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## THE JOURNEY OF A HISTORIAN

BY

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*Distinguished historian Jean Delumeau describes the memorable influences and experiences over the course of his long career, including mentors, research directions, central themes of Christianization and dechristianization, major publications and their reception, and teaching emphases.*

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Nothing predestinated me to the career that was mine. I grew up in a home where books were sparse, and my family often experienced financial difficulties. My education was marked by multiple relocations and my dull experience in various Catholic boarding schools. For a long time, I feared that I lacked the financial means necessary to complete my education. However, the path became clearer when in 1943 I was accepted to L'Ecole Normale Supérieure at the age of twenty. From that point on, I became confident that I would be able to finish my studies in pursuit of my chosen profession. Thus began the journey of a historian.

While preparing to study at L'Ecole Normale Supérieure I was enrolled in a nonconfessional school in Marseille between 1940 and 1942 (*première supérieure*). I received many benefits and learned a great deal during these years. For the first time I encountered a new

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type of Christianity, much different than that with which I was familiar. The professors and students introduced me to a faith that embraced life, was tolerant, and made one happy. I had been accustomed to a Christianity that was more pessimistic and mechanical, so this was quite an experience for me. Two of my professors were devout Protestants, and I realized for the first time that it was possible to be simultaneously a Protestant, a good Christian, and a teacher in a state-run school. One of them died heroically in the Resistance a few years later in 1944. I also experienced a new type of camaraderie among students. This was my first time in a mixed school, and I knew little about girls, since I only had an older brother. I discovered quickly that the girls were among the most dynamic element of the school. They were heavily involved in athletics and Catholic student groups. Finally, during this time I made some very good friendships. One such friend wished to become a priest. He was kind and helpful to all, whether Christian or not. He later became a Dominican and spent the rest of his life in Haiti. These two years at Marseille were extremely influential in my future choices and impacted both my career as a historian and my ongoing commitment to see that the Church continues moving forward along the path set forth by the Second Vatican Council.

Two wonderful events occurred in 1947. In August, I was admitted to the *agrégation d'histoire*, and in September I got married. I met my wife in Paris, where she was a medical student. She originated from a well-educated provincial family keeping traditions alive, which complemented my own background nicely. Sadly, she passed away a decade ago. We have three children, two of whom are doctors, and the third is a medieval historian. At home, the conversation was usually more about medicine than history. My teaching obligations were divided between Rennes (in Brittany) and Paris, but we always lived primarily in Rennes, which was the city where my wife was raised. I still travel to Paris every week, but I live in a small town just outside of Rennes.

My journey as a historian cannot be explained by religious motives alone. I first decided to study sixteenth-century Rome because I was especially interested in the Italian Renaissance. French historians at that time had focused mainly on the artistic and literary achievements of the Renaissance. When studying at L'Ecole Française de Rome in 1948, I was advised by Gaston Zeller, then professor of modern history at the Sorbonne, to choose a thesis topic that examined the economic life in Rome during the sixteenth century. This was wise advice, as this area had been almost completely neglected, and I was

well served by choosing it. My thesis, *La vie économique et sociale de Rome au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*,<sup>1</sup> later won the gold medal from the city of Rome. My primary adviser on this project was Fernand Braudel, but at this time, professors at the Collège de France were not allowed to direct theses. This policy was changed in 1967, on the condition that the thesis be registered at a university. Although it complicated matters, the explanation is that the Collège de France is not a university in the typical sense. It does not grant degrees or provide career training; rather, it is an institution dedicated only to pursuing research.

Braudel urged me to begin research in Roman archives on alum, a topic about which I knew very little. Alum is a double sulfate of aluminum and potassium that was essential for the production of textiles. It was used to degrease the fabric and set the colors, making it quite important in the time when textiles were the principal industry. In fact, the lack of alum could cause the textile industry of Italy, Flanders, and Normandy to come to a halt. This valuable element had come from Turkey during the Middle Ages but was no longer available after the Ottoman advance of the fifteenth century. A desperate search for new sources in the West ensued, and a great discovery was made in the Tolfa Mountains, about 80 kilometers from Rome. The use of this new resource was promising, but historians had not studied the development of Roman alum much beyond 1520. Therefore, Braudel's suggestion led me to the State Archives of Rome, where I spent many profitable hours uncovering new research. The book, published in 1962, was translated into Italian, and the two small towns that are now situated on the site of the former mines took a special interest in this project. The mines were active until the end of the eighteenth century but, after that, were seemingly forgotten. Now a museum has been created to remember the role of the mines. I was especially touched when the current citizens of these towns made me an honorary citizen and thanked me profusely for rediscovering and telling the important story of their past economic influence.

Thus I did not begin my career as a religious historian but rather as an economic historian, which was a trend that grew steadily from the 1950s. Moreover, I enjoyed doing research in Italy and returned to Italian subjects throughout my career. Two examples include *Italie*

<sup>1</sup>Jean Delumeau, *La vie économique et sociale de Rome au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1957-59).

*de Botticelli à Bonaparte*,<sup>2</sup> which was intended for students, and *Le mystère Campanella*,<sup>3</sup> which was recently published. The latter work was motivated largely by my personal curiosity about an intriguing Roman figure, Tomasso Campanella, a prophet of the end times who spent thirty years in prison, was a defender of Galileo, and later became astrologer for both Pope Urban VIII and Cardinal Richelieu. So I have spent a lot of time writing on Italian subjects, but my horizons soon expanded after my work on alum. This is evident in my work *La Civilisation de la Renaissance*,<sup>4</sup> which covered all of Europe and all elements of the Renaissance, including, quite naturally, religious conflicts.

This was not my first encounter with religious issues in my research, however. A few years earlier a fateful encounter led me to begin work on religious history. Forty years ago, Paul Lemerle, professor at the Collège de France, and Robert Boutruche, medievalist at the Sorbonne, launched the series *Nouvelle Clio* (which I co-direct today). Boutruche was accustomed to vacationing in the Chamonix Valley, where I also went quite often. One day, he came to my chalet and asked me to write a book for this new series. His proposal included a list of possible titles in the sixteenth century, and he probably expected that I would choose something on economic history, given my earlier work. Although both his visit and proposal were unexpected, the greatest shock came when I found myself responding, "I will write on the Reformation." This response came out of the blue, and once he departed, I considered running after him to ask for some time to think about my decision. But I did not chase after him. In 1965, I wrote *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme*.<sup>5</sup> While several factors influenced this decision, foremost among them was the memory of my Protestant professor from Marseille who died in the Resistance. With this book, as with others, the work I chose was often a combination of my personal interests and chance.

A few years later, I spoke again with Boutruche and told him that I wanted to write a companion volume on the Catholic Reformation<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Delumeau, *Italie de Botticelli à Bonaparte* (Paris, 1974).

<sup>3</sup>Delumeau, *Le mystère Campanella* (Paris, 2008).

<sup>4</sup>Delumeau, *La Civilisation de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1967).

<sup>5</sup>Delumeau, *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* (Paris, 1965).

<sup>6</sup>I explain my preference for the term *Catholic Reformation* to *Counter Reformation* in the foreword to *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*. In short, although the Counter Reformation certainly occurred in response to the Protestant

that would parallel *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme*. He agreed to my request, and the result was *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*,<sup>7</sup> also in the Nouvelle Clio series. This work received a lot of attention, including criticism, which centered largely around the chapter "The Legend of the Christian Middle Ages." I shall comment further on this issue below, but it is sufficient to say that this thesis generated both controversy and discussion.

In 1972, I discovered to my surprise that the theme of fear had largely been neglected by historians, especially from the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. Since I was already acquainted with this period and intrigued by the issue, I decided to fill in this gap. Once again, my personal experience played a role in my choice of historical studies. I thought about the type of Christianity I knew as a child and the presence of fear in those memories. When I was eleven years old, I was in a Salesian school in Nice, and on every first Friday of the month, we prayed the Litanies for a Happy Death. This certainly left an impression on me, with verses like the following:

When my face is pale and worn by suffering, be compassionate,  
And when the sweat of my brow brings me to the hour of death,  
Merciful Jesus, have pity on me.

The rest of the verses were similar to this. We then prayed a Pater and an Ave, "for the one among us who will die first." I reproduced all fourteen verses of this litany in the introduction to my first exploration of the topic of fear, *Le peur en Occident (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*.<sup>8</sup> This was not a work of religious history per se, although religious themes are naturally quite prevalent.

In the course of writing *Peur en Occident*, I came across materials that would lead to my biggest undertaking, *Le péché et le peur*.<sup>9</sup> The process of research for this book was painstaking and agonizing, as I was overcome by the documents I uncovered. In fact, I nearly stopped the project entirely, filled with anxiety at the thought of handing to my publisher a work that presented such a

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Reformation, I do not believe it was the driving force of the transformation that occurred in the Catholic Church at the end of the sixteenth century.

<sup>7</sup>Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris, 1971).

<sup>8</sup>Delumeau, *Le peur en Occident (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1978).

<sup>9</sup>Delumeau, *Le péché et le peur* (Paris, 1983).

dark image of Christianity, especially Western Christianity. I was already known as a Christian historian, and being responsible for making such documents public was a tremendous burden for me. However, I was encouraged by several devout priests to continue my efforts and later was offered an opportunity to present an exhibition based on these documents. They think it was therapeutic for many to confront some of the darker moments of their tradition. In the book I closely examined numerous documents that were disturbing in their outlook and demonstrated that both Catholic and Protestant theologians and preachers held excessively pessimistic views on ideas such as “the small number of the elect” and the “masses of the damned.” This “pastoral of fear” was greatly damaging to their credibility. Thus we can say that generations were raised not to revere God but to fear God. I concluded that this “pastoral of fear” was a major factor in dechristianization.

Just as I had followed *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* with *Le Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*, I resolved at the outset of my work on *La peur en Occident* that I would similarly write a companion volume on the feeling of security and the hope of salvation in Western civilization. You might say that I did not want to remain a prisoner of hell. The risk inherent in this project was that it would take a long time. Indeed, it took me twenty-eight years from the time I began my work on fear in 1972 to the time *Que reste-t-il du paradis?* was published in 2000.<sup>10</sup> Throughout that time I certainly wrote other books, but my primary intellectual occupation was the slow progression that moved from fear to hope and my attempt to understand them as historical objects.

This progression occurred in three stages. The first stage, as we have seen, was dedicated to fear. Next, I examined the history of the feeling of security. I did this in response to a question posed by Lucien Febvre in a book review from 1952 in which he pointed out that there had not yet been a work on this topic. My answer was presented in two volumes: *Rassurer et protéger*<sup>11</sup> and *L'Aveu et le pardon*.<sup>12</sup> The third and final step was a trilogy of works on heaven. The first of these, *Le Jardin des délices*,<sup>13</sup> examined the uncertainties of the story

<sup>10</sup>Delumeau, *Que reste-t-il du paradis?* (Paris, 2000).

<sup>11</sup>Delumeau, *Rassurer et protéger* (Paris, 1989).

<sup>12</sup>Delumeau, *L'Aveu et le pardon* (Paris, 1990).

<sup>13</sup>Delumeau, *Le Jardin des délices* (Paris, 1992).

of the Garden of Eden in Western history. I followed that with *Mille ans de bonheur*,<sup>14</sup> in which I studied millennialism as a movement to find heaven on earth, according to the promise in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Revelation. This hope manifested itself not only in religious ideas but also in secular movements from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, including the ideology of progress and socialism. The last of this trilogy is *Que reste-t-il du paradis?*, in which I analyzed the components of the Christian concept of heaven, and the admirable works of text and art that it inspired. I also wondered what happened to traditional notions of heaven, based on Aristotle's cosmology, since the time of Galileo. At the request of my publisher, I am currently working to synthesize these three volumes into one book that will be intended for a wider audience.

At times I was hampered in the development of my work by the absence of role models. However, there are a number of people and approaches that combined to influence me. I am greatly indebted to the Annales school for the insight of treating ideas as historical artifacts. When I was at l'École Normale Supérieure I read Marc Bloch's seminal work *Société féodale*<sup>15</sup> and realized that the study of collective sentiments and daily activities was a significant historical task. I remember this work even today, and its influence is woven throughout my own books. Much later, in 1960, I came to admire the work of Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie de famille dans la France d'Ancien Régime*.<sup>16</sup> Although this work received some criticism, I still consider it a masterpiece along the lines of Bloch's *Société féodale*. I was also impressed by Lucien Febvre, who cofounded the Annales school with Bloch. Febvre wrote about some of the most important historical subjects, and his work on Martin Luther remains famous to this day.<sup>17</sup>

I mentioned above the role of Braudel early in my career, and more deserves to be said about his influence. Not only did he show me which paths to explore, but even more important, he suggested to me a method by which I conducted my work. He helped me in this regard even though he was not personally drawn to religious or cultural history. His focus on broad areas and the *longue durée* captivated me when I read his great work, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditer-*

<sup>14</sup>Delumeau, *Mille ans de bonheur* (Paris, 1995).

<sup>15</sup>Marc Bloch, *Société féodale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1939-40).

<sup>16</sup>Philippe Ariès, *L'enfant et la vie de famille dans la France d'Ancien Régime* (Paris, 1960).

<sup>17</sup>Lucien Febvre, *Un destin: Martin Luther* (Brussels, 1927).



*ranéen à l'époque de Philippe II.*<sup>18</sup> I admired the scope of his documentation and immense sources. I learned from his example that before writing, one must read broadly and voluminously on the topic and be able to place it within a wide-ranging context. Finally, Braudel was a writer, like Marc Bloch, Philippe Ariès, and Georges Duby, in the tradition of Voltaire and Michelet. I think that a historian should try, if possible, to reach a broad, educated public.

From all of these historians I learned the importance of conducting in-depth research. But what does this mean specifically? Perhaps some examples from my work will help explain. For *Peur en Occident*, I pored over chronicles of the plague, works on demonology, stories of sea voyages, and folklore. For *Le péché et la peur*, I studied works on *contemptus mundi*, the writings of casuists, countless sermons, and the iconography of Danse Macabre. Similarly, for *Rassurer et protéger*, I consulted many useful diocesan rituals; collections of writings by priests; and hymns, especially Lutheran hymns. The history of the Garden of Eden led me to commentaries on subjects ranging from the Book of Genesis to the birth of evolutionism. Then, for the evolution of millennialism, I first followed eschatological sources (along the line of English historian Marjorie Reeves) before moving on to those centered on progress and socialism. Finally, I tried to examine representations of heaven in Western texts and images from the early Church through the nineteenth century.

Looking back on my work, I would identify two central and inter-related themes. The first is religious experience. The title of my inaugural lesson at the Collège de France in 1975 was "Prescriptions and Practice," and my course was called "Survey of Religious Attitudes in the Modern West." I never wanted to restrict religious history to doctrines and ecclesiastical institutions alone. I am much more interested in the way in which religion was practiced and experienced in the daily life of different classes of society and the dialectic between this experience and the official teachings of their Church. This is an open and inexhaustible field of study for all times and places.

The second major theme is dechristianization. In 1977 I published the work *Le christianisme va-t-il mourir?*,<sup>19</sup> which made some noise

<sup>18</sup>Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949).

<sup>19</sup>Jean Delumeau, *Le christianisme va-t-il mourir?* (Paris, 1977).

but also won the annual award from the Association of French Catholic Writers. It was an expanded version of my inaugural lecture and included a personal story that helps explain my interest in this theme. My history teacher in the *première supérieure* at Marseille was a devout Catholic who was fascinated by dechristianization, which manifested itself publicly in France for the first time during the Revolution. He was researching the causes of this unexpected explosion of sentiment; and from that point on, I became interested in the topic and added it as a component of my own research throughout my career. In 1981 a collection of my articles was published with the title *Un chemin d'histoire: Chrétienté et christianisation*.<sup>20</sup> I also titled the lecture at my final seminar in 1994 "L'historien chrétien face à la déchristianisation." One of the ultimate conclusions of my research, on which I will elaborate presently, is that the deep Christianization of the masses occurred much more slowly than the establishment of politico-religious power in past Christian eras and was ultimately never completed. This is even more evident today. The link between the study of dechristianization and the examination of the actual lived religious experience of the people is quite strong, and these themes have provided a framework throughout my career.

The intersection of these themes has played a key role in my historical analysis of Christianity in the Middle Ages and the Reformation era. Beginning with *Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* but also in *Le christianisme va-t-il mourir?, Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien*,<sup>21</sup> and *Un chemin d'histoire* I have developed the thesis that questioned the extent to which the Middle Ages were Christianized and shifted the focus to the Protestant and Catholic Reformations as the true period of Christianization. A number of historical observations led me to this view.

It should first be pointed out that the Middle Ages is a very broad term, and it is dangerous to treat it as a single bloc or historical era. Next, Christianity during this time was not only the official religion but also was the only religion that the vast majority of people would ever encounter. Therefore, Christianity encompassed all elements of medieval life, both individually and collectively. This is why it is tempting to consider the Middle Ages, during which life was centered entirely around the Christian faith, as a great period of Christianization.

<sup>20</sup>Delumeau, *Un chemin d'histoire: Chrétienté et christianisation* (Paris, 1981).

<sup>21</sup>Delumeau, *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien* (Toulouse, 1979).

However, I became skeptical of this view as superficial and lacking a deep understanding of the religious practice of the people. While a veneer of Christianity was superimposed on medieval life, a closer look revealed evidence that remnants of paganism persisted among the people. The saints of the Church now assumed many of the functions that had been formerly reserved to pagan gods, a point that Peter Brown helped to illustrate in his work.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, with the growth of the study of popular religion in the 1970s, it became apparent that there were several attitudes within Christianity that were compatible with other religions. Prayers for physical goods, such as crops, health, or protection from harm, were common to several faiths. When taken too far, these tendencies could lead to an undue reverence for the earthly realm. This led to superstition and a type of “magical Christianity” that was significantly removed from traditional conceptions of orthodoxy. But the Church believed that if these excesses could be limited by emphasizing faithful adherence to the Creed and Christian morality, it would be possible for people to maintain these practices while staying within the bounds of orthodoxy.

At the time of the Reformation, many Protestants, as well as some Catholics, pointed out that the people were underchristianized; and in many places, Europe was essentially missionary territory. This assessment was based on the observation of the rural masses and their lack of understanding of the basic elements of Christianity. One would not expect this outcome at the end of an age usually considered a time of flourishing for Christianity. In a later edition of *Catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* I acknowledged that the terminology *Legend of the Christian Middle Ages* was too provocative. But I also hoped to spark further discussion and research with this thesis, and to that end, I think it was useful. Since then, I have nuanced my analysis of medieval Christianity, but that should not be viewed as a rejection of my initial claim. Others such as Duby have noted that Christianity experienced a relative renewal during the Catholic and Protestant Reformations and should rightly be seen as a time of European Christianization. That such a transformation of society occurred immediately after the “Golden Age” of Christianity concluded is cause to reflect on the traditional interpretation of medieval Christianity.

<sup>22</sup>Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1980).

To what extent was the message I delivered actually received? I may not be the right person to answer this question, but I can say that my lectures at the Collège de France, where I presented the basic arguments of my seven books (from *La peur en Occident* to *Que reste-t-il du paradis?*), were followed for twenty years by a large audience. In addition, upon my retirement, the participants of my seminar presented me with *Homo religiosus: autour de Jean Delumeau*, a volume honoring my work.<sup>23</sup> Eighty colleagues from twenty-one countries contributed to this book. So while this may not be a direct answer, I view it as an affirmation of my work.

This brings me to my seminars at the Collège de France, which I am quite fond of remembering. Our weekly meetings consisted of about twenty-five people, and this format remained the same over the years. It was composed of accomplished researchers, very often younger than me, who were either already professors at universities in Paris or nearby regions, or held appointments at the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique). There were two different approaches to our work. Some years, I invited historians, sociologists, and psychologists, either French or foreign, to present to us their new books or ongoing research in the field of religious experience and practice. Each of these talks was followed by an open discussion, which was always courteous and friendly. We invited these guests to learn from them, not to be disagreeable.

But in other years, our goal was different. I would propose to the group and/or outside specialists a historical theme that was up to that time little-studied and that deserved an in-depth treatment. We then decided to create a collective work on the subject that would be accomplished during the subsequent academic year. This decision was often made in a bistro in the Latin Quarter, where we often gathered at the end of the seminar. The subject of the book was decided and then divided into chapters, with each participant choosing a topic according to his or her specialty. During the subsequent academic year, the contributors presented a first draft of their text to the others and based on their constructive feedback proceeded to the final draft. These seminars produced several published works, including *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien*, *La première communion*, *Quatre siècles d'histoire, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*,<sup>24</sup> *Histoire des pères et de*

<sup>23</sup>*Homo religiosus: autour de Jean Delumeau* (Paris, 1997).

<sup>24</sup>Jean Delumeau, *La première communion. Quatre siècles d'histoire, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1987).

*la paternité en France*,<sup>25</sup> *La religion de ma mère*,<sup>26</sup> and *L'historien et la foi*.<sup>27</sup> Our work on first Communion in France was prompted by a suggestion from Febvre, who was surprised that a history of this topic had not been written. The earliest mention of this rite that we found in France dates back to 1593. The study of the historical role of women in transmitting the faith resulted from the current observation that this role had been underestimated by the Church. The impetus for our work varied, but its quality and scholarly contribution remained constant.

Just as with the question of the reception of my work above, I am reluctant to say much about the reach and scope of my writing and teaching, knowing, from Ecclesiastes 1:2 and echoed by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, that “all is vanity.” The total number of translations of my books is approximately eighty, in fifteen languages. But I think it is more enlightening to relay here some interesting anecdotes. One day, the director of the publisher Fayard asked me if I would direct a work to be called *Le fait religieux*, which would be a survey of the great world religions. I accepted and managed to assemble an international team so that each member would explain his or her own religion. Thus, an Indian scholar would be responsible for Hinduism, a Japanese scholar from Tokyo for Shintoism, and so on. When this book, which stretched to 780 pages, was published in 1993,<sup>28</sup> it was more successful than I envisioned and was translated into several languages. It was especially popular in Europe and Latin America. Moreover, the expression *fait religieux*, which I did not invent but merely popularized, has met great fortune. It is used daily in the press and other media.

One success led to another. The public television channel France 5 was started in 1994 and featured educational programming at the same time that the government was making the teaching of *fait religieux* mandatory in secondary school for students between ten and seventeen years old. The director of France 5 asked me to develop a program in conjunction with my recent book. The result of this project was forty-six episodes, thirteen minutes each, in which I tried to explain, in a clear and simple way, each of the great religions of today.

<sup>25</sup>Delumeau, *Histoire des pères et de la paternité en France* (Paris, 1989).

<sup>26</sup>Delumeau, *La religion de ma mère: les femmes et la transmission de la foi* (Paris, 1992).

<sup>27</sup>Delumeau, *L'historien et la foi* (Paris, 1996).

<sup>28</sup>Delumeau, ed., *Le fait religieux* (Paris, 1993).

These episodes of *Les Religions et les Hommes* were made for students around fifteen years old and were broadcast on France 5 throughout 1996 and again in 1997. Since then, they are rebroadcast each week on *Toute l'histoire*, a nonconfessional cable channel available to everyone in France. Currently, approximately six of these thirteen-minute episodes are shown per week. The text of these programs and accompanying illustrations were made into a book published in 1997, *Des religions et des hommes*,<sup>29</sup> which was translated into Chinese in 2009.

I remain surprised at all of these developments. I think that people today are searching for religion but are also disoriented and uncertain about the manner in which one finds God. I also see a quiet acceptance of the assertion by the Catholic theologian Raimon Panikkar, whose father was Hindu, that “[k]nowing others’ faith is essential to understanding one’s own religion.”<sup>30</sup> The question remains of the manner in which the Church should respond to this feature of modern society. I continue to believe that ecumenical efforts among Christians are essential as well as interreligious dialogue. Thus, I am disappointed that Rome has abandoned the term *sister churches* and stopped the meetings at Assisi. This voluntary isolation, motivated by the fear of relativism, calls to mind the “besieged citadel” mentality that I described in *La peur en Occident*. Rather than this approach, I would offer an alternative path forward.

It seems to me that the response of the Church to modernity has been uneven. For a long time it was burdened by its rejection of modern science as well as its reticence in accepting the freedom of conscience and religious tolerance. In more recent times, the position of the Catholic Church on issues such as abortion, contraception, divorce, and remarriage contribute to its perception as dark and constraining. At the same time, the charitable work done in the name of Christianity is unparalleled in history. I think the way forward involves embracing what I have called the “fundamental creed,” a set of values that encourage freedom and mutual respect among churches. Rather than seek uniformity, a diversity of rituals and expressions of Christianity should be encouraged. This would be a return to the time of early Christianity, when the faith was expressed in multiple ways.

<sup>29</sup>Jean Delumeau and Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *Des religions et des hommes* (Paris, 1997).

<sup>30</sup>Raimon Panikkar, *The Intra-Religious Dialogue* (New York, 1978).

But while it may be useful to refer to models of Christianity from the past, there is also a danger in becoming overly nostalgic. I see this especially with respect to the era of the Catholic and Protestant Reformations. Since this is seen as a period of Christianization, there is a natural temptation to search for ways to re-create its features today. I think this would be a grave mistake, however. So much has changed in the intervening centuries that it is impossible to re-create the conditions that led to the transformations of that era. Martin Luther, John Calvin, and St. Ignatius of Loyola lived in a world where modern science was barely developed, pluralist democracies were unknown, and “tolerance” carried a negative connotation. We should learn from the past but embrace the present. The path by which Christianity accepts tolerance and modernity while maintaining its core tenets in the face of secular society will surely be difficult. There will be unexpected developments along the way that will test but also strengthen. Regardless of the outcome, however, it will be an opportunity for learning. In this way, the future of the Church will mirror the journey undertaken by each of its members.

## FRANCIS OF ASSISI'S WAY OF PEACE? HIS CONVERSION AND MISSION TO EGYPT

BY

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*Scholars often suggest that St. Francis of Assisi opposed the Fifth Crusade, because he renounced the military life at his conversion and preached to the Muslims in Egypt. Yet his renunciation of arms was only one component of his conversion, which he did not require for all Christians. Additionally, Francis neither explicitly nor implicitly opposed the crusade in Egypt but confronted the Muslims with the necessity of conversion. The sultan decided not to execute Francis, not because Francis offered him peace, but because political conditions did not allow such an action. In fact, Francis's missionary ideal corresponded with that of contemporary ecclesiastical and secular authorities who also supported and participated in crusading.*

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Commenting on the parallels between the search for the historical Jesus and the historical St. Francis of Assisi, Raoul Manselli writes:

While on the level of New Testament philology the relationship between the historical Christ and the Christ of faith always remains alive and present, it is a very different problem in the relationship between the Francis of history and the Francis of the Franciscan traditions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Raoul Manselli, "La povertà del vita di Francesco d'Assisi," in *La povertà del secolo XII e Francesco d'Assisi: atti del II. convegno internazionale, Assisi, 17-19 ottobre 1974* (Assisi, 1975), pp. 255-328, here p. 257. "Mentre sul piano della filologia neo-



Manselli is referring to how the competing groups within the Franciscan Order, as they sought to reshape Francis to further their own agendas, obscured Francis in their hagiographies. Likewise, John Tolan has demonstrated that authors and artists since the thirteenth century have interpreted the story of Francis's encounter with the Sultan Malik al-Kamil at Damietta in September 1219 through an ideological lens.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, modern Franciscan scholarship has a dominant—although not universal—trend in which Francis was a pacific ecumenist who rejected the crusades, possessed a negative understanding of Islam, and pursued a self-seeking desire for martyrdom. The view is mainly a spiritual reflection on Francis's life to understand how modern Franciscans should respond to contemporary religious, cultural, and military conflicts between the West and Islam.<sup>3</sup> Within crusading historiography, scholars insist that Francis supported the crusades or at least did not object to them. Benjamin Kedar, who argues that missionary work was a natural outgrowth of the crusades, explains that Francis preached to the sultan to supplement the crusades and sought martyrdom to inspire the friars to proclaim the Gospel to the Muslims. Yet he fails to discuss sufficiently the problems

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testamentaria rimane sempre vivo ed attuale il rapporto fra il Cristo storico e il Cristo della fede, è ben diverso il problema della relazione tra il Francesco della storia ed il Francesco delle tradizioni francescane."

<sup>2</sup>John Tolan, *Le saint chez le sultan: La rencontre de François d'Assise et de l'islam. Huit siècles d'interprétation* (n.p., 2007). For scholars who emphasize Francis's desire to convert the Muslims but portray crusading as forced conversion, see Kajetan Esser, "Das Missionarische Anliegen des Heiligen Franziskus," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, 35 (1972), 12-18; E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, KY, 1975), pp. 37-54; Franco Cardini, "Nella presenza del soldano superba: Bernardo, Francesco, Bonaventura, e il Superamento spirituale dell'idea di crociata," *Studi Francescani*, 71, no. 2 (January-December, 1977), 199-250; and Kaspar Elm, "Franz von Assisi, Brufspredigt oder Heidenmission?," in *Espansione del Francescanesimo tra occidente e oriente nel secolo XIII: Atti del VI Convegno Internazionale, 12-14 ottobre 1978* (Assisi, 1979), pp. 71-103. For scholars who depict Francis as a pacific ecumenist, see Giulio Basetti-Sani, "Francesco e l'Islam," *Renovatio*, 8 (1973), 42-72, 233-45; Francesco Gabrieli, "San Francesco e l'Oriente Islamico," in *Espansione*, pp. 107-21; and Cornelio Del Zotto, "Il dialogo universale di Francesco d'Assisi pratica di pacificazione," *Antonianum*, 65 (1990), 495-532.

<sup>3</sup>Jan Hoeberichts, *Francis and Islam* (Quincy, IL, 1997); Kathleen Warren, *Daring to Cross the Threshold: Francis of Assisi Encounters Sultan Malek al-Kamil* (Rochester, MN, 2003); Michael Cusato, "Healing the Violence of the Contemporary World: A Franciscan Paradigm for Dialogue with Islam," *Spirit and Life: A Journal of Contemporary Franciscanism*, 12 (2008), 1-37; and *idem*, "From Damietta to LaVerna: The Impact on Francis of His Experience in Egypt," *Spirit and Life*, 12 (2008), 83-112.

of the hagiographical texts.<sup>4</sup> Christoph Maier asserts that Francis sought, through the conversion of the Muslims, “their total submission to the Christian faith” without which there could be no peace. Unfortunately, he bases his conclusion on the dubious *Liber exemplorum fratrum minorum* from the 1260s.<sup>5</sup> Both scholars ignore the broader significance of Francis’s conversion and his discussion of missionary activity in their arguments. In contrast, James Powell, who is a distinguished crusade historian, has attempted to distance Francis from the crusades. First, Powell argues that Francis preached conversion as a peaceful alternative to the crusades. Francis announced to the crusaders that the thirteenth century was an unacceptable time for crusading, while he preached conversion to the Muslims.<sup>6</sup> Second, Powell argues that Francis’s prohibition of fighting in Italy and purportedly in Egypt reflected his own conversion from the military life. Powell, however, accepts that Francis might have been indifferent to the crusades, rather than strictly opposed to them.<sup>7</sup>

A closer examination of the evidence, however, suggests other conclusions. This article argues that Francis’s conversion and his preaching in Egypt did not set his idea of the Christian life against crusading or a militant Christianity. His renunciation of arms was only one component of his conversion from and rejection of his old life, not a requirement for all Christians. In addition, Francis neither explicitly opposed the crusaders nor implicitly contrasted his message of conversion for the Muslims with the crusades. Instead, believing that all humans needed Christ, Francis confronted the Muslims with the necessity of conversion to Christianity. His message was not a peaceful alternative to the Fifth Crusade, but in support of the crusade’s mission to reclaim Jerusalem.

Early in his conversion, Francis renounced his aspirations to become a knight. Thomas of Celano’s *Vita prima*, which Pope Gregory IX commissioned in 1228 before canonizing Francis, is the most reliable source for this phase of his conversion. Although schol-

<sup>4</sup>Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 130–31, 134–35.

<sup>5</sup>Christoph Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK, 1994), pp. 9–17.

<sup>6</sup>James Powell, “Francesco d’Assisi e la Quinta Crociata. Una missione di pace,” *Schede Medievali*, 4 (1983), 68–77; and *idem*, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 158–60.

<sup>7</sup>Powell, “St. Francis’ Way of Peace,” *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), 271–80.

ars emphasize Gregory IX's and Brother Elias's role in the writing of the *Life*, Jacques Dalarun has demonstrated the historical usefulness of the *Life* understood within the genre of hagiography and the context of its composition. Celano adapted hagiographical tropes to the reality of medieval Assisi and used Francis's *Testament* as a template for oral accounts about Francis.<sup>8</sup> Concerning Francis's conversion, Celano recounted that an illness induced Francis's initial disdain for the world and rejection of a life of frivolity with his friends.<sup>9</sup> Yet Francis still intended to seek worldly things:

For a certain noble citizen of Assisi prepared himself immoderately with military arms, and inflated by the winds of glory [the noble] pledged himself to go to Apulia to increase profit of money or honor. Hearing this, because he was light spirited and not a little bold, Francis agreed to go with him.<sup>10</sup>

The preparations probably pertained to Walter of Brienne's expedition to Apulia between 1203 and 1205. Walter fought against Markward of Anweiler and Dipold of Acerra to protect his wife's inheritance in southern Italy and Pope Innocent III's regency for the young Frederick Hohenstaufen, king of Sicily.<sup>11</sup> During his preparations, Francis had a vision in which weapons filled his house. Although it perplexed him because layers of cloth usually filled his

<sup>8</sup>Jacques Dalarun, *The Misadventure of Francis of Assisi: Towards the Historical Use of Franciscan Legends*, trans. Edward Hagman (St. Bonaventure, NY, 2002), pp. 99–113, 127–31; and Thomas de Celano, "Prologue 1.1," *Vita prima sancti Francisci*, in *Fontes Franciscani* (hereafter FF), ed. Enrico Menestò and Stefano Brufani (Assisi, 1995), p. 275.

<sup>9</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.2.3.1–1.2.4.1–3, pp. 279–80.

<sup>10</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.2.4.4–6, p. 280. "Nam nobilis quidam civilis Assisii, militaribus armis se non mediocriter praeparat et inanis gloriae vento inflatus, ad pecuniae vel honoris augenda lucra, iturum in Apulia se propondit. Quibus auditis, Franciscus, quia levis animo erat et non modicum audax, ad eundem conspirat cum illo."

<sup>11</sup>The chronology is established from Thomas of Celano's *Vita secunda* and the *Legenda trium sociorum*, which claimed that Francis was captured in what was probably the Battle of Collestrada between Assisi and Perugia in November 1202. He was released either shortly afterward or a year later, and soon after planned to go to Apulia. Paul V. Riley Jr., "Francis' Assisi: Its Political and Social History, 1175–1225," *Franciscan Studies*, 12 (1974), 393–424, here 406–08; Thomas de Celano, *Vita secunda sancti Francisci* 1.4–2.5.1 and 1.2.6.1–3, in FF, pp. 446–48; and *Legenda trium sociorum* 2.4–5.1, in FF, pp. 1376–77. It is important to note that Walter of Brienne's expedition was not a political crusade, because Innocent offered the indulgence to the Sicilians in November 1200 only if they rebelled against Markward. Elizabeth Kennan, "Innocent III and the First Political Crusade: A Comment on the Limitations of Papal Power," *Traditio*, 27 (1971), 231–49, here 248.

home, and God told him that the arms belonged to his company of soldiers, Francis believed that the vision foretold a successful journey. Yet Celano commented that Francis misunderstood its meaning. Indeed, Francis soon had to force himself to complete his plans.<sup>12</sup> Celano then added, “Indeed, finely enough, first there is a mention of arms; it is very opportune to give military arms to someone about to fight against a strong, armored man [the devil].”<sup>13</sup> Francis, ultimately, refused to go to Apulia. Instead, he withdrew to a cave to repent of his sins and to seek God’s guidance. Afterward, he sold his possessions and resided at the ruined church of San Damiano until his father captured him. As a result, Francis renounced his inheritance and left the world.<sup>14</sup> Celano’s adaptation of the trope of a conversion from a life of sin corresponds with the troublesome bands of young men in Assisi and the aspirations of the *minores*, to which Francis’s family belonged, for attaining knighthood.<sup>15</sup>

Despite the centrality of this story to Francis’s conversion, Celano did not portray Francis’s experience as a rejection of militancy for nonviolence. Rather, Celano asserted that vanity and immoderation, which Celano attributed to adolescent sins and the lax discipline of Francis’s parents rather than an excessive militancy, consumed Francis’s preconversion life.<sup>16</sup> Celano commented, “Indeed, accomplished wickedly beyond all his contemporaries in vanities, he proved to be an inciter of evil things and an abundant imitator of foolishness.”<sup>17</sup> Although Celano’s pessimistic view of society was a common hagiographical trope, Francis, in his *Testament*, also identified a general sinful state but did not mention militancy.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, Celano attributed Francis’s planned expedition to Apulia to his desire to seek worldly glory and fame and to resist God’s will, not simply to his desire to join a military expedition. Likewise, Celano did not criticize the nobleman of Assisi for his military plans but for his immoderate

<sup>12</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.2.5.1–7, pp. 280–81.

<sup>13</sup>Celano, *Vita prima*, 1.2.5.9, p. 281. “Et quidem pulchre satis primo de armis fit mentio, et opportune multum arma traduntur contra fortem armatum militia pugnaturo.” For a similar account from the early 1230s, see Iulianus de Spira, *Vita sancti Francisci* 1.2–3 and 1.5.2, in FF, pp. 1027–29.

<sup>14</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.3.6.1–1.6.15.7, pp. 282–90.

<sup>15</sup>Dalarun, *Misadventure*, p. 112.

<sup>16</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.1.1.1–1.2.3.1, pp. 277–79.

<sup>17</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.1.2.2, p. 278. “Immo super omnes coetaneos suos in vanitatibus male proficiens, inceptor malorum et aemulator stultitiae abundantius exsistebat.”

<sup>18</sup>*Testamentum* 1, in FF, p. 227.

preparations and excessive desire for glory and wealth. Therefore, neither Francis nor Celano framed Francis's conversion as a rejection of the military life.

Rather than condemning Francis's desire to become a knight, the early hagiographies beginning with the *Vita prima* focused on Francis's initial failure to interpret his vision correctly. Indeed, concerning the vision, Celano did not disparage the use of arms, but he instead adapted a common analogy between the life of a knight and that of a religious. Although Celano expressed his disappointment that Francis misunderstood the meaning of the vision, he commented that it was an appropriate misinterpretation, because Francis was to become a spiritual knight.<sup>19</sup> Yet Celano never explained how Francis realized his misunderstanding but simply declared that Francis refused to go to Apulia.<sup>20</sup> The *Anonymous Perusinus*, which scholars attribute to John of Perugia (a companion of Francis's early disciple Brother Giles), and the *Legenda trium sociorum* (compiled by Brothers Leo, Angelo, and Rufino, Francis's companions) elaborated on this account. According to them, Francis had departed already for Apulia when God ordered him to return to Assisi and wait for further direction. Despite the close relationship of the authors with Francis, it is important to remember that the authors wrote their accounts after a constitutional crisis in the order in 1239 and responded by explaining their view of Francis's true intention for the order.<sup>21</sup> Regardless, these elaborations simply fleshed out Celano's awkward transition from the abandoned expedition to Francis's conversion. They did not chide Francis for wanting to become a knight but for misunderstanding the vision.

Moreover, Francis's abandonment of the expedition was only one aspect of his multilayered rejection of his old life for the new. Celano noted Francis's surprise when he saw the weapons in his house, which underscores that his military aspiration was only one component of his pre-conversion life, not its totality. His deathbed *Testament* (1226), in which Francis recounted his conversion, does not even mention his abandoned expedition to Apulia:

<sup>19</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.2.5.8-9, p. 281.

<sup>20</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.3.6.1, p. 281.

<sup>21</sup>*Anonymous Perusinus* 2.6.6, in FF, p. 1314; *Legenda trium sociorum* 2.6.5.8, p. 1379; Luigi Pellegrini, Introduzione to *Anonymous Perusinus*, pp. 1299-1310; *idem*, Introduzione to *Legenda trium sociorum*, pp. 1355-71; and Dalarun, *Misadventure*, pp. 175-205.

The Lord gave me, Brother Francis, thus to begin doing penance, because when I was in sin, it appeared to me exceedingly bitter to see lepers. And the Lord himself drew me among them, and I had mercy on them. And retreating from those [sins], what had appeared as bitterness to me was changed into sweetness of soul and body to me; and afterwards I remained a little, and I escaped from the world.<sup>22</sup>

Accordingly, Celano and the *Legenda trium sociorum* explained that Francis's physical contact with and mercy to a leper was a major component of his conversion.<sup>23</sup> Hence, Francis himself and his hagiographers located the turning point of his conversion in his changed attitude toward lepers, not toward military life, which was secondary to his desire for a penitential life of humility. As Francis renounced the wealth of his merchant father in front of the bishop, he also laid down his knightly arms and, thus, his ambition for glory before he left the world.

Francis's idea of conversion entailed a life of penance that did not interfere with a person's status in life. In the *Regula non bullata*, Francis taught the friars to exhort people to believe in the Trinity, forgive others, confess their sins, and do penance, which entailed turning away from sin to God, loving one's neighbor, and making reparation for sins. Francis further instructed them to say, "Blessed are they who die in penance for they will be in the kingdom of heaven."<sup>24</sup> Francis, however, did not exclude secular rulers by this statement. In his *Letter to the Rulers of the Peoples* (1220), Francis did not condemn secular rulers for waging warfare. Rather, he exhorted them to participate in the sacraments and to promote the worship of God by word and deed.<sup>25</sup> In this way, Francis believed that the laity could do penance according to their state in life.

In short, Francis's conversion, including his abandonment of the Apulia campaign, did not offer conversion as an alternative to war.

<sup>22</sup>*Testamentum* 1-3, in FE, p. 227. "Dominus ita dedit mihi fratri Francisco incipere faciendi poenitentiam: quia cum essem in peccatis nimis mihi videbatur amarum videre leprosos. Et ipse Dominus conduxit me inter illos et feci misericordia cum illis. Et recedente me ab ipsis, id quod videbatur mihi amarum, conversum fuit mihi in dulcedinem animi et corporis; et postea parum steti et exivi de saeculo."

<sup>23</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.7.17.1-10, pp. 292-93; and *Legenda trium sociorum* 4.12, p. 1384.

<sup>24</sup>*Regula non bullata* 21.1-7, in FE, pp. 203-04. "Beati qui moriuntur in poenitentia, quia erunt in regno caelorum." See also *Epistola ad fideles (Recensio prior)*, 1, in FE, pp. 73-74.

<sup>25</sup>*Epistola ad populorum rectores* 3 and 6-8, in FE, pp. 107-08.

Rather, it marked his acceptance of a penitential life in which he rejected his aspirations for merchant wealth and knightly glory. There is no evidence in the hagiographies and Francis's writings that he indiscriminately imposed such renunciations on Christian society.

It is now possible to consider whether Francis's mission to the Fifth Crusade contrasted with the goal of the crusade. By August 1219 Francis arrived at the camp of the Fifth Crusade in Egypt during its siege of Damietta.<sup>26</sup> Oliver of Paderborn, a crusade preacher who wrote his chronicle between 1217 and 1222 in Egypt, recounted that a crusading army attacked the Muslims on August 29. When the enemy pretended to retreat, the crusade leaders paused to debate their next step. The Muslim army then attacked, forced the crusaders to flee, and killed or captured many crusaders.<sup>27</sup> The defeat corresponds with the account from Thomas of Celano's *Vita secunda* in which Francis forbade a battle and predicted its disaster. According to the *Life*, after Francis arrived in Damietta:

On the day of battle when our army was preparing to fight, hearing this, the holy man grieved very much. And he said to his companion, "If the clash takes place on such a day, the Lord has revealed to me that it will not result in triumph for the Christians. Truly, if I say this, I will be thought foolish; if I am silent, I will not escape my conscience. Therefore, what do you think?" His companion responded, saying, "Father, it should be unimportant to you how you are judged by men, because not just now have you begun to be thought a fool. Discharge your conscience, and fear God more than men." The holy man, therefore, leapt up and approached the Christians with warnings to save them, forbidding the battle, announcing disaster. The truth is made into nonsense, they hardened their heart, and they refused to be directed.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.20.57.5, pp. 331–32; *Chronica fratris Jordani a Iano*, in *Analecta Franciscana: sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam Fratrum minorum spectantia*, 12 vols. (Quaracchi, 1897), 3:4; and Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.1, p. 470.

<sup>27</sup>Oliver of Paderborn, *The Capture of Damietta*, in *Christian Society and the Crusades, 1198–1222*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 49–139, here pp. 81–83; and Peters, Introduction to *Christian Society and the Crusades*, pp. xx–xxi. See also Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 158–59.

<sup>28</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.2–8, pp. 470–71. "Cum igitur ad diem belli nostri pararentur in pugnam, audito hoc, sanctus vehementer indoluit. Dixitque socio suo: 'Si tali die congressus fiat, ostendit mihi Dominus, non in prosperum cedere Christianis. Verum si hoc dixerit, fatuus reputabor; si tacuero, conscientiam non evadam. Quid ergo tibi videtur?' Respondit socius eius dicens: 'Pater, pro minimo tibi sit ut ab hominibus iudiceris, quia non modo incipis fatuus reputari. Exonera conscientiam tuam, et Deus



Celano then explained how the Christian army engaged in battle but soon retreated. To the grief of Francis and the crusaders, many Christians were either killed or captured by the enemy.<sup>29</sup> Celano concluded by commenting on what caused the Christian defeat:

The princes of the world should be aware of this, and they should understand because it is not easy to fight against God, that is against the will of God. Impudence usually comes to a destructive end. . . . For if victory is to be hoped for from on high, battles are to be committed to the divine Spirit.<sup>30</sup>

Celano did not include here the story of Francis's attempt to convert the Muslims, which he incorporated into the *Vita prima*.

Yet, the *Vita secunda*, highly influenced by problems in the order, is unreliable. Celano wrote it in response to General Minister Crescentius of Jesi's 1244 request for another life. In the first book, Celano condensed but modified the chronology of Francis's life. For instance, he excised mention of Brother Elias, the former general minister, whose 1239 ousting marked the clericalization of the order. He also arranged the second book thematically to address Francis's intention for the order concerning problematic issues such as poverty, obedience, education, and clerical promotion.<sup>31</sup> In particular, Celano placed this account within a sequence of prophecy stories concerning disobedience.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, although the account is probably fictitious, did Celano, as some scholars propose, compose the story to suggest subtly that Francis criticized the crusades?<sup>33</sup>

In the *Vita secunda*, Celano clearly stated that Francis forbade the crusaders from engaging in a battle on a particular day, not from con-

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magis time quam homines.' Exsilit ergo sanctus et salutaribus monitis Christianos aggreditur, prohibens bellum, denuntians casum. Fit veritas in fabulam, induraverunt cor suum et noluerunt adverti."

<sup>29</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.9-14, p. 471.

<sup>30</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.15-17, p. 471. "Noverint haec principes orbis terrae, et sciant quia contra Deum pugnare non est facile, id est contra domini voluntatem. Exitiali fine terminari solet protervia, quae dum suis nititur, caeleste subsidium non meretur. Si enim ex alto sperari debet victoria, divino sunt spiritu proelia committenda." Bonaventure of Bagnoregio in the *Legenda maior* (1263) recounted a condensed but nearly identical story but offered no additional information. Bonaventure de Bagnoregio, *Legenda maior sancti Francisci* 11.3, in FF, pp. 870-71.

<sup>31</sup>Dalarun, *Misadventure*, pp. 97-99, 136; Stanislao da Campagnola, *Introduzione to Celano*, in FF, pp. 260-71; and Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge, UK, 1959), p. 15.

<sup>32</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.2.28-2.13.42, pp. 469-83.

<sup>33</sup>Powell, "Francesco d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata," pp. 74-75; and Cusato, "Healing the Violence," pp. 23-29.



ducting a crusade in the early-thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The crusaders' war preparations grieved Francis because the Christians would lose only "if the clash [*congressus*] takes place on such a day [*tali die*]." <sup>35</sup> Celano did not intend to imply that Francis meant that the thirteenth century was an unacceptable time for another crusade. Celano might have had Francis object to the battle knowing that August 29 was the Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist; John was Francis's patron, and his feast was carefully observed by Francis.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps drawing upon the Truce of God tradition, Celano depicted Francis as believing that if the crusaders had eschewed the fight on such a day, they would have come back triumphantly on another day.<sup>37</sup>

Celano, moreover, plainly referred to a particular battle, not the war itself. When Francis went to the Christians to forbid the battle [*bellum*], he did not condemn the Fifth Crusade or war in general but simply the August 29 battle.<sup>38</sup> Francis knew that if the crusaders engaged in a *congressus*, or clash, that day, they would lose.<sup>39</sup> When Celano described the preparations for war and the actual battle, he used the terms *bellum* and *pugna*. He later employed *proelium* when he interpreted the significance of the incident.<sup>40</sup> Because the context of these words and their meanings entail a specific event in time, there is no ambivalence in the vocabulary of this passage. Celano was referring to a particular battle on a specific day without implying that Francis expressed dissatisfaction with the crusade.

Celano straightforwardly identified that the crusaders' impudence led to their defeat. He described how the crusaders rejected Francis's predication as nonsense after he told them of his premonition. Then,

<sup>34</sup>Powell argues that the ambivalent language of the passage suggests that Francis opposed not only the battle but also the war (Powell, "Francesco d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata," p. 74).

<sup>35</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.3, p. 470.

<sup>36</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 1.1.3.7, p. 446; and Germain Kopaczynski, "Saint Francis and Pacifism," *Miscellanea Francescana*, 81, no. 1 (1986), 13–30, here 22.

<sup>37</sup>Powell asserts that Francis, influenced by the Truce of God tradition, believed that the early-thirteenth century was not an acceptable time for the crusade (Powell, "Francesco d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata," pp. 74–75). For a discussion of the compatibility between Christian violence and peace in relation to the Peace of God and Truce of God movement, see Tomaž Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order* (Berkeley, CA, 2002), pp. 1–54.

<sup>38</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.7, p. 471.

<sup>39</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.3, p. 470.

<sup>40</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.30.2, 10, and 17, p. 471.

when Celano explained the significance of the incident, he commented that it demonstrated that insolence and a lack of dependence on God led to the defeat. Consequently, if the crusaders had humbly obeyed God's message through Francis, they would have won the battle. It was for their insolence and pride, not for going on crusade, that the crusaders were overwhelmed with regret.<sup>41</sup> Celano did not imply that the crusaders were resistant to Francis's supposed alternative of conversion, which Celano did not mention at all, but to his attempt to advise them. Interestingly, Oliver of Paderborn also explained that the defeat was a just and even mitigated punishment for the sin of the crusaders.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the account of Francis at Damietta in *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur* (post-1228) briefly recounted that Francis did good deeds among the crusaders but left for Syria when wickedness and sin increased among the crusaders after the capture of the city.<sup>43</sup> The account reflects a crusading trope about the sinfulness of crusaders, which in the history would lead to the defeat of the Fifth Crusade, not Francis's opposition to the crusade.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, Celano appropriated the crusading trope here to demonstrate Francis's prophetic ability, not to argue that Francis opposed the crusade.

Moreover, the silence about the crusades in Francis's writings does not support an interpretation of the *Vita secunda* and Francis's actions at Damietta as anticrusade.<sup>45</sup> In his small corpus of writings, Francis addressed a limited range of themes, especially reverence for the Eucharist, reception of Communion, confession of sins to a priest, respect for the clergy, and acts of penance. His audience included the friars, who lacked the sophisticated organization required to preach the crusade, and the brothers and sisters of penance, whom, along with friars, canon law disqualified from fighting.<sup>46</sup> Accordingly, Francis referred to the Fourth Lateran Council's concern with the reservation of the Eucharist and the maintenance of liturgical implements but not to the council's call for a new crusade.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, it is not possible

<sup>41</sup>Celano, *Vita secunda* 2.4.8, 15-17, and 13, p. 471.

<sup>42</sup>Oliver of Paderborn, *Damietta*, p. 83.

<sup>43</sup>*L'Histoire d'Eracles Empereur et la Conquest de la Terre d'Outremer*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 2 (Paris, 1841-95), p. 34.

<sup>44</sup>See Tolan, *Le sainte chez le sultan*, pp. 66-68, 87-89.

<sup>45</sup>Hoeberichts, *Francis and Islam*, pp. 3-6; and Cusato, "From Damietta," pp. 88-91.

<sup>46</sup>See *Epistola ad clericos*, in FF, pp. 59-61; *Epistola ad custodes I*, in FF, pp. 65-66; *Epistola ad custodes II*, in FF, p. 69; *Epistola ad fides*, in FF, pp. 73-76, 79-86; *Epistola ad quondam ministrum*, in FF, pp. 95-96; and *Epistola toti ordini missa*, in FF, pp. 99-104.

<sup>47</sup>*Epistola ad clericos* 13, p. 61.

to demonstrate that Francis either supported or opposed the crusades *ex silentio*.

After the August 29 battle, Sultan al-Kamil offered a truce to which the Christians agreed. The sultan hoped to end the siege by offering Jerusalem and returning fortresses west of the Jordan to the Christians. This caused a division between Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate, who opposed accepting the offer, and John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem, who favored it. The truce, however, ended on September 25, the Vigil of the Feast of Ss. Cosmas and Damian, without the crusaders accepting the offer.<sup>48</sup> The ceasefire would have allowed Francis sufficient time to cross over to the sultan's camp on the other side of the Nile. In early 1220 at Damietta, Jacques de Vitry, the bishop of Acre, who accompanied the Fifth Crusade to Damietta in 1218, sent three versions of a letter about the conquest of Damietta in November 1219 to Pope Honorius III, Master John of Nivelles, and Abbess Agnès of Awirs near Liège.<sup>49</sup> In the versions sent to John of Nivelles and the abbess, he appended his fears about the Friars Minor and provided the earliest account of Francis's attempt to convert the sultan:

Truly, their master, [Francis], who established that order [of the Friars Minor], when he came among our army, inflamed with the zeal of faith, did not fear to cross to the army of our enemy, and when he preached to the Saracens for a few days, he accomplished little. But the Sultan, the king of Egypt, entreated him secretly that he pray to the Lord on his behalf in so far as divinely inspired he might adhere to the religion, which was the more pleasing to God.<sup>50</sup>

This passage raises the question: Did Francis in his encounter with the sultan and his desire for martyrdom express criticism of the Fifth

<sup>48</sup>Oliver of Paderborn, *Damietta*, pp. 83–84; and Powell, *Anatomy*, pp. 160–61.

<sup>49</sup>*Lettres de Jacques de Vitry (1160/1170–1240): Edition Critique*, ed. R. B. Huygens (Leiden, 1960); Introduction, p. 54; and *Lettre 6*, lines 1–10, p. 123. De Vitry (1160/70–1240) studied at Paris and joined the Augustinian canons in 1211 at Liège. He later preached both the Albigensian and Fifth Crusades before Honorius III consecrated him as bishop of Acre in 1216. He eventually resigned his see in 1228. Introduction to *The Historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry: A Critical Edition*, ed. John Frederick Hinnesbusch (Fribourg, 1972), pp. 3–7.

<sup>50</sup>*Lettre 6*, lines 255–76, pp. 132–33. “Magister vero illorum, qui ordinem illum instituit, cum venisset in exercitum nostrum, zelo fidei accensus ad exercitum hostium nostrorum pretransire non timuit et cum aliquot diebus Sarracenis verbum dei predicasset, modicum profecit. Soldanus autem, rex Egypti, ab eo secreto petiit ut pro se domino supplicaret quatinus religioni, que magis deo placeret, divinitus inspiratus adhereret.” See M. Shatzmiller, “Al-Kamil (al-Malik),” *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 13 vols. (Leiden, 1954–60), 4:520–21.

Crusade and/or crusading and offer conversion as a peaceful alternative to war?

A major motivation for Francis's excursion to the sultan's camp was to convert the Muslims to the Christian faith. De Vitry recounted that Francis journeyed to al-Kamil's camp to preach the Word of God but was unsuccessful.<sup>51</sup> De Vitry reiterated this in his *Historia occidentalis* (1221–25) in which, despite his general pessimism and previous doubts, he excised all criticisms of the Friars Minor. In addition to mentioning that Francis went to the sultan's camp with spiritual fervor, he recounted that Francis preached the Christian faith to the sultan and his army.<sup>52</sup> Likewise, Thomas of Celano in his *Vita prima* mentioned not only that Francis sought to convert the Muslims in Egypt but also that Francis attempted to take a ship to Syria to convert the Muslims in 1212. After a storm blew his ship off course, he returned to Italy. He then attempted to preach to the Almohad caliph, Muhammad al-Nasir, in Morocco, but he became ill in Spain and returned to Assisi.<sup>53</sup> Finally, an Old French continuator of William of Tyre, the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, also recounted that Francis sought to preach the Gospel to the Muslims.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, it seems that his mission in 1219 was an attempt to convert the sultan and his army.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, according to the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, Francis sought the permission of Cardinal Pelagius—the papal legate to the crusading army—to preach the faith to the Muslims. The author of this part of the continuation of William of Tyre, ending in 1230, was probably

<sup>51</sup>*Lettre 6*, lines 259–64, pp. 132–33.

<sup>52</sup>*Historia occidentalis*, p. 162.

<sup>53</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 2.20.56.2–6, pp. 330–31. Julian of Speyer also included a similar but derivative account of Francis and the sultan in his hagiography (Iulianus de Spiria, *Vita*, 8.36, pp. 1058–1105). For al-Nasir, see E. Lévi-Provençal, "al-Nasir," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 7:989. Al-Nasir was caliph from January 25, 1199, to December 25, 1213.

<sup>54</sup>*Chronique d'Ernoul et Bernard Le Trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Mas LaTrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 431–32.

<sup>55</sup>Scholars who suggest that Francis sought an ecumenical dialogue and rejected the crusades do not necessarily dispute that Francis sought to convert the Muslims. Michael Cusato explains that after Francis received the stigmata in 1224, he wrote a blessing for Malik al-Kamil and, on the bottom of this *chartula*, drew the *tau* coming forth from the sultan's mouth. Yet, unless one presupposes that Francis opposed Frederick II fulfilling his crusading vow, such evidence indicates only that Francis desired the conversion of the Muslims to Christianity. Cusato, "From Damietta," pp. 101–11; see also Hoerberichts, *Francis and Islam*, pp. 130–34.

in the entourage of John of Brienne at Damietta, which makes it one of the few eyewitness accounts of Francis in Egypt.<sup>56</sup> According to the author, who was usually hostile to the papal legate, Pelagius initially refused to grant Francis and his companion permission, not because he disliked the idea, but because he feared that the friars would be killed. Although Pelagius ultimately did not hinder them, he refused any blame for their potential deaths.<sup>57</sup> Francis's request for permission reflects his later admonition in the *Regula bullata* that the friars needed to seek permission from the local bishops to preach.<sup>58</sup> One of de Vitry's concerns about Francis at Damietta was that the Friars Minor drew away good clergy from the Latin Church of Acre. Accordingly, de Vitry complained that the order was indiscriminate in its acceptance of new members, including his own clergy whom he needed to retain, not that Francis opposed the crusade.<sup>59</sup> Francis, far from challenging the crusade, sought to carry out his mission with the permission of the clerical leadership of the Fifth Crusade, which did not necessitate that he side with Pelagius in his disagreement with John of Brienne. Thus, Francis supported rather than criticized the clergy's support of this particular crusade.

Instead of confronting the crusaders, Francis proclaimed the Gospel and warned the sultan that he must convert or face damnation for following the law of Muhammad. Although de Vitry only mentioned that the sultan came close to converting, Celano commented in the *Vita prima*, "Is anyone sufficient to describe how [Francis] stood fast in [the sultan's] presence with great constancy of mind, how he spoke to him with great virtue of soul, how with great eloquence and faith he responded to those who insulted the Christian law?"<sup>60</sup> Although Celano elaborated on Francis's apology for the faith to make a point, Francis defended the faith through simply preaching

<sup>56</sup>Margaret R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 1-7, 10-11, 41-50; and Tolan, *Le saint chez le sultan*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>57</sup>*Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 431-32. For Pelagius, see Joseph P. Donovan's sympathetic *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1950).

<sup>58</sup>*Regula bullata* 9.2, in FF, p. 178.

<sup>59</sup>*Lettre* 6, lines 248-56, pp. 131-32; *Lettre* 1, lines 107-35, pp. 75-76; and *Historia occidentalis*, pp. 158-63. Powell argues that de Vitry's complaint in the 1220 letter to the abbess about his clerics joining the order demonstrates that Francis's message of peace through conversion irritated the crusade leadership (Powell, "Francis' Way of Peace," p. 279).

<sup>60</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.20.57.6, p. 332. "Sed quis ennare sufficiat, quanta coram eo mentis constantia consistebat, quanta illi virtute animi loquebatur, quanta facundia et fiducia legi christianae insultantibus respondebat."

the Gospel, not necessarily through eloquence. Moreover, according to Ernoul, Francis and his companion told the sultan that if he died a Muslim, God would not receive him after death. They then stated that if he would listen to them, they would prove the falsity of Islamic law through reason.<sup>61</sup> Thus, it appears that Francis was not reluctant to condemn Islamic law as false, although it is unlikely that he engaged in academic debate with the Muslims.<sup>62</sup>

Francis's approach to the Muslims in Egypt corresponded with the guidelines that he later outlined for missionary work in the *Regula non bullata* completed in 1221. He wrote:

The brothers, who go [among the Saracens and other infidels], can dwell spiritually among them in two ways. The first way is that they are not to make quarrels and contentions, but they are to submit to every human creature because of God and to confess that they are Christians. The other way is that, when they would seem to please God, they are to announce the Word of God, so that [the infidel] may believe in the omnipotent God, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the creator of all, the Redeemer and Savior Son, and so they may be baptized and made Christians, because anyone not born again from water and by the Holy Spirit is not able to enter the kingdom of God.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup>*Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 433.

<sup>62</sup>It is necessary to mention two relevant but unreliable sources that appeared later. In 1266, the Franciscan General Chapter made Bonaventure's *Legenda Maiora*, which elaborates on the encounter with the sultan, the official *Life* and ordered all other legends destroyed to prevent disagreement about the nature of the Franciscan life (*Legenda maiora* 9.8-9, pp. 860-62; and Dalarun, *Misadventure*, pp. 222-24, 254-57). Two relevant *exempla* in the *Liber Exemplorum* from Bonaventure's generalate cited Illuminato, whom Bonaventure claimed accompanied Francis to Egypt, as a source. In the first *exemplum*, after Francis walked on a carpet embroidered with crosses, he explained to the sultan that he did so because the Muslims had the crosses of the thieves. Considering Francis's reverence for the written name of God, the words of consecration, and especially crosses, this story is dubious. In the second *exemplum*, when the sultan inquired why Christians violated the Gospel by fighting the Muslims, Francis explained that Christians needed to pluck out the bad part but would stop attacking if the Muslims accepted Christ. The sultan's inquiry reflects didactic exercises in the West to justify crusades against potential detractors, rather than an observation of a Muslim ruler. For these reasons, Maier should not have used the *exempla* to assert that Francis did not oppose the Fifth Crusade. P. Livarius Oliger, "Liber Exemplorum Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XII," *Antonianum*, 2 (1927), 202-76, here 204, 210, 250-51; Elizabeth Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 211-12; *Epistola ad clericos* 12, p. 60; *Orate ante crucifixum dicta*, in FF, p. 167; and Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, pp. 10-15.

<sup>63</sup>*Regula non bullata* 16.5-7, p. 199. "Fratres vero, qui vadunt, duobus modis inter eos possunt spiritualiter conversari. Unus modus est, quod non faciant lites neque con-

It is likely that Francis, as the sources indicated, adopted the second method of dwelling among the Saracens by preaching the Word of God but without scholarly quarrels. He would have realized that the truce allowed only limited time to preach, not an extended period in which he could live among the Muslims before proclaiming the Gospel. Moreover, it is important to recall that Francis wanted his brothers to exhort all to believe in the Trinity and to perform penances.<sup>64</sup> He believed that those who did not do penance were the children of the devil.<sup>65</sup> For this reason, Francis believed that if the Muslims refused the Gospel, they willingly condemned themselves alongside Christians in Latin Christendom who also rejected it.

Francis's confrontational method of converting the Muslims suggests that Francis also sought to attain martyrdom. According to the *Vita prima*, when Francis first tried to go to Syria in 1212, he did so to achieve martyrdom.<sup>66</sup> After failing to preach to the Muslims and to attain martyrdom in Syria, he attempted to go to Morocco in 1213, because "although the Gospel shoot brought out from him a wealth of choicest fruit, it still abated in him in no way the sublime proposition and the ardent desire of martyrdom."<sup>67</sup> Hence, because "he is not yet able to rest until he carries out the blessed passion of his soul [for martyrdom] even more fervently," he went to Egypt in 1219.<sup>68</sup> Likewise, Jordan of Giano claimed that when Francis heard about the martyrdom of five friars in Morocco in 1219, he told the brothers not to glory in the sufferings of others. Rather, Francis went to Egypt to participate in the sufferings of these brothers and those whom vari-

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tentiones, sed sint subditi omni humanae creaturae propter Deum et confiteantur se esse christianos. Alius modus est, quod, cum viderint placere Domino, annuntient verbum Dei, ut credant Deum omnipotentem, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, creatorem omnium, redemptorem et salvatorem Filium, et ut baptizentur et efficiantur christiani, quia quis renatus non fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum Dei." See Cajetan Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, trans. Aedan Daly and Irina Lynch (Chicago, 1970), pp. 90-96.

<sup>64</sup>*Regula non bullata* 21.1-6, pp. 203-04.

<sup>65</sup>*Regula non bullata* 21.7, p. 204; and see *Epistola ad fideles (Recensio prior)* 2.1-6, pp. 74-75; and *Epistola ad fideles (Recensio posterior)* 63-66, in FE, pp. 84-85.

<sup>66</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.20.55.2 and 1.20.56.3, pp. 329-30.

<sup>67</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.20.56.3, p. 330. "Sed licet electissimorum fructuum evangelicus palmas copiam ex se producat, martyrii tamen sublime propositum et desiderium ardens in eo nullo modo frigescit."

<sup>68</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.20.57.4, p. 331. "Sed nondum valet quiescere, quin beatum impetum animi sui adhuc ferventius exsequatur."



ous laity and clergy throughout Europe persecuted out of misunderstanding.<sup>69</sup>

Yet it appears that Francis saw martyrdom as inextricably intertwined with his goal of converting the Muslims. De Vitry commented that Francis, out of zeal for the faith, did not fear going to the Muslim camp to preach the Word of God.<sup>70</sup> Likewise, Celano claimed, “In the thirteenth year of his conversion proceeding to the region of Syria, while strong and enduring battles were breaking out daily between Christians and pagans, taking with him a companion, he did not fear to present himself in the sight of the sultan of the Saracens.”<sup>71</sup> The *Chronique d’Ernoul* reported that Francis and his companion proclaimed to the sultan that they were willing to die to convert him.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, Francis instructed the friars how to preach the Gospel to the Saracens:

They can say these and other things to them and to others, which will please the Lord, because the Lord said in the Gospel: “Everyone who will acknowledge me before men, I also will acknowledge before my Father who is in heaven.” And: “He who will be ashamed of me and of my words, the Son of Man also will be ashamed of him when he comes in his majesty and that of the Father and of the angels.”<sup>73</sup>

Francis sought to proclaim the Gospel boldly and to risk death for his own salvation and that of the Muslims. Indeed, he stated, “Let all the brothers, wherever they are, remember that they had given themselves over and abandoned their bodies to the Lord Jesus Christ. And for his love, they are obliged to expose themselves to their enemies.”<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup>*Chronica fratris Jordani*, pp. 2–4. Jordan wrote this chronicle in 1261 mainly concerning the German order at the request of its provincial chapter. He attended the 1219 Pentecost Chapter, after which Francis embarked for the Holy Land, and the 1220 Pentecost Chapter to which Francis returned (*Chronica fratris Jordani*, pp. 4–6).

<sup>70</sup>*Lettre* 6, lines 259–63, pp. 132–33; and *Historia occidentalis*, pp. 161–62.

<sup>71</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 2.20.57.5, pp. 331–32. “Nam tertio decimo anno conversionis suae ad partes Syriae pergens, cum quotidie bella inter christianos et pagnos fortia et dura ingruerent, assumpto secum socio, conspectibus Soldani Saracenorum se non timuit praesentare.”

<sup>72</sup>*Chronique d’Ernoul*, p. 433.

<sup>73</sup>*Regula non bullata* 16.8–9, p. 199. “Haec et alia, quae placuerint Domino, ipsis et aliis dicere possunt, quia dicit Dominus in evangelio: ‘Omnis, qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patre meo, qui in caelis est.’ Et: ‘Qui erubuerit me et sermones meos, et Filius hominis erubescet eum, cum venerit in maiestate sua et Patris et angelorum.’”



Francis left no doubt, then, that the friars needed to preach the Gospel and to suffer martyrdom to evangelize the Muslims.

It is unclear, however, why al-Kamil did not execute Francis in accordance with Islamic law for blaspheming Muhammad and Allah.<sup>75</sup> De Vitry simply explained in his letter that Francis realized after several days that he was unsuccessful, but he also claimed that the sultan asked Francis to pray for his enlightenment, which de Vitry probably added to explain why Francis was not martyred.<sup>76</sup> In the *Historia occidentalis*, de Vitry claimed that the Muslims who captured Francis mistreated him, but when they brought Francis to the sultan, the friar's presence transformed al-Kamil from a beast into a gentle man. De Vitry then alleged that the sultan, fearing the conversion of his soldiers, stopped Francis from preaching. Yet de Vitry was trying to demonstrate that even non-Christians admired Francis's virtues, but failed to explain how Francis survived.<sup>77</sup> In the *Vita prima*, Celano modified and elaborated on de Vitry's explanation:

And indeed although [Francis] was reproached well enough by many with hostile spirit and unfavorable mind, he nonetheless was received by the sultan very honorably. He honored him exactly as he was able, and offering many gifts, he attempted to change his mind to riches of the world, but when he saw that he most strenuously disdained all things as dung, he was filled with great admiration and regarded him as a man unlike all else. He was stirred up greatly by his words and listened to him most willingly. In all these things, the Lord did not satisfy his desire, reserving for that man the prerogative of a singular grace [i.e., the stigmata].<sup>78</sup>

By connecting Francis's desire for martyrdom with the singular grace of the stigmata, Celano depicted Francis's failure to attain martyrdom

<sup>74</sup>*Regula non bullata* 16.10–11, p. 199. "Et omnes fratres, ubicumque sunt, recorderentur, quod dederunt se et reliquerunt corpora sua Domino Jesu Christo. Et pro eius amore debent se exponere inimicis."

<sup>75</sup>See Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, p. 14.

<sup>76</sup>*Lettre 6*, lines 264–69, p. 133.

<sup>77</sup>*Historia occidentalis*, pp. 161–62.

<sup>78</sup>Celano, *Vita prima* 1.20.57.8–12, p. 332. "Et quidem licet a multis satis hostili animo et mente aversa exprobratus fuisset, a Soldano tamen honorifice plurimum est suspectus. Honorabat eum prout poterat, et oblatis muneribus multis, ad divitias mundi animum eius inflectere conabatur: sed cum vidisset eum strenuissime omnia velut stercorea contemnentem, admiratione maxima repletus est et quasi virum omnibus dissimilem intuebatur eum; permotus est valde verbis eius et eum libentissime audiebat.—In omnibus his Dominus ipsius desiderium non implevit, praerogativam illi reservans gratiae singularis."

as part of God's will to bestow the stigmata on him. Thus, he does not account for the more mundane reasons for Francis's survival.

It is likely that al-Kamil did not execute Francis because he desired to maintain the truce with the Christians. According to the Old French chronicler, when the friars approached the sultan's camp, Muslim soldiers seized them—the chronicler did not mention abuse here—and brought them to the sultan, who thought that they were either messengers from the crusaders to discuss the sultan's offer or apostates. An interest in negotiating a treaty or even converting the pair explains the sultan's initial willingness to listen to the friars. The chronicler embellished the narrative in stating that the sultan allowed the friars to present their argument to his Islamic scholars who, however, refused to listen and demanded their immediate beheading. It is unlikely that, as Ernoul recounted, the sultan refrained from executing the friars in recognition of their desire to save his soul.<sup>79</sup> Rather, he probably wanted to avoid executing Francis because of the truce and his desire to end the siege to address Ayyubid dynastic problems. After al-Kamil's father died, al-Kamil and his brothers, al-Adil and al-Muazzam, had divided the Ayyubid realm. At first al-Kamil depended on his brothers' assistance against the crusaders, until al-Adil died in August 1218, and al-Kamil became embroiled in conflict with al-Muazzam in Syria.<sup>80</sup> Yet al-Kamil, as a pious Muslim, could not tolerate the friars' continued preaching. Knowing that he could accomplish nothing, Francis accepted the sultan's offer of safe passage back to the Christian camp.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, scholars should not attribute Francis's survival to the sultan's willingness to listen to a message of peace and conversion but rather to his desire to establish an uneasy but necessary peace with the Christians.

The sultan's reluctance to execute Christians who blasphemed Muhammad and Allah was not an anomaly in medieval Christian-Muslim relations. The fate of five Franciscan brothers—Ss. Berardo, Pietro, Adiuto, Accursio, and Ottone, whom Francis at the 1219 chapter selected to preach the faith to the Muslims in Morocco—is another example. The Muslim authorities in Seville and Yusuf al-Mustansir—the Almohad caliph who succeeded his father, al-Nasir—first tried to expel the friars before imprisoning and attempting to convert them. When

<sup>79</sup>*Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 433-34.

<sup>80</sup>Powell, *Anatomy*, p. 145; and H. L. Gottschalk, "Al-Kamil (al-Mailik)," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4:520-21.

<sup>81</sup>*Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 434-35; and *Historia occidentalis*, p. 163.

the friars again insulted Muhammad, the caliph beheaded them.<sup>82</sup> Interestingly, in the early-fourteenth century, Franciscan tertiary Raymond Lull, on two or three occasions, failed to goad Muslim rulers in North Africa into killing him. When Lull debated the Muslim scholars of Tunis in 1292, they sought to convert Lull until the caliph, apprised of his activity, expelled him during a mob uprising. Then, in 1307, Lull traveled to Bugia near Algiers, where the qādī, or judge, allowed him to debate some scholars before imprisoning him. Six months later, at the request of Italian merchants, the qādī released Lull with the proviso that he must never return. However, he returned to Tunis in 1314 and lived there a few years before denouncing Islam. Some accounts report that a mob stoned him to death, whereas others indicate that he either escaped or left without preaching.<sup>83</sup> Hence, Muslim rulers, who categorized Christian missionaries as either insane or blasphemous, often expelled the Christians for the first offense and then executed them for repeating the violation.

In conclusion, Francis did not preach conversion to a life of penance in opposition to the crusades or to a supposedly militant Christianity. Francis's incidental renunciation of arms in his conversion was a personal choice, which he did not seek to impose on Christian society. There is no evidence that he objected to the crusade in Egypt by offering a message of peace and reconciliation to the crusaders, even if he might have demonstrated doubts about a particular battle. Neither was his attempt to convert the Muslims opposed to the crusade. Rather, he unconditionally demanded that the Muslims convert. Indeed, if he had succeeded, the crusaders could have fulfilled their vows in Jerusalem. Accordingly, when the Franciscans became crusade preachers later in the thirteenth century, they did not betray the ideals of their founder.<sup>84</sup>

Francis shared his enthusiasm for the conversion of Muslims with the ecclesiastical and political hierarchy. St. Dominic, Francis's contemporary and the founder of the Order of Preachers, also desired to convert heretics, Muslims, and the pagan Cumans, and supported Simon de Montfort in the Albigenian Crusade.<sup>85</sup> In addition, Innocent

<sup>82</sup>*Analecta Franciscana*, 2:14–19, 582–90; see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 216–18, and M. Shatzmiller, "al-Muwahhidan (Almohad)," *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 8:803.

<sup>83</sup>E. Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull: A Biography* (New York, 1969), pp. 239–45, 323–33, 368–75; and Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission*, p. 71.

<sup>84</sup>See Maier, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 1–7, 161–66.

<sup>85</sup>William A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* (Staten Island, NY, 1966), 1:19; and Maier, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, p. 18.

III—in an 1199 letter to Yusuf al-Mansur, the Almohad caliph succeeded by his son, al-Nasir, and a 1211 letter to Malik al-Adil of Aleppo—expressed the pope’s desire for the conversion of the Muslims.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps the spread of crusading ideas in early-thirteenth-century Italy, such as when Innocent preached at Perugia in 1216, further inspired Francis’s desire to convert the Muslims.<sup>87</sup> In relation to the Albigensian Crusade, Innocent desired the conversion of the heretics but accepted the necessity of using coercion against secular authorities when this proved unfruitful.<sup>88</sup> Moreover, the Dominican canon lawyer Ramon de Penyafort established language schools for missionaries to the Muslims and Jews, and organized the preaching for King James I of Aragon’s crusade to conquer Majorca in 1229.<sup>89</sup> In fact, James I, in his *Deeds*, explained that he desired either to convert the Muslims or destroy them to regain Majorca for Christ.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, Francis agreed with his contemporaries that missionary work and crusading were compatible.

Because Francis neither criticized nor rejected crusading and warfare in general, scholars should eschew viewing him as a pacifist or a critic of the crusades. Revising our understanding of Francis requires challenging Herbert Grundmann’s thesis of a generic religious movement.<sup>91</sup> This idea often leads scholars to conclude Francis must have condemned warfare in the same way that some contemporary heresies did. By breaking down these constructs surrounding Francis and other contemporaneous religious movements, we can begin to rediscover the historical Francis whom both the crusaders and al-Kamil encountered.

<sup>86</sup>*Patrologia cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, *Series Latina*, 2. Series, vols. 80–217 (Paris, 1841–64), 214:545A, 216:434C-D. See E. Lévi-Pronvençal, “al-Nasir,” *The Encyclopedia*, 7:989; and J. Sauvaget, “Halab (Aleppo),” *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3:87.

<sup>87</sup>Michele Maccarrone, “Orvieto e la Predicazione della crociata,” in *Studi su Innocenzo III* (Padua, 1972), pp. 1–163, here pp. 148–63.

<sup>88</sup>Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade* 2.3.20–54, trans. W. A. and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge, UK, 1998), pp. 16–30; and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229* (Woodbridge, UK, 2001), pp. 135–73.

<sup>89</sup>Maier, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 33, 82.

<sup>90</sup>*The Book of Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Libre dels fets* 2.56, trans. Damian Smith and Helena Buffery (Aldershot, UK, 2003), p. 79.

<sup>91</sup>Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*, trans. Steven Rowan (Notre Dame, 1995), p. 8.

FROM PATRIOTISM TO PLURALISM:  
HOW CATHOLICS INITIATED  
THE REPEAL OF BIRTH CONTROL RESTRICTIONS  
IN MASSACHUSETTS

BY

SETH MEEHAN\*

*In 1948, Massachusetts Catholics, led by Archbishop Richard Cushing, successfully campaigned against a voter referendum that would have repealed the state's law prohibiting the dissemination of birth control devices and information. Seventeen years later, however, Cushing, now a cardinal, did not oppose the next attempt to repeal the law. This article shows why and how Massachusetts Catholics (lay and clerical) changed their position on the limitations to birth control, the final restrictions in the country. They adopted a pluralistic language of religious tolerance with the help of John Courtney Murray, as he was drafting the Declaration on Religious Freedom.*

*Keywords:* contraception laws; religious pluralism; Murray, John Courtney; Rock, John; Cushing, Cardinal Richard

On March 2, 1965, a Massachusetts legislative panel held an open hearing on a proposal to remove the state's restrictions on the distribution of birth control devices and information. The Joint Committee on Public Health invited Cardinal Richard Cushing, leader of the 1.8 million Catholics of the greater Boston area, to be the hearing's star witness.<sup>1</sup> As an example of the respect Cushing enjoyed from community leaders, Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) had highlighted the cardinal's support for the morality of the federal civil rights legislation in his first speech before the U.S. Senate in 1964. "[N]o one, in my judgment,"

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<sup>1</sup>"General Summary" insert, in *Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1965).

the new senator announced, “has made a greater contribution to racial and religious understanding in my part of the nation than Cardinal Cushing.”<sup>2</sup> At the same time, although less publicly, Hazel Sagoff, executive director of Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts (PPLM), observed that the “Cardinal has become a symbol of inter-religious respect and understanding.”<sup>3</sup> It should be no surprise, then, that Catholics and non-Catholics alike wanted to hear what Cushing would say on the birth control law.

The cardinal did not attend the hearing, as he was recovering from surgery, but his presence was felt nonetheless. His personal attorney, Henry Leen, delivered prepared remarks in Cushing’s name. The statement began with a clarification, one necessary after Pope Paul VI’s announcement the previous year of a “wide and profound” internal study of the Church’s position on the moral permissibility of artificial birth control.<sup>4</sup> This inquiry sparked widespread speculation as to whether the Church would soon alter its position.<sup>5</sup> Despite this uncertainty, Cushing said that no one should anticipate a change in the traditional church teaching on the morality of artificial contraception. Nevertheless, with regard to the proposed bill, Cushing maintained that “Catholics do not need the support of civil law to be faithful to their own religious convictions and they do not seek to impose by law their moral views on other members of society.” For Cushing, there was an important “distinction between that nature and purpose of civil law and morality.” Catholics, therefore, could not reasonably “forbid in civil law a practice that can be considered a matter of private morality.” Civic laws must maintain a “reasonable correspondence” with the community’s moral standards to ensure that they could be enforceable and effective, two traits not associated with the state’s restrictions on the distribution of birth control.

The legislation under consideration, according to Cushing, was not without its faults. The bill lacked “proper safeguards,” and this short-

<sup>2</sup>*Congressional Record*, 88th Congress, 2nd session (April 9, 1964), p. 7376.

<sup>3</sup>Hazel Sagoff to Reverend Gardner M. Day of Christ Church Cambridge, February 7, 1964, Box 47, File 4, Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts Records [hereafter PPLMR], Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, MA.

<sup>4</sup>“Pope Paul’s Remarks on Birth Control,” *New York Times*, June 24, 1964, 3.

<sup>5</sup>Discussing Paul VI’s strong denunciation of the new methods of artificial birth control, the editors of the Boston Archdiocese’s newspaper subtly noted that “the Pontiff made it clear that the traditional teaching had not *yet* been supplanted.” “Fatherly,” *The Pilot*, June 27, 1964, 4, emphasis added.

coming “could result in great harm and mischief to the public, especially the young.” Although unable to endorse the proposal, Cushing, significantly, did not wish to fight its passage. Instead, he requested that the Republican governor, John A. Volpe, appoint a commission of “citizens representing a broad community consensus” to craft legislation that would “satisfy the conscientious opinions of the whole community.”<sup>6</sup> Gone in one afternoon, or so it appeared, were the confrontational attitudes of the Church toward efforts to repeal the state’s restrictions on birth control that had defined earlier debates. In their place, although not publicly visible, was a desire to aid in the removal of those restraints as quickly and quietly as possible.

Despite the cardinal’s absence, his views dominated coverage of the hearing. The *Boston Globe*, under the front-page banner headline “Cardinal Relaxes Anti-Birth Law Stand,” published Cushing’s remarks. The accompanying article cited Cushing’s associates who stressed that the cardinal did not intend to kill the bill behind the scenes.<sup>7</sup> A *Globe* editorial credited Cushing’s testimony with making the birth control issue “no longer a rancorous controversy.”<sup>8</sup> The panel followed Cushing’s advice, and Volpe appointed a commission to redraft the bill. Weeks after the Supreme Court found similar restrictions to contraception in Connecticut to be unconstitutional, the commission unanimously approved a revised bill.<sup>9</sup> It permitted access to contraception for married persons over the age of twenty-one. Leen, after serving on the governor’s commission, endorsed the new legislation.<sup>10</sup> Although the bill met his earlier desire not to extend birth control access “beyond married couples,” Cushing did not speak either in favor or against the revised legislation.<sup>11</sup>

The Massachusetts House surprisingly rejected the bill, 119 to 97, on August 2, 1965, as one Democratic Senate leader, William Wall,

<sup>6</sup>Cushing’s statement, Box 1, File 1/8, January–April 1965, Birth Control and Abortion Records, Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston [hereafter BCAR, AAB].

<sup>7</sup>“Cardinal Relaxes Anti-Birth Law Stand,” *Boston Globe*, March 3, 1965, 1, 2; “Text of Cardinal Cushing’s Statement,” *Boston Globe*, March 3, 1965, 2.

<sup>8</sup>“The Birth Control Bill,” *Boston Globe*, March 4, 1965, 14.

<sup>9</sup>The court issued its decision in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965) on June 7, 1965. The governor’s commission released its report at the end of June. See “House No. 4089, Report of the Special Non-Legislative Commission Established to Make an Investigation and Study Relative to Dissemination of Information by Registered Physicians and Registered Pharmacists,” June 29, 1965, Box 1, File 1/9, BCAR, AAB.

<sup>10</sup>“Cardinal’s Lawyer Backs Revision of Birth Laws,” *The Pilot*, July 24, 1965, 17.

<sup>11</sup>“Cardinal Speaks about Civil Rights, Beano, Birth Control,” *The Pilot*, July 24, 1965, 3.



watched approvingly while holding a copy of the New Testament.<sup>12</sup> From the House floor, Lawrence Smith (D-Lawrence)—a representative, father of fifteen, and leading opponent of the measure—asserted the existing law “was put on the books by God-fearing people and kept there by God-fearing people,” and fellow representative William A. Carey (D-4th Suffolk District) charged that the “damnable, dirty legislation” was “an attempt to change God’s law.” After rejecting the bill, Smith introduced a parliamentary tactic that removed the issue from consideration for the remainder of the legislative session. The bill’s defeat left the state as the last in the nation to prohibit the dissemination of birth control.<sup>13</sup>

The rejection created a slight degree of public embarrassment for Cushing.<sup>14</sup> In fact, Smith cited Cushing’s refusal to specifically endorse the revised bill, claiming the opinion of the commission’s Catholics, including Leen, “is not the same as [Cushing’s].”<sup>15</sup> When the issue next came up at a meeting of the public health committee in April 1966, Cushing directly commented on the proposal. The new legislation would grant access to birth control for married couples and restrict its distribution to registered physicians and pharmacists. Cushing determined it contained the proper safeguards, effectively endorsing the bill and removing any question on his position.<sup>16</sup> The *Globe* editorialized that, with Cushing’s support, the “last excuse for delay and buck-passing is gone.”<sup>17</sup> The legislature and the governor approved a change to the law that May, making Massachusetts the final state to permit access to birth control.<sup>18</sup>

The cardinal had endorsed a general change in the law as early as February 1963, without referring to specific legislation.<sup>19</sup> The failed

<sup>12</sup>“House Kills Birth Curb Bill,” *Boston Herald*, August 3, 1965, 8.

<sup>13</sup>“House Rejects Birth Law, Father of 15 Leads the Way,” *Boston Globe*, August 3, 1965, 1, 4.

<sup>14</sup>A member of the governor’s commission notes Cushing’s embarrassment in “Birth Law Foes Face 2-Year Wait,” *Boston Globe*, August 4, 1965, 1, 2.

<sup>15</sup>“House Rejects Birth Law,” p. 4.

<sup>16</sup>“Clergymen Star at Birth-Curb Hearing,” *Boston Globe*, April 14, 1966, 2.

<sup>17</sup>“Birth Control: New Chance,” *Boston Globe*, April 14, 1966, 8. The Supreme Court would later determine, in *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, 405 U.S. 438 (1972), that the repeal violated unmarried persons’ constitutional guarantee of equal protection.

<sup>18</sup>“Birth Control Bill Signed,” *Boston Globe*, May 11, 1966, 1.

<sup>19</sup>“Cardinal Cushing Maps Stand on Birth Control,” *The Pilot*, February 23, 1963, 2. The comments occurred during a February 15 radio interview in which Cushing answered listeners’ questions. Whether by prearrangement or chance, PPLM’s executive director asked the question on birth control. Sagoff later explained that her question’s



legislation of 1965 was the turning point on this issue. The coverage of the cardinal's statement at the first legislative hearing demonstrated his political power. Soon after the bill was first filed in December 1964, PPLM's Sagoff acknowledged that the "political realities in Massachusetts are that unless a bill is approved by the Cardinal, it gets voted down by the legislature."<sup>20</sup> Four decades later, participants in these events—such as Michael Dukakis (D-13th Norfolk District), who, as a state representative, had introduced the ill-fated bill—still recognize how Cushing's decision not to oppose the repeal of the law was critical to the long-term success of the legislation.<sup>21</sup>

Sagoff, however, thought Cushing's public silence was nearly as detrimental to the bill's future as if he had opposed the measure outright. As early as two months before the legislative hearing in March, Sagoff heard that Cushing wanted to delay any legislative action. His reason, Sagoff claimed, was that the "Vatican Council had not yet voted for religious freedom."<sup>22</sup> "It now appears that everyone in the State-house," she later noted, "knows that Cardinal Cushing *does not* approve of the amendment at this time. Catholic politicians, and even non-Catholics with Catholic constituencies, will vote against the amendment unless they hear . . . that the Cardinal wants them to vote for it."<sup>23</sup> Cushing's political power was, therefore, limited without the theological support from Rome.

Since Cushing lacked this support, his request at the hearing that the governor appoint a commission to redraft the legislation "did not come

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purpose was "to put [Cushing] on the spot in relation to his previous statement that he has no right to impose his view on people of other faiths, through legislation or in any other way." She took pleasure in noting to a friend and the PPLM executive committee that she was the unidentified woman referred to in the news reports of this interview. See Hazel Sagoff to Harriett F. Pilpal, February 25, 1963, Box 92, File 12, PPLMR, and "Minutes, Executive Committee," February 20, 1963, Box 22, File 17, PPLMR. The timing of Sagoff's question, coming so soon after her extensive interview with a Cushing confidant (see n51), is suggestive that perhaps Cushing expected her question. In a letter to this confidant prior to the radio program, Sagoff wrote of her interest in the practical implications of Cushing's desire not to impose his views on others. See Sagoff to Francis Lally, February 4, 1963, Box 47, File 3, PPLMR.

<sup>20</sup>Sagoff to Robert T. Dick, minister at the Unitarian Church of Acton, December 7, 1964, Box 47, File 4, PPLMR.

<sup>21</sup>Telephone interview conducted with Governor Michael Dukakis, Los Angeles, March 28, 2008. Joseph Dorsey, a central figure in this story who will be discussed later, shares this opinion.

<sup>22</sup>Sagoff to Rabbi Albert S. Goldstein, Temple Ohabei Shalom, January 19, 1965, Box 47, File 4, PPLMR.

as a surprise” to the bill’s most ardent proponents. They understood that Cushing was stalling. In a confidential report issued days after the hearing, the Committee to Support House Bill 1401 told its volunteers and the PPLM board it

had heard from sources close to the Cardinal that His Eminence considered an amendment somewhat “premature” at this time. There were also reports from the same sources that time was needed for the Cardinal to “educate” some of the more traditionalist members of the Catholic clergy about the distinction between civil laws and public [*sic*] morality in a pluralistic society.<sup>24</sup>

Even though Cushing might have wanted to delay any bill, apparently out of theological concerns, the legislative process had already begun. It could not have been stopped without resulting in significant discord and confusion among the participants in the debate. The process would have to continue.

Regardless of these concerns over Cushing’s private desires, few foresaw the legislature’s stunning rejection of the bill in August; many, however, recognized the cardinal’s central role in the debate.<sup>25</sup> Dukakis still concedes that opposition by Cushing would have meant an intense political debate and the likelihood of another setback to reforming the law.<sup>26</sup> Considering the results of previous efforts to repeal the state’s restrictions, this concession is well founded. In 1948, Massachusetts voters considered a referendum, previously rejected by state legislators, that would have permitted physicians to distribute birth control to married women “for the protection of life or health.”<sup>27</sup> Cushing served as the titular head of a campaign that argued, on the radio and from the pulpit, that birth control was “*still*

<sup>23</sup>Sagoff to Goldstein, February 5, 1965, Box 47, File 4, PPLMR, emphasis in original.

<sup>24</sup>“Confidential Report to PPLM Board and Volunteer Workers: An Evaluation of H. 1401 and the Hearing,” drafted March 10, 1965, revised March 11, 1965, Box 91, File 2, PPLMR. This committee was chaired by James Faulkner, who will be discussed later, and misunderstood that Cushing desired to distinguish between civic laws and *private* (not public) morality.

<sup>25</sup>In a letter to supporters, Henry Atkinson, Faulkner’s assistant on the Committee to Support House Bill 1401, referred to the bill’s defeat as a “the bitterly disappointing, emotional and surprising action of the House.” “‘Operation Follow-Through’ Bulletin #4 to Each Senatorial District Coordinator,” n.d. [likely issued in August 1965], Box 91, File 2, PPLMR.

<sup>26</sup>Dukakis interview, March 28, 2008.

<sup>27</sup>*Election Statistics, 1948* (Boston, 1949), p. 406. On details of the referendum, see “Referenda Questions Explained,” *Boston Globe*, November 1, 1948, 16.

against God's law," regardless of the circumstances—just as it had been when voters rebuffed a similar referendum six years before.<sup>28</sup> Ultimately, 57 percent of Massachusetts voters rejected the 1948 referendum.<sup>29</sup> Seventeen years after this victory, Cushing tried to remove himself and the Church from the public debate on birth control, arguing that in a pluralistic society, civic law should not necessarily legislate private morality.

Historical evidence suggests how and why Cushing adopted different positions in the 1948 and 1965 birth control debates. Theological considerations—more so than but not independent of political concerns—explain his shift to assist in removing the state's restrictions. Cushing assumed a position based on his new understanding of religious pluralism that he knew would provide the framework for the *Declaration on Religious Freedom*, which the Second Vatican Council would issue in December 1965. His support for a specific bill, however, waited until the *Declaration's* release, confirming his desire to have a theological reason for his political actions. Reverend John Courtney Murray, S.J., commissioned to be the *Declaration's* "first scribe" in September 1964, also provided the language used by archdiocesan leadership in the birth control debate.<sup>30</sup> Murray's influence explains *why* the Boston Archdiocese acted as it did. The actions of the laity, principally those of two men, explain why it acted *when* it did.

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In the 1960s, a central theme in the effort to repeal the state's limitations to birth control was how Catholic laymen, in requesting the local archdiocese to change its position on the law, found their church hierarchy increasingly receptive to the possibility of change. By the start of the decade, the Archdiocese of Boston adopted a new position on the state's birth control law in part because of internal pressure by the

<sup>28</sup>For detailed accounts of the 1948 campaign, see James M. O'Toole, "Prelates and Politicos," in *Catholic Boston: Studies in Religion and Community, 1870-1970*, ed. Robert E. Sullivan and James M. O'Toole (Boston, 1985), pp. 49-58, and Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Catholicism and Contraception: An American History* (Ithaca, NY, 2004), pp. 169-72.

<sup>29</sup>*Election Statistics*, p. 411. Statewide, 806,829 people voted in favor of the change and 1,085,350 voted against.

<sup>30</sup>Donald E. Pelotte, *John Courtney Murray: Theologian in Conflict* (New York, 1976), p. 94. For a thorough account of the declaration's drafting, see Leslie Griffin, "Commentary on *Dignitatis humanae*," in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth R. Himes, O.F.M. (Washington, DC, 2005), pp. 244-65.

laity and the clergy. Two notable laymen led the attempt to change their Church's position on the issue of birth control. One offered a medical opportunity for a dogmatic change, and the other provided a blueprint that the Church could use to embrace a more pluralistic stance.

A Catholic physician from Brookline created the medicine that he expected would revise the Catholic Church's teaching on the morality of birth control. John Rock, a professor emeritus of gynecology at Harvard, developed the first oral progesterone pill that regulated the biology causing pregnancy. Rock hoped his pill, approved by the federal government in 1960, would prove morally acceptable to the Church. For Rock, the pill represented a natural form of birth control similar to the rhythm method and therefore could be endorsed by the Catholic Church as being morally just. Unlike other forms of contraception, the pill did not mutilate organs nor did it affect any natural processes. Instead, the pill's biological effects mirrored those that occur naturally. The body's natural secretions of progesterone established "the pre- and post-menstrual 'safe period,'" which allowed Catholics to perform the rhythm method. Rock contended his pill only elongated that safe period. The central difference between Rock and the Church was the latter's emphasis on the individual's intent in using oral contraceptives.<sup>31</sup>

Rock's clinical work in developing a birth control pill long had its critics within the Catholic Church. In 1958, Pope Pius XII declared that the morality of the pill's use depended on the user's intentions. A Catholic woman could take the medicine for a valid medical concern. It was morally wrong, however, for a woman to take medicine that "stops ovulation for the purpose of preserving the uterus and the organism from the consequences of a pregnancy."<sup>32</sup> Criticism of Rock's work also occurred closer to home. In June 1962, *The Pilot*, the Boston Archdiocese's official newspaper, published Cushing's extensive condemnation of the pill. The statement flatly read, "Every method of contraception which interferes with the progress of marital activity towards its natural goal of conception is intrinsically wrong and in violation of the natural law." Catholics had a "moral obligation" to accept this teaching and to "refrain from any public statement or expression of opinion which would imply rejection of, or

<sup>31</sup>John Rock, *The Time Has Come: A Catholic Doctor's Proposals to End the Battle over Birth Control* (New York, 1963), pp. 168-71.

<sup>32</sup>See "Test-Tube Births Immoral, Pope Says," *Washington Post*, September 16, 1958, A3.

contempt for, the authority of the Church.”<sup>33</sup> It was in the context of these critiques that Rock, describing himself as a Catholic doctor, published his argument for ending the religious debate over birth control.

After Pius’s remarks in 1958, observes historian John Noonan, no Catholic theologian defended the use of anovulant pills for fertility control. “In 1963,” Noonan remarks, “this situation was drastically altered.” Noonan credits that change to the April publication of Rock’s book, *The Time Has Come: A Catholic Doctor’s Proposals to End the Battle over Birth Control*. Afterward, “[t]he pill became the center and symbol of effort to modify the Catholic position on birth control.”<sup>34</sup> Prominent Catholics, including a Dutch bishop and a former archbishop from Bombay, offered theological arguments for the morally permissible use of anovulent pills beyond the uses sanctioned by Pius.<sup>35</sup> In July 1964, Rock appeared on the cover of *Newsweek*, after news reports that the papal commission evaluating the Church’s position might endorse his argument. “Not since the Copernicans suggested in the sixteenth century that the sun was the center of the planetary system,” declared *Newsweek*, “has the Roman Catholic Church found itself on such a perilous collision course with a new body of knowledge.”<sup>36</sup>

For a moment, it appeared that Rock would succeed in precipitating a change in the Church’s position. Yet regardless of his contributions to the discussion on the Church’s official birth control teaching, Rock had a more direct impact on the debate within in his own state. *The Time Has Come* briefly mentioned the restrictions in Massachusetts. Rock argued that “blindly fanatic Protestants” enacted an “indefensible statute” that had “severely handicapped medical provision of child-spacing devices.” After the failed votes in the 1940s, the Church felt “pride in having twice emerged victorious in the ultimate test of a popular vote.” Rock believed that in the years since the referenda, however, many Catholics desired a change in the law “without the accompanying unpleasantness and bad feeling” of a vote and “without violating the religious convictions” of anyone.<sup>37</sup> Others would have to find that solution, but would do so with Rock’s assistance.

<sup>33</sup>“Catholics, the Church, and Birth Control,” *The Pilot*, June 30, 1962, 16.

<sup>34</sup>John T. Noonan Jr., *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment of the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, MA, 1965), pp. 468–69, 472.

<sup>35</sup>For discussion of Bishop William Bekkers of the Netherlands and Thomas D. Roberts, former archbishop of Bombay, see Noonan, *Contraception*, pp. 469–75.

<sup>36</sup>“Birth Control: The Pill and the Church,” *Newsweek*, July 6, 1964, 51.

<sup>37</sup>Rock, *Time Has Come*, pp. 75–81.

On April 19, 1963, three days before the publication of *The Time Has Come*, Cushing issued a preemptive response to Rock's arguments. The cardinal explained that a Catholic who writes on "a subject pertaining to faith or morality" must submit his or her manuscript for approval by the Church. This mechanism was not intended to restrict speech of Catholics but to ensure the Church could accurately present its teachings to non-Catholics. Although regretting Rock's failure to follow proper protocols, Cushing conceded that "there is much that is good" in the book. He specifically noted that some of Rock's suggestions on a public policy on the issue of birth control "could contribute to the establishment of peace in our pluralistic society." At the same time, Cushing's comments were not without their critiques of Rock. Many of Rock's theological arguments were faulty, including his "oversimplified" treatment of the Natural Law.

Nevertheless, these critiques should not distract from what Cushing did not say. He did not condemn the book as a whole, as he well could have, for its failure to follow Catholic teachings. More important, he did not condemn Rock as a Catholic for his clinical work in developing contraceptive pills. Cushing even suggested that physicians like Rock have "much to offer the Church and her teaching" if they would join with theologians to study this matter. If doctors and theologians would recognize each other's "competence" in their respective fields, then the work of both groups of professionals would be improved.<sup>38</sup>

With Rock's effective pill in wide use and the cardinal's standing in the commonwealth, local Catholics faced what a church official would describe as a "ripe" moment to address the restrictions of birth control. All that remained was a blueprint for how to achieve a change that would, in Cushing's phrase, "contribute to the establishment of peace in our pluralistic society." The plan, as with all the actions on this topic, resulted from a collaborative effort among Catholic laymen, their clergymen, and members of the medical and legal communities.

At the Harvard Medical School in 1963, soon after the publication of his book, Rock delivered an address stressing the importance of monogamous relationships. As one person in attendance remembers, Rock suggested that practicing monogamy represented one way in

<sup>38</sup>"Cardinal Comments on New 'Birth Control Book,'" *The Pilot*, April 20, 1963, 16. Cushing released his statement on April 19, and Knopf published Rock's book on April 22. "Cushing Rejects Birth Pill View Voiced in Catholic Doctor's Book," *New York Times*, April 20, 1963, 6.

which man could distinguish himself from monkeys. After the speech, a twenty-five-year-old Harvard medical student, Joseph Dorsey, approached the professor.<sup>39</sup> Despite the lecture's provocative topic, Dorsey's interests concerned Rock's pill and how it might affect the future of the state's restrictions on the dissemination of birth control devices and information.

A practicing Catholic, Dorsey was educated at two Jesuit-run institutions, Scranton Preparatory School in Pennsylvania and the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts. While receiving medical training at Dartmouth College—his first experience outside of Catholic education—Dorsey became aware of the issues of religious pluralism. There Dorsey encountered a degree of anti-Catholic bias but also a great number of good people who happened to have different faiths than he did. This realization prompted him to question why some civic laws attempted to legislate certain types of morality. He encountered such a law after moving to Boston.

After speaking with Rock, Dorsey wrote to Cushing, whom he had never met. Four decades later, Dorsey recalls how he explained his interest to the cardinal in the state's birth control law, described his meeting with Rock, and expressed his desire to discuss the issue with someone inside the Church. Dorsey's contact within the archdiocese was Reverend James O'Donohue, a professor of moral theology at St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts. Soon after, Dorsey and his wife hosted a dinner in their Boston apartment that included O'Donohue; Monsignor Francis Lally, *The Pilot's* powerful editor; and James Faulkner, a former dean of the Boston University School of Medicine and a member of the group that published the *New England Journal of Medicine*.<sup>40</sup> Equally important, Faulkner's wife, who had been involved in the state's birth control movement since the 1930s, was a member of the PPLM's first board of directors and, at the time of the dinner, served on the group's executive committee.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup>The following account is based on an interview with Joseph L. Dorsey in Walpole, MA, on March 18, 2008.

<sup>40</sup>"Dr. James Faulkner, medical educator," *Boston Globe*, January 19, 1980, 25; Masthead, *New England Journal of Medicine*, 271 (1964), 846.

<sup>41</sup>Mary Faulkner has been described as one of the PPLM's two "spiritual parents and founders." Nicki Nichols Gamble, "Mary Belin DuPont Faulkner, 1907-1985: A Memorial Tribute," *Reports* [PPLM], 62 (Spring 1985), 3. Also "Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts, Officers and Directors Elected May 8, 1945," Box 43, File 2, PPLMR, and "Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts, Officers and Directors Elected May 5, 1964," Box 44, File 18, PPLMR.



Over a series of subsequent meetings, with various participants in attendance, Dorsey and his guests formulated a plan to repeal the state's restrictions on the dissemination of birth control. They decided to publish this blueprint as an article written by Dorsey. Those who attended the first meeting received drafts of Dorsey's article. So, too, did Rock as well as people Dorsey never met but whose opinions he respected, including prominent Catholic theologians such as John Ford, S.J.<sup>42</sup>

In July 1964, Dorsey sent a draft of his article to Cushing asking for his thoughts on repealing the state's restrictions. Cushing replied that if the issue faced another voter referendum, he would "state very emphatically, over and over again, the stand of the Catholic Church," but he would "make no effort to enter into a political phase of this subject." There was, in his mind, a way in which legislation could "prevent abuses in this matter while still respecting individual religious consciences." Cushing stated strenuously to Dorsey that the repeal of the legislation "should never be brought to a popular referendum again."<sup>43</sup>

This emphatic statement demonstrated the cardinal's desire to save his religious community from a debate that split Catholic scholars. A theological discussion that pitted scholars against one another would likely fare no better among the laity, as Catholics had enough difficulty just comprehending the Catholic Church's official position on birth control. Confusion over the teaching was such that the Catholic magazine *Jubilee* asked its readership in December 1963: "Is the Church's teaching about birth control clear to you? Are you able to explain it to others, particularly non-Catholics?"<sup>44</sup> Of the responses published the following summer, readers, laity and clergy alike, confessed they could not answer the questions affirmatively.<sup>45</sup>

A more central concern, if not *the* central concern, motivating Cushing was his genuine empathy for the larger community. Like many others, Cushing had recognized the divisive nature of the birth control debate. As early as 1952, when Planned Parenthood appeared to be reviving its efforts to repeal the restrictions, Cushing lamented

<sup>42</sup>Ford to Dorsey, August 4, 1964, copy in author's possession.

<sup>43</sup>Cushing to Dorsey, July 22, 1964, copy in author's possession.

<sup>44</sup>"Editor's Note," *Jubilee*, December 1963, 21.

<sup>45</sup>"Letters to the Editor," *Jubilee*, March 1964, 2, and "Letters to the Editor," *Jubilee*, June 1964, 17-28.



to a friend that the group will “never say die. I hate to think of going through another battle.”<sup>46</sup> A decade later, Cushing probably saw no need for another extended public debate that would divide the commonwealth, especially if Rome might soon change the Church’s teaching on birth control. Cushing adopted a position as early as February 1963 (articulated in a radio interview, reiterated in a letter to Dorsey in 1964 and to a state legislative panel in 1965) that emphasized the requirement for widespread support for civic laws that intended to legislate morality.

Along with the cardinal’s comments, Dorsey received a formal imprimatur from the archdiocese, which Rock notably did not receive for *The Time Has Come*. The document, signed by Cushing and O’Donohue, recognized that nothing in Dorsey’s article contradicted the Church’s teachings.<sup>47</sup> With the archdiocese’s permission, Dorsey presented the argument that would begin the process of repealing the state’s restrictions on the distribution of birth control devices and information.

Dorsey’s argument for changing the state’s birth control law appeared as a “special article” in the October 15, 1964, issue of the *New England Journal of Medicine*. A brief foreword preceded the article. Of the fifty-two special articles appearing in the journal that year, only Dorsey’s included an introduction from a different author. The foreword’s author and content left little doubt as to the archdiocese’s position in relation to Dorsey’s argument. Monsignor Lally, who also served as chairman of the Boston Redevelopment Authority, wrote that Dorsey offered a “balanced and thoughtful review of a topic that has a history of complexity and bitterness.”<sup>48</sup> He believed that “[m]ost people in the community”—referring to the state, not just Catholics—felt that “the time is ripe for reconsidering” the issue. Because the Church had reconsidered its position in “light of claims of a plural society,” Lally thought “our community leaders” give “careful attention and study” to all suggestions on how to modify the birth control laws.<sup>49</sup> This foreword served as the Church’s proactive

<sup>46</sup>Cushing to Mansfield, March 31, 1952, Box 1, File 1/6, 1950-1954, BCAR, AAB.

<sup>47</sup>Cushing to Dorsey, July 22, 1964.

<sup>48</sup>See “Msgr. Francis J. Lally, Leader of City Renewal, *Pilot* Editor; at 69,” *Boston Globe*, September 5, 1987, 21.

<sup>49</sup>Francis J. Lally, Foreword to Joseph L. Dorsey, “Changing Attitudes towards the Massachusetts Birth-Control Law,” *New England Journal of Medicine*, 271 (1964), 823-27, here 823.

attempt to preempt debate within the state's Catholic community and to assist in setting the general tone for the public debate on the topic.

The choice of Lally rather than Cushing to endorse the article was pertinent to the way the archdiocese approached the repeal of the birth control laws. Given his public responsibilities, Lally had assumed an important secular position within the Boston community. Indeed, in eulogizing Lally upon his death in 1987, the *Boston Globe* noted that "Lally's acute intelligence and verbal felicity helped focus Cardinal Cushing's broad humanity and titanic enthusiasms." Both men, the paper continued, "shared a fundamental sense of decency and an openness to experience and truth," specifically citing the men's reactions to Rock's work on the pill and Murray's progressive views on church-state relations.<sup>50</sup>

Lally's endorsement of Dorsey's article signaled that Boston's Catholic Church supported the young doctor's plan without assuming a dominant position in the upcoming discussion. It was also an attempt to remove the Church from a leading role in the debate. Lally had expressed such a desire in a private interview with PPLM's Sagoff in January 1963. Then, he made clear that he did not support the law and hoped that "a liberal Supreme Court decision in the Connecticut Case will make the Massachusetts law unconstitutional." Therefore, he preferred that change would happen quickly and without confrontation, but he also wanted it to happen without the Church's leadership. Responding to the suggestion that either he or Cushing lead an effort to change the law, Lally explained that such an action would cause many to assume that there was also a larger change in the Church's official teaching on the morality of birth control.<sup>51</sup> He noted the correlation of a more prominent role played by either Cushing or himself to an increase in confusion over the Church's stand on birth control in general. His position, both in this private interview and in his public foreword, did not mean the Church would not assume any involvement in the debate, but Dorsey's article provided a helpful forum in which Lally could attempt to extend the bounds of what he considered the Church's proper role.

<sup>50</sup>"Msgr. Francis J. Lally," *Boston Globe*, September 5, 1987.

<sup>51</sup>See PPLMR, Box 47, File 3, "Interview with Monsignor Francis J. Lally—January 31, 1962, 2 to 3 p.m." The date of this memo is incorrect, as the interview took place in 1963. See excerpts of the same interview dated January 31, 1963, and Sagoff's follow-up letter to Lally dated February 4, 1963, in the same box and file, as well as the Executive Committee minutes from the February 20, 1963, meeting in Box 44, File 17, PPLMR.

In his *New England Journal of Medicine* article, Dorsey noted that “prominent voices from diverse quarters have recommended that a concerted effort soon be made to put ‘the law’ to its eternal resting place.” The law was perhaps “the cause of more hard feeling between Roman Catholics and their neighbors in the Commonwealth than any single issue in the past quarter century.” Dorsey suggested, however, that “the time has never been so favorable for reassessing the reasons for retaining vs. amending ‘the law.’” The time was so favorable because of changes within the Church. Up to that point, “the single most important reason for the law’s sitting on the books today is the uniform and vehement opposition to its removal by my Church.” There had been a recent “change in attitude on the part of Catholics,” who realized “the need in a pluralistic society for a consensus on a moral principle before it can be expressed as a civil law.”<sup>52</sup>

Among the other recent developments regarding the state’s restrictions, some doctors’ open and unequal violation of the law particularly troubled Dorsey. “Patients who cannot afford a private physician and use the clinics,” he noted in his article, do not have the option of having a physician more willing to violate the law by distributing birth control devices. Dorsey later recalled that doctors could not even dispense advice on birth control at a public clinic, but they could act as they wished if the same patient came to their private office, where the risk of exposure was negligible. Therefore, as Dorsey noted in his article, “many people look on ‘the law’ as undemocratic: those who need advice most seem least able to obtain it.”<sup>53</sup> For Dorsey and presumably for those who helped with his article, the issue was one of social justice. Confirming this viewpoint was the concern within the archdiocese in March 1965 that the law must change so the state could receive federal funding for family planning for its disadvantaged citizens.<sup>54</sup>

In his striking article, two features of Dorsey’s argument stand out. First, Dorsey wrote of his discussions with “many well informed priests” and of his failure to find one who favored keeping the law. The next two sentences suggest that the state’s two most visible Catholic clergymen, Cushing and Lally, were among these “well

<sup>52</sup>Dorsey, “Changing Attitudes,” pp. 823–27.

<sup>53</sup>Dorsey, “Changing Attitudes,” pp. 823–27.

<sup>54</sup>“Comments on the Plan of the OEO [Office of Economic Opportunity] Entitled ‘Family Planning and Birth Control Activities under Community Action Programs,’” Box 1, File 1/8, January–April 1965, BCAR, AAB.

informed priests.” The implied messages were that a priest who favored keeping the birth control law was in the minority among his colleagues and that he also disagreed with the highest levels of the archdiocese. The overt message was that the church hierarchy no longer supported the law.

The second striking feature of Dorsey’s article was how it presented a detailed plan for altering the law that was generally followed by members of the legal, medical, political, and religious communities. This is reflective of the rationality of the article’s argument and of the way in which the article received preemptive support from representatives of these different communities, beginning with the dinner at Dorsey’s home. One important element of the plan was Dorsey’s suggestion that, to minimize the potential for a hostile debate, neither the Catholic Church nor the PPLM should assume a leadership position in any repeal effort.<sup>55</sup> Instead, it was “feasible for a group of citizens of all faiths to formulate what they consider a good law.” As for legal options, Dorsey recognized that an appeal to the Supreme Court was a possibility, as the court was then considering the constitutionality of Connecticut’s birth control law. Such an option, however, would fail to take advantage of the goodwill that had developed among the different communities. Dorsey concluded that “if ever these problems could be approached in a spirit of friendship and cooperation the time is now.”<sup>56</sup>

Dorsey’s article prompted immediate reaction, both publicly and privately.<sup>57</sup> The *New England Journal of Medicine* editors wasted no time in offering their comment on the plan. In the same issue, the editorial “Progress within Reason” praised it as “an encouraging note of

<sup>55</sup>Lally’s interview with Sagoff (see above, n51) makes it clear the Church would welcome Dorsey’s suggestion. As for PPLM, it often lamented that it could not officially involve itself in political activities because of its tax-deductible status. See, for example, “Parenthood League of Massachusetts, General Outline,” drafted December 1968, revised March 1970, here p. 2, Box 47, File 17, PPLMR.

<sup>56</sup>Dorsey, “Changing Attitudes,” pp. 823–27.

<sup>57</sup>Reaction did not wait for the article’s publication. PPLM’s Sagoff—who in June stated that Dorsey was drafting an article for the journal and that Lally would write the foreword, and in August knew the article’s title and had excerpts of Lally’s text—requested 5000 reprints of the article three weeks before its publication. She explained to the journal’s business manager that she had Dorsey’s permission to make this request. See “Minutes, Board Meeting, June 16, 1964: Executive Director’s Report,” Box 44, File 18, PPLMR; and Sagoff to Sumner Z. Kaplan, August 27, 1964, and Sagoff to Milton Page, September 22, 1964, Box 92, File 12, PPLMR.

progress in the midst of so much uncertainty.”<sup>58</sup> The *Boston Globe* printed a front-page report on Dorsey’s article.<sup>59</sup> Like subsequent media coverage of Dorsey’s article, these publications noted that the Catholic doctor had argued for a change in the law with the consent of Cushing and Lally.

Of more direct impact to the law’s future was the reaction Dorsey’s article received outside of public discourse. After the article’s publication, medical and legal professionals, including Dorsey, secretly gathered for an informal series of conferences led by Alfred Frechette, the state’s health commissioner. They debated the wording of a proposal to lift the state’s restrictions on birth control.<sup>60</sup> These conferences, which were not reported in the media at the time nor discussed in subsequent historical work, faced the deadline of December 2, 1964, to submit a bill to the legislature for consideration in the upcoming legislative session.

Regardless of the outcome of these ongoing conferences, the cardinal was aware of his role in the inevitable public debate to follow. “I will, nevertheless, fell [*sic*] obligated to publish the statement of the Church with regard to this subject,” Cushing wrote to his adviser O’Donohue. “That would be expected of me by the Catholics of the Archdiocese.”<sup>61</sup> His correspondence with O’Donohue at this time demonstrated the larger theological concerns associated with the Church’s new position. O’Donohue closed a letter to the cardinal with the reassurance that any legislation emerging from the conferences “in no way affects the morality of birth control. It merely concerns the setting up of a workable public policy.”<sup>62</sup> The exchange also confirms the belief that the cardinal’s decision not to oppose a repeal was critical to the possibility of changing the law. George Packer Berry, Dorsey’s dean at the Harvard Medical School and a leader of the informal meetings, “wanted nothing done to embarrass” Cushing. He, therefore, invited O’Donohue to present the Church’s position on the law at a meeting.<sup>63</sup> O’Donohue later explained to Cushing that the

<sup>58</sup>“Progress within Reason,” *New England Journal of Medicine*, 271 (1964), 846–47.

<sup>59</sup>“Ease Birth Control Law, Says Catholic,” *Boston Globe*, October 15, 1964, 1. The *Herald* followed with coverage the next day: “Catholic Doctor Urges Repeal of Mass. Birth Control Law,” *Boston Herald*, October 16, 1964, 8.

<sup>60</sup>O’Donohue to Cushing, November 23, 1964, Box 1, File 1/7, 1964, BCAR, AAB.

<sup>61</sup>Cushing to O’Donohue, November 24, 1964, Box 1, File 1/7, 1964, BCAR, AAB.

<sup>62</sup>O’Donohue to Cushing, November 23, 1964.

<sup>63</sup>O’Donohue to Cushing, November 25, 1964.

conference members wanted assurance that the cardinal did not oppose their plan to repeal the law. They understood “perfectly,” he noted, that the law’s repeal “in no way compromises the Church’s position on birth control but merely attempts to establish a workable public policy in this matter.”<sup>64</sup>

After attending the meeting, O’Donohue filed a detailed report with Cushing. The conference members and O’Donohue had discussed a “responsible way” of changing the state’s law to “establish a public policy in this matter for a pluralistic society.” The conference members reiterated their desire not to embarrass the cardinal in “any way.” The participants also discussed their fears that “some irresponsible group” would also file a bill to remove the restrictions and “hence do a lot of harm.” It was necessary for any proposed bill to come from “a very responsible group” as to “avert any political maneuvers from confusing the issue.” The members also furthered the plan to repeal the law that was articulated in Dorsey’s article. They would select people respected by the legislature to sponsor the bill and identify “responsible lobbyists” to educate the state legislators and members of the media.<sup>65</sup>

Records of the PPLM indicate how Cushing reacted to O’Donohue’s report. Cushing reportedly felt uneasy and contacted Frechette. In two letters, Sagoff stated Cushing asked Frechette not to file the bill. Cushing apparently would support the bill only if he had a theological justification from Rome, preferring that “no amendments be filed until after the Ecumenical Council had approved religious liberty.” Despite this intervention, two doctors asked a state representative to file a bill after Frechette agreed not to act.<sup>66</sup> The public debate on the birth control law would begin, and the Church readied itself.

On December 1, 1964, the day before Dukakis filed the bill, the archdiocese’s chancellor distributed a statement by Cushing to the state’s bishops. Because “of respect for the varied consciences present in a pluralistic society,” the Church would not “impose her principles of morality or her intentions of the Natural Law on people of other faiths.” He cited Dorsey’s article as support for this decision.<sup>67</sup> The Fall River bishop

<sup>64</sup>O’Donohue to Cushing, November 27, 1964.

<sup>65</sup>“Report on Meeting,” O’Donohue to Cushing, November 27, 1964.

<sup>66</sup>Sagoff to Goldstein, February 5, 1965. It is unclear if the two doctors, Duncan Reid and David Rutstein, were members of Frechette’s private conferences.

<sup>67</sup>Statement by Cardinal Cushing to bishops, December 1, 1964, Box 1, File 1/7, 1964, BCAR, AAB.

supported the Church's position preventing the "drum and bugle corp of the Planned Parenthood League" from joining the debate.<sup>68</sup>

After the March 1965 hearing, the Church's efforts would continue out of the public's view when, following the cardinal's suggestion, the governor appointed a commission to rework the legislation that June. The state's Catholic community selected six of the twenty-one members of the governor's commission, including Dorsey and Lally.<sup>69</sup> Cushing's lawyer, Leen, served on a three-member subcommittee that drafted the bill.<sup>70</sup> He kept the archdiocese updated on developments, and commission members viewed him as speaking for Cushing.<sup>71</sup> As the commission ended its deliberations, the cardinal reiterated his desire that the law be changed.<sup>72</sup> On June 29, the governor's commission unanimously approved the proposal, and at a July hearing, Leen, testifying as a private citizen, endorsed it.<sup>73</sup>

The bill's final outcome that summer was not what the commission members and the church hierarchy had desired. The House surprisingly rejected the bill in August. But the efforts of the bill's proponents were not in vain. As Dorsey would later note, the attempt was a failure but also a beginning. "In retrospect," he wrote after the legislature repealed the restrictions the next year, the issue after 1965 "was not really whether birth control was to be approved" but rather who would have access to birth control.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, members of the Boston Archdiocese had adopted a new way to engage a pluralistic democracy. This engagement stood in contrast to how the Church the-

<sup>68</sup>James L. Connelly to Francis J. Sexton, December 3, 1964, Box 1, File 1/7, 1964, BCAR, AAB.

<sup>69</sup>On the commission's membership, see "Commission Submits Draft for Birth Control Reform," *The Pilot*, July 3, 1965, 3.

<sup>70</sup>House No. 4089, Report of the Special Non-Legislative Commission Established to Make an Investigation and Study Relative to Dissemination of Information by Registered Physicians and Registered Pharmacists," June 29, 1965, Box 1, File 1/9, May-December 1965, BCAR, AAB.

<sup>71</sup>Henry M. Leen to Francis J. Sexton, June 9, 1965, Box 1, File 1/9, May-December 1965, BCAR, AAB. The executive committee of PPLM received similar updates from Lorraine Campbell, the league's president, who served on the commission along with Faulkner. See "Minutes, Board Meeting, June 10, 1965," Box 44, File 18, PPLMR and "Minutes, Board Meeting, June 10, 1965: Executive Director's Report."

<sup>72</sup>"Cardinal Asks Change in Birth Control Law," *Boston Globe*, June 23, 1965, 1.

<sup>73</sup>"House No. 4089, Report," June 29, 1965, Box 1, File 1/9, May-December 1965, BCAR, AAB; "Cardinal's Lawyer Backs Revision of Birth Laws," *The Pilot*, July 24, 1965, 17.

<sup>74</sup>Joseph L. Dorsey, "Massachusetts Liberalizes Birth Control Law," *Dartmouth Medical School Quarterly*, 3 (1966), 11.



ologically had understood its role in democratic politics just seventeen years before.

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On December 9, 1964, a week after Dukakis initially filed the private conference's bill to lift the state's birth control restrictions, a memorandum was drafted within the archdiocese.<sup>75</sup> The note does not have an identifiable author, although its authorship is not as important as its content. The memorandum stated that the members of the informal conferences that drafted the bill wished "to have the *Pilot* cooperate by making no announcements about the projected change until a formulated policy has been established." Furthermore, church officials must refrain from issuing public statements on the bill, "lest we stir up trouble with the Planned Parenthood people who have also pledged their 'cooperation by silence.'"<sup>76</sup>

A debate marked by cooperative silence could not have been more different than the last time the state reconsidered its birth control restrictions. Perhaps the only thing as divergent as the tone or outcome of the two debates was the Church's role. In 1948, church officials caustically portrayed supporters of the repeal as unpatriotic. At that time, Cushing had been archbishop for just four years. He had served as the auxiliary bishop to his predecessor, Cardinal William O'Connell, when voters rejected a referendum to remove the birth control restrictions in 1942. Then, O'Connell assumed a reserved position in public, never personally speaking against the measure. It was left to *The Pilot* to denounce birth control.<sup>77</sup> Cushing, on the other hand, represented the face of an aggressive campaign against the 1948 referendum. Cushing could not have been expected to reverse O'Connell's position on this issue, but his political activism might seem surprising. The Boston Archdiocese, from Cushing to the laity, mobilized against this referendum. Upon close examination, the Church's actions in 1948 resulted primarily from theological conviction. The theology espoused by members of the archdiocesan hierarchy stressed the need to align laws of the state with those of God to protect citizens and to create God's kingdom on Earth.

<sup>75</sup>On introduction of bill, see "Bill Filed to Ease Birth Control Law," *Boston Globe*, December 3, 1964, 1.

<sup>76</sup>"Memo Concerning Bill to Change Birth Control Law," December 9, 1964, Box 1, File 1/7, 1964, BCAR, AAB.

<sup>77</sup>See James M. O'Toole, *Militant and Triumphant: William Henry O'Connell and the Catholic Church of Boston* (Notre Dame, 1992), 135-37.



With a theological understanding of church-state relations dictating the Boston Archdiocese's decisions on this issue, the reason the Church assumed different positions on the same issue in 1948 and 1965 becomes clear. Cushing's statements during the 1948 campaign highlight these differences. In March, he referred to the birth control restrictions as being a "unique advantage" for Massachusetts, for they explicitly tied the state's law to God's law.<sup>78</sup> Catholics had a duty to defend the civic law since they believed, in his words, that "contraception is anti-social and anti-patriotic as well as absolutely immoral."<sup>79</sup> These statements expressed the viewpoint of the archdiocese's powerful auxiliary bishop during the 1948 campaign, John Joseph Wright. His influence during the first years of Cushing's episcopate was a primary reason for the Church's insistence for the preservation of the birth control restrictions.

Wright published his dissertation, *National Patriotism in Papal Teaching*, in 1942. Very much concerned with its wartime context, Wright's book argued the Church was a "unifying social instrument." It alone possessed "the means of bringing nations into harmony with one another" and "constantly renewing that harmony." All citizens, but specifically Catholics, had a moral responsibility in "building a truly Christian world order."<sup>80</sup> To establish this order, the moral stability of the state depended upon the moral stability of the family. As patriots, Catholics had the "consequent obligation in patriotism at all times to promote" the Church's moral code, especially within marriage. One "patriotic ground for concern" for Wright was the use of birth control. This "particular immorality" struck "at the most literally vital roots of the nation's life," by lowering the national birth rate and detrimentally affecting the nation's social and cultural values. Wright concluded that the "existence and vitality of the fatherland" require the patriot to "practice and promote those precepts of the Christian moral law without which society is vitiated in its very elements."<sup>81</sup> Catholics,

<sup>78</sup>"Old-Line Protestant Families Dying Out, Says Abp. Cushing," *Boston Herald*, March 10, 1948, 1, 3.

<sup>79</sup>David J. Garrow, *Liberty and Sexuality: The Right to Privacy and the Making of Roe v. Wade* (New York, 1994), p. 117, citing *Hartford Courant*, March 10, 1948, and *Hartford Times*, March 10, 1948. For another example of Catholic rhetoric in the 1948 campaign, see the testimony of William J. Kenealy, S.J., dean of Boston College School of Law, before the Joint Committee on Public Health, in *The Birth Control Issue in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1948), pp. 1-16.

<sup>80</sup>John J. Wright, *National Patriotism in Papal Teaching* (Boston, 1942), pp. 313, 315, 322.

<sup>81</sup>Wright, *National Patriotism*, pp. 99-102.

therefore, had the duty to ensure that the laws of the state and of God must become, and remain, the same.

Wright's entwining of the Church with the state played directly into the comfort that Cushing enjoyed with local political leaders and politics in general. This viewpoint also reinforced Cushing's belief in America's unique destiny to serve God's wishes.<sup>82</sup> Central to the success of this divine mission was for civic laws to conform to God's laws. Therefore, the Church, historian James O'Toole argues, would assume an "increasingly active" role in aligning the state with God.<sup>83</sup> Doing otherwise was unpatriotic and a disservice to God.

In 1950, Wright became Worcester's bishop and assumed the same position in Pittsburgh in 1959. Ten years later, he was serving as the highest ranking American official in the Roman curia. Wright's rise within the Boston Archdiocese coincided with the decision to resolutely fight the birth control repeal of 1948. Similarly, Wright's departure from the state corresponded with the Church's decision not to fight the repeal in 1965.<sup>84</sup> O'Toole describes the symbolism of the 1948 debate over birth control, serving as "a case study of active political involvement by the church."<sup>85</sup> The 1965 debate should also be seen symbolically, as it represented the Church's recognition that civic laws must conform to public consensus.

Politics might appear to also explain that new opinion, and the situation's political reality should not be discounted. After the earlier debates, Cushing's decision in 1965 not to oppose the repeal could have been a political retreat. O'Toole recognizes that the Church's victory in 1948 "revealed the political power that was at the disposal of the archbishop of Boston when he chose to use it."<sup>86</sup> Since then, Cushing's influence had only increased with the continued success of prominent Catholic politicians. He enjoyed his own achievements as

<sup>82</sup>O'Toole, "Prelates and Politicos," p. 44. On Cushing's views of America's divine mission, see also James Garneau, "Cushing and the FBI," *American Catholic Studies*, 114, no. 2 (2003), 37-53.

<sup>83</sup>O'Toole, "Prelates and Politicos," p. 44.

<sup>84</sup>Dorsey recalls that Wright questioned this change in tactics. Shortly after the journal article appeared, Dorsey received a late-night telephone call. Dorsey recalls that Pittsburgh's bishop, calling from Rome, expressed his strong disagreement with the young doctor's argument.

<sup>85</sup>O'Toole, "Prelates and Politicos," pp. 48n, 49.

<sup>86</sup>O'Toole, "Prelates and Politicos," p. 57.

well, including the elevation to cardinal in 1958 and flattering coverage in the media. The *New York Times* profiled Cushing in February 1964. The article mentioned Cushing's ties to the Kennedy family, declared him a "symbol of 'New Boston,'" and included a large photo of the cardinal and a group of nuns enjoying a ride on a roller-coaster.<sup>87</sup>

Regardless of the cardinal's personal standing, it is possible that when the legislators debated the birth control restrictions Cushing chose not to risk his political influence and abandoned the position he held in 1948. Polling data from January 1965 lends support to this interpretation. A national Gallup Poll registered the "strongest support for distribution of birth control information" in the poll's history. Nearly 80 percent of Catholics, up from 53 percent just eighteen months prior, supported the availability of birth control information "anywhere" in the country.<sup>88</sup> Arguably, local church leaders saw the same figures and determined their position did not enjoy the support of lay Catholics, never mind that of non-Catholics, and thus chose not to defend the birth control law that same year. This politically-based view, however, does not address the broader considerations behind Cushing's decision. Recognizing the theological considerations involved in this issue in turn recognizes how the Church's advisers affected the Church's political actions.

As John Wright departed the commonwealth, Cushing found a new adviser with a different view of the Church's role in society. In December 1960, theologian John Courtney Murray, S.J., appeared on the cover of *Time*. By then, according to his biographer, Murray was "the chief spokesman for a more progressive attitude among Catholics on the American scene," and four decades later the Jesuit magazine *America* would remember Murray as "the most significant Catholic theologian the church in the United States has ever produced."<sup>89</sup> The fact that Cushing reached out to Murray, at the height of his popularity, reveals how dramatically the cardinal's position on morality in civic law had changed since he began his episcopate. The terminology that Cushing adopted in this period illustrated this shift.

<sup>87</sup>"Cardinal Cushing: Symbol of 'New Boston,'" *New York Times*, February 6, 1964, 31, 33.

<sup>88</sup>"Gallup Poll: Strong Public Support Detected for Birth Control Information," *The Pilot*, January 16, 1965, 5.

<sup>89</sup>Thomas T. Love, *John Courtney Murray: Contemporary Church-State Theory* (Garden City, NY, 1965), p. 9; Robert W. McElroy, "He Held These Truths," *America*, February 7, 2005, 8.

*Time* recognized that with his first book, *We Hold These Truths*, Murray enjoyed “a new, broader area of influence.” As the nation inaugurated its first Catholic president, “serious Americans of all sorts,” reported *Time*, will debate Murray’s “hopes and fears for American democracy.”<sup>90</sup> Murray feared the American mind was never “clear about the relation between morals and law.” To clarify this misunderstanding, he highlighted the distinction between public laws and private morality. Laws always seek to legislate morality, but there must be necessary limitations on the types of moral judgments civic laws can make. Issues of private morality, as Cushing’s 1965 statement before the legislative panel noted, lie beyond the purview of civic laws. Nine months later, the *Declaration on Religious Freedom* stated that juridical norms arise “out of a need for a proper guardianship of public morality” but also “require that the freedom of man be respected as far as possible, and curtailed only when and in so far as necessary.”<sup>91</sup>

Also, a public law should address private morality only if that law will be obeyed and enforced. Disobeyed and unenforceable laws do not express “the community’s own convictions as to what is just or unjust, good or evil. In the absence of this consent, law either withers away or becomes tyrannical.”<sup>92</sup> Therefore, “for the law to truly serve the common good,” law professor Gregory Kalscheur, S.J., has observed in profiling of Murray, “some level of consensus as to the goodness of the law is essential.”<sup>93</sup> Consensus helps to explain why Catholic officials could remove themselves from some political debates, like birth control limitation, and yet join others, like the civil rights legislation.

Many Catholics, noted *Time*, found Murray’s approach attractive partly because it neither represented official church teachings nor did

<sup>90</sup>“City of God & Man,” *Time*, December 12, 1960, 64.

<sup>91</sup>*Declaration on Religious Freedom*, in *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York, 1966), pp. 675–96, here p. 687, as cited in Gregory A. Kalscheur, S.J., “Moral Limits on Morals Legislation: Lessons for U.S. Constitutional Law from the Declaration on Religious Freedom,” *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal*, 16 (2006), 1–48, here 15. See pages 8–30 for how Murray understood the application of the *Declaration* to the limitations of civic law.

<sup>92</sup>John Courtney Murray, S.J., *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition* (New York, 1960), pp. 198, 218.

<sup>93</sup>Gregory A. Kalscheur, S.J., “American Catholics and the State: John Courtney Murray on Catholics in a Pluralistic Democratic Society,” *America*, August 2004, 18.

it run counter to them. Instead, Murray instructed “Catholics that they must become more intellectually aware of their ‘coexistence’ in a pluralist, heavily Protestant society.”<sup>94</sup> Murray defined pluralism as “the coexistence within the one political community of groups who hold divergent and incompatible views with regard to religious questions.” It “implies a disagreement and dissension within a community. But it also implies a community within which there must be agreement and consensus.”<sup>95</sup> If Murray was the instructor of this school of pluralism, he found a receptive student in Boston’s cardinal.

Cushing articulated his own views of pluralism as early as March 1960. A Christian should pursue his religious objectives, Cushing argued in a pastoral letter, “with the full knowledge that he lives in a society of differing beliefs, a pluralist society.” Rather than retreating from public discourse, a Christian “must be prepared and ready for friendly discussion with those whose views of life and its meaning are different than his own.”<sup>96</sup> A pluralistic community, in short, should not focus on its differences but instead stress what unifies its people.

Cushing’s pastoral letter not only marked a distinct departure from his attitude toward the birth control referendum of just a dozen years before but also its contents were indicative of their political context. Published the same week as the first presidential primary, this letter likely attempted to alleviate concerns about the religious motives of presidential aspirant and fellow Massachusetts Catholic Senator John F. Kennedy (D-MA). This was when many Americans saw Catholics, according to *Time*’s profile of Murray, “as vaguely alien and as narrow-minded servants of an absolutist theology.”<sup>97</sup> The letter might therefore stand as an example of a political reason for Cushing’s theological shift or at least the interplay between these two elements. Nevertheless, Cushing’s pastoral letter expressed beliefs that would guide his actions on issues like interfaith relations and the birth control law, significantly doing so before the latter became widely discussed after Dorsey’s article.

<sup>94</sup>“City of God & Man.” The article missed the attractiveness that some might have found in the Thomistic roots of Murray’s approach. See Gregory A. Kalscheur, S.J., “John Paul II, John Courtney Murray, and the Relationship Between Civil Law and Moral Law: A Constructive Proposal for Contemporary American Pluralism,” *Journal of Catholic Social Thought*, 1 (2004), 231–75; see 243–64 and especially 258–61 on Murray and Cushing.

<sup>95</sup>Murray, *We Hold These Truths*, p. x.

<sup>96</sup>“The Christian and the Community,” *The Pilot*, March 12, 1960, 9.

<sup>97</sup>“City of God & Man.”

Murray's arguments, which echo throughout this pastoral letter, explain Cushing's statement at the 1965 public hearing regarding the state's birth control laws. This was no coincidence. Murray was specially asked for assistance in this matter. In an undated memorandum to Cushing, Murray argued that "Catholics may and should" support a change to the birth control restrictions. His memo stressed two themes: the distinction between public and private morality, and "the concept of religious freedom." On the first point, Murray argued that "the scope of law is limited to the maintenance and protection of public morality. Matters of private morality lie beyond the scope of law; they are left to the personal conscience." Factors in deciding whether an issue was one of public or private morality were if the law was "generally recognized by the conscience of the community" and its effectiveness and enforceability. Murray argued that since contraception was widely practiced and not considered wrong, it would be "difficult to see how the state can forbid, as contrary to public morality, a practice that numerous religious leaders approve as morally right." Therefore, contraception, for Murray, was a matter of private morality, "beyond the scope of law."

On the second issue regarding religious freedom, Murray claimed that "man may not be coercively constrained to act against his conscience" nor may he "be coercively restrained from acting according to his conscience, unless the action involves a civil offense" (actions against public peace, for example). The first step away from the hostile political campaign of 1948 was to recognize that opposing opinions were not unpatriotic or immoral but should be respected as expressions of individuals' consciences. As justification for his claims, Murray cited a "forthcoming conciliar declaration," referring to the *Declaration on Religious Freedom*, which he had a prominent role in writing. This remark shows that Cushing was aware of an upcoming announcement that would respect the differences of religious opinions. That Cushing wanted legislative action to wait for this *Declaration* strongly indicates the importance of theology—and specifically, a theological justification from Rome—in his political actions.

Central to the *Declaration* would be the understanding, Murray explained to Cushing, that "the authority of the church does not decide what the civil law should be." He thought it "a pity" that Church officials would have to speak out on the matter at all, for moral laws should be determined by "the civil community." In practi-

cal terms, Murray thought any change to the state's law should happen with "as little public agitation as possible" and stressed that there should be no future referenda. Any statement by the archdiocesan leadership would have to articulate its moral opposition to birth control *as well as* its opposition to using "the coercive instrument of law to enforce" a morality the community does not accept.<sup>98</sup>

Boston Archdiocesan archival records further reveal that Murray wrote the first draft of the cardinal's testimony before the House legislative panel in March 1965. Cushing asked Lally to review and edit Murray's draft before the hearing. In a letter to the archdiocese's chancellor, Lally confessed that he had "followed nearly word for word the suggestions" of Murray and wished that Cushing could review the material before the hearing.<sup>99</sup> As no significant changes were made to the draft submitted by Lally, whether or not Cushing reviewed the statement from his hospital bed might be irrelevant. Of great relevance was the fact that Murray's well-known views on church-state relations were solicited and that what Murray offered was delivered in the cardinal's name.

Murray's central role in crafting Cushing's testimony helps explain the different stances adopted by the Boston Archdiocese in 1948 and 1965 birth control debates. There was also a practical aspect to his role as well. Knowing the premise of the upcoming *Declaration on Religious Freedom* allowed Boston Catholics to adopt certain actions in a period of ecclesiastical uncertainty. At the Joint Commission on Public Health hearing in 1965, it was not clear to Cushing whether the Vatican would maintain its position on birth control. What was clear, because of Murray's intervention, was that the Vatican would soon recognize religious freedom of conscience for all. This knowledge was double-edged, however, as it permitted Cushing to assume a position that would be retroactively endorsed by the Second Vatican Council's declaration, but it convinced him to delay supporting a bill until the official statement, ultimately postponing the repeal's passage.

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<sup>98</sup>John Courtney Murray, S.J., "Memo to Cardinal Cushing on Contraception Legislation," in *Bridging the Sacred and the Secular: Selected Writings of John Courtney Murray, S.J.*, ed. J. Leon Hooper, S.J. (Washington, DC, 1994), pp. 81-86.

<sup>99</sup>Lally to Francis J. Sexton, February 26, 1965, Box 1, File 1/8, January-April 1965, BCAR, AAB.



That some Catholics in the Archdiocese of Boston assisted with efforts to repeal the state's restrictions on birth control is not just the story of a particular church dealing with a particular law, with little repercussions on other events. How and why the church hierarchy chose the course of action it did demonstrates a considerable change in the theological opinion held by many within the archdiocese and within the larger Catholic community as well. It was this viewpoint, and not necessarily political considerations, that principally determined how the Church understood its position relative to the issue of morality in civic laws. In Massachusetts, this new position helped to eventually, if only temporarily, deemphasize the religious aspect in discussions of the state's laws.

During a 1948 hearing on legislation to end the birth control restrictions, a state legislator attempted to ban the words "Roman Catholic Church" from the debate. The archdiocese's spokesman claimed that such a ban would "muzzle" his argument.<sup>100</sup> In 1965, the local Church tried to publicly muzzle itself, even after the legislature rejected the repeal. Following the measure's surprising defeat, Cushing reiterated his belief that neither he nor the Church was officially involved in this aspect of state politics. "I don't care what the legislature did," the cardinal stated. "It's up to them. It's their business."<sup>101</sup> This muzzling did not last long. Private Catholic assistance in trying to repeal the birth control restrictions in 1965 gave way to more coordinated public actions the following year, with the cardinal's endorsement of the bill and with PPLM's lobbying effort of the state lawmakers, which was led by Edward Collins, a Catholic professor at Boston College.<sup>102</sup>

Many factors played a role in the re-evaluation of the birth control restrictions, but no side so determined the debate's tone than did local Catholics. In a PPLM internal history first drafted in 1968, the group noted the repeal's "great victory" was because of, "most important in Massachusetts, Catholic understanding of religious liberty for persons of all faiths."<sup>103</sup> A *Boston Herald* editorial before the 1966

<sup>100</sup>"Ban on Naming Church Asked in Birth Hearing," *Boston Globe*, March 31, 1948, 1, 2.

<sup>101</sup>"House Rejects Birth Law, Father of 15 Leads the Way."

<sup>102</sup>See "Two BC Profs Leading Birth Control Law Fight," *The [Boston College] Heights*, March 11, 1966, 3 and "Catholic Teacher Sparked It All," *Boston Globe*, April 13, 1966, 2.

<sup>103</sup>"Parenthood League of Massachusetts, General Outline," p. 2.



hearing also shows how public discourse had adopted the Church's terminology. The *Herald* said that "in our plural society there should be room for those with different moral views to follow their own consciences."<sup>104</sup>

Theological concerns, within their political context, clarify the reasons why the Boston archdiocesan leadership reacted to a change to the state's birth control laws. Specifically, the arguments put forth by John Courtney Murray helped determine the Church's actions in a debate over a public law mandating a private morality that did not enjoy widespread support in the state. Concerned with social justice and the need for consensus in a pluralistic society, the Church recognized how it could best involve itself in some political discussions, even while removing itself from others. The "cooperation of silence" between the Catholic Church and Planned Parenthood ensured a result of what Murray saw as the best of a pluralistic democracy: a civil discussion whereby two opposing sides could reach an accord on a divisive issue.

<sup>104</sup>"To Legalize Birth Control," *Boston Herald*, April 12, 1966, 30.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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### General and Miscellaneous

*Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary.* By Miri Rubin. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xxvi, 533. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-10500-1.)

This is an astonishingly wide-ranging and detailed account of Marian devotion from the time of the early Church to the seventeenth century, with afterthoughts on Mary's significance for the modern world. In twenty-three chapters, Rubin asks how and why Mary emerged from relative obscurity in the Gospels to become a "constant presence" (p. xxi) in European history. Drawing with great sensitivity on a variety of sources—theological and devotional writings, music, poetry, and images—Rubin explores Mary's significance not just for leading churchmen and nobles but also for ordinary laymen and -women. The heart of this book may be its description of the Western European Marian devotion of the Middle Ages, but its chronological and geographical span give it a significance that no more narrowly focused study could possibly have.

No single narrative or analytical theme could ever explain the profusion of Marian devotion that Rubin documents. There is a great wealth of material here; a rich tapestry of examples that the reader will sometimes struggle to fit into a meaningful framework. The book can be dizzying as well as dazzling: the chapter on the Marian devotion of late-medieval kings and princes, for example, jumps from fifteenth-century Burgundy to Ethiopia then back to Bernardino of Siena. Yet key themes do emerge from the profusion of raw material: Jewish traditions and their role in shaping Marian devotion; Mary's polemical role in combating heresy; the centrality of motherhood to Marian piety. Moreover, this is not just the story of Mary's role in Christian devotion but also of her role in Christianity's relations with other faiths.

While much of Rubin's theological and devotional material may be familiar to specialist readers, one of the great strengths of this book is the way in which ideas are intergrated with sociocultural evidence. As a result, this book does much more than any purely theological study could to explain the why as well as the how of Mary's cult. Moreover, by tackling such a broad period, Rubin forces us to think outside our normal intellectual boxes. An early modernist reading this work, for example, will certainly be forced to rethink a few assumptions about the transition from late-medieval to early-modern piety.

Although there are a few well-produced color illustrations, given the extent and refinement of the author's engagement with visual as well as tex-

tual sources, it is a great pity that more could not have been included, and that those that are reproduced could not have been properly integrated into the text. But this book is a pleasure to read—beautifully written, engaging, and thought provoking. Much broader than Jaroslav Pelikan's largely theological work (*Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1996) and much more temperate than Marina Warner's provocative book (*Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, London, 1976), Rubin's book will undoubtedly remain the most useful panoptic study of Marian devotion for years to come.

University of St. Andrews

BRIDGET HEAL

*Costantino il Grande tra medioevo ed età moderna*. Edited by Giorgio Bonamente, Giorgio Cracco, and Klaus Rosen. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Quaderni, 75.] Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2008. Pp. 405. €28,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-12499-9.)

This is the written record of a conference on the Emperor Constantine the Great (r. 306–37). It is concerned more with the Constantine of legend than the historical emperor, best known for extending toleration to Christianity and calling the First Council of Nicaea (325 AD). In most of these studies the supposed baptism of the emperor by Pope Sylvester I (314–35 AD) and the spurious *Donation of Constantine* loom large, especially in political discourse.

The first section covers the use of Constantine's image by the papacy in its relations with the Carolingian emperors (Matthias Becher), the place of the *Donation* in fourteenth-century polemics about papal and imperial power (Jürgen Miethke), Cola di Rienzo's use of the emperor's image (Vincenzo Aiello), and his place in the writings of Marsilius of Padua as *fidelis princeps* (Gregorio Piaia). One of the most interesting articles, Miethke's, examines Pope Innocent IV (r. 1243–54), who treated the *Donation* not as an imperial gift but as the restoration of power to Christ and his vicar.

The second section treats the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The place of the *Donation* in political discussions of the time is outlined by Riccardo Fubini. Barbara Baldi treats the place of the *Donation* in the *Dialogus* of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II, r. 1458–64). Many of these are well-known polemics, including the classic refutation of the *Donation* by Lorenzo Valla. Much more intriguing is the place of Constantine in the debates on political power during the great days of the Spanish Hapsburgs in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Guido Cappelli charts the ways in which some apologists for the Spanish monarchy argued for limits on papal temporal power by limiting the scope of Constantine's benefactions to Rome and its environs. Least familiar to most readers will be the place of Constantine in Russian thought of the same period. The first Christian

emperor was presented as a prop of Russian claims to empire, including the contention that Moscow was the Third Rome.

The third part of the collection is more diverse. Mario Turchetti examines the *Constantinus Magnus* by François Bauduin, an associate of John Calvin who differed from him in assessing the role of the emperor. Bauduin focused on the imperial legislator, seen as “moderate” in his actions, a promoter of concord. Paolo Cozzo traces the role of Constantine in the self-presentation of the rulers of Savoy in the early-modern period. François Paschold examines Edward Gibbon’s portrayal of the emperor in the light of his views on the role of Christianity in the decline of the Roman Empire.

The final section is concerned with the image of Constantine in art and architecture. Arnaldo Marcone shows how the legendary Constantine was depicted in the Chapel of St. Sylvester at the church of Santi Quattro Coronati in Rome. Created during the confrontations of the thirteenth-century papacy with the Hohenstauffen emperors, the legends of Constantine painted on the walls buttressed papal claims to power over lay rulers. Rolf Quednau contributes a survey of Constantine’s appearance in papal commissions of the thirteenth through eighteenth centuries, with a glance at the use of the Arch of Constantine in the propaganda of Benito Mussolini. These commissions show the legendary Constantine alive long after Valla refuted the *Donation*. Lukas Clemens gives us a different view of Constantine’s heritage by looking at the city of Trier. The city claimed Constantine, Constantius (his father), and Helena (his mother) as their own, including as patrons of their own institutions.

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THOMAS M. IZBICKI

*A History of Florence, 1200-1575.* By John M. Najemy (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006 and 2008. Pp. xi, 515. \$34.95. ISBN 978 1-405-18242-3.)

John Najemy argues that conflict both within the elite class and between it and two other classes (the *popolo* and the artisan and laboring workers) was the most decisive factor shaping the evolution of the city between 1200 and 1575. The three main protagonists in this “triangular conflict” (p. 3) include the elite (wealthy landowners, merchants, and international bankers, socially constructed as agnatic lineages and embracing knighthood), the *popolo* (nonelite and nonknightly merchants and artisans organized in guilds), and the working or laboring classes. Four times before 1400 popular regimes governed Florence following periods of crisis. The “*Primo Popolo*” (1250–60) excluded the former ruling class from power and eventually closed ranks with the Guelfs against the Hohenstaufen. During the “*Second Popolo*” a guild-based regime emerged, creating a new (1282) magistracy of the priore at its core. With the passage of the Ordinances of Justice (1293 and 1295), political legitimacy henceforth depended on the consent of the guilds.

Between 1310 and 1340, the politically dominant merchant-banking elite enjoyed its “golden age” (p. 124). An economic and political crisis in the early 1340s, however, opened the way for a third popular government (1343–48). A rough elite/popular balance governed until 1378, but the Ciompi Revolt and the most radical popular government in premodern Florentine history (1378–82) frightened the elite and *popolo* alike.

By the early-fifteenth century, all three classes, especially the Florentine elite, had been thoroughly transformed. An ideology of consensus developed to encourage unity, duty, and assent under “the benevolent leadership of the elite” (182). In one of this sharpest chapters, Najemy traces how civic humanism emerged out of this ideology of consensus. Elite (*Ottimati*) control and consensus politics continued under the veiled republic of the Medici (1434–94). However, elite displeasure with one-family rule forced the Medici into exile, and the French invasion of 1494 created the conditions for the emergence of another, more broadly based republic (1494–1512). For half a century, a triangular conflict now engaged the Medici, the elite or *ottimati* (and its brand of aristocratic republicanism), and the *popolo* (with its tradition of popular republicanism). Eventually, conflicts undermined the republic and led to the return of the Medici (1512–27). The Medici regime, however, fell after the Spanish sack in 1527. It was replaced by another (and even more anti-aristocratic) republic (1527–30). More frightened by the popular republic of 1527–30 than they were of the Medici, the *ottimati* supported the Medici restoration in 1530 by Emperor Charles V, who in 1532 established the Medici principate. The *popolo*, horrified at the savage repression by the Medici, the emperor, the pope, and the *ottimati* that occurred in 1530, were no longer willing to collaborate with members of the elite again.

There is much to praise about this book. It is a model historical synthesis of the history of a great premodern European city. It is also a sophisticated political history in which class-based ideas and values matter as much as individual details of political events. Nevertheless, there is little comparative analysis here that contrasts the development of Florence with the evolution of other rival Italian cities. Furthermore, the social categories of “elite” (*grandi*, *ottimati*) and *popolo*, although clearly defined at the outset, appear to be static and unchanging over time. Indeed, they often appear to be operating *en bloc* as independent entities and single agents in historical events. It is doubtful, for example, that there existed a single “religious culture of the popolo” (p. 51). These concerns aside, this is an admirable survey, elegantly written and carefully crafted.

*Liturgical Space: Christian Worship and Church Buildings in Western Europe 1500–2000.* By Nigel Yates. [Liturgy, Worship and Society.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xi, 199. \$99.95 clothbound. ISBN 978-0-754-65795-8. \$34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-754-65795-2.)

The late Nigel Yates, who served as professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Wales at Lampeter, has provided a valuable resource for anyone interested in the history of Christian worship and its relationship to religious architecture from the Reformation era to the present. As the author notes in his introduction, the book is intended for four different sorts of readers: church historians; clergy, church staff, and the architects with whom they work; historic preservationists and planners; and what he calls “the growing band of church tourists” (p. 1).

The first chapter begins with a brief survey of Christian religious architecture from its beginnings to the time of the Reformation. Subsequent chapters deal with the four major traditions for whom a built environment for worship was a significant consideration, namely, Lutheran, Calvinist/Reformed, Anglican, and post-Tridentine Roman Catholic. (Anabaptists, who usually worshiped in private homes, are not included, although other sectarian groups such as Quakers and Baptists are.) The final chapters cross denominational lines and focus respectively on the medieval revivals of the nineteenth century and the impact of the liturgical renewal movement of the twentieth. Each section provides considerable detail and case studies— together with valuable floor plans, black-and-white photographs, and outlines of liturgies— with those of different periods in the same tradition juxtaposed in parallel columns.

The writing is generally clear, although it presupposes some knowledge of liturgical and architectural terminology. (A glossary would have been useful.) Although the book skews toward a discussion of British developments, especially in England and Wales, the author acknowledges this perhaps inevitable slant and strives throughout for comprehension and fair-mindedness. Particularly valuable is the work’s interdisciplinary quality: the author continually reminds us that worship and its physical space do not develop independently of each other and stresses the interrelationship among liturgy, space, shape, and ornament.

In its utilization of the author’s own extensive and distinguished scholarship, *Liturgical Space* makes both an original contribution to the study of Christian worship and its architectural setting while providing a valuable handbook for those wishing to pursue the study of both.

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*Witchcraft and the Papacy: An Account Drawing on the Formerly Secret Records of the Roman Inquisition.* By Rainer Decker. Translated by H. C. Erik Midelfort. [Studies in Early Modern German History.] (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 262. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-813-92747-3.)

The opening of the archives of the Holy Office in 1998 has cast considerable light on the long-obscure workings of the Roman Inquisition and related institutions, as witnessed by Peter Godman's recent studies of St. Robert Bellarmine's career in the Holy Office and the Index. It has also shown, as Pope Leo XIII predicted at the opening of the Vatican Archives in 1881, that the Church has "nothing to fear from the publication of documents"—or, in this case, at least relatively little. Decker's study *Die Päpste und die Hexen* (Darmstadt, 2003), here augmented by two new chapters dealing with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and ably translated by Erik Midelfort, effectively uses what survives in the much-traveled, reduced, and battered Roman Inquisition records, chiefly with the help of the *Decreta*, annual summary reports of the transactions of the Holy Office. These matters of the Roman Inquisition constitute the substance of the papal views on witchcraft and of course are only valuable for the period between the mid-sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

For the earlier period, dealt with in the first seven chapters, Decker uses the infrequent ideas concerning sorcery and witchcraft found in papal correspondence and canon law, essentially summarizing current scholarly views on the development of witchcraft theory, from Pope Gregory VII criticizing the pagan practices of the king of Denmark to the debating theologians of the early-sixteenth century (logged pro and con in table I, p. 78). Not a medievalist, Decker makes a number of irritating slips—in 1309 the pope was not forced to move to Avignon (p. 23), and King Philip IV did not confiscate the Templars' wealth (p. 24)—and surprisingly omits some scholarship, notably that of Valerie Flint, Michael Bailey on Nider, Jan Veenstra, and Chris MacKay on the *Malleus*. Seven of the illustrations are from Samuel Chandler's 1731 translation of Philip van Limbroch's *Historia Inquisitionis* and therefore misleading before the early-modern period.

But from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, Decker has much to work with, and he does it very well. His maps show the tribunals of the Roman Inquisition (p. 88) and the intensity of the European witchcraft trials from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century (p. 211). The latter is particularly important, because Decker is emphatic about the differences between the Roman/Italian ideas and discourses about witchcraft and sorcery and those in northern Europe. His second table shows executions in Rome by decade, 1551-1800, in both the aggregate and the much lower numbers ordered by the Inquisition. Rome burned its last witch in 1572. The two largest Inquisition territories, Rome and Spain, were also the first major jurisdictions to stop prosecuting people for witchcraft.

Chapter 10, “The Papal *Instruction Concerning Witchcraft Trials*,” is illustrated by a handy diagram on page 120 of the procedure outlined in the *Instructio* of 1593–1603 (first printed in 1657) written by Giulio Monterenzi and later absorbed into the *De inconstantia in jure admittenda vel non* by Cardinal Francesco Albizzi in 1654 (printed in 1683). These treatises circulated throughout territories subject to the Roman Inquisition and helped to circulate the increasingly rigorous standards of evidence and proof of that institution. Chapter 12, on the persecutions of children in the Grisons in 1654 and 1655, tells of Albizzi’s distaste at the methods of the prosecutors and his and others’ successful efforts to save them. Chapter 13 tells of a terrible case of demonic possession in Paderborn in the 1650s in which communication with Rome elicited a stunning, if secondhand, quotation from Alexander XII (r. 1655–67) on the incompetence and ignorance of the Paderborn judiciary (pp. 168–69).

Decker does not, indeed, replace a black legend with a rosy one, but, like Gustav Henningsen in *The Salazar Documents* (Leiden, 2004), he offers a sobering account of the manner by which changing internal standards of jurisprudence in Rome led to the abolition of the crime of witchcraft within its jurisdiction, a change that took another century or so in the courts of northern Europe.

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EDWARD PETERS

*An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880–1914.* By J. P. Daughton. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. xiv, 330. \$24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-195-37401-8.)

This fascinating book’s central contention, in the words of its author, is that “the discord over the role of religion in the young [French] republican empire exposes unexplored themes that are crucial for understanding French political and cultural history between 1880 and 1914” (p. 261). J. P. Daughton, now teaching in the history department at Stanford University, has elected to explore this theme in the French colonial locales of Indochina, Polynesia, and Madagascar. These three settings, with Indochina as the far most important one in demographic as well as economic terms, are exemplary of the second phase of French colonialism, a phase that unfolded over the nineteenth century and lasted until the end of the Algerian war of liberation in the 1960s. About that period, Daughton assesses accurately that the politics of colonial expansionism under the first half of the Third Republic (1870–1940) deserved special attention as a determining moment in French history and the heyday of the French push as a modern and industrial colonial power.

Under the Third Republic, the French Catholic Church became an integral part of the colonial project. Many other agents of the state were active in the field, but the Catholic missionaries, as unattached men committed to staying



on location for their whole life, learning local languages and customs, and reporting to the religious as well as civilian authorities on anything that might have threatened the *Pax Gallica* on the colonial frontier, constituted an unmatched source of dependable intelligence on the ground. Their efficiency was, however, hampered by competition between religious orders both in metropolitan France and in each of these colonies, while the relationship between overzealous bishops and a fiercely secular colonial administration was anything but easy, as show in the case of Bishop Paul-François Puginier, the vicar apostolic in Hanoi. Devotion to the *Mère-Patrie* could indeed take many forms, some happening to be plainly contradictory.

Daughton's work is exhaustive and scholarly; his detailed understanding of the particulars of societies very distant from one another is praiseworthy. Inevitably, comparison on such a scale results in some vagueness here and there, but Daughton's overall analysis remains balanced, grounded, informed, and subtle.

This book constitutes an outstanding addition to the growing body of studies in history written in English devoted to making French colonial history, as well as the *geste* of the French Catholic Church, better known outside France.

*Université Laval*

JEAN MICHAUD

### Ancient

*Clemens von Alexandrien: Sein Leben, Werk und philosophisch-theologisches Denken.* By Rüdiger Feulner. [Bamberger Theologische Studien, Band 31.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007. Pp. 267. \$50.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-54892-9.)

This publication is a comprehensive reworking of the author's two previous studies, which he wrote as his dissertation. The first dissertation was philosophical in nature and focused on the life, work, spiritual environment, and philosophy of Clement of Alexandria, with special emphasis on the first book of the *Stromateis*. The second was more theological in character and dealt with Clement's "pedagogy" of salvation; its center of interest was the first book of the *Pedagogue*.

From the start the new publication envisions a synthetic and interdisciplinary approach to Clement's thought, and the author suggests that comparable multiplicity was not alien to Clement's own work. In his treatment of the Clementine material, the author intends to discuss fundamental problems in the history of philosophy and theology, particularly the history of doctrine (pp. 9-10).

A first chapter describes the historical point of departure, in which Judeo-Christian traditions faced the Greco-Roman world. In this environment

Clement tried to establish his own brand of Christian philosophy (p. 16), which can scarcely be separated from his theology; in fact, for Clement, theology was the ultimate philosophy (p. 19).

Subsequent chapters deal not only with the life and work of Clement but also with the question of what this Christian philosophy actually encompasses (pp. 62–65). The author elaborates on logic, knowledge, ontology, God, cosmology, and anthropology (pp. 82–130). The author concludes that Clement wanted to give philosophy a permanent place in the early Church and that he wanted to show that philosophy and theology were not conflicting but rather complementary forces in the search for God (p. 131). Clement called the way in which this process unfolds “gnosis,” while he made the “true gnosis” or true knowledge of God the foundation of faith (p. 131).

The second part of the book (pp. 135–210) deals with the history of doctrine in the Clementine writings, and it emphasizes the “pedagogy” of salvation, a concept that has both philosophical and apologetic implications (pp. 151–56). In this idea of salvational instruction, the author distinguishes traditional theological categories, such as God, the foundation on which instruction takes place; Christ, who is the instructor; and the human being, as the one to be instructed (p. 157). The education or instruction itself is equivalent to salvation through many of the subjects distinguished in the first part of the book—Greek philosophy, Jewish law, and knowledge of God. The new elements in this theological sequence are Christ as pedagogue and humans created in the image and likeness of God. The Church represents the pedagogical institution (p. 194), the sacraments the means of instruction (p. 199), and the world the boundary that delimits the instruction (p. 205).

The author concludes that the relationship between God and man forms the center of Clement’s theological thinking. Humans have to be redeemed, and the primary way in which this can happen is through the pedagogical process (p. 209). The intermediary between God and man is the divine *Logos*, the unique pedagogue, whom humans are required to follow and imitate. The secure place to do so is the Church, where humans receive their assistance through word and sacrament (p. 210). At the end of his book, the author quotes the concluding part of the *Pedagogue* (III 101, 1–2), a kind of divine glorification (p. 210).

The book has many learned observations and refers to a host of primary texts. The bibliography is elaborate and adequate, although not fully up to date; only a few publications of the twenty-first century appear on the list. The reader cannot escape the impression that in spite of a broad knowledge of philosophical and theological concepts, the author has positioned himself in the straitjacket of traditional dogmatic categories. This approach results in the portrayal of a second-century, (rather) early Christian writer as a kind of nineteenth-century German dogmatic theologian with additional scholastic streaks. The current scholarship on Clement has shown that the Alexandrian

lived in a rather diverse and flexible environment, in which ideas were floating from all sides and religious communities were competing with one another for adherents. It would have been useful to include more of the diversity of the late-antique and early Christian environment and less of the 1800 years that followed.

*Harvard Divinity School*

ANNEWIES VAN DEN HOEK

*Un solo battesimo, una sola chiesa: Il concilio di Cartagine del settembre 256.* By Paolo Bernardini. [Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, Nuova serie 43.] (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 2009. Pp. 524. €34,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-12072-4.)

The last of the episcopal synods over which St. Cyprian of Carthage presided in the middle of the third century in Roman North Africa was held in September 256. Unlike for his other synods, where evidence about them is preserved in letters sent from the synod or in brief references in other letters, the *sententiae*, or interventions, of the eighty-five bishops present (plus two proxy statements) are preserved from this synod. The topic was the one that had dominated Cyprian's synods for a couple of years and was creating serious rifts within the early Church, particularly with the church of Rome: what was the status of those who had been baptized in schism? Led by Cyprian, the North African bishops stated one after the other that those who had experienced some ritual of initiation in a schismatic community had not received valid initiation and that, if they wished to be Christian, they needed to be initiated (and these bishops rejected calling this a demand for "reinitiation" or "rebaptism" as they denied any validity to the first ritual) in an authentic church.

Following the appearance of a new critical edition of the *sententiae* in 2004 in the *Corpus Christianorum series Latina*, Paolo Bernardini has produced this detailed examination of the synod and its transcript of proceedings. His interest is not so much with the doctrinal issue of the conditions for the validity of the sacraments of initiation, but about what this text reveals about Cyprian's processes of consultation and decision-making with regard to his fellow bishops and other Christians.

The work begins with a detailed and very handy survey of scholarship on Cyprian and the African synods (pp. 30-61), which finishes with a consideration of my publications on Cyprian. The theological issues are canvassed in the subsequent chapter through an examination of the historical context of the complex series of events and theological positions expressed with regard to the phenomenon of people "initiated" into schismatic Christian communities (pp. 65-125). Next comes a chapter that places this synod, its participants, and procedures in the context of other synods in the early Church (pp. 127-222). This is a particularly helpful contribution to scholarship. The

longest chapter (pp. 223–373) is a painstaking commentary of each *sententia*, together with Latin text and Italian translation. Some of it is repetitive, but that comes from the nature of the *sententiae* themselves, and occasionally more descriptive than analytical, but the wealth of information provided and the reference to scholarship will make this the standard account of this synod for many years to come. The final chapter is an examination of events after the synod and its reception into later tradition (pp. 375–431). Again, this is a most welcome contribution. The indices and bibliography are superb.

This book is invaluable and essential reading for all interested in the life and times of Cyprian of Carthage. Yet its relevance, like that of Cyprian himself, does not end there. While the theological issue of the status of the minister as a condition for the validity of the administration of a sacrament is one that has been settled, the question of how the Church reaches decisions like that is one that admits of ongoing discussion and suggestion. This book will help people realize that there has been a variety of ways in which authority has been exercised in the Church over the centuries and that the episcopal collegiality of the kind exemplified by Cyprian and the *sententiae* of his fellow North African bishops has both advantages and pitfalls to offer to the contemporary Church.

*Australian Catholic University*

GEOFFREY D. DUNN

*Per la storia del foro privilegiato dei deboli nell'esperienza giuridica altomedioevale dal tardo antico a Carlo Magno.* By Cecilia Natalini. [Archivio per la storia del diritto medioevale e moderno, Studi e Testi, Vol. 14.] (Bologna: Monduzzi Editore. 2008. Pp. xii, 213. ISBN 978-8-832-36142-1.)

The belief that all decent people are morally obliged to protect disadvantaged persons—widows, orphans, strangers, the poor, and the helpless—from oppression by the rich and powerful runs deep into the history of the Judeo-Christian tradition as Exodus 22:21–25, for example, plainly shows. In this book, based on her doctoral thesis at the University of Trent, Cecilia Natalini examines the ways in which ecclesiastical and civil authorities from Constantine I to Charlesmagne attempted, with variable success, to enforce this obligation.

The process, as Natalini tells it, began with the imperial constitution *Si contra pupillos* promulgated by Constantine in 334. In this constitution the emperor commanded imperial judges to protect widows, young persons, those disabled by long illness, and “others made wretched by the wrongs of fortune” from oppression by opponents who sought to take advantage of their disabilities. Should judges fail to do so, the emperor ordered provincial authorities to compel culprits to appear in person before him to answer for their misdeeds. This constitution was subsequently incorporated into official collections of Roman law, including the *Theodosian Code* and the *Code of*

*Justinian*, and provided a basis for later attempts to protect the disadvantaged (commonly described as *miserabiles personae*).

A disadvantaged person could also seek protection from another source. The year before *Si contra pupillos* Constantine had issued the first of what came to be called the *Sirmondian Constitutions*. In it, he authorized Christian bishops to adjudicate complaints from “wretched persons” against those who attempted to exploit them. The emperor provided that episcopal decisions in such cases should have the force of law and required civil authorities to enforce them. Disadvantaged persons in the late Roman Empire thus enjoyed two sources of protection (at least in principle): the imperial judicial system and the bishops’ courts.

The neat visions that legal texts prescribe are lamentably liable to fall short of their authors’ intentions. Certainly attempts to take advantage of the less well off persisted despite imperial constitutions. Natalini details the efforts of patristic writers, notably Ss. Ambrose and Augustine, to persuade their contemporaries to protect the vulnerable from the vicious. Doing so effectively became increasingly complicated and problematical with the gradual breakdown of Roman government in the face of the so-called barbarian invasions during the fifth and sixth centuries. Popes (especially Gregory the Great) and bishops attempted, occasionally with some success, to protect their flocks. The Council of Mâcon (585) insisted that bishops must be present at any court hearings that involved a disadvantaged person. Its canon on this matter and similar ones from other church councils were incorporated as authoritative rulings on the matter in numerous canon law collections (particularly the *Dionysiana* and *Hispana*) that circulated widely throughout the Latin church, which strengthened the hand of bishops who attempted to alleviate the lot of the poor and disadvantaged.

Carolingian rulers, particularly Pippin III and Charlesmagne, brought effective civil courts once again into what are now France, Italy and parts of the German lands during the latter part of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. They specifically instructed royal agents (*missi dominici*) and judges, many of whom were also bishops, to use their authority to intervene to prevent exploitation of their vulnerable subjects.

Natalini’s treatment of the tangled chain of events covered in this book is admirably lucid. Historians of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages will find her contribution to the social and legal history of the period well informed and even-handed.

*Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries.* By Everett Ferguson. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2009. Pp. xxii, 953. \$60.00. ISBN 978-0-802-82748-7.)

This very large book with 860 pages of text and more than ninety pages of indices, by Everett Ferguson, who has been writing on the subject since the 1950s, gives a remarkably comprehensive account of early references to Christian baptism. There is much agreement in the sources, so that there is abundant overlapping of subject matter, with only slight differences of nuance and emphasis. The book begins with a survey of secondary literature, and then part 1 assesses antecedents and parallels of various kinds, from Greco-Roman paganism and the Jewish world, ending with the baptism practiced by John the Baptist. Part 2 continues with John's baptism of Jesus and goes on to other references to baptism in the Gospels, Epistles, and Acts. Part 3 deals with the second century, not only the Apostolic and Apologetic Fathers but also the witness of sectarian writings (Marcionites, Valentinians, and others as well as pseudepigraphous and apocryphal works) and ends with Ss. Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. Part 4 continues with the third century and extends to the Council of Nicaea in 325, covering Hippolytan writings, Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, and others and including thematic chapters on the subjects of infant baptism and the question of rebaptizing schismatics and heretics. Part 5, dealing with the fourth century, is the longest section (pp. 455–683) of the book; it starts with Egypt and goes east through Jerusalem (Cyril) and into Syria (notably the Antioch of Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. John Chrysostom) and on to the Cappadocian Fathers, with another thematic chapter on infant baptism and the questions of delaying baptism and sickbed baptism, before turning west to Ambrose, Jerome, and other Latin writers. Part 6 starts in Egypt again, this time with St. Cyril of Alexandria; goes through Syria; and touches lightly on Constantinople before turning to Ravenna, Rome, and elsewhere (Nicetas of Remesiana is a notable omission) before tackling St. Augustine, ending with his teaching of baptism as a means of countering the guilt of original sin (a new idea at the time). Part 7 deals with baptisteries, attending mainly to Ferguson's interest in questions of immersion and nonimmersion. The book ends with an eight-page chapter of conclusions.

Surprisingly, the author does not mention the murals of Adam and Eve (and the Good Shepherd) in the earliest surviving baptistery at Dura Europos (pp. 820, 824; fig. 13). Adam is mentioned throughout the book, but does not appear in the subject index. This index is a skimpy seven and a half pages (pp. 946–53), and it very much belies the rich contents of the book; entries that do appear—such as “circumcision,” “infant baptism,” “naked,” and “original sin”—are incomplete, and there is nothing on such subjects as breathing ceremonies, the Exodus, and Noah and the Flood. Dozens of pages are given over to citations of individual passages of authors' works, but there is no index of primary authors and their ideas. It is lacking a bibliography and a list or index

of the illustrations. There is frequent cross-referencing to various of the fifty-five chapters, but it is cumbersome to find them.

Although exorcisms of demons are frequently treated in the book (much more than is indicated in the index's list of seven places), they are not mentioned in the concluding summary, where it is stated that a frequent baptismal theme is "deliverance from Satan's bondage," said to be based in the New Testament in Col. 1:13 (deliverance from darkness)—a passage not otherwise treated in the book. It is rare, however, for baptism itself to effect any such deliverance (as is clear from Ferguson's account); normally, candidates voluntarily separate themselves from Satan after demons have been chased away, literally or figuratively, through exorcism.

Any objections to Ferguson's presentation and conclusions, however, are insignificant in light of his magisterial accomplishment in this splendid book, which is sure to serve as a standard reference work for a long time to come.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

HENRY ANSGAR KELLY

*Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion in Christianity and Islam.* By Thomas Sizgorich. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 398. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24113-6.)

This book undertakes to answer a simple yet profoundly complex question: "Why did militant forms of piety and the figures associated with militant and aggressive modes of religiosity become such crucial resources for communal self-fashioning among early Christian and early Muslim communities?" (p. 4). Not satisfied with the conventional wisdom that asserts unequivocal increases in violence over time, Sizgorich mobilizes an interdisciplinary theoretical framework through which to read the late-ancient archive. His theoretical conversation partners are cultural anthropologist Fredrik Barth, on the processes by which ethnic and communal identities and boundaries are generated and shored up through social, political, and cultural performances and discursive strategies; sociologist Margaret Somers, who emphasizes the role of narrative and especially emplotment in generating stories that groups tell about themselves in relation to their pasts; and historian and sociologist Ronald Grigor Suny, who generates a broader theory about the role of primordialism in communities' interpretations of their present in light of an almost mythic past. This theoretical frame helps Sizgorich make sense of the privilege accorded stories of persecution, martyrdom, and triumph over enemies in both early Christian and early Muslim communities. It is not that persecution was a routine reality in the empirical experience of early Christians and Muslims; rather, stories about persecution and triumph become the lens through which the past and the present are refracted and the model for the ideal type within each tradition: those who suffer persecution shore up and



maintain clear boundaries for the community and function as exemplars for the identity constituted by the boundary.

The book is divided into eight densely populated chapters, four devoted to Christian material and four to Muslim material. Sizgorich's method involves close reading of exemplary texts, opening a window onto a broader historical and rhetorical terrain. There is nuance and detail in every chapter. Striking similarities emerge: ascetics emerge as the vanguards of violence in both Christian and Muslim contexts, for reasons both practical and ideological. Ascetics, living outside the confines of more conventional social life and on its margins, take on positions of unalloyed certainty and become the guardians of and border guards for the boundaries of the community. Meanwhile, the ascetic's status is itself shot through with violence so that it should come as no surprise that violence emerges as the ascetic's preferred mode of expression (p. 130). Since the ascetic acts out of a concordance with the will of God, even the most apparently egregious acts come to be rationalized under the sign of divine authority.

Sizgorich emphasizes an important element of the historical story, one often overshadowed by graphic tales of religiously inflected violence: that is, that there is plenty of evidence that many—perhaps even the majority—of Christians and Muslims were quite content to live peacefully side-by-side with neighbors who worshiped under different divine auspices. Moreover, as Sizgorich shows repeatedly, ordinary people often tried to intervene to interrupt the religious violence of their coreligionists, usually unsuccessfully but not less noteworthy for their failure. As for the history of Islam in this period, Sizgorich offers an illuminating portrait of competing approaches, the rigorist Kharijites on the one hand, and the school of Ibn Hanbal, which sought to defend the boundaries of the *umma* in nonviolent ways. For this, Sizgorich calls them

that rarest breed of late ancient and medieval fundamentalists, those who approached questions of identity and communal belonging through generally peaceable and humane methods, forsaking whatever temptations to violence resided in the narratives in accordance with which they crafted individual and communal selves. (p. 20)

At times, more theoretical fluency would have been welcome. Sizgorich is on firmer ground with historian and social scientist interlocutors than with theory grounded in the academic study of religion. Especially when considering matters of religious identity-formation and religious violence, one would have liked to see more recent and relevant theory brought into the analysis. Moreover, many items in the footnotes were not included in the book's bibliography.

Quibbles aside, this book is a work of erudition and eloquent argument, combined with an abiding ethical impulse underwriting its historical project.

Sizgorich has done a great service by historicizing some elements of religious violence for us and uncovering its underlying logics with sophistication and care. With these tools for understanding how things come to be, perhaps it will be more possible to find a collective path around the seemingly inevitable impasse of violence.

*Barnard College at Columbia University*

ELIZABETH A. CASTELLI

*The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity.* By Patricia Cox Miller. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Pp. viii, 263. \$49.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24142-6.)

This latest of Patricia Cox Miller's books draws together two themes that have been her concerns for a long time: the holy and the bodily, or perhaps more precisely, saints and bodies. The links between the two have been noticed ever since scholars paid attention to the notion of the holy in late antiquity. In the first martyrdom account preserved, that of Polycarp, the faithful used to vie with one another to touch his body during his lifetime; after his death, his relics were important. Such respect, or rather, veneration, for the dead bodies of saints marked out Christians from pagans, who were horrified by bringing corpses into cities, the dwelling place of the living. The cult of icons, which developed out of the cult of relics, also concerns bodily elements. What Miller does in this book is to explore the various notions of bodily elements in late antiquity and also apply the methods and results of modern cultural theory, in particular "thing theory," taken from the work of Bill Brown. There seem to be two aspects to Miller's approach. On the one hand, she distinguishes various approaches to bodily elements connected with thing theory—i.e., the notion that in certain ways bodily objects become things, as opposed to mere objects—a focus of attention and significance, which is expressed in late-antique writing through ecphrasis and what Miller calls "visceral seeing" (p. 104). She also introduces notions such as the corporeal imagination of the book's title and the notion of the "material turn" (p. 3). This latter notion sounds familiar, as it is present in Miller's "linguistic turn" (in *The Poetry of Thought in Late Antiquity: Essays in Imagination and Religion* [Burlington, VT, 2001], p. 6) and "cultural turn" (in *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography*, ed. Dale B. Martin and Miller, Durham, NC, 2005). On the other hand, Miller takes us through various ways in which the body becomes significant in late antiquity: the way in which the body becomes integral to the notion of selfhood; the significance of relics; and the way bodies are depicted, which leads naturally to the icon. Throughout, Miller provides examples, drawn from her extensive knowledge of the primary and secondary literature. She moves through the material at quite a pace and too frequently moves from one investigation to another before reaching any, if provisional, conclusion. In the end, it cannot be said that Miller's discussion is comprehensive. There is no question that her subject is of immense importance. In the ascetic literature, to which she

pays less attention, it is increasingly evident how the very importance of ascetic practice, for all that it seems to be directed against the body, ultimately confers on the body central significance. The development of Eucharistic theology points in the same direction: It is our bodies that enable us to participate in the divine through the Eucharistic elements—something, as St. John Damascene points out, denied to the angels, so that in some sense we are superior to the angels through our bodies. Miller helps us to see the importance of the tangible in Christian religious experience in late antiquity, but the treatment is too episodic to be entirely satisfying.

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ANDREW LOUTH

### Medieval

*Crown and Veil: Female Monasticism from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Centuries.* Edited by Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Susan Marti; translated by Dietlinde Hamburger. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. Pp. xxiv, 318. \$40.00. ISBN 978-0-231-13980-9.)

In 2005, a groundbreaking and encyclopedic exhibition of the visual culture of medieval nuns spanning a millennium, “Krone und Schleier. Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern,” was held in Germany. The exhibition, which displayed some 600 objects, occupied two museums: the Ruhrland-museum in Essen presented “Die frühen Klöster und Stifte 500–1200” and the Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Bonn the subsequent Gothic era, “Die Zeit der Orden 1200–1500.” The early-medieval section seen in Essen exhibited works from Germany, northern Italy, France, and Anglo-Saxon England, while the high-medieval section presented in Bonn focused on the extraordinary richness of the surviving German material.

The 580-page exhibition catalog (Munich, 2005) contains introductory essays and others that preface its various thematic sections. *Crown and Veil* translates these essays into English, which will be useful in undergraduate teaching. They are accompanied by a lengthy and very useful bibliography. The 72 illustrations are adequate, but the workmanlike images are in grainy black and white.

The volume begins with an introduction by Jeffrey Hamburger on questions of method and historiography followed by two essays synthesizing the thematic subdivisions of the exhibition catalog: Jan Gerchow, Katrinette Bodarwé, Susan Marti, and Hedwig Röckelein, “Early Monasteries and Foundations (500–1200),” and Jeffrey Hamburger, Petra Marx, and Susan Marti, “The Time of the Orders, 1200–1500.” The former addresses such issues as the origins of female monasticism in its two forms (Benedictine nuns and secular canonesses), the roles of abbesses and other officers, education, Latinity, writing, textile production, patrons, and property. The latter takes a tour of the

monastery, examining the artworks to be found in the outer church, the sacristy, the cloister, individual cells, the workhouse, and the nuns' choir.

Subsequent essays address varied aspects of women's monastic life: art (Jeffrey Hamburger and Robert Suckale, "Between This World and the Next: The Art of Religious Women in the Middle Ages"), architecture (Carola Jäggi and Uwe Lobbedey, "Church and Cloister: The Architecture of Female Monasticism in the Middle Ages"), gender history (Jan Gerchow and Susan Marti, "'Nuns' Work,' 'Caretaker Institutions,' and 'Women's Movements': Some Thoughts about a Modern Historiography of Medieval Monasticism"), women's visionary literature (Barbara Newman, "The Visionary Texts and Visual Worlds of Religious Women"), female piety (Caroline Walker Bynum, "Patterns of Female Piety in the Later Middle Ages"), liturgy (Gisela Muschiol, "Time and Space. Liturgy and Rite in Female Monasteries of the Middle Ages"), patrons (Hedwig Röckelein, "Founders, Donors, and Saints. Patrons of Nuns' Convents"), pastoral care (Klaus Schreiner, "Pastoral Care in Female Monasteries, Sacramental Services, Spiritual Edification, Ethical Discipline"), economic organization (Werner Rösener, "Household and Prayer. Medieval Convents as Economic Entities"), and social relations with the outside world (Gabriela Signori, "Wanderers between Worlds. Visitors, Letters, Wills and Gifts as Means of Communication").

The complex task of translation, illustration selection, and cross-reference to the 2005 catalog was formidable, and glitches lead to some frustrations for the reader. While some cross-references are to be found in footnotes, others are missing: the Isenhagen hanging is no. 439 (p. 65); the Ebstorf hanging is no. 444; the Malterer hanging is no. 445 (pp. 65–67). The text sometimes discusses works of art not illustrated in this book or the exhibition catalog, such as the Klarenbuch (p. 62) and the statue discussed on page 53. Figure 2.3 on page 53 should be figure 2.2. Erhard at Mass in the Uta Codex, the cover of Theophanu's Gospels (p. 84), and Peter's mother-in-law in the Hitda Codex (p. 85) are not to be seen in either book. Christ pierced by a lance in the Rothschild Canticles (p. 100) is not illustrated in figure 3.13. On page 69, figure 5.2 does not have a connection to the Song of Songs, and the actual work alluded to is unclear. It is also not true (as stated on p. 91) that the Christmas initial "does not distinguish" Gisle from the other nuns depicted: her name is above her head in figure 5.2. Also, the inscription identifying her is at the beginning (not the end) of her manuscript. There are also some significant typos: "gate of the dead," not "gate of the date" (p. 53); "nos. 437, 495" should read "no. 437, p. 495" (p. 75).

As the first broad survey of medieval convent art, *Crown and Veil* opens this vibrant field of scholarship to English-speaking students, but it is best read alongside the Krone und Schleier catalog.

*The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 3: *Early Medieval Christianities c. 600-c. 1100*. Edited by Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xxii, 846. \$195.00. ISBN 978-0-521-81775-2.)

There are few tasks so daunting for scholars at present as that of presenting a history for Christianity. Indeed, the volume title for this third installment of the *Cambridge History of Christianity* signals from the start that a changed paradigm is now firmly in place, no matter the era: there are histories and Christianities with which to reckon. Happily, scholars will welcome the results. If the enormity of the task defies cohesion, yet the boldness of this volume and the energy of its wide-ranging contributions can only command admiration.

The five maps with which the book opens alert the reader to the scope at hand: the Mediterranean world, western Europe and Scandinavia; the Christian East, stretching south to Ethiopia, north to the Black and Caspian Seas, and eastward deep into Central Asia; the Slavic World, and the British Isles are areas of special attention. Here is a history set in a global world, laced together by travelers and trade routes, pilgrims, missionaries, ambitious kings, caliphs and prelates; at once dazzlingly far-flung in scope and intimately local in close-ups of rich detail.

Two programmatic essays frame the volume, by Philip Rousseau at the beginning and John Van Engen at the end. These lay out in magisterial fashion the historical landscapes at the start and finish of the centuries that compose the book's focus. Side by side, they mark the vast changes that turned Christianity, flourishing widely in the late-antique Mediterranean world, into a wholly different constellation of peoples and places at the cusp of the high Middle Ages. Chapters in between are organized into sections of broad themes, starting with a series that provide basic chronological narratives charting the developments in different geographical areas, east, west, north, and south.

These early chapters, essentially narrative in form, make no effort to provide an over-arching, unified "master narrative." Reasons are at once clear in the following section. "Christianity in Confrontation" looks at issues of inter-religious contact, conflict, and co-existence with Jews, Muslims, traditional indigenous religions ("paganism"), and with Christians increasingly differentiated by political as well as geographical locations. "Christianity in the Social and Political Order" takes up developments in church structures, ascetic institutions, law, property, efforts at "reform," and the presence or lack of visible Christian imprint on early-medieval landscapes. "Christianity as Lived Experience" looks at life cycles, the mundane continuity of sin and its "remedies," sickness and healing, gender, and ritual practices. "Christianity: Books and Ideas" explores some of the most characteristic areas of Christian thought

to mark the period: visions, orthodoxy and deviance, biblical interpretation, notions of the Christian book, the cult of saints, and teachings on Last Things.

The paradigmatic shifts in scholarship that have marked recent decades are evident in more than the geographical scope of this volume. Attention to changing critical theories and methods is everywhere evident. Anthropology; material and documentary evidence; gender studies; ritual and performance studies; and various cultural, social, and literary methodologies are all at work. Attunement to differences in forms, developments, and practices across different political and cultural entities is a constant emphasis. One is left quite deliberately with a mosaic of myriad colorful tesserae. There are surely broad patterns and sweeping designs, but just as surely, no sharply formed, definitive shapes.

The editors have managed an admirable consistency of excellence across these thirty essays, with their own chapters among the most ambitious. The bibliographies for each contribution are schematic rather than extensive, but no one will walk away from this volume without something new in hand.

*Brown University*

SUSAN ASHBROOK HARVEY

*Bishops, Saints, and Historians: Studies in the Ecclesiastical History of Medieval Britain and Italy.* By Robert Brentano. Edited with an introduction by William L. North. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 898.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xxx, 416. ISBN 978-0-754-65942-6.)

When the influential ecclesiastical historian Robert Brentano passed away in 2002, he was in his fifty-first year of teaching at the University of California, Berkeley. He left a rich history of productive scholarship: four award-winning books and an impressive array of essays, articles, and book reviews. To make his most significant articles available to a broad audience of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic, William L. North has selected and edited twenty-seven essays that span fifty-six years. In his introduction North outlines several additional aims for this collection: to highlight articles that would “complement, rather than duplicate” (p. xviii) the principal themes in his monographs, and to help readers on both sides of the Atlantic better understand Brentano’s contributions to historiography and ecclesiastical history. The selection achieves all these aims admirably. Organizationally, the essays are arranged thematically rather than chronologically. There are three general subject headings: “Bishops,” “Saints,” and “History and Historians.” The absence of a chronological organization may make it difficult for readers to follow the development of Brentano’s ideas and methods over time, but North’s bibliography of Brentano’s works should help remedy that minor deficiency.

There are several themes that recur in the essays chosen for this selection. First, there is Brentano’s absorbing passion for archival documents and

sources, a devotion that deeply informed his research, writing, and teaching. As he writes in his most revealing essay, "Bishops and Saints," "There is something terribly boring, it seems to me, about a printed edition of almost anything, and something very interesting about any unedited document, at least from the years between 1000 and 1400" (XXVII, p. 29). Second, Brentano possessed an ardor for the kind of historical writing that renders the past vivid and immediately accessible to the reader. In the cleverly titled essay "The Sound of Stubbs," Brentano wrote that the historian was "a superb rhetorician" (XXII, p. 7). In "Frederick William Maitland (1850-1906)," he observed that Maitland wanted to "lead his reader-listener to a new reality," making him "see what he sees" (XXIII, pp. 132, 142). He might as well have been writing about himself. Brentano championed these men precisely because he shared their view that the historian should use language to make the past lively and engaging. Inspired by his own experiences growing up in the Midwest ("Identities and National Formation: Does Religion Integrate or Disperse Communities?"), he chose religion as his principal field of study because he believed it provided a common language and set of values that made community and social cohesion possible. Such dynamics, he believed, are best observed by the historian in small communities.

The essays collected here demonstrate Brentano's commitment to the practices of local history and comparative analysis. Whether he was writing about Rome, Amalfi, Sulmona, or Rieti, Brentano wrote energetically about the concrete experiences of the people he encountered in the documents, whether they were famous (like Margery Kempe and St. Catherine of Siena) or not. In "Italian Ecclesiastical History: The Sambin Revolution" (XXVI), he celebrated the emergence of a vigorous tradition of local church history in northern Italy that he thought could rival that of England. Brentano's preference for the specific over the general also comes through clearly in these essays, and it is a method that can sometimes frustrate a reader looking for grand theories and all-embracing conclusions. This approach was intentional on his part, and it was rooted in his conviction that images and suggestions taken from the primary sources can tell us more about the past than theory and generalization.

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GEORGE DAMERON

*Hérésie et inquisition dans le midi de la France.* By Jean-Louis Biget. [Les Médiévistes français, 8.] (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard. 2007. Pp. 247. €34,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-708-40803-6.)

The series in which this book appears, *Les Médiévistes français*, features key but revised articles by French historians who have proven themselves leaders in their fields, which Jean-Louis Biget certainly has. The volumes are all the more coherent for their analytical introductory chapters, thematic bibliographies, and full indices.



Biget's focus is specifically on medieval dualist heresy—the belief in two gods. The volume contains related articles originally published between 1985 and 2003. Its central theme is a call for the historicizing of approaches to heresy. That is to say, he reads his sources in a sociological and period-specific sense. As such, even his earlier articles, which advanced his central theses, relate directly to current historiographical discussions and thus are still relevant.

Biget locates the origins of medieval dualism within the society in which it expressed itself, as an indigenous phenomenon. In chapter 1 he concludes that it originated in a generalized anticlericalism in the Midi, itself the result of dashed expectations arising from the reforms of the period c.1050 to 1120. Specifically, it spoke to the knightly elites dominating *castra* (fortified villages) and new mercantile elites in towns, offering involvement in a faith whose leaders neither demanded tithes nor condemned usury. As such, it was not connected to dualist movements in the Byzantine world. Indeed, he takes an either/or approach to this thorny issue in chapter 2. In both chapters 2 and 3 he takes an anthropological position on the nature of heresy in a more abstracted sense, establishing its essential relationship to orthodoxy as two elements inseparable from each other. Indeed, to him heresy was an “instrument de l'unité de l'Église” (p. 113).

Biget also challenges both medieval and modern approaches to the naming of dualist heresy, showing in chapter 4 that the designation *Albigensian* had political origins. Throughout his career he also rejected the term *Cathar*, used by medieval clergy from the 1140s and preferred by historians. Instead, he insists on the term *bon homines* (good men), which is how deponents appearing in front of inquisitors referred to dualist heretics.

In chapter 5 Biget maintains that the medieval Inquisition was not the only cause of the disappearance of dualism in the Midi. In this sense he disagrees with Inquisition scholars such as Henry Charles Lea. He demonstrates that the mendicant orders also undermined the foundations of dissidence through their pastoral work, in particular in towns, as discussed in chapter 6. He is in general agreement with most historians concerning the integrated nature of the Inquisition within medieval states.

There are a handful of issues that might have been resolved in a more satisfying way, given the opportunity this series offers the author for revision. Biget's insistence that the Inquisition marks the only example of a faith being extinguished by force short of genocide (p. 228) is Eurocentric and could perhaps have been lost rather than covered in the introduction (p. 29) and chapter 6. His acceptance of the concept of a single dualist Church (“Église,” for example, on p. 21) could use more reference to new approaches. However, the inclusion of authors such as Régine le Jan, Dominique Iogna-Prat, and Guy Lobrichon make *Hérésie et inquisition dans le midi de la France* a signifi-

cant work. This volume is essential reading, even for scholars already familiar with Biget's work.

*University of Nottingham*

CLAIRE TAYLOR

*Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216): To Root Up and to Plant.* By John C. Moore. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 316. \$35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03514-3.)

The intention of John C. Moore's biography of Pope Innocent III, originally published by Brill in 2003, is to provide a chronological account of the life of one of the most influential and able of the medieval pontiffs. By abandoning the more usual thematic approach to Innocent's pontificate, Moore wants us to better appreciate "how the events in one area of his experience may have influenced his reactions to events in others" (p. xiii). Moore also aims to place in their proper context bold or striking statements made by the pope, which historians have often misunderstood or caricatured by taking them outside of their original context. After a fine chapter on the early life of Lotario dei Conti di Segni, Moore guides us through Innocent's pontificate, from his election in January 1198, when the silver cup was found in the sack of Benjamin (Innocent was just thirty-seven years old), to the pope's death at Perugia in July 1216, where Jacques de Vitry saw in the cathedral the pope's body, putrid and almost naked, robbed of its vestments. Many of the major political and ecclesiastical events of this decisive period in papal and European history are covered, and the passages on Philip Augustus, the Fourth Crusade, and the Fourth Lateran Council are especially well done. Moore's major sources are the papal registers, most of which have survived; Innocent's theological treatises; and his sermons, a subject on which the author possesses notable expertise. Although Moore's heavy reliance on the registers is slightly problematic, given that it is difficult to identify Innocent's voice in most letters (and given that most extant letters were not enregistered), Moore is probably correct, nevertheless, in considering them as an adequate if inexact reflection of the mind of the pontiff. His translations are carefully chosen and very accurate. One major strength of this book is Moore's appreciation of the theological base to so much of Innocent's thought, and the related emphasis on the pope's profound biblical and liturgical knowledge. Another is the recognition that the great increase in the amount of papal government in this period came primarily as a response to bishops, monasteries, and laymen who sought the judgment of the Apostolic See, whether out of respect or as a strategy, and only secondarily because the papacy sought to increase its own power. The major weakness of Moore's book lies in its major strength. The chronological approach brings with it structural problems that are not entirely overcome. Realistically, Moore would have needed more space to bring out the full range and complexity of the problems faced by Innocent at any one time. Nobody could but admire Moore's balanced interpretation of Innocent's actions both before and in the aftermath of the sack of Constantinople. Yet Innocent had

plenty to occupy him in 1203–04, which is not fully covered here, most obviously in the business of the empire, where it is perhaps more difficult to view the pope sympathetically. When, as in 1203–04, Moore reverts to a thematic approach, it reminds us that such an approach has advantages in showing us the development of papal thought on a particular problem over a longer period and in allowing us to see more clearly the consistencies and inconsistencies in papal decision-making. In spite of its structural problems, Moore's is the best biography of Innocent III, and this paperback edition should now make it available to the very students of history for whom it was intended.

*Saint Louis University*

DAMIAN J. SMITH

*Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences/La IV<sup>e</sup> Croisade et ses conséquences.* Edited by Angeliki Laiou. [Realités Byzantines, Vol. 10.] (Paris: Éditions Lethielleux. 2005. Pp 373. €39,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-283-60464-9.)

The twenty-five essays in this volume provide a good introduction to the state of Byzantine studies not only on the Fourth Crusade but even on the broader issue of relations between Byzantine and Western scholarship. Scholarly views of the Fourth Crusade and its impact have undergone significant revisions among historians of the crusades. The famous dicta at the conclusion of Runciman's third volume now finds few echoes. That is not to say that there is unanimity between Europeanists and Byzantinists on this complex question. The cultural divide remains even though it is not quite so deep. This collection goes a long way in showing that the changed focus of Byzantine specialists sheds light on the Fourth Crusade. Certain questions have now emerged that alter the picture.

Angeliki Laiou's essay asks the question, "Why was the Fourth Crusade late in coming?" The question is not a mere rhetorical gambit. She argues that a Western design on the Byzantine Empire predated the crusades and was very evident in the course of the twelfth century. In her view the papacy played a role, even if not consistently, in the support of such efforts. Of course, her argument rests heavily on well-known evidence of Norman-Byzantine relations as well as those of Bohemond. But should we not also consider the Norman and the papal interests in terms of the historic ties of the Italian South to the East? Paul Magdalino's study of prophecies on the fall of Constantinople draws further attention to this context. Michael Angold takes us into the world of Byzantine politics to examine the "corrosion" that was destroying Byzantium from within.

The following sections examine various aspects of the crusade. Jonathan Riley-Smith looks at the development of taxation and its limitations to show why the plans for the crusade went beyond the realities. Benjamin Kedar provides a thorough discussion of a neglected aspect of the Fourth Crusade: its

activities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Alfred Andrea discusses the changes in Pope Innocent III's views on relations with the Greek rite. He shows that Innocent was prepared to adapt as he developed a better understanding. Taxiarchis G. Koliass sheds interesting light on the Byzantine military approach to the defense of Constantinople. The essays by Ruth Macrides and Chryssa Maltezoú discuss Greek sources for the crusade. Makrides stresses George Akropolites's argument that the retreat of Alexius III was strategically aimed at preserving the empire. Maltezoú has interesting comments on the slowness of modern Greek schools to reflect new scholarship on the topic. Michel Balard provides an extensive discussion of Western scholarship with bibliography. Fanny Caroff places the art devoted to the Fourth Crusade in a broader context of French and Flemish crusader art. She provides valuable illustrations.

The following section opens with two papers on the economic results of the Fourth Crusade. David Jacoby here continues his research on the situation in Constantinople and its role as a commercial center. In her essay on "L'ouverture des marchés après 1204: Un aspect positif de la IV<sup>e</sup> croisade," Cécile Morisson provides a detailed study of wages and prices as well as the continuities in the Byzantine economy. In both cases the evidence supports the view that recovery followed on the crusade, with both Byzantines and Westerners participating.

The four articles that follow in this section deal with the geographical impact. Charalambos Gasparis discusses Venetian rule in Crete in the thirteenth century. In an interesting article, Marina Koumanoudi provides a dynamic picture of change in the Aegean. Ljubomir Maksimovic looks at Serbia as an outlier that is chiefly affected by the fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire. Sergej Karpov discusses the changes that occur in the Black Sea region as a result of the crusade and the Mongol invasion. Dimiter Angelov deals with the impact of the crusade on imperial political ideology, especially in Nicaea. Alkmini Stavridou-Zafraka provides a picture of the situation in the western state of Epiros, which hovered between its attachment to Byzantine political ideas and the strong influences coming from its Latin neighbors. In an article that takes up the research of Paul Riant, Malcolm Barber explores the distribution of relics in the West. Bernard Hamilton explores the existence of dualist heretics in Constantinople and the role of Western influences. Finally Metropolitan John Zizoulas deals with the tangled relations between the Latin and Orthodox churches. His essay should be especially interesting to readers of *The Catholic Historical Review*. It marks the pathway of the numerous efforts toward unity and concludes with a rather positive view of the current situation, based in part on a common theological methodology. It is apparent that cultural differences have long been more important than specific theological issues. The gradual development of a common higher education has helped to round many of the sharp corners.

*Thirteenth-Century Wall Painting of Salisbury Cathedral: Art, Liturgy, and Reform.* By Matthew M. Reeve. Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 175. \$90.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83331-4.)

Matthew Reeve's book rightly notes that the important thirteenth-century paintings of Salisbury Cathedral have been scarcely discussed previously, and therefore their fitting place in the understanding of the cathedral has been disregarded. Concentrating on the paintings of the vaults of the east end, Reeve explains their iconography, place in the architectural framework, and role in the rituals of the Church. Although the vault paintings now visible are nineteenth-century re-creations, the author is able to reconstruct most of the originals, the execution of which he dates persuasively to c. 1236–44, but perhaps planned as early as c. 1220. By using late-eighteenth-century drawings and descriptions, he identifies the subjects of the images and their possible meanings for the canons. Earlier studies on the paintings by Frank Horlbeck included some of the same information, but Reeve, whose bibliography reveals energetic research through museum, archival, and secondary sources, has incorporated more material and interpreted it further.<sup>1</sup> He also corrected some of Horlbeck's interpretations by locating other texts, such as a later recension of the *Ordo Prophetarum* in Rouen, the *Festum Asinorum*, that match the images more specifically.

Since Reeve has published almost all of the material on the paintings in a series of articles (2005–07), readers might ask what does the book, which reprises a fair amount verbatim, contribute to the topic beyond providing easier access with welcome color plates. The author emphasizes that the paintings should be more widely considered within their architectural and historical contexts. To this end, he has added chapters 1 and 2, giving a rather polemical summary of previous scholarship on the cathedral. Chapters 3 through 5 analyze the iconography, style, and use of primarily the vault paintings. A concluding chapter summarizes the material but overstates various points. Two appendices include transcriptions of the legends accompanying the paintings and their description as recorded in the eighteenth century.

The subjects of the vault paintings are read from west to east and were selected as appropriate for the specific architectural situation. In the choir, Old Testament prophets and other ancient prophesying figures such as a sibyl sit enthroned over the heads of the seated canons, who gaze eastward toward the New Testament imagery of Christ in Majesty, the four Evangelists, and the apostles in the eastern crossing. Laterally, in the eastern transept there are

<sup>1</sup>F. R. Horlbeck, "The Vault Paintings in Salisbury Cathedral," *Archaeological Journal*, 117 (1960), 116–30; his doctoral dissertation, "Decorative Painting in English Medieval Architecture" (University of London, 1957), does not deal with figural painting. Some of Horlbeck's points were not taken up in Reeve's book. Sarah Brown also presented the paintings briefly in her book, *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd: The Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral* (London, 1999), 160–68.

twenty-four angels holding liturgical objects in medallions. Beyond, the Labors of the Months, again depicted in roundels, adorn the presbytery (not the ambulatory, as stated on page 102). Reeve posits a Last Judgment for the destroyed glazing of the eastern clerestory window. Thus, the Old Testament is linked with the New, and further east time continues while on the ground below the associated terrestrial present performs within the system. As the author comments, the scheme is simple, but the implications involving the canon viewers are complex.

The book posits a context of the clergy's concern with pastoral and liturgical reform, which eventually culminated in the famous Use of Sarum. Reeve regards the integration of the meanings of the vault paintings and the beliefs of the clergy responsible for the building as essential, citing "the ontological relationship of imagery to architecture" (p. 5); he castigates previous scholarship that neglected to present such a perspective.

Although its explanations and repetitive summaries seem geared to a general or undergraduate audience, there is much of interest in this scholarly book. There are, however, several problems. Whereas the author has mined his sources vigorously, not all are cited in their proper places. Others are misrepresented. Some of Reeve's points (such as the notion of the integrated program of the images) have already been made by Horlbeck, despite Reeve's assertions to the contrary.<sup>2</sup> Reeve also claims that many of the "antiquarian drawings and descriptions . . . have been published in this book for the first time" (p. 129), yet not only has he published them in his earlier articles but also Horlbeck had published all eight of Reeve's color plates, one of his six black-and-white illustrations, and some of the inscriptions. Reeve's footnote to his contention that Osmund, who eventually gained sainthood in 1457, was buried in the presbytery east of the high altar both misrepresents an article by Tim Tatton-Brown, the cathedral archaeologist, who thinks that Osmund's body was placed instead in the eastern axial chapel, and cites an incorrect volume number.<sup>3</sup>

There are many factual errors. The cathedral of Salisbury lies not on "Salisbury Plain" (p. 12), where Stonehenge is located, but on a river terrace of the Avon. Bishop Richard Poore, during whose episcopate the cathedral was built, was previously dean, not archdeacon, of Salisbury (p. 15). The original position of the high altar, according to some authors, is cited as "immediately east of the presbytery," whereas Reeve meant to say the eastern crossing (p. 91). Some erroneous statements derive from overstatement: "This mode of liturgical mapping through light, colour and imagery was something unique to the era now called 'Gothic'" (p. 84).

<sup>2</sup>Horlbeck, "The Vault Paintings," p. 128.

<sup>3</sup>Tim Tatton-Brown, "The Burial Places of St. Osmund," *Spire*, 69th Annual Report of the Friends of Salisbury Cathedral (Salisbury, UK, 1999), 19–25, here 21.

Overall, readers will profit from the presentation of these important paintings and their significant issues as well as appreciate the extensive, up-to-date bibliography. Wary scholars, however, will check details and read other authors' studies in their original publications rather than Reeve's summaries since his recurrent, contentious discourse distorts what they have written.

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VIRGINIA JANSEN

*Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion.* By Derek A. Rivard. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 332. \$39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21545-7.)

One hundred years after Adolf Franz published his monumental two-volume *Die Kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), a scholar has dared to explore in a sustained fashion the complex meanings and anthropological import of the Latin blessings that Franz chartered. In *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion*, Derek A. Rivard conducts an ambitious study of ritual blessings in continental Latin sources, especially from the twelfth through fourteenth centuries.

Rivard's first and shortest chapter, "The History and Theology of Christian Blessing," sketches the development of blessings from the Old Testament to the Middle Ages and introduces key liturgical books to be studied. The next three chapters constitute the heart of *Blessing the World* and its major contribution. Each chapter explores a category of ritual blessings as a "window through which to explore the relationship between the human and the divine in medieval religion" (p. 6). Chapter 2, "Sacred Places and Sacred Space," analyzes blessings related to agriculture, homes, bridal chambers, work spaces, cemeteries, and churches—including consecrations and reconciliations. Chapter 3, "Sacred Persons: Blessing the Laity," discusses how blessings instilled divine power in "the visible and tangible elements of special social status" (p. 172)—namely, pilgrims' staves and purses, and knights' swords, standards, lances, and armor. Chapter 3 also addresses twelve sample rites of blessing related to illness, pestilence, healing, and childbirth. Rivard devotes chapter 4 to "Sacred Vessels, Objects, and Events," including ships, nets, wells, dishes, vessels, ordeals, and judicial duels. The theological problems of and lukewarm clerical attitudes toward ordeals and duels are noteworthy.

Central to the structure and content of each section in the main chapters is a set of rituals drawn from Latin liturgical books copied between the ninth and the sixteenth centuries. Rivard applies "a textual approach drawn more from religious studies than from history and focusing primarily on the broad ideas, beliefs, and trends found within" various formulae of the rituals themselves (p. 2). His translations accurately render the original Latin texts, which are consistently placed in footnotes. The conclusion highlights general themes across individual rites, including the "adaptability" of divine power,



which blessings portray as capable of meeting every need (pp. 209, 214); the “ambiguity” that resulted because petitioners could only guess at how God might respond to the blessing; “belief in the deep engagement of the sacred with the natural world” (p. 271); the notion of a “contract” between God and his worshipers; and the relationship of the sacred to the demonic and profane. Rivard’s most refreshing conclusions regard the “positive perspective on the natural and social world” (p. 280) exhibited by the blessings and the extent to which they were influenced by the piety and concerns of the laity.

Rudolf Otto’s anthropological theories, and particularly his notion of the *numen*, exert a pervasive influence over the study. Commentators on medieval religion such as Augustine Thomson, Keith Thomas, and R. N. Swanson provide categories for Rivard’s interpretation of the rituals. Yet Rivard draws more from Franz and the primary sources than any more recent scholarship.

Desiderata include outlines of each rite to contextualize individual formulae. It is surprising, for example, to read suddenly “the seventeenth prayer” of a given blessing (p. 110). The reader also must keep in mind that the texts studied are multivalent and open to other interpretations. For example, what Rivard calls the “ambiguity” of the divinity might be better understood in terms of the subjective disposition of the faithful, even in the medieval *mentalité*. This study exhibits a lack of familiarity with patristics, liturgiology, palaeography, and theology, which are intimately related to the topic. For example, Rivard follows the formidable but in some respects outdated surveys of Josef Jungmann, Theodor Klauser, and Cyrille Vogel in attributing the *Apostolic Tradition* to Hippolytus (p. 29), despite more recent research on the document by Paul Bradshaw and others. The *Liber pontificalis* is cited through Franz (p. 52), although Louis Duchesne’s masterful edition appears in the short bibliography (p. 298). Edmond Martène’s *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus* (1700–02) is taken as the final word on the provenance of some manuscripts (p. 113), without consulting the essential research tools forged by Benoît Darragon and A. G. Martimort. More frequently, Franz’s identification of manuscripts is accepted uncritically. Detailed analyses of fewer rituals thoroughly addressing critical questions of origin and transmission would have yielded more authoritative results.

Nonetheless, careful attention to all such issues would necessitate further limits to the number of blessings studied, thereby compromising the broad and representative nature of Rivard’s contribution. *Blessing the World* provides an excellent orientation to ancient Latin blessing rituals and through them sheds much light on lay piety. This study is most welcome as an initial and stimulating foray into the study of blessings in the Middle Ages.

*Los Monjes guerreros en los Reinos Hispánicos: Las Órdenes Militares en la Península ibérica durante la Edad Media.* By Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea. (Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros. 2008. Pp. 700. €33,00. ISBN 978-8-497-34758-7.)

The massive explosion during recent decades of studies on the military-religious orders has naturally involved, where the orders left very rich archives and have always been given some attention in national histories. The resulting bibliography is enormous. It includes one major general synthesis (by Carlos de Ayala Martínez, 2003, 866 pages) and another major study (by Philippe Josserand, 2004, 905 pages); the latter is largely limited to Castile between 1252 and 1369. Rodríguez-Picavea's work somewhat doubles that of Ayala Martínez, but it is not so dense and is somewhat less rigorously analytical. Crucially, the author includes international orders of the Hospital and the Temple that played an important part in the story but that were largely omitted from Ayala Martínez's work. Rodríguez-Picavea encompasses Aragon and Portugal in reasonable detail and also gives a brief picture of the orders after 1500. The Hispanic orders emerged in the early centuries of the *reconquistas* and *repoblación*; these were developments in which the orders played a leading part and that participation led to their being well favored with lands, privileges, and exemptions. There followed a period in which the Crowns attempted to recover possessions and advantages that they had alienated and to revoke privileges that they had extended, while in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the kings sought to control the orders' enormous wealth and power by securing their masterships for royal princes or favorites. Eventually, in the time of the Catholic kings, the Crowns simply brought the national orders under their own direct control through the so-called incorporation of the *maestrazgos*.

The main Hispanic orders such as Santiago, Alcántara, Calatrava, and Montesa—together with the various Portuguese orders—differed from each other, the Templars, and the Hospitallers. On the suppression of the Temple by the pope in 1312, its lands in Catalunya-Aragon and to some extent in Castile passed to the Hospital, but in Portugal they went to the new Order of Christ and in Valencia to the new order of Montesa. The orders' written rules and practices varied considerably; Santiago, in particular, permitted married members who took a vow of marital chastity. In general, professed members of the orders were bound by vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; their non-priest members were *laici religiosi*, but they were not monks, despite Rodríguez-Picavea's title. This is more than a question of definition, and it would be preferable not to give a misleading impression by describing the orders' members as monks.

This book presents a balanced survey that is sufficiently lengthy to take into account many recent studies and to provide much useful detail. Although the approach is, inevitably, largely thematic, the book is so arranged as to maintain a sense of chronological progression. Topics such as the orders' reli-

gious character and the late-medieval preoccupation with nobility are given attention; the female members of the orders receive brief treatment, but their important roles are scarcely explained. Culture and architecture are discussed, but there is nothing on the architecture of the commanderies. The approach allows for comparisons between the various orders; and the book shows the Castilian historiography of the subject moving away from Castile-centered concerns, especially by discussing the orders in other kingdoms and by giving at least some space both to the crusading movement outside Spain and, at least briefly, to the Teutonic Knights and other non-Hispanic orders. The adjective *feudal* with its semi-Marxist connotations is being replaced by the concept of the *sensorial*, as the older overemphasis on landed possessions, rents, and finances is replaced with more sophisticated analyses. The notes are placed at the end of the book, and the bibliography is select, with just 31 pages; whereas Josserand's book has 164 pages. There are clear maps, and some of the color photographs are brilliant.

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ANTHONY LUTTRELL

*Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West.* By Anthony Luttrell. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 874.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2007. Pp. xii, 384. \$144.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65921-1.

*Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306* is the fifth volume of Anthony Luttrell's collected articles to be produced in the Variorum Collected Studies Series. Previous volumes include *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291-1440* (London, 1978); *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades: 1291-1440* (London, 1982); *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and Their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, UK, 1992); and *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and Its Western Provinces, 1306-1462* (Aldershot, UK, 1999).

The first two of these are unfortunately out of print and difficult to obtain; all are expensive. The research in all five is meticulous and superb, and one is compelled to wish that Luttrell would synthesize his lifetime of archival research into a single unified volume. There probably never has been, and may never be again, anyone with a comparable mastery of the Hospitaller archives. But unless and until such a work appears, these five volumes provide the best in-depth resource for the later history of the Hospitallers, and they are indispensable to scholars of the military orders.

The articles in *Studies on the Hospitallers* were published between 1998 and 2003. Eighteen are in English, four in Italian, and two in French. Some are relatively easy to obtain elsewhere, but many are not, and some are virtually impossible to get in North America unless one has access to the interlibrary loan offices of the best research libraries. The first two articles, taken together, provide an overview of the state of the art of Hospitaller studies in the decade or so before 2000, and although now slightly outdated, are still

very useful and worth the price of the book by themselves (I: "The Military Orders: Some Definitions," from 1998, and II: "The Military Orders: Further Definitions," published in 2000). They are dense, considered, and erudite, and should be read slowly and reflectively by anyone interested in the subject.

The subjects of the remaining articles vary considerably, as is the case in collections of this sort. They include surveys of archival material (III: "The Hospitallers' Early Written Records," and XX: "The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources"), discussions of finances (VI: "The Hospitallers and Their Florentine Bankers: 1306-1346," VII: "The Finances of the Commander of the Hospital after 1306," and XVI: "The Contribution to Rhodes of the Hospitaller Priory of Venice: 1410-1415), natural disasters (X: "Earthquakes in the Dodecanese: 1303-1513"), iconography (XVII: "Iconography and Historiography: the Italian Hospitallers before 1530"), and the papal inquest of 1373 (XI: "Gli Ospedalieri a Genova dall'Inchiesta Papale del 1373" and XIX: "The Hospitaller Commanderies in Roussillon: 1373").

One strength of this volume is the valuable transcriptions of texts appended to many selections. There is a short annotation from the Master's register in 1437 in IX: "English Contributions to the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum in Turkey: 1407-1437"; XIX: "The Hospitaller Commanderies in Rousillon: 1373" contains a seventeen-page inquest dealing with commanderies in the kingdom of Aragon, produced in 1373 for the papacy. An article dealing with a salacious sexual scandal in a Catalan convent of Hospitaller sisters, Alguaire, includes twelve-page deposition of the defense mounted by the male commander of the convent (XXII: "Margarida d'Erill Hospitaller of Alguaire: 1415-1456"); a priceless two-page transcription of a now-lost fragment of the Hospitallers' archives on Rhodes is included in XXI: "The Hospitaller Commandery of the Morea: 1366." A pair of short administrative documents from 1410 and 1413 respectively is included in XXIV: "L'oeuvre religieuse des Hospitaliers à Rhodes."

The volume ends with a seven-page "Addenda et corrigenda," which includes both a supplementary bibliography of those of Luttrell's writings between 1999 and 2006 that have not yet been published in a collection, and a set of additional citations for the previous twenty-four articles, which itself reads like a bibliographic overview of recent work on the later Hospitallers and is well worth perusal.

Despite the staggering expense and somewhat unfocused nature of this collection, it is a required addition to the shelves of any Hospitaller scholar, and like its predecessors, it is most welcome.

*Studies in the Transmission of Wyclif's Writings.* By Anne Hudson. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 907.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xiv, 329. \$144.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65964-8.)

This is an unusual Variorum volume in that it includes, as well as reprints, items selected by the author, which are published here for the first time. The first of these new pieces, placed at the beginning of the volume and forming an introduction, is concerned with "Wyclif's Works and Their Dissemination." It takes capable charge of the confusion that derives not only from the attempts to suppress John Wyclif's works but also from Wyclif's own untidy authorial habits. In this he was not alone in his day, although he seems to have been peculiarly susceptible to fits of indignation leading to irritable changes and to revisions of the very opinions he was so passionately recording. The Oxford academic of the time was used to lecturing with a student *reportatio* commissioned to remind him of what he had said and the expectation that he would be lecturing again. A book was not necessarily envisaged as a finished product but as work in progress. Wyclif was often conscious that he had said something similar elsewhere. (The fourth item included in this volume looks at "Cross-Referencing in Wyclif's Latin Works.") Then there was the factor of the making of extracts for purposes of condemnation, not always from versions that survive in the same form in a complete text. Discussed in no. XIII are "Notes of an Early Fifteenth-Century Research Assistant and the Emergence of the 267 Articles against Wyclif." "*Accessus ad auctorem: The Case of John Wyclif*" (no. VII) takes us into the complexities of contemporary attempts to provide finding systems for would-be users of Wyclif's works.

The reprinted items originally appeared from 1991, but derive, as Anne Hudson explains, from researches of earlier decades. They form, with the new material, a comprehensive body of original work principally on the history of the Wyclif texts, in which Hudson has long had no equal. Trinity College Cambridge, MS B.16.2 is re-examined in no. VIII in an attempt to reconstruct the process of its evolution. A new piece (no. III) is "The Hussite Catalogue of Wyclif's Works." There are pieces on "Wyclif Texts in Fifteenth-Century London" (no. XV); "Wyclif and the North: The Evidence from Durham" (no. IX); and "The Survival of Wyclif's Works in England and Bohemia" (no. XVI), another new publication.

There are studies of Wycliffite themes: the issues of authority (no. X) and poverty (no. XI), and "The King and Erring Clergy" (no. XII). There is a piece on "The Development of Wyclif's *Summa Theologiae*" (no. V) that takes a sharp knife to the suppositions of the Wyclif Society editors, working as they were in a generation that knew much less than we do now about the structure of the medieval syllabus of systematic theology. Further key questions of genre and norms are explored in "Wyclif's Latin Sermons: Questions of Form, Date, and Audience" (no. VI). "The Framing of the Lollard Heretic and/or Saint" Wyche is the subject of no. XIV.

Each of these studies stands on its own, but a successful effort has been made to draw them together into a book that has, in every sense, an integrity of its own. An index of Wyclif's works discusses, an index of manuscripts, and a general index conclude the volume. Of the quality and importance of this work it is scarcely necessary to speak.

*University of Cambridge*

G. R. EVANS

*Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages.* By John Van Engen. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 433. \$59.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24119-8.)

The *Devotio Moderna* belongs to the great religious movements of the Middle Ages—on a par, for example, with the mendicant orders. Founded in the northern Netherlands and shaped by the preaching of Geert Grote and others, the movement extended its influence during the fifteenth century over all of northwestern Europe. Study of the Modern Devotion at the international level has always lagged behind in terms of its recognition of the movement's significance, most likely because of the movement's origins in the Netherlands. Much of the existing scholarship was published in Dutch and to a lesser extent in German, and as a result has been less accessible to the rest of the world. This is not to say, however, that no scholarship of significance dealing with the Modern Devotion has been published in English. American Albert Hyma, in *The Brethren of the Common Life* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1950) and *The Christian Renaissance* (Hamden, CT, 1965), defended the position that the Modern Devotion was in fact a precursor to the Reformation. In response, R. R. Post, the foremost Dutch authority on the subject at the time, published his own study in English, *The Modern Devotion* (Leiden, 1968). Post argued that the *Devotio Moderna* was an orthodox movement, one that had always taken sides with the pope, even in times of difficulty.

It would be another forty years before the next great English-language study of the Modern Devotion would appear. John Van Engen sidesteps the debate between Hyma and Post and chooses a different objective: to understand this religious movement in the historical context of the late-medieval Low Countries. In the process he focuses more on the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, and less on the monastic branches of the Modern Devotion. It was especially the brothers and sisters who, from a canonical perspective, constituted a clear innovation, and thus they offer the most profound insights into the essence of the Modern Devotion. The communities of brothers and sisters appeared most exclusively in an urban context, and Van Engen demonstrates convincingly how well the appearance of their foundations fits into the context of the late-medieval city, marked as it was by private initiatives, entrepreneurship, and orderly regulation.

Van Engen's most important source is Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen, who may well be considered to be the ideologue of the young movement. Zerbolt, who died before his time, did his utmost best to formulate a canonical basis for the brothers and sisters, who wished to live a pious life in fellowship and community of property. Their biggest obstacle, however, was the papal embargo against the foundation of new (monastic) orders. Consequently, the opponents of the modern devout attempted to thwart them by means of this very strong argument. Nonetheless, Zerbolt and his followers secured a foothold for themselves, thanks in part to the aid of some of the greatest lawyers of their time. They saw themselves most certainly not as representatives of a new religious order, but rather as a community of people who had formed a mutual agreement to follow a strict religious ideal.

Van Engen has written a very important book that presents a new vision of the Modern Devotion. It will no doubt draw the attention of a large number of readers, if only because it is the first study in English to have appeared in decades. In that light, this book has perhaps the disadvantage of a great many penetrating analyses and detailed arguments, with ample attention devoted to fine legal points, which may well prove to be heavy going for the reader unfamiliar with such areas. A short introduction in English to the history of the Modern Devotion, in which recent research has been incorporated, therefore remains very much a *desideratum*.

University of Leiden

WYBREN SCHEEPSMA

*Tracing Nicholas of Cusa's Early Development: The Relationship between*

*De concordantia catholica* and *De docta ignorantia*. By Jovino De Guzman Miroy. [Philosophes Médiévaux, Tome 49.] (Leuven: Éditions Peeters. 2009. Pp. x, 314. €74,00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92039-2.)

According to the author of this careful study, the key to unlocking the controversy of Nicholas of Cusa's development prior to his 1440 treatise, *De docta ignorantia*, is to challenge the dichotomy between political philosophy and theology. Cusanus wrote a lengthy conciliarist treatise in 1433 during the Council of Basel, *De concordantia catholica*, but thereafter produced mostly philosophical and mystical works. But as Miroy points out, this shift in genre should not prejudice readers against seeking out the philosophical foundations of the cardinal's ecclesiological positions or the political implications of his later writings. The first chapter is an astute outline of late-medieval conciliar theory, followed by three chapters analyzing the political philosophy informing *De concordantia catholica* and two chapters sketching a "political reading" of *De docta ignorantia* and the Letter to Rodrigo de Arévalo of 1442.

In the Dionysian vision of *De concordantia catholica*, the Church's unity is expressed through linked hierarchies emanating from the divine origin.



Miroy argues that Cusanus's distinctive "metaphysics of concordance" is the true theoretical fulcrum of his conciliarism and that the cardinal used a more scriptural and theological mode of argument than others using canon law alone. After weighing the term's nuances, Miroy defines concordance as "harmony among unequal members" (p. 105). Miroy therefore disagrees with Paul Sigmund's view that the treatise attempts to harmonize equality and hierarchy. Rather, *equalitas* plays little role in the text, and it is *concordantia* that keeps hierarchy from becoming anti-egalitarian. Since *equalitas* figures prominently in later Cusan works, Miroy's insight here is valuable.

Miroy thinks that the conciliarist ecclesiology centered on *concordantia* betrays certain philosophical predilections. Its principled theological objections to papal supremacy reveal a general suspicion about the localization of any absolute. "Cusanus robbed the pope of plenitude of power, but not merely to transfer that to the council. Cusanus knew that no finite reality could have fullness of power, and so he established a true seat of absolute power, namely, the absolute itself" (p. 126). This attitude toward absolutes resonates with the philosophy of *De docta ignorantia*.

The final chapter on *De concordantia catholica* has two parts. The first details the powers distributed to pope, council, and empire, and will interest students of medieval political theory. The second denies that Cusanus was an eccentric outlier at Basel by comparing him to two prominent conciliarists, Heimericus de Campo and John of Segovia. This interesting section would have enriched the introductory discussion of Basel in chapter 1. The curious nexus between Cusanus's early development and his relationship with Heimericus deserves further study. Miroy's contribution would be enhanced by incorporating Florian Hamann's recent scholarship.

In chapter VI, Miroy locates conceptual continuities between *concordantia* in 1433 and the new terms (*contractio* and *coincidentia* among others) appearing in 1440. In the earlier treatise, *concordantia* names the harmonious unity within God that enables harmonious unity within cosmic and ecclesial hierarchies. In the later treatise, God enjoys a unique kind of coincident harmony, and the cosmic hierarchies achieve their harmonious diversity through their contracted nature. Whether these similarities represent two examples of Cusanus's abiding interests in dialectical unity, or an authentic conceptual "development," is difficult to say and would require further analysis.

Miroy's explanations of difficult terms frequently condense pages of Cusan obscurity into brilliantly lucid formulae. Although further revision might have obviated repetitions and focused attention on the most central material, this fine book will be important reading for students of Cusanus.

### Early Modern European

*Virgins and Scholars: A Fifteenth-Century Compilation of the Lives of John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Jerome, and Katherine of Alexandria.* Edited by Claire M. Waters. [Medieval Women: Texts and Contexts, Vol. 10.] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2008. Pp. xii, 494. €90,00. ISBN 978-2-503-51452-9.)

The Middle English prose saints' lives presented here evidently belong together because they were written by the same scribe in nearly identical formats, although they were subsequently separated and bound as three separate manuscripts. Especially welcome are the editions of the *Lives* of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist from Cambridge, St. John's College MS N.16—texts that survive nowhere else and have not previously been published in any form. Simon Winter's *Life of Jerome* is already somewhat known, since it survives not only in Cambridge, St. John's N.17 but also in an early printed edition and three other manuscripts, two of which have been edited in modern times. Least ground-breaking, although convenient to have here, is the *Life* of Katherine of Alexandria in Harvard, Houghton Library MS Richardson 44—a text edited in 1884 from this very manuscript by Henry H. Gibbs and translated in full in Karen Winstead's *Chaste Passions* (Ithaca, NY, 2000). Claire Waters's rationale for presenting the four texts together is that their significance can best be understood when they are all seen in relation to each other and to the particular religious and historical context in which they were written. Building on the research of Vincent Gillespie and George Keiser, she links the texts persuasively with the Birgittine community of Syon Abbey and the neighboring Carthusian monastery of Sheen, both founded by King Henry V in 1415, and suggests some possible connections with the political concerns of the Lancastrians in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

The four Middle English texts themselves make very interesting reading, and Waters has edited them meticulously and well. She has also made the texts more accessible to modern readers by providing facing-page translations. The translations are usually clear and helpful, but not always exact enough for scholarly purposes. The problem most often is the tendency to retain too much of the Middle English wording, ignoring subsequent shifts in meaning. Fasting from "mete," for example (p. 118), probably means abstaining from solid food in general, not just meat. "Scolers" (p. 180) are not "scholars" in the modern sense, but pupils. When the noble dedicatee of a text is invited to "doo copye" it (p. 178), the suggestion is that she have it copied (by someone else), not copy it herself. Readers who need the precise sense of a passage in these texts, then, will be well advised to double-check the translations, consulting the *Middle English Dictionary* for the meanings of key terms.

The volume is well presented, with an attractive page layout and binding and very few printing errors. Besides the primary texts and translations, it

includes two color facsimiles of manuscript pages, a lengthy and informative introduction (pp. 1–67), extensive textual and explanatory notes, a bibliography, an index, and an appendix that adds more detail on the sources behind each life and the ways in which they are used. Waters’s commentary on the sources is generally well documented and persuasive, but she makes some dubious-sounding attributions to the *Legenda aurea*—for example, claiming it as the “primary source” for several chapters of this *Life* of John the Baptist even while conceding that “a number of the details . . . do not appear in the *Legenda*” (p. 426). Since the *Legenda aurea* tends just to give abridged versions of earlier sources, it is recommended that readers look into those fuller accounts.

*University of Wisconsin–Madison*

SHERRY L. REAMES

*Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400–1700.* Edited by Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer. [Studies in Modern British Religious History, Vol. 15.] (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2007. Pp. x, 249. ISBN 978-1-843-83290-4.)

Martyrdom has become a topic of sustained interest in early-modern studies; numerous recent studies attend to literary depictions of martyrdom, cross-confessional understandings of martyrdom, and the often knotty textual and historical problems attendant on early-modern martyrological texts. This essay collection adds to existing scholarship as its authors collectively study the early-modern narrowing of martyrdom’s definition to mean specifically violent deaths for religion, the various polemical and controversial conflicts in which martyrological writing participated, and the extension of martyrdom’s crown to political martyrs over the course of the seventeenth century.

In a substantive introduction, Thomas Freeman outlines ideas of martyrdom from the late-medieval period through the later seventeenth century, contextualizing the arguments of individual essays within a trajectory of developing (and controverted) ideas about martyrdom. In the subsequent essay, Freeman describes early-modern martyrdom, as depicted by Protestant and Catholic writers, as primarily an imitation of Christ’s death (and not also attainable through asceticism or contemplation); he then traces the extension of that *imitatio* and the martyrdom it could confer to executed political figures. Danna Piroyansky’s essay provides an important foundation for Freeman’s as it studies the many ways martyrdom was understood in late-medieval England, including mental or emotional suffering, asceticism, the godly chivalry of the *miles Christi*, intense contemplative devotion, political martyrdom, and fiercely guarded virginity. In a provocative essay, Richard Rex argues that Richard Wyche, who early in his life professed Lollard beliefs and was later executed in 1440, did not in fact die for identifiable Lollardy but for a more generic anticlericalism or antifraternalism, and that the cult that developed after his execution suggest not support for Lollardy (which would mili-

tate against the development of a saint's cult) but sympathy for a man wrongfully convicted. In "Saints and Martyrs in Tyndale and More," Brad Gregory studies the Tyndale-More controversies over saints and martyrs for their doctrinal and devotional dimensions, suggesting that disputes over sanctity, devotion, and doctrine were deeply intertwined in the period even as ideas about martyrdom were largely shared cross-confessionally. In "Becket's Bones Burnt! Cardinal Pole and the Invention and Dissemination of an Atrocity," Thomas F. Mayer demonstrates that Pole "coordinated a campaign" to denigrate King Henry VIII's reputation by accusing him not only of the murders of St. John Fisher and Thomas More but also of the particularly horrible crime of burning the bones of a saint (p. 127); as a result of Pole's work, "a politicized martyrdom" became "an icon of the entire Henrician reformation" (p. 143).

Alec Ryrie's essay studies the changing reputation of the reformer Robert Barnes before and after his death, arguing that Barnes's particular beliefs (Lutheran, generally) were less important in securing his status as an important Protestant martyr than the usefulness of his death for the blackening of John Foxe's arch-villain, Stephen Gardiner. William Wizeman discusses Marian campaigns to vilify Protestant martyrs and exalt Catholic ones by emphasizing the reasons for which they died; Marian writers thus "largely established English Protestant and Catholic historiographies until the Second World War, with their almost exclusive emphases on martyrs" (p. 167). In "Robert Persons' Comfortable History of England," Victor Houlston demonstrates that Persons's *Treatise of three conversions of England from paganism to Christian religion* (1603-04), the infamous antimartyrological refutation of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), was at least as concerned with pastoral as with political aims, as eager to argue for the continuity of Catholicism as to refute Foxe's martyrological work, the primary flaws of which included, for Persons, generic and doctrinal discontinuities and inconsistencies. The final essays turn to two political martyrs. Andrew Lacey examines the development of a political cult of martyrdom around King Charles I from his defeat at Naseby in June 1645 to his execution on January 30, 1649; the *Eikon Basilike*, then, built upon well-established foundations. John Coffey studies the political martyrdom of Sir Henry Vane the younger, executed for high treason in 1662 but celebrated as a Whig martyr for liberty through secularizing reinterpretations that evacuated his millenarianism.

As is apparent from this brief summary, this volume has a high degree of consistency and coherence (not always the case with essay collections). The contributors' emphases on the polemical, generic, political, and doctrinal aspects of the making (not the finding) of martyrs should be a welcome addition to early-modern scholarship.

*The Triumph of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology and the Arts, from the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation.* By Richard Viladesau. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 350. \$49.95. ISBN 978-0-195-33566-8.)

This well-organized and clearly written book is a sequel to the author's *The Beauty of the Cross* (New York, 2006) and aims to trace the correlation between the conceptual language of theology regarding Christ's passion and the visual arts (and, to a lesser extent, music and poetry). Following a brief introduction, each of the three main chapters opens with a sensitive description of a work of art that sets the stage for a detailed discussion on the meaning and status of Christ's passion in Western Christianity from c. 1400–c. 1600. Viladesau situates verbal and visual meditations on the cross into three epochs: the development of naturalism during the early Renaissance, the questioning of the legitimacy of images and the emphasis on the word of God during the Protestant Reformation, and the call for clarity in the expression of orthodoxy during the Counter-Reformation. Guiding the author's selection of texts and images is the notion of paradigm, which "designates fundamental ways of thinking that are common within an era" (p. 6). Readers might also find his choice of theologians (including Gabriel Biel, Girolamo Savonarola, Martin Luther, John Calvin, and St. Ignatius of Loyola) and artists (including Fra Angelico, Dürer, Cranach, Michelangelo, and El Greco) as predictable—there are relatively few surprises in the material he covers. Nevertheless, because the target audience for this book is broad—from general readers to scholars—the author is to be commended for a lucid synthesis of a wide range of theological and artistic examples that are often analyzed in separate studies.

Art for Viladesau is largely seen as affective and evoking compassion, and he explores a variety of images portraying the beauty and brutality of Christ's body that express corresponding theological associations—for instance, divinity, sacrifice, redemption, and substitution. The discussion of Cranach's shift in style, the artist's retreat from naturalism in his later works to more "iconic" and didactic images that exemplify Luther's disdain for the affective dimension of art and its errant potential on viewers, is particularly rewarding, and the author usefully incorporates the studies of Joseph Leo Koerner. But Viladesau struggles to adduce the artificiality of mannerist art comfortably into his thesis, and he finds the paintings of Christ's passion by Pontormo and Rosso Fiorentino nearly devoid of theological meaning. Even though Viladesau considers their art "subjective" and "elitist" (p. 241), the potential subversion of theology in favor of aesthetic principles (at times highly sensual) by leading Florentine artists demands further analysis with regard to patronage and audience than is afforded here.

At various points in the book the author states that it is "unfortunate" that the cross is connected to the subjugation and persecution of the Jews. This point could be developed in more specific historical contexts, especially in light of various Renaissance depictions of the crucifix as the slayer of the syn-

agogue. Perhaps the most compelling example is Garofalo's extraordinary fresco of the *Crucifix with Ecclesia and Synagoga* of 1523, originally executed for the refectory in the church of Sant'Andrea in Ferrara, once occupied by the Eremitani friars of the Augustinian Order. In this imposing work, the crucifix sprouts arms and slays an allegorical image of synagogue with a spear. According to Dana Katz in *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance* (Philadelphia, 2008), this fresco "documents the friars' precarious relationship with Augustine's doctrine of Jewish witness, while revealing through its allegorical language the Augustinians' temporal acceptance of Jews and their faith" (p. 97). As much as the cross signified sacrifice and redemption, it equally signified another kind of triumph, and such imagery had the value of channeling and abating feelings of hostility shared by Christian viewers in the period in question. An appendix on Dürer's religious beliefs takes the place of an anticipated conclusion reflecting on the findings in this chronicle of conceptual and aesthetic theology.

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GIANCARLO FIORENZA

*Florence and Beyond: Culture, Society and Politics in Renaissance Italy. Essays in Honour of John M. Najemy.* Edited by David S. Peterson with Daniel E. Bornstein. [Essays and Studies, 15.] (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2008. Pp. 518. \$29.50 paperback. ISBN 978-0-772-72038-2.)

This volume collects twenty-five essays of various authors to recognize the scholarship of John Najemy, author of *A History of Florence, 1200-1575* (Oxford, 2006). While the editors sum up Najemy's themes and thesis, Anthony Molho outlines with new documents (pp. 61-90) the uneven academic career of Hans Baron prior to his very influential *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1955). Between the last product of the old German *Geistesgeschichte* and the new American sociological synthesis we can recognize the core of the historical problems discussed in the volume. The editors summarize such methodical issues in this way: "demography and economics, religion and Church history;" in conjunction with new approaches, such as "gender and relation of the sexes, the history of the private life, ritual and public behaviour, and patronage (cultural, social and political; private, corporate and public)" (p. 19).

However, this scope is perhaps too ambitious. To begin with, the essays on specific political subjects seem among the weakest ones of the collection. Whether the subject is "Alberti Kinship and Conspiracy" at the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, according to Susannah F. Baxendale (pp. 339-53), or the "Medici's inner circle," according to Margery A. Ganz (pp. 369-82), the historical problem is presented as a pure matter of individuals and family networks, abstracting from political and institutional

frameworks as well as a broader historical continuity. For example, we observe the Ricci, the Alberti, and finally the Medici succeeding each other in the common enmity against the Albizzi and the old Archguelph party through the period spanned now by Gene Brucker's two books: this fact cannot be explained only through parental or other kinds of anthropological ties. The massive research by Nicolai Rubinstein into the Florentine institutions of the Medici regime, which deserve further developments and debates, has been, if not forgotten, surely put aside. Furthermore, as the brilliant essay of Julius Kirshner shows (pp. 257-70), the analysis of legal documents, both statutory and of Roman law, can disclose unexpected aspects relevant not only for social history, but for political projects as well.

On religious and ecclesiastical history are James M. Blythe and John La Salle's essay on Ptolomy of Lucca (pp. 93-106), William Hyland's essay on "Late Medieval Camaldolese Spirituality" (pp. 107-20), and Nancy Bisaha's essay on the letters between Enea Silvio Piccolomini and the Polish bishop Zbigniew Olesniski on the Christian conception of poetry (pp. 121-34). The confidential epistolary exchanges between the patron and his trustees reveal much: the letters between Cosimo de' Medici and ser Alesso Pelli, his main appointee in patronage of charitable undertakings, analyzed by Dale Kent (pp. 355-67); the letters between Lorenzo de' Medici and Nofri Tornabuoni on the Medici Bank's affairs in the Roman Curia, discussed by Melissa Meriam Bullard (pp. 383-98); and the letters of ser Pace di Bambello, a chancery functionary and a close friend of Niccolò Michelozzi, the most distinguished among Lorenzo's secretaries, which are covered by Alison Brown (pp. 229-55). These letters disclose some secret projects of Lorenzo in his last years. Beside the control Lorenzo exercised through ser Niccolò and ser Pace himself on old Florentine institutions such as the Arte della Lana and the Parte Guelfa, and his lifelong participation in the Opera del Duomo, he planned to elevate the cathedral's chapter by adding enlightened canons (p. 243). Moreover, it is also noteworthy that ser Pace at the time of Lorenzo's funerals referred to the love shown by the populace "to this holy house" (p. 244). This expression is found later, in 1517, in the title affixed by Giovanni di Strada detto lo Stradino, a servant of Lucrezia de' Medici (the daughter of Lorenzo and sister of pope Leo X), to Lorenzo's biography of Niccolò Valori. Alison Williams Lewin reminds us (pp. 305-19) that the images of the Venetian doges "resembled saints"; if not the same, the Medici worked to look something like them.

The essays concerning the Opera del Duomo are among the most interesting of the book. Margaret Haines deals at length with the government exercised by the Florentine oligarchy over the Opera (pp. 153-77). She observes, like the praxis of the political government, the constitution of special commissions (or *balie*), which aroused a serious conflict with the clergy and the chapter, to the extent to require a special privilege by Pope Martin V in 1427. Amy R. Bloch deals with the special relationship of Lorenzo Ghiberti with the



Calimala guild, grounded at the end, she writes, on “a real parity” (pp. 135–73). The essay of Sandra Weddle on the “Codex Rustici as a Devotional and Civic Chronicle” raises an interesting point of its own (pp. 179–204). The description of Florence written by the goldsmith Marco Rustici in the years 1441–57 (the same period as the episcopate of St. Antonino) looks like a *Florentia sacra*, parallel to the description of Jerusalem. Weddle wonders why Rustici extols St. John’s Baptistery “over other Florentine monuments, most notably the Duomo” (p. 183). Actually, it is not so surprising, as Rustici drew on a civic tradition referring to the chronicle of Giovanni Villani, which cited the Baptistery as the premiere structure.

In fact, the history of Florence is marked by discontinuity and division. This statement may challenge the paradigm celebrating the civic republicanism of the elite, as Baron proposes, or, as Najemy suggests, a pattern of a popular and corporate civic life from the Ordonances of Justice (here discussed by T. Rough Rupp, pp. 323–37) up to the last Republic.

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RICCARDO FUBINI

*Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome.* Edited by Jill Burke and Michael Bury. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xviii, 289. \$114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65690-6.)

The twelve essays gathered in *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* contribute to our understanding of the unique social and conceptual structures within which artists and patrons operated over the course of two centuries, between 1450 and 1650. Since the publication of Francis Haskell’s classic *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London, 1963), the study of artistic patronage in Rome has been greatly enriched by scholars who have explored the social dimension of art, viewing it as a revealing index of familial, institutional, political, and spiritual identity. Although the twelve contributing authors understandably do not speak with the same voice, their essays effectively reinforce one another and add up to much more than the sum of their parts. This is due, in no small part, to the disciplined hands of the editors and the opportunity for all of the authors to discuss their research in a 2005 workshop at the British School at Rome.

The essays are organized into four thematic groups, the first of which examines the mechanics of patronage. Irene Fosi considers the changing status—juridical and social—of foreign residents in Rome and the implications for artistic patronage. Piers Baker Bates explores the revealing case of Girolamo Bencucci da Schio, a bishop who rose from humble origins in the Veneto to negotiate a position of prominence in Rome, where he supported Sebastiano del Piombo. Guido Guerzoni’s essay, which focuses on the Este cardinals in the sixteenth century, illuminates how artists were recruited and

compensated. His research reveals a preference for employing artists for specific commissions rather than according them salaried positions.

The second group of essays considers cardinals and their worldly goods, illuminating the complex relationship between the material world and Christian devotion. Mary Hollingsworth reconstructs the responsibilities of Ippolito d'Este, cardinal protector of France, in 1560. Clare Robertson, in one of the most stimulating essays, offers an instructive comparison between the patronage of a cardinal from a well-established family (Odoardo Farnese) and that of a relative *parvenu* (Pietro Aldobrandini), illustrating how different the patronage strategies and aesthetic judgments of two princely cardinals could be. Equally valuable is Karin Wolfe's contribution, which focuses on Cardinal Antonio Barberini's use of the arts for political ends. As cardinal protector of France, he went so far as to give his support to an iconographic program for the French national Church in Rome that directly challenged the authority of the papacy.

The third group of essays explores the dynamics of family identity in papal Rome. For papal families, status was ephemeral; for the native nobility, the dominance of Roman society by foreign clerics posed distinct challenges. Christina Strunck's incisive essay shows how the oldest and most illustrious of Roman families, the Colonna, consciously employed artistic commissions to combat the loss of power that occurred in the transition from the Barberini to the Pamphilj pontificates. Susan Russell argues that Pope Innocent X elevated the genre of landscape painting as part of a distinctive artistic policy. Lisa Beaven examines Camillo Massimo's role as art agent of the Altieri, revealing how he used his artistic expertise and connections to construct a cultural identity for the papal family.

The last group of essays explores the relationship between individual and institution, with an emphasis on how the popes employed the visual arts to construct different kinds of lineage. Carol Richardson's essay on fifteenth-century papal tombs in St. Peter's makes the apt observation that their placement against the sagging south wall of the Constantinian basilica showed them to be buttressing the fabric of the church. Opher Mansour's investigation of papal state portraiture reveals changing attitudes toward the representation of the temporal and spiritual powers vested in the person of the pope. Maarten Delbeke's essay shows how Pope Urban VIII used painted galleries to situate the time and place of his own artistic programs within the historical continuity of papal patronage.

The editors of this volume set forth a laudable goal: "to counter the traditional fragmentation of Roman studies and to interrogate the entrenched chronological divisions that continue to characterize the study of the city—those of Renaissance, Counter Reformation and Baroque" (p. 1). In this, they admirably succeed, although, in the interest of tracing themes across and through historical divisions, it would have been preferable if the chronologi-

cal scope of the volume had extended (consistent with the use of the term *early modern* in the title) into the eighteenth century. The editors argue that after the second half of the seventeenth century, “the pontificate lost esteem and the power to influence international events” (p. 1). True enough, in terms of political power, but the continuities of artistic patronage, the fashioning of identity through the arts, and the unique dynamics of the papal court extended through the end of the eighteenth century, a period in which Rome functioned as an artistic *entrepôt* for all of Europe.

*Princeton University*

JOHN PINTO

*Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View.* By Cordula van Wyhe. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xviii, 281. \$114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65337-0.)

In summer 2003, Cordula van Wyhe organized an international conference on women religious in early-modern Europe at the University of Cambridge, where she was Speelman-Newton Fellow in Netherlandish Art. The conference was an intimate and cordial gathering of scholars interested in the lives of nuns, especially those living in Italy and Spain. Van Wyhe's *Female Monasticism in Early Modern Europe: An Interdisciplinary View* is a collection of essays from papers delivered at the conference as well as from those solicited afterward. Like the conference, it contains the perspective of scholars from diverse academic fields and work from a number of different countries. Moreover, the book's tone is like that of the conference: collaborative and conversational. Many essays in the book are in dialogue with one another, and thus this essay collection is greater than the sum of its parts.

This well-edited book is organized in four sections: Femininity and Sanctity, Convent Theater and Music Making, Spiritual Directorship, and Community and Conflict, which are elegantly woven together. The collection is richly illustrated, so those referring to art and artifacts can underscore their arguments with plentiful pictorial evidence, and all readers can enjoy its beauty.

Van Wyhe, now at the University of York, is interested in making the world of post-Tridentine nuns more intelligible to scholars by bringing works from a number of disciplines (history, art history, theater studies, musicology, and literature) together. Her interdisciplinary approach allows scholars who are not always aware of one another's work to benefit from one another's findings.

This volume is especially important for students of St. Teresa of Ávila; it contains four essays on the subject. Included is a piece by Margit Thøfner, who examines the early iconography of Teresa. Van Wyhe expands upon this theme with an essay examining 101 engravings within the *Vitae Teresianæ* to show how understandings of Teresa's mysticism were reinterpreted in the

seventeenth century. Alison Weber investigates the place of children, including members of Teresa's family, in discalced Carmelite convents. Jodi Bilinkoff rounds out the topic by providing a broader study on spiritual friendships between nuns and confessors, including Teresa.

Scholars of music and theater history will be pleased to find three thoughtful essays on convent culture, all of which are written with nonspecialists in mind. Colleen Baade's essay on attitudes toward convent music examines more than 1000 houses in Spain to illustrate the contentious feelings around singing nuns. Robert Kendrick studies Claudia Rusca's motet book. Harmonizing with Baade's work, Kendrick demonstrates how cultural productions in this Milanese convent could be seen to undermine monastic ideals. Elissa Weaver's lively essay on Tuscan convents shows how plays were meant to educate as well as entertain audiences and could be adapted to the needs of different houses. In a related essay Helen Hills offers insights into the importance of presenting the relics in processions and ceremonies in the city of Naples.

Van Whye's collection strives for broad geographical coverage. Claire Walker contributed a thoughtful essay on an English convent in Brussels. Barbara Diefendorf wrote an excellent piece on Barbe Acarie's work in Paris. The collection also features two essays examining nuns in the Holy Roman Empire. Ulrike Strasser's story of a Bavarian nun who falls from the choir loft and dies a martyr within the walls of her convent is a probing examination of the meaning of *clausura* and sanctity on early-modern women. Charlotte Woodford examines the fates of two convents caught up in the Thirty Years' War—one in Augsburg and one in Bamberg—which met very different ends at the hands of the Swedish army.

This is an excellent collection, and the reader wishes only that there were more essays from conference participants, including Kelley Harness, Mary Laven, Amy Leonard, and Elizabeth Rapley.

*William Paterson University*

SUSAN E. DINAN

*Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xii, 364. \$124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66153-5.)

Collections of essays remain an important venue for early-modern studies, allowing both established and younger scholars to frame their research creatively in terms of a unified theme. Some of the essays in this particular volume first reached audiences in a series of sessions on "Defining Community" at the 2007 Sixteenth Century Society conference, and have now made their way into print, together with further contributions. The essays range widely, touching on themes from rituals to memory to disas-

ters, although each draws some connection to the theme of communities and their complex position in early-modern society and culture. Somewhat surprisingly for a thematic collection, the editors have grouped the contributions by region, with sections for France, the German lands, northern Europe (including the Netherlands), and Italy. This choice makes the individual essays accessible to scholars working on those regions, who will find finely wrought studies on various topics, but at the expense of highlighting thematic similarities. Another important shared characteristic of the essays is their cautious approach to the term *community*: beginning with the editors' own introduction, the polyvalence and complexity of community—both as an experienced reality in early-modern Europe and as a theoretical framework for historians' understanding—receives focused attention. This aspect of the volume is deftly captured when Dean Phillip Bell quotes Salo Baron about “the embarrassment in defining the highly ambiguous term ‘community’” (p. 144).

The volume's sixteen essays include case studies, comparative analyses of specific issues, and broad syntheses. Joel Harrington, for example, makes a precise contribution to arguments over the definition of community in early-modern Germany when he shows that Nuremberg magistrates routinely supported “foreign” orphans at public expense, even though their own statutes emphatically tied such aid to local citizenship. Further case studies include the early Daughters of Charity, a lay women's order in France discussed in Susan Dinan's paper; certain German Jews who chose to accept Lutheran baptism, analyzed by Michael Halvorson; and the Lublin family in Geneva that figures in Karen Spierling's contribution. Although rich in engaging material of interest to scholars in these areas, these papers contribute less specifically to the definition of community.

Ranging more widely, Susan Boettcher's essay on the “community of memory” discusses how late-sixteenth-century Lutherans drew on medieval models of *memoria* to build their own sense of shared history and belonging. In a subtle and theoretically rich analysis of visual representations of Lutheran identity, she illustrates how the new ecclesiastical institutions responded to a “never-abating need for theological, political, and cultural legitimacy” (p. 125) through art, architecture, and monuments that allowed “Lutheran communities to come to terms with the past of the movement and define its meaning for the future” (p. 128). Steven Hindle turns to the evolution of the Rogationtide processions along parish boundaries, drawing on evidence from across England between 1500 and 1700. By focusing on a single ceremonial practice that played a fundamental part in identifying the parish community in space as well as time, the essay not only provides an illuminating diagnosis of how post-Reformation policy and theology coped with these well-established ceremonies over the *longue durée* but also provides a lucid model for comparative analysis along dimensions that include ritual practice, institution-building, and secularization.

Some of the broadest synthesis, finally, appears in Bell's discussion of Jewish communities in Central Europe, which provides a magisterial overview of the complex ways that community was conceptualized, practiced, and institutionalized among the Jewish minority in Germany and Italy. Michael Driedger takes on another minority religious community, the Dutch and German *Doopsgezind* Anabaptists, concentrating on the city of Krefeld as characterized in a recent book by Peter Kreidte, but also engaging with other Anabaptist groups and confronting the classic definition of community offered by Ferdinand Tönnies.

Given that "community" is a theme that encompasses an enormous range of human phenomena even as it raises major theoretical conundrums, the editors of this volume were brave to choose it as the major axis of this collection. Their courage is rewarded by a few essays that make major contributions to the problem of "defining community," while their good judgment appears in the uniformly high scholarly quality of all sixteen articles.

*University of California, Riverside*

RANDOLPH C. HEAD

*Du bien commun au mal nécessaire: Tyrannies, assassinats politiques et souveraineté en Italie, vers 1470-vers 1600.* By Renaud Villard. [Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Fascicule 338.] (Rome: École française de Rome. 2008. Pp. viii, 912. €93,00. ISBN 978-2-728-30800-2.)

In this weighty volume (784 pages of text) Reynaud Villard puts forward a thought-provoking thesis. Focusing on the period from around 1460 to 1580, he points to a spate of assassination attempts in north and central Italy, suggesting that the phenomenon reflected a change in the concept of tyranny. In about 1400, he says, Aristotle's view of tyranny, as one of several possible forms of government, gave way to a less political analysis. According to this latter approach, the tyrant was defined by his behavior—greedy, licentious, and cruel. Such a ruler was sent by God to punish the vices of the community; but, since people would inevitably remain steeped in corruption, the rule of a tyrant could continue indefinitely. It was therefore the duty of public-spirited individuals to undertake tyrannicide in the name of God, so effecting the community's return to grace. Villard proposes a number of common features in these conspiracies: Their aim was murder (in contrast to the earlier period when the death of a ruler or his officials was simply a by-product of unrest); the objective was to unmask the bestiality of the tyrant for all to see; the attempt had to be made in public and, if possible, in a church or other sacred place, so highlighting the mission's divine sanction; in the aftermath of individual plots, an appeal to the public in the form of a discourse on tyrannicide had to be made. The foiling of a plot could, by contrast, serve to demonstrate the ruler's divine protection (with the result that many conspiracies proved to be government fabrications). The multiplication of plots, so

Villard continues, was responsible for the transformation of princely government itself, leading, in the sixteenth century, to the prince's retreat from public view: bodyguards, spies, and a culture of secrecy were now enlisted to protect his regime. As repression became the norm, the prince was no longer seen as the accessible and merciful father of his people. Rulers began to employ their own hitmen: victim and assassin had changed places. At the same time, along with the eventual acceptance that all rulers to some extent partook of tyranny, the figure of the tyrant himself was taken for granted and so less discussed.

The states of northern and central Italy clearly witnessed a rash of assassinations in this century, but to ascribe the phenomenon to a particular concept of tyranny raises problems. In terms of the intellectual context, the view of tyranny as the embodiment of cruelty and vice had long been articulated by Aristotle and his numerous followers and commentators, and was a perennial feature of medieval political thought. What was new, on the other hand, was Bartolo of Sassoferrato's notion of the tyrant *ex defectu tituli*. Furthermore, to aim at highlighting certain common features in disparate episodes leads all too easily to a misrepresentation of events in the interests of pattern. Villard focuses considerable attention, for example, on the Pazzi conspiracy. And yet Lorenzo de' Medici was not depicted by Florentine contemporaries as a monster whose vices had to be expiated. Moreover, although the plot did involve the murder in church of Giuliano de' Medici, the original intention had been to stage the attack neither in a sacred place nor in public (in accordance with the program identified by Villard), but rather in a villa outside the city, a plan thwarted only by the chance absence of Giuliano. Similarly, the author sees Machiavelli's avoidance of the word *tyrant* in *The Prince* (1513) as evidence of declining interest in the concept of tyranny. But Machiavelli's choice of vocabulary stemmed rather from the particular purpose for which *The Prince* was composed: he used the word *tyrant* often enough in the *Discourses*.

In focusing attention on the wave of plots—real and rumored—that took place in this period, Villard has undoubtedly raised an important issue. An alternative explanation for the phenomenon, however, is that, by the end of the fifteenth century, the princes of north and central Italy had become so well established and their regimes and dynasties so firmly entrenched that the discontented and marginalized now had no recourse other than tyrannicide.

Oxford, England

JANE BLACK

*Luther and the Hungry Poor: Gathered Fragments.* By Samuel Torvend. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 177. \$29.00 ISBN 978-0-800-66238-7.)

Written in a conversational tone, but with skill and precision, this volume makes accessible to a wide readership both the general setting of Martin



Luther's understanding of the Christian calling to aid and support the poor and hungry and the more particular presentation of his concerns for the downtrodden in a variety of literary genres. Torvend does this by sketching broad concepts that constitute the background for this understanding in the larger whole of Luther's thought and by making clear at the same time some of the most vital issues involved in Luther's late-medieval social context. The author succinctly but in sufficient detail sketches Luther's departure from medieval definitions of God's grace to his own formulation of grace as God's disposition of mercy and love, which establishes and re-establishes the relationship between himself and his human creatures. That departure from medieval thinking also mean that "Luther's theology of grace as God's unmerited regard for humanity effectively criticized the notion that some persons—the hungry poor and the destitute—could be 'used,' even 'charitably,' for those who sought to advance their spiritual if not social standing with donations" (p. 42). Thus, "Luther's sharp criticism of Christians who act as 'masters and gods' in their treatment of the weak" (p. 42) not only addressed a sixteenth-century German problem but also reminds Christians today that they dare not view other socioeconomic classes only to the degree that they receive goods or offer goods. "If the needy were not to be used for spiritual gain," Torvend writes, "they were to be encountered as real persons with real needs" (p. 42), and simply for the joy of fulfilling God's calling to those whom he counted as his children.

The author perceptively recognizes the critical nature of Luther's fundamental anthropological definition of what it means to be human in his distinction between two dimensions of human righteousness. The Wittenberg Reformers taught that trust in Christ, wrought by the Holy Spirit through Word—above all, in sacramental form—restores human identity as God's child, and that this faith, active in love, meets God's expectations for that child to live out the life for which the Holy Spirit re-creates him or her.

Anchored in the baptismal gift of that identity, and joined in community by the forgiveness of sins bestowed through various forms of God's Word, especially in the Lord's Supper, Christians—Luther insisted—are called by God into vocations in family life, economic activities, political associations, and congregational service to care for one another, especially for the disadvantaged neighbor. Torvend explicates Luther's views through examination of a number of literary forms in which they are expressed: his catechisms, sermons, lectures, and recommendations for a social welfare system in Leisnig, among them. He counseled princes to put the resources of their governments behind the feeding of the poor, and he admonished individual parishioners to practice hospitality and other virtues that benefit the less fortunate.

This lean, clean volume enables both experts and those not so familiar with Reformation studies to gain a helpful and rather complete view of the Wittenberg Reformer's deep and oft-repeated concern that among the good works faith produces in accord with God's command is responsive care for

those suffering economically in society. That was a significant part of Luther's vision for life in God's world.

*Concordia Seminary, St. Louis*

ROBERT KOLB

*The Reform of Catholicism (1480-1620)*. By Guy Bedouelle. Translated and annotated by James K. Farge. [Catholic and Recusant Texts of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods: Studies and Texts, Vol. 161.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2008. Pp. xii, 172. \$24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-888-44161-4.)

This slim volume is a welcome translation of *La réforme du catholicisme (1480-1620)* (Paris, 2002), with additional annotation by the translator, James Farge, to make it suitable for English-speaking audiences and to expand the critical apparatus for those seeking further information.

As Bedouelle notes, the purpose of the book is to address (although not fully answer) a "clear, but not very simple, question" (p. 1): Why did reform within the Catholic Church take so long to begin, and why at last did it succeed? He traces the roots of reform back to the fourteenth century in a brief survey that helps illustrate the larger point: church reform comes in two basic varieties, institutional and "mystical," by which he means "the way of prayer, sanctity, and sacrifice" (p. 16). After several fits and starts, these methods led to Lateran Council V and the Council of Trent. By the time of Trent, very different approaches to reform both outside and within the Catholic Church were available.

Bedouelle summarizes several pre-Tridentine movements, but calls one development at the Council of Trent "The Key to Reform" in chapter 6: Pope Paul III's agreement to consider matters of discipline and doctrine simultaneously. The ambitious reform agenda set by the participants at Trent did produce many successes, yet also exposed areas in which no resolution was possible. Bedouelle focuses on the role of bishops. The definition of the episcopacy began with strong statements in favor of a sacramental priesthood and continued with an examination of the bureaucratic and hierarchical nature of the position. What was the source of the authority of the bishop? What did that authority consist of? These questions were only partially addressed, both because there was no agreement on their answers and because the Council "did not consider it necessary to construct an exhaustive theology of the Church" (p. 79).

Beyond the Council, too, the ambition of reform was obvious: the terminus ad quem of the book is 1620 because many reforms took place after 1563, including the new catechism and service books, a revised Vulgate, a continually maintained Index of Prohibited Books, and new institutional offices and/or practices including the Congregation of Rites, the Congregation of the

Missions, a redesigned system of nuncios, a call for increased local synods and visitations, and the creation of the diocesan seminary. Such initiatives called for not only strong papal support but also a corps of “Agents of Reform” including enthusiastic bishops (St. Charles Borromeo is Bedouelle’s example), committed leaders of religious orders (Ss. Teresa of Ávila, Robert Bellarmine, and Francis de Sales), and cooperative heads of state.

The final chapter summarizes the responses to the initial question: reform within the Catholic Church took so long to begin because of the necessity of dealing with both doctrine and discipline. Earlier movements attempting to focus on only one aspect failed, but for different reasons and therefore did not produce an immediate lesson in how to do it better the next time. It finally did succeed because it embraced reaction (against those who left and rejected doctrine) *and* renewal—remaining essentially the same in doctrine.

Bedouelle’s definitions and explanations, and Farge’s translations, are clear and succinct; the author discusses, but does not labor, the importance of terminology such as Reform, Counter-Reform, Catholic Restoration, and Catholic Reform. The historiographical introduction succeeds in making a specialized vocabulary, and a sometimes heated professional debate, accessible to a non-specialized audience. The added editorial apparatus is well pitched, neither becoming ponderous nor expecting too much of the reader. It should therefore serve well as an introductory text for undergraduates as well as the interested general public.

*Georgia Southern University*

KATHLEEN M. COMERFORD

*Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch.* Edited by Julian Goodare and Alasdair A. MacDonald. [Brill Studies in Intellectual History, Vol. 166.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2008. Pp. xx, 471. \$148.00. ISBN 978-9-004-16825-1.).

Michael Lynch retired from the Sir William Fraser Chair of Scottish History at the University of Edinburgh in 2005; and this hefty, handsome, and meticulously edited volume is a tribute from his friends, colleagues, and former students to his impact on the study of Reformation Scotland. Its eighteen chapters cover what the editors call the long sixteenth century, from 1500 to 1650, but there are only three contributions relating to the period before the Reformation of 1560 and three on the period after the Union of Anglo-Scottish Crowns in 1603. The book’s core is the four decades immediately following the Protestant Reformation and serves as the focus of twelve chapters. This is perhaps an accurate reflection of where Lynch’s own interests primarily lie, as is the fact that very few of the contributions are essays in urban history as such—the field in which Lynch initially made his name with his magisterial work on *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981). Rather, the book reflects Lynch’s more recent interest in the royal court, and its sig-

nificance to Edinburgh in the reign of James VI, as well as the interdependence of political, religious, and cultural history and the ways in which each can illuminate the others.

Perhaps not surprisingly in a collection of this kind, the quality is uneven; some of the chapters are decidedly slight, while others lack analytical depth. Yet there is still enough substance to the volume for it to be of real interest to historians of the period. It opens with Steve Boardman and Andrea Thomas exploring from different perspectives the emergence of a Scottish "Renaissance Monarchy" in the reigns of James IV and James V, and the theme of court culture is picked up again in later essays on the reign of James VI where Maureen Meikle discusses the coronation of Anna of Denmark and Amy Juhala Edinburgh's role in bankrolling the royal court. In similar vein, there is a particularly effective essay by Theo van Heijnsbergen on the poet Alexander Scott and the courtly and urban cultures that greeted Mary, Queen of Scots on her return to Scotland in 1561. More straightforwardly politico-religious are Ruth Grant's reassessment of the background to the Anglo-Scottish alliance of 1586 and Julian Goodare's very convincing chapter arguing that the so-called Edinburgh "riot" of 1596 in fact amounted to an attempted coup d'état. Other contributions to the religious history of the period include David Ditchburn's compendious look at pre-Reformation pilgrimage, Sharon Adams's reassessment of the conference at Leith in 1572, and Jane Dawson's illuminating examination of the social as well as the religious ramifications of the fifth earl of Argyll's marital problems. Nor is Catholic survivalism ignored: Rod Lyall and Michael Yellowlees contribute essays respectively on the Catholic poet and activist James Halkerston and the inveterate Jesuit plotter William Crichton. But among the most innovative chapters on religious themes are Alan MacDonald's fascinating study of the unlikely friendship between Andrew Melville and Patrick Adamson, and Jamie Reid Baxter's study of the early-seventeenth-century literary world of the well-educated and well-connected Andrew Boyd, bishop of Argyll.

Boyd's was a world of clerical politics as well as clerical culture, and the issue of kirk-crown relations is addressed more broadly by Jenny Wormald in what is the most wide-ranging and thought-provoking essay in the book. Wormald uses a discussion of the Five Articles of Perth to question recent interpretations of the extent to which James VI and I pursued genuinely British policies in the two decades after 1603 and whether or not he left his son an irretrievably poisoned ecclesiastical chalice. Finally, although urban history is not well represented here, there are essays by Pat Dennison on the persistence of Robin Hood in urban May Day celebrations throughout the sixteenth century and by Helen Dingwall on the development of the Incorporation of Surgeons as an elite craft in Edinburgh from 1505 to the 1680s. The collection ends, moreover, with a useful survey by Laura Stewart of work on the early-modern Scottish burgh, much of it inspired by Lynch, to which Stewart's own study of Edinburgh in the early-seventeenth century is

a notable recent contribution. If this collection is anything to go by, however, Lynch's real legacy lies not in the now comparatively neglected field of Scottish urban history, but in demonstrating the rich possibilities opened up by refusing to be bound by such categories as social, religious, political, or cultural history, and seeing past events in general and the Scottish Reformation in particular in emphatically multidimensional terms.

*University of St. Andrews*

ROGER A. MASON

*Studi di storia ereticale del Cinquecento.* By Antonio Rotondò. 2 vols. [Studi e testi per la Storia religiosa del Cinquecento, 15.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 2008. Vol. 1: Pp. xxxii, 402; vol. 2: 403–809. €85,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-822-25737-6.)

Before his death in 2007, Antonio Rotondò arranged for the republication of the essays included in his classic *Studi e ricerche di storia ereticale italiana del Cinquecento* (Florence, 1974), plus five other articles that originally appeared in journals or other published collections between 1962 and 1991. The volumes here under review have provided that republication. Rotondò deliberately planned no systematic bibliographic updating of the works, and hence changes to the original works are rare. The first volume opens, however, with a new, self-revelatory piece: a thirteen-page essay by Rotondò tracing the intellectual influences on his scholarly career, from his days in the *liceo* in Cosenza. His commitment to historical investigation emerged at the end of the 1940s, at perhaps the high point of the influence of Benedetto Croce, and was fed by the great teachers of the university at Florence: Giorgio Pasquali, Delio Cantimori, and Eugenio Garin. From them and others, Rotondò learned first the necessity of a synthetic approach to philology and history, and then the techniques required to pass on the importance of critical analysis of sources through teaching. He, like many others, praised especially the instruction of Cantimori, whose breathtaking erudition not only changed the character of Florentine studies on sixteenth-century religiosity but also enabled him to inspire students who came from widely varying cultural contexts in an age of extraordinary political and intellectual passion. Rotondò clearly admired the conviction held by both Cantimori and Garin that great teaching is as much about showing students what to avoid as it is about what must be imparted. They led him, he asserted, to make a contribution to the “profoundly new history of Europe” they were writing, one that emphasized the repression that emerged late in the age of humanism as the opposite of its earlier civility (p. xxvi).

From this appealing intellectual autobiography, there follow thirteen articles, varying widely in length and theme. These demonstrate that Rotondò indeed made a remarkable contribution to that new history. Simple reiteration of the individual titles, with a quick indication of theme and scope, would consume more space than is allotted for this review. Rest assured that all stu-

dents of sixteenth-century religiosity, particularly those interested in considering the connection between that subject and the development of Enlightenment thought—which also fascinated Rotondò—will be delighted with the collection. And make no mistake: his history of religion is a history of opposition to conformity and dogmatism, one often marked by tragic endings. His excellent works on antipapal propaganda, Italian anti-Trinitarians, and Guillaume Postel are all here. Rotondò also included thirteen appendices, which consist of edited primary documents created between 1549 and 1582 directly relating to the republished essays. The original documents are scattered in libraries and archives across Europe. Hence, the collection ends with a practical application of one idea emphasized at the very beginning: placing the sources at the center of our attempt to get our historical stories straight. These volumes are a fitting monument to the work of a great scholar who widened our view of the early-modern past. An English translation would be a wonderful service but is unlikely to find a sympathetic publisher in our budget-cutting present.

*Bloomsburg University*

WILLIAM V. HUDON

*Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World.* Edited by Liam Matthew Brockey. [Empires and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–2000.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xvi, 282. \$114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66313-3.)

In *Portuguese Society in the Tropics* (Madison, WI, 1965), Charles Boxer—“the doyen of the Anglo-American school of Portuguese historiography,” as Liam Brockey notes—called on scholars to turn their attention to the cities of the early-modern Portuguese empire. The wide-ranging essays in Brockey’s book are an important contribution to this still-neglected theme. Church historians will be especially interested in Brockey’s excellent introduction and in the first of the book’s three parts—“Religion and Empire”—which consists of articles by José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, Charlotte de Castelnaul-Estoile, and J. S. A. Elisonas.

Tavim focuses on the Jewish presence in Portuguese Africa and Asia in the sixteenth century. Among the many strengths of his article is his understanding of the differences among professing Jews, New Christians (converts from Judaism and their descendants, who were assumed to be orthodox Catholics), and crypto-Jews. Historians often fail to make crucial distinctions among these three groups. Tavim underscores the divergent experiences of Jewish communities in Africa and Asia, beginning with

the recognition of rabbis and the designation of ghettos, *judiarias*, in [North African] cities after the Jewish minority in continental Portugal had ceased to enjoy a legal existence. . . . No such legal recognition of free [i.e., professing] Jews was accorded in the cities of Portuguese Asia. (p. 23)

Tavim's survey of Jewish communities contains fascinating references to their relations with the Catholic missionary church, including a little-known disputation (conducted in Ormuz between 1549 and 1551) between the city's rabbis and Father Gaspar Barzaeus of the newly founded Society of Jesus.

In "The Jesuits and the Political Language of the City," Castelnau-L'Estoile follows the shifting fortunes of the Society of Jesus in Salvador da Bahia during the early-seventeenth century. Like the Jesuits in other cities in Brazil, the Jesuits in Salvador were entrusted by the Crown with the distribution of Indian labor to Portuguese settlers. Disputes over a 1609 law that bolstered the Jesuits' authority led to sustained conflict in the city, and in 1610 the settlers, with the barely concealed support of the governor, rioted against the Jesuits in Salvador. Four years later, however, the crown revoked the legislation as well as the Jesuits' monopoly over the control of Indian labor. Yet the governor now feared the unrest that removing the Jesuits from the Indian villages that they had created might provoke. "As a result," Castelnau-L'Estoile concludes, "an about-face took place in which . . . popular opinion as well as local authorities shifted to [a position] which favored the Jesuits' keeping their *aldeias* [villages] and retaining their role with the Indians" (p. 53). The final act of this drama of reconciliation took place in 1622, when civic authorities joined the Society in an elaborate commemoration of the canonizations of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. Drawing on little-studied documents in the Jesuit archives in Rome, Castelnau-L'Estoile provides a convincing and detailed analysis of the manifestations in Salvador of the tension between the Society and the settlers that is one of the defining features of the history of colonial Brazil.

One of the key elements of Elisonas's argument is contained in the reference to Japan in the title of his article, "Nagasaki: The Early Years of an Early Modern Japanese City." In contrast to Portuguese historians who have suggested that Nagasaki's urban plan made it a Portuguese city, Elisonas argues that the development of Nagasaki followed a distinctly Japanese pattern. The principal contribution of the Portuguese to early-modern Nagasaki was their role in the opening of the city's harbor to trade with foreign merchants in 1571. This was followed in 1580 by the donation of Nagasaki to the Society of Jesus by the devout neophyte Dom Bartolomeu Omura. Revising his characterization of the Jesuit colony in previous work, Elisonas argues that "[t]o call this place a *civitas Dei* was perhaps injudicious. *Civitas Societatis Iesu* is closer to the mark. In any event, Nagasaki was never a *civitas Lusitanorum*" (p. 73).

Over the next thirty years, a strong community of lay Christians took root in Nagasaki. Elisonas provides a compelling portrait of this community by analyzing the *Misericórdia* (a charitable confraternity) and by demonstrating the preponderant role of laypeople in sustaining the church after the shogunate began persecuting Christians throughout Japan in 1614. Laypeople in China were to play a similarly important role in the survival of Christianity after



the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1724, as Brockey argues in *Journey to the East* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).

Japanese Christians who apostatized and embraced Buddhism were frequently forced to prove their orthodoxy by desecrating Christian images. Elisonas's analysis of the shogunate's inquisition registers for "budistas novos" (New Buddhists) suggests parallels with the treatment of New Christians in the early-modern Iberian world.

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THOMAS M. COHEN

*Julius exclusus e coelis: Motive und Tendenzen gallikanischer und bibelbumanistischer Papstkritik im Umfeld des Erasmus.* By Peter Fabisch. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Band 152.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2008. Pp. viii, 582. €65,00. ISBN 978-3-402-11577-0.)

The question of who wrote *Julius Excluded from Heaven* (1513 or 1514) has, like many historical questions, no simple answer and a long history of dispute. Peter Fabisch takes up the matter anew to refute the contention, especially prevalent among Anglo-American scholars, that Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote it. Rather, it was the work of one whose politics were clearly Gallican; namely, the Venetian humanist in the court of Louis XII, Fausto Andrelini. By reattributing authorship to Andrelini, Fabisch fulsomely defends the findings of Carl Stange's *Erasmus und Julius II., eine Legende* (Berlin, 1937).

Part 1 of Fabisch's study takes up the indications of Andrelini's authorship. Among them is a letter that Andrelini wrote c. 1510 to France's Queen Anne containing the chief complaints of the *Julius*: that Julius betrayed Louis's faith by abandoning the League of Cambrai, that he was "ungrateful" for French support that yielded him success, that he was risking schism—a reference to his opposition to the Council of Pisa, which nine dissident cardinals convoked and which Louis abetted—and that he was manifestly unworthy of his office. Moreover, Andrelini had to have partaken of the other elements important to the dialogue, such as contemporary French conciliarist theories, popular Parisian comedies, the internal politics of the Council of Pisa and the Fifth Lateran Council—its officially sanctioned counterpart—and visceral personal animosity toward Julius. Erasmus, who is central to the second section, wrote nothing in his contemporary satires and letters comparably venomous or pro-French.

Fabisch does not deny that most of Erasmus's contemporaries attributed the *Julius* to him and that there is "something Erasmusian" about it. There is also circumstantial evidence that points to him. However, none of this mitigates the indirect nature of the evidence and the contrived conclusions drawn from it. For example, it is far easier to find "Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviensis" in "F. A. F"—the initials on the title page of early editions of the *Julius*—than to

figure how they pseudonymously refer to Erasmus. Even more significant, to assert Erasmus is the author is to disregard—and to have to rationalize—his repeated and consistent disavowals of any connection to the dialogue, which he criticized for its rashness and damage to his own reputation. Finally, concerning St. Thomas More's claim to his having seen a draft of it in Erasmus's own hand in summer 1514, Fabisch argues that this was most likely to have been a copy Erasmus made of Andrelini's "*Ur-Julius*," one that Etienne Poncher, bishop of Paris, showed him that summer.

The final part is the "History of Indiscretion and Misdirection" surrounding the dissemination and publication of the *Julius*. Thomas Lupset, a one-time secretary to Erasmus, and Ulrich von Hutten are the agents of the dialogue's transmission from Erasmus's copybook, to Italy, and on to Speyer—the site of its first publication in 1517, according to Fabisch. By 1517, the issues that originally animated the satire were dead, but what made the dialogue live on were the Reuchlin Affair and the growing animosity toward Rome that Hutten was intentionally generating in German circles. Here Fabisch rightly notes that whatever the political ends of its author may have been, the *Julius* served the interests of those disseminating it. And, far from being a statement of humanist reform aspirations, the whole history of the dialogue shows it to be a passionate political tract. As far as settling the question of who wrote the *Julius*, what can be most assuredly concluded is that Fabisch has put the matter in dispute again where, absent some revealing new evidence, it will likely remain.

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KURT STADTWARD

*Die Entdeckung der indischen Thomas-Christen. Zwei italienische Quellen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aus der Wiener Sammlung Woldan (Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar).* By Robert Wallisch. [Philosophisch-historische Klasse/Edition Woldan, Band 1.] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 2008. Pp. 257. €39,20 paperback. ISBN 978-3-700-13952-2.)

It was only in the early-modern period and the age of explorations that the so-called "Thomas Christians" came into focus for the Europeans. According to tradition, it is believed that St. Thomas the Apostle landed at the Malabar Coast in the year 52 AD, where he established seven churches. This tradition is supported by the Syriac Acts of Thomas (early-third century) as well as by several patristic texts from the third to the seventh century. The most prominent among them might be Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Greek traveler and geographer of the first half of the sixth century. The tradition indicates that Thomas went to India, where he died as a martyr. His traditional tomb has been venerated in Mylapore on the eastern coast of the Indian peninsula through the centuries. However, only after the discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama, who landed in Calicut in the pres-

ent-day state of Kerala, did more frequent information about Malabar Christianity reach the West. At the same time, the encounter with the Portuguese was the beginning of a miserable history of Western Christian colonization, with the 1599 synod of Diamper as a sad landmark in the latinization of the genuine Thomas tradition.

This valuable volume edits, translates, and comments on two of the most important sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that document encounters between the Occident and the Thomas Christians. Found in the Woldan Collection of the library of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, these are the accounts about Joseph of Cranganore (sixteenth century) and the report from the Tuscan Carmelite monk Vincenzo Maria Murchio on his church mission to the Indian Malabar coast in 1655.

After a general introduction combined with a chronological table of the Thomas Christians, the discussion moves to the report about Joseph of Cranganore. The two edited versions—Italian and Latin—have remarkable and interesting differences. Joseph, an East Syriac Christian from the Malabar Coast, embarked in 1501 with Alvares Cabral and reached Lisbon, Rome, and Venice. The Italian version penned by an anonymous author is based on talks with Venetian merchants. By 1508, Arcangelo Madrigano had translated this text into Latin, and it was widely disseminated. However, the Latin version purports to be a report of a Portuguese seaman. The translator corrects and manipulates the Italian version to smoothen several East Syriac (“Nestorian”) theological and canonical details that might have caused trouble with the Inquisition. The profound German translation by the editor is based on the Italian version only, while the commentary refers to the differences between the two versions.

The second edited text is from the probably most comprehensive book about India of the early-modern period, the *Viaggio all’Indie Orientali* of Murchio. The author was part of the Carmelite delegation sent by Pope Alexander VII to Malabar to deal with the rebellion of the Thomas Christians against the Portuguese colonials. This had culminated in the break with Rome by the famous Coonan Cross Oath of 1653. The edited Italian text with German translation focuses on the Christians of Malabar and comes from the second book of Murchio’s voluminous work. It illustrates his largely positive attitude toward the genuine tradition of the Thomas Christians.

The instructive and informative commentary is especially strong when explaining specific geographical and historical circumstances of the early-modern period. Unfortunately, there are weaknesses in its theological explanations. The portrayals of so-called Monophysites and Nestorians (e.g., pp. 87 and 213) are regrettably not on the level of current theological and ecumenical studies. The book closes with an informative and useful appendix about India in old maps of the Woldan Collection, a bibliography, and an index of names and locations.

The book is a fine contribution to a deeper study of the Thomas Christians, making these important texts easily accessible and providing valuable insights to the encounters between European and Indian Christians.

*University of Salzburg*

DIETMAR W. WINKLER

*Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade.* By Elizabeth Evenden. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. Pp. xii, 247. \$99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65480-3.)

There have been a number of accounts of the life and career of John Day (c. 1522–84), perhaps best known for his printing of the first four editions of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (first publ. 1563), but this monograph provides much the most complete and up-to-date. The author, a lecturer in English literature at Brunel University who has a special interest in the development of printing and publishing in the second half of the sixteenth century, has managed to unearth new evidence on Day's early life when, with the help of foreign workmen in London, he was in the vanguard of publishing the rapidly expanding number of evangelical works under King Edward VI, and also some on his later life when, financially protected by lucrative monopolies of staple items such as the *ABC and catechisme* and the metrical psalms, Day was able to experiment with larger works, including Foxe's mammoth martyrology, and the use of different typefaces and layouts and better-quality illustrations than had appeared in previous works. There remains very little hard evidence of his personal piety or the exact nature of his commitment to Protestantism. Day was regularly perceived as a reliable printer and seller of Protestant works—a perception he may well have encouraged. But after publishing clandestine works under Queen Mary I in 1553–54, his spell in jail was short, and on his release he not only printed some Catholic works for John Wayland but also later would use conservative materials and images in the devotional works he produced under Queen Elizabeth I. What does come across in this and other accounts is Day's assiduous pursuit of and cooperation with powerful patrons such as secretary William Cecil and Archbishop Matthew Parker, and his commercial ambition and ruthless opportunism, which provoked considerable hostility from fellow members of the print trade and led to the near collapse of his empire before his death.

Six of the eight chapters consist of analyses of groups of Day's publications in chronological sequence, from which deductions are drawn about his intentions and conclusions on his achievements. These are almost entirely flattering to Day: the number and variety of his publications, the size of his business, and the enormous advances in typography and illustration he nurtured. However, to put Day on so high a pedestal as the leading printer of the English Protestant regime risks downgrading the contributions of Edward Whitchurch, Richard Grafton, William Seres, Reyner Wolfe, and Christopher Barker, who, with help in high places, published thousands of copies of different versions of the Bible

(with lavish title pages) and the *Book of Common Prayer*, as well as repeated editions of works such as Desiderius Erasmus's *Paraphrases* (1517–23), John Jewel's *Apologia* (1562), and Alexander Nowell's *Catechism* (1549). There were not many printers in England with the confidence and resources to take on substantial projects, but there were some, such as Thomas Vautrollier, a Huguenot refugee who built up a considerable reputation in London as an accomplished printer, and published a number of editions of Lutheran and Calvinist works in English or Latin, including John Calvin's massive *Institutes* (1536). Moreover, the shortcomings of Day's output, even in some editions of prestige projects such as the *Acts and Monuments*—the poor quality of the paper and sometimes illegible type, the sloppy cross-referencing, the repeated use of the same illustrations within the covers of one book—are explained away as due to circumstances beyond his control or the assistants he used, such as his son, Robert. This monograph offers a most useful and informative account of a pivotal figure in the Tudor book trade, but Day's reputation might be served as well by acknowledging the blemishes on his record, and his achievement be put in sharper perspective by comparing it with that of other leading printers both in England and abroad.

*University of Edinburgh*

IAN GREEN

*The Chancery of God: Protestant Print, Polemic, and Propaganda against the Empire, Magdeburg, 1546–1551.* By Nathan Rein. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xvi, 257. \$114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65686-9.)

The resistance of the city of Magdeburg to imperial forces during the Schmalkaldic War has always presented something of a puzzle to historians of religion. Dubbing itself “The Lord God’s Chancery,” the city produced hundreds of pamphlets, outlining the reasons and justification for their resistance. The most famous of these tracts, the Magdeburg Confession, has long been of interest to students of political theory. But here lies the problem: the Confession has generally been seen as a starting point for the development of modern—hence secular—theories of resistance. Nathan Rein’s insightful analysis of the Magdeburg pamphlets provides an alternative reading of the texts, one that places them squarely within their proper social, political, and religious context.

The book is based on an analysis of 228 of the 360 pamphlets known to have been produced in Magdeburg between 1546 and 1551. The author sets out to explain the circumstance that led the city to continue to fight a propaganda war well after the apparent imperial military victory. In the process, he seeks “to interpret [Magdeburg’s] resistance in terms of a Protestant worldview and sense of identity” (p. xiv). The first chapter surveys the pamphlets, considering their utility as sources. Here the author provides a careful and reasonable assessment of the challenges and opportunities involved in the study

of polemical literature. The second chapter considers the revolutionary character of the Protestant Reformation, stressing the essential contradictions between the political theology of the Habsburg emperors and nascent Lutheranism. Key here is the contrast between “German Liberty,” understood in terms of communal self-government, and the universalizing imperial notions of the Habsburg.

This contradiction becomes even clearer in the chapter that follows, dealing with the Augsburg Interim of 1548, Charles’s flawed attempt to find a middle path between Confessional parties. A fatal weakness of the interim was the separation of the means of salvation from liturgical practice—while the former was presented as a modification of Lutheran solafideism, the Catholic liturgy was preserved not on account of the efficacy of the sacraments but almost entirely on historical grounds. The larger political implications were equally suspect: “the Interim structures ‘religion’ in a way that is particularly amenable to absolute governments” (p. 104). Whereas the imperial creed “revolves around hierarchy and order” the view of politics espoused in Magdeburg “centers on faith and scripture, placing liturgy at the service of the believing individual and minimizing the power of institutions to mediate holiness” (p. 120). The fourth chapter focuses on the pamphlets produced during the siege of the city between 1548 and 1551, focusing primarily on the Magdeburg Confession. The final chapter summarizes the overall Magdeburg view of the Christian community, examining specific ways in which the pamphleteers’ vision of civic and religious polity lay behind the ideas presented in the texts.

One theme that runs through the book is the highly topical character of the pamphlets. Most modern treatments of the subject stress the influence of the Magdeburg pamphlets, emphasizing the universal character of their arguments. But as Rein points out, the authors did not aim to articulate a universal theory of resistance. Quite the opposite—much of their argument stressed the singularity of the struggle among the German people, the emperor, and the papacy. The “Protestant worldview” presented in the texts is firmly rooted in the traditional social structures of the autonomous urban commune. This is not to suggest that religious points of view were determined by social and economic realities, but rather that sixteenth-century people did not conceive of a separation between the two: any threat to their way of life was likewise a threat to their religious identity. While the “Protestant worldview” was necessarily confessional in nature, the author demonstrates how far removed the Magdeburgers’ conception of the social, religious, and political order was from that which informed the process of Confessionalization in Germany after 1550.

This book has many strengths—few books exist that are so sensitive to the interconnections between social and religious life or to the interplay among imperial, territorial, and local politics within the empire. The texts are placed within their proper context without being “contextualized.” Dialogue, rather

than determinism, defines the author's treatment of this wide-ranging corpus. The author is also to be praised for his methodological sensitivity and sensibility. Overall, this is a must-read for students of German religious and political history in the mid-sixteenth century. The scope of the treatment goes well beyond the geographical or temporal limits described in the title: indeed, careful consideration of Rein's thesis may well force scholars to rethink some of the standard approaches to the history of Confessionalization and of the origins of modern theories of political resistance.

*Oglethorpe University*

WILLIAM BRADFORD SMITH

*Humanism and the Reform of Sacred Music in Early Modern England: John Merbecke the Orator and The Booke of Common Praier Noted (1550).* By Hyun-Ah Kim. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xviii, 246. \$114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66268-6.)

An exact contemporary of Thomas Tallis, John Merbecke was born in c.1505 and was last noted as living in 1584. He spent all his professional life as a member of the illustrious choir of the collegiate church of St. George in Windsor Castle. For the Latin rite he became a solidly workmanlike composer of the extended and elaborate vocal polyphony of the 1520s and 1530s, leaving one substantial Mass and two long votive antiphons. An early admirer of Protestant objectives of reform, he also made a unique contribution to the vernacular Edwardian liturgy. The compilers of the 1549 *Book of Common Prayer* had no wish gratuitously to alienate its parish hearers by denying a role to those parish clerks and, in some churches, volunteer laity who formed an elementary choir to help the priest to sing the plainsong of the services; consequently, its rubrics allowed for continuation of the rendering of numerous appropriate passages by "the Clerks." Merbecke thereupon took it upon himself to provide music for the resulting sung service. For much of the Office he was content to make a selection from the variety of plainsong chants available for each corresponding component in the traditional Salisbury Use, but for the Communion services he suppressed tradition and composed melodies of his own. For each text not delivered in a plain monotone he created a simple rhythmicized monody and for both styles engaged an orthochronic notation based on the plainsong symbols that alone were familiar to such amateur enthusiasts (rather than the mensural notation familiar to professionals). A volume of eighty-four octavo leaves, it was printed by Grafton and published as *The Booke of Common Praier Noted* (BCPN, 1550).

For Merbecke as composer the author makes bold assertions. It is claimed that analysis of his melodies discloses that they were so crafted as to incorporate optimum features both of oratorical delivery in terms of accentuation and melodic contour, and of inherent meaning in terms of deployment of the period's most advanced modal theory. It is thus her contention that



Merbecke's compositional inspiration was informed primarily by a thorough understanding and absorption of the ideals of Erasmian humanism. Necessarily a man of much refined learning, he is depicted as widely read not only in the Latin of Erasmian thought but also the Italian of the finest contemporary musical treatises. His BCPN thus deserves recognition as a masterwork not just of clarity and cogency in musical expression but also in the synthesis of Renaissance oratorical eloquence and Reformation theological rectitude.

Regrettably, the presentation of these contentions fails utterly to convince; its premise is undermined on numerous grounds. The characterization of Merbecke himself appears wholly improbable, for there is plentiful evidence that he never attained the level of refined education predicated by these contentions. He enjoyed no university education; although, as a chorister-boy of St. George's, he would have gained some elementary Latin, he did not even follow his brighter colleagues across the river to Eton College. In addition, it was reported in 1543 that the Latin he possessed was barely serviceable. Indeed, he acknowledged himself to be but a musical artisan of only meager learning, reporting himself in a dedication addressed to King Edward VI (1550) as

one of your highness' most poor subjects, destitute both of learning and eloquence, yea and such a one as in a manner never tasted the sweetness of learned letters, but altogether brought up in your highness' College at Windsor, in the study of Music and playing on Organs, wherein I consumed vainly the greatest part of my life.

None of that was false modesty.

Further, the author has not undertaken the research in the St. George's Chapel archives manifestly essential to this project. Misled by amateur in-house scholarship, she accords to Merbecke the role, ostensibly intellectually distinguished, of "organist and choirmaster." In practice, however, these were but subordinate offices undertaken by men primarily employed as lay clerks—and although Merbecke indeed was organ player, he is not known to have discharged at St. George's any intellectually elevated role as educator. The teaching and training of the choristers was the function of the lay clerk appointed to be "instructor"; except for one three-month spell as short-term stand-in, Merbecke occupied not this office but that of "supervisor," responsible not at all for teaching but merely for oversight of the choristers' care and lodging.

Also, the author rather misconceives the character of St. George's. Its "royal connections" notwithstanding, the collegiate church was but a factory of prayer and music, and no forum of sophisticated learning. Merbecke was but a singing-man of the choir; he gained his self-educated awareness of evangelical thought from private reading of vernacular sources and translations, and perhaps from the sharing with fellow lay clerk Robert Testwood of exposure to the table-talk of canons such as (when in residence) Simon Heynes.

Indeed, for delivery of the salient characteristics of Merbecke's modest BCPN melodies, it would appear that there was required no mastery of humanist theories of rhetorical eloquence. Other far-less-elevated stimuli can be proposed; all that was requisite was a synthesis of compositional approaches already well known. The manner in which church authority endorsed measured monophony, disposed (for ease both of performance and comprehension) one note per syllable, was already manifest through the 1544 setting of the English litany. Moreover, compositional sensitivity to the natural stresses and shapes of English vernacular text was not new in 1550; it had been in evidence at least since such pieces as the settings of "Woefully Arrayed" and "Ah, Robin" by William Cornysh (d. 1523). Merbecke was a perfectly competent composer, and to produce his BCPN he had only to add to these pre-existing approaches the application of a natural melodic gift to the novelty of composing to vernacular prose.

The book's discussions of music, musical culture, and the Latin liturgy appear, unfortunately, predominantly naive and shot through with misapprehensions. In particular, the "Reform of Anglican Plainchant" of which the author writes much was in reality virtually nonexistent; the English Reformation did not reform but, rather, all but obliterated the immense body of Salisbury Use plainsong. (There was indeed a "Reform of Sacred Music" in Reformation England, to the character of which Erasmian humanism may perhaps have made—at several removes—some indirect contribution. This, however, was of polyphonic composition, not of plainsong; see particularly the later domestic motets of Tallis.) A substantial portion of Merbecke's production was, in any event, not at all of a modified plainsong, but of original composition in measured monophony—a different and idiosyncratic musical style bearing no more than a passing resemblance to plainsong.

Nevertheless, albeit often tangential to its main purpose, this book does offer lengthy and useful digests of existing scholarship on such subjects as the reception of Erasmian thinking into England, especially by the early reformers, and the impact of humanism and rhetoric on literary culture. These constitute the author's principal strength, not least in their location of certain trends native to English musical production at this period within a broader continental context.

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ROGER BOWERS

*Dilingae disputationes. Der Lehrinhalt der gedruckten Disputationen an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Dillingen, 1555-1648.* By Ulrich G. Leinsle. [Jesuitica, Vol. 11.] Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner. 2006. Pp. 678. €61,68. ISBN 978-3-795-41873-1.)

It is difficult to survey adequately in a short review the well-organized, meticulously detailed, and very valuable content of this monograph by Ulrich

G. Leinsle, which examines 312 disputations held in the Philosophy Faculty at the University of Dillingen as published between 1555 and 1648. Leinsle divides the text of his monograph into an introduction, nine sections (each containing subsections), and a short conclusion. Section 1 (*Disputatio philosophica*) is devoted to general topics. These include discussion of the period (1551–63) prior to the transformation of the university into the first Jesuit university north of the Alps and the effects of the Jesuit plan of study (*Ratio studiorum*)—as it evolved through the year 1599—on the philosophical disputations at the university; also discussed are the diverse types of disputations held there, censorship issues, and the concept of philosophy (as it appears within published disputations at Dillingen). Leinsle briefly notes (p. 20) that although the presider (usually a University of Dillingen professor) of any given disputation is usually regarded—in library catalogs—as its author, in many individual cases the defendant (usually a student) also can be regarded as the coauthor.

Sections 2 through 8 discuss the individual philosophical subjects concerning which disputations were held. The subsections present an excellent overview and discussion of the individual topics concerning which disputations were held on the liberal arts and logic (section 2), physics (section 3), cosmology and meteorology (section 4), generation and corruption (section 5), the soul (section 6), ethics and politics (section 7), and metaphysics (section 8). Within each of these sections is a subsection devoted to summary and concluding comments.

On the basis of the organization and content of these sections, it is clear that some of these subjects were discussed substantially more than others within the disputations held in Dillingen. Leinsle uses two tables (p. 565) to categorize the 312 philosophical disputations discussed in this monograph according to decade of publication and subject. Disputations on physics (77), multiple philosophical subjects (60), logic (53), generation and corruption (44), and the soul (37) predominate in this second table.

Leinsle mentions (pp. 530–31) that metaphysics received relatively little emphasis in Dillingen during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. In its stead, ontological subjects were discussed within Dillingen disputations on logic and natural philosophy. In the final subsection of section 6 (pp. 345–463), Leinsle not only emphasizes the importance of Aristotle's writings on *De anima* (the soul) within philosophical instruction at Dillingen but also mentions the metaphysical basis of discussions concerning the soul (and psychology) within disputations there.

Section 9 (*Philosophia sacra*) discusses theological subjects found within Dillingen philosophical disputations published during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. Leinsle notes (in section 10, pp. 559–60) that although the terms *Aristotelianism* and *Scholasticism* can be used when describing philosophy instruction at Dillingen between 1555 and 1648, philosophical disputations there—which generally focused on distinguishing truth

from falsity—reveal a wide range of viewpoints pertaining to many philosophical issues and points of doctrine.

To what extent do the contents of these published Dillingen philosophical disputations reflect the university's philosophy curriculum as a whole? Although Leinsle does not directly answer this question, it can be said that published Dillingen philosophical disputations provide far more information concerning this curriculum than any other extant sources. With the exception of an influential collection of axioms published by Georg Reeb (discussed in section 1.4.3), no other Dillingen professor authored a monographic philosophical text used at Dillingen through 1648. The extant collection of University of Dillingen lecture catalogs (*Lektionskataloge*) from 1564 through 1614—as cited on page 569—might have been utilized more extensively; a brief content analysis of those lecture catalogs would have provided further evidence in support of Leinsle's conclusions.

The text of this monograph is followed by short biographies for presiders of Dillingen philosophy disputations, two tables, list of abbreviations, person and subject indices, and a bibliography that includes a detailed listing of the 312 philosophy disputations covered. It is unfortunate that a chronological concordance to that listing and a list of the monograph's fifteen excellent illustrations are not included. But these issues do not detract from this monograph, which serves as an excellent overview and discussion of Jesuit philosophy in central Europe in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century. It should serve as a seminal work on this subject in the coming decades.

*Alabama State University*

JOSEPH S. FREEDMAN

*I nomi degli altri: Conversioni a Venezia e nel Friuli Veneto in età moderna.* By Pietro Ioly Zorattini. [Biblioteca dell'«Archivum Romanicum», Serie I: Storia, Letteratura, Paleografia, Vol. 348.] (Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki. 2008. Pp. xx, 385. €42,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-822-25782-6.)

*I nomi degli altri* by Pietro Ioly Zorattini has greatly enhanced our knowledge of conversions to Catholicism in Venice and in Friuli-Veneto on the part not only of Jews but also of Muslims and non-Catholic Christians. The first four chapters of the book deal with conversion in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam; the attitude of the papacy toward infidels in Italy during the Counter-Reformation with emphasis on the role of the House of Catechumens in preparing infidels for baptism; the conversion of Jews in Venice prior to the establishment of the Venetian House of Catechumens in 1557; and a history of the Venetian House of Catechumens, tracing its locations, governance, and process for admitting potential converts.

Chapter 5—in a sense, the core of the book—analyzes the baptismal records from the House of Catechumens in Venice, presented in forty-four

pages of tabulated data. An overall numerical introduction of those admitted to the House and of those baptized is followed by breakdowns by nuclear families; by age; by numbers baptized within certain time periods; by the names of the baptizers in chronological order and by the number of converts they baptized; by the churches in which the baptisms occurred; and by the place of origin (listing both historical and present-day place names) of the baptized Muslims, Jews, and non-Catholic Christians, which is organized by number of converts as well as alphabetically.

Most basically, although there are gaps in the extant registers, it appears that 2635 individuals entered the House of Catechumens, of whom 2351, almost 90%, eventually converted. The remaining 284, slightly over 10%, were not converted for several reasons: Some were discovered to have already been baptized (a second baptism, *baptismo iterato*, usually undertaken for financial gain, constituted a desecration of the sacrament); others ultimately decided to remain with their families, did not have an authentic vocation, had a criminal record, did not behave properly in the House, or refused because of conscience. Of those who entered, 1630 were Muslims, 975 Jews, 28 non-Catholic Christians, and two Manicheans. Of the baptized, 1598 were male and 753 female (a ratio of 2.12 to 1), while the ratio of men who left without baptism was much higher (3.81 to 1). Although the place of origin of the individual catechumens was not always given in the documents, the majority of the Muslims for whom it was given (72.6 percent) came from the Venetian possessions in the East and consisted mainly of former sailors, soldiers, and unspecified women who had been captured in war or purchased by Venetian merchants and brought to Venice. Others came from the Ottoman Empire, Abyssinia, and a few from India and Tartary. As for the known places of origin of Jews, the largest group (373 out of 747) came from the ghetto of Venice, followed by fifty-two from Padua and forty from Verona, while the others originated primarily from Northern Italy or the Venetian overseas empire. Because Muslims usually arrived at the House as individuals from far away while Jews from the Veneto often came in families, 3 percent of the Muslims converted in nuclear families, but 25.4 percent of the Jews did. As for the few non-Catholic Christians, twenty-five were Protestants (thirteen Anabaptists, eight Calvinists, and four Lutherans), while three were Russian Orthodox.

The remaining chapters deal with learned Jewish converts who cooperated in various ways with the Inquisition, candidates for baptism who were not accepted, Muslims and Jews who came from the Ottoman Empire, converts in Friuli Veneto, and finally, some famous converts around the time of the end of the Venetian Republic and afterward.

Based to a great extent on statistical analysis, this book is very far from constituting a dry, technical volume. On the contrary, the presentation features extensive passages taken mainly from the archive of the Patriarchate of Venice and others in the Veneto, in which individuals give biographical information

revealing their inner thoughts and motivations, and often clarifying the difficulties and tensions encountered on the road to a change in religious identity that was to bring about spiritual redemption. This very insightful, sensitive, well-written, and thoroughly documented book is of great relevance to all those interested in early-modern Italian, and especially Venetian, history as well as those interested in the history of Jews and Muslims, the history of religion, and the history of conversion, including the mentality of converts and the religious and social dynamics of the converts' integration.

*Brandeis University*

BENJAMIN RAVID

*Galileo's Inquisition Trial Revisited.* By Jules Speller. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2008. Pp. x, 431. \$99.95. ISBN 978-3-631-56229-1.)

The trial of Galileo continues to fascinate people, and this book is an attempt to assess the various interpretations that have been offered in recent years. The author raises a number of interesting questions about the way Galileo's trial has been examined by scholars who often had a tacit agenda, be it to show that the Church is not infallible or to argue that it acted in a correct way given the nature of Galileo's arguments and his inability to prove that the Earth really moves. Speller draws attention to the weakness of efforts to generalize from the very special, indeed unique, case of Galileo, and he is particularly sensitive to the context in which the trial arose. The book is well documented and often provides information that is essential to an understanding of the reasons why, for instance, Pope Urban VIII was so incensed when his argument about the nature of God's creative power was presented by Galileo in a way that he considered inadequate. The matter is of course complex, but thanks to Speller we are better informed about the fact that the pope's view, which is presented in the *Dialogue on the Two Chief World Systems* (1632), had already appeared in a work published by his personal theologian, Agostino Oreggi. The gist of Urban VIII's argument is that God can create the world in an infinite number of ways and that speculation about matters that cannot be directly observed or experimentally verified is no threat to the traditional interpretation of the Bible. This philosophical position cannot be described as a novel one, for it was held by other thinkers at the time, but Galileo committed the gross error of putting it in the mouth of a philosopher, whom he called Simplicio, and who behaved like a simpleton during the four days that the Copernican system was discussed in the *Dialogue*. In 1616, sixteen years before he published his book, Galileo had been admonished not to teach that the Earth moves when the Holy Office was about to ban Copernicus's *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres* (1543). In 1623, Galileo had journeyed to Rome to meet Urban VIII shortly after his election, and he saw him on six occasions. We do not know whether the name of Copernicus cropped up in the conversation, but Galileo gathered that he was now at liberty to write about the heliocentric system provided he did not state clearly that he believed it was more than a working hypothesis. He did not inform the pope that he had

been enjoined not to teach that the Earth moves, and his reasons for not doing this remain a moot question. The fact that the pope was a temporal as well as a spiritual leader frequently led to an intermingling of motives and motivations that we find difficult to disentangle. One thing is clear: Galileo overstated his case, and Urban VIII reacted with more rigor than we have come to consider appropriate. A less arrogant approach on Galileo's part and a more genuinely spiritual outlook on the pope's side would have led to a less dramatic outcome. But it is good to know that there has been only one Galileo trial. Perhaps history can teach us something after all.

*University of Padua*

WILLIAM R. SHEA

*The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566-1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age.* By Mia M. Mochizuki. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xxiv, 399. \$124.95. ISBN: 978-0-754-66104-7.)

This important book provides an extended analysis—pictorial, functional, contextual, and theological—of the six scriptural *tekstborden* (text panels) installed in the Great Church of Haarlem between 1580 and 1585, where they served as confessional statements avowing the conversion of this formerly Roman Catholic cathedral into a purified Temple of the Word. Painted onto columns, hung from piers, elevated above the choir screen, and inserted into the stone armature that once supported the high altarpiece, these panels, also known as *tekstschilderijen* (text paintings), consist of biblical citations and paraphrases that substitute divinely sanctioned *litterae* for the Catholic figural images recently despoiled by iconoclasts and then systematically (and carefully) removed by civic authorities. The subjects—the Last Supper, Ten Commandments, *Passages from Matthew* and *from John*, supplemented by the biblical compendia assembled in the *Greengrocers' and Linen Weavers' Paintings*, as well as by the commemorative *Siege of Haarlem* on the reverse of the *Last Supper*—constitute a programmatic statement of Reformed religious identity, as Mochizuki amply demonstrates.

The author invokes the reform theology of Erasmus, as set forth by scholars such as Carlos Eire, to explain how these text panels materialize a new kind of image-theory, at once verbal and visual, that substitutes textual simulacra for pictorial *eikones*, the written for the enfleshed Word, as representational indices of the transcendent and therefore incommensurable presence of God within the communal fabric of the Church. Mochizuki construes the *tekstborden* as specimens of what she calls Reformed aesthetics: The posticonoclastic image, she argues, swaps verisimilar imitation for indexical portrayal as the key principle of sacred image-making. The text panels respond to John Calvin's prohibition against the corporeal representation of God, an interdict enshrined in Question 97 of the Heidelberg Catechism, by emphasizing that he has been portrayed in an emphatically mediated and referential fashion. Instead of a lifelike effigy, the worshiper is given an image



composed of words, either gilt or painted in oil on stone or panel, that renders doctrinal truths beyond the scope of any conventional picture. Mochizuki insists on the artifice of these indices of the Word: Composed of depicted words, they enshrine the knowledge of God to be found in Scripture, which is transmitted visually and yet verbally; at the same time, these painted texts implicitly allude to the Catholic imagery they supplant, that falsely purveyed the illusion of unmediated access to embodied divinity. Having displaced mimesis as the principle of sacred image-making, they call attention to their novel status as examples of a “symbolic or metonymic system of representation [that] changed the very idea of what decoration in churches should be” (p. 140).

The question arises: Why was it so imperative to retain the vestiges of the image? Mochizuki would seem to provide several answers. First, Calvin and his Dutch adherents, well aware of the human need for outward signs of devotion, provided tangible indicators through which churchgoers could convey, or better, represent their relation to God. These expressions of congregational piety were devised to underscore the differences between Catholic and Reformed modes of worship. Second, the text image provided a “visual locus of meeting” (p. 261), differing in this respect from book texts; through engagement with the *tekstborden*, the community represents to itself the hermeneutic work of scriptural reading and the institutional project of fashioning the new Church of Christ. Third, text images like the Last Supper refer specifically to the Reformed understanding of the Eucharist as a sacramental commemoration (*ghedachtenisse*) of the memorial meal instituted by Christ to recall his redemptive sacrifice. Whereas figural altarpieces body forth the doctrine of transubstantiation, whereby the species of bread and wine are sacramentally transformed into the body and blood of Christ, the indexical *tekstborden* emphatically signify that the sacrament is referential and metaphorical. The calligraphic pointing of doctrinally resonant words such as *bread*, *body*, and *testament*, drives home this point.

However, there are a few reservations worth noting: Catholic image-theory of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is overly simplified, viewed mainly through the lens of the second commandment as interpreted by Calvin; second, Calvin’s conception of the Incarnation and its relevance to Reformed image-theory are not sufficiently addressed; and third, the exegetical structure of the text images and their compendious mode of scriptural argumentation are not closely discussed. In every other way, however, this is a remarkable, insightful, and well-argued book.

*Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt.* By Peter Arnade. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 352. \$69.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-801-44681-8; \$26.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-801-47496-5.)

In the last decade, the interpretation of the Dutch Revolt as a trigger for modernity and as a triumph of political and religious freedom has been falling apart. Instead, the conflict is now regarded as a civil war, with recurrent reminiscences of medieval traditions of dissent and striking similarities to the contemporary French civil wars. Subscribing to this newer analysis, Peter Arnade offers a cultural history of the beginning years of the revolt, starting with the iconoclastic fury in 1566 and ending with the fall of Antwerp in 1585. While bringing together varied sources such as pamphlets, engravings, ballads, chronicles, and court correspondence, the book offers much more than a mere reconstruction of the “political culture” of the conflict. Overall, it clarifies the rapidly shifting allegiances during this initial phase of the Revolt, when identities of the insurgents were reshaped over and again by blending and re-enacting fragments of tradition, rituals, and symbols. Fortunately, the focus on political culture never rules out religious motivations, even if the main argument concentrates on the antagonism between princely lordship and civic republicanism.

After a panorama of the dilemma of authority and dissent in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands, the author carefully analyzes how in 1566 iconoclast rioters in the Netherlands seized upon existing politics of inversion to express religious convictions, political protest, and socioeconomic discontent (chap. 3). This “taste for protest through inversion” (p. 124) was subject to regional differences: in Ypres rioters appropriated the festive days of local Mary devotion, in Antwerp they purloined the sacred space of the cathedral, and in Ghent the historical references to the punishment by Emperor Charles V (chap. 4). The ensuing Habsburg repression and exemplary punishments carried out by Alba, however, had the reverse effect: The insurgents succeeded in presenting themselves as the defenders of the “old order” and the duke as the usurper of royal privileges (chap. 5). Much in the same way, the mutinies, sacks, and rapes by the royal army were inverted to represent the uprising cities as the real protectors of constitutionalism and civic patriotism (chap. 6). This shift in representation and propaganda enabled the rise of Prince William of Orange to the position of Father of the Fatherland—the only leader able to bridge princely, patriotic, and civic loyalties at the same time (chap. 7). Nonetheless, even the Abjuration of Philip II in 1581 did not bring consensus on the dilemma of authority among the insurgents. In any case, the *reconquista* of Farnese did make clear that the Habsburg dynasty still attached uttermost importance “to Burgundian triumph and Catholic reconsecration” (p. 324). Some readers might find it disappointing that the author reiterates the traditional sharp polarization between the Habsburg repression and the rebel uprising, whereas in the last decades sev-

eral historians have pointed to the existence of large political and religious “middle groups,” peace seekers, and loyal opposition. Their political actions sparked a stream of attempts at reconciliation, peace negotiations, and even amnesty-like measures, of which no track is to be found in this account. Nevertheless, the book shows that the political culture of the rebels proved to be a determining factor for the success of the Dutch Revolt.

*Katholieke Universiteit Leuven*

VIOLET SOEN

*Law and Conscience: Catholicism in Early Modern England, 1570-1625.* By Stefania Tutino. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2007. Pp. xiv, 256. \$99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65771-2.)

This scholarly and lucidly written book makes a significant contribution to the history of post-Reformation English Catholicism. Tutino analyzes how Catholics in Elizabethan and Jacobean England attempted to reconcile their political loyalties with their political commitments. She convincingly argues that the bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, by which Pope Pius V excommunicated and deposed Queen Elizabeth I, accentuated the difficulty for Catholics of combining their duties to the pope with those they owed to their sovereign and stresses the importance of the theoretical defenses of papal power mounted by the English cleric Nicholas Sander and then in more detail by the Jesuit cardinal and saint Robert Bellarmine. Under King James I, she contends, the prospects grew much greater for Catholics of successfully combining their obligations to church and state, and of winning toleration from the latter, and she emphasizes the role played in this development by the controversy over the Jacobean oath of allegiance.

Tutino adopts a largely English and Elizabethan/Jacobean perspective on debates about papal powers and, in particular, about the power to interfere in the temporal affairs of states by means including the deposition of sovereigns. She portrays the arguments on this question of Sander and Bellarmine as more innovative than they perhaps were. It would be interesting to know how Bellarmine's theory related to medieval thinking on church-state relations and to the ideas of figures such as St. Thomas Aquinas, Jean Gerson, Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, and Francisco Suárez, but they receive little attention here. One reason why English Protestants around 1600 were skeptical about Catholic protestations of loyalty to the Crown was that they suspected that Catholics made such declarations using equivocation or mental reservation. This theme is not much discussed here.

The book would have benefited from some more proofreading and fact-checking. Dean Matthew Sutcliffe has been promoted to a bishopric, while the archbishops William Gifford (Rheims) and Marc'Antonio de Dominis (Split or Spalato) have been demoted to the same rank. Pope Paul VI appears as Paul IV (p. 36n15). Matthew Kellison, president of the English College at

Douai, appears correctly on one page (p. 195) but becomes Ellison on the next (p. 196). Tutino states that if a recusant refused the Jacobean oath of allegiance “he or she would have been considered as a traitor, and punished accordingly” (p. 131). But the most severe punishment prescribed by law for refusing the oath was the penalties of *praemunire*—loss of goods to the Crown and imprisonment at the king’s pleasure—not of treason—hanging, drawing, and quartering. Some of those who refused the oath were indeed executed as traitors but only if they were found guilty of treason on other grounds. Nevertheless, this book contains a great deal of new and interesting information. Perhaps most impressive and valuable is its use of much Italian and Latin manuscript material from archives in Rome.

*University of Wisconsin, Madison*

JOHANN SOMMERVILLE

*Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720.* Edited by Benjamin Kaplan, Bob Moore, Henk van Nierop, and Judith Pollmann. [Studies in Early Modern European History.] (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 274. \$94.95. ISBN 978-0-719-07906-1.)

Continuing a venerable tradition of Anglo-Dutch historical conferences that began in the 1950s, this volume publishes papers presented at a 2006 gathering comparing the experiences of the Dutch and British Catholic communities in the early-modern era. Topics addressed range from clerical-lay relations, confessional coexistence, and ritual to women, patronage, and art. As is sometimes the case with such comparative projects, there are little more than glancing comparisons made in the papers themselves, and so the heavy lifting of actually drawing parallels is left to the editors in a concluding essay. There were some obvious differences in the status of the Catholic faithful in each state—British Catholics operated under greater legal constraint and judicial persecution than their Dutch coreligionists—but the editors see more similarities than differences. Traditional notions of these Catholic populations as martyred victims of Protestant oppression have to be adjusted, as both groups demonstrated an adaptability to circumstances that allowed them to exercise their devotion in myriad ways. Increased reliance on the laity, especially women, the interiorization of piety, the adroit manipulation of patronage from Catholic powers abroad—English and Dutch Catholics employed all these strategies and more to carve out a place for themselves in Protestant polities whose official attitudes toward them ran from indifferent to hostile.

As Willem Frijhoff notes in the introductory essay, the question that arises when these strategies are examined is whether they led to a distinctive group identity in minority Catholicism that differed from its majority counterpart. The answer from the various papers is mixed: some contributors see a dispossessed and diminished Catholic population, while others suggest that the internal focus that dispossession forced paradoxically allowed minority

Catholics to out-Trent Trent, as it were, in their devotion to religious discipline and reform. This division of opinion to some extent reflects the disparate self-images that the Catholic missions themselves propagated at the time; there were advantages to depicting their confessional communities as at once (or by turns) victimized and heroic. Both images proved useful in promoting internal cohesion and garnering outside support. They were also both products of the missions' clerical establishment; how much the Catholic laity shared these self-images is another question. Several papers make it clear that in both countries informal, day-to-day interaction between ordinary Catholics and Protestants could be quite amicable. The confessional nature of their faith may have mattered more to their priests and prelates than to them.

Happily, what the publication of this volume demonstrates is that the study of minority Catholicism has emerged from the historiographic backwaters and joined the renaissance of early-modern Catholic studies that has flourished so successfully in the last couple of decades. It is also a welcome addition to our understanding of the vagaries of confessional coexistence that followed ineluctably out of the upheavals and dislocation of the Reformation. Students of both subjects will want to consult this volume closely.

*Louisiana State University*

CHRISTINE KOOI

*The Founding of the Dutch Republic: War, Finance, and Politics in Holland 1572-1588.* By James D. Tracy. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. 343. \$120.00. ISBN 978-0-199-20911-8.).

More than twenty years ago, James Tracy published his groundbreaking work, *A Financial Revolution in Habsburg Holland* (Berkeley, 1985), and it seems fitting that toward the end of his career he returns to ponder the nexus among war, finance, and politics as it played out in the late-sixteenth century. While the earlier book speculated on the possible implications of the titular revolution, *The Founding of the Dutch Republic* seeks to turn speculation into fact. The result is a richly detailed account of the interlocking and evolving political economy of what would become a highly decentralized republic.

On the surface, Tracy's interpretation smacks of the traditional. Because it is the largest and most economically powerful province, he argues, the province of Holland controlled the outcome of the war of independence that led to the economic burgeoning of the Dutch Golden Age. As many foreigners continue to confuse the province of Holland with the entire country, this argument appears surprisingly insensitive. Much of the historiography of the Revolt has fought the Holland-centric tendency (with varying degrees of success) and tried to replace it with broader ideas that place proto-national unity, the *stadhouder*, and/or the Reformed Church at center stage. One should not forget, however, that one defining characteristic of Tracy's scholarship over

the years has been the testing of broad assumptions about Dutch history versus the archival record. In this case, he has returned to the archives for a thorough accounting, both literally and figuratively, of the first sixteen years of the Revolt. Literally, in the sense that he has uncovered extensive records of the various accounts and account holders for war debts, and figuratively, in the sense that he examines these through the lens of both wartime exigencies and the shifting balance of political power at even the lowest levels of government.

Tracy leaves no stone unturned in his efforts to provide as accurate a picture of the complex relationships created through the financing of war, and the result is a picture rife with details, especially numbers. In an attempt to disentangle these rather tangled webs of interaction, he divides the book into four chronological periods that roughly correspond to major shifts in the political landscape (for example, section 2 begins with the arrival of Alba; section 3 with the Pacification of Ghent); and then further divides each of these into sections on historical context, war, finance, and politics. While finance serves as the linchpin for each section, what emerges as the primary focus of the research is the politics of consensus that the province of Holland wielded, with increasing degrees of effectiveness as the war continued. Each stage of the unfolding Revolt provided another opportunity for the province to secure its vision for the future of the regions; a vision Tracy exemplifies with the emblem of Holland's *tuin*, or garden. What emerges from the muddle of inexorable bureaucracy, shaky tax and credit instruments, and ever-changing alliances is a clear strategy to protect the borders of the garden, that is, the territories that surround Holland, and to cultivate the economy of its major towns so that they may flourish. The irony of Tracy's conclusions is that while he does privilege the role of one province over the others and does so based on its role in financing war, he does not position conflict as a principal cause of historical change. Rather, in his conclusion, he emphasizes how much the power of consensus has been overlooked in understanding the Dutch experience. By overlooking the importance of negotiation across different levels of government, he suggests, we show our own myopic tendency to misunderstand the historically fundamental nature of republican government.

*Western Carolina University*

Laura Cruz

*Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: Religion and Politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome.* By Thomas O'Connor. [Irish in Europe Monograph Series.] (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. in the United States by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2008. Pp. 415. \$75.00. ISBN 978-1-851-82992-7.)

It is well known that toward the end of the English Civil War, the Irish Catholic Confederacy that had been involved in a separate struggle with the Dublin Protestant government divided into two camps. Broadly speaking, the

Old English were willing to treat with King Charles I and accept limited religious gains, while the Gaels who followed the advice of the nuncio wanted to press on and completely re-Catholicize Ireland under a foreign ruler. What is scarcely known and now for the first time the subject of a detailed and careful study is that the two positions mirrored closely divisions in the Irish Catholic Church that had been developing since the end of Elizabeth's reign. As O'Connor convincingly shows, priests trained on the continent for the Irish mission in the first half of the seventeenth century fell into two groups. Those educated in colleges in Flanders and at the universities of Leuven and Paris tended to come under the influence of the hard-line Augustinian ideas of the Flemish theologians, Michael Baius and Cornelius Jansen, and the Gallican ecclesiology of the French Church. They stressed the powerlessness of the human will and a rigorous ethics, distrusted the regular clergy, and taught that Catholics should be loyal to legitimate Protestant monarchs. Priests educated, on the other hand, at Rome and in colleges and universities in Spain and Portugal tended to be supporters of the much more liberal anthropology preached by the Jesuits, accepted the role of regulars as parish clergy, and were much less ready to seek accommodation with Dublin Castle. In the debate over tactics in the late 1640s, the Jansenists usually sided with the Old English, the Molinists with the Gaels, all the more that the majority of Flemish-trained priests came from Leinster. Admittedly, the fit was not perfect: the Jesuits on the mission paradoxically countenanced coming to terms, while many priests trained in the Low Countries and France were carried away by the thought of total victory and backed the nuncio.

It is impossible in a few words to do justice to the breadth of O'Connor's scholarly account of the mission to Ireland in the first two-thirds of the seventeenth century. Its aim is twofold. On the one hand, it seeks to demonstrate the importance of Jansenism and Gallicanism for understanding the development of the Irish Church under the early Stuarts. On the other, it aims to show the significant role played by individual Irish theologians on the continent, notably Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, in the articulation of Jansenist ideas. In other words, as the title implies, this is a study of the Irish contribution to a great European debate. It is also the study of a lost cause. By 1670, Jansenism had been pushed to the margins everywhere. Outlawed by the papacy in a number of bulls beginning with *De eminenti* in 1643 and too closely associated in the eyes of King Louis XIV with the Fronde, its supporters either toed the new establishment line or were ostracized. In Ireland the movement lost all credibility. The events of the Interregnum and the Restoration demonstrated that accommodation with the Protestant state brought few benefits: a strict Roman allegiance became and stayed the order of the day. In the final analysis this is a book about the Irish Catholic Church's mixed response to the problem of a Protestant monarch in an age when religious allegiance was still fluid, the permanence of the confessional divide was unclear, and the clergy depended on the bounty of Catholic landowners. The events of the 1650s that destroyed the landed power of the Catholic Old



English as well as the Gaels and placed the Protestant ascendancy firmly in the saddle made the Jansenist position appear passé.

*Magdalen College, Oxford*

LAURENCE BROCKLISS

*Die Außenbeziehungen der römischen Kurie unter Paul V. Borghese (1605-1621)*. Edited by Alexander Koller. [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, Band 115.] (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2008. Pp. xvi, 527. \$122.00. ISBN 978-3-484-82115-6.)

This volume contains the texts of twenty-three papers (ten in German, nine in Italian, two in English, and one each in French and Spanish) given at a conference held in Rome in May, 2005, at the German Historical Institute on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the election of Camillo Borghese as pope on May 16, 1605. The identity of the host institution for the conference can come as no surprise to students of the early-modern papacy, since the institute has sponsored the publication of critical editions of the General Instructions given to papal diplomats (*Hauptinstruktionen* or *Istruzioni generali*) of Popes Gregory XIII, Clement VIII, and Paul V (the former two under the editorship of Klaus Jaitner, which appeared in 1984 and 1997) and the last under that of Silvio Giordano (2003), who is currently preparing a corresponding edition for the pontificate of Urban VIII. These volumes have been accompanied by a succession of conferences on related themes whose proceedings have now appeared as *Nuntiarberichte und Nuntiaturforschung, Kritische Bestandsaufnahme und neue Perspektiven* (Tübingen, 1976); *Das Papstum, die Christenheit und die Staaten Europas, 1592-1605*, ed. Georg Lutz (Tübingen, 1994); and *Kurie und Politik. Stand und Perspektiven der Nuntiaturforschung*, ed. Alexander Koller (Tübingen, 1998), of which the volume under the review is the latest in the series. After a somewhat generic introductory survey by Maria Teresa Fattori of the priorities of the Borghese pope that can be deduced from reading Giordano's fine edition, the volume ranges broadly both in terms of theme and geography. Although there are six papers devoted to the traditional focus of the Holy Roman Empire (on Rudolf II's last years by Jan Paul Niederkorn; Bohemia by Václav Bůžek; Inner Austria in the years running up to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War by Alexander Koller; the closing of the Graz Nunciature by Elizabeth Zingerle; censorship and the Inquisition relating to the business of the Cologne Nunciature and Roman attitudes to the variants of Catholicism found in the correspondence of the Nunciature of Flanders by Bruno Boute), this is balanced by an equal number of papers on the Italian peninsula: two on Venice (by Anthony Wright and Stefano Andretta), and one each on the Savoyard presence at the Roman Curia (by Toby Osborne), Milan (by Julia Zunckel), Tuscany (by Christian Wieland), and Naples (by Guido Metzler). This selection also includes an unexpected analysis of the military policy of Paul V by Giampiero Brunelli. There are also single papers dedicated to Spain (by Bernard J. García García), Portugal (by Silvio Giordano), Poland (by Leszek

Jarmiński), France (by Olivier Poncet), and Malta (by Moritz Trebeljahr). Finally, in refreshing acknowledgment of the extra-European dimension to papal interests, there are two papers on the overseas missions as reflected in the diplomatic correspondence: a rather episodic narrative by Matteo Sanfilippo on missions in North America and a more wide-ranging, archivally informed, intellectually coherent, and stimulating account of missions to the Middle and Far East by Giovanni Pizzorusso. Taken together, this volume demonstrates eloquently the range of issues and themes that engagement with the archival traces generated by papal diplomacy can illuminate.

*University of York*

SIMON DITCHFIELD

*Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*. Edited by Erin Griffey. [Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xii, 227. \$99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66420-8.)

*Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* is a scholarly volume of interdisciplinary essays that deftly explores the vibrant role Queen Henrietta Maria (1609–69) in Caroline England. At the heart of this collection is a quest to understand more fully the nuances of political and cultural influence that stemmed from Henrietta Maria's position as a French Roman Catholic queen consort. These essays are especially timely as they widen current debate on the significant power of elite women by spotlighting hitherto less explored cultural forms, ranging from sacred music in the queen's chapel to the visual representation of Catholic devotion in Stuart portraiture.

What emerges most forcibly throughout this collection are the inextricable links forged among the volume's three key strands: piety, politics, and patronage. Quite rightly, Griffey places piety at the heart of this triumvirate. It is well documented how, as a Counter-Reformation princess, Henrietta Maria was urged by both her godfather, Pope Urban VIII, and her mother, Marie de Medici, to act as a "parent" to English Catholics. As Diana Barnes reminds us, Henrietta Maria entered a country where the very survival of the old faith had depended on a female subculture. Henrietta Maria's fostering of a Catholic revival that directly shaped both her politics and her patronage is especially resonant.

Interestingly, literary studies have documented how on the elite stage Henrietta Maria showcased her Counter-Reformation vision from as early as 1627 with her remarkable performance in Honorat de Bueil Racan's *L'Artenice*. However, Griffey, in a fascinating exploration of devotional jewelry in the queen's portraits, argues that on canvas, such a bold representation was not fully realized until 1636—that watershed year that witnessed an astonishing revival of court Catholicism under the queen's auspices. Yet, suggestively (and perhaps unsurprisingly), as the fine essays by Jessica Bell and Gudrun Raatschen intimate, there are earlier glimpses of this self-presenta-

tion, such as in the Marian imagery (from roses to pearls) that repeatedly infuse Henrietta Maria's portraits.

One strength of this volume is a probing assessment of the inevitable constraints within which Henrietta Maria operated. Thus, in an illuminating essay that revisits a seminal article, Malcolm Smuts convincingly examines the complexity of the religio-political landscape in Stuart England to unpack seemingly unexpected cross-confessionalisms, such as Henrietta Maria's ready engagement with leading Puritans to further her political aims. Caroline Hibbard reminds us of the importance of the dynamics of conjugal patronage by teasing out, through a forensic archival analysis of the queen's household accounts, an active artistic collaboration between the royal spouses from as early as 1628.

Crucially, this focus on the power and influence of early-modern queenship draws attention to a material and political culture that might otherwise have disappeared. Karen Britland offers a fascinating exploration of the machinations behind Henrietta Maria's active support for a French acting troupe; Sarah Poynting perceptively assesses the queen's complicated relationship with playwright-courtier Walter Montague, which culminated in a dynamic staging of the moral element of female political power in *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1633); and Jonathan Wainwright tantalizingly speculates on the progressive nature of the sacred music performed in the queen's chapel.

These stimulating and beautifully illustrated essays, which are firmly anchored in original research, are warmly recommended and fully succeed in Griffey's aim for the collection: not to downplay King Charles I but to bring Queen Henrietta Maria back onto the stage.

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REBECCA BAILEY

*The Reconstruction of the Church of Ireland. Bishop Bramhall and the Laudian Reforms, 1633–1641.* By John McCafferty. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.] (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xiv, 268. \$99.00. ISBN 978-0-521-64318-4.)

The attempted Laudian reform of the Irish Church in the 1630s was breathtaking in its scope and audacity. The authorities aimed at a major revival of the Church's legal and material fabric. There was a new set of canons and a new confession of faith, a new court of high commission, a viceregal visitation, and a massive attempted overhaul of church finances and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As English historians continue to argue over the degree of novelty of Laudianism, Ireland offers intriguing evidence of what Laud liked to do when given the opportunity. Now, at last, these reforms have found their historian. John McCafferty's industriously researched and judiciously argued monograph offers a powerful, wide-ranging, and compelling account of the Laudian reforms that is unlikely to be superseded. He is metic-

ulous and imaginative in his use of surviving sources that are often either fragmentary or technically demanding. He combines this with a very thorough reading of the voluminous correspondence of the lord deputy, Thomas Wentworth; Archbishop William Laud; and, most of all, the agent who stood at the heart of the reform program, John Bramhall, bishop of Derry. All this helps McCafferty to create a fascinating and illuminating study of policy formulation and implementation that shows a thorough understanding both of the sometimes complex motivation of the policymakers and of the messy reality of their policies on the ground.

McCafferty is alert to the limitations of what was achieved. There were inevitable challenges from the Church of Ireland clergy, landowners, and the Old English interest, which helped in the early 1640s to scupper the reforms altogether, but which even in the shorter term forced compromises and practical limitations on the ground. But he rightly emphasizes the extraordinary scope and ambition of the reform program and the sheer drive, energy, and creativity of those involved. While Laud and Wentworth give the vital back-up, it is Bramhall who stands at the heart of these policies, and the book is particularly strong in recapturing Bramhall's persistence and (at times) hard-headed pragmatism. Although McCafferty is acutely aware throughout of and sensitive to the specifically Irish context of the ecclesiastical program and its fortunes, his book is not just important in its own right as a study of Irish policies. He also has fascinating insights into the broader questions of what Laud and his allies were capable of thinking and doing, and makes a convincing case for his presentation of the Irish reforms as a variant of the concurrent reconstruction of the Church of England (and his argument that it was this that constituted its chief drawback). McCafferty's sympathetic (although never uncritical) study of Bramhall's reforms also offers a timely antidote to more familiar stories of Laudian aggression against Roman Catholics and Presbyterians. Indeed, McCafferty is bracingly skeptical of traditional Presbyterian histories and allows little space for the distinctive indigenous Protestantism emphasized by scholars such as Alan Ford (although perhaps at times this reflects a little too much of Bramhall's thought-world). Generally, however, this is a balanced and judicious account, which is delivered with some panache. There are many pithy turns of phrase, particularly in a prologue on the Irish reformation that is studded with witty aperçus. The only missed opportunity in this splendid book is its failure to detail Bramhall's attempted restoration of the Church of Ireland in the early 1660s, for which Bramhall's correspondence in the Hastings papers is a remarkably rich source. Such a study could have enabled a whole series of illuminating comparisons and contrasts with the program of the 1630s. Perhaps, however, this is to ask for another book or at least a large supplement to the present one. But it is a task for which McCafferty has shown himself to be the ideal historian.

*Altarpieces and Their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni.* By Pamela M. Jones. [Visual Culture in Early Modernity.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2008. Pp. xiv, 360. \$99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66179-5.)

To answer the question, “What does this painting mean?”, art historians have traditionally trodden the paths of authorial intentionality, patronage studies, and material culture. Pamela M. Jones addresses the question by striking out onto the rather fresh path of the social history of reception. While acknowledging the contributions of John Shearman and David Freedberg in this arena, she distinguishes her project from their sweeping visions, arguing that response can differ dramatically from individual to individual, even within the same society to which the painter and patron belonged. Thus, to some degree, her approach is indebted to Hans-Georg Gadamer’s concept of the “historically effected consciousness” (*wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein*).

In Jones’s five chapters treating so many religious altarpieces on public view in seventeenth-century Rome, the meanings of these works are understood to be ultimately open-ended. Nevertheless, each of the essays prioritizes the documented or probable responses of specific viewing communities sharing similar cultural and social backgrounds. In the case of Tommaso Laureti’s *Martyrdom of Saint Susanna* in the church of Santa Susanna, the focus is on the Cistercian nuns housed in the annexed convent. In the case of Caravaggio’s *Madonna of Loreto* in San Agostino, the focus is on locals who were irritated by the throngs of beggars in Rome. Andrea Comodi’s *Saint Charles Borromeo Venerating the Holy Nail* in San Carlo ai Catinari is compared to the concerns of a confraternity at this church that tended to the indigent sick. Guercino’s *Penitent Magdalen*, formerly in Santa Maria Maddalena al Corso (now destroyed), is presented from the point of view of local prostitutes forced to hear sermons in that church, while Guido Reni’s *Holy Trinity* in Ss. Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti is presented from the point of view of published Baroque art critics. With such a kaleidoscopic vision of seventeenth-century society—one which is admirably supported by highly original research—this book is sure to reward all its readers with new insight into the early-modern Catholic world.

Jones’s book puts on display an abundance of cultural artifacts—ranging from monastic rules, chapbooks, and morality plays to religious books for laymen—to suggest how each of the five images resonated with viewers. The meaning of an artwork, it is suggested, was constructed in an ad-hoc dialectical relationship between, on the one hand, the artwork itself as well as the ritual and physical circumstances in which it was encountered and, on the other hand, each viewer’s own specific cultural formation. As a result, a viewer’s response could hinge on any number of associations: the deteriorated brick walls of a pilgrimage site, the disturbance caused by beggars during Mass, a play about a chestnut farmer victimized by the miscarriage of justice, the ritual blessing of a nun’s vestments, the stereotype of the coarse-

mannered laundrywoman—or even no association whatsoever, in cases where the artwork was ignored.

Jones concludes that in the post-Tridentine era, despite ecclesiastical concern about the didactic and emotive uses of religious art, it remained “impossible to control reception” (p. 327). Readers of this thought-provoking study might be tempted to take this line of questioning even further, especially given Jones’s admonition that “modern cognitive psychologists have disproved Aristotle’s theory” that the human eye can “see and record every detail of a painting simultaneously” (p. 250). If viewer responses are indeed born amidst a barrage of splintered associations irrespective of any holistic comprehension of the image itself, how frequently did individuals ever actually arrive at coherent interpretations of artworks? Was the normative experience of art a haphazard encounter rather than a reasoned search for meaning? Jones’s research certainly stands at the opposite pole from structuralist hermeneutics; yet perhaps it also reveals the limits of *any* hermeneutical approach to artworks of this period. Most important, however, Jones has laid a foundation for rethinking the way we search for meaning in the art of past cultures.

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SHEILA BARKER

*The Scourge of Demons: Possession, Lust, and Witchcraft in a Seventeenth-Century Italian Convent.* By Jeffrey R. Watt. [Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe, Vol. 12.] (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009. Pp. xii, 300. \$75.00. ISBN 978-1-580-46298-3.)

In 1636, a group of Poor Clares in the convent of Santa Chiara in Carpi, Italy, became possessed by demons. Their travails lasted until 1639, when the last possessed nun recovered. In his monograph *The Scourge of Demons: Possession, Lust, and Witchcraft in a Seventeenth-Century Italian Convent*, Jeffrey R. Watt offers a microhistorical analysis of this case. Using the records of the investigation and the uniquely rich archives of the Inquisition of Modena, Watt recounts meticulously every stage in the unfolding of the case, from the first outburst of illness among two laywomen in the service of one of the nuns to the waning of the possessions once the Holy Office reached the conclusion that the alleged possession was nothing but feminine imagination running wild. Along the way he introduces a large cast of characters—elite and servant nuns, the ducal family of Modena, a confessor who very likely solicited sex in the confessional and who might have used spells to bewitch some nuns, obedient and intransigent exorcists, and skeptical Inquisitors. Watt tells a complex story of tensions between rival factions of nuns; plausible cases of clerical misconduct by a former confessor; and a range of accusations of witchcraft, love magic, and widespread social and sexual laxities. His descriptions are lively and bring to life both the mundane routines and the dramatic events that shaped the nuns’ lives during the 1630s.

Watt draws on the large body of existing literature on convent life, witchcraft, love magic, and demonic possession in early-modern Europe. Too large, perhaps, as he uses English cases to assert some of his arguments and repeatedly conflates maleficium with love magic and with diabolic possession without distinguishing sufficiently among these different phenomena. There is no denying that in some cases maleficium caused possession or that the use of love magic at times brought about accusations of witchcraft. But Italian Inquisitors, more often than not, differentiated among these occurrences. In fact, as Watt documents, the Inquisition, even in the Carpi case, was careful not to rush to judgment and not to conflate witchcraft with demonic possession.

While Watt's book is meticulous in his retelling of the case, it is less convincing when it comes to the "why." Why did the Clarisses become possessed in 1636 rather than before or after? Why did the Franciscans believe the nuns' accusations against a fellow nun and against Angelo Bellacappa, the priest who had served as their confessor until November 1636? Why did the Holy Office in Modena and Rome order repeatedly to end the investigation and the exorcism and explicitly accused the exorcists themselves of increasing, rather than decreasing the sisters' fantasies and misery? "Whys" are important in all historical research, and nowhere are they as crucial as when dealing with stories of witchcraft and demonic possession. Witchcraft accusations created their own spiral dynamics, in which additional suspicions were added to original ones, people's recollections were construed to fit previous rumors and memories, and, once labeled as a witch, an accuser was very likely to be accused by other members of the community. Similarly, in eruptions of demonic possession in religious communities, sisters imitated behaviors of possessed sisters, anxieties grew, and the stories told by nuns were likely to become more elaborate and scandalous. As Watt takes us through the detailed testimonies, he often forgets to remind us of the unreliability of this huge body of stories. Unlike in a modern trial, each additional testimony does not strengthen the case (for either the defense or the prosecution), but should be viewed as one more variation on the same basic story. Thus, for example, based on the nuns' tales of sexual temptation and solicitation, Watt finds Bellacappa guilty. "Dismissing all accusations as mere fabrications would require that dozens of nuns fabricated and recounted under oath accusations of illicit behavior," he rules (p. 178). But, obviously, given the tension-ridden atmosphere in the convent, there is a gray zone between fabricating lies and telling the truth. This space is what is most intriguing in this and similar cases, but Watt does not venture into it. Similarly, Watt finds that "within limits, however, the demoniac nuns of Carpi definitely exercised agency" (p. 139). But what does agency mean in this context? Twenty years of theorizing agency and experience should prevent us by now from using these terms straightforwardly.

So why, then, did the possession start when it did? Watt attacks (vehemently and unprofessionally, it should be noted; see p. 32n32) Vincenzo Lavenia, a young scholar who had previously dealt with the case and who



argued that careful attention should be paid to the growing tensions between the Observant Franciscans, who had the right to govern the convent, and the local secular clergy, who wished to take it over.<sup>4</sup> Watt finds this explanation problematic and accuses the author of “reducing the possession to a by-product of these disagreements” (p. 9). Watt offers a number of alternative plausible causes: the growing fear of demonism across Europe between 1450 and 1650 (p. 206), a rebellion against enforced enclosure, ambivalence concerning vows, curiosity about the outside world, and of course, the ubiquitous “sexual urges” that allegedly control nuns’ lives (pp. 80, 87–88, 207) and “lesbianism” (p. 81). But why in the spring and summer of 1636? And why in this convent rather than in others? By dismissing the political context of the event that Lavenia proposes, Watt falls back on clichés. It is a pity, because in the end, this detailed study does not add much to our current understanding of demonic possession and witchcraft accusations in early-modern Europe.

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MOSHE SLUHOVSKY

*Maria Arcangela Biondini (1641–1712) e il monastero delle Serve di Maria di Arco. Una fondatrice e un archivio.* Edited by Giorgio Buttrini, Cecilia Nubola, and Adriana Valerio. [Istituto trentino di cultura: Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Quaderni, 70.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2007. Pp. 338. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-11444-0.)

This collection of essays results from the collective effort of nine scholars and offers an all-round view on the life and work of the Venetian-born nun Maria Arcangela Biondini. The volume explores different aspects of Biondini’s existence, focusing on her spiritual and mystic experience as well as her impressive literary productivity, while also providing insights into the social and cultural contexts in which she lived. Biondini was a religious reformer of her monastic order, the Serve di Maria, and the founder of a new convent in Arco, in the northern Italian diocese of Trent. A prolific author who saw writing as part of her contemplative as well as active experience (essays by Adriana Valerio and Franco Azzalli), her works included her autobiography, a history of the foundation of her convent, spiritual texts, and letters. She gained fame as a charismatic spiritual director; and from her convent she corresponded with devout women and men, both religious and lay (essays by Cecilia Nubola, Giuliana Boccadamo, and Rosa Casapullo). Indeed, Biondini’s experience acquires meaning especially in relation to her spiritual influence that certainly went beyond the circumscribed environment of the cloister. Her contacts and correspondence brought her links with members of artistic circles—like the ex-cleric and musician Paris Francesco Alghisi—

<sup>4</sup>Vincenzo Lavenia, “I diavoli di Carpi e il Sant’uffizio (1636–1639),” in *Eretici esuli e indemoniati nell’età moderna*, ed. Mario Rosa (Florence, 1998), pp. 77–139.

and with some of the protagonists of the international political scene in Vienna and Paris. She also corresponded with King Louis XVI of France, to whom, in 1705, she addressed a letter urging him to support the Catholic cause and to take care of the spiritual dimension of life and his own salvation, for which she prayed (essays by Liliana De Venuto, Remo Crosatti, and Luigi Bressan). All this unfolded while religious and political conflicts tore Europe apart, yet new or reformed religious organizations emerged in which women enthusiastically participated, as well as spiritual movements, such as quietism and the *alumbrados*. The in-depth analysis of Biondini's case study never loses sight of the broader context, thereby inviting readers to speculate on the many implications of observing the world from the rather unusual perspective of a cloistered nun. In line with the most recent scholarly interpretations, the volume clearly supports the view of the convent as an enclosed space with permeable walls and many links with the outside world that were individually and collectively created by the nuns. To a large extent, the volume also shows that female religious sometimes crossed gender divides by entering the realm of politics and participating in current debates. This is discussed, for example, in relation to Biondini's mysticism and visions, some of which had a political meaning—she attributed the Habsburg defeat of the Turks, in 1683, to the intercession of the Virgin—but also in relation to some of her writings that touched on crucial cross-cultural matters. Her tract on Confucius and the controversy on the “Chinese rites,” which exploded within the Catholic Church in the second half of the seventeenth century, reminds us that the political and religious questions that attracted the attention of the European learned groups were also addressed by cloistered nuns. In the case of Biondini and her fellow nuns, a collection of books was available in their convent's archive (Bressan). Undoubtedly, this volume brings together traditional scholarly approaches as well as more innovative and experimental ones. The psychodynamic reading of Biondini's monastic ideal and experience, which is carried out mainly through the textual analysis of her writings, offers interesting suggestions for further research in this direction (Lucio Pinkus). On the whole, some of the chapters could have drawn more consistently on the conflicts that marked Biondini's life, such as, for instance, her relationships with her monastic order. But in spite of this concern and some overlapping among the chapters, which is almost inevitable in a collective work focused on one individual, *Maria Arcangela Biondini* is an excellent contribution to the historiography on female religious life in early-modern Italy.

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SILVIA EVANGELISTI

*L'attività dell'inquisitore Fra Giulio Missini in Friuli (1645–1653): L'efficienza della normalità.* By Dario Visintin. [Inquisizione e Società, Studi 4.] (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste and Montereale Valcellina: Circolo Culturale Menocchio. 2008. Pp. 352. €22,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-883-03243-1.)

A sufficiently rich vein of historical information can be mined profitably for many decades. In this case, the archives of the Roman Inquisition for the Venetian province of Friuli—among the best preserved of its forty-seven Italian branches, as Andrea Del Col reminds us in the foreword (p. 7)—are still being exploited usefully more than forty years after *The Night Battles*, Carlo Ginzburg's path-breaking study of Friuli's "good witches" or *benandanti*, was published (Torino, 1966; English translation, Baltimore, 1983). As its subtitle suggests, Visintin's careful investigation covers the eight-year tenure of a mid-seventeenth century Inquisitor during which "normality" prevailed. Fra Missini oversaw 284 summary procedures of various kinds, while 150 denunciations yielded twenty-seven formal trials but only sixteen final sentences. The only prisoner who was tortured, Gregorio Amalteo (pp. 158–68), faced a variety of charges, including heretical propositions and divinatory magic, and received the stiffest penalty—a five-year imprisonment.

Two other men facing serious charges died in prison before they were tortured. One of them, Michele Soppe (pp. 111–21), anchors a separate chapter on Friulian *benandanti*, who composed only seven men among the 146 cases of magic and witchcraft in Missini's era. As the first and only *benandante* to make a full confession of maleficent witchcraft, Soppe became a key figure in Ginzburg's work and Franco Nardon's *Benandanti e inquisitori nel Friuli del Seicento* (Trieste, 1999). Denounced by several witnesses and imprisoned for eighteen months, Soppe—after making a confession that left Roman headquarters skeptical—died in prison and received Christian burial; his co-defendant, Domenico Miol, was convicted of magical healing and given public humiliation.

The second man, Giovanni Pietro Franceschini, a Germanophile village merchant, had purchased fifty old books (published between 1512 and 1594), nearly all by such dangerous authors as Desiderius Erasmus, Lorenzo Valla, Philipp Melancthon, Petrus Ramus, and Heinrich Bullinger. The defendant died repentant and received Christian burial, but his books were burned in public soon afterward (pp. 137–41). Publicity from this act spurred a remarkable spike of a hundred "spontaneous" confessions of having read prohibited books, which thus composed the second category of offense in Visintin's sample.

In Friuli, inquisitorial "normality" included the same types of cases found elsewhere in seventeenth-century Italy, with the largest category (about 35 percent) involving demonic magic and witchcraft. There were also thirty-seven voluntary conversions to Catholicism among the 600 foreign mercenaries serving in the Venetian border fortress of Palmanova, including a

twenty-seven-year-old English preacher, Edward Jackson, who had spent four years in America (pp. 196–98, 321–32). The most interesting female defendant, Marta Fiascaris, was charged with fictitious sainthood (pp. 217–25). Various minor charges rounded out its agenda: irreverence; eating meat during Lent; infractions of inquisitorial procedure; a few suspected bigamists. As elsewhere, many defendants were clerics (pp. 173–91). Rome rarely intervened in such routine business. In Missini's time, the cardinals who managed the Holy Office sent only eight letters to Friuli per year (about the same as fifty years earlier) while sending two or three times as many to less remote tribunals such as Siena or Modena (pp. 250–52).

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WILLIAM MONTER

*Ernest Ruth d'Ans «Patriarche des Jansénistes» (1653-1728). Une biographie.* By Michel Van Meerbeeck. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. Fasc. 87.] (Wetteren, Belgium: Cultura BVBA. 2006. Pp. cxlii, 631. €65,00 paperback. ISSN 0035-2381.)

There are only two contenders for the dubious title of “Patriarch of the Jansenists”: Antoine “the Great” Arnauld (1612–94) and Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719). Both men spent the later years of their lives in the Netherlands, and one of their regular companions was Ernest Ruth d'Ans. “Ernest,” as the author calls him, must have been facetious when he applied this title to himself (p. 489), simply meaning that he represented an old and dying tradition that should be continued by younger generations. Born in the French-speaking Episcopal principality of Liège, educated at Louvain, and formed at Port-Royal, Ruth d'Ans was one of the many characters who make the study of the Jansenist movement both very fascinating and complicated. His claim to fame was his association with major figures of the movement: Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, the great historian; Sébastien du Cambout de Pontchateau, Port-Royal agent in Rome; Arnauld, whom he rejoined in Brussels in 1687; and Quesnel, his competitor in Arnauld's heritage. Because of these connections he was involved in many of the endeavors of the Jansenist international network—more as a go-between, sometimes a meddler, than a leader—but his influence cannot be dismissed. He also pursued a rather laborious ecclesiastical career as adviser to bishops and chaplain to princesses, eventually obtaining a canonry of Ste-Gudule in Brussels, deanery of Tournai, as well as a surprising Roman doctorate in divinity.

This doctoral dissertation in history, defended at the University of Louvain in 2000, offers an exhaustive reconstruction of the life of a complex individual and his participation in the political and religious history of his region. Many of the details will be of interest only to historians of Belgian Catholicism in a period when European wars and diplomacy were exerting influence on the religious life of a country that passed from Spanish to French and then Austrian control. In this instance Ruth d'Ans's struggle to receive protection

from the succeeding dynasties is in itself very illuminating. The research also illustrates important elements of Jansenist history—in particular, the network's exchanges and activities that so infuriated King Louis XIV; its efforts to create a body of theological references, the *Grand Recueil*, that would set forth their position on disputed issues; and the *Grande affaire*, that is, the schismatic establishment of episcopal hierarchy in the United Provinces. Many materials are presented here that define and nuance these important issues. Finally, one finds a powerful illustration of the damaging war that opposed Jansenists and anti-Jansenists; as Lucien Ceyskens often exposed, in the Netherlands more than in any other country, the Catholic renewal was harmed by a polarization that in a certain sense seems to have continued to the present day.

This is very valuable research, therefore, impressive in its comprehensiveness (more than 100 pages of sources) that might have gained a larger readership had it been condensed in a more accessible way.

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JACQUES M. GRES-GAYER

*Witchcraft and Whigs: The Life of Bishop Francis Hutchinson 1660–1739.* By Andrew Sneddon. (New York: Manchester University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 219. \$80.00. ISBN 978-0-719-07612-1.)

Francis Hutchinson, the curate of Bury St Edmonds and royal chaplain from 1715, who was elevated in 1720 to the bishopric of Down and Connor, appears in the historical record as an eccentric. A prime example of Colin Kidd's axiom that the Church of Ireland was used as a dumping ground for those who could not be relied upon to maintain probity and sanctity at the center of power, Hutchinson's reputation rests on his 1718 *Historical Essay Concerning Witchcraft*. A late and apparently moribund contribution to the early-modern decline of magic, his skepticism has not saved him from being condemned for fighting with specters—an eighteenth-century Don Quixote.

It is the achievement of Andrew Sneddon's carefully constructed set of interlocking interpretive essays that Hutchinson's book becomes explicable. As Sneddon shows, the *Historical Essay* was a piece of a wider cultural and religious agenda to which the churchman devoted himself. As presented here, this focused on the inculcation of "safe principles" (p. 118), Hutchinson being wary of all forms of enthusiastic exuberance. Thus, he denounced the French Prophets—a Huguenot sect convinced that miracles still occurred in the 1700s—and espoused a cautious program of improvement in the face of economic distress in 1730s Ireland. The South Sea Company was to be condemned for "imprudence and greed," even as he bemoaned how "its very name, like a gorgon's head, benums [*sic*] people's brains" (p. 185; citation 185). Given these commitments, witchcraft and demonology could be constructed as illogical, irrational, and infantile. Hutchinson was therefore intent

on dissuading two audiences concerning witchery's apparent existence—the people who brought charges against neighbors and the legal establishment who pronounced on the validity of the phenomenon.

In Sneddon's hands Hutchinson becomes the very epitome of a court Whig and low-church party man. His politics were grounded in a defense of the Hanoverian settlement, and his religion was rational and scriptural in content. He subscribed to a cultural life informed by notions of sociability and politeness, and a natural philosophy that acknowledged Newton as revealing the divine order. An empirical bent of mind saw Hutchinson actively engage in the Dublin Society, become an expert on bog reclamation, and improve his estate near Portglenone, County Antrim. It saw him react to the sustenance crisis of the late 1720s with humanity and practical proposals concerning fishery, as well as respond to the bloody history of witch trials in Sussex with his *Historical Essay*.

Yet, if the *Historical Essay* now makes sense, another idiosyncrasy emerges. The rather foolhardy commitment Hutchinson made to the conversion of the Roman Catholic population in Ireland in the 1720s and 1730s does not sit easily with the Latitudinarian portrayal we find here. If Latitude was committed to a low-church platform that Hutchinson found comforting, its sympathies were with the stark certainties of Presbyterian dissent and not with the ceremonial traditionalism of the Catholic confession. Sneddon thus emphasizes how Hutchinson's conversion schemes—he published a remarkable *Church Catechism in Irish* (1721) with its own orthography, and *An Irish English Almanack* (1724), as well as founding a charter school on Rathlin Island to effect a reformation of the people—was driven by fear and not love. Yet, if Sneddon is correct—and there is no reason to think otherwise—Hutchinson's response to the threat posed by Catholicism to Anglican Ireland was dramatically different from the coercive agenda laid out by other Irish Latitudinarians. While Hutchinson espoused engagement with Catholics, Edward Synge the younger, for instance, favored their expulsion from the polity (in his ironically titled *Sermon on Toleration* of 1725). Low-church latitude was an uneasy stance to take in Ireland, and Sneddon has helped unpick how ideas planted in England found Irish soil hardy terrain in which to propagate. In that, Sneddon's study sits alongside Christopher Fauske's study of *Jonathan Swift and the Church of Ireland* (Dublin, 2002) and the work of D. W. Hayton in fathoming the uneasy relationship between the establishments of Britain and Ireland in the first half of the eighteenth century. It also illustrates how personal circumstance and political context intersect to supply even the most idiosyncratic of actors with understandable motivations; and as that is one of the central responsibilities of the historian, Sneddon is to be commended for his imaginative reconstruction.

*Sacrum Monarchiae Speculum. Der Sacre Ludwigs XV. 1722: Monarchische Tradition, Zeremoniell, Liturgie.* By Josef Johannes Schmid. (Münster: Aschendorff. 2007. Pp. xliii, 647. €79,00. ISBN 978-3-402-00415-9.)

The ceremony of the French Royal Court can be regarded as the most important and influential model in early-modern Europe. Scholars therefore have inquired into both general theoretical questions and special practical aspects. Royal liturgy, however, has been researched to a much lesser extent. The coronation of the French king combines court ceremony and ecclesiastical liturgy in a peculiar way. Josef Johannes Schmid, by focusing on the “sacre” of Louis XV in 1722, on the one hand demonstrates the relevant items of this special act. On the other hand, his concentration on this well-chosen particular case enables him to integrate a much wider range of topics and methods of other disciplines such as musicology and art history. Hence, he explores and explains in masterly fashion the implicit basic ideas and powerful performances of both secular and sacral claims of the French monarchy from its medieval roots up to its final high point before the Revolution. The book—beyond introduction and conclusion—is divided into nineteen chapters and comprises an extensive bibliography, a list of the illustrations, and indices of persons and places.

Instead of the common term *Einführung* the author uses a very suggestive Italian phrase as a title for the introduction—“Il viaggio a Reims” (The journey to Reims)—and adds the elucidating German subtitle “Annäherung an ein Phänomen” (approach to a phenomenon). Schmid here introduces the reader to the main questions reflecting the relevant sources and publications. Beyond the important materials in the archives of Paris he presents and examines for the first time many manuscripts preserved in the lesser-known provincial archives.

In the first three chapters the author recalls the history of the French kingdom and its myth up to the “great period” of King Louis XV. He also analyzes musical documents as important historical sources of social, political, and cultural life. The following three chapters deal with the ecclesiastical, liturgical, and biblical dignity of the French kingship, the life of Louis XV as dauphin and young child, and the symbolic meaning of art and liturgy of the cathedral “Notre Dame” in Reims.

The remaining thirteen chapters (pp. 259–613) constitute the main part of the book explaining the “sacre” itself. Beginning with the preparations at court and in the cathedral, the processional route, and the eve of the great day, Schmid describes and analyzes in great detail the consecration and the coronation, later focusing on the music in general, the liturgy of the Mass, and the royal meal. He concludes this part with the celebrations after the ceremony—for example, the parade in the city, “cavalcade du roy”; the festivities of the Order of the Holy Spirit; and the touching of the rite of new king—and the return via Saint Denis, Paris, and Versailles. His extensive literary and musi-



cological skills enable the author to demonstrate the “Echo du Sacre” in feast culture, literature, and music. In the last chapter, he reflects a number of other special aspects including later adoptions after the Napoleonic era. The conclusion is more than a mere list of facts and results: Its headings consist of contemporary quotations from the program of a theater manager that inspire the author’s further reflections.

Schmid’s substantial volume is a great contribution to the research on the history of the court, liturgy, and music. Instead of repeating the aspects of decline and decadence of the Ancien Régime on the eve of the French Revolution, he concentrates on a last peak of royal power and solemnity. This focus opens a new approach of wider interdisciplinary research for historical questions: to use not only numerous pictures but also musical compositions, not as texts, but as ceremonial performances within ecclesiastical liturgy, court ceremonies, and civic ritual. The special christological impact within the “sacre” is claimed in a unique way for the French king, as Schmid points out. If the unction with the oil of the “sainte ampoule” had such a peculiar meaning, it has tended to become a further (para-) sacrament.

Vivid language and various concrete examples, taken from numerous manuscripts, characterize this extraordinary study; all is presented in a convincing structure and argument. The author’s discoveries and interpretations lead to new historical results and interdisciplinary options.

*University of Göttingen*

JÖRG BÖLLING

*Regulars and the Secular Realm: The Benedictines of the Congregation of Saint-Maur in Upper Normandy during the Eighteenth Century and the French Revolution.* By Mary Kathryn Robinson. (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press. 2008. Distrib. by University of Chicago Press. Pp. xx, 179. \$35.00 clothbound, ISBN 978-1-589-66175-2; \$20.00 paperback, ISBN 978-1-589-66176-9.)

This well-researched book by Mary Kathryn Robinson makes a significant contribution to the more sympathetic and nuanced reading of eighteenth-century European monasticism currently underway. The Maurist Benedictines in Upper Normandy (they had thirty-one monasteries in the province in 1760, including the great houses of Bec, Fécamp, and Jumièges) were, despite the squabbles that occur in any form of institutional life, in an essentially healthy state on the eve of the French Revolution. As the local *Cahiers* suggest, they were not perceived to be living at a remove from the rest of the nation or the locality. The Maurists also enjoyed a continued reputation for scholarship that was not detached from Enlightenment currents with figures such as Dom François Philippe Gourdin of Jumièges contributing to scientific debates on electricity that brought him regional celebrity. Monk-savants readily struck up friendships outside the cloister (Gourdin recommended Jean-

Paul Marat for membership of the Académie de Rouen) and were often involved in masonry. When the French Revolution came the monks were not unwelcoming, yet found themselves presented as readily dispensable by the mass of anticlerical politicians in the National Assembly who assumed—wrongly—that the majority of them were fettered by their vocation. The law of February 13, 1790, was designed to empty the religious houses, and the reluctant Maurists were either forced into secular life or moved into one of the houses of union with strangers. Robinson shows in detail how, despite the depredations inflicted on them, relatively few monks became militantly counter-revolutionary. In some districts such as Caudebec, Maurists accepted preferment in parishes left vacant through the resignation of refractory priests, and others took part in local government. Even the execution of the king was not too much for some former monks to stomach; at Auzebosc, the *curé* Dom Grognet planted trees of liberty and fraternity after evening vespers in March 1793 before reciting his Liberty-Equality oath. Throughout Normandy there was intimidation on both sides of the question so long as the Civil Constitution was in force, but the start of Dechristianization in 1793 had the effect of closing the distance between jurors and nonjurors. Both parties were capable of putting their lives at risk to protect the Christian heritage. Thus at Fécamp Dom Letellier, the constitutional *curé* of the former abbey, kept the silver vial of Christ's blood up to his arrest in March 1794 (and subsequently had it returned to him), while Gourdin traveled through the Seine-Inférieure department collecting books and manuscripts from religious houses and stored them at Saint-Ouen with official permission to carry a loaded pistol in case of attempted robbery. Robinson completes her measured text with a look at how former monks tried to re-establish themselves despite the erratic religious policies of the Directory and notes the numbers appointed to parishes on the post-Concordatory Church. This is a modest book that constitutes a serious achievement, and its conclusions rest on sound archival labors. Unfortunately, although there are useful appendices, printing errors have disfigured Robinson's survey, and there is no index.

*University of Leicester*

NIGEL ASTON

*Edmund Rice and the First Christian Brothers.* By Dáire Keogh. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. in the United States by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2008. Pp. 316. \$64.99. ISBN 978-1-846-82120-2.)

In *Luck & the Irish* (New York, 2008) R. F. Foster asks the question: "Why did the Reformation not succeed in Ireland?" (p. 66). His answer: "It did, but it took four hundred and fifty years." Humor is often revealing. The publisher's blurb for Dáire Keogh's book reads: "In 1944, W. T. Cosgrove described the Christian Brothers as 'Ireland's gift to civilization.' More recently, a former government minister called them 'a shower of savage bastards.'" The task Keogh sets himself is to explore how "they saw themselves" during their formative years.

This is the second book on this topic from the author; the first was *Edmund Rice: 1762-1844* (Dublin, 1996). Keogh's first work on Rice was occasioned by the beatification of his subject in the same year. In it, however, Keogh admits that writing any biography on Rice is seriously problematic given the lack of primary sources, and thus he admits that his earlier work consists of a "mere glimpse" of Rice (p. 101). It must be admitted from the outset that this second study, although much longer than the first book's 126 pages, continues to suffer for the same reason, despite the author's insistence that he is not writing a biography but rather an "interpret[ation of] the early Brothers in their historical context" by seeing them as emblematic "of the emergence of the Church from the penal age" (p. 16). As such, the work succeeds in its objective.

The Christian Brothers and the bishops promoted and rode the rising tide of early-modern Irish nationalism that was largely due to the organizational genius of Daniel O'Connell, although ironically, it succeeded because of the radicalism spawned by the French Revolution that invented modern European nationalism. Thus, like their bishops, the first Christian Brothers built upon this phenomenon, which is so well reflected in their motto: "Catholic and Celtic, to God and Ireland True."

As late as 1800, the Catholic Church in Ireland had very little real influence over the lives of most Irish Catholics; in fact, very few attended church. However, by linking the new nationalism with education and Catholicism, both the Christian Brothers and the bishops sought to promote and strengthen the influence of the Church over the lives of the Irish people. The bishops did so through their effective control, with their Protestant counterparts, of the newly formed and government-funded National Board of Education that turned over the education of its young to their respective churches. As such, the bishops were able to initiate a publicly funded Catholic school system that would become the backbone of their growing influence over Irish Catholic society, an influence that, until recently, succeeded.

Yet, unwilling to place their schools under direct episcopal control, even if it meant forgoing state funding, the Christian Brothers, under Rice's leadership, left the National Board of Education and established their own separate Catholic educational system. As such, the brothers helped to found two Catholic school systems, one controlled by the bishops that was free and catered to the needs of the Irish masses, and one run by the brothers that was dedicated to those who could pay—namely, the growing Catholic middle class. Thus, the brothers helped to shape a growing and influential Catholic lay leadership who, in turn, greatly strengthened the brothers' role in Irish national life.

Keogh has given us a clearer understanding of how this all happened as well as an explanation of why the public's view of both the Christian Brothers and the Catholic Church in Ireland have so radically changed over the past

thirty years. The isolation from Europe and the world, so much a part of an island nation, is no more. The scandals that eventually rocked the Catholic Church and the Christian Brothers in Ireland were always present, but exposure did not happen immediately due to the enormous influence of the Church over the social, political, and economic life of Ireland. As Foster noted, although it has taken 450 years, a kind of religious reformation of Irish Catholic life has finally happened.

*University of Wisconsin*

VINCENT J. McNALLY

*Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism.* By Michael Printy. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 246. \$90.00. ISBN 978-0-521-47839-7.)

Printy's ambitious work, his University of California–Berkeley doctoral dissertation in history, is an interesting and very important contribution to the history of eighteenth-century Catholic Enlightenment in Germany. He distinguishes between “Catholic Enlightenment”—as a rejection of the moral pessimism and Augustinian rigorism in a more international context—and “Reform Catholicism”—as a concrete program in a more national context. However, these distinctions are troubling. Printy's understanding of Catholic Enlightenment hides the apologetic side of Catholic Enlightenment against the anticlerical and antireligious tendencies of the Enlightenment. Such an understanding cannot make clear that Catholic Enlightenment was a struggle against superstition and baroque forms of Catholic piety to defend Catholicism against the enlightened who attacked religion. If Printy understands “educated bourgeois Catholics” as protagonists of Catholic Enlightenment, this is not only an anachronism of terms but also conceals that many important protagonists of Catholic Enlightenment were clerics or monks and exactly the opposite of “bourgeois Catholics.” His opinion that the reform program of those protagonists was the culmination of several generations of pious renewal and religious reform seems to be a little too simple because there was no direct continuity between fifteenth- or sixteenth-century Catholic Reform and the eighteenth century. Actually the reforms of eighteenth-century Catholic Enlightenment can be interpreted as a completion of the sixteenth-century Council of Trent, but it is also true that there were many influences from the outside on Catholic Enlightenment in the German-speaking countries, especially from Jansenism and the Protestant German Enlightenment.

The most important problem is Printy's main thesis that the Enlightenment created German Catholicism. Actually, nineteenth-century German Catholicism and the German Catholicism of the first half of the twentieth century were much more ultramontane. The heritage of the Catholic Enlightenment was really not dead but only of secondary importance—partly important, for instance, with the Tübingen liberal wing of Catholic theology,

but mostly not more than an accessory. In Printy's view, German Catholicism was "recast by its Enlightenment in a manner similar to the creation of a national German literary culture by a relatively restricted circle of writers and the reading public in the age of Goethe and Schiller" (p. 2). He quotes Friedrich Carl von Moser—not a Catholic but a Protestant with a background in Pietism—for "German National Spirit" (*Von dem deutschen Nationalgeist*, 1766) and writes that eighteenth-century German "educated Catholics" were trying to reform the Church because they "questioned not only what it meant to be Catholic, but also what it meant to be German, and in the process they created German Catholicism" (p. 21). This is a key misunderstanding. Printy speaks about German Catholic Enlightenment and takes the view of German Protestant Enlightenment. His perspective is that of Lessing's Wolfenbüttel, Goethe's, Schiller's, or Herder's Weimar, Schlözer's Göttingen, or Nicolai's Berlin, but not that of the Catholic centers in the abbeys, universities, and bishops' curias in the west and the south of Germany. His paradigm is that of a "German" Enlightenment that did not exist. He does not see enough Catholicism from its inner life and not enough the relationship between eighteenth-century German Catholics and French or Italian Catholicism. He asserts a nation where there was no nation in the same way as for Protestants. It is true that Hontheim (*Febronius*, 1763) wanted a German national church, but he understood "nation" in another way than the Weimar classicism.

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and University of Fribourg, Switzerland*

HARM KLUETING

*Heart Religion in the British Enlightenment: Gender and Emotion in Early Methodism.* By Phyllis Mack. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp xii, 328. \$99.00. ISBN 978-0-521-88918-6.)

Methodism has been preponderantly a women's movement, although its history and historiography have been male-dominated. Perhaps this is true of most churches. In this ground-breaking book, Phyllis Mack explores the experiences, place, and feelings of women during the outset of the Methodist movement, essentially the eighteenth century, in Britain. She wrote *Heart Religion*, she states, to explore the "seismic shift from the religious culture of the seventeenth century to the 'disenchantment of the world' that developed in the wake of the Enlightenment" (p. 8).

She shows that received negative depictions of women are inaccurate and different from men's, but her essential thesis argues for a broader view of "agency"; how believers (and Methodist women specifically) understood the reality of their religious experience within the no less real context of their world. Against past historians such as E. P. Thompson who interpreted the Methodist movement in terms of class struggle and sex (memorably describing revivalist meetings as "psychic masturbation"), Mack endeavors to assess religious narratives on their own terms: that when someone stated

that they felt the burden of their sin or found happiness in God, that is just what they meant.

A key quality of this book is the use of primary sources. Mack has assembled an impressive array of original material, much of it dealing with Mary Bosanquet-Fletcher (1739–1815) and her networks, drawn substantially from the extensive Fletcher-Tooth Papers at the John Rylands Library in Manchester, United Kingdom. Bosanquet-Fletcher came from a wealthy London family who left home because her beliefs and ran two Christian community settlements before marrying Reverend John Fletcher (1729–85), vicar of the busy proto-industrial parish of Madeley, in 1781. Following his early death, she, in effect, ran the parish for thirty years and was succeeded after her death by her protégé Mary Tooth, who carefully preserved her papers.

What this book offers most significantly is a discursive, rather than merely descriptive, framework for understanding and interpreting the religious experience of women. So in a chapter “Mary Fletcher on the Cross,” Mack “explores two elements of the early Methodists’ spirituality: their understanding of the body and the meaning of pain, and the relationship between their views of health and illness and the images of a wounded Christ that abound in Methodist hymns” (p. 173). It takes little to recognize that such an approach has a potentially wider application.

The book, however, is overly Wesley-centered. Historians are tending to move toward viewing Methodism as a much broader movement than Wesley’s tightly-knit “connexion,” to which Bosanquet-Fletcher sat loose. In addition, John Fletcher is barely mentioned. Although their marriage was brief, they knew each other for twenty years, and she was devoted to his memory. An account of her that all but ignores him is surely incomplete. Interestingly, Mack includes a section on Adam Clarke, an important but underresearched early Methodist figure.

Factual errors are few and far between. Wesley’s “Aldersgate” experience preceded his visit to the Moravians at Herrnhut (p. 36); John Fletcher was not a vegetarian (p. 196); and Mack seems not to have grasped the distinction between “itinerant” and “local” preachers (p. 270). These should not detract from the caliber and importance of this book, whose relevance and appeal goes beyond the narrow bounds of early Methodism. It is an important treatment of women’s religious experiences in post-Enlightenment Western society.

### Late Modern European

*Dominican Education in Ireland, 1820-1930.* By Maire M. Kealy, O.P. (Dublin and Portland, OR: Irish Academic Press. 2007. Pp. xx, 236. \$32.50 paperback. ISBN 978-0-716-52889-0.)

The primary focus of this book is the contribution that women of the Dominican Order made to education in Ireland in the period between 1820 and 1930. The author provides a good context in which this contribution is explored, and in the introduction we are given a clear idea of the "Dominican ethos in education." There is a short survey of the history of Dominican women in Ireland between 1124 and 1820, and a historiographical section on issues relating to women's education in Ireland in the nineteenth century. Following this introductory context the author then, in a clear and accessible fashion, details the evolution of Dominican education in Ireland at primary, secondary, and higher levels.

Kealy provides a wealth of information on the development of education in Ireland in the nineteenth century. The newly emerging congregations of female religious from the late-eighteenth century conducted boarding schools for the upper classes, with attached free schools for the poor. The lower middle class benefited from the introduction of pay "day schools." Before the introduction of the National School system of education in Ireland in 1832 there were at least thirty convent schools around the country. It was through their work as educators that nuns played a profound part in socializing the Irish population into formal Catholicism, particularly in the period after the Great Famine. The Dominican sisters, while catering to some extent to the poor, were primarily educators of the Irish Catholic middle class. The sisters utilized the opportunities provided by government for their pupils and took advantage, eventually, of the intermediate examination system to advance the interests of their students. The nuns also played a significant role in advancing university education for Irish women. The Dominican College in Dublin's Eccles Street was the first establishment in Ireland to make university education possible, through the Royal University system, for Catholic women.

With all the emphasis on education Kealy also provides the reader with an account of the ways in which the Dominican community itself evolved in Ireland over the period. We are told of the amalgamation of various communities, the disputes that occurred between the Sisters and some bishops, their dealings with officials from the department of education. There is an excellent account of the formation and work of the Conference of Convent Secondary Schools of Ireland (CCSS). Using a wide variety of sources, including the extensive archives of the Dominicans and a number of oral histories, this work celebrates the trials and tribulations of the Dominican involvement in education at all levels in Irish society. It adds considerably to the growing



literature on female religious and the education of girls and young women in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ireland.

*University of Warwick*

MARIA LUDDY

*La politique française envers les États Pontificaux sous la Monarchie de Juillet et la Seconde République (1830-1851)*. By Nicolas Jolicoeur. [Collection "Diplomatie et Histoire," Direction des Archives, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.] (New York: Peter Lang, 2008. Pp. 394. \$46.95 paperback. ISBN 978-9-052-01388-6.)

Nicolas Jolicoeur's study is the first to treat French policy toward the Papal State during the July Monarchy and the Second Republic, 1830-51, as a distinct unit. This allows him to bring out the essential continuity of French policy during those years, despite the drastic changes of regime and official ideology that took place.

He rejects the view often advanced that French policy represented a response to pressures exerted by either Catholics or liberals. Those pressures did exist and French leaders had to give them some attention, but neither was decisive. The essential driving force of French policy was geopolitical—the determination to prevent its rival, Austria, from exercising a hegemonic power in the Papal State, as in the rest of Italy.

That determination explains France's firm support for the pope's temporal power: without political independence, the pope must fall under the political rule of another state, which could manipulate the pope's moral authority to its own benefit and France's detriment. By the same reasoning, France must also oppose a united Italy that included Rome.

This attitude alienated Italian liberals, who had expected support from a liberal France. In the hope of placating them, and their French supporters, France proposed to reform the papal regime, thus making its revolutionary overthrow unnecessary. These reforms would not introduce popular sovereignty—the pope would retain ultimate power. However, the antiquated and inefficient administration would be modernized and largely secularized—government offices, now held largely by ecclesiastics, would be opened to laymen.

Had this program been successfully implemented, it might have satisfied moderate liberals, although not radicals, and certainly not those who aimed at a united Italy. But success remained elusive.

The French effort at reform came in three waves. The first was in the aftermath of the 1831 revolution, which the Austrian army suppressed. In hopes of preventing another revolution, the powers held a diplomatic conference at

Rome. Many reforms were discussed, but little came of it. Failure was due partly to papal opposition, but also to France's attempt to satisfy its liberal critics by steadily increasing its demands, which went beyond anything the papacy was willing to grant. The second effort came in 1846-48 during Pope Pius IX's reformist phase. France strongly encouraged the pope's reforms; its effort came to naught because the Roman radicals, demanding the secularization of the state and war with Austria, overthrew the pope. The third effort was in 1849, when Louis Napoleon suppressed the Roman Republic, expecting that the pope in gratitude would introduce serious reforms. But Pius IX, embittered by the 1848 revolution, now refused any concessions. By 1851, French efforts at reform had ended in failure.

Jolicoeur stops in 1851, for with the Second Empire, French policy entered a new phase, more adventurous but even less successful. Napoleon III, hoping to replace Austrian hegemony in Italy with French while preserving the temporal power, allied with Piedmont in war against Austria. His plans backfired: Italy was unified; French hegemony vanished; and the temporal power ended—a justification, perhaps, of the more modest French policy of 1830-51.

Jolicoeur has produced a valuable study of French policy toward the Papal State, whose value lies not only in its thorough account of developments but especially in its approach. Instead of dividing these years in two, because of the divergent ideological bases of the regimes involved, he treats them as a unit. This allows him to bring out the essential continuity of French policy, whose basic aim was always geopolitical: to undermine Austrian hegemony in Italy. Every aspect of its policy followed from that fundamental aim.

His study is well written, thorough in its treatment of events, and solidly based on all the necessary French archives, supplemented by wide reading in the printed sources. Consulting the Vatican and Austrian archives might have embellished his work, but likely would not have led to significant change. Anyone interested in the French, papal, or diplomatic history of this period would benefit by reading this book.

*Boston College*

ALAN J. REINERMAN

*Ethos and the Oxford Movement: At the Heart of Tractarianism.* By James Pereiro. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 271. \$150.00. ISBN 978-0-199-23029-7.)

This book is in effect a study of the Oxford Movement with special reference to the Tractarian concept of *ethos*, which originated with John Keble, who derived the idea from the *Nicomachean Ethics* and Butler's *Analogy*. It raises two controversial points.

First, Pereiro rightly disagrees with Peter Nockles and other revisionist historians that the Tractarians played down the High Church tradition that they inherited and exaggerated their own claims, but rather argues, “The Oxford Movement helped create a new image of High Churchmanship, one which involved a more complete and coherent doctrinal structure than it ever had before” (p. 45). Moreover, he questions whether such vitality and revival as the historical revisionism of Nockles and others points to were “weighty and widespread enough to counterbalance the negative” aspects of Anglicanism in the decades before the Oxford Movement (p. 60).

Second, according to Pereiro, the allegedly pioneering theory of development propounded in 1835 by Samuel Wood, a leading London Tractarian and former pupil of John Henry Newman, was rejected by his former Oriel tutor: “It is obvious from the correspondence that Newman did not accept Wood’s theory that progress and development of doctrine were intended in the Divine Plan, or that it should have continued after the Primitive Church” (p. 12). Newman’s letter of objection was destroyed after Wood’s death, but Wood’s reply of January 1, 1836, printed in an appendix, merely denies that his “notion can disparage the early Church” (p. 246). Wood’s letter to Manning of January 29, the other text cited by Pereiro, makes it clear that Newman had certainly *not* denied development in the early Church, but that “from the time the Church ceased to be One, the right of any part of it to propound *Articles of faith* . . . is suspended” (p. 248).

This was simply in accordance with the Tractarian “branch theory,” which held that developments in doctrine were no longer possible as the Church was no longer “One” and therefore unable through General Councils to authenticate doctrinal developments. Pereiro admits, “There seems to be a certain contradiction between these words, as reported by Wood,” and what Pereiro describes as “Newman’s strict interpretation of the Vincentian Rule, given that a future reunited Church would presumably be in a position to propound articles of faith beyond what had been included under the rule” (p. 158). Whether or not there is a contradiction, the fact, which Pereiro tries to brush aside, is that certainly by 1836 Newman fully accepted the concept of doctrinal development—even if, according to the Tractarian “branch theory,” developments were *pro tempore* impossible because the Church was no longer “One” and able to validate developments, as in the early Church, through General Councils.

According to Pereiro, Newman held a theory of doctrinal development only from 1840. The author belongs to that school of thought that is determined, regardless of the evidence, to prove that Newman falsified his own account of his own doctrinal development, whether through simply lying (Stephen Thomas, Frank Turner) or, more subtly, in Pereiro’s case, through “interpreting previous steps of development by later ones” (p. 165). The truth is that Newman was keenly interested in his own theological development, and the onus of proof is on those who, in this case, reject Newman’s clear

statement in the *Apologia* that he had “introduced” the “principle of development” as early as 1832 in the *Arians*.<sup>5</sup> Newman also there cites an article of his published in 1836, consisting of a dialogue between two Anglo-Catholics, one of whom, representing Newman, speaks explicitly of “those necessary developments of the elements of Gospel truth, which could not be introduced throughout the Church except gradually.”<sup>6</sup> The introduction of the principle had been more implicit in the *Arians*, where Newman merely refers to the “symbols and articles” and “confessions of faith” that were eventually “imperatively required” to safeguard “the mysteries of divine truth . . . kept hidden in the bosom of the Church.”<sup>7</sup> But two years later, in 1834, in a letter he says quite explicitly that “the greater part of the theological and ecclesiastical system, which is implicitly contained in the writings and acts of the Apostles . . . was developed at various times according to circumstances . . . this was true of the doctrine of the Trinity—and of the Incarnation. . . .”<sup>8</sup> In the same year he wrote in one of the *Tracts*: “fresh and fresh articles of faith are necessary to secure the Church’s purity, according to the rise of successive errors and heresies. These articles were all hidden . . . in the Church’s bosom from the first, and brought out into form according to the occasion.”<sup>9</sup> And in an earlier *Tract* of the same year, he speaks of the Anglican “Articles” as being “in one sense an addition to the Creeds.”<sup>10</sup>

It seems that the reason why Pereiro dismisses the clear evidence is that he confuses Newman’s realization of the principle of doctrinal development and of its existence in the early Church with his rejection of later Roman Catholic doctrinal developments, which he regarded as illegitimate because the Church was no longer “One” and because therefore no individual “branch” had the authority by itself to validate any developments.

University of Oxford

IAN KER

*Der Caritasverband zwischen Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik: Zur Sozial- und Mentalitätsgeschichte des caritativen Katholizismus in Deutschland.* By Catherine Maurer. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Lambertus-Verlag. 2008. Pp. 328. €30,00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-784-10970-1.)

The German Caritas Association, today known simply as Caritas, is the most prominent national Catholic charity in the Federal Republic. In a dissertation edited for publication, Catherine Maurer has written a much-needed

<sup>5</sup>Ian Ker, ed., *Apologia pro Vita sua* (London, 1994), p. 181.

<sup>6</sup>*Discussions and Arguments* (London, 1899), p. 19.

<sup>7</sup>*The Arians of the Fourth Century* (London, 1890), pp. 36–37.

<sup>8</sup>Ian Ker and Thomas Gornall, S.J., eds., *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman* (Oxford, 1980), IV:180.

<sup>9</sup>*Via Media* (London, 1891), II:40.

<sup>10</sup>*Via Media*, II:32.

history of this important organization. Maurer's work does not examine how Caritas fought poverty, hunger, or homelessness. Nor does the book analyze Caritas publications or conferences to reveal trends in charity or welfare activity. The conceptual discussion in Maurer's book focuses on organizational priorities and direction rather than analyzing charitable activity or contrasting ideas of social welfare. Through biographical sketches of key individuals, social analysis of membership data, and mapping of organizational spread, this book provides a thorough institutional history.

In the first half of the study, Maurer reviews German Catholic associational development in the nineteenth century and how Caritas represented a new trend in the late 1880s. Under the guidance of Father Lorenz Werthmann, Caritas was founded in southwestern Germany with two central goals: coordinating disparate charitable efforts into a national organization and promoting the rigorous and systematic study of charity. Caritas thus emerged alongside non-Catholic welfare groups to play a significant role in the professionalization of social work and public health. What was unique, according to Maurer, was the commitment to linking "confessional identity with scientific claims" (p. 146). Early leaders coined the term *Caritaswissenschaft*, the "science of charity," to respect the religious foundations of charitable work and to "rationalize" these human welfare activities. The latter was accomplished primarily through publications and conferences directed at experts and practitioners. Caritas was part of a nationalizing trend to combat poverty at the dawn of the twentieth century, a trend meeting with modest success and some skepticism on the part of church leaders.

The urgent and overwhelming needs of World War I and its aftermath transformed Caritas. Committed to the scientific advancement of charity and supported by the Center Party, Caritas was well situated to reach national prominence. The second half of Maurer's book studies the expansive institutional growth in the Weimar Republic. With a solid organizational and social basis, Caritas capitalized on the new republican order. State assistance flowed through Center Party officials, which further solidified the association financially. Caritas took its place alongside the Red Cross and Inner Mission as a truly national entity. Caritas also participated in and organized international conferences advancing the study of social welfare methods. As an indication of its success, by 1932 the organization was able to found a national institute for public health (Caritasinstitut für Gesundheitsfürsorge).

Caritas's longevity, according to Maurer, stems from an internal decision to fend off church and state control. Caritas advanced social welfare through the training of field practitioners—many nuns but also many laypeople—and raising public awareness through its publications. The association also maintained its confessional identity. Trying to avoid a bureaucratization of charity, Caritas focused on a principled commitment to the individual in extreme need and to charity work as integral to a healthy community. In an age of des-

perate social anxieties fanning the ideological fires of social Darwinism, hypernationalism, and eugenics, Caritas promoted values of compassion and solidarity with the suffering. Accepting state support and weathering its own financial scandal, Caritas faced serious public scrutiny. But thanks to the financial and structural autonomy achieved through the Weimar Republic, Caritas was able to prosper until the Nazi seizure of power and then later re-emerge in the Federal Republic.

*University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point*

ERIC YONKE

*Katholischer Diskurs im Zeitalter der Moderne: Englische Schriftsteller des "Catholic Literary Revival" von 1890-1940.* By Anna Tomczyk. [Beiträge zur anglo-amerikanischen Literatur, Band 6.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007. Pp. 399. \$86.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-56432-5.)

Anna Tomczyk contextualizes the "discourse of English Catholic intellectuals between 1890 and 1940" (p. 18) within the accelerating modernization processes that led to profound changes in the sciences, moral values, and social and political life. According to Tomczyk, following Jacques Maritain's terminology, the contributions of Catholic intellectuals to these developments range from antimodernist to ultramodernist positions.

In part 1 Tomczyk presents the different phases of the Catholic revival after 1800 in Europe in general and England in particular, emphasizing Cardinal John Henry Newman's importance for English Catholics.

Part 2 addresses the responses of English Catholic authors to contemporary developments with the common denominators of the role of transcendence in a secularized world, the insistence on Christian values in the face of rising skepticism and the dogma of progress, their view on technological advances as both a curse and a blessing, their insistence on the family being society's core as an answer to the tensions between individualism and collectivism, and, finally, their concern with man's position between the sciences and faith. Tomczyk presents multifaceted, far-from-uniform reactions from journalistic texts and sermons to papal encyclicals, resulting in a lively and complex picture of Catholic intellectual life that has managed to leave the isolation of pre-emancipation England (1829) and become appealing enough to attract converts. Apart from G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc a number of lesser known intellectuals are introduced, including Monsignor Robert Hugh Benson, Philip Gibbs, Monsignor Ronald A. Knox, and John Alfred Noyes.

In part 3 Tomczyk interprets literary texts from various genres, including some that are the first critical appraisals. First, she introduces four different lyrical voices and Catholicism's attraction for writers of decadence. Tomczyk then turns to Alice Meynell—feminist, Catholic journalist, and hostess of a literary salon for Catholic and nonreligious intellectuals—in her role as a reli-

giously unorthodox poet of formally traditional religious verses on contemporary topics. Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J., is presented with his lesser known “The Leaden Echo and the Golden Echo” (1882); and Noyes’s epic sequence *The Torch-Bearers* (Edinburgh, 1922, 1925, 1930) is introduced as an example that tries to reconcile science and religion. Benson’s futurist novels *Lord of the World* (London, 1907) and *The Dawn of All* (London, 1911) are presented as a—somewhat strange—mixture of a religious and technological society in a future dominated by Catholic priests. In her attempt to rehabilitate Benson’s novels and Knox’s satire *Memories of the Future* (London, 1923) from oblivion, Tomczyk sees in the three books a precedence of a preserving religious practice and doctrine over a relativism characteristic of modernism, Tomczyk’s intentions become focused: She points at their relevance for today’s discussion on values in which, according to her, decidedly Catholic voices should be raised more clearly and loudly. Part 3 ends with the introduction of a forgotten high modernist, surrealist, and open text that resists both religious and literary categorization: John Gray’s *Park* (London, 1932).

Tomczyk’s achievement is of no small order. She rediscovers a wrongly neglected English Catholic tradition, contextualizes Catholic intellectual life from the 1890s to the late 1930s within their contemporary cultural discourses, and recovers a number of texts from neglect. One critical remark, however, should be made: Tomczyk contrasts a parrhesic, dissenting, underprivileged discourse of a Catholic minority position with a homogenized “Other,” thus emphasizing the complexity of the inner-Catholic discourse, while presenting the position of the Other as a dominant, vaguely Protestant-Anglican, liberal, agnostic, and scientific culture. This, however, does not detract from a valuable book for those who want to learn more about a fascinating yet widely neglected period of English Catholic intellectual life and literature.

*Technische Universität Dresden*

THOMAS KÜHN

*Bishop Stephen Neill: From Edinburgh to South India.* By Dyron B. Daugherty. [American University Studies, Series VII: Theology and Religion, Vol. 267.] New York: Peter Lang, 2008. Pp. x, 305. \$77.95. ISBN 978-1-433-10165-6.)

Dyron Daugherty declares Bishop Stephen Neill one of the most important figures on the world Christian scene during the twentieth century. That may be an exaggeration, but Neill has certainly been an influential figure in global Anglican circles and in the broader world of Protestant missions and the ecumenical movement, both as a scholar and senior church administrator. His reputation rests mainly on his authorship of sixty-five books including *A History of Christianity in India, 1707-1858* (Cambridge, UK, 1984); the widely consulted *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, coauthored with



Ruth Rouse (Philadelphia, 1954); and *A History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth, UK, 1964), a beautifully written volume in the Pelican History of the Church series.

A talented scholar and linguist, Neill came from an Ulster evangelical family with clerical and missionary connections, and was educated at an evangelical boarding school and at Cambridge. He won many academic prizes before surprising his academic mentors by going to India as a missionary educator. Throughout his life he remained unmarried and established close friendships with young men, leading to speculation about his sexual orientation. In 1939 he became bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Tinnevely (Daughrity sticks to the colonial spelling) and threw himself into the work of building a trained, Indian clergy. Although not sympathetic to Mahatma Gandhi or Indian nationalism, Neill regarded the missionary presence in India as temporary. He was committed to “the euthanasia of the mission” and the building-up of a self-governing, self-sustaining, and independent Indian church that would not only survive but also thrive after the inevitable end of the British Empire.

In 1944 Neill left his diocese under a cloud, and was later a staff member of the World Council of Churches in Geneva and a lecturer and professor at the universities of Hamburg and Nairobi. At the heart of Daughrity’s book is an attempt to come to terms with the reasons for Neill’s departure from Tinnevely, which has been treated for the most part with a “conspiracy of silence” by others who have written on Neill’s life. Owen Chadwick, for instance, in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, refers vaguely to health problems. Daughrity’s research and interviews establish that Neill had to leave because of a sadomasochistic relationship he developed with young Indian pastors in training, one that included regular confession of sins followed by the use of a cane as a form of discipline.

The most interesting aspect of Daughrity’s attempts to make sense of this event lies in his treatment of the ambivalence felt about Neill by Tamil-speaking Christians, many of whom continue to revere him as a devoted church leader with a deep commitment to Indians despite his political views. Others, however, at the time and since, have linked Neill’s treatment of Indian pastors to the broader phenomenon of imperialism, as a reflection of the dependency of non-Western Christians on powerful Western leaders in a missionary church.

Daughrity’s book is in serious need of proofreading and copyediting, but it raises important issues in the global history of the church. Unlike many evangelical historians of mission, including Robert Frykenberg and Lamin Sanneh, Daughrity is neither dismissive of nor defensive about the issues raised by Edward Said on the relationship between imperialism and the informal wielding of power by those in possession of professional and literary

authority. His thoughtful attempts to address the significance of Neill's concealed disgrace are very much worth reading.

*University of Iowa*

JEFFREY COX

*A History of the Popes in the Twentieth Century: The Struggle for Spiritual Clarity against Political Confusion.* By Owen F. Cummings. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 2008. Pp. x, 290. \$109.95. ISBN 978-0-773-44858-2.)

This is a clear and generally balanced survey of the modern papacy from Benedict XV to Benedict XVI that provides few revelations but offers a good assessment of the twentieth-century papacy. Based on a wide array of secondary sources, it traces the role and impact of eight popes in a concise manner and might have been better published in paperback making it more accessible to its primary audience of students and general readers. Eight of the eleven chapters of the volume focus on the pontificates of Benedict XV (1914–22), Pius XI (1922–39), Pius XII (1939–58), John XXIII (1958–63), Paul VI (1963–78), John Paul I (1978), John Paul II (1978–2005), and concluding with Benedict XVI (2005–). Chapter 7 is devoted to “Vatican Council II (1962–65),” wherein Owen F. Cummings appears to concur with Eamon Duffy on its importance. Chapter 10 on the contrasting theologies of Karl Rahner and Hans Urs von Balthasar, while interesting, disrupts the thematic structure of the volume.

Although titled *A History of Popes in the Twentieth Century*, Popes Leo XIII (1878–1903) and Pius X (1903–14) are not accorded separate chapters, while Benedict XVI, a pope of the twenty-first century, merits one. The exclusion of Leo is understandable in light of the fact that most of his pontificate was in the nineteenth century, and he receives some coverage in chapter 1, “The Papacy in the 18th and 19th Centuries.” The decision not to grant a separate chapter to the conservative Pius X, the only pope in the modern age hitherto proclaimed a saint, appears more problematic if not arbitrary. The author’s assessment of this pope and his critique of his “reign of doctrinal terror” and “modernist witch hunt” (p. 15) apparently played a part in Pius X’s exclusion. Theological rather than historical considerations may have influenced Cummings, who is a Deacon and Regents’ Professor of Theology at Mount Angel Seminary in Oregon, to depart from his customary objectivity in his assessment of Pius X. Battista Mondin, in his survey *The Popes of the Modern Ages* [sic]: *From Pius IX to John Paul II* (Vatican City, 2005) on the other hand, strikes an apologetic tone. Mondin, who is a priest, includes Pius X among the “magnificent ten” he examines in his volume (p. 7).

Since objectivity is a problem for many authors of works on the Church and papacy, Cummings’s assessment of the most controversial pope of the twentieth century—Pius XII—was of especial concern. About this pope still swirl the accusations of “silence” during the Holocaust and “impartiality” during World War II. Furthermore, his sainthood continues to be ardently sup-

ported by some and bitterly opposed by others. Cummings, to his credit, does not lose his historical perspective by becoming embroiled in the Pius War. In chapter 4 on this pope, he avoids the pitfall of becoming a defender or denigrator of Pius XII—no small achievement. Although he questions aspects of his policy (p. 71), he does not impugn this pope’s “personal moral integrity” (p. 69). Unfortunately, albeit understandably, he accepts many of the generalizations that continue to dominate the secondary literature, including the belief that Pope Pius XI and his secretary of state, Eugenio Pacelli (1930–39), saw eye to eye (p. 67). This assertion and other generalizations about Pius XI and Pacelli have been discredited by the opening of the Vatican Archives for the pontificate of Pius XI.

*St. John’s University, NY*

FRANK J. COPPA

*The Holocaust by Bullets: A Priest’s Journey to Uncover the Truth behind the Murder of 1.5 Million Jews.* By Patrick Desbois. Translated by Catherine Spencer. (New York: Palgrave. 2008. Pp. xx, 236. \$26.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-230-60617-3; pp. 272, \$17.00 paperback, ISBN 978-0-230-61757-5.)

Father Patrick Desbois, priest of the Archdiocese of Lyon, has produced a profound work examining the “Shoah by bullets” in Ukraine. Desbois is secretary of relations with Judaism for the French Conference of Bishops and president of Yahad-In-Unum, an organization that promotes understanding and cooperation between Catholics and Jews. In his narrative, Desbois describes the journey that led him to the Ukraine tundra to uncover archaeological evidence and eyewitness testimony of the Nazis’ mass murder of 1.5 million Jews there. This mass murder involved “no gas chambers, no automation, no so-called ‘mechanization;’” just “a man assassinating another man” (p. 55).

Born in 1955, Desbois grew up in a milieu in which memories of World War II and the Holocaust still haunted his family. His cousin who resided with his family suffered tuberculosis, a disease he caught while in Dachau. Similarly, his paternal grandfather, Claudius, had been imprisoned in Rawa-Ruska, Stalag camp 325, located in western Ukraine. After ordination, while standing only miles from the site of Stalag Rawa-Ruska during a visit to eastern Poland, Desbois recalled his grandfather’s memories: “That day I understood how much the Holocaust was part of my life. The unspeakable crime to which my grandfather had been a helpless witness—the murder of men, women, and children simply because they were Jews . . . the irrevocable decision to search took root in me. I had to understand” (p. 15). Desbois returned home and began to study the Holocaust intensely.

Eventually, Desbois visited Rawa-Ruska in search of his grandfather’s memories. There he attempted to interview locals but these encounters were not always successful. Often told that “the camps, the ghettos, the synagogues, and the stones of the Jewish cemeteries had disappeared,” Desbois attests that he “always found them” (p. 28). Desbois was never deterred in his quest to

uncover the past. Rather, his findings such as the private German cemetery that he came upon in the district of Potelych confirmed the need for Desbois's research. Expansive and precisely manicured, the cemetery contained the remains of thousands of German soldiers, including SS members, who had been reburied there and identified by name. This cemetery stood in stark contrast to the "mass graves of thousands of Jews who were shot" and whose remains were no longer identifiable (p. 34).

In an attempt to trace the mass graves of murdered Jews, Desbois assembled around himself a team of dedicated individuals. Among these were Mikhailo "Micha" Strutinsky, who schooled Desbois in ballistics in an effort to find and document the thousands upon thousands of spent cartridges, and Andrej Umansky, a researcher who helped the team prepare for each subsequent trip by scouring through German archives for testimonies of German policeman who participated in the executions and by reading the findings of the 1944 Soviet commissions that originally investigated the Nazi crimes against Jews.

For Desbois, discovering the truth was not an easy task, but one he felt compelled to fulfill. To date, he has conducted more than 400 interviews with Ukrainians. Desbois attests that local Orthodox and Catholic clergy willingly assisted him, encouraging their parishioners to recount their testimonies. Desbois admits that he had to force himself "not to judge the person who was speaking to me" (p. 67). But, at times, this was extremely difficult. For example, while interviewing Ukrainians who had witnessed the 1942 walling up and suffocating of Jews in the marketplace cellar in the town of Sataniv, Desbois had to turn off the camera and stop the interview when the informant confessed that no one had opened the cellar door until 1954.

Desbois believes that by interviewing an "outsider" who witnessed the Germans' murder of Jews, you gain an understanding of the Holocaust "by integrating both victim and oppressor" (p. 95). Although an interesting point, he might have sharpened his critique of Ukrainian "outsiders" by incorporating new literature on bystanders and perpetrators. Nevertheless, Desbois's narrative reveals that he is aware of the complexity of his witnesses' testimony when he, for example, includes the statement of Ivan Lichnitski, who states, "Yes, two Jews tried to escape and my brother had to kill them." Desbois comments, "The discomfort was palpable. In this case, the border between requisitioned and guilty was very thin" (p. 95). Still, he remains quite sympathetic to the witnesses.

Through the interviews, Desbois details the tasks performed by requisitioned Ukrainians as they assisted, generally by force, the Order Police, *Einsatzgruppen*, and Wehrmacht soldiers who perpetrated the mass murders. These tasks included sorting and patching clothing; preparing bodies for burning; extracting gold fillings; transporting Jews in carts; guarding Jews as they awaited execution; and packing Jewish bodies down in between executions, a task often given to children or teenagers.

Throughout the work, Desbois recalls the savage inhumanity of the Germans toward Jews. By contrast, Desbois, in his narrative, reveals his own genuine understanding of Jewish suffering. Regularly, Desbois and his team took great care to work with orthodox rabbis to conduct archaeological excavations to ensure that rabbinical law would be observed toward the remains of Jews buried in communal graves. After conducting so many interviews and archaeological explorations, Desbois notes: "I imagine that if we could open all the mass graves we would have to take aerial photos of the whole of Ukraine. A mass cemetery of anonymous pits into which men, women, and children were thrown. Not a camp but a country of graves" (p. 178).

Desbois's work should be widely read. While it is not a chronological academic study of the Holocaust in Ukraine, it is something so much more important. It is a personal account of how one Catholic became radically sensitized to the experience of Jews during the Holocaust. By recording this experience, Desbois has already made a lasting impact on Holocaust studies and Jewish-Catholic relations. Hopefully, many others will follow in his footsteps.

*Stonehill College*

KEVIN P. SPICER, C.S.C.

### American and Canadian

*Predestination: The American Career of a Contentious Doctrine.* By Peter J. Thuesen. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 309. \$29.95. ISBN 978-0-195-17427-4.)

The doctrine of predestination—that God chooses some humans for salvation from all eternity—is one of the classical topics of theological analysis and speculation. As Peter Thuesen demonstrates in this fine intellectual history, it has also generated as much controversy as other doctrines that are, arguably, more central to Christian faith.

Thuesen's book traces the history of this idea and its often contentious religious effects primarily in its "American career," i.e., as it has been worked out among theologians and churches on the western side of the Atlantic since its seventeenth-century arrival with the Puritans. A brief and not entirely satisfactory opening chapter does sketch the origins of the "predestinarian labyrinth" in Scripture (especially St. Paul), St. Augustine, medieval Scholasticism, and the Reformation. But the analysis really takes off as Thuesen traces the large role that predestinarian ideas—almost entirely Calvinist in origin—played in classical Reformed theology and piety in New England, and subsequently in the broader streams of mainstream American Protestantism and evangelicalism deeply tinged by them. He effectively and subtly demonstrates how the seemingly abstruse and complex logic of predestination worked to advance what he calls the "ecstatic agony" of Calvinist-Puritan piety and religious life, in which believers sought, through intense spiritual struggle, the assurance that they were among the elect of God.

This inner drama, which Thuesen compares to the athlete's motto of "no pain—no gain," was often too overwhelming or disturbing for all but the most dedicated and fervent of the faithful. Furthermore, the forceful formulations of the original predestinarian Calvinist doctrine, enshrined in the classical Confessions of Westminster and Dort, soon provoked challenges from those who sought to modify or soften the seemingly arbitrary and harsh "divine decree" by which God chose only some people for grace and salvation (the "limited atonement" of classical "five-points Calvinism" memorably enshrined in the acronym "TULIP") and others for damnation.

Throughout *Predestination*, Thuesen exhibits a rare talent for explicating these most difficult and complex theological debates in lucid prose, and anyone who might wonder about the significance of controversies over "supralapsarianism" (the belief God's election occurred even before the Fall into sin) or "infralapsarianism" (election after the Fall), and many other matters, will find them clearly unpacked here. Furthermore, Thuesen argues convincingly that the more extreme predestinarian formulations almost inevitably produced what became in America the more widespread, common-sense "compatibilist" version of the doctrine, which attempts to reconcile predestination and free will by holding that God's election is based on his foreknowledge of the moral choices that humans make. Whether this middle ground is theologically or philosophically coherent is itself highly debatable, Thuesen observes; but that has not stopped it from being the most popular.

Although the classical Reformed formulations and debates form the essential spine of *Predestination*, Thuesen also traces the long and often fervent history of American resistance to what many termed the "hellish doctrine," even in its modified forms. Enlightened critics and their numerous intellectual progeny found in the whole idea one of the best reasons to shun any kind of traditional theology, while Charles Wesley devoted fifteen verses of a hymn to condemning the "horrible decree." Yet Thuesen notes that Methodists, and evangelicals of all stripes, continued to wrestle with the central questions of divine grace and human choice that the doctrine, and its scriptural underpinnings, essentially addressed.

Besides his primary argument that debates over predestination, in various guises, have remained a major presence in American Protestantism ("the elephant in the room of American denominationalism," p. 6), Thuesen also offers a secondary argument that predestination operates as the major spiritual alternative to the sacramentalist doctrines and piety taught and practiced by Catholicism, Lutheranism, high Anglicanism, and the like. Although he devotes a chapter to American Catholics' and Lutherans' views of predestination, this account is less nuanced and persuasive than the rest of the book, and gives perhaps excessive attention to a Missouri Synod-generated controversy of the 1880s. But it does seem plausible on the evidence that predestination looms much larger in the spiritual economy of the traditions shaped by less sacramental theologies.

The book also suffers a bit, at times, from the historian's occupational hazard of exaggerating the centrality of his own subject. Important as predestination is, it may be doubted whether it can explain Cromwell's overthrow of the English monarchy (p. 48) or whether the 1998 Catholic-Lutheran Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification "might have neutralized centuries of predestinarian conflict among the dogmaticians" (p. 171). Nevertheless, Thuesen has a keen ear for picking up ancient doctrinal tones sounding beneath even the most popular nontheological buzz of American Christianity. In a lively, engaging conclusion, he personally visits Rick Warren's enormous Saddleback Church in southern California and finds—beneath the affable, huggable pastor in the Hawaiian shirts—the essential spirit of Jonathan Edwards, although now framed in softer terms of the "purpose-driven life" and its imperative to "use it or lose it" (p. 211). What popular American Christianity's empirical and anti-theological outlook threatens to diminish, he contends, is not doctrinal content per se but the *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* that underlies both predestinarianism and sacramentalism. This book may serve as an excellent reminder of why such a development would be a serious loss.

Valparaiso University

MEL PIEHL

*Les Sulpiciens de Montréal. Une histoire de pouvoir et de discrétion, 1657-2007.* Edited by Dominique Deslandres, John A. Dickinson, and Ollivier Hubert. (Montreal: Éditions Fides. 2007. Pp. 720. C\$49.95. ISBN 978-2-762-12727-0 paperback.)

It is almost three years now since the Sulpicians of Montreal celebrated the tercentenary of their arrival in Montreal. No tribute to them or celebratory memorial of their leading part in the development of that great metropolis can have been more appropriate and fitting than this remarkable book.

It is remarkable for being scholarly and as much for being beautiful. The work of some fifteen historians and other social scientists led by Dominique Deslandres, John A. Dickinson, Ollivier Hubert (University of Montreal's Department of History), as well as Jacques Des Rochers (curator of the fine and religious arts at the Art Gallery of Montreal), *Les Sulpiciens* features four dozen color plates of Sulpician-related art, including many Bartlett's and Guillaume Loir's extraordinary (and seldom reproduced) silver *Vierge à l'enfant* (1732).

English-speaking readers will be interested in the treatment (by the Sulpicians in the nineteenth century and by the authors in the book) accorded the commanding figure of Father Patrick Dowd, the Irish Sulpician who, more than any other single person, secured St. Patrick's anglophone parish, St. Patrick's Orphanage, and other Irish institutions in Montreal in the late 1840s. Anglophone Jesuits, on the other hand, may be disappointed at



the short notice given John Larkin, who left the Sulpicians to join the Jesuits and who, in 1831 and 1849, refused the episcopacy (of Kingston and later of Toronto in Canada West) to become rector of St. John's College (now Fordham University). Others still might have liked more extensive treatment of the Sulpician cardinal Paul-Émile Léger, a dominating influence for reform at the Second Vatican Council and one of the most famous Montreal residents. But these are quibbles. *Les Sulpiciens* is henceforth an indispensable work for anyone wishing to study the development of Montreal, a city that would not be what it is without the spirit and work of the Sulpicians, just as much of the Canadian Church would not be what it is without the spirit and work of the Sulpicians.

*Les Sulpiciens* is important for many other reasons, such as providing hard-to-find information on the Sulpicians. The order's founding at the height of the Age of the Devout; its identification with Montreal; its civil and religious government of the city for fifteen decades as the lords of the Island; its confraternal government; its relations with the religious congregations of women and men; its rocky dealings with the French, British, and Canadian civil authorities; its stormy relations with church authorities; its persistent tension between the French- and Canadian-born members, not resolved until the early-twentieth century; its ambiguous blend of Gallicanism and liberal anticlericalism—all of these issues and others are thoroughly analyzed and painstakingly examined in the light of some nineteen archival collections (many never before examined) as well as an impressively complete bibliography.

*Les Sulpiciens* stands as a monument not only to Montreal and the Sulpicians but also to its researchers and authors.

*The Archive of the Jesuits in Canada, Montreal*

JACQUES MONET, S.J.

*Hanging between Heaven and Earth: Capital Crime, Execution Preaching, and Theology in Early New England.* By Scott D. Seay. (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 217. \$36.00. ISBN 978-0-875-80402-6.)

New Englanders witnessed 460 public executions before the early-nineteenth century, when legal theory, theology, and middle-class sensibilities converged to confine the ritual to a private space. In the able hands of Scott D. Seay the sermons accompanying these executions provide fruitful material for understanding changing attitudes toward criminals and sin in early New England. A study rich in its longitudinal scope and detailed analysis, *Hanging between Heaven and Earth* mines these sermons for insight into crime literature, religious and political thought, and the historical ethics of capital punishment.

Protestant ministers knew their execution sermons would reach an enormous audience. Increase Mather's sermon on the execution of James Morgan

in 1686 packed the large Old North Church so tightly that “the walls of the gallery began to crack under the weight of the audience.” Instead of canceling the event, the crowd, perhaps numbering 5000, moved to Old South Church and its environs to hear the rest of the sermon (pp. 24–25). What were these kinds of crowds hearing? Seay argues that while the basic literary structure of the execution sermons remained constant, the message changed significantly when ministers considered the reasons for crime, the possibility for dramatic conversions, and the purpose of civil government itself.

Espousing a strong view of hereditary sin, early New England ministers encouraged “moral identification” between the condemned and onlookers. For example, in 1721 Cotton Mather asked the crowd if the man to be executed was “the only One that may be charged with Murdering his Wife among us.” No, Mather preached, “all husbands who speak harshly to their wives, fail to provide them with sufficient food, or break their hearts . . . are guilty of murdering them” (p. 54). Seay finds that the early preachers saw noncriminals as restrained from literal murder only by God’s grace, not because of any innate moral difference between a person in the crowd and the murderer on the scaffold. Criminals were providentially denied this restraining grace in a slippery slope of small sins leading to larger ones—a progression into which any citizen could slide. In early New England, ministers and magistrates largely agreed on the efficacy of the “gruesome displays” at the scaffold to communicate a moral warning and to cleanse the community of guilt and discord.

In the eighteenth century, communities put increasing pressure on the condemned person to experience an emotional repentance. Laypeople and ministers increased their efforts to facilitate his or her conversion through prison visits and communal prayers, and legislated further delay between arrest and execution. In the context of evangelical revivalism “when the condemned failed to achieve repentance or actively refused to strive after it, the ritual virtually was robbed of its significance entirely” (p. 44). When they did convert, however, these redeemed criminals became exemplars, held up for the entire community to emulate.

Seay argues convincingly that execution sermons in New England showed marked change in the early national period as ministers absorbed John Locke and John Taylor’s exegetical and philosophical arguments for humans as “independent moral agents” and for guilt as “nontransferable” (p. 62). Many sermons adopted a new view of human sinfulness which saw crime as a result of individual choice rather than inherited human depravity. This emphasis on individual responsibility led to a qualitative difference between capital criminals and ordinary people. Sermons on the executions of blacks, who led in condemnations for rape and arson, intensified this rhetoric of difference. The trope of the morally “peculiar” criminal accompanied calls for renewed efforts in moral education. God’s restraining grace was no longer so mysterious—it worked through “religious education and proper family government” (p. 74).

Pennsylvania reformers, especially Quakers, led the effort to change how criminals were treated, working to establish penitentiaries as well as to limit the scope of capital punishment and to privatize executions themselves. Interestingly, as its didactic purpose was called into question (were criminals' conversions really authentic? was the crowd really edified?), the entire execution day ritual in the later period shifted toward reinforcing the power of the state rather than focusing on the criminal's soul or the onlooker's moral benefit, regardless of the local minister's position on the theological spectrum. Although there is more evidence for military presence in the early period than Seay acknowledges (Mary Dyer's 1661 execution was accompanied by 200 armed men and military drummers), his argument for significant change over time, and especially the argument that the changes were rooted in developments outside New England, is instructive. Seay's informative analysis of execution sermons also suggests opportunities for further interpretive work on the tensions between official messages of execution rituals and the desires of the crowd for merriment; on the commercial goals of printers and chapmen; and on the speeches of the criminals themselves, who, though often conforming to the expectations of ministers, sometimes subverted their messages.

*University of Mississippi*

ADRIAN WEIMER

*Religion and Profit: Moravians in Early America.* By Katherine Carté Engel. [Early American Studies.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. x, 313. \$39.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24123-5.)

This well-researched and carefully organized study traces the history of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from its founding in 1741 as an outpost of the international Moravian movement through the tumultuous events of the Seven Years' and Revolutionary Wars into the much altered circumstances of the early-nineteenth century. Its focus is the interconnection of religious and economic spheres that made the Moravians' New-World experience so unusual in its own time and so intriguing for later historians. At its founding, Bethlehem was the far-western outpost of the renewed Unity of the Brethren, whose headquarters was the landed estate in Saxony of Count Zinzendorf, the motivating force of the movement. The particular distinction of the Moravians was their all-out dedication to missionary service that, unlike other Protestant efforts of the era, subordinated national and ethnic considerations to religious goals. Central to this enterprise was the Moravians' creativity in financing their missionary ventures. The particular success of Engel's book is to explain the contingent relationship between the Moravians' religious motives and the economic strategies they devised to support these purposes.

At its origin, Bethlehem was a "pilgrim community" organized for mission. Its founders created a corporate entity known as the Oeconomy that acquired property, founded businesses, assigned workers, and negotiated with outside interests. In the process the Pennsylvania Moravians engaged in many of the

same economic activities as their colonial peers, but with a significant difference. The difference was that their business dealings were devoted to supporting missionary outreach to other European settlers, native Americans, and the enslaved populations of the West Indies. In its first decades, great fluidity attended these activities, with a large percentage of Bethlehem's millers, storekeepers, tanners, and weavers going off for short- or long-term stints as missionaries themselves and with economic decisions regularly oriented to promoting the missionary cause. One of Engel's most important conclusions is that the Moravians did not promote distinct economic practices; rather, they modified the era's usual economic activities and organizations only to the extent required by the careful moral standards of their evangelical community and for the purpose of supporting missionaries. Into the 1760s the synergy between the Moravians' functioning as missionary pilgrims and Bethlehem's organization as a community economic enterprise achieved remarkable results. Even with their strong ties to Germany, the colonial Moravians were among the colonies' most attractive evangelical movements, and their missionary work among the Indians was far more successful than any comparable attempts by other Protestants.

After 1760, however, changes multiplied. The death of Zinzendorf in 1760 left the whole Moravian movement beset by a huge debt that this far-sighted but detail-challenged visionary left behind. The end of the Oeconomy under the Moravians' new leadership in 1762 began a clear separation between religious and economic purposes. The Seven Years' War, followed by the depredations against Natives by marauding Pennsylvanians (the Paxton Boys), removed Moravian Indians from the precincts of Bethlehem. Shortly thereafter the War for Independence created tensions for a movement that included many pacifists and also remained grateful to the British Parliament for earlier legal recognition. The result by 1800 was a Moravian Bethlehem that remained prosperous and intensely religious, but that no longer sustained close contacts with missionary efforts, that had individualized economic and moral relationships, and that had evolved into a much more typical denomination. Engel's account of change over the last part of the century features careful attention to the interplay of local and world events, the continuing integrity of Moravian religious motives, but also the compelling force of circumstances that ended the earlier dynamism of this pilgrim community. With her extensive use of German as well as English sources, her close attention to local events and world developments, the book is a noteworthy example of Atlantic history at its best.

*University of Notre Dame*

MARK A. NOLL

*A War of Religion: Dissenters, Anglicans, and the American Revolution.* By James B. Bell. [Studies in Modern History.] (New York: Palgrave. 2008. Pp. xxi, 323. \$74.95. ISBN 978-0-230-54297-6.)

This work is divided into two parts: "A Century of Controversies" and "A New Controversy: The Political Sentiments of the Clergymen." It is argued that

a series of disputes (primarily in New England), the activities of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and clerical petitions for a colonial bishop collectively provided a cause for the American Revolution. Jonathan Mayhew of Boston in the 1760s crystallized these issues into an effective argument against the procurement of a bishop for America. John and Samuel Adams focused on the role of Parliament in church affairs, uniting ecclesiastical and political issues into an attack on British imperial policy. The Englishness of the Church of England in America symbolized a cause for the revolution and became a victim of it.

The forceful placing of King's Chapel in Boston initiated the controversies between Dissenters and Anglicans between 1686 and 1783. Increase and Cotton Mather saw it as an attempt to undermine the Puritan church, and a conspiracy theory was born. The appearance of SPG missionaries in every mainland colony except Virginia and Maryland alarmed Quakers and Presbyterians. John Checkley's advocacy of divine-right episcopacy challenged the Congregationalists' doctrine of ministry. A defection of several Congregationalists at Yale to the Church of England in 1722 was a shocking event. The effort of Thomas Sherlock, bishop of London, to secure a "primitive" bishop for America exacerbated tensions. The elevation of Thomas Secker to Canterbury in 1758 renewed hope for an American episcopate but instead led to an intense controversy in the 1760s. After Secker's death in 1768, the new archbishop and bishop of London did not revive the subject.

John Adams in "Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law" (1765) and Samuel Adams's "Puritan Letters" (1768) questioned whether Christianity could exist without an uninterrupted succession of bishops. In the English system the crown selected bishops and parliament created dioceses and provided funds. This combination of ecclesiastical and political authority threatened the colonists' religious and civil liberties. The author asserts that the episcopal controversy attracted little interest outside of New England (p. 107), although subsequently 311 Anglican ministers in America were forced to respond to the revolution. The former debate over ministry, SPG, and bishops became personal. Thomas B. Chandler, Charles Inglis, and Samuel Seabury became outspoken Loyalists, but others kept silent, retired, or fled. Noted patriots were Henry M. Muhlenberg, James Madison, William White, and Samuel Provoost. An appendix (pp. 222-45) identifies the political sentiments of the Anglican clergy between January 1, 1775, and December 31, 1783.

The study's focus on the Church of England in New England unfortunately discounts the importance of the church in the southern colonies, where the vast majority of its clergy and constituents were located. Even in New England, the church laity passively resisted the idea of a resident bishop. The Pennsylvania and Maryland Anglican proprietors saw no need for a bishop. Virginia Anglicans were well aware of events to the north and dramatically protested a petition for a colonial bishop in the 1770s. In the Carolina church establishments, local rule prevailed. While the episcopal

controversy of the 1760s and 1770s did generate opposition to the English ecclesiastical-political system, the likelihood of a government-imposed episcopate had passed. In the showdown with Great Britain, Anglicans and Dissenters defended their religious and civil liberties.

*LaGrange College (Emeritus)*

FREDERICK V. MILLS, SR.

*Piety and Profession: American Protestant Theological Education, 1870-1970.* By Glenn T. Miller. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 821. \$50.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-82946-7.)

With *Piety and Profession*, Glenn Miller provides the long-awaited sequel to *Piety and Intellect: The Aims and Purposes of Antebellum Theological Education* (Atlanta, 1990). In his first volume Miller demonstrated how dogmatic theology built its home in a new institution, the American Protestant graduate theological seminary, and from this fortress established its hegemony in response to the intellectual and social challenges of the day. In *Piety and Profession*, Miller narrates how theological education between 1870 and 1970 is *the* place to observe the breakdown of confessional theology's unifying power with the rising influence of other "points of reference," beginning with biblical criticism. By the 1870s seminary professors could not dodge the question: is biblical supernaturalism "a necessary part of faith?"

During the antebellum period, theological education aimed to prepare "the learned" minister for service in well-defined denominational traditions. Between 1870 and 1970 Protestant ministers were equipped increasingly as religious professionals to guide congregations through uncertainty toward an unknown future. A "characteristic way of thinking about theological education and its practices" (p. xxiii) emerged, shaped especially by the influence of the research university, the new social sciences, industrial capitalism, the modern city and suburbs, continental and global networks of communication, and two catastrophic world wars. The accreditation movement through the American Association of Theological Schools came to define graduate theological schools and advanced a structural consensus. At the same time, the seminary displayed its sensitivity to changes in the intellectual landscape.

In section after section *Piety and Profession* offers illustrative vignettes and deft summaries of developments to characterize one segment or another of Protestant theological schooling. Especially rich is his account of how by the 1970s Fuller, Gordon-Conwell, Trinity Evangelical, and Dallas seminaries had engaged in "a largely self-conscious theological layering" (p. 647) with each other as distinctive competitors and leaders within the Evangelical movement. His masterful account of the 1960s and the unraveling of denominationalism in American culture is more nuanced than most accounts. His description of the "divorce" between religious studies and theological studies details the costs for both as religious studies set the standards for the professoriate in theological education.

Miller argues that by 1970, an era was passing. Middle-class loyalty to main-line Protestantism had declined, and denominations were losing members. At the same time, fundamentalism and evangelicalism were emerging into the mainstream. A time of violent warfare within denominations was underway, ending an era of “generous orthodoxy” (p. xvii). Moreover, postmodernism’s acknowledgment of multiple perspectives, methods, and subject matters was leeching out agreement on the content of theological education. Miller’s account underscores why the accreditation movement with its emphasis on the structure of degrees created a safe place for cooperation among denominational warriors and those above the fray while continuing to attract Evangelical and Roman Catholic theological schools.

Miller is open about the formative influences of Ernst Troeltsch and H. Richard Niebuhr on his own thought and describes himself as an Evangelical Baptist with a bias toward those movements stressing the need for clear, critical thought about “both the intellectual and practical implications of Protestant faith” (p. xviii). For historians of American Catholicism, Miller has become a necessary conversation partner. His description of how in Protestant theological education the self replaced the Church in the task of theological integration and his delineation of seminaries’ sensitivity to intellectual change invites revisiting the history of Catholic seminary education. Joseph White provides a starting point with his *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present* (Notre Dame, 1989).

*In Trust: The Association of Boards in Theological Education*

CHRISTA R. KLEIN

*Cuban Catholics in the United States, 1960–1980: Exile and Integration.* By Gerald E. Poyo. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2007. Pp. xiv, 370. \$32.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03833-5.)

When Fidel Castro entered Havana in January 1959 with elements of his victorious rebel army, the welcoming crowds along the parade route included a contingent from Belen—the elite Jesuit high school where he had once distinguished himself in athletics and student government. When he spotted the Belen banner, Castro reportedly<sup>11</sup> climbed down from his tank, embraced priests and students, and kissed the emblazoned symbol of upper-middle-class Cuban Catholicism. Two years later, he would confiscate all private school properties in Cuba, including those of the Jesuits and other Catholic orders. Those and other radical actions helped precipitate a massive migration of Cubans from every social class, beginning in the 1960s and continuing to this day.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>José Luis Sáez, S.J., *Breve Historia del Colegio de Belen* (Miami, 2002), 1:176.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Silvia Pedraza, “Cuba’s Refugees: Manifold Migrations,” in *Cuban Communism*, ed. Irving Louis Horowitz and Jaime Suchlicki (New Brunswick, NJ, 1998), pp. 496–518.



Gerald Poyo, in this important book on Cuban Catholics, follows their exodus to the United States and examines the role religion played in their struggle to survive and to maintain a cultural identity. These were migrants who considered themselves refugees—families and individuals pushed from an island where they had once enjoyed living standards superior to those of most Latin American and Caribbean countries. Catholic bishops in exile constantly reminded Cubans of their religious roots, “reasserted the historical contributions of Catholicism in Cuba[,] and argued that the communist imposition represented a deviation from genuine Cuban traditions” (p. 127). The bishops glossed over the fact that the Cuban Catholic hierarchy had supported Spanish rule even during the Cuban struggle for independence.

Poyo documents church programs in the 1940s and 1950s that encouraged political reform and social justice throughout the island, describing two alternate if not competing Catholic models of social change: the populist model of the French-expatriate Christian Brothers of Lasalle versus the elite-led model of Spanish Jesuits who searched for an authoritarian leader to save Cuba from communism as dictator Francisco Franco had rescued Spain. Spanish Jesuit Armando Llorente, the spiritual leader of the Cuban student organization *Agrupación Católica Universitaria* (ACU), would mentor the adolescent Castro at Belen school and later, when Castro had had taken up arms in the Sierra Maestra, Llorente would encourage other student leaders, such as Manuel Artime, to join Castro in his armed struggle (p. 46). But after Castro had achieved power and then “betrayed” the Church, Llorente, hundreds of priests, and several bishops went into exile. Cuban Jesuits transferred Belen preparatory school to Miami where it prospered as a center of Cuban exile academic excellence and a rallying point for resistance to any accommodation with the Castro regime (p. 94).

At the same time, thousands of Cuban families began to send their children unaccompanied to the United States to escape communist indoctrination, under a clandestine (“Pedro Pan”) program directed by Catholic activist Polita Grau whom the Castro regime eventually arrested and imprisoned (pp. 86, 87, 264). Poyo shows that “the Catholic Church in Miami offered Cubans strong and consistent support” (p. 85). Monsignor Bryan Walsh of the Archdiocese of Miami took charge of the Pedro Pan arrivals and—with significant financial support from the Kennedy administration, Catholic Relief Services, and private corporate donors—found foster homes for them. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy took a special interest in the children of Cuban upper-class families whom he and his siblings had befriended during 1950s vacations at the Dupont estate on Veradero Beach.

Poyo describes how “Cuban-owned or managed radio and television stations (in the U.S.) offered free airtime to priests interested in reaching the broader community. . . . [but the] most important and revered devotional space for south Florida Cuban Catholics was the *Ermita de Nuestra Senora de*

la Caridad del Cobre," which was a shrine in Miami directed by Cuban priest (and later bishop) Agustin Roman (pp. 104, 105).

During the 1960s and 1970s, as the Vatican and the Catholic hierarchy in Cuba began to explore ways to find a *modus vivendi* with the Castro government, Cuban Catholics in the United States became a divided community: "Some supported the total isolation of Cuba, rejecting all engagement. Others offered slightly different approaches" (p. 265). Still others became convinced that only Castro's assassination or armed intervention by the United States would bring about a return to "social justice" in Cuba. Catholic student leaders whom the Cuban government had executed for leading an armed insurrection (Porfirio Ramirez) or who died in Cuba's prisons (such as Pedro Luis Boitel) became household names revered by many Cuban Catholics (pp. 170-71). Overall, as Poyo indicates, "the anti-communism of most Cuban Catholics actually hardened as the Vatican urged a more reflective and tolerant approach" (p. 273).

Belen school in Miami kept alive the vision of Jesuit-educated democratic leaders who would one day return to Cuba to transform society and inaugurate an era of peace and social justice. José Ignacio Rasco, a former schoolmate of Castro's who cofounded the Cuban Christian Democratic Party in exile, continued to advocate, as the solution to Cuba's social and economic problems, the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas adapted through the writings of the French philosopher and theologian Jacques Maritain.

*The Catholic University of America*

DAVID E. MUTCHLER

### Latin American

*Ideology and Inquisition: The World of the Censors in Early Mexico.* By Martin Austin Nesvig. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 366. \$60.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-300-14040-8.)

The Spanish Inquisition is arguably one of the most reviled institutions in human history. It is also one about which much nonsense has been written. In the past twenty-five years there has been a renaissance of Inquisition studies, based on sound scholarship, that has attempted to present a more balanced and nuanced picture of this controversial tribunal. Martin Austin Nesvig's book is a major contribution to this field. This is not just another history of the Inquisition. The author's thrust is found in the subtitle: a study of the society, mentality, theological training, and effectiveness of the book censors of the Spanish Inquisition in colonial Mexico. This makes it unique among English language studies of the Mexican Inquisition.

The author begins with an extensive analysis of the theological and juridical context of the Roman Inquisition. He is clearly at ease with Catholic theology and canon law. Some readers may find this rather difficult reading, but it will repay careful study.

Between 1521 and 1571 inquisitorial authority in New Spain was exercised by bishops. It was inevitably uneven and inefficient. The Index of Forbidden Books, 1559, was not enforced and not even well known. This changed in 1571 with the arrival of Pedro Moya de Contreras and the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition. There were attempts to control the importation of books at the ports of entry, especially Veracruz. For the first time, printers and booksellers came under the scrutiny of the new tribunal.

Out of this emerges a number of themes and conclusions that contribute substantially to our understanding of the Inquisition. One was the varied concept of what the Inquisition should be. Should the inquisitors be theologians or canon lawyers? Another was the wide variety of opinions on the nature of inquisitorial authority. A very basic conclusion is that the Inquisition was not a static institution, but one that changed with time and circumstances. The tribunal was also riven by rivalries and contentions among the religious orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans. They fought over the question of translations of Scripture into the native languages. The Dominicans were also hostile to the Jesuits. In general, the author passes a negative judgment on the Dominicans, whom he regards as a negative, regressive influence, for example, in their opinion of the natives and their opposition to the Franciscan college of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco. He has a similar negative opinion of Alonso de Montúfar, the second archbishop of Mexico and a Dominican. Under Montúfar there was much turbulence in the Church in New Spain. He used his inquisitorial powers as a political tool against his enemies. In these pages he emerges as a narrow-minded, tyrannical, and vindictive person. These judgments may be a little severe, although the author does present strong evidence for his case.

The Inquisition also operated as a patronage network for the criollo elite, and later in the colonial period they had come to predominate in its ranks. In the author's opinion this fact and the fewer professional jurists involved with the tribunal led to a decline in the zeal and effectiveness of the Mexican Inquisition in the 1620s and 1630s.

Nesvig's conclusion is that "[t]he overall picture of censorship as a tool of control was haphazard and ad hoc other than complete and effective" (p. 229). This included the attempts to prevent the importation of books at the entry ports, especially Veracruz. Religious orders, such as the Franciscans, refused to obey the various catalogs of forbidden books, and in this they were apparently successful.

Nesvig has produced a book rich in information, interpretation, and insights. It is essential for anyone interested in the workings of the Inquisition, and the social and religious history of colonial Mexico.

*Expecting Pears from an Elm Tree: Franciscan Missions on the Chiriguano Frontier in the Heart of South America, 1830-1949.* By Erick D. Langer. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 376. \$89.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-822-34491-9; \$24.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-822-34504-6.)

The southeastern foothills of the Bolivian Andes, the “Cordillera,” rise to form a series of deep valleys, draining into the Chaco and Rio de la Plata basin. On this landscape, Erick Langer places his study of the Franciscan mission to the Chiriguano people in the first century of the Bolivian republic. He uses this case to comment on the general themes of the frontier in Latin American history and the role of the mission within it. However, it is the case itself, developed through meticulous archival research, that demonstrates Langer’s skill as a historian and makes his book a lasting contribution to the field.

The master narrative of the book is the subjugation of the Chiriguano people. Migrating from the east, these Guaraní speakers reached the Cordillera in the late-fifteenth century and successfully resisted three centuries of Incaic and Spanish attempts to conquer them. They likewise defied the soft power of colonial mission systems sponsored by the Jesuits and the Franciscans. At the onset of Bolivian independence, the Chiriguano retained control of their homeland and periodically raided along the frontier, forcing Bolivian settlers and republican authorities to recognize their power and accommodate their demands. However, the status quo began to change in the middle of the nineteenth century, influenced by increased economic activity collateral with an uptick in Bolivian silver production and the establishment of a Franciscan mission system in the region. By the end of the century, the Chiriguano no longer dominated the Cordillera.

Franciscan priests and brothers, recruited primarily in Italy, established a string of mission stations along the southeastern periphery of Bolivia, and their presence, Langer argues, was the principal reason for the overthrow of Chiriguano autonomy. The missions, requested by the native people as a defense against settler incursions, forced the Chiriguano living in them into permanent alliances with Bolivian creoles. Once established, the missions and their Indian inhabitants formed a bulwark that allowed creoles to push back the frontier and subjugate its native people.

In this work, Langer follows lines of research that he has developed previously. He demonstrates the give and take that characterized the relationship between Franciscans and Chiriguanos, the important role that the missions played in developing the frontier economy, and the meaning of conversion to both the native people and the friars. (The title of the book comes from a missionary’s comment that full conversion of the Chiriguano was as likely as expecting fruit from a tree that does not bear fruit.) In addition, Langer convincingly illuminates the importance of a variety of actors on the nineteenth-century frontier, notably agents of the republican state and the cattle ranchers, merchants, and settlers who increasingly populated the Cordillera. He is

less convincing when he ascribes the motivations and actions of the largely Italian missionary force to their coming of age in the Resorgimento. Without documentation from priests' own pens, Langer's treatment of the very important issue of European background remains informed speculation.

A remarkable documentary corpus underlies the presentation, a part of which is photographic images that supports the written sources. Langer has discovered documents that describe individual Chiriguano in considerable detail. The paramount chief, Mandeponay, appears as a major actor in the missions—creating and abandoning alliances with other Indian leaders, adroitly playing off the Franciscan priests and republican officials, taking advantage of economic opportunities where they presented themselves. Through diligence in the archives, Langer brings “commoners”—carpenters, schoolgirls, aspirants to mission office—into view.

The book presents valuable new information on a region of South America that has not been extensively studied but was contested by Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay in the twentieth century. It documents the history of the Chiriguano, a large ethnic group subjected to Bolivian domination early in the twentieth century and only now beginning to reassert its rights as citizens. Although he examines a mission that ended in 1949, Langer reminds us that the subject of frontiers and boundaries, and those who cross them, remains an important issue.

*University of Texas at Austin*

DAVID BLOCK

*Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887-1934.* By Edward Wright-Rios. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 361. \$84.95 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-8223-4357-8; \$23.95 paperback, 978-0-8223-4379-0.)

As a fascinating laboratory of hybridity, Mexico has long attracted the attention of cultural historians and anthropologists, the founders of a rich historiographical tradition that focused on the complex syncretization of Roman Catholicism and indigenous cosmologies since the “spiritual conquest” or encounter. Oddly, until recently such historical studies largely petered out in the national period, as if in 1821 Mexicans had suddenly entered an era of enlightened modernity, in the process shedding their superstitious religious beliefs. Consequently, we still have relatively few detailed studies of Mexican faith during the Porfirian and revolutionary years, despite a few notable exceptions, for example, the pioneering work of Jean Meyer on the Cristero rebellion. Historians of the United States mostly avoided the topic, focusing instead on church-state relations. The reason for this bizarre lacuna may be twofold. In the first place, sources were rather scarce due to a reluctance on the part of the Church to open its archives for fear of opening up old wounds dating back to the church-state clashes of the Revolution and the nineteenth-century Liberal Reform. However, one might also argue that the lacuna was

caused by the professional biases of many social scientists, to whom religion was an epiphenomenal factor of little analytical interest. While one could fruitfully interpret the colonial Mexican subject (and the Mexican Indian) as *bomo religiosus*, the same was not true of the modern Mexican, who instead was analyzed in terms of class, especially from the perspective of peasant studies. This theoretical prejudice resulted in an overwhelmingly secular view of modern Mexican history. However, with the rise of postmodernism and the new cultural history, historians have begun to reconsider modern Mexico from a postsecular perspective, taking advantage of the greater accessibility of church archives. The result of this sea change has been the emergence of a rich and sophisticated new history of Mexican Catholicism.

One of the best examples of this promising trend is Edward Wright-Rios's study of Oaxacan Catholicism during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Focusing on the articulation of popular indigenous and female religiosity, as expressed in two fascinating visionary movements, with a vibrant archdiocesan establishment, Wright-Rios has ably reconstructed a complex provincial religious culture. What he finds is not a sharp dichotomy between popular religion and orthodoxy, but instead a realm of mutual interdependence. The modern, Romanized, revivalist, almost triumphalist Church is epitomized by the fascinating character of Eulogio Gillow, the urbane and well-connected archbishop of Oaxaca, who maintained a personal friendship with the Liberal dictator Porfirio Díaz. On the other hand, the author traces the histories of Bartola Bolaños, a Nahuatl Indian from Tlacoaxcalco, whose visions of Our Lord of the Wounds sparked a popular cult; and of the poor Chatina girl Nicha, who regularly communicated with the Virgin Mary in a cave near Ixpantepec. What Wright-Rios unearths in this lovingly detailed account is a halting, selective, and improvised process of "negotiation" between the clergy and the faithful, and between modern Ultramontane Catholicism and a persistent popular piety in which women played an essential role. Far from a clash between tradition and modernity, or between folk religion and orthodoxy, this was a struggle "within the Church and among avowed Catholics" (p. 281). Wright-Rios's meticulously researched, engaging, and cautiously argued study is a model of balanced scholarship and essential reading for anyone interested in Mexican religious history.

*University of Wyoming*

ADRIAN A. BANTJES

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

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### **Vatican Press and Library and Association of Researchers**

Monsignor Cesare Pasini, prefect of the Vatican Library, has announced a plan to digitize 80,000 manuscripts of the library. These 40 million pages will be reproduced as forty-five petabytes (that is, 45 million billion bytes). Various written and illustrated or annotated pages will be photographed with the highest definition to include the greatest amount of data and to avoid having to repeat the immense undertaking in the future.

Over the past two years, internal, external, and international experts participated in a technical feasibility study, considering issues such as quality of photography, the electronic formats most appropriate for conservation, the stability of photographs over time, and the maintenance and management of the archives. The project is envisioned to last ten years, divided into three phases, with possible intervals between the phases. In a preliminary phase the involvement of sixty people is planned, including photographers and conservator-verifiers; in the second and third phases, at least 120 individuals will be involved. However, significant funds will be needed to support this undertaking; some progress has been made in this direction.

On March 25, 2010, the Holy See Press Office announced the online publication of the official acts of the Holy See and of a collection of documents from the World War II period. The entire collections of the *Acta Sanctae Sedis* (A.S.S.) and of the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (A.A.S.)—i.e., the official Acts of the Holy See from 1865 to 2007—are available in Adobe Acrobat (pdf) format, as is the twelve-volume collection of the *Actes et documents du Saint-Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, published by order of Pope Paul VI starting in 1965 and edited by a specialized group of four Jesuit historians. To view these documents, visit the “Resource Library” section at <http://www.vatican.va>.

The Associazione dei Ricercatori dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano, which currently includes 134 members from twenty-five countries, has established a Web site to facilitate networking among researchers who use the fondi of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and other Roman archives. The Web site, <https://sites.google.com/site/ricercatoriasv/Home>, provides various services such as a calendar of events, relevant materials from recent publications, offers and proposals of work, a discussion forum, and a brief presentation by some of the researchers. Those who wish to join the Associazione need to visit the Web site and fill out an application form; membership is free.



## Exhibitions

To commemorate the 400th anniversary of the foundation of the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary, the exhibition “The Visitation Order at 400 Years” is now on view at Ryan Memorial Library at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Wynnwood, Pennsylvania. A collaborative undertaking by St. Joseph’s University Press and Ryan Memorial Library, the exhibition includes paintings, sculptures, stained glass, engravings, rare books, devotional objects, and paraments painted and embroidered by the Mexican sisters of the Philadelphia Visitation monastery. Continuing through August 9, 2010, the exhibition focuses on four major themes: (1) the biblical mystery of the Visitation, which considers St. Francis de Sales’s rich insights into this event in salvation history that shed light on the spirit that he wished to establish in the Visitation Order; (2) the two founders of the Visitation Order and the Salesian tradition, St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane Frances de Chantal, with particular attention to their emblematic exaltation—an approach that was much in vogue in the seventeenth century; (3) devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which is synonymous with the Visitation Order; and (4) Our Lady of Guadalupe, which recalls the Mexican roots of the Philadelphia Visitation. Art objects exhibited come from private as well as institutional collections such as St. Joseph’s University, the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, Georgetown University, the U.S. Provinces of the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales, and the Philadelphia Visitation. A printed gallery guide to the exhibition is available. For hours of operation, contact the library at 610-785-6274; for further information and/or to arrange for a group tour and gallery talk, contact the exhibition’s curator, Rev. Joseph F. Chorpensing, O.S.F.S., at [jchorpen@sju.edu](mailto:jchorpen@sju.edu).

In France, the order’s 400th anniversary will be commemorated from May 7 to December 24, 2010, by the exhibition “Au Coeur de la Visitation: Trésors de la vie monastique en Europe” at the Musée de la Visitation (formerly the Musée Bourbonnais) in Moulins, the site of the third foundation (1616) of the Visitation Order and of the death of its foundress, St. Jane Frances de Chantal (1572–1641). It will highlight the order’s geographic expansion and cultural influence in the light of the more than 6500 items in its collection that witness to Visitandine spirituality, community life, and creativity, including liturgical objects, paintings, and embroidery on vestments, antependia, and devotional objects.

From May 15 to August 29, 2010, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts will host an exhibition celebrating the acquisition of a copy (one of seven surviving copies) of the 1602 Zhong Wentao/Matteo Ricci map of China (six panels of approximately 2 feet by 5.25 feet) by the James Ford Bell Trust. Starting on September 15, the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota–Twin Cities will host its own exhibition, “Matteo Ricci and the Jesuits in China,” and sponsor a lecture by Jonathan Spence on October 7. For further details, visit the library’s Web site at <http://bell.lib.umn.edu>.

### Conference and Workshop

On August 5-7, 2010, the National Institute for Newman Studies in Pittsburgh will hold the conference "A Reflection on the Life, Thought, and Spirituality of John Henry Newman in Celebration of His Beatification." More than twenty-five speakers are scheduled to address such topics as "Principles of Newman's Theological Reading of the Fathers"; "Newman and Twentieth-Century Literary Converts: Lowell, Merton, and Day"; and "Holiness in the *Parochial and Plain Sermons*: Its Nature, Aids, and Obstacles." For further information, visit <http://www.newmanassociationofamerica.org>.

Among the workshops to be sponsored by the Folger Shakespeare Institute in Washington, D.C., in the fall semester is "Reassessing Henry VIII." For further information, visit the "Folger Institute" section on the Folger Shakespeare Library Web site, <http://www.folger.edu>.

### Causes of Saints

On March 27, 2010, Pope Benedict XVI approved the status of venerable (servant of God) for seven persons: Sister Henriette Delille (1812-62) of African descent who founded the Sisters of the Holy Family in Louisiana in 1842, a congregation of black sisters dedicated to ministering to the poor and elderly, especially the slaves of the time; Sister Maria Felicia de Jesús Sacramentado (born Maria Felicia Guggiari Echeverria, 1925-59), a Paraguayan professed sister of the Order of Discalced Carmelites; Sister Maria Frances of the Cross (born Franziska Amalia Streitell, 1844-1911), German foundress of the Sisters of Our Lady of Sorrows; Maria Theresia (born Regina Christine Wilhelmine Bonzel, 1830-1905), German founder of the Sisters of St. Francis of Perpetual Adoration; Ivan Franjo Gnidovec (1837-1939), Slovenian bishop of Skopje-Prizren; Luigi Novarese (1914-84), Italian diocesan priest and founder of the Silent Workers of the Cross; and Francesco Antonio Marcucci (1717-98), Italian archbishop of Montalto. The pontiff also recognized the following individuals as martyrs: Szilard Bogdanffy (1911-53), Romanian Latin-rite bishop of Oradea Mare who died in prison; Gerhard Hirschfelder (1907-42), German diocesan priest who died in the Dachau concentration camp; and Luigi Grozde (1923-43), Slovenian layman and member of Catholic Action killed at Mirna in hatred of the faith.

On April 14, 2010, the Vatican confirmed the dates and locations for the canonization ceremonies of the following individuals: Lozano Garrido (1920-71), a Spanish layman, journalist, and invalid, in Linares, Spain, on June 12; Father Jerzy Popieluszko (1947-84), the chaplain of the Polish Solidarity movement assassinated by communist secret agents, in Warsaw, Poland, on June 6; Father Bernardo Francisco de Hoyos, S.J., in Valladolid, Spain, on April 18; Father Angelo Paoli, O.Carm., in Rome on April 25; Friar José Tous y Soler, O.E.M. Cap., (1811-71) in Barcelona, Spain, on April 25; Sister Teresa

Manganiello, Franciscan, in Benevento, Italy, on May 22; and Sister Maria Pierina De Micheli of the Daughters of the Immaculate Conception in Rome on May 30.

Cardinal Francis E. George of the Archdiocese of Chicago has announced the introduction of the cause for canonization of Father Augustine Tolton (1854–97), the first U.S. priest of African descent who was born a slave in Brush Creek, Missouri; educated at the Urbana College in Rome where he was ordained in 1886; and ministered to blacks in Quincy and Chicago, Illinois.

### Publications

A colloquium on “Les destinées de l’*Illyricum* méridional pendant le haut Moyen Age” was held at Lezha (Lesh, ancient Lissus) in Albania in March 2008, under the sponsorship of the École française de Rome. Papers from the colloquium have been published in the *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome—Moyen Age* (vol. 120, no. 2 [2008]). Many of the archaeological discoveries reported here relate to churches, baptisteries, and other religious buildings, such as the papers on “Le groupe épiscopal de Salone aux VI<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles” by Pascale Chevalier and Jagoda Mardešić (pp. 227–38) and “L’ancienne agglomération médiévale de Guran et ses églises: programme de recherches archéologiques en Istrie (Croatie)” by Jean Terrier, Miljenko Jurković, and Ian Matejčić (pp. 263–90).

“Christianity in China” is the theme of Heft 3–4 for 2009 (vol. 93) of the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*. Among the ten articles published here three are historical in nature: Martin Tamcke, “Orientalisches und okzidentales Christentum in China im Mittelalter bis 1500” (pp. 193–204); Claudia von Collani, “Die Christliche Chinamission der frühen Neuzeit/16.-18. Jahrhundert: Ein Überblick” (pp. 205–20); and Josef Rivinius, S.V.D., “Historischer und situativer Kontext der Evangelisierung in China des 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts” (pp. 221–41).

The *Revue de l’histoire des religions* has devoted its issue for January–March, 2010 (vol. 227) to the theme “Beauté du rite: Liturgie et esthétique dans le christianisme (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle).” Following a “Présentation” by Ralph Dekoninck and François Trémolières (pp. 5–11) are “L’esthétique du chant dans la piété calviniste aux premiers temps de la Réforme (1536–1545),” by Christian Grosse (pp.13–31); “Le Signe du Vendredi Saint: L’esthétique liturgique selon Letourneux,” by Christian Belin (pp. 33–53); “Beauté du chant, laideur du chantre: esthétique du plain-chant et dressage vocal au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” by Xavier Bisaro (pp. 55–73); “Retrouver la foi par la beauté: réalité et utopie du mouvement néogothique dans l’Europe du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” by Bernard Berthod (pp. 75–92); “Séduction du rite et conversion par l’art, de Huysmans à Claudel,” by Catherine Mayaux (pp. 93–108); “Art sacré et modernité en France: le rôle du P. Marie-Alain Couturier,” by Antoine Lion (pp.

109–26); and “Art et liturgie aujourd’hui: à propos de six récentes églises parisiennes (1997–2005),” by Isabelle Saint-Martin (pp. 127–50).

On October 11, 2008, a “Journée d’études de Pau” was held on the theme “Les pasteurs et leurs écrits dans l’aire francophone à l’époque moderne.” Edited by Didier Boisson and Yves Krumenacker, the proceedings have been published in the *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, vol. 156 (January, February, March, 2010): Krumenacker, “Introduction” (pp. 9–13); Sara Barker, “Les Armes d’encre et de papier: La Vie d’Antoine de Chandieu en vers” (pp. 15–36); Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard, “Les pasteurs français auteurs d’une littérature d’édification au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle” (pp. 37–48); Françoise Moreil, “Gaspar Martin, le capuchin réformé, pasteur de la principauté d’Orange au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle” (pp. 49–66); Boisson, “Les pasteurs du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la controverse religieuse” (pp. 69–80); Julien Léonard, “Les pasteurs et la réunion des Églises au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: le cas de Paul Ferry” (pp. 81–106); Luc Daireaux, “Pasteurs et érudition en Normandie dans la seconde moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle” (pp. 107–28); Julien Gœury, “Les pasteurs poètes de langue française des origins de la Réforme à la révocation de l’édit de Nantes” (pp. 129–46); and Raymond Mentzer, “Les pasteurs: l’image et la réalité” (pp. 147–49). Summaries of all the articles in French, English, and German are given on pages 151–56.

The issue of the *Australian Catholic Record* for January 2010 (vol. 87, no. 1) contains the following articles on “Women Religious and Australian Culture”: Rosa MacGinley, “Irish Women Religious and Their Convent High Schools in Nineteenth Century Australia” (pp. 3–19); Marie Crowley, “The Contribution of Women Religious in Rural Australia” (pp. 20–29); Lesley Hughes, “Catholic Sisters and Australian Social Welfare History” (pp. 30–46); Teresa A. Flaherty, “Australian Sisters of Mercy as Missionaries in Papua New Guinea: Following Paths of Mercy beside Peoples of Ancient Melanesian Cultures” (pp. 47–60); and Heather O’Connor, “Feminism and Women Religious” (pp. 61–76).

“Autour de Vatican I” is the theme of three articles in *Istina* for October–December, 2009 (vol. LIV, no. 4), as follows: Hyacinthe Destivelle, “Les défis de l’Église catholique à la veille du Concile Vatican I” (pp. 339–59); Job Getcha, “La lettre encyclique patriarcale et synodale du Siège de Constantinople de 1895 en réponse au Concile Vatican I et au pape Léon XIII” (pp. 361–85); and Groupe Saint-Irénée, “Le Concile Vatican I—son contexte historique et le sens de ses définitions” (pp. 387–90).

### Personals

Steven M. Avella, professor of history in Marquette University and president of the American Catholic Historical Association, received the Paul and Mary Gettel Award for Teaching Excellence at the annual Père Marquette

Faculty Dinner on May 6, 2010. The award is the most prestigious recognition given to a member of that university's faculty. In the citation the dean mentioned Father Avella's service to the association.

Ralph Keen has been appointed the Arthur Schmitt Professor of Catholic Studies at the University of Illinois in Chicago.

Elizabeth Makowski has been named the inaugural Ingram Professor of History for 2010–13 at Texas State University–San Marcos.

Francis J. Weber, archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, was awarded an honorary doctorate of humane letters by Azusa Pacific University on April 30, 2010. Monsignor Weber is the only priest ever so honored by the university. The citation, signed by Jon R. Wallace, the president of the university, has been published in a miniature book. In it, Wallace acknowledges Monsignor Weber's gifts to the university's special collections—namely, rare books, fine prints, monographs, and “presidential signatures” from George Washington to George W. Bush. “For the past thirty-five years,” Wallace states, “Msgr. Weber has provided encouragement and support for the development of APU's rare book and manuscript collections in ways that define the role of servant leader” (pp. 11–12). The last two words provide the title of the miniature book, of which only fifty copies were printed by the Parker Press in North Hollywood.

### Obituary Notice

#### Charles E. O'Neill, S.J. (1927–2009)

The Reverend Charles E. O'Neill, S.J., church historian, coeditor of the *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, and member of the American Catholic Historical Association from 1967 to 2005, died on December 19, 2009, at the Jesuit Infirmary in New Orleans after a lengthy struggle with Parkinson's disease. Born in New Orleans on November 16, 1927, Father O'Neill (or Charlie, as he was known to his family and friends) grew up with the influence of two strong American cultures: his father was a native of Lowell, Massachusetts, while his mother was a native of New Orleans. The family lived in New Orleans where Father O'Neill attended Holy Name of Jesus School and Jesuit High School. He entered the Society of Jesus in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, on August 14, 1944, and followed the usual course of studies, which included theology studies at Collège Saint-Augustin in Enghien, Belgium. Following his ordination in 1957, Father O'Neill remained in Europe for his licentiate studies at Collège St. Louis in Chantilly, France, and completed his doctoral studies in church history at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome in 1963.

From an early age, Father O'Neill showed particular interest in the French heritage of Louisiana, which he pursued during his doctoral research and

which emerged in his first book, *Church and State in French Colonial Louisiana* (New Haven, 1966). In fact, he so mastered the French language that he was regularly assigned to read at table during his studies in Belgium and France—a significant distinction for an American, especially in Paris. To the end he enjoyed conversing in French, Spanish, or Italian with friends and visitors to New Orleans.

In both his teaching and research, Father O'Neill's hallmark was precision, attention to detail, and a subtle but real attention to the spiritual and moral elements of history. While teaching at Loyola University New Orleans and at the Jesuit Juniorate at St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, he insisted that his students memorize a full-page list of dates at the beginning of each course. When he taught courses in Latin authors, he checked out every translation from the library for the whole semester, thus “encouraging” his students to grapple with the original language. His city tours of New Orleans and Rome were legendary. While his knowledge of both cities was encyclopedic, he enjoyed being stumped with a question he couldn't answer and usually researched the answer within a week or so. When he gave larger tours, they often ended with a celebration of the Eucharist where a prayerful reflection on the inconsistencies of human history blended well with the constant mercy of God.

Father O'Neill served for three years (1970-73) as vice-provincial for the education of Jesuits (he would not call it “formation”—“clay is formed, people are educated”) during a time of great upheaval in the Church and the Society of Jesus. While extremely attentive to maintaining the highest standards of education for Jesuits, he was also aware of the changing needs of the young Jesuit and sought superiors who could respond to them. After a brief return to Loyola University, Father O'Neill was sent to Rome, where he served as Superior of the House of Writers (1976-83) and as director of the Jesuit Historical Institute (1976-93). As superior of the House of Writers, he made considerable changes to the house to improve the quality of life for the community. But it was also during this time that he imagined and initiated a project that would be his defining contribution to Jesuit history. The *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* was intended to be a multivolume reference work providing short articles in English and Spanish on basic terms, significant places and events, and noteworthy members of the Society of Jesus. The work consumed the vast majority of his last seventeen years in Rome. When he left there in 1993, the project required eight more years before the Spanish-only edition was published.

Shortly after Father O'Neill's return to New Orleans, he was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease. By 2004 he was relocated to the Jesuit infirmary to receive better care as the disease advanced. In the midst of this last challenge, Father O'Neill managed to complete several projects for the Vatican Library and to continue his research in colonial Louisiana (he had added

Spanish colonial Louisiana to his repertoire during his tenure at Loyola). He increasingly turned his interest to researching “free persons of color in Louisiana,” an area he thought needed further exploration and development. In that context he also served as a notary in the preparation of the cause of Venerable Sister Henriette DeLille, founder of the Sisters of the Holy Family in New Orleans. A true professor to the end, Father O’Neill had his files of completed projects moved to the Jesuit Provincial archives at Loyola shortly before his death and had arranged for his body to be made available for the purposes of scientific research.

*New Orleans Province S.J. (Provincial)*

MARK A. LEWIS, S.J.

**John W. Witek, S.J.**  
**(1933–2010)**

John W. Witek, S.J., a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1974 and ACHA second vice-president in 2001, died of cancer in Georgetown University Hospital on January 31, 2010. He had been professor of East Asian history at Georgetown University for thirty-five years. Within the broad scope of East Asian history in the early-modern period, he specialized in China, with a focus on the Jesuits’ presence there.

Father Witek was born in Chicago to John A. and Antoinette Witek on September 13, 1933. He attended Sacred Heart Grammar School on Huron Street in Chicago and then St. Ignatius High School on West Roosevelt Road (the present-day St. Ignatius College Prep). While at St. Ignatius he earned part of his tuition by helping with maintenance. In so doing, he gained considerable skill in dealing with recalcitrant plumbing and heating systems, which he put to good use in emergency situations for the rest of his life.

On September 1, 1952, a year after his graduation from St. Ignatius, he entered the Chicago Province of the Society of Jesus at the novitiate in Milford, Ohio. He did his philosophical studies as a Jesuit at West Baden College in West Baden Springs, Indiana, and his theological studies at the Jesuit scholasticate in North Aurora, Chicago. In 1964 he earned an MA in East Asian history from Loyola University Chicago. The next year, on June 10, 1965, he was ordained a priest by Bishop Loras Lane of Rockford at St. Joseph’s Church in Aurora, Illinois.

Shortly after his ordination, Father Witek entered the doctoral program in history at Georgetown University, where he worked under the supervision of Joseph Sebes, S.J., a mentoring that he always deeply appreciated. Upon receiving his degree in 1973, he taught as an assistant professor for two years in the Department of History and Political Science at Xavier University in Cincinnati. He then returned to Georgetown, where he remained until his death.



At the interdepartmental service held at Georgetown in his memory, he was repeatedly praised for serving faithfully and effectively on a variety of committees in the History Department and in the university at large. He was, for instance, an elected member of the Faculty Senate from 1985 until his death and chaired the Senate's Elections Committee for a number of years. Even more impressive, he was a member of the University Rank and Tenure Committee for eleven years and served as chair from 1991 to 1994—a resounding vote of confidence in his fairness, discretion, and good judgment.

The amount of time and energy Father Witek dedicated to service in the university did not adversely affect his scholarship. His two monographs were *Controversial Ideas in China and Europe: A Biography of Jean-François Foucquet, S.J., (1665–1741)* (Rome, 1982; Chinese trans., Zhengzhou, 2006), and *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688): Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat* (Nettelal, Germany, 1994; Chinese trans., Beijing, 2001).

For the series *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, he published *Monumenta Sinica, 1546–1562* (Rome, 2002), a critical edition of documents related to the early years of the Jesuits' relationship with China. One of his most remarkable achievements, especially for a non-native speaker of Portuguese, was his edition of the dictionary written by Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci, the first two Jesuits to reach Beijing in the late-sixteenth century—*Dicionário Português-Chinês/Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary* (San Francisco, 2001). The list of his substantive articles runs six pages, which is followed by the list of encyclopedia entries and similarly small but important pieces that seems almost endless.

Because of the depth and breadth of his knowledge about the cultures of Southeast Asia, his colleagues in the History Department consistently described Father Witek as irreplaceable. They marveled that while he was chair of the Department of East Asian Languages and Literature (2000–03), he kept the door of his office open all day long, with no secretary as buffer to protect him from the importunities of faculty and students. They marveled also at his consistent good humor, even in trying circumstances; and they approved of his stated policy of handling issues, as he would say, smiling, “with justice tempered by mercy.” He might more accurately have described his policy as “justice tempered by kindness,” because, while Father Witek was reliably realistic in his assessment of individuals and situations, he was just as reliably humane.

Father Witek was, as well, a modest and self-effacing man. He seemed to have no cognizance of the high regard in which he was held in the profession and seemed equally unaware of how much he was cherished as a person. His Jesuit brethren considered him an outstanding example of the best traditions of the order—in his scholarship, of course, but most especially in the way he lived the religious life.

Day after day during his last illness, a stream of visitors flowed to his room, from which often resounded peals of laughter. Even as he grew weaker, he continued to ask about his colleagues and students, seemingly more concerned about them than about himself. Father John Langan, rector of the Jesuit community at Georgetown University, visited him often during that time and remarked, "I said to him a number of times, 'You are loved and esteemed by many, many people.' He always seemed a little surprised because he didn't think of himself that way. But it was true."

Proud of his Chicago roots, Father Witek took endless delight in stories about Chicago politics and about the colorful and often disreputable figures who ran the precincts and claimed desks in City Hall. He considered himself nothing more than a humble product of the Windy City, but he was, in fact, a son of Chicago in whom the city could take immense pride. He is survived by his sister, Joan Witek, to whom he was deeply devoted. She lives, of course, in Chicago.

*Georgetown University*

JOHN W. O'MALLEY, S.J.

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