do, and so its work should be formally concluded.

Furthermore, the book does not shy away from evaluating the historical accuracy and philosophical validity of the documents' contents, as well as the appropriateness of various ecclesiastic actions. The evaluations are respectful, nuanced, and generally positive, but the book advances several criticisms. For example, it argues plausibly that neither the commission nor the higher authorities ever understood the complexity of the Galileo affair; the difficulty of the task of re-examining it; the need to invest considerable resources of time, personnel, and money; and the need to coordinate the several aspects studied by the four separate sections.

Moreover, the book begins with a destructive criticism of several influential anticlerical accounts of the Galileo affair predating 1979. Then it ends with an attempt to refute several post-1992 critiques of the Church's actions and pronouncements during 1979–92.

To conclude, this is an important book. Its documentary aspect is invaluable; its historical interpretations are well documented; its philosophical critiques are well argued. To be sure, I have a few reservations. For example, the authors display the same attitude toward Poupard's and John Paul II's 1992 speeches, namely mostly positive with a few criticisms; but this is too indiscriminate and is tenable only for the papal speech, whereas Poupard's report is filled mostly with errors. Similarly, the authors' criticism of some writers (e.g., Bertolt Brecht) is irrelevant; of others (e.g., James Reston) unnecessarily long; of still others (e.g., Antonio Beltrán Marí) too superficial. But such reservations do not undermine my generally favorable impression.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas MAURICE A. FINOCCHIARO

L'insegnamento della filosofia alla "Sapienza" di Roma nel seicento: Le cattedre e i maestri. By Candida Carella. [Le corrispondenze letterarie, scientifiche ed erudite dal Rinascimento all'età moderna, Subsidia 7.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 2007. Pp. xxviii, 258. €32,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-822-25689-8.)

There is no lack of historical studies of the Roman *Studium Urbis,* otherwise known as the *Sapienza,* the university founded in the Papal State in 1303 by Pope Boniface VIII. With the secular unification of Italy in the nineteenth century, the Italian state took over its historical site and later took over the name of the *Sapienza* as well. In the book considered here, it is the papal *Sapienza* that is the subject of attention.

The School (or *Collegio*) of Theology, together with those of medicine and law, governed the papal *Sapienza,* as they issued academic degrees, and thus they have claimed much of the attention from historians. This book by Candida Carella, however, concentrates on the teaching of philosophy in seventeenth-century Rome, which was affected by events such as the burning at the stake for heresy of Giordano Bruno, followed by the consignment of Copernicus's *De revolutionibus* to the Index in 1616, and the trial and condemnation of Galileo in 1633.

This volume, which is based on a doctoral thesis in philosophy for the State Università di Roma "La Sapienza," cuts a careful path through the course of that troubled century by concentrating on a considerable amount of previously unpublished documentary material. The first part of the volume discusses the institutional factors that affected the teaching of philosophy in the seventeenth-century *Studium Urbis*, such as its subordination to medicine, law, and theology. Furthermore, the nearby Jesuit *Collegio Romano* offered a structured course in all branches of neo-Aristotelian philosophy that not only tended to empty the lecture halls of the *Sapienza* but also was frequently considered by its academic authorities as an essential philosophical school, leading one student in 1652 to complain about the impossibility of obtaining

a degree at the *Sapienza* if one had not studied philosophy previously with the Jesuits.

Carella's biographical and scientific profiles of the fifty-six lecturers in philosophy at the *Sapienza* suggest, instead, that they were of some merit. A previously little-known figure discussed here is a lecturer of Greek origin, Demetrio Fallirei (Demetrius Phalereus), who, despite the hostility of the Faculty of Medicine and the competition of the Jesuits, managed to teach philosophy courses for many years to more than a hundred students. His approach mixed Aristotelian physics, Galenic medicine, the Baconian theme of a *prolungatio vitae,* and Cartesian physiology. Indeed, the study of Fallirei and other lecturers in philosophy at the *Sapienza* supplies evidence of a discrete diffusion of Cartesianism in seventeenth-century Rome, added to a cautious interest in the new atomistic theories. Thus, this book questions the traditional portrayal of an academic institution in dramatic decline, totally enclosed within the neo-Aristotelian Scholasticism sanctioned by the Council of Trent.

Università di Roma "La Sapienza" HILARY GATTI

Relation de la mission des Pyrénées (1635–1649); Le jésuite Jean Forcaud face à la montagne. Translated, annotated, and introduced by Serge Brunet with the collaboration of Paul Fave. [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Section d'histoire moderne de la Révolution française et des révolutions, Série in-8°, Vol. 46.] (Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. 2009. Pp. ciii, 357. €50,00. ISBN 978-2-735-50658-3.)

Jesuit reports to their superiors have long been appreciated as a source of early-modern social and cultural history, invaluable outside eyes on local cultures; the reports of Jean Forcaud and his successors in the valleys of the Central Pyrenees are no exception. These accounts of missions tell about social structure, religious organization, feuding, and emotions. They are also dramatic descriptions of the cutting edge of Catholic Reformation, as the charismatic missionary, with the willing collaboration of his lay audience, sweeps away local custom and idiosyncrasy (music, dancing, games, masks) and replaces it (for how long we do not know) with Tridentine norms.

Forcaud describes missions in the following dioceses: Tarbes (1635, valleys of Lavedan and Ossun), Comminges (1637–38, valleys of Aure, Louron, Larboust, Oueil, Bareilles, Luchon, Layrisse, Bavarthés, and Barousse, as well as the larger towns of St. Béat, Aspet, and Salies de Luchon; in 1642, valley of Aran), Couserans (1639, valleys of Birós, Bellongue, Bethmale), Alet (1640–41, valley of Capcir), Mirepoix (1643), and Auch (1644, valley of Mauléon). After Forcaud's death in 1644, other Jesuits continued the work. This book contains a brief account of missions in Comminges of 1648–49.

Forcaud, based in Auch, missionized the Pyrenées in a kind of personal calling, first convincing the bishops, and then moving communities and entire valleys by his preaching. As he tells it, the fame of the missions spread quickly, and he and his companions were besieged by requests for their preaching. Their reports describe the landscape; the communities; a widespread, public polygamy, an easy tolerance in those towns in which Catholics and Protestants lived together; the enthusiastic celebration of carnival; ongoing disputes, *brouilles*, and feuds; and a general ignorance as to the basics of the faith, despite the ample numbers of local clerics (whom they missionized separately, notably with spiritual exercises). Foucaud found a willing audience for a program of reconciliation and the settlement of civil disputes, consolidation of brotherhoods into (especially) those of the Holy Sacrament, enclosure of cemeteries, the erection of crosses on prominences, and a rigorist penitential devotion to the crucified Christ, reaching parents through children, and encouraging household images and altars. In a detailed introduction and footnotes, Serge Brunet confirms the events in the relations and identifies local protagonists. Only in the Val d'Aran was Forcaud rebuffed, in the midst of the revolt of the Catalans against the Spanish monarchy and in the context of the Aran clergy's dedication to preserving their stubborn autonomy.

Some of the texts are seventeenth-century French versions; others are translations into modern French along with the Latin originals. The book includes an annex with complementary documents, a glossary, indices of subjects and proper names, maps, and numerous illustrations.

Relation de la Mission des Pyrénées is fascinating reading, a fine complement to Brunet's account of Val d'Aran in the early-modern period (reviewed *ante* XCIII, [2007], 84–103).

Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain WILLIAM A. CHRISTIAN, JR.

Ferdinand III. (1608–1657). Friedenskaiser wider Willen. By Lothar Höbelt. (Graz: Ares Verlag, 2008. Pp. 488. €29,90. ISBN 978-3-902-47556-5.)

Many leading figures of the Thirty Years War have received masterful biographies. One thinks, for example, of John H. Elliott's *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline* (New Haven, 1986) and Dieter Albrecht's *Maximilian I. von Bayern* (Munich, 1998). Johann Franzl published a suitable biography of Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) (Graz, 1978). But no modern biography has ever appeared of his son, Emperor Ferdinand III (1608–57), who finally concluded the Peace of Westphalia (1648), until the volume here under review by Lothar Höbelt, professor of history at the University of Vienna. One can welcome it as a qualified success. The author follows the chronological span of Ferdinand's life from his birth in Graz to his death in Vienna forty-nine years later. Yet perhaps because of a dearth of pertinent sources, we never come to know

Ferdinand's personality. He became emperor at his father's death in 1637 when the Habsburgs were riding high, only to see their fortunes soon begin to decline. The younger Ferdinand undertook no great programs or initiatives and was generally content to react to situations. A strength of the book is its treatment of the final phase of the Thirty Years War, from 1635 to 1648, and then the decade following the long conflict, periods that usually receive short shrift in standard works. Yet the book is overly long and in some sections difficult to follow, especially those dealing with the politics and military operations of the Thirty Years War.

Höbelt emphasizes Ferdinand III's allegiance to the Habsburg dynasty, "the first family of Europe," as it has been called. The emperor never set foot in Spain; indeed, he scarcely left the Habsburg lands apart from journeys to Regensburg for a diet. Yet, Höbelt contends convincingly, he stands out of all the Habsburg emperors as the most sympathetic to Spanish interests. The subtitle *Friedenskaiser wider Willen* expresses the reluctance with which he concluded the Peace of Westphalia because it required that he withdraw support from his Spanish relatives. Ferdinand III had married the daughter of Philip III, Maria Anna, in 1630, and his first major military venture, coordinated with the Spanish Cardinal-Infante, resulted in the pivotal victory at Nördlingen (1634). Ferdinand III showed much greater readiness to assist the Spaniards in Italy and the Netherlands than his father had. Höbelt sees Maximilian von Trautmannsdorf, Ferdinand's leading minister, as basically pro-Spanish despite his energetic advocacy of the Peace of Westphalia. The author follows closely the negotiations for Spanish marriages in the 1640s. Ferdinand's daughter, Marianne, went to Spain in 1649 to become the third wife of Philip IV, but his efforts failed at a Spanish marriage for his son, Ferdinand IV, who was crowned king of the Romans in 1654 but predeceased his father. He was likewise unsuccessful in arranging a match between his second son, Leopold, and Maria Teresa, the daughter of Philip IV. Some in Vienna in the 1650s even hoped for a return to the situation of Emperor Charles V. But Maria Teresa married the future King Louis XIV instead, with great consequence for European history.

Höbelt argues persuasively that Ferdinand did not really lose in the Empire as a result of Westphalia. The argument that he did lose can be made only if one attributes to him the desire to establish a form of absolutism there that neither he nor his father ever intended. The Peace re-established, more or less, the status quo *ante*.

The author underestimates the role of religion in the war, for example, at the Electoral Convention of Regensburg in 1630 and in the significance of the Peace of Prague (1635) as preparing the way for the religious concessions of the Peace of Westphalia. Höbelt alludes several times to references of Ferdinand to divine providence, but their importance is not clear. The "General Reformation" or Counter-Reformation campaign of the 1650s in the Habsburg lands Höbelt attributes more to the desire for discipline and order

than to concern for his subjects' salvation, and he questions its short-term effectiveness.

The lack of maps, apart from one of Hungary, as well as of adequate genealogical tables constitute a shortcoming of the book. Yet as a study of Ferdinand III, it stands out as a significant contribution to seventeenth-century European history.

Loyola University Chicago ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

Mary Ward und ihre Gründung. Die Quellentexte bis 1645. Edited by Ursula Dirmeier, C.J. 4 vols. [Corpus Catholicorum, Vols. 45–48.] (Münster: Aschendorff. 2008. Pp. viii, 768; vi, 658; vi, 559; vi, 304. €89,00, 79,00, 69,00, 42,00; €224,00 for all four. Vol. 1, ISBN 978-3-402-03459-0; vol. 2, 978-3-402-03460-6; vol. 3, 978-3-402-03461-3; vol. 4, 978-3-402-03462-0.)

Mary Ward (1585–1645): A Briefe Relation . . . *with Autobiographical Fragments and a Selection of Letters.* Edited by Christina Kenworthy-Brown, C.J. [Catholic Record Society Publications: Records Series, Vol. 81.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer. 2008. Pp. xxii, 175. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-902-83224-4.)

Ursula Dirmeier's four-volume scholarly edition of primary-source texts by and pertaining to Mary Ward (1585–1645) is an exemplary accomplishment. Most of these texts have not been published previously and thus appear here for the first time to a wider scholarly public. Dirmeier modestly notes (p. 1:7) that this edition should be regarded as the starting point for more detailed study of Ward's work.

The introduction (at the beginning of volume 1) consists of four parts. Part 1 is devoted to a short biographical note on Ward. Part 2 pertains to the survival (and destruction) of Ward's writings in the centuries following her death. Here it is noted that ecclesiastical authorities intentionally destroyed large numbers of writings by—and documents pertaining to—Ward between 1749 and 1868, and that the bulk of Ward's writings that survived were safely stored in Munich and are now preserved in the archive of the Mary Ward Foundation in Munich (Nymphenburg).

The role of historical biographies (especially two that were published in 1732 and 1885, respectively) and of more recent scholarship in helping to preserve writings by and documents pertaining to Ward is discussed; in this regard, the role of successful efforts (commencing in the final quarter of the nineteenth century) to reverse prior ecclesiastical condemnations of Ward's legacy is also noted. Part 3 of the introduction lists the principal collections that house the texts reproduced in this four-volume edition; the organization of the texts within this edition also is briefly explained. Part 4 discusses the edition's editorial principles, including attention to original punctuation and capitalization in the texts and textual variants.

The texts contained in volumes 1 through 4 are organized into fourteen sections (I–XIV). Within sections 1I through XII, these texts are arranged in chronological order and ordered sequentially (numbers 1 through 1530). In volume 1, section I is devoted to the extant autographical fragments by Ward. Texts follow that document her family history from 1472 to 1606 (section II); her years (1606–09) with the Order of the Poor Clares (section III); her first Foundation (1610–16) at Saint-Omer (section IV); and the subsequent establishment of Foundations (1616–21) in Liège, Cologne, and Trier (section V). Volume 1 concludes with section VI, which contains texts pertaining to Ward's initial petitions for papal approval and nascent opposition thereto (1621–23).

Volume 2 (sections VII, VIII, and IX) document her additional Foundations (1623–24, 1627-28) and the gradual closure of her Foundations (beginning in 1624) as decreed by the Propaganda Fide. In volume 3, sections X, XI, and XIII pertain to the final fifteen years of Ward's life (1630–45), including the banning of her Foundations, her brief imprisonment (in 1631), and her subsequent work with her companions (as laypeople) in Italy, Liège, and England. Volume 13 concludes with a short section (XIII, nos. 1531 through 1536) of texts that cannot be dated at this time.

The first half of volume 4 (pp. 1–145) contains two early biographical texts written in English that are devoted to Ward (1:1–3, by Barbara Ward); 2:4–37, 50–99, by Mary Poyntz) and an Italian-language adaptation of the English-language text by Poyntz (pp. 100–45). These biographical texts are followed (pp. 147–250) by indices of persons and topics, and by a complete listing of the library/archive locations (with call numbers/shelf marks) for the documents reproduced in these four volumes and by a list of all published literature that has been utilized. Volume 4 concludes (pp. 251–304) with a set of very useful appendices, which include genealogical tables (pp. 262–80), a list of Ward's companions (pp. 281–89), and the reproduction of the texts (pp. 296–304) that accompany the fifty panels of the seventeenth-century *Painted Life of Mary Ward*.

The texts (numbers 1 through 1536) contained in these four volumes are written in English, French, German, Italian, Latin, and Spanish. A wide range of primary-source documents fall within the scope of these texts, including personal correspondence by Ward and her companions, correspondence written by ecclesiastical and secular authorities, a curriculum plan (no. 756), financial accounts (e.g., nos. 725, 791), and (other) official documents (e.g., nos. 141, 907, 1137, 1312, 1319). Together with each text, a summary (varying in length and complexity as appropriate) of its content is included; as warranted, footnotes (e.g., nos. 100, 216, 723, 992) and/or annotations (e.g., nos. 212, 488) are appended.

Only two suggestions can made here. First, a brief introduction to the biographical texts contained in volume 4, section XIV would have been helpful.

Second, the table of contents to volume 4 might have included a complete listing of the very useful "Overviews" (*Übersichten*, pp. 251–66) within the appendices. Yet these two suggestions are by no means intended to detract from the extraordinary value and quality of this four-volume edition of works by and pertaining to Ward. It will be useful to researchers working on Reformation-era history, the history of Catholicism, and women's studies for decades to come. It deserves a place in most research libraries and could serve as a very useful model for critical editions of texts originating from this period.

Christina Kenworthy-Browne's English-language edition and selection of texts by Ward serve as an excellent companion to Dirmeier's four-volume edition of her writings; Kenworthy-Browne has utilized some of the texts and annotations contained in Dirmeier's edition (as noted in the acknowledgments, p. vii). The texts reproduced here are organized into three sections: (1) Poyntz's English-language biography of Mary Ward (pp. 1–102); (2) six autographical fragments by Ward (encompassing the years 1585 through 1609, pp. 103–40); and (3) six letters (five by Ward and one by Poyntz) written between 1619 and 1645 (pp. 141–61). Especially valuable are the explanatory descriptions, footnotes, and other scholarly annotations that appear (where/as appropriate) together with the texts.

The introduction to this edition begins with a short biography of Ward (pp. xi–xiii) followed by a brief history of her Foundation (pp. xiv–xv). Texts included in this edition are then discussed, with more extensive attention (pp. xvi–xxi, xxii) given to Poyntz's English-language biography. Brief comments on editorial policy (pp. xxi–xxii) are also included. Following the texts are a very useful timeline for Ward's life (pp. 163–66) and a select bibliography (pp. 167–69) as well as indices of people (pp. 181–83) and places (pp. 184–85). This edition includes eleven excellent illustrations, which include those placed on the dust jacket, on the frontispiece, and between pages 74 and 75. Kenworthy-Browne's English-language edition of works by Ward will be useful for courses and instructional segments on Reformation-era and early-modern history, women's history, church history, and English history. It deserves a place in undergraduate-level libraries as well as in many libraries serving secondary school students.

Alabama State University JOSEPH S. FREEDMAN

Quellenbestände der Indienmission 1700–1918 in Archiven des deutschsprachigen Raums. Edited by Erika Pabst and Thomas Müller-Bahlke. [Hallesche Quellenpublikationen und Repertorien, Band 9.] (Tübingen: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen Halle im Max Niemeyer Verlag. 2005. Pp. xvi, 112. $54.00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-484-84109-3.)

This book is the result of a meeting that took place in Oxford in 1999. It proposed to offer a guide to the material concerning missions in India, which can be found in archives of German-speaking countries for the period from

1700 to 1918. The archives of the Franckesche Stiftung (foundation) in Halle offer rich material concerning the first Protestant missionaries to India; among them were the well-known Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plüschke, who served the mission of Tranquebar.

The project intended to include both Protestant mission societies (Basel Mission, Berlin Mission, Danish-Halle Mission, Moravian Church [Herrenhuter Brüder-Unität], Hermannsburg Mission, Leipzig Mission [Dresden Mission Society], Gossner Mission, North German Mission, and Breklum Mission [Schleswig Holstein]) and Catholic religious orders (Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross [Hazaribag Bihar]; Jesuit mission in Bombay; Carmelites; Swiss Capuchins; and Sisters of the Holy Cross Travancore, Trivandrum [Sisters of Menzingen]).

Regarding the Protestant societies, Albrecht Frenz rightly emphasizes the importance of the Basel Mission, which united all streams of the Reformation and served as an example and a model for later Protestant mission societies (p. 2). Regarding the Catholic religious orders, special attention is due to the short article about the importance of the Swiss Capuchin Anastasius Hartmann (1803–66), a pioneer of the Roman Catholic Mission in India in the nineteenth century and author of *Monumenta Anastasiana*.

For each mission society, the address, telephone and fax numbers, e-mail address, and name of the archivist are given. In many cases, the hours and other information about the archives are listed. After these data follow articles of at least five pages that give a short description of the history of the society in India and also the essential bibliography of publications about the society's history. The reader is facilitated by indices on the mission societies, religious orders, individuals, places and countries, abbreviations, and archives. Finally, the publication includes the addresses of the contributing authors.

Individuals who are looking for firsthand material concerning the history of Christian missions in India from 1700 to 1918 will be grateful for this reliable publication. Such studies will throw new light on the Christian mission in India and on the intercultural exchange that took place between Europe and India.

Munich, Germany WILLI HENKEL, O.M.I.

Das Schicksal der Jesuiten aus der Oberdeutschen und den beiden Rheinischen Ordensprovinzen nach ihrer Vertreibung aus den Missionsgebieten des portugiesischen und spanischen Patronats (1755–1809). By Uwe Glüsenkamp. [Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft, Zweite Reihe, Band 40.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2008. Pp. viii, 295. €44,00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-402-14866-2.)

In 1756, when the Marquis de Pombal suppressed the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese realm, more than 1000 Jesuits were deported back to Lisbon

from Portuguese overseas territories; eleven of them were German missionaries from the three Jesuit provinces of Upper Rhineland, Lower Rhineland, and Upper Germany. In 1767, as a consequence of the Spanish Bourbon suppression of the Company, some 2200 Jesuit missionaries returned to the mother country, among them eighty-eight German Jesuits from the three provinces. This study is a careful and factual reconstruction of the lives of the ninety-nine Jesuit missionaries, using the twenty-six works bequeathed by the missionaries in question, as well as information gathered from forty-one archives in Europe. After a short introduction describing the rising anti-Jesuit sentiments in Spain and Portugal, the author describes the repatriation of Jesuits to Lisbon, their imprisonment (lasting as long as nineteen years), and their eventual release. The harsh treatment for the Jesuit missionaries in Portugal reflected the personal animosity of Pombal and contrasted strongly with the more humane conditions of repatriation and relocation in Spain. In the next chapters, Glüsenkamp describes in detail the repatriation of the German Jesuits to their home provinces and the conditions of their reception.The hardest blow came in 1773, with the papal dissolution of the Society of Jesus. Glüsemkamp reconstructs the lives of many of the group of ninety-nine: some became secular priests, others resided in cloisters of other religious orders, many impoverished and old brothers found refuge in houses of hermits, and still others found support in their own families. A few fortunate souls succeeded in joining their brethren in White Russia, where the Society continued to exist, thanks to the refusal of Catherine the Great to acknowledge the papal decree of suppression. One of these was Anselm Eckart, a former missionary in Brazil and a member of the Upper Rhineland province, who died in 1809 in Dünaburg, Belorussia, the last surviving member of the group of exceptional missionaries. Eckart himself had been incarcerated in various Portuguese prisons between 1758 and 1777, one of the longest suffering of the unhappy Jesuits, and yet outlived the rest of his German brethren, dying only a few years before seeing the restoration of his beloved Society.

This careful and factual study comes with six appendices of lists and tables summarizing the biographies and careers of the ninety-nine German Jesuit missionaries. It is a useful addition to the history of the Society of Jesus for a period that has yet to receive more scholarly attention.

Pennsylvania State University RONNIE PO-CHIA HSIA

Late Modern European

The Oxford Movement and Its Leaders: A Bibliography of Secondary and Lesser Primary Sources. By Lawrence N. Crumb. [ATLA Bibliography Series, No. 56.] (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press. 2009. Pp. xxviii, 907. $185.00. ISBN 978-0-810-86193-0.)

The Oxford Movement exerted a great influence on the Church of England during the nineteenth century, and it has continued to influence the

liturgy, spirituality, and church organization of Anglicanism throughout the world. Its origins, leading figures, theology, and the controversies associated with its history have caught the eye of scholars from the 1830s to the present. Lawrence N. Crumb, a retired Episcopal priest and associate professor emeritus at the University of Oregon, has devoted a quarter of a century to a project that culminated in this valuable bibliography of the Oxford Movement and its main personalities.

Crumb's first edition appeared in 1988 and included 5688 citations, and in 1993, he published a supplement with an additional 1831 entries. Although the vast majority of the citations begin in 1833, the date of John Keble's "National Apostasy" sermon and the traditional start of the Oxford Movement, there are several entries from the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. This second-edition bibliography, which extends through 2001 to include publications commemorating the bicentennial of Cardinal John Henry Newman's birth, contains 8225 citations. The author limits the bibliography to the leaders of the Oxford Movement—Newman, Keble, and Edward Pusey—and the subject matter, in addition to theology and ecclesiastical topics, includes literature, history, and the arts.

Crumb's methodology has not changed dramatically from his first 1983 edition. "The sequence of entries is chronological and thus provides a history of interest in the Movement. Within each year, entries are arranged as follows: first, books and other separately published items, arranged by author; next, chapters in books (including articles in encyclopedias), arranged by editor (or, in some cases, by title); finally, articles in periodicals, arranged by periodical title" (p. xix). This is followed by a list of "bibliographic ghosts"—namely, sources that could not be properly verified—and the major editions of *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* and commentaries. In addition to the new references, corrections to previous entries, and the inclusion of items not listed in the first edition and supplement, Crumb has added a new entry, "Books about the Oxford Movement," and a number of Internet sources. Especially important is Project Canterbury, an online archive that provides access to biographical sketches, articles, pamphlets, and *Tracts for the Times*.

The scope of this bibliography is comprehensive, and the outline is easy to follow. Its presentation of the sources is simple and straightforward, and the expanded author and subject indices in this edition provide important tools for researchers. Crumb's significant work is an important tool for the study of the Oxford Movement and a valuable resource for all libraries.

Saint Vincent College RENE KOLLAR
Latrobe, PA

La Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul au XIX^e siècle (1833–1871): Un fleuron du catholicisme social. By Mathieu Brejon de Lavergnée. [Historie religieuse de la France, Vol. 34.] (Paris: Éditions du Cerf. 2008. Pp. 713. €29,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-08609-7.)

The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, founded in Paris in 1833 by a handful of students, grew rapidly across the next half century; by 1872, 1765 branches of the society had organized thousands of lay Frenchmen who wished to "join together in prayer and participate in charitable works" (p. 47). The movement challenges historians' view of the nineteenth century as a period of secularization, especially among men, and of a civil society pulverized between bourgeois individualism and an overbearing state.

Mathieu Brejon de Lavergnée's research is far ranging and impressive. He has used the society's own extensive records, notably minutes of meetings of its general council and of Parisian branches, and he has assembled a detailed prosopographical database of the 809 men who held office in Paris throughout the period. Analyzing this "charitable elite," Brejon de Lavergnée aims to assess levels of fervor, thus moving beyond a religious sociology that has traditionally focused on levels of practice.

The book begins with a chapter on the foundation of the society that situates it socially in networks of bourgeois provincials studying in Paris and intellectually in the aftermath of the condemnation of Félicité de Lamennais. Chapter 2 examines the geographical spread of the society, both in Paris and across France. The following two chapters analyze the society at work, focusing on the Paris branches. Chapter 3 discusses the bureaucratic structures that made it possible to expand without abandoning members' sense that "communion" rather than regulations governed their activities, and chapter 4 focuses on finances, including an account of the society's response to the changing nature of poverty in Haussmann's Paris. Chapters 5 through 7 dig into the database of members to examine their social origins and trajectories. The leadership of the society was predominantly bourgeois (60 percent), although many nobles (20 percent) and sons of the petty bourgeoisie and laboring class (20 percent) found their way into its ranks. The final chapter (8) focuses on the rhetoric and practice of charity, arguing that members elaborated an "altruistic spirituality" oriented around visiting the homes of the poor to discover the image of Christ among the needy (p. 598).

Brejon de Lavergnée is cautious in his conclusions. Although his sample is completely masculine, he offers no analysis of religion and gender roles. Nor is he willing to take on arguments about secularization, although much of his research might lend itself to a reconsideration of how thoroughly secular French society was.

Instead, Brejon de Lavergnée locates the Society of St. Vincent de Paul within a tradition of French antimodernism that rejected the French Revolution's "displacement of religion in favor of politics as society's struc-

turing element" (p. 576). He convincingly argues that this antimodernism was a conventional position in bourgeois society. Far from being concentrated in traditionally pious areas such as Brittany, the society flourished in the same towns where other bourgeois associations took root. The careful prosopography indicates that members were ordinary bourgeois men. They fathered larger families than their contemporaries (or their own parents), and they were more likely than the general population to raise a child with a religious vocation, but, on the whole, their educational aspirations, professional achievements, and private lives were unremarkable. In the practice of charity, the Catholics of Brejon de Lavergnée's sample learned to live the Catholic critique of the Revolution at the same time as many of their fellow Frenchmen were internalizing the practices and values of the republic. The Vincentian contribution to the nineteenth-century project of "recreating a society between the State and the individual" was to insist that any meaningful society had to create both horizontal and vertical ties—linking individuals to one another and to God (p. 538).

University of South Carolina CAROL E. HARRISON

Cornelia Connelly's Innovations in Female Education, 1846–1864: Revolutionizing the School Curriculum for Girls. By Roseanne McDougall. [Hors série.] (Lewistown, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 2008. Pp. 288. $109.95. ISBN 978-0-773-45187-2.)

Sister Roseanne McDougall, S.H.C.J., assistant professor of religion at La Salle University, has produced a masterly work on educator Cornelia Peacock Connelly, published in the bicentennial year of Cornelia's birth in Philadelphia. During the eighteen-year period studied in this book, Cornelia offered a solid education to girls from all walks of life: the poor, teachers-in-training, the middle classes, and the upper class, beginning in Derby, England.

Cornelia had received most of her experience of American Protestant education in Philadelphia between 1809 and 1831. Education for girls was important in that city of intellectual and artistic vitality. Married to the Reverend Pierce Connelly in 1831, Cornelia accompanied him to Natchez, Mississippi, to take up her role as wife of the Episcopal minister of Trinity Church. Their first two children, Mercer and Adeline, were born in Natchez.

Studying the attacks against Catholics during the Nativist movement in the United States, the couple came to know and embrace the Catholic faith. En route to Rome in 1835, they stopped in New Orleans. As their ship was delayed, Cornelia was received into the Catholic Church and received her First Communion from Bishop Anthony Blanc in St. Louis Cathedral.

Pierce made his profession of faith in the Catholic Church in Rome, and both were confirmed. English Catholics whom they met in Rome would later call Cornelia to her educational apostolate in England in 1846. Financial mat-

ters caused their return to the United States. They were invited to Grand Coteau, Louisiana. During their years (1838–43) there, Pierce taught English at the Jesuit St. Charles College, and Cornelia taught music at the Academy of the Sacred Heart, where she had been welcomed into the retreats of the Religious of the Sacred Heart and into their school. Pierce eventually decided to seek ordination as a Catholic priest, which changed their life.

The family returned to Rome. While Cornelia was a quasi-postulant at the Trinità dei Monti in Rome, Adeline was a student at the Academy of the Sacred Heart, and little Frank lived there with his nurse. Pierce was ordained to the Catholic priesthood, but several years later left the Church.

McDougall situates this work in the context of girls' education in mid-nineteenth-century England. Education for the poor was minimal, less for girls than for boys. Schools sponsored by religious groups added religion to the basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, which emphasized rote learning. Religious congregations had been active in education before Cornelia's arrival in 1846, but they were severely repressed. The Roman Catholic Relief Act (1829), the Oxford Movement (1833), and the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in England (1850) fostered the climate for flourishing of Catholic faith-based education.

In 1856 the Roman Catholic Training College began at St. Leonards-on-Sea. The community that Cornelia had been called to found, Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, had moved there from Derby. Among the graduates in its eight-year normal school history were more than a hundred teachers, both lay and religious. McDougall cites extensive observations of educational authorities during the years of the training college, that is, from Her Majesty's Inspector and the Catholic Poor School Committee. Religion was an intellectual study and an important component of moral development. Moreover, Cornelia provided time for the students to develop their spirituality.

That same year, 1856, at St. Leonards, a Boarding School for Young Ladies enrolled a mere sixteen students. There was also a middle school, St. Michael's School, and St. Aloysius, the poor school. The environment at St. Leonards was highly positive—filled with enthusiasm for learning, mutual trust, simplicity, and a zest for life.

Curriculum for the School for Young Ladies at St. Leonards reflects *Cornelia's Book of the Order of Studies,* which is referenced in John Marmion's "Cornelia Connelly's Work in Education, 1848–1879" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1978).

McDougall's style is pleasant to read and invites the reader to learn more about this Cornelia who was wife, mother, founder, and educator. The scholarship in this work is impressive, giving extensive bibliographical materials for further reading.

River Ridge, LA JEANNE MARIE GUERIN, S.H.C.J.

Prophets, Guardians and Saints: Shapers of Modern Catholic History. By Owen F. Cummings. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2007. Pp. viii, 197.) $19.98 paperback. ISBN 978-0-809-14446-4.)

The history of the Church between the French Revolution and World War I is replete with fascinating personalities—a number of whom could be credibly classified as "Prophets, Guardians, and Saints." The author's principal nominees include three popes (Pius IX, 1792–1878; Leo XIII, 1810–1903; and Pius X, 1835–1914), four priests (Johann Adam Möhler, 1796–1838; Cardinal John Henry Newman, 1801–90; Gerard Manley Hopkins, 1844–89; and Isaac Thomas Hecker, 1819–88), one religious woman (Thérèse Martin, 1873–97), one layman (Baron Friedrich von Hügel, 1835–1914), and one laywoman (Maude Petry, 1863–1942). In regard to the category of "saints," Pius X and Thérèse of Lisieux have already been canonized; Pius IX has been beatified; and the causes for beatifications of Newman and Hecker are in process. As for the categories of "guardians," the three popes would surely qualify; but the category of "prophets" seems ambivalent; Newman, for example, might be considered both a prophet and a guardian. Perhaps saints need to be both.

As the author acknowledges, these categories are indebted to Meriol Trevor, whose *Prophets and Guardians: Renewal and Tradition in the Church* (London, 1969) included some of the same figures, but also treated others such as Pope Benedict XIV (1675–1758) and Felicité de Lamennais (1782–1854). In both books, the basis for inclusion seems discretionary; nonetheless, both works are enjoyable and entertaining, although Trevor seemed more at home in discussing the nineteenth century than Cummings, whose historical narratives seem largely dependent on secondary sources.

As a case in point, Cummings, although an aficionado of Newman, does not display a detailed knowledge of his life nor an in-depth familiarity with his thought. For example, Newman, as rector of the Catholic University of Ireland, is described as having many difficulties with "Cardinal Cullen"; while their relationship was certainly strained, Paul Cullen (1803–78), then archbishop of Dublin, was not named cardinal until 1867—a decade after Newman's time in Dublin. In addition, Cummings seemingly identifies "tutors" and "professors"; in fact, their roles were quite distinct: tutors were to live in the student residences and serve as both academic coaches and moral role models; professors were responsible for lectures and research. Also overlooked is the irony in Newman's well-known description of a "gentleman" as one who acquires academic knowledge and refined manners; Newman insisted that real gentlemen need to be virtuous as well as educated and well mannered. Finally, one is surprised that in treating the First Vatican Council (1869–70), ultramontane interpretations of infallibility are duly rejected, but no mention is made of Newman's *A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk* (1875), which simultaneously answered Anglican objections and trimmed ultramontane excesses.

Finally, Cummings seems to have a penchant for factoids; for example, "Thérèse has been the subject of over nine hundred biographies, almost one a month since her death (p. 178); on the other hand, some opinions seem enigmatic: "Thérèse identified with the atheists as a result of this nihilistic experience of utter darkness" (p. 188). Although there is no index, there are ample references at the end of each chapter. Although the author's heavy reliance on secondary literature has resulted in a number of misstatements and a rather routine portrayal of historical events, the popular audience for whom this book seems intended will probably not notice these deficiencies. For such readers, this book will probably be an eye-opener to an era of dramatic interaction between "guardians" and "prophets" who might otherwise be completely forgotten.

The Catholic University of America JOHN T. FORD

The Fenian Problem: Insurgency and Terrorism in a Liberal State, 1858–1874. By Brian Jenkins. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 439. $85.00. ISBN 978-0-773-53426-1.)

Brian Jenkins's book sets out to explore "the response of successive governments of the British liberal state to the threat of Fenianism" (p. ix). He finds commonalities in the Victorian era with those dilemmas that still face society today of combating terrorism in a free society. He concludes, however, that in some respects the Victorians remained more faithful to the traditional freedoms granted to citizens under the law than did those who tackled Irish terrorism in the late-twentieth century.

The Fenians flourished both in the United States and Ireland. Theirs was a secret organization devoted to the overthrow of the British state in Ireland, initially by means of insurgency and open rebellion. This strategy singularly failed in several sporadic attempts at insurrection in Ireland in 1867, partly because in 1865–66 the Liberal government under Lord Wodehouse, as lord lieutenant or governor of Ireland, had suppressed the Fenian newspaper, arrested the leading Fenian figures, and suspended *habeas corpus*.

A second line of Fenian activity involved what Jenkins identifies as terrorism, in our present use of that term. Much attention is devoted to several notorious incidents that took place in Britain in 1867, the fracas in Manchester that led to the shooting of a policeman, and the explosion at Clerkenwell Jail that resulted in civilian deaths. Jenkins meticulously reconstructs the circumstances surrounding these events and the trials that followed them, those executed after the former incident becoming the "Manchester Martyrs" of Irish nationalist iconography. Both incidents put pressure on the Conservative government of the time but "[t]here was no resort to arbitrary arrests in Britain" while in Ireland "the liberal state remained a promise only" (p. 178).

All of this had a distinct effect on the Liberal party, which returned to power in late 1869, under the leadership of William Ewart Gladstone. On becoming prime minister he was determined to tackle the Fenian issue, not by means of repression, but by his "justice for Ireland" policy. He hoped to marginalize the Fenians by winning over other sections of Irish society. As well as a measure to increase the rights of tenants, he attempted to woo the Catholic Church, which had never been sympathetic to the Fenians, by disestablishing the Anglican Church in Ireland and by attempting, although ultimately failing, to find an acceptable means of allowing Catholics access to university education. Although Fenianism faded to a degree, there was renewed support for Irish self-government, and Gladstone was forced to agree to restrictions on civil liberties to combat crime. His policy of winning Ireland round had failed, although Jenkins is struck by how relatively moderate were the infractions of liberal principles even in Ireland.

The issue of the response of the liberal state to terrorism is an important thread that runs through this densely evidenced book, rather than a dominating theme. Jenkins paints a very full picture of the events of the times and offers a most interesting account of the deliberations of British statesmen as they sought to respond to Fenianism. In this, they were caught among liberal principles, reformist impulses, public opinion both in Britain and Ireland, the pressure of interest groups, and the need to maintain order. *The Fenian Problem* offers both an insight into the issue of managing terrorism and a thorough introduction to much of the British high politics of the time as it related to Ireland.

DePaul University JAMES H. MURPHY

Georges Goyau (1869–1939): Un intellectuel catholique sous la III^e^ République. By Jérôme Grondeux. [Collection de l'École Francaise de Rome, Vol. 38.] (Rome: École française de Rome. 2007. Pp. xii, 445. €53,00. ISBN 978-2-728-30749-4.)

It is difficult to read sources in early-twentieth-century French Catholicism without encountering Georges Goyau, member and secretary of the Académie française (1922–39). His prolific stamp is everywhere—as organizer or sponsor of events and associations; and as author, editor, or authority in publications. Because he is largely unknown, interpreting such encounters has been frustratingly difficult. Fortunately, this welcome volume changes all that. In addition to Grondeux's comprehensive biography, his bibliography is exhaustive: besides Goyau's eighty monographs (1893–1939), it also includes about 110 articles Goyau published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1895–1939) and another 550 articles in *Figaro* (1920–39). Grondeux also provides details on locating archival sources, including voluminous correspondence only recently made available at the Bibliothèque nationale.

In his career's first phase, begun under Pope Leo XIII, Goyau advocated social Catholicism: "It is clear that for Goyau, to renounce social Catholic

engagement is to renounce the world" (p. 127). After *The Pope, Catholics, and the Social Question* (Paris, 1893), Goyau published another five series on the subject (1901–12, *c.* 1500 pp.). Another passion was German religious history, resulting in four volumes on Catholicism and a fifth on Protestantism (1905–08, *c.* 1900 pp.). Yet another four volumes were devoted specifically to Otto von Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* (1911–13, *c.* 1000 pp.).

In 1903, Goyau married Lucie Félix-Faure, daughter of Félix Faure, president of the Third Republic (1895–99). Her publication of *Newman and His Works* (Paris, 1901) had popularized and made the late cardinal's thought widely accessible in France. As an intellectual, writer, and activist, she became a leading figure in Catholic feminism, lecturing at the Institut catholique de Paris, publishing in periodicals (including *Fémina*), and serving as vice president of a women's labor organization (pp. 280–85). Tragically, after just ten years of marriage, Lucie died prematurely. World War I broke out one year later.

Laid on top of submission to Pope Pius X's condemnations of liberal Catholicism—including those following the Act of Separation in 1905 and of Le Sillon in 1910 (painfully, the same year as the death of Goyau's mother)—these emotional trials led to Goyau's second phase. Both during and after World War I, his historical writings, especially biographies, complemented widespread efforts to represent an ancient yet ever new "Catholic France." Gondreux characterizes Goyau's long view as "Roman in the idea that the papacy also has a mission towards all of humanity, that it is the guarantor of a universality that is Catholic, Christian, human; and also guarantor of Truth whose rights it defends" (p. 402). This universalizing vision, coinciding with the French Empire's colonial apex, resulted in a third phase: histories of missions, including *The Church on the March: Studies of Missionary History* (Paris, 1928–36, *c.* 1300 pp.).

At the end, cataracts deprived Goyau of his passion for reading. His last article for Figaro, "Let's Listen to the Voice of Danzig," appeared on September 1, 1939, the day Hitler invaded Poland and sparked a second world war. After Goyau died the following month, Pope Pius XII sent his widow a handwritten letter of sympathy. In spite of a biography published in 1947, his memory was soon eclipsed. The cold war papacy embraced democratic liberalism as a weapon against communism, while France fought futile wars against decolonization.

Grondeux suggests another reason for the eclipse: profoundly marked by Leo XIII, Goyau remained fiercely ultramontist while engaged in both *ralliement* and social Catholicism. This apparent contradiction—"intransigent in theory" while "liberal in practice"—defies received categories (p. 401). But recent history may offer a context for re-evaluation: "John Paul II's mixture of intransigence with gestures of openness would have found an attentive exegete" in Goyau (pp. 402–03).

Boston College STEPHEN SCHLOESSER

Columba Marmion: Correspondance 1881–1923. Edited by Mark Tierney, R.-Ferdinand Poswick, and Nicolas Dayez. (Paris: François-Xavier de Guibert. 2008. Pp. 1361. €55,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-755-40318-3.)

Blessed Columba Marmion, O.S.B., was born in Dublin in 1858. During his studies at the Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, and at the Roman College of the Propaganda Fide, he was deeply formed by the neo-Scholastic theology of his teachers. After his ordination as a priest in 1881, Edward McCabe, the archbishop of Dublin, sent him as a curate into a parish for one year. After that, Marmion taught as a professor of philosophy and languages at Clonliffe. In 1886, the twenty-seven-year-old priest entered the Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium, which had been founded by the Benedictine Congregation of Beuron in 1872. From 1899 to 1909, Marmion was sent as prior to the Abbey of Keizersberg at Leuven. During this time, he became acquainted with many members of the Catholic University of Leuven, among them the later archbishop of Malines, Désiré-Joseph Mercier. In 1909, Marmion was elected abbot of Maredsous.

During this year, nearly 130 monks from Belgium, France, Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany belonged to the large community of Maredsous. Some of the monks were already or were to become famous scholars, such as the theologian Laurent Janssens and the historians Ursmer Berlière, Germain Morin, and Philibert Schmitz. While theological discussion suffered from the papal measures against modernism, the Liturgical Movement was born. Meanwhile in Europe, World War I provoked a wave of nationalism, which infected important Catholic leaders as well. Following the German occupation of Belgium, the German monks had to leave Maredsous. Some of the Belgian monks became soldiers or prisoners of war. Marmion, trying to find a refuge for at least part of his community, spent two years (1914–16) in Great Britain and Ireland. After his return to Maredsous, he started to prepare for the separation of this monastery from the German Congregation of Beuron and the foundation of the Belgian Benedictine Congregation of the Annunciation in 1920. In 1919, he sent four of his monks to the Dormition Abbey in Jerusalem to replace the German monks. But the Holy See did not support his plans to make the Dormition a Belgian monastery. Thus, in 1920, the German monks returned to Jerusalem.

With the publication of his spiritual conferences in three volumes—*Christ the Life of the Soul* (London, 1917), *Christ in His Mysteries* (Namur, Belgium, 1919), and *Christ the Ideal of the Monk* (Lille, 1922)—Marmion became famous. Generations of priests between World War I and the Second Vatican Council have read this trilogy. Marmion died in 1923 and was beatified in 2000. The most important facts of his life are to be found in the biographies by his assistant Raymond Thibaut, O.S.B. (1929), and, more recently, by Mark Tierney, O.S.B. (1994). Both of these biographies are somewhat apologetic.

Now, the monumental edition of almost all known letters written by Marmion is opening a new chapter in the scholarly approach to this impor-

tant ecclesiastical and spiritual leader. The editors have published 1867 letters in chronological order. Letters written in English are translated into French, and brief commentaries are provided. At the end of the volume, an alphabetical index helps one to find the correspondents and contains further information about these individuals and institutions. The book ends with a chronology of the letters and the life of Columba Marmion. An index of all individuals named in the letters would have been useful. The information, most important for a full understanding, that Marmion's correspondence with Dame Cécile de Hemptinne, the abbess of Maredret, was censored by his superior, Robert de Kerchove, the abbot of Leuven, from the end of March to July 1902 is hidden in a note on page 134.

Despite some errors in the commentary on these letters, this *Correspondance* is a welcome and useful edition. For the first time, the reader comes into close contact with the Irish humor of Marmion and learns a lot about the difficulties of a European Benedictine abbot at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Benediktinerabtei Gerleve MARCEL ALBERT, O.S.B.
Billerbeck, Germany

The Wine of Certitude: A Literary Biography of Ronald Knox. By David M. Rooney. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2009. Pp. 427. $17.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-586-17232-9.)

David M. Rooney's new study of one of the great twentieth-century apologists is as welcome as it is needed. Monsignor Ronald Knox (1888–1957)—brother of *Punch* editor E.V. Knox and uncle of novelist Penelope Fitzgerald—was one of the premier figures of the Catholic literary revival, deserving a place among the revival's *illustrissimi*, such as Hilaire Belloc, G. K. Chesterton, Graham Greene, Gerard Manley Hopkins, Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, Cardinal John Henry Newman, J. R. R. Tolkien, Evelyn Waugh, and others. Yet he has been sadly and unjustly neglected in the half-century since his death. His translation of the Bible into what he hoped would be "timeless English" is overlooked in favor of other, often worse, translations, and his other works, ranging across the spectrum of genres, are similarly unread and largely forgotten. It is, therefore, encouraging that we are seeing something of a Knox revival, a timely resurrection, in the wake of a revival of interest in the whole Catholic literary revival in which he was such a key player.

Baronius Press has recently secured the rights for the Knox translation of the Bible from the Archdiocese of Westminster and is in the process of producing a new complete edition, thereby bringing this literary gem back into print after several decades in the biblio-wilderness. A major work on Knox's Apologetics, Father Milton Walsh's *Ronald Knox as Apologist: Wit, Laughter and the Popish Creed* (San Francisco, 2007), has been published, as well as Walsh's comparative study of Knox and Lewis, *Second Friends: C. S. Lewis*

and Ronald Knox in Conversation (San Francisco, 2008). Rooney's new literary biography supplements this recent flurry of activity.

Rooney is to Knox what Dale Ahlquist of the American Chesterton Society is to Chesterton, an avid reader and amateur enthusiast who becomes, in time, an acknowledged expert. This book serves as testimony to Rooney's diligence in research, from the brief biography of the opening chapter to the sermons and retreats with which the volume concludes. In between, Rooney presents us with a comprehensive overview of the whole Knox œuvre, from the relative levity of his satire and detective fiction to the gravitas of his work as translator and apologist, mindful nonetheless that, as a disciple of Chesterton, Knox's levity always has gravitas, and his gravitas levity. For, as Chesterton reminds us, angels can fly because they take themselves lightly, whereas the devil falls by the force of gravity, i.e., by taking himself too seriously. Like his mentor, Knox was able to fly with the lightness of an angel because he never took himself as seriously as the topics he was tackling.

If *The Wine of Certitude* has one irritating weakness, it is the disjointedness attached to excessive quotation. Throughout the length of the book, the flow of Rooney's dexterous prose is interrupted by chunks from Knox's own works. It would have been preferable for Knox's works to have been presented within the seamless garment of Rooney's narrative, rather than, at times, the narrative fading into little more than a segue between the quotations. This is, however, a mere quibble. Rooney has succeeded in doing what he evidently set out to do. He has given us a superb introduction to the life and work of Knox in a single volume. Anyone wishing to know more about this great defender and champion of the Faith need look no further than this timely tome.

Ave Maria University JOSEPH PEARCE

Oldenburgs Priester unter NS-Terror, 1932–1945. Herrschaftsalltag in Milieu und Diaspora. Festschrift für Joachim Kuropka zum 65. Geburtstag. Edited by Michael Hirschfeld and Maria Anna Zumholz. (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2006. Pp. xx, 818. ISBN 978-3-402-02492-8.)

This mammoth volume details the persecution of Roman Catholic priests in Oldenburg during the years of National Socialist rule. Containing nearly eighty separate accounts of individual priests and clergy who ran afoul of the Nazi state, this compilation is a Festschrift for Joachim Kuropka, the historian at the University of Vechta known for his regional histories of the Oldenburg region in northwestern Germany and his scholarship on Clemens August Graf von Galen, cardinal of Münster.

This dense volume centers on Oldenburg, a long, slender sliver that technically belonged to the diocese of Münster but was cut off geographically by

the diocese of Osnabrück. The northern sections were part of the Catholic diaspora, an almost exclusively Protestant bastion known for its strong support for the Nazis. In contrast, the southern regions, which included the regional centers of Cloppenburg and Vechta, were home to a thriving Catholic milieu. With more than 90 percent of the population consisting of registered Catholics, the Catholic parishes there boasted dynamic ancillary organizations and a dynamic parish life.

The editors, Michael Hirschfeld and Maria Anna Zumholz, leave little doubt that the strength of the Catholic milieu in these southern regions contributed to the efficacy of actions that thwarted Nazi efforts to dismantle the building blocks of this Catholic subculture. They argue that the milieu in this region did not erode. The "indicators" of religious strength—the number of priests in a region, Easter attendance, and so forth—show that the milieu, in spite of significant persecution, more than held its own. Nor did clergy contribute to an attitude of uncritical obedience to the Nazi state. Instead, they were in the forefront of the resistance to Nazi ideology, seeking to counter the anti-Christian attacks launched by the Nazi ideologist Alfred Rosenberg. As such, these priests earned the special enmity of Nazi enforcers in the Gestapo, who cracked down—sometimes methodically, sometimes sporadically—on Catholic institutions and their associates.

To be sure, this focus on persecution—the arrests, the threats, the disruptions to parish life—is an indispensable part of the story of the Catholic Church under Nazi rule. For, in fact, as the section on regional Nazi perpetrators in the Gestapo, the party, and the courts makes clear, hardliners sought to eradicate nearly all traces of religious influence on German public life.

But this is a selective lens with which to view this era, one which is by definition incomplete. The focus on persecution necessarily precludes an analysis of accommodations to the Nazi state made by other clergy either by choice or out of necessity. Absent are what might be termed the gray areas in the relationship between the Church and National Socialism. To what extent were these priests representative of the clergy as a whole, and were there areas in which they granted their approval to other aspects of the Nazi agenda and state? The editors pay lip service to these questions, but their answers ultimately hearken back to works of earlier eras. The narratives they create are those produced already in the 1940s by chroniclers such as Johannes Neuhäusler: the patterns they use were laid out in the 1980s and 1990s in the voluminous works *Priester unter Hitlers Terror*, produced by the Kommission für Zeitgeschichte in Bonn. This is not to negate their findings but to suggest that this is but one part—and a necessary part—of a larger picture.

Saint Louis University MARK EDWARD RUFF

Chaplains at War: The Role of Clergymen during World War II. By Alan Robinson. [International Library of War Studies, No. 11.] (New York: I. B. Tauris. 2008. Pp. xii, 252. $85.00. ISBN 978-1-845-11674-3.)

Alan Robinson's book is one of a growing number of recent studies (of which there remains nevertheless a dearth) on both sides of the Atlantic that focus upon a hitherto neglected aspect of World War II historiography—namely, religion. These works include Arlie J. Hoover's *God, Britain, and Hitler in World War II* (Westport, CT, 1999); Stephen E. Parker's *Faith on the Home Front: Aspects of Church Life and Popular Religion in Birmingham, 1939–1945* (Bern, 2005); and M. F. Snape's *God and the British Soldier: Religion and the British Army in the First and Second World Wars* (London, 2005) and *The Royal Army Chaplains' Department 1796–1953: Clergy Under Fire* (Woodbridge, UK, 2008). Whereas it might ordinarily be assumed that religion and warfare do not mix, and that Christianity, with its founder's epigrammatic instruction to "love your enemies" and its measured just-war theory, always maintains a deeply pacifistic outlook in the face of armed conflict, what these studies demonstrate is a more nuanced picture of British Christianity's part in bolstering the war effort, both on the home front and on the front line. In reality, British Christian leaders supported the war as one that actively opposed evil, recognizing the spiritual opportunities presented by the experience (Parker, *Faith*, pp. 161–74). At a time when Christian motif and language was still widely understood, this was deployed not only by politicians and religious leaders but also circulated in the various media of popular culture to underline the moral purposes of the conflict (Parker, *Faith*, pp. 105–19).

Robinson's account adds to the evidence of Christianity's involvement in the war by presenting a sympathetic rendering of the oral history of clergy who served as chaplains to the forces during the war. By a careful collation of these recollected accounts and a sensitive weaving of these in with available documentary evidence, Robinson draws out themes of the chaplains' *raison d'être*, creating a posthumous celebration of the important part played by such men in bolstering the serving soldiers' morale. Despite the oft-felt role conflict of chaplain—that of one who maintains the Christian ideal of love and brotherhood in the face of violence and hatred—theirs was an often effective and humane ministry amongst the men. Chaplains were relied upon by force commanders—Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery himself opined, "I would as soon think of going into battle without my artillery as without my Chaplains" (p. 64)—and by the men for both religious ministration and as organizers of social intercourse and entertainment. Against the background of the chaplains' activities during World War I and the development of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department across the interwar and wartime period, Robinson tells a very practical human story of brother serving brother in time of great stress and need, drawing out some of the denominational differences of priority.

Clearly, this well-told and clearly written work augments well the historiography of religion during World War II. It is a volume, however, that benefits being read alongside Snape's more revisionist and expansive *Royal Army Chaplains' Department*, which is less deferential of Alan Wilkinson's earlier work on the subject, *Dissent or Conform?* (London, 1986), or of some of the celebrated Christian "heroes," such as the Peace Pledge Union's Dick Sheppard.

University of Worcester STEPHEN PARKER

Transizione epocale: Studi sul Concilio Vaticano II. By Giuseppe Alberigo. [Istituto per le scienze religiose–Bologna, Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, Nuova serie, 42.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2009. Pp. 895. €55,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-12769-3.)

This collection of Alberigo's writings on the council opens with a warm tribute to him by Cardinal Karl Lehmann, archbishop of Mainz. In it Lehmann affirms that Alberigo's name will be associated in future generations with the Second Vatican Council as firmly as his mentor's, Hubert Jedin, is associated with the Council of Trent. Lehmann's is a sage judgment. Even aside from Alberigo's masterminding the five-volume *History of Vatican II*, the scholarship displayed in *Transizione epocale* validates Lehmann's assessment. As the readers of this journal will understand, the assessment is an implicit rejoinder to Cardinal Camillo Ruini's comparison of Alberigo not with Jedin but with Paolo Sarpi, whose history of Trent, 1619, promptly ended up on the Index. The semi-official disparagement of Alberigo's work that Ruini articulated very much saddened Alberigo's last months.

The topics in the volume range from detailed examination of particulars to the general assessment of the council that Alberigo wrote for the final volume of the *History*. Alberigo's study of the *Regolamento*, the document setting the procedures for the Council, is a fine example of a master historian taking a neglected and, in this case, a somewhat disdained subject and showing its crucial importance. Alberigo establishes, for instance, how the *Regolamento* was designed precisely to ensure a certain outcome of the Council. He goes further to reveal the theological presuppositions governing the document as first devised. These were precisely the presuppositions the majority of prelates at the Council later tried to overturn

The volume is rich in similar *studi*. Of special note is the longest, "Giuseppe Dossetti al concilio Vaticano II." Aside from its other merits, it displays the privileged place Alberigo had in studying the council. Trained by Jedin, he not only had easy access to him, an official *peritus* at the council, but almost from the moment the council was announced he, a young layman, became an important player on the "Bologna team" (*la squadra bolognese*)

led by Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro and much inspired by Dossetti. Even before the council opened this team, plus Jedin, produced the extremely valuable collection of decrees of previous councils, *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, presented to Pope John XXIII in 1962, on the eve of Vatican II.

Of all Alberigo's accomplishments, the *History* is the one for which he will be most remembered. He conceived, organized, and finally brought to completion this monument of collective scholarship on an international scale. The multilingual publication of the *History*, which deftly incorporates the massive archival scholarship of the previous twenty years, has brought the interpretation of Vatican II to a new stage. It puts all commentaries on the final sixteen documents into a new framework. In 1995 Alberigo brilliantly laid out the hermeneutical criteria on which the *History* was to be based. That *saggio* opens this volume and thus deservedly enjoys pride of place in it.

Alberigo's conclusion to the final volume addresses, as mentioned, the large and exquisitely difficult question of what happened at the Council. It is perhaps the most important piece in the volume. It reads so smoothly and presents its conclusions so persuasively that it almost conceals the profound knowledge of the sources and the grasp of the issues that alone could produce such a subtle and judicious assessment of that massively and stubbornly complex phenomenon known as the Second Vatican Council. When Alberigo describes what the Council hoped to accomplish in the deceptively simple words a "reversal of priorities," he captures the paradigm shift the Council hoped to induce. In this conclusion, Alberigo the historian shows himself to be also Alberigo the theologian.

Georgetown University JOHN W. O'MALLEY, S.J.

Antonio Garrigues Embajador ante Pablo VI. Un hombre de concordia en la tormenta (1964–1972). By Fernando de Meer Lecha-Marzo. [The Global Law Collection, Biographical Series.] (Cizur Menor [Navarra]: Editorial Aranzadi. 2007. Pp. 389. €25,00. ISBN 978-8-483-55370-1.)

In the long history of relations between the Francisco Franco regime and the Holy See, no period was more conflictive than the decade preceding the general's death in 1975. The comfortable ties between the official church of the state and the dictatorship embodied in the Concordat of 1953 began to deteriorate during the 1960s. The Vatican Council's decrees on political and social questions undermined the foundations of the "National Catholicism" that had come into being as a result of the Civil War (1936–39). The resurgence of Basque and Catalan nationalism and growing social and economic unrest in which some members of the clergy participated created ongoing tensions between the Vatican and the regime as well as within the Spanish Church itself.

During this time of unprecedented turmoil, prominent figures in the hierarchy and the government recognized that the concordat had outlived its usefulness and that circumstances demanded a reworking of civil-ecclesiastical relations, although, as this study shows so well, the building of a new consensus between the regime and the Holy See proved difficult and in the end impossible. It fell to the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See between 1964 and 1972, Antonio Garrigues (1904–2004), a distinguished lawyer and former ambassador to the United States (1962–64) to navigate the sometimes turbulent shoals and eddies swirling around attempts to renegotiate new arrangements between Madrid and the Vatican. A perceptive observer of Spanish political realities, Garrigues believed that the regime required reform if it were to survive the dictator's death, although his views fell far short of endorsing liberal democracy. At the same time, he fully accepted the principles of the Vatican Council and the necessity of adapting them to civil-ecclesiastical relations.

This excellent study is based on extensive archival sources including the reports and letters of Garrigues to successive ministers of foreign affairs, other important functionaries, and even Franco himself. The author uses this material effectively, although he recognizes that the full story of Spanish relations with the Holy See cannot be written until the records of the papal Secretariat of State are opened. Although the study focuses on the search for a new agreement between Spain and the Vatican, it covers other topics touching upon the history of the regime during the period, such as the attempt to introduce limited political reform in the 1967 Organic Law, an effort that, in the ambassador's view, did not go far enough.

The author describes in abundant detail the roller-coaster negotiations over several years for a new agreement to replace the 1953 concordat. Should there be partial agreements on specific points, as the Vatican and the Spanish bishops favored? Or should there be a revision of the old concordat as the regime desired? The question of the state's patronage rights over episcopal appointments proved a major obstacle in spite of Pope Paul VI's 1968 letter to Franco urging him to abandon this privilege. The general proved recalcitrant, although in the end the regime was willing to accept the idea of "prenotification" that would allow the regime to object to a papal nominee for grave cause. The impasse between Rome and Madrid left twenty dioceses without bishops at one point, although later an *ad hoc* scheme was devised with the nuncio to fill many of these positions.

By the time Garrigues left office in 1972, no substantial progress had been made in the protracted negotiations between Madrid and the Vatican. Although the ambassador constantly urged his superiors to follow a conciliatory course with respect to resolving the impasse over revision of the concordat, he did not make policy. He believed, indeed, that the government failed to give the issue the priority it deserved and that differences between the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Justice prevented the elaboration of a

consistent policy capable of resolving the diplomatic standoff. This study provides an intelligent and well-documented analysis of relations between the Franco regime and the Holy See as well as valuable insights into the inner workings of official policy making during the dictatorship's last years.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN

Il Filo Sottile: L'Ostpolitik vaticana di Agostino Casaroli. Edited by Alberto Melloni. [Santa Sede e Politica nel Novecento, 4.] (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 2006. Pp. xii, 435. €36,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-11116-6.)

This book consists of articles by Italian, Bulgarian, and German scholars on Vatican relations with the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe in the 1960s and 1970s. For an edited collection, the articles complement each other very well and taken together provide a good outline of the history and developments of Vatican *Ostpolitik* under Popes John XXIII and Paul VI.

At the same time, the title of the book is misleading. Cardinal Agostino Casaroli played a key role in Vatican *Ostpolitik* from the early 1960s until the early 1990s, first as undersecretary for extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs under John XXIII and Paul VI, then as secretary of state to John Paul II. The book, however, indicates that there were two very different phases to this *Ostpolitik* and that the election of a Polish pope in 1978 moved the practice of Vatican *Ostpolitik* from subtle diplomacy to public politics. Belying its title, the book deals only with the first phase of Casaroli's career in foreign policy and comes to an end with the election of Karol Wojtyła as pope.

The election of Angelo Roncalli in 1958 shifted the Vatican away from the knee-jerk anticommunism of Pius XII toward more nuanced relationships with the countries of the communist bloc. In 1961, Cardinal Franz König of Vienna persuaded the pope to allow him to visit the Catholic bishops of Eastern Europe, thereby paving the way in a pastoral sense for re-establishing Vatican contact with the churches of the east. Casaroli, as undersecretary of state, followed König's travels by opening negotiations with the governments of Eastern Europe in an attempt to improve the situation of the Catholic Church in those countries and also to secure permission for the Catholic bishops to attend the meetings of the Second Vatican Council. Vatican II, with its emphasis on ecumenism, provided opportunities for new relations with the communist bloc as the Roman Catholic Church sought to reach out to the Orthodox churches of Russia and Eastern Europe. This outreach was initially facilitated by a degree of independence in Eastern Europe in the 1960s, which was curtailed after the Soviet repression of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Thereafter, the relationship with the Catholic Church was standardized by the Soviet bloc. Friendly external relations with the Vatican were permitted to the satellite countries to secure Vatican support for communist peace ini-

tiatives and other collaborative programs; at the same time, however, Moscow decreed that no internal concessions of any kind were to be granted to the Catholic churches of Eastern Europe.

In Bulgaria, this policy was followed throughout the 1970s, with many external demonstrations of good will but with internal concessions only being granted to the Bulgarian church after the election of John Paul II. In Hungary, the Vatican had something to offer the Hungarian government. König met frequently with Cardinal József Mindszenty, who had been living in the U.S. embassy in Budapest since 1956, and eventually persuaded him to leave Budapest in 1971, which then allowed Casaroli to negotiate a better position for the Church with the Hungarian government.

A major opportunity for Casaroli and the Vatican were the discussions between the states of Eastern and Western Europe in the early 1970s leading to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which opened in Helsinki in 1973 and concluded with the signing of a Final Act in 1975. Although the conference had resulted from a Soviet initiative, the Vatican announced in 1972 that it intended to be a full participant. The Holy See sought pan-European discussions on human rights and religious freedom, and was rewarded when these provisions were written into the Final Act of 1975. Casaroli was a major figure in the conference and actively sought to involve other churches in these discussions, thereby creating a network that played a significant role when the Soviet bloc entered the years of crisis after 1989.

Casaroli's *Ostpolitik* complemented that practiced by Willy Brandt as chancellor of West Germany between 1969 and 1974. Discussions in the early 1970s were of interest to West Germany, East Germany, and the Vatican. Brandt wanted an opportunity to speak to the East Germans about existing borders, the Vatican wanted to sort out Polish-German borders and also diocesan boundaries in Poland and Germany, and East Germany wanted recognition as a separate state and of its borders and diocesan boundaries. Casaroli had opened negotiations with the German Democratic Republic while negotiating separately with the Bonn government. He soon came to see that the CSCE process would provide an opportunity to negotiate with both states and for them to talk to each other out of the public spotlight. In this way, the German issue became central to CSCE discussions, and Casaroli enjoyed an advantage through his position outside of the western and eastern camps. As a result of these negotiations, diocesan boundaries in East Germany and Poland were defined, and Paul VI was able to name bishops for the new dioceses.

Moscow watched these developments with suspicion but without a coordinated response because of the variety of Soviet agencies with an interest in religious policy. The KGB, from the time of Vatican II, had seen the Vatican as a tool of U.S. policy intent on destabilizing the Soviet Union. The Soviets resisted all negotiations with the Vatican and instructed their satellites

accordingly. Yet, with the election of Wojtyła in 1978, Moscow interpreted this as a dangerous intensification of Vatican anticommunism, despite the fact that the naming of Casaroli as secretary of state gave the impression of a continuation of *Ostpolitik*. In meetings of the Soviet government following the pope's spectacular visit to Poland in 1979, it was agreed that this pope was the worst of all possible outcomes for the Soviet Union. The stability of Poland was essential to Soviet power in Eastern Europe, but this stability was directly challenged by the new pope.

Many of the articles are of high quality, drawing on current secondary sources, memoirs, and original archival sources from Bulgaria, Germany, and Russia. Particularly impressive are the articles by Svetlozar Eldarov on *Ostpolitik* in Bulgaria (pp. 115–36), Katharina Kunter on the CSCE and the churches (pp 137–69), Massimo Faggioli on Vatican relations with East and West Germany (pp. 171–231), and Adriano Roccucci on the Soviet reaction to the election of John Paul II (pp. 247–91).

University of New Brunswick PETER C. KENT

American

Catholics in America: A History, Updated Edition. By Patrick W. Carey. (Lanham, MD: Sheed & Ward. 2008. Pp. xii, 307. $27.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-742-56233-2.)

Now in an updated edition that supplants the 2004 original, Patrick Carey's *Catholics in America* displays a rare combination of qualities: it is both encyclopedic and easily digestible. Carey begins with Columbus's landing and ends with sexual abuse, as well as recent controversies over the Iraq War and immigration. As with all histories of such sweeping scope, the narrative is advanced by great men and few great women. But in the process, he finds room for the "view from the pew" and relates intrachurch developments to the larger narrative of American politics and culture. Although the story concludes before page 200, the complexity of American Catholicism's historical development is always on display.

The book is divided into eleven concise chapters, all of which pursue the themes of change and continuity, unity and diversity, and alienation and reconciliation between Catholics and American society. Whether focusing on the problem of creating a strong institutional foundation without government support, the difficulty of forging strategies that could maximize appeal both to Roman authorities and anti-Catholic bigots, or the more recent challenge of sustaining some semblance of Catholic unity amidst the "dizzying diversity" (p. ix) of the contemporary Catholic population, Carey demonstrates how both clerics and laity improvised whenever necessary. He also shows how, at any given time, they pursued multiple strategies for affirming

their faith and making it relevant to their lives as Americans. Thus, readers are not left with a monolithic picture, but a kaleidoscopic impression that captures a church and its people in constant motion.

The appendix of sixty page-length biographical essays represents a useful primer. Readers will find entries on Jacques Marquette, John Carroll, Mathew Carey, Dorothy Day, and Joseph Bernardin. But they will also find information on figures like Catherine Tekakwitha, the Mohawk convert to Catholicism; Mary Elizabeth Lange, the Haitian-born founder of the Oblate Sisters of Providence; James Walsh, who founded the Maryknoll Fathers; and Gustave Weigel, the Jesuit who commenced the practice of formal ecumenical dialogue with American Protestants. Taken together, these essays alone provide a nice introduction to more than 500 years of history. Above all, the global connections of these figures underscore the way in which American Catholicism was never simply an American phenomenon, but always an international one.

Carey's vast knowledge and his ability to bring a scattered array of details into a coherent narrative will impress any reader. This book is recommended for anyone seeking a richly detailed but crisp study of American Catholicism.

Seton Hall University JAMES P. MCCARTIN

Religion in American Politics: A Short History. By Frank Lambert. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 294. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-691-12833-7.)

With the advent of the culture wars and continuing controversy over issues such as abortion, stem-cell research, and same-sex marriage, the role of religion in American politics has lately attracted the attention of scholars, journalists, and many other interested observers. Analyses of public opinion and voting behavior reveal that religious characteristics have become one of the most powerful predictors of individuals' political decision-making in recent elections. Lambert's volume, *Religion in American Politics: A Short History*, effectively puts these contemporary developments into historical context and provides readers with valuable perspective on the origins and development of today's religiously-based political conflict.

The book is organized chronologically, beginning "at the founding of the republic with the question of the optimal role of religion in American public life" and ending "in the twenty-first century with moral questions debated by the Religious Right and the Religious Left" (pp. 10–11). Along the way, Lambert provides insightful descriptions of a variety of controversies, including debates over the propriety of mail delivery on Sundays, religiously-based battles over science, and the modernist/fundamentalist controversy. The book focuses primarily on conflicts among Christians and especially on those

involving Protestants, reflecting "the historical predominance of Protestants in the nation's religious heritage" (p. 13). In tracing religious conflicts in American politics over two centuries, Lambert makes two main arguments: first, "that religious coalitions seek by political means what the Constitution prohibits, namely, a national religious establishment, or, more specifically, a Christian civil religion"; and second, that "religion in American politics is contested" (pp. 5, 6). By this, he means that "any religious group's attempt to represent the nation's religious heritage or claim to be its moral conscience is sure to be met with opposition from other religious groups as well as from nonreligious parties" (p. 6).

Lambert's prose is easy to read, and this book will appeal to both academic and nonacademic audiences. Each chapter provides a wealth of information about the major players involved in various disputes at different points in time without becoming bogged down in too much detail. The book clearly demonstrates that despite claims to the contrary from commentators across the political spectrum, the United States has always been a religiously diverse polity characterized by important disagreements about religious matters. Lambert's description of historical religious conflict provides the contemporary reader with valuable context for understanding today's contentious debates.

Organizing the volume chronologically makes it easy for the reader to follow. However, even though each chapter traces events and controversies that occurred at successively later moments in time, there are instances where reference is made to people or events from different periods, which sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish between developments occurring in the period under discussion, on the one hand, versus historical antecedents and future consequences on the other. For instance, in nine pages dedicated to discussion of "Natural Selection versus Providential Design," discussion ranges from the influence of eighteenth-century figures such as Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin, to the mid-nineteenth century writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., to the origins and development of Bible colleges in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Whereas so much of the volume is eminently useful in helping the reader to understand the specifics of religiously-based conflict at various discrete moments in time, some sections discuss events and developments from such a wide variety of time periods that it can be difficult to discern exactly how they fit together.

Despite this, *Religion in American Politics* provides a thorough description and discussion of the roots and development of many of the divisions that continue to characterize our own day, and as such will be a valuable addition to the library of anyone seeking a deeper understanding of the relationship between religion and politics in the United States.

Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life GREGORY A. SMITH

Two Centuries of Faith: The Influence of Catholicism on Boston, 1808–2008. Edited by Thomas H. O'Connor. [The Boston College Church in the 21st Century Series.] (New York: Herder and Herder/Crossroad Publishing Company. 2009. Pp. vi, 336. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-824-52531-6.)

For those Catholics despairing over the current state of the Church in Boston, this book offers some welcome historical perspective. Edited by Thomas H. O'Connor, who is a leading authority on Catholic Boston, the volume includes contributions from well-known authors such as J. Bryan Hehir and James O'Toole, and younger scholars such as William Leonard and Elizabeth Bischof. Taken together, these well-written essays give readers a clear sense of the challenges that the Church has faced in Boston over the past two centuries.

William Schmidt notes that eighteenth-century Massachusetts was so anti-Catholic that priests were forbidden by law from entering the colony. Repeat offenders would be subject to the death penalty. After France's involvement in the American Revolution, however, Catholicism was viewed in a much more positive light throughout the United States. Public Masses were celebrated in Boston in 1788, and in the years following, a couple of French émigré priests tended to the small group of Catholics in and around Boston.

In 1808 when Jean Cheverus was appointed Boston's first bishop, he was given jurisdiction over the six New England states and was assisted by two priests. Well regarded by Protestants and Catholics alike, Cheverus was recalled to France in 1823 to the disappointment of many in Boston. Two years later, a Maryland Jesuit, Benedict Fenwick, arrived to succeed Cheverus. Eager to raise the Church's profile, Fenwick moved the Ursuline Sisters out of their cramped quarters in Boston to a grand estate in Charlestown. Six years after the move, nativists torched the Ursuline convent and school. Fenwick's successor, John Fitzpatrick, also had to contend with nativists. In 1854 the Know Nothings gained control of the government and set up a Nunnery Committee to investigate all the convents in the state. Fortunately for Fitzpatrick and Boston's Catholics, the Know Nothings were soon voted out of office.

Much of Fitzpatrick's energies were devoted to the tens of thousands of Irish immigrants who came to Boston during the Potato Famine years. New churches, schools, hospitals, and orphanages were established to care for the Irish. As the state's population swelled, the other New England states were split off from the diocese.

Under Fitzpatrick's successor, John Williams, Boston—an archdiocese after 1875—continued to grow at a rapid rate. As the Irish became increasingly influential in Boston, new waves of Catholics entered the state: French Canadians, Italians, Poles, Lithuanians, and Portuguese. By 1900, Boston's Catholic population was quite diverse.

In 1908, as the archdiocese celebrated its centennial, church leaders had good reasons to feel satisfied. An Irish American and future grandfather of President John F. Kennedy, John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, was serving as mayor, and dozens of impressive church complexes had been established throughout the state. The new Roman-trained archbishop, William O'Connell, triumphantly declared, "The Puritan has passed; the Catholic remains" (p. 32). O'Connell would be appointed Boston's first cardinal in 1911 and would reign until his death in 1944. Any readers inclined to view the O'Connell era as a golden age will be disabused by the contributors. The essayists depict O'Connell as an arrogant leader who sought to control Catholic writers and journalists as well as the clergy and religious sisters and brothers. At the same time, he provided no oversight to his nephew, Monsignor James O'Connell, who embezzled money from the archdiocese to support a woman he had secretly married.

The contributors are generally kinder to Cardinal Richard Cushing, O'Connell's personable successor from South Boston. O'Toole notes, however, that Cushing spent money very freely and did not scrutinize his seminarians with much care. Many of the archdiocese's sexually abusive priests were ordained during the Cushing years. When Cushing's Azorean-born successor, Cardinal Humberto Medeiros, arrived in Boston, he inherited an $80 million deficit. Worse yet, Medeiros came to Boston just as racial tensions were intensifying. When a federal judge ordered busing to integrate Boston's public schools, Medeiros strongly endorsed the ruling, which infuriated many Irish Catholics in the city.

When Cardinal Bernard Law arrived in Boston in 1984, he continued Medeiros's practice of speaking out on controversial issues. In 1986 Law supported a referendum to cut off government funding for abortions and another to provide public funding for parochial schools. Massachusetts' voters rejected both measures resoundingly, a clear indication of the Church's weakened state. None of the authors dwell on Law's role in the sexual abuse crisis; perhaps they assumed that this topic is familiar to everyone.

Since coming to Boston in 2003, Cardinal Séan O'Malley, O.F.M. Cap., has sought to bring some measure of resolution to the crisis. He faces a myriad of other challenges as well. The Church continues to lose members; at present, less than 25 percent of Boston's Catholics are practicing their faith. The faithful who remain are quite a diverse lot: Leonard notes that there are now sizable numbers of Brazilians, Puerto Ricans, Cape Verdeans, Haitians, and Africans in the archdiocese. O'Malley, facing both a budget shortfall and a priest shortage, has closed eighty parishes and more than a dozen schools.

None of the contributors seems discouraged by the archdiocese's present difficulties. Schmidt argues persuasively for an "attitude of hopeful realism" when facing the future, and the other contributors express similar views (p. 235). These insightful essays will be of great benefit to anyone interested in

Boston Catholicism. Given Boston's importance, this volume will also prove valuable to readers with a more general interest in American Catholic history.

Salve Regina University JOHN F. QUINN

The Bicentennial History of the Archdiocese of New York, 1808–2008. By Thomas J. Shelley. (Strasbourg: Éditions du Signe. 2007. Pp. 623. $65.00. ISBN 978-2-746-81945-0.)

Catholics in New York: Society, Culture and Politics 1808–1946. Edited by Terry Golway. (New York: Fordham University Press and the Museum of the City of New York. 2008. Pp. 206. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-823-22904-8.)

Ostensibly, the showpiece event for the bicentennial of the Archdiocese of New York was the visit of Pope Benedict XVI to New York City in April 2008, when the Holy Father celebrated both the bicentenary of the archdiocese at Yankee Stadium, as well as the third anniversary of his own election as Supreme Pontiff at St. Patrick's Cathedral. But, in long-range terms, perhaps the most significant element of the New York bicentennial celebration was the publication of what the archdiocese has lacked for so long—a comprehensive, scholarly, readable history. The Strasbourg-based Éditions du Signe has been mining American Catholic history for over a decade, producing dozens of diocesan histories of the coffee-table variety, heavy on the visuals, with at least one photograph of every parish in the diocese. But make no mistake: The New York volume is not a typical coffee-table book.

There is good reason why authors have shied away from writing a New York archdiocesan history: There is too much Catholic history in New York. This single diocese includes in its story the first American-born saint, the first American citizen saint, the only canonized American diocesan priest, the first American cardinal, the first Catholic presidential candidate, and the first papal visit to the United States. Its significant figures and institutions include the United Nations, Ellis Island, Catholic universities and colleges, Maryknoll, *America* magazine, Isaac Hecker, Dorothy Day, and Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen. Volumes have been written about each of these, but painting all of them into a single canvas has proved too daunting for most authors. Thomas J. Shelley—a priest of the archdiocese, professor of historical theology at Fordham, and formerly professor of church history at the archdiocesan seminary at Dunwoodie, Yonkers—has a long reputation as a respected historian of the local church. Shelley is an excellent writer with a broad knowledge of the historical sources for his subject. In twenty well-developed chapters, Shelley takes the reader from the earliest appearance of French missionaries in New York in the seventeenth century to the triple challenges facing Cardinal Edward Egan's administration in the early days of the twenty-first century: 9/11, the priest sex-abuse crisis, and the parish-realignment initiative. Shelley's handling of the sex-abuse crisis may well become a template for

other diocesan historians seeking an honest yet nonsensational way to cover this aspect of a diocese's history. His treatment of the parish-realignment issue reveals the depth of Shelley's knowledge of his subject, placing the issue within the context of a century-long call for parish reassessment, and balancing it with stories of successful parish resurrections as they adapted to demographic shifts and new populations.

It is something of a tribute to Shelley's skill as a writer and historian that he did not succumb to the temptation of multiple sidebars in the book, but instead deftly wove together the personalities, movements, and currents that have made Catholic New York nationally and internationally known, while at the same time never losing sight of the story taking place in the hundreds of parishes of the archdiocese. In a sense, this is actually a history of the Catholic Church in the United States viewed through the prism of one very vibrant local church.

This five-pound volume is lavishly illustrated, even for an Éditions du Signe book. There are more than 600 photographs and historical illustrations. Published at a time of parish realignment, the photographs of churches about to be closed or demolished may prove particularly valuable. More than twenty well-drawn maps chart the growth of the archdiocese. These are particularly helpful for those unfamiliar with the geography and development of Manhattan and the Bronx, and for those who forget that the archdiocese travels 180 miles upstate. The illustrations are balanced by nearly 800 footnotes, as well as an impressive list of abbreviations of sources (p. 5) that remind the reader that this is a scholarly book.

Catholics in New York is a different type of book, conveyed by the title of Pete Hamill's opening essay, "Confessions of a 'Retired' Catholic." It was produced to accompany an exhibition of the same name at the City Museum of New York. Although the exhibition was mounted in conjunction with the archdiocesan bicentennial, both the exhibition and the book depart from the bicentennial in two important ways: they focus entirely on New York City, eliminating the upstate counties but adding the Diocese of Brooklyn; and they end with the effects of the G.I. Bill in 1946.

The book is a collection of sixteen topical essays by various authors grouped into four sections: Family, Parish, and Community; Institutions and Organizations; Catholics in Labor and Politics; and the New Catholic New York. To the extent that there are common threads connecting the essays, these would appear to be the immigrant experience, Catholics as outsiders, and the "big tent" approach to Catholic diversity. As Terry Golway remarks in his introduction, ". . . this collection of essays . . . ought to demonstrate once and for all that only a brave soul would dare speak of an entity called Catholic New York" (p. 13). While the essays are well written and interesting in themselves, one could argue, as always with this type of book, with the choice of topics. The massive Catholic educational enterprise in New York City has no

chapter of its own and receives only passing references in various essays. Remarkably for a book published by Fordham University about the history of Catholicism in its own hometown, the university is only mentioned once (on p. 184). Although Brooklyn is described as "the borough of churches," and Manhattan has an entire public museum dedicated to medieval church art and architecture at The Cloisters, there is no reference to the architectural impact of the city's 500 Catholic churches. Nor is there a chapter that describes New York's role in the wider American and international church.

On the other hand, Tyler Anbinder's essay, "Saving Grace: The Emigrant Savings Bank and Its Depositors," provides a window on the life of immigrant Catholics that is seldom explored. The essay, "Sanctified Lives," on the New Yorkers who have been proposed for official church recognition as saints does not mention St. John Neumann, ordained a priest of the New York Diocese in 1835; Father Solanus Casey, O.F.M. Cap., who worked for seventeen years in the archdiocese; Sheen; nor Cardinal Terence Cooke, all of whose causes have been introduced. Remarkably, the final essay, "Green Grass, Cape Cods, and Suburban Catholicism," departs from the book's focus and centers on the impact of the G.I. Bill on suburban Long Island. It would have been more consistent had it dealt with the impact of the G.I. Bill on the city—the emptying-out of once Catholic neighborhoods; the phenomenal growth of the city's Catholic colleges such as Fordham, Manhattan, and St. John's; and the ultimate impact the G.I. Bill would have on future parish realignment.

This volume, like the previous book, is beautifully illustrated with some 170 photographs and illustrations. Remarkably, only eight illustrations were also contained in the Shelley book. The illustrations, presumably garnered from the museum exhibition, are a real strength of this book and convey a genuine flavor of Catholic life in the city. The illustrations are less institutional than in the Shelley book and more oriented to Catholics in the pew. In a book that does include illustrations of Maria Monk, Marlon Brando, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, only five of the twenty ordinaries of New York and Brooklyn made the photographic cut. In particular, Archbishop Michael Corrigan (1885–1902) would not be happy to see his image tucked discreetly in a chapter entirely devoted to his nemesis, Father Edward McGlynn.

Catholics in New York is more of a tasting menu, serving up small samples of the New York Catholic experience. While it does not stand on its own as a comprehensive history, it does serve as a very fine spice rack, helping to bring out the flavor of the full course meal provided by Shelley's *Bicentennial History of the Archdiocese of New York*.

Immaculate Conception Seminary RAYMOND J. KUPKE
Seton Hall University

God's Strange Work: William Miller and the End of the World. By David L. Rowe. [Library of Religious Biography.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans. 2008. Pp. xxii, 249. $24.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-80380-1.)

The years leading up to the second millennium saw the appearance of a number of interesting studies on millenarianism in the United States, with a particular focus on the followers of William Miller, a New York Baptist farmer who predicted that the Apocalypse would take place in 1843 and then in 1844. These publications include David Rowe's *Thunder and Trumpets* (Chico, CA, 1985); George R. Knight's *Millennial Fever and the End of the World* (Boise, 1993), the essays in Ronald L. Numbers and Jonathan M. Butler, *The Disappointed* (Bloomington, 1987); and, not cited in the volume reviewed here, Michael Barkun, *Crucible of the Millennium* (Syracuse, NY, 1986). These studies examine this controversial movement in a scholarly and even sympathetic fashion, so Rowe's biography does not so much correct "myths and stereotypes" about Miller—as its back cover claims—as it deepens our understanding of this rather shadowy but influential figure in American religious history.

Perhaps the main reason that the voluminous Miller archive has not previously resulted in a scholarly biography is that he was neither a firebrand evangelical nor a charismatic visionary. A sober and industrious family man, Miller was neither well educated nor particularly introspective, despite his melancholic tendencies. His message that Christ's second coming was imminent was based not on a mystical vision, as in the case of nearby Joseph Smith, but on painstaking analysis of prophetic passages in the Bible that were linked to subsequent historical events such as Napoleon's 1798 imprisonment of the pope (interpreted as the deposition of the antichrist). Convincing as Miller's mathematical calculations may have been to those who believed in the literal truth of the Bible, his message would not have been heard far beyond his home community on the southern New York-Vermont border had it not been picked up and broadcast by the skillful and charismatic promoter, Joshua Himes of New York City.

Even though the image of Miller that emerges in this empathetic but not uncritical biography is a rather familiar one, Rowe does rise to the challenge of making him an interesting figure by stressing his internal struggle as a young man, torn between the political radicalism of his father's family and the Calvinist piety of his mother's family. Thus, we learn that Miller was guilt-ridden after his marriage because he had abandoned his parental family to move to the community of his more worldly in-laws. There, he became a local notable as well as an avowed deist, only to return to religion and his mother's home after his experiences as a militia officer during the War of 1812 focused his attention on human mortality. His wife, who had not been a faithful correspondent during the war, obviously had little say in the matter.

Miller's internal conflicts did not end with his spiritual rebirth, for the increasingly enthusiastic mass meetings were strongly influenced by the new measures revivalism that he disapproved of as a Calvinist who had a "rational" approach to determining God's will. Miller was also swept along somewhat unwillingly by pressure to specify the exact date that the Apocalypse would take place. After the "great disappointment," he was torn between Himes's efforts to mitigate the damage by institutionalizing the movement as an evangelical church and his own sympathies for the more radical leaders who claimed that the "door" to heaven had been closed behind the true believers in 1844.

One minor shortcoming of the book, at least from a Canadian perspective, is that Miller appears to enter an undifferentiated and uncertainly located geographical void when he crosses the forty-fifth parallel to visit his two sisters and preach, which he did no less than six times between 1835 and 1849. Lower Canada is confused with Upper Canada in a couple of cases, but the fact remains that this thoroughly researched and well-written study can be recommended to anyone interested in what the author identifies as "the most significant popular millenarian mass movement in American history" (p. 233).

Simon Fraser University J. I. Little

Sacramento and the Catholic Church: Shaping a Capital City. By Steven M. Avella. [The Urban West Series.] (Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 368. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-874-17760-2.)

Marquette University's Steven M. Avella, in *Sacramento and the Catholic Church: Shaping a Capital City*, has expertly united two seemingly diverse historical genres: urban and church history. In nine chronologically and thematically arranged chapters, Avella has written a narrative that engages readers as he deftly chronicles civic and church events in California's capital city. The monograph, while making a significant contribution to the literature, also sets a new course for historical writing in the future.

The stated purpose of the book, to examine the interplay between the city of Sacramento and the Catholic Church as an illustration of how religion helps to sustain urban communities, has been fully satisfied. It illustrates how Catholicism and the city influenced each other in their civic, cultural, and political aspects, as the two institutions grew and matured simultaneously. Both Sacramento and the Catholic Church emerged in the wake of the 1849 Gold Rush and the achievement of statehood in 1850. Avella demonstrates how the construction of Blessed Sacrament Cathedral was a benefit for both Church and city. It was purposely constructed near the state capital, making a distinctive mark on the city and contributing to its cultural advancement. For example, the cathedral's art and stained-glass windows were admired by all. Many non-Catholics contributed financially to this effort. The arrival of religious congregations of women aided the Church, but additionally their

establishment of schools and hospitals was a boon for the city. Avella describes how Catholics participated in urban renewal through the construction of a meeting hall that served both church and city functions. He writes, "The [Catholic] response mirrored more powerfully than ever the close cooperation between Church and city" (p. 148). During the Great Depression, Catholics cooperated with city officials to assist those in need. During the rise of suburbia after World War II, new churches, which served as centers for community activities, were built in these burgeoning communities. In his final two chapters, Avella shows how the Church and the city partnered in meeting the needs of an expanding Latino community and fighting the growing problem of homelessness. Aptly and accurately he concludes, "The Catholic Church has played an important role in Sacramento's evolution" (p. 277).

Avella's narrative tells an interesting and engaging story that clearly draws connections between the civic and Catholic aspects of the city's history from 1850 to the present. Only in chapter 4, where he discusses ethnic minorities, does the author fall somewhat short in clearly demonstrating the connection between Church and city and their mutual influences. Still, the essential message and purpose of the monograph is not only manifest but also clearly communicated to the reader.

As with his many earlier contributions to the historical record, Avella's latest effort demonstrates a high level of scholarship that can be enjoyed by many different constituencies. The book is exhaustively researched through numerous archival repositories and essential secondary sources. This volume, while useful to scholars of religion or urban history, can also be of great benefit and enjoyed by any engaged reader. Californians and residents of Sacramento would find a special affinity for this book.

Avella has woven a story that both engages and informs his readers. Clearly his rather unique approach to the combination of Church and urban history has worked well. Most probably, using this monograph as a model, other scholars will follow suit.

Stonehill College RICHARD GRIBBLE, C.S.C.

New Women of the Old Faith: Gender and American Catholicism in the Progressive Era. By Kathleen Sprows Cummings. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 278. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-807-83249-3.)

Historians of American women's history in the Progressive Era have documented the extensive and multifaceted contributions of Protestant and secular women who used gender ideology as a way to expand their educational, social, and political influences. For many, the quintessential "New Woman" per-

sonified the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century woman who represented and championed these changing ideas and attitudes about gender in America. Kathleen Sprows Cummings, assistant professor of American studies at the University of Notre Dame, adds her voice to this scholarship in important and significant ways. Challenging past assumptions that Catholic women were absent or, at best, invisible pawns in these events, she widens the parameters of discussion with a finely nuanced interpretation of the activities of four Catholic women, two laywomen and two women religious.

New Women of the Old Faith "challenges the widespread assumption that women who were faithful members of a patriarchal church were largely incapable of genuine work on behalf of women" (p. 4). Seeing themselves as far more marginalized as Catholics than as women, they negotiated the tensions between gender and religious identity, walking a tightrope as they participated in national debates concerning gender ideology, higher education, professionalism, and suffrage. Cummings bases her interpretations on the work and lives of four exceptional women. Margaret Buchanan Sullivan (1847–1903) was a Chicago-based writer who turned her pen toward defending "True Womanhood" from the challenge presented by the "New Woman." Publishing in both Catholic and secular presses, she was a rarity as a woman journalist who had readers both inside and outside the Church. Sister Julia (Susan) McGroarty, S.D.N.de N. (1827–1901), was the provincial director of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur and founder of Trinity College for women. Caught amid the Americanist controversies while trying to build Trinity College, she negotiated her way between American bishops who advocated higher education for Catholic women and those who viewed it as the downfall of the traditional Catholic family—a sure sign of the lurking influence of the New Woman. Sister Assisium (Catherine) McEvoy, S.S.J. (1843–1939), was a Philadelphia educator who pushed for greater professionalism and quality for Catholic education, locally and nationally. Finally, Katherine Eleanor Conway (1852–1927), the youngest of the quartet, was a journalist, editor, and public speaker whose words and ideas became representative of the antisuffrage movement of the early-twentieth century. All of these women treasured their Catholicity and saw it as an integral part of their core identity. They worked tirelessly not only to defend the Church from outside assaults but also to challenge gently, and at times strongly, gender parameters within it. Chafing at times from their own social and professional limitations, they negotiated the contradictions and tensions in their own lives as women of the Old Faith who at times functioned in a world of New Women.

Cummings makes important choices by utilizing the life and work of these four women as a way to interpret and integrate the narrative of how religion, specifically Catholicism, informed and influenced women's thinking about some of the most important debates of the Progressive Era. This well-written and finely nuanced book makes an important contribution to scholarship in Catholic history and American women's history. Her epilogue in the last chap-

ter provides a fascinating jumping-off point, tantalizing the reader to connect these women and their activities to the post-Vatican II world. For these Progressive Era women, the Church provided a sense of purpose and meaning and the best venue for social, spiritual, and intellectual opportunities. In contrast, by the 1960s, "transformations for women in American society had far outpaced changes for women in the church," and Cummings argues that "the seeds of gender discontent . . . would be watered by Vatican II, massive social change, and major demographic transformations" (p. 195). But that is a different story that also needs to be told.

Avila University CAROL K. COBURN

Católicos: Resistance and Affirmation in Chicano Catholic History. By Mario T. García. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 366. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-292-71840-1.)

The role of religion has not received due attention in most histories of U.S. Latinos or Hispanics, the people living in the United States whose roots derive from the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America. Most histories of American religion are still centered on Euroamerican traditions.

Mario T. García, a professor of Chicano studies and history at the University of California–Santa Barbara, aims to correct this deficiency by studying Catholicism within a subset of Latinos called Chicanos. The term *Chicanos* became very popular in the 1960s and 1970s for Mexican Americans who were self-conscious of their history and identity, and used that self-consciousness as part of a liberation movement from racist oppression.

The book consists of eight chapters, and the first focuses on Fray Angélico Chávez (1910–96), whose work García uses to "introduce the concept of oppositional historical narrative" (p. 29), which denotes a narrative opposed to a dominant sociohistorical narrative. Chavez, a prominent Catholic figure from New Mexico, sought to affirm the place of Hispanics in New Mexico in American religious history.

Chapter 2 links Catholic social doctrine and Mexican American political thought. In particular, García studies the influence of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931), encyclicals that sought to alleviate the plight of workers. The ideas expressed in these encyclicals influenced Alonso Perales and Cleofas Calleros, two key figures in Mexican American civil rights between the 1930s and the 1950s.

A significant original contribution of the book is in chapter 3, where García examines archival materials from the Federal Writers' Project, which was part of a massive employment program established in the Great Depression. The records establish the presence of vibrant Catholic traditions (especially pertaining to music, healing, and local festivals) that often differed

from official Catholic practices elsewhere in America. Chapter 4 centers on the World War II era and the struggle to preserve Mexican American versions of Catholicism within the larger Euroamerican Catholic establishment.

Chapters 5 through 8 center on the flourishing of the Chicano movement in the 1960s and 1970s. There are close studies of organizations such as Católicos por la Raza (Catholics for the People) and PADRES, a group of Chicano priests who sought to fulfill the promises of Vatican II and a nascent Liberation Theology. Biographical studies include that of Father Luis Olivares, a pioneer of the sanctuary movement, which sought to shelter undocumented immigrants, especially those fleeing conflicts in Central America. Olivares and other local priests often found themselves fighting the upper Catholic hierarchy. Chapter 8 and a final section called "Reflections" seek to summarize the foregoing chapters.

Despite the success in showing the important role of religion in Chicano politics and history, García overlooks some of the developments in Europe that may have affected the United States. In particular, Pope Pius XI's concordat with Germany (1933) expressly discouraged Catholic involvement in politics due to fear of persecution by Hitler's fascist regime. Thus, the American hierarchy may have adopted those timid or cautious attitudes toward political activism by local Chicano priests. García also leaves the impression that "oppositional historical narrative" is a new concept, when it is as old as history itself.

But, overall, García offers a solid contribution and offers hope that Latino religious history will become a prominent part of American religious history.

Iowa State University HECTOR AVALOS

No Ordinary Fool: A Testimony to Grace. By John Jay Hughes. (Mustang, OK: Tate Publishing. 2008. Pp. 344. $19.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-606-04182-6.)

John Jay Hughes is *sui generis*: the first Anglican priest conditionally ordained to the Catholic priesthood; a direct descendant of John Jay, the first chief justice of the United States, and so perhaps the only person whose name appears in both the *Social Register* and the *Official Catholic Directory*; a groundbreaking scholar and gifted teacher who never received tenure. Yet, *No Ordinary Fool*—his deeply personal, even idiosyncratic, memoir—opens windows into modern and contemporary Christianity.

Two themes, entwined, dominate this book: Hughes's love for the priesthood and his journey from Episcopalianism to Catholicism. This is a man who yearned from age twelve to serve at the altar. A gifted preacher who has published several volumes of homilies, he makes clear that the high point of his day is the Mass: "no man ever longed more ardently for the arms of his beloved

than I for that daily encounter with the Lord" (p. 305). The priesthood, he writes, is "all I ever wanted" (p. 28).

This vocation was threatened by his reception into the Catholic Church. Hughes was an Anglo-Catholic whose faith was thoroughly liturgical. He never had a Protestant bone in his body, by his own admission, but harbored doubts about papal infallibility and primacy. He also was repulsed by the anti-intellectualism and sloppy worship of an immigrant, Irish-dominated American Catholicism. He wrestled, too, with betraying the church that had given him his faith, fed him with its sacraments, and ordained him to the priesthood. After a decade-long struggle that included thoughts of suicide, he entered the Catholic Church on Easter Monday, 1960.

"Leaving the Episcopal Church was, beyond question, the most difficult thing I have ever done in my life," he writes, but "entering the Catholic Church was the best thing I have ever done" (p. 194). He never again saw his beloved priest father, who deemed the move to be a rejection of the validity of Anglican orders. Most profoundly, Hughes also accepted that he might never serve again as a priest—his greatest joy and deepest identity—for he held absolute ordination as a Catholic priest to be a rejection of his Episcopal ministry. Aided by a letter from the Holy Office that indicated no barrier to his conditional ordination, he was finally ordained a Catholic priest in 1968 by Bishop Joseph Höffner of Münster (later cardinal archbishop of Cologne).

His ordination was soon followed by the completion of a dissertation at the University of Münster that argued for a reconsideration of Pope Leo XIII's condemnation of Anglican orders. Published as two landmark books—*"Absolutely Null and Utterly Void"* (Washington, DC, 1968) and *Stewards of the Lord* (London, 1970)—Hughes's work decisively changed the state of the question and continues to influence ecumenical dialogue.

Throughout, *No Ordinary Fool* is by turns delightful, wrenching, and insightful. It is delightful in its humor and reminiscences of a "magical" (p. 30) upbringing in Manhattan and Newport; as well as wrenching in its accounts of the early death of Hughes's mother, estrangement from his father, and his sufferings caused either by others or himself. It is insightful in its ecclesial acuity and spiritual wisdom, not least on the futility of Christian ministry apart from a discipline of daily prayer.

The reader wishes, selfishly perhaps, for more comment on the conciliar and postconciliar eras. Hughes experienced Vatican II's ecumenicity and humility as one who had "backed a dark horse and saw him come home a winner" (p. 226), but his reservations about some postconciliar developments merit expanded discussion. His account of doctoral studies at University of Münster likewise offers tantalizing, but undeveloped, anecdotes about an all-star faculty that included Karl Rahner, Walter Kasper, Johann Baptist Metz, and Joseph Ratzinger (whose lectures remain the most beautiful Hughes has ever

heard). His dismissive and unsympathetic portrayal of preconciliar American Catholicism raises questions, while his comment that those Catholics lacked "interest in the social dimension of the Gospel" (p. 126) seems unfair in light of their unparalleled network of schools, hospitals, and other social service agencies.

These caveats aside, this "no ordinary fool" has had no ordinary life, and his memoir is marked by uncommon grace and profound gratitude. It is required reading for anyone interested in the life of the Church and the life of the heart.

The Catholic University of America CHRISTOPHER RUDDY

Latin American

Latin American Religions: Histories and Documents in Context. Edited by Anna L. Peterson and Manuel A. Vásquez. (New York: New York University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 324. $25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-814-76732-0.)

This is one of those rare books that is at once accessible—as any introductory survey such as this one ought to be—and subtly sophisticated. An ideal teaching manual, it will dramatically sharpen students' analytical tools while leaving them blissfully unaware of how "good for them" this book really is.

The volume's introduction sets out key theoretical vectors in a refreshingly unencumbered style: popular versus official religions; orthodoxy, heterodoxy, and syncretism; domination, agency, and resistance; personal conversion versus social change; race, gender, and postcolonialism; and globalization and transnationalism, just to name a few. Once the terms of analysis are in place, the book moves on to description. The categories selected by the editors for the whirlwind tour are appropriately encompassing: Indigenous Religions, Colonial Encounters, Religions of the African Diaspora, Independence and Modernity, Protestantism in Latin America, Postconciliar Roman Catholicism, and Contemporary Religious Diversity and Change. Each section consists of two chapters: first, the editors' introduction to the key issues at stake and to selected sources in which those issues are especially visible, and then a chapter composed of original sources and representative secondary sources. This two-step format cues the reader as to the pertinent issues to come and the reasons they matter, before approaching original documents that vary widely in rhetorical style, perspective, epistemology, and standards of evidence. This approach works beautifully. It yields an unlikely harmony from what could have been a cacophony and makes the volume a genuine pleasure to read.

The original and representative primary- and secondary-source materials were artfully chosen. They include both much of what one might expect

from the Latin American canon—parts of the Popol Vuh; the preface from Bartolomé de las Casas's *In Defense of the Indians*; a discourse of the liberation theologian, Gustavo Gutiérrez. But they also include wonderful surprises—the diary of Gunnar Vingren, the Swedish emissary of Pentecostalism; a Mormon chronicle from Mexico; and reports on Muslims, Catho-Buddhists, and "new age" Santo Daime devotees in Brazil. Peterson and Vásquez have presented the widest possible range of Latin American religious practices and revealed the region as, on the one hand, a hothouse of hybrids and innovation, and on the other, a region of traditions' resilience. As to this latter, Catholicism is given the most space and is featured in multiple chapters—"Colonial Encounters" (chapter 3), "Independence and Modernity" (chapter 5), and "Postconciliar Roman Catholicism" (chapter 7). It provides the most continuous chronological thread with which the many other stories are interwoven. Yet even here, the editors show the enormous variety of Catholicism*s*: the cult of the saints of folk Catholicism; the mission Catholicism of different orders as they were variously inflected with indigenous practices they sought to transform; Catholic Action, CEBs, and the theology of liberation; Catholic Charismatic Renewal with its combination of Marian and spirit-foci ("virgophilic pneumocentrism," p. 242); and the various shades of syncretic Catholicism as it is combined with African and Asian beliefs and rituals.

In sum, this volume is faithful to the historical record even as it pushes the reader to expand preconceived ideas of the contents of "the record" and to reread even familiar documents with new eyes. Peterson and Vásquez are not just experts on Latin America but also masters of cutting-edge theoretical issues in the study of religion. Thus this book is not just an ideal introductory text; it offers welcome challenges even for experts.

University of Michigan PAUL CHRISTOPHER JOHNSON

The History of the Conquest of New Spain. By Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Edited by Davíd Carrasco. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2008. Pp. xxvii, 473. $27.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-826-34287-4.)

David Carrasco's revised edition of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's classic text *The History of the Conquest of New Spain* is a welcome addition to the published primary sources on colonial history. This is an abridged version of Alfred P. Maudslay's 1908 translation of the original manuscript, which Diaz wrote in Guatemala between *c.* 1550 and 1584, the year of his death.

Díaz was a capable writer who described highly dramatic events in clear and usually unemotional prose that sometimes rendered incredible events all the more incredible. Maudslay then translated the original into very readable English prose. Several features of this volume make it especially appealing for both student and faculty readers. First, Carrasco includes summaries

of the sections of the original manuscript that do not appear in the published version. Second, this edition contains several chapters beyond what was published in earlier abridged editions. This decision greatly mutes the blaring triumphalist note that closed those versions. The additional chapters provide a more accurate rendering of the longer text and allow readers a view of the chaos, killing, and infighting that accompanied Spanish efforts to consolidate and expand upon the conquest of Tenochtitlan. Finally, the book also includes a series of maps and interpretive essays that provide readers with a far greater understanding of the mind-set of Díaz and other Spaniards, as they conquered a complex group of people led by men skilled in diplomacy and the arts of warfare. In particular, brief essays by Rolena Adorno analyzing Díaz's use of rhetoric, Karen Powers on indigenous women and the beginnings of *mestizaje*, and Carrasco on the practice of human sacrifice contextualize a variety of issues raised by the text itself and the events narrated therein.

One issue, however, is left unaddressed: the question of whether Díaz actually was the eyewitness to conquest that he claimed to be. Several scholars, including Francis J. Brooks,[1] have argued that he was not. Even if he drew on other texts to aid his memory and the flow of words, the level of detail would seem to belie the claim of his nonparticipation. But the issue should have been covered because it has something to teach students about how to evaluate the use of sources by long-ago writers.

Another matter instructors need to consider is, given the availability of native-language texts in student-friendly editions (some, like Stuart Schwartz's *Victors and Vanquished* [Boston, 2000] offer both indigenous and Spanish-authored documents), whether this solely Spanish-authored text is the best choice. There is little doubt the book is a classic and has been rendered highly usable in an undergraduate classroom. The more accurate version of the overall text and the additional essays go a long way toward adding indigenous perspectives on a variety of issues relevant to Nahua culture and the events of conquest.

University of Houston SUSAN KELLOGG

[1]Francis J. Brooks, "Motecuzoma Xocoyotl, Hernán Cortés, and Bernal Díaz del Castillo: The Construction of an Arrest," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 75 (1995): 149–83.

BRIEF NOTICES

Payton, Leland, and Crystal Payton. *Mystery of the Irish Wilderness: Land and Legend of Father John Joseph Hogan's Lost Irish Colony in the Ozark Wilderness*. (Springfield, MO: Lens and Pen Press. 2008. Pp. vi, 128. $18.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-967-39254-7.)

In our modern world, it is hard to imagine the thrill experienced by many young Catholic boys in the early-nineteenth century as they devoured the stories of faithful priests taking the sacraments and faith of the Church to distant lands recounted in the *Annals of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith*. Yet, such was the case for young John Joseph Hogan growing up in rural Ireland in the early-nineteenth century. It was the images of these missionary priests that inspired Hogan, who had immigrated to St. Louis during the years of the Potato Famine in Ireland, when still a young priest to embark on a missionary career himself by ministering to small groups of isolated Catholic immigrants in the rural Missouri of the late-antebellum period. Hogan's labors in Missouri were recognized and rewarded by the Holy See. He was appointed first bishop of the newly formed See of St. Joseph's in 1868.

Although this work is not a scholarly analysis of Catholic missionary work in the nineteenth century, its value to historians is the Paytons' adroit use of material from the writings of Hogan that they discovered in the archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis and the Diocese of Kansas City–St. Joseph. These first-person journals and notes record the ingenuity and dedication of a young Catholic priest forced to deal creatively with virulent anti-Catholic prejudice in addition to the numerous trials and travails of frontier travel. The book is also beautifully adorned with color pictures of the locations and sites visited by the missionary priest.

Labette Community College JOHN MACK
Parsons, KS

Wells, Kim, and Malcolm Wells. *Camino Footsteps: Reflections on a Journey to Santiago de Compostela*. (Fremantle, Australia: Fremantle Press. 2008. Pp. 168. $35.00. ISBN 978-1-921-36125-8.)

For anyone who has made the *camino*, this little volume, with its numerous photos of Spanish landscape and historical and religious monuments, is bound to inspire pleasant memories. It is also likely to remind anyone who has walked the 798 kilometers from St. Jean Pied-de-Port, in the French Pyrenees, to Santiago de Compostela, in northwestern Spain, that the experience of the *camino* means many things to many people. To the authors of this book, it meant a two-week bus trip in the middle of what is usually a four-week walk and nights in pleasant little hotels rather than the usually more

rustic and austere pilgrim shelters (*refugios* or *albergues*) that mark the ancient way. Nevertheless, the book will provide not only happy memories for veterans of the experience but also a broad introduction for those unfamiliar with the phenomenon and a helpful orientation for those who may be planning for this pilgrimage.

In addition to numerous anecdotes about their own experiences, Kim and Malcolm Wells provide some brief, uncritical historical notes and commentary on the history of the *camino* and on various sites and monuments along the way. Although there are no references or index, there are a few maps and numerous pages of helpful hints with regard to climate, packing, photography, the pilgrim passport, first aid, and so forth. As the authors note, people embark on the *camino* for many different reasons; some do so for exercise, some for adventure, and some for religious purposes. The authors are not hesitant to draw attention to the Christian origins and continuing religious attraction of the *camino* experience for many, but they make few significant spiritual or theological reflections on that experience and history. Moreover, they repeatedly misrepresent the Catholic understanding of the sacramental forgiveness of sins and the effects of plenary indulgences, describing the latter as "a full remission of sins" (pp. 13, 149).

For these authors and for many others, the *camino* remains a unique and public outward expression of an inward spiritual journey. Through photos and text, the authors have provided an attractive introduction to this experience, which continues to draw thousands from around the world, each year, to follow in the footsteps of so many others for well over a millennium, toward the shrine of St. James the Apostle in Galicia. JAMES F. GARNEAU (*Mount Olive College*)

Wright, J. Robert. *A Companion to Bede: A Reader's Commentary on* The Ecclesiastical History of the English People. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 2008. $25.00. ISBN 978-0-802-86309-6.)

The best way to describe this book is probably in the author's own words. J. Robert Wright explains in the introduction that "[t]he purpose of this *Companion* is to assist readers to follow Bede with understanding and insight," and that "[t]hese notes are not designed for the academic researcher, but for the intelligent and enquiring reader who may desire an extended picture that goes beneath the surface" (p. 5). This is what he set out to produce and this is exactly what he has achieved, with skill and elegance. After a short but informative introduction to Bede's life and intellectual legacy, the rest of the book is taken up with a commentary on the *Ecclesiastical History*, chapter by chapter; although sometimes two or three chapters that do not require more detailed discussion are run together. It is not a formal commentary, picking out particular words and phrases for detailed explication, but an explana-

tory discussion of the overall contents of each chapter, with special attention to wider contexts or additional information that a general reader may need to make sense of the text. As the author stresses, the book is best read in tandem with the *Ecclesiastical History* itself. It ends with a chronology and a short list of recommendations for further reading, again aimed at the kind of readership Wright envisages. He is perhaps too modest, in that many students will also find this a helpful companion when reading Bede's masterpiece. ROGER COLLINS (*University of Edinburgh*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Anniversary Celebration

Beginning on September 13, 2009, and continuing until December 2010, the 1100th anniversary of the founding of the abbey of Cluny in 909 by William I of Aquitaine will be celebrated by a series of religious events and symposia on the spirituality, learning, art, and architecture of the abbey.

Exhibitions

From September 26 to October 27, 2009, the Holy See sponsored the photographic exhibition "Customs and Grave Goods of Rome in the Late Antiquity: Christian, Pagan, and Jewish Tombs Compared" at the San Callisto Catacombs on the Via Appia Antica in Rome. The exhibition was part of the Holy See's participation in the annual European Heritage Days, with the theme this year of "European Heritage for Intercultural Dialogue."

From October 11, 2009, to January 3, 2010, the Indianapolis Museum of Art is sponsoring "Sacred Spain: Art and Belief in the Hispanic World," an exhibition of seventeenth-century Spanish religious art. On display are seventy works, including paintings, polychrome sculptures, metalwork, and books that document the intersection between belief and creative imagination.

From October 16, 2009, to January 16, 2010, the Vatican Museum is sponsoring the exhibition "Astrum 2009" that coincides with the International Year of Astronomy. Some 130 objects (astronomical instruments such as telescopes and a sixteenth-century astrolabe, maps, manuscripts, astronomical models, paintings, photographs, codices, and books) will show how scholars of the past observed heavenly bodies, measured their properties, acquired data, and verified hypotheses.

Archives

The Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles has announced the acquisition of a collection of printed historical pamphlets, postcards (mostly from Europe), and related ephemera of Monsignor Robert E. Brennan (1908–80). Among the items are his diaries from 1925 to 1959.

Causes of Saints

On July 3, 2009, Pope Benedict XVI recognized the healing from a debilitating spinal condition of Deacon John Sullivan of Marshfield, Massachusetts,

as a miracle obtained through the intercession of Cardinal John Henry Newman, an important step in his beatification.

At the canonization ceremony of Jozef Damien de Veuster on October 11, Pope Benedict XVI gave to Bishop Clarence Silva of Honolulu a relic of the saint to be deposited for veneration in the cathedral of Honolulu. St. Damien's body was buried in 1889 in Kalaupapa near the leper colony where he worked and died of Hansen's disease, but was exhumed and moved to his birthplace in Belgium in 1936. In 1995 a relic was reinterred in his original grave. Now a second relic will be placed in the cathedral of Our Lady of Peace in Honolulu where St. Damien was ordained in 1864.

On November 22, 2009, in the Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth, Israel, Maria Alfonsina Danil Ghattas was beatified. Born Soultaneh Maria in 1843, she entered at fourteen the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition, taking the name Alfonsina. In 1880 she cofounded the Congregation of the Sisters of the Most Holy Rosary of Jerusalem and became known as Mother Ghattas.

Conferences and Lectures

On September 14–17, 2009, the Società Italiana di Storia delle Religioni, the European Association for the Study of Religions, and the International Association for the History of Religions sponsored the Ninth EASR Annual Conference/IAHR Special Conference at the University of Messina on the theme "Religion in the History of European Culture." Among the talks given were Armin W. Geertz, "Religion, Cognition, and Culture: A European Idea?"; Enrico Montanari, "Comparative Method and Historico-Religious 'Commitment': The Concept of 'Secular Faith' in Raffaele Pettazzoni"; Jörg Rüpke, "Hellenistic and Roman Empires and Euro-Mediterranean Religion"; Giovanni Filoramo, "Dangerous Liaisons: Roman Catholic Church and Jewish Communities in the History of Religious Europe"; and Kari Elisabeth Børresen, "The Formation and Significance of Christian Gender Models in European Culture." Among the talks examining the work of scholars dedicated to the study of Christianity were Natale Spineto, "Luigi Salvatorelli e la scienza delle religioni"; Giuseppe Giarrizzo, "Giorgio La Piana"; Mario Mazza, "Attualismo, storicismo, modernismo: Adolfo Omodeo e la *Storia delle origini cristiane*"; Paolo Siniscalco, "Baldassare Labanca"; and Alessandro Saggioro, "Pietro Tacchi Venturi." Among the panels offered were "Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Europe: Traditions and Transformations," led by A. Hvithamar and I. Kh. Maksutov, and "Religio-historical Historiography in Italy between the End of the Nineteenth Century and World War II," led by M. Mazza, G. Casadio, and N. Spineto.

On September 20, 2009, the Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII sponsored a conference on Bologna, a city that produces and consumes culture. Among the talks given were Giuseppe Ruggieri, "1949 Scomunica: La chiesa condanna i comunisti"; and Alberto Melloni, "1959 Concilio: L'annuncio del Vaticano."

On September 26, 2009, the Texas Catholic Historical Society sponsored a conference at the University of St. Thomas in Houston at which the following talks were given: Gilbert Hinojosa, "Latinos, Faith, and the Church"; Robert Wright, O.M.I., "The Church and Mexican Americans in Houston: Reflections on Roberto R. Treviño's *The Church in the Barrio*"; and Thomas W. Jodziewicz, "American Catholics and Slavery."

On September 29, 2009, at the Universität Salzburg, the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum sponsored a lecture by France Dolinar on "Politische Rekatholisierung und katholische Reform in den innerösterreichischen Ländern am Beispiel des Laibacher Bischofs Tomaž Hren (1599–1630)."

On October 22, 2009, the Southwell Lecture Series of Fordham University presented "A Liturgical Reading of Michelangelo's Last Judgment" by Lee Palmer Wandel.

On November 11, 2009, the Campion Institute of Fordham University commemorated the 500th anniversary of the accession of Henry VIII to the throne of England by presenting the lecture "Prince to Tyrant: What Changed Henry VIII" by Suzannah Lipscomb.

On November 26–28, 2009, the Accademia Ambrosiana, Classe di Studi Borromaici presented the conference "La cultura della rappresentazione nella Milano del settecento: Discontinuità e permanenze." Among the papers given were Paola Vismara, "Il sistema della religione cittadina dei milanesi del Settecento e S. Maria presso S. Celso"; Emanuele Colombo, "Tra sogno e ragione: Tommaso Ceva (1648–1737) gesuita Milanese"; Angelo Bianchi, "La virtù rappresentata: Imprese di 'principes academiae' del Collegio gesuitico di Santa Maria degli Angeli di Monza (1738–1773)"; Filippo Lovison, "I Barnabiti a Milano: il caso Branda a Sant'Alessandro in Zebedia"; Marzia Giuliani, "Giovan Battista Castiglioni e i *Sentimenti* di San Carlo intorno agli specttacoli: nuove ricerche sull'autore e la sua cultura"; Maria Grazia Albertini Ottolenghi, "La scultura nei grandi cantieri lombardi settecenteschi: i casi del Duomo e della Certosa di Pavia"; Alessandro Rovetta, "Il completamento del Duomo: la questione della facciata, terminale scenografico della città"; Eugenia Bianchi and Alessandra Saquizzato, "Il collezionismo settecentesco a Milano fra ambienti religiosi, aristocratici e dei ceti emergenti"; Simonetta Coppa, "Un ciclo sconosciuto di quadri per la canonizzazione di Andrea Avellino del 1713"; Claudio Bernardi and Carla Bino, "Ragionevoli culti: La fine delle follie carnevalesche e delle devozioni drammatiche a Milano nel Settecento"; and Robert Kendrick and Christopher Riedo, "Liturgy and Music in XVIII Century Milan."

On November 27, 2009, the Università Europea di Roma and the University Comenius of Bratislava sponsored a conference dedicated to two themes: "Santa Sede e potere politico nell'Europa Centro-Orientale tra le due guerre

mondiali (1918–1939)" and "La questione dei cattolici nella repubblica Cecoslovacca e nel regno di Jugoslavia." Among the papers given were Roberto Morozzo, "Santa Sede e l'Europa Centro-Orientale tra le due guerre mondiali"; Emilia Hrabovec, "La Santa Sede, il governo Cecoslovacco e la questione degli slovacchi"; L'uboslav Hromjak, "Il *Kulturkampf* in Cecoslovacchia durante il pontificato di Pio XI"; Jure Krišto, "Prospettive della Chiesa cattolica nell'area croata del regno di Jugoslavia"; Katrin Boeckh, "Belgrade and the Vatican: Church Policy in Yugoslavia 1918–1939"; Massimiliano Valente, "I rapporti diplomatici tra la Santa Sede e il regno di Jugoslavia durante il pontificato di Pio XI"; and Marko Trogrlić, "Il 'cattolicesimo politico' nel pensiero dei principali intellettuali cattolici croati."

On December 2, 2009, the Center for Early Modern History of the University of Minnesota presented the talk "Reading Revelations: Reception Histories for Julian of Norwich" by Elissa Hansen.

On April 7–10, 2010, the Universidad CEU Cardenal Herrera in Valencia and the Consejo Superior Investigaciones Científicas of Spain will sponsor an international congress on "Francisco de Borja y su tiempo (1510–1572): Política, religión y cultura en la edad moderna." It will seek to present new data and perspectives based on archival materials that will fill a vacuum in English-language scholarship on the spirituality of Spain in the sixteenth century.

On April 9–10, 2010, the Thirty-Seventh Annual Sewanee Medieval Colloquium will be dedicated to the theme "Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages." Proposals for papers, together with an abstract and curriculum vitae, were to have been submitted by October 23, 2009, to sraulsto@sewanee.edu. For more information on the conference, visit http://www.sewanee.edu/medieval/main.html.

On July 25, 2010, the Second Conference of Catholic Theological Ethics in the World Church, to be held at the Centro Santa Chiara (via S. Croce, 67) and nearby Archdiocesan Seminary in Trent, Italy, will dedicate that day to the study of the history of Catholic ethics. For more information, visit http://www.zipviaggi.eu/event2010; inquiries should be sent to event@zipviaggi.eu. Proposals for papers and applications for financial assistance to young scholars should be sent to the chair of the Trent Planning Committee, Father James F. Keenan, S.J., at James.keenan.2@bc.edu or frkeenaj@bc.edu.

On October 7–10, 2010, the American Cusanus Society will sponsor the Twelfth Biennial Conference of the International Seminar on Pre-Reformation Theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg in Pennsylvania on "The Bible at the End of the Middle Ages: The Exegesis of Reform and Dissent." For more information, contact Zach Flanagin at dflanagi@stmarys-ca. edu.

Publications

A dozen articles on the theme "Le relazioni tra pagani e cristiani: nuove prospettive su un antico tema" make up the issue of *Cristianesimo nella storia* for May, 2009 (vol. XXX, no. 2). The editor for this special number is Rita Lizzi Testa, who has also contributed a long introduction (pp. 255–75). The authors and their titles are the following: Peter Brown, "Back to the Future: Pagans and Christians at The Warburg Institute in 1958" (pp. 277–85); Hervé Inglebert, "L'historiographie au IV^{e} siècle entre païens et chrétiens: faux dialogue et vrai débat" (pp. 287–303); Maijastina Kahlos, "The Importance of Being Pagan" (pp. 305–10); Gianfranco Agosti, "Cristianizzazione della poesia greca e dialogo interculturale" (pp. 313–35); Sergio Knipe, "Recycling the Refuse-Heap of Magic: Scholarly Approaches to Theurgy since 1963" (pp. 337–45); Francisco Marshall, "The Late Antique Hero" (pp. 347–61); Lellia Cracco Ruggini, "Pontifices: un caso di osmosi linguistica" (pp. 363–83); Rita Lizzi Testa, "Legislazione imperiale e reazione pagana. I limiti del conflitto" (pp. 385–409); Paolo Liverani, "I vescovi nell'edilizia pubblica" (pp. 411–21); Claude Lepelley, "De la réaction païenne à la sécularisation: le témoignage d'inscriptions municipales romano-africaines tardives" (pp. 423–39); Wolf Liebeschuetz, "The view from Antioch: from Libanius via John Chrysostom to John Malalas and beyond" (pp. 441–70); and P. Chuvin, "Homère christianisé. Esthétique profane et symbolique chrétienne dans l'œuvre de Paul le Silentiaire" (pp. 471–81).

The theme of the third number (vol. 66) for 2009 of the *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* is "Voyageurs et pèlerins de l'Antiquité à nos jours." Among the half-dozen articles here published are "L'évêque carolingien en voyage" by Thomas Ledru (pp. 41–58); "Pèlerins et pèlerinage dans la Rus' de Kiev" by Jean-Pierre Arrignon (pp. 59–67); and "Les faux pèlerins à l'automne du Moyen Age" by Denis Clauzel (pp. 69–88).

The eighth centenary of the papal approval of the primitive rule of the Franciscan Order is commemorated in the issue for January–June, 2009, of *Verdad y Vida* (vol. LXVII, no. 254). The historical articles are "La 'Prehistoria' de la Regla Franciscana," by Fernando Uribe, O.F.M. (pp. 35–63); "La Palabra de Dios en la vida y en la misión de Francisco de Asís," by Dino Dozzi, O.F.M.Cap. (pp. 65–81); and "La idea fundacional en la Orden Franciscana," by Leonhard Lehmann, O.F.M.Cap. (pp. 83–109).

Concordia Publishing House has announced the plan to expand the present fifty-five-volume collection of Martin Luther's works in English translation by twenty additional volumes. Under the editorship of Christopher Boyd Brown, the new volumes, to be published at the rate of one per year, will be dedicated to Luther' sermons (showing his pastoral application of the Word) and his disputations (putting his theology in a systematic context). For more information, visit http://www.cph.org/luthersworks or call 1-800/325-3040.

Volume 22 (2008) of *Studia Borromaica*, the journal of the Accademia Ambrosiana, Classe di Studi Borromaici, in Milan, contains the papers presented at the study days on November 23–24, 2007, on the theme "L'Architettura Milanese e Federico Borromeo: Dall'investitura arcivescovile all'apertura della Biblioteca Ambrosiana (1595–1609)" and edited by Francesco Repishti and Alessandro Rovetta. Following a preface by Marco Navoni are a dozen articles: Aurora Scotti, "Architettura e territorio nella Lombardia spagnola ai tempi dell'episcopato di Federico Borromeo" (pp. 29–48); Alessandro Rovetta, "L'architettura Milanese e Federico Borromeo tra il 1595 e il 1609. Questioni storico-critiche" (pp. 49–62); Francesco Repishti, "Federico Borromeo e gli architetti milanesi. La «scarseggia che hoggidì si trova di simili [valenti] suggetti»" (pp. 63–79); Stefano Della Torre, "Gli apparati trionfali del 1598" (pp. 81–99); Tommaso Tagliabue, "Il monastero di San Paolo Converso e la canonizzazione di Carlo Borromeo" (pp. 101–21); Luigi C. Schiavi, "L'ideazione della casa madre degli Oblati di S. Ambrogio. Federico Borromeo, Aurelio Trezzi, Fabio Mangone" (pp. 123–66); Isabella Balestreri, "Federico Borromeo, la Biblioteca Ambrosiana e la trattatistica sull'architettura" (pp. 167–88); Cristina Fumarco, "La cappella di San Teodoro in Santo Stefano in Brolo. La committenza della famiglia Trivulzio, il progetto di Giuseppe Meda e le vicende della fabbrica" (pp. 189–244); Cristina Farina, "Aurelio Trezzi e il cantiere di San Babila" (pp. 245–70); Davide Tolomelli, "Il Santuario di Rho" (pp. 271–82); Andrea Spiriti, "La fabbrica milanese di Sant'Antonio Abate: novità e proposte" (pp. 283–301); and Richard Schofield, "Papirio Bartoli e San Pietro. L'inizio di una ricerca" (pp. 303–16).

Thirteen scholars have contributed articles to the issue of the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* for July–September, 2009, devoted to "La culture gallicane: Références et modèles (droit, ecclésiologie, histoire)." Originally presented as papers at a colloquium held at the University of Paris-Sorbonne and at the Institut Protestante de Théologie in May, 2006, the articles are divided into two sections: (1) "Mémoires et fondations" Tyler Lange, "Gallicanisme et Réforme: le constitutionnalisme de Cosme Guymier (1486)" (pp. 293–313); Jotham Parsons, "Papauté, histoire et mémoire gallicane au XVI^{e} siècle" (pp. 315–28); Marco Penzi, "Tours contre Rome au début du règne d'Henri IV" (pp. 329–47); Frédéric Gabriel, "L'usage gallican (1552–1771) de l'Afrique chrétienne tardo-antique: les modalités de l'unité ecclésiale" (pp. 349–74); Olivier Poncet, "La *Gallia Christiana* (1656) des frères de Sainte-Marthe: une enterprise gallicane?" (pp. 375–97); Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "Louis Ellies Du Pin (1657–1719), historien de Byzance" (pp. 399–412); Anne Régent-Susini, "Dionysisme et gallicanisme: la figure de l'évêque selon Bossuet" (pp. 413–28); (2) "Figures gallicanes": Grégoire Holtz, "Nicolas Bergeron (+1584/1588) et la construction de la culture gallicane" (pp. 429–43); Thierry Amalou, "Jacques Leschassier, Senlis et les libertés de l'Église gallicane (1607)" (pp. 445–66); Sylvio De Franceschi, "Simon Vigor face aux catholiques zélés: le gallicanisme radical au début du XVII^{e} siècle" (pp. 467–83); Robert Descimon, "Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617): une rupture intellectuelle, politique

et sociale" (pp. 485–95); Alexandre Tarrête, "Un gallican sous la Ligue: Guillaume Du Vair (1556–1621)" (pp. 497–516); and Jacques Grès-Gayer, "L'*électron libre* du gallicanisme: Jean de Launoy (1601–1678)" (pp. 517–42).

To commemorate the fourth centenary of the publication of the *Introduction to the Devout Life* (1609), the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales sponsored the symposium "Encountering Anew the Familiar: The *Introduction to the Devout Life* at 400 Years," which took place on July 27–28, 2009, in Annecy, France. The program was organized by Father Joseph F. Chorpenning, O.S.F.S., chairman of the International Commission for Salesian Studies (ICSS). Father Aldino Jose Kiesel, O.S.F.S., Superior General, presided.

Presentations focused on several of the *Introduction*'s most familiar themes with a view to uncovering an overlooked or neglected aspect, as well as providing fresh insights: "The *Introduction to the Devout Life* as a Spiritual Classic," by Wendy M. Wright (Creighton University); "The *Introduction to the Devout Life*, Spiritual Direction, and Oblate Formation," by Father Lewis S. Fiorelli, O.S.F.S. (General Formation Coordinator and former Superior General); "'In Our Image and Likeness' (Genesis 1:26): Image-Making and Spiritual Formation in the *Introduction to the Devout Life*," by Father Chorpenning; "Chains of Love: The Eternity of Spiritual Friendship in the *Introduction to the Devout Life*," by Brother Daniel P. Wisniewski, O.S.F.S. (Bryn Mawr College); and "Modern Adaptations of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*," by Father Michel Tournade, O.S.F.S. (Provincial, French Province). Discussion groups and a roundtable with the presenters complemented the presentations.

The ICSS will publish a collected volume of revised versions of the papers presented in Annecy, together with an essay by Viviane Mellinghoff-Bourgerie (Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, Germany) on the *Introduction*'s various editions as indicative of how this spiritual classic was received and interpreted throughout its publication history. This volume is intended to serve as a permanent record of the Oblates' observance of this historic anniversary, as well as to give the symposium a broader reach and life beyond the actual event.

The *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest* in its issue for September, 2009 (vol. 116, no. 3), presents a *dossier* on "Vocations religieuses et laïques" containing the following articles: Amélie Vantard, "Les vocations missionnaires chez les Jésuites français aux XVII^{e}–XVIII^{e} siècles" (pp. 9–21); Évelyne Hiet-Guihur, "Les réseaux «asiatiques» et les missionnaires vannetais de la Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris au XVIII^{e} siècle" (pp. 23–41); Pierre Foucault and Brigitte Waché, "Enseignements tires de récits de vocations au XIX^{e} siècle. L'exemple du Maine" (pp. 43–61); Gérard Lefeuvre, "Un débat sur la vocation sacerdotale. La querelle Lahitton-Branchereau (1909–1912)" (pp. 63–77); Thomas Hervouët, "La vocation de Jean-Jacques: quelques remarques sur la secularisation d'un concept chrétien" (pp. 79–93); Christian Chevandier,

"Vocation professionnelle: un concept efficient pour le XX^{e} siècle?" (pp. 95–108); Hervé Guillemain, "Devenir médecin au XIX^{e} siècle. Vocation et sacerdoce au sein d'une profession laïque" (pp. 109–22); and Sabine Rousseau, "La vocation religieuse feminine dans les années 1960–1970: crise collective, itinéraires singuliers" (pp. 125–37).

The first fascicle for 2009 of *Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris* (vol. LVII) is devoted to St. Clement Mary Hofbauer (1751–1820) on the centenary of his canonization. It contains the following articles: Otto Weiss, "Begegnungen mit Klemens Maria Hofbauer" (pp. 3–93); Martin Leitgöb, C.Ss.R., "Vom silbernen zum goldenen Strahlenschein. Eine Rückblende auf die Heiligsprechung von Klemens Maria Hofbauer im Jahre 1909" (pp. 95–115); Marian Brudzisz, C.Ss.R., "Les projets missionnaires de Clément Hofbauer en Europe de l'Est" (pp. 117-160); Maciej Sadowski, C.Ss.R., "«Faithful to the Legacy of St. Clement—while open to the Signs of the Times». The Origin and Beginnings of the Polish Redemptorist Province (1883–1090)" (pp. 161–82); and Adam Owczarski, C.Ss.R. (ed.), "Resoconto dei membri della delegazione dell'Arciconfraternita Letteraria dell'Immacolata Concezione della Beata Vergine Maria, presso la Chiesa di San Giovanni a Varsavia e loro partecipazione all'udienza del Santo Padre Pio X e alla canonizzazione di San Clemente Maria a Roma nel 1909" (pp. 183–204).

"Polish American Catholics" are the subject of five articles in the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for summer, 2009 (vol. 27, no. 3): James S. Pula, "Polish American Catholics: A Case Study in Cultural Determinism" (pp. 1–19); John Radzilowski, "A Social History of Polish American Catholicism" (pp. 21–43); Dorota Praszałowicz, "Polish American Sisterhood: The Americanization Process" (pp. 45–57); Stanisław Hajikowski, "Father Justyn and the Rosary Hour" (pp. 59–82); and Thaddeus C. Radzilowski, "Father Jozef Dąbrowski, the Orchard Lake Schools and the Shaping of Polish American Catholicism" (pp. 83–107).

A dozen articles in the winter–spring, 2009, issue of the *Josephinum Journal of Theology* deal with aspects of "Catholicism in America," following an introduction by the editor William F. Murphy, Jr. (pp. 2–5): Kathleen S. Cummings, "Rewriting 'His' Story: Vocations, Teaching Sisters, and American Catholics in the Progressive Era" (pp. 6–23); William L. Portier, "Paul Hanley Furfey: Catholic Extremist and Supernatural Sociologist, 1935–1941" (pp. 24–37); Steven M. Avella, "The Beginnings of Sunbelt Catholicism: Postwar Phoenix and Las Vegas" (pp. 38–49); Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P., "The 1965 Intersession Travel of Passionist Barnabas Ahern, Peritus at Vatican II" (pp. 50–71); James M. O'Toole, "Reinventing the Sacrament: American Catholics and Extreme Unction" (pp. 72–85); Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., "From Sectarian Suffering to Compassionate Solidarity: American Catholic Languages of Suffering, 1930–1996" (pp. 86–107); Perry J. Cahall, "Catholic No More: Lessons from Webster University" (pp. 108–24); Francis J. Beckwith, "Evangelical and Catholic" (pp. 125–38); Timothy Matovina, "Latinos and the Remapping of U.S.

Catholic History" (pp. 139–60); Christopher Ruddy, "Unabashedly Liberal, Distinctively Catholic: Andrew Greeley on Post-Conciliar American Catholicism" (pp. 161–82); Patrick W. Carey, "Avery Cardinal Dulles, S.J., and the Signs of the Times" (pp. 183–208); and David J. O'Brien, "The Future as (Catholic) History: American Catholicism in Historical Perspective" (pp. 209–21).

OBITUARY NOTICE

Canon Roger Aubert (1914–2009)

Canon Roger Aubert, professor emeritus of ecclesiastical history at the Catholic University of Louvain, died on September 2, 2009, at Schaerbeek, Belgium, while celebrating daily Mass. One of the most prolific and respected church historians of the past half-century, Aubert was a corresponding fellow of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1985.

He was born in Ixelles, Belgium, on January 16, 1914. By the age of twenty-eight, he had earned not only a licentiate's degree from the prestigious Institut supérieur de philosophie de Louvain but also two doctorates from Louvain, one in philosophy and letters (history) and the other in theology. Three years later, in 1945, he received the coveted title of *maître en théologie* from his alma mater with the publication of his monumental *thèse de maîtrise*, *Le problème de l'acte de foi: données traditionelles et résultats des controverses récentes*, which went through four editions, the last in 1969.

Aubert was not only a distinguished academic but also a devout and dedicated priest who exemplified the finest traditions of the learned Belgian diocesan clergy. Ordained in June 1938, he taught church history, patrology, and fundamental theology at the *grand séminaire* of Mechelen from 1944 until 1952 when he was appointed to the faculty of Louvain. In 1951 he was named an honorary canon of the cathedral of Mechelen. Even after his mandatory retirement from teaching at the university in 1983, Aubert continued to teach at the seminary well into his nineties because of his concern for the education of the future clergy. A grateful Cardinal Godfried Danneels, the archbishop of Mechelen-Brussels, described the poignant scene of the aged canon walking from the railroad station to the seminary with his breviary in one hand and a copy of *Le Monde i*n the other hand.

At Louvain, where Aubert succeeded Canon Albert de Meyer as professor of the history of the church and contemporary history in 1952, his self-discipline and capacity for hard work led to a legendary record of teaching and publishing. He directed some fifty doctoral dissertations and several hundred licentiates' theses while publishing 600 major works, including books, book chapters, and articles. He also wrote 4000 encyclopedia articles, and 6500 book reviews and notices. In addition, he edited the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* from 1952 to 1983, the *Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire*

Ecclésiastique from 1952 to 2005, and the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* from 1955 to 2006.

He remained active to the end. As Monsignor Robert Trisco noted in the October 2009 issue of the *CHR* (XCV, 924), the last two fascicules of the *DHGE* contained no fewer than 413 articles by Aubert. Reference to his numerous encyclopedia articles can be misleading. While many are brief, his article on the Lateran Councils in the *DHGE* runs to 40 columns, and his article on Bishop Felix-Antoine-Philibert Dupanloup runs to 103 columns and is in fact a monograph, the best publication ever written on the nineteenth-century bishop of Orléans.

Aubert's original interest and first publications were in medieval and seventeenth-century European history. At the request of his archbishop, Cardinal Ernest-Joseph van Roey, he shifted his research and writing to nineteenth-century and later twentieth-century church history, bringing new standards of professionalism and scholarly rigor to a field that was largely the preserve of ecclesiastical journalists and hagiographers. Aubert possessed a remarkable gift for synthesis, combining both accuracy and clarity in his writings by incorporating subtle nuances into his analysis of the most complicated issues while avoiding jargon-ridden generalizations. He encouraged his students to explore new approaches to history such as sampling public opinion through quantitative analysis of the press while steadfastly defending the perennial value of such time-proven staples as good biography. His thorough grounding in Catholic theology enabled him to treat heated theological controversies with effortless objectivity.

Aubert said that, of all his publications, the book that he valued the most was *Le Pontificat de Pie IX* (Paris, 1952) because it was "ahead of its time." Although written by necessity without access to the Vatican archives, it has proven to be a remarkably perceptive analysis of that stormy pontificate. It broke new ground by placing the papacy within the context of the universal Church and eschewing the customary hagiographical approach, much to the distress of some clerical bureaucrats in the Holy Office.

Aubert's scholarship brought him widespread international recognition. He was a member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences, the British Academy, the Portuguese Academy of History, and the Scientific Council of the Istituto Paolo VI at Brescia. He received honorary degrees from the universities of Nijmegen, Graz, Sacred Heart (Milan), Sherbrooke, and Tübingen. Despite his fame and widespread intellectual activities, however, his students remembered him as a wise and kindly mentor who was always generous with his time, advice, and encouragement.

Aubert's work is most familiar in the English-speaking world through the chapters that he contributed to volumes VII, VIII, and IX of the *History of*

the Church edited by Hubert Jedin (New York, 1981–91), and through volume V of the series Christian Centuries, *The Church in a Secularized Society* (New York, 1978), which he edited and for which he wrote the chapters on European history. He also wrote a lengthy essay, "Cardinal Mercier's Visit to America in the Autumn of 1919," for *Studies in Church History: Essays in Honor of John Tracy Ellis,* edited by Robert B. Eno, S.S., Nelson H. Minnich, and Robert F. Trisco (Wilmington, DE, 1985). Aubert had a lifelong admiration for Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier (1851–1926), the intrepid primate of Belgium during World War I. He revered Mercier as a churchman, scholar, and patriot, three characteristics for which he himself will also long be remembered.

Bibliographies of Aubert's works appeared in three Festschriften edited by his former students: *Le Cardinal Mercier (1851–1926): Un prélat d'avant-garde* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1994), pp. 39–75; *Ecrire l'histoire du catholicisme des 19e et 20e siècles* (Louvain-la Neuve, 2002), pp. 167–73; and *La papauté contemporaine (XIXe–XXe Siècles)/il papato contemporaneo (Secoli XIX–XX)* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Città del Vaticano, 2009), pp. 25–27. His former students and colleagues presented the last volume to him at a ceremony at the university on June 27, 2009. His funeral Mass was celebrated at the Church of St. Francis of Assisi at Louvain-la-Neuve on September 9, 2009. A memorial service was held at the university on October 16, 2009, preceded by a Mass celebrated by Cardinal Danneels. *Requiescat in pace*.

Fordham University THOMAS J. SHELLEY

Letter to the Editor

We appreciate David O'Connell's description (*ante*, XCV, 880–81) of our biography of Father Abram Ryan (*Poet of the Lost Cause,* Knoxville, 2008) as "an informative, even an important book." We found O'Connell's biography of the priest (Macon, GA, 2006) useful in our work, and our research did indeed benefit, as he indicates, from newly released digital compilations that became available between his own research and ours.

We fear, however, that O'Connell has misread our account of the battle of Fredericksburg. We do not state that Father Ryan was present. Instead, we express our considerable skepticism (p. 67): "The priest's itinerary in Peoria makes it difficult to understand how he could have reached the battle-site for even the day of the 14th and return. . . ." We do point out that Rable's definitive study of this battle, *Fredericksburg! Fredericksburg!* (Chapel Hill, 2002) reveals actions among Longstreet's troops that strikingly resemble the Ryan legend. And we document that Father Ryan participated more fully in post-war commemorations at Fredericksburg than previously known.

Regarding O'Connell's dismissal of Father Ryan's possible presence at the battle of Lookout Mountain, our book parts company with his theory that a

1907 account placing Father Ryan at this battle was a hoax by early archivist-researcher Father Joseph McKey. Instead, we present evidence that the story was written by a reputable Chicago journalist and newspaper editor. While we believe the story to have been at least partially fictionalized, we argue that this new understanding of its authorship merits an objective re-examination of the narrative and its possible archival source(s). Archival discoveries since our book's publication (a) confirm our theory of authorship, and (b) strengthen the case for Ryan's presence at Lookout Mountain, although not to the degree of absolute certainty. Space does not permit us to detail these discoveries here, but we might include Father Ryan's lengthy personal eulogy of the exiled Irish revolutionary John Mitchel (whom Ryan reportedly met at Lookout Mountain) and an account putting Ryan at Longstreet's temporary headquarters in East Tennessee following Bragg's retreat from Lookout Mountain. O'Connell suspects that Ryan did not arrive in Nashville until May 1864 because he was in Kentucky searching for his brother's grave. This actually exemplifies the sort of romanticized speculation unsupported by evidence that O'Connell himself criticizes. Instead, we believe it is no coincidence that Ryan's appearance in the Diocese of Nashville followed on the heels of the departure of Longstreet's army from Tennessee—provable historical facts now associated by a credible account putting Father Ryan in proximity to that army prior to its departure.

In summary, we are grateful for O'Connell's favorable view of our work. Yet we would urge that it would be irresponsible for a biographer to arbitrarily ignore or discount the handful of period accounts linking Father Ryan to Tennessee prior to his "official" arrival, imperfect though they may be, given that Father Ryan provably spent the first part of the war in the North and the last part of the war in Tennessee. In this we follow the example of respected historian Thomas Stritch, who states in *The Catholic Church in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1987) that Father Ryan began making appearances in Tennessee a full year before the battle of Lookout Mountain.

Belmont Abbey College DONALD ROBERT BEAGLE
Randolph-Macon College BRYAN ALBIN GIEMZA

David O'Connell replies:

In reply to Professor Beagle's letter, I find his reference to "newly released digital compilations that became available between his own research and ours" to be somewhat bizarre and have no knowledge of these sources. Ironically, however, when it came to allowing me access to the "Ryan Archive" at Belmont Abbey while I was researching my book, Beagle failed to respect even the minimum standards of professional honesty and integrity. During the several trips that I made to Belmont Abbey, Beagle was never available, nor did he ever answer questions that I submitted to him. I was permitted to deal only with his staff member [Susan Mayes]. She, however, was never able to answer

even one question about the very basics of these "archives." In fact, said "archives" were nothing more than yellowed file folders that had been tossed every which way into several old boxes. There was no cross-referencing in the files, nor was any information provided about the provenance of the collection. In other words, the documents to which Beagle gave me access hardly constituted an "archive' in the modern understanding of that term within the context of twenty-first-century research libraries. His assistant's [Mayes] standard reply to my many questions was simple and repetitive: "I really don't know anything about it."

As for Ryan's presence at the Battle of Lookout Mountain, I stand by my position that he was not there. The accounts to which Beagle refers all date to the years while the Second Klan was growing in importance in the early years of the twentieth century. At that time, Catholics were consistently targeted in Klan propaganda as foreigners whose principal allegiance was to Rome. Well-meaning Catholics in the South could point to Father Ryan as a true Southern patriot who had *also* been a Catholic. In fact, the Catholic high school founded in Nashville in the 1920s was named after Ryan for that very reason. He had been a Catholic *and* a Southern patriot during the Civil War.

With regard to Beagle's claim that I accuse the Reverend Joseph McKey of having perpetrated a "hoax" by stating that Ryan had been at the Battle of Lookout Mountain, I take strong exception to Beagle's putting that word in my mouth. In fact, the word *hoax* does not appear in my book. Rather, we should see McKey's claim in the first decade of the twentieth century that Ryan had been at the Battle of Lookout Mountain as a well-intentioned attempt to protect Ryan's reputation. For if he was there, he could not have been patronizing a house of ill repute in Chicago at roughly the same time, as the powerful pro-Lincoln *Chicago Tribune* had alleged in November 1863. The same reasoning applies to Beagle's "reputable Chicago journalist and newspaper editor" who wrote the same thing in defense of Ryan a few years later. These early years of the twentieth century were hard times for Catholics, and they had to close ranks. Priestly reputations had to be protected, especially given the fact that the Klan was merely the tip of the iceberg of the hard-core anti-Catholic bigotry that pervaded U.S. society from 1900 to 1930. To me, the illusory, but no doubt well-intentioned, nature of these imagined "sightings" of Ryan is revealed in the recurrence of a telltale cliché found in all of them. Depending upon the individual who, in the 1920s, suddenly had access to "eyewitness" information about Ryan from a half-century earlier, the language of the cliché always included the statement that Ryan had "ministered to people from North and South, whether Catholic, Protestant or Jew, and without regard to race or religion." In other words, Ryan had been a good American, not a hyphenated one. The story met the needs of certain Catholics in the 1920s, but had little if anything to do with the historical reality of the 1860s.

Georgia State University DAVID O'CONNELL

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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L'organizzazione delle Circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche latine in Slovacchia nella evoluzione storico-giuridica. Miroslav Adam, O.P. *Angelicum,* 86 (2, 2009), 429–58.

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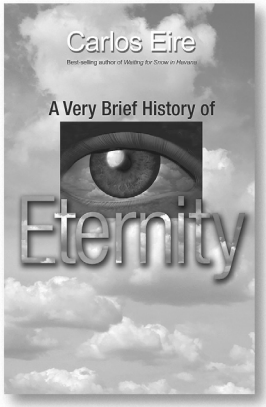
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