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PETRINE POLITICS: POPE SYMMACHUS AND THE ROTUNDA OF ST. ANDREW AT OLD ST. PETERS

Joseph D. Alchermes*

In the two centuries that followed public recognition of Christianity by the emperor Constantine, on many occasions the unity of the Church of Rome was dissolved by lengthy and violent schisms. Many disputes originated over such matters as papal succession and jurisdiction, often intensified by conflicts between ecclesiastical and imperial policy. In the 350's, for example, a bitter quarrel pitted Pope Liberius and his supporters against a rival claimant to the papal throne, Felix II, and his followers.1 On Liberius' death a decade later, eccle-

'Mr. Alchermes is an assistant professor of Classical and Near Eastern Studies in the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.

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Professors K. Cooper and T. Mathews have read and criticized drafts of this article. I am most grateful for their observations and suggestions; all errors of omission and interpretation are my own.

'For the causes and course of this controversy, see Erich Caspar, Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft (2 vols.; Tübingen,

siastical war resumed when in 366, opposing groups simultaneously elevated Damasus and Ursinus to the pontifical dignity.2 In the 4l0's, the Roman Church again split into factions, this time answering to Eulalius and Boniface I, whose legitimacy was later acknowledged.3 The most protracted of these disputes, however, was the controversy today called the Laurentian Schism, named for the antipope Lawrence, whose opposition to the ultimately victorious Symmachus lasted for nearly a decade, from November, 498, until Lawrence's capitulation and retirement in 506.4

The pontificate of Symmachus had many features in common with those of his predecessors embroiled in schisms. All four above-mentioned controversies were of such extent and gravity that they attracted the attention, and in most cases direct intervention, of civil authorities, municipal, imperial, or royal. Roman ecclesiastical tradition and topography often encouraged the disputes to unfold along similar lines; for example, when Symmachus was excluded from the customary papal seat, the palace and administrative center inside the Wall of Aurelian adjacent to the Lateran cathedral, he took up residence outside the city as Liberius and Boniface had done before him.* The most significant difference between the Symmachan and earlier conflicts, reflected in a variety of contemporary sources, emerges from the study of his building activity, most clearly attested by the papal biography preserved in the Liber Pontiflcalis. Here Symmachus' Lm-

1933), I, 166—195, and Charles Pietri, Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (2 vols.; Rome, 1976), I, 237—268, with references to the earlier literature.

2Caspar, op. cit., I, 196-256, especially 196-204; Pietri, op. cit., I, 407-418; Adolf Lippold, "Ursinus und Damasus," Historia, 14 (1965), 105-128.

'Caspar, op. cit., I, 361-365; Pietri, op. cit., I, 452-455, II, 948-950.

?Recent publications by historians of the early medieval papacy have only in part superseded the classic account of Symmachus' controversial pontificate, formulated sixty years ago, by Caspar, op. cit., II, 82—129. See also Giovanni Battista Picotti, "I sinodi romani dello scisma laurenziano," Studi storici in onore di Gioacchino Volpe, ed. G. C Sansoni (Florence, 1958), pp. 743-786; Charles Pietri, "Le Sénat, le peuple chrétien et les partis du cirque à Rome sous le pape Symmaque," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome, 78 (1966), 123-139; and the useful historical survey and analysis of Jeffrey Richards, The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752 (London, 1979), pp. 69-99.

5See the life of Liberius in the Liber Pontiflcalis: Louis Duchesne (ed.), Liber Pontiflcalis, texte, introduction et commentaire (2 vols.; Paris, 1886—1892), I, 207; for Boniface and Symmachus, see their biographies (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 227, 260-261) and the so-called "Laurentian fragment," an account of Symmachus' papacy written by a partisan of the pope's bitter rival, Lawrence (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 46).

pressive record is described in detail; just under half the eighty-four-line papal life catalogues his extensive program of construction and decoration, involving with few and minor exceptions suburban sites.

In view of the ecclesiastical and political tumult that marked the years from 498 to 506, it might at first seem hazardous to suggest that the building activity ascribed to the pope was concentrated in this period. The very events of the first half of his pontificate, however, for practical reasons as well as prestige, required the embattled pope to make new provisions for cult and administration. Most important was the large and cohesive group of annexes created around the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican hill; their foundation and arrangement were clearly determined by the bitter religious and civil controversies that flared during Symmachus' tenure. The Symmachan round of development at St. Peter's diverged in nature and scope from earlier construction on the Vatican hill; a brief description of the architectural activity that preceded Symmachus' accession will bring the contrast into sharper relief.

First, we should recall precisely what has stimulated so much devotion and construction on this site over the past eighteen centuries: the focus of pious attention is sheltered under the dome of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century basilica, about 120 meters beneath its crown and three meters below the pavement level of the Constantinian antecedent to the present church. Constantine's basilica -was laid out so that its main axis ran parallel to a cemetery street, part of a graveyard in use from the first century until it was demolished in preparation for the fourth-century building.6 The cult center of the great shrine church oversailed a small burial courtyard, called campo P by its Italian excavators, at the west end of the street. The very simple arrangement of campo P's plan was hardly complicated by the most conspicuous object located on it, a small double-niched, two-

6The cemetery street and portions of the basilica's substructures were uncovered and analyzed in the 1940's by Bruno Maria Apolloni Ghetti, Antonio Ferrua, S.J., Enrico Josi, and Engelbert Kirschbaum, S.J., Esplorazioni sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano, Vol. I (Vatican City, 1951). My brief remarks draw principally on this publication and on the remarkably lucid extended evaluation of it published by Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee and John B. Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St Peter and the Vatican Excavations (London, 1956), especially pp. 133-167 and pp. 195-212. Descriptions appearing in studies published in the course of the last two decades are based on Esplorazioni and Toynbee-Ward Perkins: see for example Richard Krautheimer, Spencer Corbett, Alfred K. Frazer, Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae, Vol. V (Vatican City/New York, 1977), especially pp. 182-183, 257-259, and Achim Arbeiter, AIt-St Peter in Geschichte und Wissenschaft (Berlin, 1988), especially pp. 27-46.

tiered monument today usually designated the aedicula (fig. 1), built about the year 160 over what Roman Christians believed were the bones of the apostle.7

The construction of the Constantinian basilica radically altered the immediate environs of the aedicula and the topography of the Vatican in general. The first phase of preparation necessitated the destruction of much of the cemetery. The walls enclosing campo P and the upper stories of the tombs that lined the narrow street were partly dismantled, and the street, tomb interiors, and other open spaces were filled with earth to create a level footing for the huge new building; along the south side, the difference between the fourth-century floor level and the original slope was as much as eleven or twelve meters.8 The only structure in the earlier graveyard that survived this massive land-

Figure 1. Reconstruction of campo P and the aedicula (after Esplorazioni and Toynbee and Ward Perkins, op. cit.; adapted by Rabun Taylor).

The designation aedicula was preferred by Toynbee and Ward Perkins; the excavators most often called the pre-Constantinian monument the memoria apostólica.

^Esplorazioni, I, 27; Toynbee and Ward Perkins, op. cit., p. 197.

fill operation was the aedicula, transformed and made the visual and devotional focus of the new church.

The basilica that rose on the enormous artificial terrace consisted of two large intersecting volumes. The rectangular transept (fig. 2, A), with its main axis running north-south, was set at the platform's west end; a spacious semicircular apse opened at the center of the west side. The transept and the apse were the spaces linked most closely with the veneration of the martyred apostle. Facing the apse on the east side of the transept is the basilica's nave (fig. 2, B), flanked by pairs of aisles. The huge expanse of the nave and aisles served as the main congregational space, for public celebrations of the eucharist

Figure 2. Plan of the Constantinian basilica and the rotundas to the south (after Schumacher, Baptisterium, and Tolotti, Mausolei; adapted by Rabun Taylor).

and for commemorative services conducted by family members at the numerous sarcophagi and floor tombs that filled the basilica. Together the nave and aisles form a vast interior providing room for perhaps as many as 14,000 churchgoers whose attention was typically directed toward the Constantinian monument to Peter in the transept, fashioned from the second-century aedicula.9 The wall abutted by this venerable grave-marker was trimmed down and its stump was encased with polished stone plaques to create a marble-paneled box which rose through an opening in the basilica floor, and so was easy to see even from the nave.10 In this way, the apostle's tomb, actually present within the basilica, served both as a visual pole for the crowds of worshipers that so often filled the transept, nave, and aisles, and as a spiritual magnet toward which the tombs of the deceased faithful gravitated. At the opposite, eastern end of the complex, a forecourt or atrium was planned by Constantine's architects, although some time probably elapsed before it was brought to completion.11

Significant additions were made to St. Peter's long before Pope Symmachus turned his attention to the Vatican around 500.12 First, about 375, Pope Damasus outfitted the north transept with fixtures that made it possible to perform baptism.13 This initiative responded to the needs

'Convinced that the transept was reserved for "clergy and choristers," Bannister offered the improbable estimate of 14,000 worshipers crowded into the nave and aisles alone; see Turpin C. Bannister, "The Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter at Rome," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 27 (1968), 32. Krautheimer's proposed capacity of about 4,000, on the other hand, seems rather low; see Richard Krautheimer and Slobodan Curcic, Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, fourth edition (Harmondsworth/Baltimore, 1986), p. 56.

'"Esplorazioni, pp. 161-172; Toynbee-Ward Perkins, op. cit., p. 201.

"See the discussion of the atrium's origins by Jean-Charles Picard, "Le quadriportique de Saint-Pierre-du-Vatican," Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen âge, temps modernes, 86 (1974), 854-857, and the descriptions in Krautheimer, Corpus basilicarum, V, 261-267, and Arbeiter, op. cit., pp. 186-191.

12For brief sketches of some additions to the Constantinian arrangement, see Louis Reekmans, "Le développement topographique de la région du Vatican à la fin de l'Antiquité et au début du Moyen Âge (300—850)," in Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art offerts au professeur J. Lavalleye (Louvain, 1970), pp. 204-205, 206-208, 209-211; Richard Krautheimer, "St. Peter's and Medieval Rome," // Conferenza dell'Unione Intemazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte, Accademia dei Lincei (Rome, 1985), pp. 16-17, 20-22.

"Cecchelli Trinci's study presents the early literary evidence and essential bibliography on the Vatican baptistery; she locates it in the north transept and attributes it, with no proof, to the Constantinian plan of construction on the Vatican; see Margherita Cecchelli Trinci, "Intorno ai complessi battesimali di S. Pietro in Vaticano e di S. Agnese in via Nomentana," Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia e storia antica, 3 (1982-

both of Rome's residents and of pilgrims who desired to experience the sacrament at a place hallowed by the spiritual energy emanating from the body of Peter.14

The charge emitted by Peter's tomb prompted another kind of response as well; since Christians believed that burial in ground sanctified by the presence of a martyr's remains enhanced the possibility of salvation, many additions were made to the interior of St. Peter's in the form of graves and sarcophagi.15 The most prized tomb-sites, those closest to the apostle's shrine, were acquired by some of the most eminent members of Rome's Christian aristocracy. One, for example, was Junius Bassus, the city prefect who died in August, 359·16 When Bassus' younger contemporary, Petronius Probus, died a generation later, he was laid to rest in an impressive sepulchral hall that extended westward from the apse but could be entered only by exiting

1983), 181-187. Schumacher's attempt to situate Damasus' baptistery in the rotunda attached to the south transept of St. Peter's is based, inter alia, on a forced interpretation of several verses written early in the fifth century by the poet Prudentius; see Walter N. Schumacher, "Das Baptisterium von Alt-St. Peter und seine Probleme," in Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet, edd. Otto Feld and Urs Peschlow (3 vols.; Bonn, 1986), I, 225-226. Christine Smith has recently used the same passage to support the even more unlikely hypothesis that the baptistery indicated by Prudentius and a Damasian inscription stood at S. Pietro in Montorio, about two kilometers south of the Vatican basilica: "Pope Damasus' Baptistery in St. Peter's Reconsidered," Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 64 (1988), 261-276.

Medieval and Renaissance texts put the baptistery and related chapels in the north transept. While some scholars have expressed doubts regarding the continuity of its position here, it is the most secure of the theories thus far proposed; see Joseph Zettinger, "Die ältesten Nachrichten über Baptisterien der Stadt Rom," Römische Quartalschrift, 16 (1902), 333, and Schumacher, op. cit., p. 225, ?. 46, for more current bibliography.

"According to the Liber Pontiflcalis, Pope Simplicius (468—483) arranged for the weekly presence at St. Peter's of priests charged with administering penance and baptism to the inhabitants of two urban districts: "Hie constituit ad sanctum Petrum apostolum . . . ebdomadas ut presbyteri manerent, propter penitentes et baptismum . . . regio VI vel séptima ad sanctum Petrum" (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 249).

»Esplorazioni, I, 34, 37-38, 43, ?. 1, 46, 48, 73-74, 79-81, 101, 111, 115-116, 175, 215, 220. See also Ernst Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres, I (Berlin, 1925), 2127, and Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae TV, ed. Angelo Silvagni (Rome, 1935), nos. 4167, 4207, 4227, 4230-4232. Yvette Duval offers more general observations on burial ad sanctos: Auprès des saints corps et âme. L'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIP au VII' siècle (Paris, 1988). Duval's study focuses on testimony to the practice in North Africa, to the virtual exclusion of Rome.

16For descriptions of the circumstances of the burial and discovery of the sarcophagus and its lid, see Toynbee and Ward Perkins, op. cit., pp. 209—210, and Esplorazioni, I, 220-222.

the basilica.17 Soon after, the western emperor Honorius had tombs prepared for his first and second wives and for himself in the domed rotunda attached to the south transept (fig. 2, C).18 Later, other members of Honorius' family were interred there, so that a dynastic mausoleum developed as a counterpart to the tomb-complex in Constantinople that housed the bodies of the deceased rulers of the east.19 Already in the early fifth century, architectural patronage on the Vatican was stimulated by competition between the eastern and western empires. The adjacent Vatican plain and hillside were dotted with other, private tombs, but virtually all traces of them have been lost.20

17The mid-fifteenth-century construction of a new chancel behind the apse of Old St. Peter's required the removal of the tomb-building; fortunately, the appearance and epigraphic decoration of the monument were recorded just before it was razed. The Renaissance texts and modern studies concerned with the tomb of Probus were collected and discussed by Richard Krautheimer, "The Crypt of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin and the Mausoleum of Probus Anicius," in Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann, ed. Lucy Freeman Sandler (New York, 1964), pp. 173-174.

'"Louis Duchesne, "Vaticana (suite). Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen-Âge," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome, 22 (1902), 385-428; Harald Koethe, "Zum Mausoleum der weströmischen Dynastie bei Alt-Sankt-Peter," Römische Mitteilungen, 46 (1931), 9-26; Schumacher, op. cit., p. 216; Francesco Tolotti, "I due mausolei rotondi esistiti sul lato méridionale del vecchio S. Pietro," Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 64 (1988), 287—315; Ralf Biering and Henner von Hesberg, "Zur Bau- und Kultgeschichte von St. Andreas apud S. Petrum. Vom Phrygianum zum Kenotaph Theodosius d. Gr.?" Römische Quartalschrift, 82 (1987), 145-182; Jürgen J. Rasch, "Zur Rekonstruktion der Andreasrotunde an Alt-St.-Peter," Römische Quartalschrift, 85 (1990), 1-18.

For the Suggestion that the rotunda was first intended to receive imperial burials a century before the interment of members of the Honorian house, see my Christian Commemoration in Late Imperial Rome, in preparation.

"Koethe (op. cit., pp. 10—11) already recognized in the action of the western dynasts a concern to demonstrate equality with the new capital of Constantinople. See also Schumacher, op. cit., p. 228, who hints at the continuation of this competition with Constantinople in the sixth century. Borgolte stressed the competitive impulses behind the sixth-century development of the rotunda, but only in order to establish a precedent for later patterns of papal rivalry with royal and imperial patronage: see Michael Borgolte, Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 67-68.

The most recent discussions of the Constantinopolitan tomb of the eastern emperors are furnished by Mark J. Johnson, Late Antique Imperial Mausolea (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1986), pp. 80—91, and Cyril Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics," Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 83 (1990), 51-62.

20The scant literary and physical evidence for structures west of the Constantinian transept is collected in Carta Archeologica di Roma, Vol. I (Florence, 1962), nos. 23,

This partial picture of the basilica and its environs as they appeared in the fifth century is meant principally to illustrate the variety of functions served at the Vatican. The church was above all the setting for the public Eucharist and veneration of St. Peter and for baptism in waters that flowed near the grave of the sainted fisherman. At the same time, it served in the private cult of the dead whose status varied widely, from humble Christians to grandees like Junius Bassus, Petronius Probus, and the western emperor Honorius, his family and their successors. In the case of the imperial burials, the issue is more complicated; the attention paid to these graves is not simple private cult or commemoration, since even in death, the emperor was a figure who commanded official, public recognition. But public imperial commemoration does not seem to have lasted very long, overshadowed by the tribute paid to Peter, the saint -whose grave was the physical and spiritual focus of the complex.21 In fact, before the early sixth century, Peter was the only saint whose remembrance was observed in and around the basilica.22 By 514, however, at least ten additional

59; see also the reference to newly discovered sixteenth-century documentation of this graveyard in Krautheimer, St Peter's, p. 17 and n. 9-

An epigram composed by Pope Damasus when he founded the Vatican baptistery also alludes to the project undertaken to drain the area outside St. Peter's. Water had seeped into numerous graves, Damasus observed, and was disturbing the repose of the dead, clearly those buried in tombs adjacent to the basilica: see Antonio Ferrua, S.J., Epigrammata Damasiana (Vatican City, 1942), pp. 88—93, no. 3-

21The placement of the sarcophagi in underground niches must have contributed to the developing anonymity of the tombs of the western dynasts. The memory of the imperial sepulchre persists, however, in the way in which the rotunda is designated: a letter that cites a meeting of the Roman clergy held in the rotunda in 483 refers to it as mauseleus (Andreas Thiel, Epistulae romanorum pontiflcum genuinae a S. Hilaro usque ad Pelagium II [Brunswick, 1858], p. 48). The lives of two successive eighth-century popes, Stephen II and Paul I, use two other variants: mosileus and muse/ens (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 455, 464).

"Authors of studies of medieval sanctoral programs have not been able to link cults other than Peter's with the Vatican basilica before the early sixth century: see Sible de Blaauw, Cultus et decor. Liturgie en architectuur in laatantiek en middeleeuws Rome Basilica Salvatoris sanctae Mariae Sancti Petri (Delft, 1987), pp. 240-244, 254-255; Charles Rohault de Fleury, Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments, Vol. II (Paris, 1894), pp. 40-49, 61-62, 100-103. Pre-Symmachan evidence for the veneration at the Vatican of saints other than Peter also is absent from the review of the early medieval Roman sanctoral by Pierre Jounel, Le culte des saints dans les basiliques du Latran et du Vatican au douzième siècle (Rome, 1977), pp. 156-157.

The Liber Pontiflcalis ascribes to Pope Leo I the construction of a monastery near St. Peter's (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 242). Later testimony identifies it as named for SS. John and Paul, but there is no proof that this dedication originated in the fifth century; see

martyrs were venerated at oratories that stood within 100 meters of the apostolic grave. The clustering of new cults of saints around Peter's shrine is a major innovation, initiating a trend that has continued to the present. The origin of this development is tied up with another significant change: the establishment, however temporary, of the Vatican as the papal administrative and residential center. The historical context for these changes in matters of veneration and residence took shape throughout the turbulent last quarter of the fifth century. The controversy came to a head about 500, during the papacy of Symmachus.

Before turning to Symmachus and the events of his pontificate, one more topic must be discussed: the papal connection with St. Peter. This link, so conspicuous today and in the time of Symmachus, was not in itself an invention of the early sixth century. In the course of the many ecclesiastical and civil disputes that involved the see of Rome from the late second through the late fifth century, the popes had often invoked their special relationship with Peter.23 A difluse group of donations to the basilica made by fifth-century Roman bishops attests more tangibly this association of the Vatican, Peter, and the papacy.24 Virtually all the papal constructions were practical in scope; for example, the early fifth-century popes Boniface I and Celestine I were commemorated jointly in an inscription as successive collaborators on a cantharus, or fountain, in the atrium.25 In fact, they probably just repaired and added decoration to an existing fountain installed in the fourth century mainly for the benefit of thirsty, dusty pilgrims

the circumspect remarks of Guy Ferrari, Early Roman Monasteries (Vatican City, 1957), pp. 166-171; Reekmans, op. cit., p. 200; de Blaauw, op. cit., p. 250; and most cautious of all, Jounel, op. cit., p. 396.

23For the development, particularly in the fifth century, of the theory of Roman episcopal primacy based on continuity of succession from the apostolic founder Peter see the recent comments of James M. Husklnson, Concordia Apostolorum: Christian Propaganda at Rome in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries (Oxford, 1982), pp. 87-95; and more fully, Walter Ullmann, "Leo I and the Theme of Papal Primacy," Journal of Theological Studies, 11 (1960), 25-51; Arthur S. McGrade, "Two Fifth-Century Conceptions of Papal Primacy," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, 7 (1970), 22-27.

24Recent studies of fourth- and fifth-century improvements to the basilica emphasize their utilitarian aspects and urbanistic consequences: see Reekmans, op. cit., pp. 204-210, and Krautheimer, St. Peter's, pp. 20-21.

"Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, IV, 4100. Margaret Finch argued, unconvincingly, that most of the fountain's decoration was installed in the eighth century, almost four centuries after its construction: see Margaret Finch, "The Cantharus and Pigna at Old St. Peter's," Gesta, 30 (1991), 17-18.

to Peter's tomb: the main feast of Peter, after all, falls today as it did in the fifth century on June 29, a time of year when a fountain is one of the most sought-after goals of the visitor to Rome.[26] In the 470's, Pope Simplicius earned the gratitude of Vatican-going pilgrims when he built what a contemporary source termed the porticus iunctae, the colonnaded, covered walkways that led from the pons Aelius to the plaza in front of the eastern gateway of the atrium.[27] A bit earlier, about 450, Pope Leo I undertook a project whose purpose was less utilitarian than most of the improvements sponsored by other popes of his century: the redecoration and frescoing of the basilica.[28]

Leo's desire to improve the appearance of the shrine-church of Peter derived from a larger concern that exerted a powerful influence on many fifth-century popes: in this century, the pontifical court began in earnest to elaborate the doctrine of the primacy of the papacy over the other great bishoprics of Late Antiquity, particularly the sees of

26In an often-cited letter written in 397 to the Roman noble Pammachius, Paulinus of Nola mentioned the atrium cantharus; Paulinus of Nola, Epistulae, ed. Wilhelm von Hartel, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 29 (Vienna, 1894), Epistula 13.13, pp. 94—95: "... cantharum ... fastigatus solido aere tholus ornât ... quattuor columnis salientes aquas ambiens" ("... a canopy pedimented with solid bronze adorns ... the fountain ... encompassing with four columns the spurting waters ..."). Finch (op. cit., pp. 17, 24, n. 5) lists earlier discussions of this passage from Paulinus.

27An inscription recorded in a seventh-century collection attests the creation of the porticus iunctae under Simplicius:

Cum subitis peragi fallax dementia veris
et sacra adeunti festa vetaret aquis
Simplicius praesul sacraria celsa petentem
porticibus iunctis texit ab imbre viam. (ICUR IV.4104)

"Since the deceptive mildness of spring prevented with unexpected
waters the visitor from attending the holy feasts,
for protection from the rain our leader Simplicius has covered
with joined porticoes the road that leads to the lofty sanctuary."

Picard (op. cit., pp. 857—858) proposed that the porticus iunctae linked the Tiber crossing with the eastern end of the Vatican complex. Krautheimer instead claimed that these porticoes were part of the atrium enclosure (Corpus Basilicarum, V, 173, 266, 279). For the course of the covered walkways on the Tiber's right bank, see Louis Reekmans, "L'implantation monumentale chrétienne dans la zone suburbaine de Rome de IVe au IXe siècle," Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 44 (1968), 201-202.

aLiber Pontiflcalis, l, 239. An incompletely preserved inscription (Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, FV, no. 4102) indicates that at least part of the expense for Leo's extensive beautification program was borne by a couple of aristocratic donors; the ex-consul Marinianus and his wife Anastasia provided funds for the creation of the facade mosaic.

Alexandria and Constantinople. The argument for the superiority of the Church of Rome rested on the authority of its august apostolic founders, Paul and Peter. Peter played an especially important role in the development of the principle of Roman primacy, since the popes claimed that they were heirs to the episcopal throne founded by the prince of the apostles. Under Leo, the alliance envisaged between Peter and the papacy assumed a particular physical form as well: Leo was the first pope to choose the Vatican as his final resting-place, setting an example that has been followed by more than 135 of his successors from the fifth century through the present.29 The earliest pontifical graves were sarcophagi placed in the atrium; later in the Middle Ages, this form of burial gave way to interment in large, often elaborate tomb chapels.30 From the Late Empire to the present, therefore, there extends an unbroken tradition of linking the persons of the popes with the Vatican in death, but not in life—in Antiquity and throughout much of the Middle Ages, the Vatican was not, as it is today, the seat of the living pope and his administration.31

As observed earlier, there is just one Early Christian exception to this rule: Symmachus' temporary establishment of the papal residence adjacent to St. Peter's. The pope's building campaign here, begun probably in 501 and largely completed by 506, differed from earlier papal construction on the Vatican in magnitude and, above all, in motivation. Symmachus' attraction to the area of Peter's shrine can only be understood when viewed against the backdrop of the tumultuous first half of his pontificate. A brief survey of key events makes it clear what drew him, or better, 'what drove him to the Vatican.32

Soon after the death of Pope Anastasius II on November 18, 498, the majority of the Roman clergy convened to name the deacon Symmachus his successor. Unfortunately for Symmachus and his supporters, a rival faction met on the same day to elevate the archpriest Lawrence to the papal throne. A fundamental factor contributing to

29Jean-Charles Picard, "Étude sur l'emplacement des tombes des papes du IIP au Xe siècle," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome, 81 (1969), 746-755; for papal tombs from the later Middle Ages through the mid-twentieth century, see Renzo U. Montini, Le tombe dei papi (Rome, 1957), and now the historical study of Borgolte, with a table of papal tombsites (op. cit., 344-360).

»Picard, op. cit., pp. 755-776, especially pp. 775-776.

31In Krautheimer's brief account of the creation of a high medieval papal complex at the Vatican, political and economic motives prompted a series of twelfth- and thirteenth-century popes to build a permanent alternative to the Lateran palace (Krautheimer, St Peter's, pp. 32-34).

,2This overview is based on the analyses of Caspar, op. cit.; Picotti, op. cit.; Pietri, Sénat; and Richards, op. cit.

this split was a disagreement in the Roman church about the position the papacy should take in a dispute with the eastern emperor and the patriarch, or bishop, of Constantinople. Symmachus was the choice of the orthodox, independent-minded, "Rome-first" party, while his opponent's group advocated reconciliation with Constantinople.33 Symmachus' birth in Sardinia to pagan parents made him something of an outsider in Rome. In fact, he is not named in the sources before 498; by this time, however, he had attained the prestigious ecclesiastical office of deacon. The archpriest (archipresbyter) Lawrence, on the other hand, had a long record of service in the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy and enjoyed the support of many powerful figures in Rome and throughout Italy. Senior members of the Roman senate sided with him, and the bishops of Aquileia, Milan, Ravenna, and many smaller sees in Tuscany and Campania seem to have shared Lawrence's antipathy toward the Symmachan party.34 At first Symmachus, nonetheless, had the upper hand. For a brief time in 499—500, Lawrence backed down and a crisis was averted. But then in 501, hostilities erupted once again. The pro-Laurentian forces persuaded the Gothic king of Italy, Theoderic, to make the pope submit to a formal hearing at Ariminum, modern Rimini, and answer the charge that he celebrated Easter on the date prescribed by the old Roman calendar.35 This issue was particularly sensitive in the context of disputes between eastern and western churches. Symmachus' opponents maintained that he should have calculated the date for Easter on the basis of the Greek calendar. In any case, the accused pope went to the trial confident that he could successfully defend himself. He hastily fled Rimini, however, when he found out that other, trumped-up charges were going to be raised against him; the accusations included improper use of church property and fornication.

For the next five years, the feud raged in Rome and in other Italian cities as church and civic leaders disputed vehemently in bishops'

33Anastasius' death and Symmachus' election occurred in the midst of an extended controversy conventionally called the Acacian Schism (484—519) since it began during the episcopate of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople from 472 to 489. See the chapter in Richards, op. cit., pp. 57—68, regarding the consequences of this ecclesiastical rift in Rome.

34For the major bishoprics, this judgment rests on the direct testimony of the Liber Pontiflcalis and other historical sources. Richards (op. cit., pp. 91—92) correctly viewed the absence of the names of many Tuscan and Campanian bishops from the list of signatories at synods called by Symmachus as evidence of their hostility to the pope and disenchantment with papal policy regarding Constantinople.

"Caspar, op. cit., p. 91; Picotti, op. cit., 754-755 and 754 nn. 2 and 3; Richards, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

councils and political assemblies. The confrontations between their followers and factions took a much uglier, more violent form, with beatings and street-fighting commonplace behavior. Contemporary accounts paint a vivid, if biased, picture of the perils to which the residents of Rome were exposed regardless of their age, sex, or status:

> At the same time, Festus, the head of the Senate and ex-consul, and Probinus, ex-consul, began to struggle within the city of Rome with other senators, particularly with Faustus, ex-consul. On account of their hostility, slaughter and murder befell the clergy. Those who rightly held communion with the blessed Symmachus were publicly slain by the sword when found within the city. They [sc. Lawrence's followers] expelled even consecrated 'women and virgins from their convents and shelters, they stripped them and wounded them with cutting blows. Every day they [sc Lawrence's followers] waged war against the church in the midst of the city. It [sc. this war] also destroyed many priests, among them Dignissimus and Gordian, priests respectively of the churches of St. Peter in Chains and SS. John and Paul, whom they killed with clubs and swords; and they killed many other Christians, so that it was unsafe for any of the clergy to walk outside in the city by day or by night.36

Throughout all these meetings, debates, and episodes of bloodshed, Lawrence was in the more secure position. First, he had the backing of a rich and ruthless group of Roman nobles with political clout in Ravenna and Constantinople. Lawrence's position was better in physical, topographical terms as well. He had managed to secure as his stronghold the neighborhood called the Lateran at the city's southeastern edge, in which stood the cathedral and the papal palace. Lawrence also had control over the downtown districts and the urban

^Eodem tempore Festus caput senati excons. et Probinus excons. coeperunt intra urbem Romam pugnare cum aliis senatoribus et maxime cum Fausto excons. Et caedes et homicidia in clero ex invidia. Qui vero communicabant beato Symmacho iuste, publice qui inventi fuissent intra Urbem gladio occidebantur; etiam et sanctimoniales mulleres et virgines deponentes de monasteria vel de habitaculis suis, denudantes sexum femineum, caedibus plagarum adflictas vulnerabantur; et omni die pugnas contra ecclesiam in media civitate gerebant. Etiam et multos sacerdotes occidit, inter quos et Dignissimum et Gordianum, presbíteros a vincula sancti Petri apostoli et sanctos Iohannem et Paulum, quos fustibus et gladio interfecerunt; nam multos christianos, ut nulli esset securitas die vel nocte de clero in civitate ambulare. (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 260-261)

The author of the Laurentian fragment in turn complained of "Symmachus' violence and persecution" but chose not to describe in detail the effects of this conduct, since, he claimed, such a description was outside the scope of his biography (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 46: "Symmachi violentiam persecutionemque . . . per quae témpora quae bella civilia gesta sint, vel quanta homicidia perpetrata, non est praesenti relatione pandendum").

churches, as is implied several times in the above-quoted passage from the Liber Pontiflcalis: "Those who supported the blessed Symmachus were openly put to the sword when found within the city [italics mine]."37 Symmachus, compelled to set up a residence outside the city walls, turned toward the Vatican hill. The appeal of the location was considerable; the Vatican was sacred to Christians the world over because on it stood Peter's tomb-basilica. The problem for the pope was that circa 500, the hill had little on it besides the basilica and the surrounding tombs; totally lacking, for example, were the residential, ceremonial, and administrative buildings adequate to the needs of the papal court.

Symmachus acted decisively and with great energy to transform the Vatican area into a proper papal showcase: first, he saw to much-needed additions that provided visitors to this hallowed site with essential services and organized the flow of pedestrian traffic.38 For the sake of refreshment and hygiene, Symmachus had two fountains built, one in front of the atrium and the other at some point on the lower ground to the south of the basilica or atrium. Another convenience, discreetly called by the pope's biographer a "necessary room" (usus necessitatis humarme), was put up on this lower level for the convenience of those who had just used the nearby fountain. Papal initiative ad sanctum Petrum also provided shelters for the poor (pauperibus habttaenia), in all likelihood for needy pilgrims.39 Symmachus paved and decorated the atrium. He also built monumental staircases along its eastern arm and near the southeast corner of the basilica that improved access to the courtyard and joined it with secondary buildings to the south. In upgrading and beautifying the Vatican basilica, the pope strove to improve its facilities for visitors and at the same time make it a worthy replacement for Rome's main congregational church, the Lateran basilica, which had been seized by the antipope Lawrence.

"Phrases similar to "within the city" (intra Urbem) recur throughout the passage; in every case but one, they serve to indicate specifically the intramural districts dominated by Lawrence's partisans: "within the city of Rome," "in the midst of the city," "in the city by day or by night."

38Ttle following catalogue of Symmachan constructions in the Vatican area is drawn from Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 261—263- See the useful comments of Duchesne (ibid., pp. 265-267, nn. 15-29) and more recently, of Krautheimer, St. Peter's, pp. 20-21.

i9Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 263. Habitacula were laid out as well at S. Paolo fuori le mura and S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, two other sizable suburban basilicas that were the goals of pilgrims from the fourth century on ("Item ad beatum Petrum et ad beatum Paulum et ad sanctum Laurentium pauperibus habitacula construxit"); see Reekmans, Vatican, p. 211, and Krautheimer, St. Peter's, p. 20.

When Symmachus was shut out of the Lateran, he also lost hold of the papal offices and palace that adjoined the cathedral. To fill this gap, he commissioned two episcopia, probably located north and south of the atrium.40 These buildings presumably contained living and work spaces for the pope, his retinue, and the episcopal bureaucracy. In the creation of a substitute Lateran, Symmachus' clear aim was to minimize the Laurentian party's advantage represented by its takeover of the papal headquarters. But the Symmachan commission that referred most pointedly to the old cathedral complex comprised the newly dedicated oratories in the vicinity of St. Peter's. At the Lateran cathedral near the entrance to Rome's main baptistery were three chapels dedicated to the Holy Cross, John the Evangelist, and John the Baptist. Symmachus had this arrangement copied letter-perfect at the Vatican baptistery, installed under Damasus more than a century earlier in the north transept exedra. Near the Damasian font the pope laid out three chapels for the veneration of the Holy Cross, John the Evangelist, and John the Baptist. At this perfect replica of the cathedral baptistery, the pope could demonstrate his legitimacy by presiding over the initiation of new Christian brethren.41

Symmachus' response to his rival's control of the intramural churches, most prominent among them the cathedral, took the form of new construction, decoration, and dedications at St. Peter's and moved along three main lines: (1) the creation of a substitute residence and administrative center; (2) the redecoration and general improvement of the main shrine church and its surroundings; (3) the duplication on the Vatican of an important set of three chapels that stood next to the Lateran baptistery.42 But the embattled pope did not stop

40Steinke instead envisioned the episcopia as tower-like structures that flanked the eastern entrance to the atrium; see Katerina B. Steinke, Die mittelalterlichen Vatikanpaläste und ihre Kapellen (Vatican City, 1984), pp. 12-15. Her interpretation is not convincing, since the space furnished by towers would hardly have served the needs of the pope and his administration.

41"There has been little evaluation of the purpose of the chapels, founded at the Lateran by Pope Hilaras (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 242—243), that served as Symmachus' models. In view of the proximity of the oratories to both the Lateran and Vatican baptisteries, Duchesne (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 266, n. 20) naturally emphasized the chapels' importance in the performance of the baptismal liturgy, the rite in which the bishop's role as leader of the community finds fullest expression. A better understanding of the context in which the paradigmatic monuments at the Lateran emerged would make possible a more nuanced interpretation of their reproductions ad sanctum Petrum commissioned by Symmachus. See also de Blaauw's sketchy comments on the Lateran oratories (op. cit., pp. 62-64).

42A group of inscriptions most recently edited by Silvagni (Inscriptiones Christianae

with this imitation of the Lateran; instead, Symmachus went on to surpass the original cathedral complex by founding to the south of the Vatican basilica a monument designated the basilica sancti Andreae by the papal biographer.43 Symmachus' new dedication to Andrew was more ample in its martyrological program than the Lateran chapels and probably more imposing in dimensions and design.44

Urbis Romae, FV) furnishes indications of other projects undertaken by Symmachus at St. Peter's. Even a brief survey conveys an impression of the magnitude of the pope's interest. No. 4105 celebrates in general terms Symmachus' improvements in the atrium and basilica. Silvagni's understanding of the Vatican manuscript's locative annotation places this inscription on the south side of the atrium, where it was balanced to the north by the brief verses (no. 4116) which name Pope John I (523-526). In view of its position, no. 4105 should also be taken as a reference to the conspicuous monuments commissioned by Symmachus south of the courtyard and basilica: staircases, fountains, the latrine, an episcopium, the pilgrim hostel, and of course the oratory of St. Andrew. No. 4111 records the refurbishing of the basilica's coffered ceiling. No. 4114, a monumental list of Christological names, words, and images compiled under Symmachus, is situated by the manuscript in an "oratory of the Savior" (oratorium Salvatoris.)

No. 4112 records Symmachus' activity in an unnamed Roman baptistery. While it is transcribed in both the Verdun and Cambridge codices, only the latter offers comments that specify a location at the basilica of the archangel Michael. Silvagni convincingly argued that the topographical indications of the Cambridge collection are unreliable and claimed instead that Symmachus had this inscription composed for the Vatican baptistery. During the years of exclusion from the Lateran and other intramural baptisteries, papal interest in the font at St. Peter's would naturally have been strongest. Line 5 of no. 4112 ("auxit apostolicae geminatum sedis honorem/Christus . . . ," "Christ has multiplied the enhanced [geminatum, lit. 'doubled'] honor of the apostolic seat") acquires special significance when it is read in the broader context of Symmachan activity at the basilica. The phrase " 'enhanced' or 'doubled' honor" may point to the increased saintly capacity of the Vatican that resulted from installing the cult above all of Andrew and of the accompanying martyrs in the chapel that bore Andrew's name.

No. 4107B (and possibly no. 4107A) attest work done some distance to the east of the basilica: the restoration and decoration of the "porta S. Petri," the gateway at the northern end of the pons Aelius, the pons S. Petri of the Middle Ages; for the site of the porta S. Petri, see Lawrence Richardson, Jr., A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (Baltimore/London, 1992), p. 300, s.v. Porta Aurelia (2).

No. 4108 seems to commemorate the end of the dispute with Lawrence and signal the completion of the main lines of Symmachus' embellishment of the Vatican shrine. The manuscript tradition locates 41 I 3, a votive inscription naming "Bishop Symmachus" (Symmachus sacerdos) in the Vatican basilica "ad sanctam Mariam." It too may mark the end of hostilities and fulfillment of Symmachus' vow of gratitude for heavenly assistance, although this vow was not necessarily made to Mary. The link with the Virgin may reflect the topographical arrangement that existed when the verses were transcribed, not when they were first installed. The pope's promise was more likely made to Andrew, Peter, or Christ himself.

4iLiber Pontiflcalis, I, 261.

"The rotunda, one of the largest documented in ancient Rome, had an outer diameter

For this foundation Symmachus was able to take advantage of a large, domed third-century tomb-building which by the year 500 must have long been abandoned.45 Like the other oratories added to St. Peter's by Symmachus, it too was encroached on by the Renaissance and Baroque basilica and was eventually dismantled. Before demolition in the late eighteenth century, however, the essential features of its plan and elevation were described and recorded graphically.46 The reconstruction plan (fig. 2) shows Old St. Peter's (A, B), the attached funerary rotunda used for the burial of the emperor Honorius and his family about 400 (C), and the building reused by Symmachus (D); its location, size, and plan, with seven broad, deep niches (the west niche served as the entrance), made it an appropriate choice for adaptation as a chapel annex to the basilica of Peter.47

Symmachus' biographer tells us that the pope named the reused tomb in honor of the apostle Andrew; the papal biography and other early texts demonstrate that the monumental rotunda served as the setting for the veneration of a sizable group of saints. The pope's life in the Liber Pontiflcalis includes the following lengthy notice regarding the newly founded oratory:

> He built the basilica of St. Andrew the apostle at St. Peter's, where he commissioned:
>
> a canopy of purest silver and a shrine together weighing 120 pounds;
> three silver arches weighing 60 pounds;
> the oratory of St. Thomas the apostle: 20 pounds of silver for the shrine;
> a silver arch weighing 16 pounds; the shrine of St. Cassian and SS. Protus

of approximately 30 meters: see Rasch, op. cit., p. 3, with reference to the earlier analyses on which his evaluation rests.

45This lost monument, interest in which was heralded by the appearance of Schumacher, op. cit., has been the object of recent studies by Tolotti, Biering and von Hesberg, and Rasch, cited above in n. 18. The aim of all three studies is the reconstruction of the appearance of the rotunda before its adaptation under Symmachus. The differing views of these authors regarding the original elevation of the building have no bearing on my argument, which is based on the disposition of spaces at floor level: all agree that the rotunda had eight niches, one of which was pierced by a doorway.

<6Most important are the work of Francesco Cancellieri, De secretaries Basilicae vaticanae veteris et novae (3 vols.; Rome, 1786), pp. 1153-1220 and plates IH-V, and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century graphic evidence conveniently gathered in Schumacher, op. cit.

"According to Schumacher, the entrance to the rotunda was always through the western axial alcove (op. cit., pp. 221-222). Rasch agrees with Biering and von Hesberg's conjecture of access from the southern axial niche (Biering and Hesberg, op. cit., pp. 162—172; Rasch, op. cit., p. 6).

and Hyacinth, of silver weighing 20 pounds; a silver arch weighing 12 pounds;
the oratory of St. Apollinaris: 31 pounds of silver for the shrine along with the arch;
the oratory of St. Sossus: a shrine of silver weighing 20 pounds.48

A later source, an eighth-century pilgrim's guide to the Vatican called the Enchiridion de sacellis et altaribus basilicae vaticanae, suggests a different martyrological arrangement:

> As you enter the portico of St. Andrew's, there appears on your left the altar of St. Lawrence, then of St. Vitus, then of St. Cassian, then of Andrew himself in the center of the rotunda; then of St. Thomas, and then of St. Apollinaris, and finally of St. Sixtus.49

Each of the seven niches must have been given over to the veneration of a martyr; questions arise, however, regarding the identity of those whom the pope originally chose to honor.50 Over the past century, all attempts to envision the series of dedications that filled

iaLiber Pontiflcalis, I, 261.

> Hie fecit basilicam sancti Andreae apostoli apud beatum Petrum, ubi fecit tiburium ex argento purissimo et confessionem, pens. lib. CXX; arcos argénteos III, pens. lib. LX;
> Oratorium sancti Thomae apostoli: ex argento, pens, in confessionem lib. XX; arcum argenteum, qui pens. lib. XVI;
> confessionem sancti Cassiani et sanctorum Proti et Yacinti ex argento, pens. lib. XX; arcum argenteum, pens. lib. XII;
> Oratorium sancti Apollinaris: ex argento in confessionem cum arcum, pens. lib. XXXI;
> Oratorium sancti Sossi: ex argento confessionem, pens. lib. XX.

Throughout this study, I use the spelling "Sossus" rather than the variants "Sossius" and "Sosius" preferred by several authors who have considered the architectural epigraphic monuments associated with this saint.

^Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, Vol. II, ed. Giovanni Battista De Rossi, p. 224:

> Intrante (te) in porticum sancti Andreae, occurrit tibi in sinistra manu altare sancti Laurenti, deinde sancti Viti, deinde sancti Cassiani, deinde ipsius Andreae in medio rotundae; et sic sancti Thomae, et sic sancti Apollinaris, novissime sancti Syxti.

De Rossi (pp. 224-225, n. 1) dated the text to the papacy of Paul I (757-767).

50TTle considerable number of cults accumulated in the rotunda is not characteristic of Early Christian Rome; multiple martyr dedications are known, but they comprise normally two or occasionally three saints. In Campania, northern Italy, and southern Gaul, larger groups are encountered somewhat more frequently: compare the relics of John the Baptist, Andrew, Thomas, and Luke and many lesser martyrs amassed at Brescia by Bishop Gaudentius and the similar but smaller collections of Bishops Victricius at Rouen and Paulinus at Nola and Fundi. See the brief but convenient list of some well-documented instances furnished by Mango, op. cit., p. 60, notes 63—66.

Symmachus' rotunda have relied almost entirely on the papal biography and the Enchiridion. Duchesne first proposed a scheme that incorporated elements from each source: Andrew, Thomas, Cassian, Protus and Hyacinth, Apollinaris, and Sossus were taken from the Liber Pontiflcalis, while Lawrence and Vitus were named only in the later Enchiridion?1 Rohault de Fleury's reconstruction was identical to Duchesne's save in one detail: unlike the editor of the Liber Pontiflcalis, he chose not to decide whether Sixtus or Sossus was honored first in the sixth-century chapel.52 De Blaauw prudently disregarded the eighth-century text and accepted only the testimony of the Liber Pontiflcalis as a reliable source for the Symmachan program. This decision, however, resulted in gaps in de Blaauw's list: he offered no suggestion for the martyrs venerated in the first two niches to the left of the entrance. For the period around 800, de Blaauw, availing himself of the Enchiridion, placed the cults of Lawrence and Vitus in these alcoves.53 Schumacher's recent article on the Vatican baptistery also contains a hypothetical catalogue of shrines based on the early medieval guidebook and still later documents.54 Comparison of these

7'Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 261, 265-266, notes 16-17. See also Louis Duchesne, "Vaticana (suite). Notes sur la topographie de Rome au Moyen-Age. XI," Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome, 22 (1922), 390 and n. 2, where he lists the dedications clockwise from the entrance: Lawrence, Vitus, Cassian, Andrew, Thomas, Apollinaris, Sossius. Jounel (op. cit., pp. 390, 454, no. 170) accepted and replicated Duchesne's scheme.

52Georges Rohault de Fleury, "Saint-André au Vatican," Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana, 2 (1896), 51 ?. 1: Lawrence, Vitus, Cassian, Andrew, Thomas, Apollinaris, Sixtus or Sossius.

53De Blaauw, op. cit., pp. 240-242 and figure 14 (ca. 500: ?, ?, Cassian, Protus and Hyacinth, Andrew, Thomas, Apollinaris, Sossius); fig. 19 (ca. 800: Lawrence, Vitus, Cassian, Andrew, Thomas, Apollinaris, Sossius). The Enchiridion, from which de Blaauw and others have taken the dedications to Lawrence and Vitus, indicates that by about 800 the original altar of Sossus was replaced by one honoring Sixtus, in my view linked with the introduction of the cult of Lawrence in the basilica of St. Andrew.

54Schumacher (op. cit., p. 224) provided little more than this list of chapels: Lawrence, Vitus, Cassian, Andrew, Thomas, Lambert and Servatius (Holy Cross?), Sixtus (Sossius). Like Rohault, he apparently preferred not to choose between Sixtus and Sossius. The inclusion of the dedications to Lambert and Servatius and apparent identification of their chapel with that of the Holy Cross are puzzling, since the cult of these northern European bishops was introduced to the rotunda more than a millennium after Symmachus' death by a canon of St. Peter's, Giorgio Cesarini (Duchesne, "Vaticana" [suite], p. 395). Schumacher's terse catalogue is not fully explicated by the text of Baptisterium; the implied claim that the original dedication was to the Holy Cross contradicts the evidence of the Liber Pontiflcalis: the papal biography attributes to Symmachus an oratory of the Cross that is clearly separate from the basilica of Andrew.

studies reveals a consensus among scholars regarding only the dedications to Cassian, Andrew, and Thomas.

The incomplete and chronologically scattered sources discussed above list a total of ten saints commemorated in the oratory; while some pairing of dedications is possible, ten cults are clearly too many to be accommodated in just seven alcoves. The veneration of certain martyrs mentioned in these documents, therefore, cannot have been practiced under Symmachus. Several texts, such as the papal biography, date from Symmachus' lifetime or soon after; it is reasonable to suppose that these are the most reliable. As so often happens, however, the earliest and most authoritative evidence is also the most fragmentary. Later, more complete texts can be used to confirm the sketchy picture that emerges from the sixth-century fragments. Sometimes, however, the later information contradicts the earlier evidence. These conflicts surely originated when the later text substituted a new martyr for one first honored by Symmachus. The scheme outlined in the Enchiridion may reproduce the disposition of altars that appeared to the late eighth-century visitor, but it need not be taken as an accurate reflection of the original sixth-century dedications. To reconstruct the martyrological arrangement formulated by the papal patron and to evaluate the programmatic thrust of his new chapel, it is necessary to seek authoritative documents closer in date to the chapel's foundation.

Four lost inscriptions, their texts preserved only in transcriptions, have been connected by epigraphers with St. Andrew's. Three of them name Symmachus and are therefore of considerable value if their association with the basilica sancti Andreae is sound. The first, in elegiac couplets, gives credit to Symmachus for the templa, the rededicated rotunda with its multiple martyr commemorations:

> The shrine sparkles more brightly adorned with faith than with the gleam of polished stone
> and the building shines, constructed by the law of the thunderer.
> Those like-minded who forever hold the heavenly realms,
> a single house of faith has joined as well on earth,
> a house which in any case the bishop, a confessor of holy honor,
> has also wished to ennoble with accounts of their merits.
> For which reason, O Symmachus, enduring renown enhanced
> by pious inscriptions will recount their merits for all time.55

55 Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, FV, no. 4109.
Templa micant plus compta fide quam luce metalli
Constructumque nitet lege tonantis opus

The last distich ascribes to the pope a series of tituli, verse inscriptions that signal Symmachus' activity and at times allude to episodes from the life of the martyr whose shrine the verses decorated.56 Six hexameter lines copied in ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts in Paris were judged by De Rossi to have adorned the shrine of the oratory's titular saint:

Concordes quos regna tenent caelestia semper
Iunxit et in terris una domus fidei
Quam tarnen antistes sancti confessor honoris
Et meritis voluit nobilitare suis
Symmache quapropter vivax iam fama per aevum
Narrabit titulis amplificara pus.

This text is known in two versions, one transcribed in an eighth-century manuscript today in Paris and the other copied in a twelfth-century codex in Cambridge. The Paris transcription is not preceded by a phrase indicating the location, while the Cambridge copy has this perplexing annotation: "… the basilica of SS. Protus and Hyacinth, martyrs, where he made these verses," "… basilica s(an)c(t)orum martyrum P<ro>ti et Iacinti ubi fecit hos versus" (Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, FV, no. 4109). In his commentary on the inscription, Silvagni reasonably conjectured that the topographical label of the Cambridge copy was mistaken; the transcriber incorrectly named the location of the inscription the "basilica of SS. Protus and Hyacinth" rather than the basilica of St. Andrew."

De Rossi (Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II, 247, no. 8a) claimed that the phrase "constructed by the law of the thunderer" (constructumque . . . lege tonantis) suggested that the building in question was domed. If his suggestion could be proven, it would offer additional corroboration of the link between the inscription and the rotunda. Finally, if "basilica of SS. Protus and Hyacinth" were an alternative designation for St. Andrew's current when the Cambridge epigraphic collection was compiled, it would provide evidence for the continued cult of Protus and Hyacinth in the rotunda in spite of their omission from the Enchiridion.

The award of the title "confessor" in early Christianity was usually reserved for those who suffered greatly on account of their confession of faith. Its application to Symmachus in line 5 must be meant to emphasize his suffering in the course of the Laurentian controversy, with the implication that the text was composed during the dispute or soon after its conclusion. See also the formula with which the life of Symmachus ends: "He rested in peace as a confessor" (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 263: "Qui etiam in pace confessor quievit").

56PeLTUS Mallius' twelfth-century overview of the oratories, altars, and relics in Old St. Peter's confirms the presence of such tituli in the basilica sancti Andreae:

> Simacus papa, qui fecit basilicam sancti Andreae apostoli ad sanctum Petrum; in qua et altaría statuit, ubi plura sanctorum corpora, sicut carmina indicant, posuit.
>
> Pope Symmachus, who built the basilica of St. Andrew the apostle at St. Peter's, in which he also constructed altars where he placed many bodies of saints, just as the poems indicate.

Petrus Mallius, Descriptio basilicae vaticanae in Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II, 206, cap. 28.

St. Andrew will here defend the shrine's altar.
Andrew, Peter's own brother, who once steadfastly
suffered frightful death and paid the price with his sacred flesh,
when suspended on the broad-spread post of the cross
the martyr breathed the last breath of his mortal life
and with Christ as lord received the purple crown of martyrdom.57

While these verses underscore the natural, biological link between Andrew (Petri germanus) and his brother Peter, they add little to the understanding of the martyrological program conceived by the pope for his grand chapel. Two other epigraphic texts are more useful in this respect. They were composed to decorate the monuments of martyrs mentioned in the Liber Pontiflcalis but excluded in the Enchiridion, because by the end of the eighth century, the original Symmachan dedications to these saints were no longer observed. The shorter inscription, known only in a copy once preserved in the notes of the sixteenth-century antiquarian Fulvio Orsini, commemorates Protus and Hyacinth, martyrs whose remembrance in the rotunda was attested by the Liber Pontiflcalis:

To the holy martyrs Protus and Hyacinth.
Symmachus has paid tribute to the holy advocates with this small honor
and adorned the monument beneath which he has again placed
their blessed bodies. May unceasing praise be theirs throughout the ages.58

^Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II, 257, no. 1.
De Andrea:
Andreas hie sanctus templi tutabitur aram
Petri germanus qui quondam fuñera leti
Hórrida perpessus sancta quoque carne pependit
Dum crucis in patulo suspensus stipite martyr
Ultima mortalis clausit spiracula vitae
Purpureas sumens Christo régnante coronas

In a posthumously published volume of supplementary notes to his edition of the Liber Pontiflcalis, Duchesne cautioned that the presence of this inscription in the Symmachan rotunda was not certain (Liber Pontiflcalis, Vol. HI [Paris, 1955], p. 88). Since the manuscripts group it with texts that were certainly copied in Roman monuments, I accept De Rossi's conjectural location in Rome. In view of the emphatic link between martyred brothers, the most likely Roman backdrop for these verses is the chapel in which the fraternal bond is reproduced topographically: the basilica sancti Andreae adjacent to Peter's church.

"^Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, TV, no. 4106:
Martiribus Sanctis Proto pariterque Hiacyntho
Simmachus hoc parvo beneratus honore patronos
Exornabit opus sub quo pia corpora rursus

The pairing of Protus and Hyacinth in this inscription follows a consistent hagiographical tradition traceable to the fourth century. Authoritative epigraphic and literary evidence for their martyrdom and burial together survives in the form of an entry in the Depositio Martyrum, the oldest known Roman martyrological calendar, and in an epitaph and other inscriptions that decorated their tomb chamber in the Roman Catacomb of Bassilla.59

In the absence of direct evidence for the original placement of this inscription, De Rossi and several other epigraphers assumed that it was installed under Symmachus at the martyrs' tombs in the Catacomb of Bassilla on the via Salaria vetus.60 Their judgment rests implicitly on the words "he has again placed their blessed bodies" (italics mine).61 In this view, the hexameters allude to the renovation of the catacomb chamber; at the conclusion of the project, Symmachus saw to the return (rursuslcondidit) of the saints' corpses (corpora) to their original resting-place. Duchesne and most later scholars, however, have preferred to place the inscription in the shrine at St. Andrew's, a suggestion for which they offer little justification.62

The evaluation of the development of the saints' tombs and of the internal evidence of the inscription, along with the general consideration of Symmachus' building activity, warrant the doubt that Orsini first copied the inscribed text in a catacomb on the via Salaria. The chamber in which Protus and Hyacinth were buried was found more than a century ago, so that its appearance is quite well known.63 The martyrs were buried in separate shelf-like recesses, called loculi, on facing or adjoining walls of the underground room. The nineteenth-century excavators could identify only the grave of Hyacinth, which

59Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 190—193, nos. 47, 47', 472; Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, Vol. VIII, ed. Antonio Ferrua, SJ. (Vatican City, 1980), nos. 22812-22816.

Duchesne included the Depositio Martyrum in his edition of the Liber Pontiflcalis (I, 11—12). The entry for Protus and Hyacinth is as follows: "September 11 commemoration of Protus and Hyacinth in (the cemetery) of Bassilla" (III id. sept. Proti et Iacincti in Bassillae).

^Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II, 42, no. 5.

61 . . . pia corpora rursus/condidit . . .

62ZiOeT Pontiflcalis, I, 261, n. 18. Silvagni (Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, IV, no. 4106) collected the essential bibliography through the 1920's, to which there have not been significant additions.

6,The mid-nineteenth-century superintendent of Roman cemeteries, Giuseppe Marchi, left a vivid account of the discovery of their sepulchral chamber, or cubiculum, in his Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive nella metrópoli del cristianesimo (Rome, 1844), pp. 262-268.

remarkably had remained unopened, it seems, for a millennium and a half; the loculus of his fellow martyr had been destroyed when the chamber vault collapsed.

Their tombs were visited often in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages by pilgrims who left an extensive record of the inscriptions they encountered; three epigraphs are preserved in the syllogai, and fragments of two of them, as well as two more inscriptions, are known. None of these texts of secure cemeterial provenance, it must be observed, names Pope Symmachus. It is conceivable that the probably smallish stone of the Martyribus Sanctis poem, carved with just four lines of text, was ruined during a Gothic raid of the mid-sixth century or carried off still later to pave an urban church. In this case, however, the survival in situ of one stone intact and several fragments of others is difficult to explain. The Liber Pontiflcalis, moreover, records Symmachus' constructions in several suburban graveyards, but there is no notice regarding work at the tombs of Protus and Hyacinth.64 Finally, the third and last hexameters refer to the deposition of the two corpora as well as the installation of some sort of monument or marker (opus) under or within which the remains were enshrined. The picture that emerges in the inscription does not conform easily to the physical conditions of the catacomb chamber; Protus and Hyacinth had been interred there in separate loculi so that a single memorial could not house both their corpora. More plausible is the conjecture that corpora denotes relics (apparently contact relics) rather than whole bodies. The opus of the inscription is then the confessio mentioned in the Liber Pontiflcalis; these verses were composed for a Symmachan titulus in St. Andrew's.65

This simple poem was displayed in the chapel of Andrew to honor the memory of these Roman saints and to signal their hallowed shrine to the attention of pious visitors. Neither the inscription nor the preserved hagiographical tradition related to the Roman pair mention the non-Roman saint, Cassian, the martyr-patron of modern Imola in north-central Italy.66 There is no indication of Cassian in these hexameters

"The Liber Pontiflcalis (I, 263) records Symmachus' repairs to the cemetery basilicas of St. Felicitas and St. Agnes and renovation in the cemetery of the Jordani at the grave of the martyr St. Alexander.

65The phrase rursuslcondidit eludes satisfactory interpretation. It may perhaps refer to a reworking of the martyrs' shrine in the basilica sancti Andreae after which the relics were replaced beneath the Symmachan monument (opus).

^Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. Ill (Rome, 1963), cols. 909—911, contains a survey of the venerable hagiographical tradition that surrounds this north Italian martyr.

because in all likelihood his cult was observed elsewhere in Andrew's basilica. Only the Liber Pontiflcalis, it must be remembered, locates in the same niche the veneration of both Cassian and the Roman martyrs; the entry in the papal biography which records this Oratorium, however, exhibits peculiarities that set it apart from the rest of the account of Andrew's chapel and from the notices regarding other comparable monuments founded under Symmachus. Strikingly absent is the standard phrasing that includes the word "chapel" (oratorium) which appears in connection -with the names of Andrew, Thomas, Apollinaris, and Sossus, the other martyrs -whose remembrance the papal biography puts in the rotunda.67 The compressed language of the lines regarding Cassian, Protus, and Hyacinth may result from the inadvertent elimination of references to separate oratoria and liturgical furniture commemorating these local and non-Roman martyrs. The literary evidence leaves no doubt that Cassian was honored in Symmachus' chapel; careful evaluation of the Martyribus Sanctis inscription and the papal biography, however, fosters the conclusion that his memorial, distinct from that of Protus and Hyacinth, stood in a nearby alcove.68

The last inscription that sheds light on the sixth-century sanctoral scheme of St. Andrew's is a longer poem consisting of six elegiac couplets. The first distich names as the object of veneration the Campanian saint, Sossus. Accounts of Sossus' martyrdom make him deacon of the church of Misenum on the Bay of Naples and put him in the company of Campania's most renowned martyr, Januarius, bishop of Beneventum.69 The concluding verses identify Bishop Symmachus

67A formula observed in other papal gifts registered in the Liber Pontiflcalis includes the word oratorium and confessionem and an indication of the quantity of precious metal used. This pattern is followed in all donations recorded in Symmachus' life except those regarding Cassian, Protus and Hyacinth, and the eponymous saint of the rotunda, Andrew. In the latter case, oratorium is substituted in a sense by the words basilicam, the chapel as a whole, and tiburium, the canopy over Andrew's shrine proper. Pope Hilarus' donations are noted with virtually identical formulas (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 242).

68Tlle honorific "saint" prefixed to the names both of Cassian and of Protus and Hyacinth is redundant and perhaps points as well to the conflation of lines that recorded separate shrines for Cassian on the one hand and Protus and Hyacinth on the other. If the sixth-century biographer meant to group Cassian, Protus, and Hyacinth together in a single phrase in order to indicate a joint cult observed at a single shrine, one would expect something like "confessionem sanctorum Cassiani, Proti et Yacinti" rather than "confessionem sancti Cassiani et sanctorum Proti et Yacinti."

wFor a concise summary of the contorted hagiographical threads that link Januarius and Sossus, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. XI (Rome, 1968), cols. 1320-1321, s.v. Sosso (Sosio, Sossio), santo, maniré di Miseno.

(Symmachus autistes) as the patron for whom the inscription was produced:

Following the venerable footsteps of the bishop,
Sossus has matched with his rank the nobility of his service.
He exults, joined with the bishop in martyrdom, his true attendant,
and has rendered the responsibility due of his office.
Desiring to extricate the bishop from death,
out of piety he has met with hoped-for slaughter.
Oh joyous, sweet repose! Oh life of you two
whom a single salvation holds under twin destruction!
Go together always, receive the heavenly gifts;
equal glory of faith requires equal reward.
Bishop Symmachus, the consecrator of an honor such as this,
has made this commemorated by his inscriptions.70

When De Rossi published the late tenth- or early eleventh-century manuscript in which he found these couplets, he voiced uncertainty regarding the original placement of the monumental plaque or mosaic from which they were copied.71 Two observations made him hesitate to ascribe the text to Rome. First, the position of these components of the literary collection, sandwiched between inscriptions originally transcribed at Nola near Naples, suggested that this inscription too was copied in Campania. The absence of the Bishop Januarius from the group of martyrs honored in Symmachus' chapel strengthened De Rossi's suspicions regarding the Roman provenance of the text. An attentive reading of the poem, however, demonstrates that Januarius' lack of commemoration at St. Andrew's does not warrant the conclusion that the epigram bears no relation to the Roman monument. Januarius and his deacon Sossus appear in the poem not as sharing a tomb or a shrine, but as victims of a "twin destruction" (funere sub

70Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, FV, no. 4110:
Pontincis veneranda sequens vestigia Sossus
Aequavit meriti nobilitate gradum
Martyrio conjunctus ovat verusque minister
Reddidit officii debita iura sui
IUe sacerdotem cupiens subducere morti
Contigit optatam sub pietate necem
O laeta et iucunda quies o vita duorum
Funere sub gemino quos tenet una salus
Ite simul semper caelestia sumite dona
Par pretium poscit gloria par fidei
Symmachus amistes tanti sacrator honoris
Haec fecit titulis commemoranda suis

~"Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II, 246-247, no. 8a.

gemino, l. 8) and beneficiaries of common "repose" (quies, l. 7) and a "single salvation" (una salus, l. 8). In fact, the allusions to Januarius are made only because of his central role in the story of Sossus.

The position of the verses in the tenth-century codex result from an error in judgment on the part of the copyist, who ignored or could not read the topographical source indicated in the manuscript from which he was working. Aware of Sossus' connection with Misenum and with other celebrated Campanian martyrs, the copyist came to the erroneous conclusion that the inscription originally stood in a Campanian monument. The last couplet credits Bishop Symmachus (Symmachus autistes) as patron; the only Campanian bishop of this name attested in sources of the fifth and sixth centuries is a holder of the diocese of Capua responsible for much construction there early in the fifth century.72 Testimony to the building activity of the Campanian Symmachus, however, does not link him with Sossus, the martyred deacon of Misenum. On the other hand, the Liber Pontiflcalis plainly indicates the Roman Symmachus' interest in this Campanian martyr and puts Sossus' cult in a building in which other non-Roman martyrs were honored with oratories.

De Rossi himself, in spite of his misgivings, decided in favor of St. Andrew's as the original location of the inscription. The partial publication, two decades after De Rossi's death, of a twelfth-century manuscript in Cambridge vindicated this judgment.73 The general nature of the epigraphic collection, consisting exclusively of Roman texts, confirms the Roman, not Campanian, source of Sossus' elegy. Other features of the Cambridge transcription provide further reason to place the inscription at St. Andrew's. The Cambridge copyist reproduced only the last three distichs of the poem, appending them to another elegiac text associated with St. Andrew's: the couplets opening -with the words Templa micant that the visitor perhaps saw first upon entering the rotunda.74 This indication of placement introduces the combined poems: "The basilica of SS. Protus and Hyacinth, martyrs, where he made these verses" (Ltem basilicam sanctorum Proti et

72Alessio S. Mazzocchi, In vetus marmoreum sanctae neapolitanae ecclesiae kalendarium commentarius Alexii Symmachi Mazochii, Vol. I (Naples, 1744-1755), p. 706; also quoted by De Rossi, Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II, 247, no. 8a.

73Wilhelm Levison, "Eine Geschichte der Päpste aus Cambridge," Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 35 (1910), 352; see the remarks of Angelo Silvagni, "La silloge epigráfica di Cambridge," Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, 20(1943), 89-90.

74Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, FV, no. 4109.

Iacinti ubi fecit hos versus). Silvagni convincingly argued that although the topographical label is confused, the compiler of the epigraphic and biographical hybrid in the Cambridge manuscript believed that the inscription was created for St. Andrew's.75 The desire to make the poem's location agree with its contents impelled the copyist to make a change in the locating tag. Familiar with the martyred pair from Symmachus' life in the Liber Pontiflcalis and influenced by the phrase "oh life of you two" (o vita duorum), he substituted basilica sanctorum Proti et Iacinti for basilica sancti Andreae.

The documentary evidence for the basilica sancti Andreae substantiates the assertion made by all scholars that the apostles Andrew and Thomas were the two most eminent martyrs whose relics were enshrined in the Symmachan rotunda. The Liber Pontiflcalis attests that Apollinaris as well as Cassian, Protus, and Hyacinth was similarly honored under Symmachus. By referring to Cassian alone, the Enchiridion reveals, more accurately than the papal life, the original conditions of his veneration in an alcove on the left side of the chapel; in my view, ca. 500 a niche near Cassian's housed a separate oratorium of Protus and Hyacinth. The biographer's inclusion of Sossus, on the other hand, reflects exactly the primitive dedication. Sixtus, the martyred pope named in the early medieval guidebook, made his way into the martyrological layout later in connection with new patterns of commemoration that first appeared at St. Peter's in the seventh and eighth centuries. The saintly roster that emerges from this analysis—Andrew, Thomas, Apollinaris, Cassian, Protus and Hyacinth, Sossus—should be assigned to only six alcoves; the most reliable testimony to the sixth-century arrangement, the inscriptions and the Liber Pontiflcalis, does not point to a cult housed in the seventh niche. The Enchiridion provides two candidates, Vitus and Lawrence, for commemoration in the remaining oratory. The cult of the south Italian Vitus is unknown in Rome before the mid-eighth century; the Enchiridion and the contemporaneous biography of Pope Paul I (757—767) are the earliest secure witnesses to his veneration in the city.76 It is imprudent to use this same evidence in support of the otherwise unwarranted claim that he had been incorporated in the Vatican sanctoral more than two and a half centuries earlier.

The cult of the Roman deacon Lawrence, the other saint mentioned

75Silvagni, Silloge, pp. 64—73.

76The lives of Pope Paul I, Leo III (795-816), and Benedict III (855-858) refer to other Roman churches and monasteries dedicated to Vitus: Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 470; H, 12, 21, 24; H, 145.

by the Enchiridion, had a long history in Early Christian Rome; by the time of Symmachus' election, Lawrence was the dedicatee of numerous intramural and suburban churches and shrines.[77] He was also, however, the namesake of Symmachus' archenemy, the antipope Lawrence; this martyr's commemoration in Andrew's rotunda ca. 800 is better understood as a post-Symmachan (and ironical) transformation of the original dedication rather than as an instance of continuity of cult. The altars of Lawrence and Sixtus mentioned in the guidebook, I believe, are late and closely related. Pope Sixtus II was the bishop of the deacon Lawrence; in the course of the sixth century, the intertwined accounts of their martyrdoms attained full development and enjoyed great popularity.[78] Long after the conclusion of the Laurentian schism but perhaps as early as the seventh century, the Campanian Sossus was replaced by the esteemed Roman martyr Sixtus; this change inspired the substitution of the cult originally observed in the seventh niche with the veneration of Lawrence, Sixtus' subordinate. It is possible that in the eighth-century scheme, these martyrs, linked closely in hagiographical legends, were venerated in the alcoves that flanked the entrance. The elimination of Lawrence, Sixtus, and perhaps Vitus from the cluster of cults gathered by Symmachus and the separation of Cassian's oratory from that of Protus and Hyacinth make it possible at last to envision the martyrological organization as Symmachus planned it.

On entering the rotunda (fig. 2, D, entry at #8), the visitor looked straight ahead to the altar and shrine of the martyr for whom Symmachus named the converted mausoleum, St. Andrew, the brother of the apostle whose tomb was the focus of veneration in the adjacent basilica (D, #1). Andrew's relic was housed in an elaborate canopied structure crafted from 180 pounds of silver, probably as much of the precious metal as was used in all six other martyr-shrines in the chapel. To the visitor's right (D, #2) stood the shrine of Thomas, likewise a martyred apostle and bishop. Next came the altar dedicated to St. Apollinaris (D, #3), the well-known martyr-bishop of Ravenna. Just to the right of the entrance (D, #4) was the niche of St. Sossus, the

77For a summary of views on the importance of Lawrence in the fourth through sixth centuries see Huskinson, op. cit., pp. 96-99; Pietri, Roma Christiana, II, 714-718; and John Matthews, Western Aristocracies and Imperial Court, AD. 364—425 (Oxford, 1975), pp. 363-365.

78See the excellent survey of these texts, today known as the "passio Polycronii," in Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. VIII (Rome, 1966), cols. 108-110, s.v. Lorenzo, santo, martire.

Campanian martyr. These three shrines, as well as the three on the opposite side, were much less extravagantly ornamented than Andrew's: their silver decorations weighed an average of only about 30 pounds. To the left of the axial chapel of Andrew was an altar (D, #5) commemorating St. Cassian, the martyred schoolteacher who is the protector of educators and the patron of the Italian city of Imola. If Vitus were part of Symmachus' scheme, his confessio may well have stood in the next alcove (D, #6), since the author of the later guidebook seemed to find it there between Cassian's shrine and the altar identified in the eighth century as Lawrence's. The niche to the left of the doorway originally housed the relics of Protus and Hyacinth (D, #7); their veneration, the Enchiridion implies, was later supplanted by the commemoration of Lawrence, which was attracted to the rotunda by the presence of the memorial to Lawrence's bishop, St. Sixtus.

What is most striking about the group of as many as eight saints assembled in the rotunda by Symmachus is that in all but one of the seven niches, the relics on display were of "imported" martyrs, that is, saints whose deaths and burials had taken place far from Rome.79 What prompted the pope to accumulate at St. Peter's, the most sacred martyr-shrine in the West, the relics of non-Roman saints? He was attracted above all by their prestige and propagandistic value. Symmachus, moreover, organized these relics of non-Roman saints in a coherent sanctoral program in the rededicated rotunda; its outlines become clear -when we consider the associations of the martyrs commemorated in St. Andrew's.

Several principles of selection guided the pope in the choice of martyrs included in his new oratory. He was drawn to Protus and Hyacinth mainly for reasons of personal devotion and convenience: their tombs were in a Roman catacomb just across the Tiber from the Vatican, and it would have been an easy matter to secure their relics. Symmachus may also have wished to include them because their familial bond underscored that of Peter and Andrew, the more famous pair of martyred brothers whose memories were first joined at the Vatican through the pope's efforts.80

79The mid-nineteenth-century discovery of Hyacinth's loculus apparently intact and still closed by an early fourth-century inscribed slab suggests that this Roman saint and his fellow martyr Protus were represented in St. Andrew's by contact relics, or possibly by small body fragments. The shrines of the non-Roman saints gathered in the rotunda must have also held small relics, perhaps corporal but more likely contact.

"The inscription placed in their tomb chamber by Damasus characterizes them as

It must have been more complicated to procure the relics of the non-Roman saints buried a considerable distance from the papal seat. Of the group installed in the rotunda, only the veneration of Andrew is securely attested in Rome before 500.[81] Analysis of the historical sources gives clues to the motives for the pope's zealous collection of these foreign saints. Four of the five non-Roman cults that can be assigned with confidence to St. Andrew's ca. 500—those of Cassian, Sossus, Apollinaris, and Andrew himself—appealed to Symmachus for the same reason: each involved the most prominent martyr displayed in a see whose bishop opposed the pope.

The martyred bishop Apollinaris was the purported founder of the diocese of Ravenna, held throughout the Laurentian Schism by the metropolitan Peter II.[82] Along with Bishops Lawrence and Marcellianus, the metropolitans of Milan and Aquileia, Peter was an early adversary of Symmachus. Lawrence's followers pointedly observed that the bishops of Milan and Ravenna even withdrew from communion with the pope. Symmachus' staunch ally, the Milanese deacon Ennodius, could not deny their detachment, but with consummate tact he claimed that the estrangement had been merely physical; spiritual communion among them had never really lapsed.[83]

"true" or "full brothers" (germani fratres): see Ferrua, Epigrammata Damasiana, pp. 190-193, no. 47.

81The dedicatory inscription of the intramural church of St. Andrew in Catabarbara consecrated under Pope Simplicius (468—483) makes the claim that this was the first Roman church named for Andrew:

> And because we were lacking churches of the apostolic martyr,
> he [sc. Pope Simplicius] constructed this in the name of Andrew.
> Et quod Apostolici deessent limina Nobis
> Martiris Andreae Nomine Composuit.

(Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae, II, 155, lines 5—6)

The Liber Pontiflcalis (I, 255) credits Pope Gelasius (492-496) with the dedication of basilicas of SS. Nicander, Eleutherus, and Andrew on the Via Labicana at a locality, unfortunately otherwise unattested, named villa Pertusa (". . . basilicas sanctorum Nicandri, Eleutheri et Andreae in via Lavicana, in villa Pertusa"). Duchesne (Liber Pontiflcalis, I, 256-257, notes 12—13) convincingly located this church of Andrew at a point about twenty miles southeast of Rome.

82See the development of Apollinaris' cult outlined in Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. II (Rome, 1962), cols. 239—246, s. v. Apellinare, vescovo di Ravenna, santo, martire.

"'Ennodius, Libellas adversus eos qui contra synodum scribere praesumpserunt 77, in Friedrich Vogel (ed.), Magni Felicis Ennodi opera omnia, Monumenta Germaniae Histórica, Auetores Antiquissimi, 7 (Berlin, 1885), p. 59: "Fuerunt quidam corporis tantum conventione separati . . . animarum tarnen praesentiam non vitarunt." Ennodius here responds to accusations made in the Contra Synodum Absolutionis Incongruae, a document circulated by Lawrence's supporters in October, 502. For general remarks

The alienation of Bishops Peter and Lawrence, hedgingly acknowledged by Ennodius, was short-lived, according to the testimony of the acts of the three Roman synods called during Symmachus' pontificate, in March, 499, spring, 502, and November, 502.84 The registers of the synodal resolutions and subscriptions demonstrate beyond doubt that they were active participants in both assemblies of 502; their pro-Symmachan statements reveal that by mid-502, they were in communion with the pope.85 These synods, therefore, cannot be the occasion of estrangement to which Ennodius alludes; this must have occurred earlier, presumably at the time of the first synod convoked in 499 by the pope to address, in Symmachus' words, the problems of "episcopal canvassing, confusion, and popular disturbance" which marked the beginning of his pontificate.86 The bishops of Ravenna and Milan are not listed as signatories of the acts of the 499 gathering which confirmed the election of Symmachus and installed Lawrence in the Campanian bishopric of Nuceria. Their initial withdrawal from communion with the pope may have been related to the irregular circumstances of his election and the highly politicized turmoil that at the start disrupted his pontificate.87

Also absent from the 499 lists of participants and signatories were the bishops of Misenum and Forum Cornelii (Imola), the sees whose most prominent martyrs were Sossus and Cassian. The synodal acts of November, 502, on the other hand, contain the subscriptions of Pacatianus of Imola and Concordius of Misenum.88 Their absence from the earlier list and presence among the subscribers of 502 warrants

on the close collaboration of Symmachus and the Milanese deacon and diplomat, see William T. Townsend and William F. Wyatt, "Ennodius and Pope Symmachus," inStudies in Honor of Edward K Rand (New York, 1938), pp. 277-291. Ennodius noted the persistent antagonism of the Aquileian bishop, Marcellianus (Epistula IV, 1 [ed. Vogel, P- 167]).

"Picotti (op. cit., pp. 763-786) fully developed this chronology for the synods, a convincing emendation of the traditional dates (499, 501, 502) accepted by Mommsen and Caspar.

"'Theodor Mommsen (ed.), Acta synodhorum habitarum Romae ACCCCXCVIIIL DI. DII, Monumenta Germaniae Histórica, Auetores Antiquissimi, Vol. XII (Berlin, 1896), pp. 419, 432, 447, 451.

""Mommsen, ibid., p. 402 (from the pope's opening statement to the assembly): "... episcopalem ambitum et confusionis incertum vel populärem tumultum, quem subreptione diaboli usurpatione aliquorum tempore ordinationis meae constat exortum___ "

87It should be noted that among the signatories of the 499 synod appear few bishops from dioceses as remote as Ravenna and Milan.

""Mommsen, op. cit., p. 442.

the conjecture that they too, like the northern metropolitans, initially opposed the pope and refused to accept the resolutions of 499 that instated Symmachus and demoted the pretender to the bishopric of Nuceria. Following the lead of the bishops of Milan and Ravenna, they were reconciled to Symmachus' cause by autumn, 502. The pope's efforts to gather relics linked with the hostile sees of Ravenna, Imola, Misenum, and Constantinople may have begun in response to the first manifestations of antagonism in 499·89 This concern would have acquired greater urgency following his flight from Rimini and withdrawal to St. Peter's in 501.

Symmachus was probably attracted to Sossus also by the particular circumstances of his martyrdom, recounted in the extensive and popular hagiographical cycle connected with St. Januarius.90 The hagiographie tradition as preserved today, however, differs from the tale of execution at which Symmachus' elegy on Sossus hints. In the sixth-century poem, the deacon Sossus lays down his life so that the bishop will be spared; the sixth- or seventh-century life of Januarius, on the other hand, represents him as selflessly endangering himself out of concern for the deacon.91 The Symmachan verses and the prose account of Januarius' death may at first appear to draw on conflicting traditions, but the differences in these variants need not be attributed to derivation from independent sources. The theme of self-sacrifice, central in each case, links the accounts and raises the possibility that the pope revised, and in a sense inverted, the role played by Sossus in the traditional Januarius cycle. In the Symmachan version, he becomes a paradigm of steadfast loyalty, faithful to the bishop unto death. The message of the revised figure of the Misenate deacon would hardly

"9MuCh direct testimony documents the hostility of ecclesiastical and imperial authorities in the eastern capital; Townsend collected and analyzed some of the primary sources: William T. Townsend, "The Henoticon Schism and the Roman Church," The Journal ofReligion, 16 (1936), 78—86. No links, however, between the relics assembled by Symmachus in the rotunda of Andrew and the eastern and western sees opposed to Symmachus have been drawn in previous evaluations of the Laurentian Schism.

90SeC the discussion of the cycle's components in Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. VI (Rome, 1965), cols. 135—139, s.v. Gennaro, vescovo di Benevento, e compagni, santi, martiri.

9IRafFaele Calvino, the author of the entry on Sossus in the Bibliotheca Sanctorum (Vol. XI [Rome, 1968], cols. 1320-1321), attempted to account for the conflict by suggesting that the unnamed bishop of Symmachus' elegy is not Januarius but Sossus' true superior, the bishop of Misenum. This conjecture is supported neither by other epigraphical evidence nor by hagiographical or martyrological testimony to the cult of a martyred bishop of Misenum.

have been lost on the Roman public, embroiled in a violent ecclesiastical struggle incited by a rebellious faction of the Roman clergy.

The two most illustrious and powerful saints honored in the rotunda were the apostles Thomas and Andrew. Several factors must have contributed to the decision to provide for Thomas' veneration in the new chapel. From at least the end of the fourth century, his tomb in the city of Edessa was a goal of pilgrims from all over the Christian world.[92] With its large and active Monophysite population, Edessa ca. 500 was closely identified with the heretical movement that was one of the causes of the Acacian Schism.[93] Thomas' inclusion in the basilica sancti Andreae should therefore be seen as dictated by Symmachus' intransigent anti-Monophysite approach, the same policy that had precipitated the election of the antipope Lawrence and the rift in the Roman Church. The presence of Thomas, it should also be noted, brought to three the number of apostles venerated at the Vatican. With the establishment ca. 400 of the imperial mausoleum ad sanctum Petrum, the Vatican basilica already rivaled one of Constantinople's greatest monuments: the Church of the Holy Apostles, which boasted the tombs of Constantine and his successors and the relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, three martyrs of the apostolic age.[94] The creation of a triple apostle-cult under Symmachus further sharpened the contentious competition between Old and New Rome.

The brief report of the Liber Pontiflcalis demonstrates that Thomas' richly ornamented oratory was second only to that of his apostolic colleague. Andrew was the titular saint of the entire Symmachan chapel and his altar was its physical and devotional centerpiece. It was fitting for Andrew to be linked physically with Peter, since they were brothers. The family tie, although surely appreciated, was a secondary incentive; what impelled Symmachus to honor Andrew so conspicuously

92For a review of the sources regarding the Edessene cult of Thomas, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. XII (Rome, 1969), cols. 536—539, s. v. Tommaso, apostólo, santo.

"Bishop Paul of Edessa (510-522) publicly professed Monophysitism. Bishop Jacob Baradaeus (542-572), favorite of Empress Theodora, organized Syrian Monophysites in the Jacobite Church, which takes its name from him; see Ernst Honigmann, Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI' siècle (Louvain, 1951), pp. 48—50, and Hervé Leclainche, "Crises économiques à Edessa (494-506) d'après la chronique du pseudo-Josué le Stylite," Pallas, 27(1980), 89— 100; for sixth-century developments, Daniel D. Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus. The State of Research," Muséon, 91 (1978), 45-86.

94See Mango, op. cit., especially pp. 53—55, nn. 14—23, for references to the extensive bibliography on this great Constantinopolitan monument.

was the martyred apostle's longstanding association with Constantinople, the ultimate source of antagonism to the pope.95

Accounts of Andrew's martyrdom do not place his death in Constantinople; a venerable and popular tradition locates his crucifixion and burial at Patras in Greece.96 Soon after the mid-fourth-century transfer of the apostle's remains to Constantinople, however, his role as protector of the city developed rapidly. In a half-dozen sermons, the patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, solemnly pointed to the presence in his city of Andrew's relics.97 This passage from a homily of Chrysostom delivered on July 3, 399, vividly illustrates the dependence felt by Constantinople's people and patriarch on their apostolic defenders:

> [at the height of a destructive rainstorm that threatened the capital three days earlier] . . . there were prayers and supplications and our whole city flooded to the place of the apostles, and we called on the advocates holy Peter and blessed Andrew, the pair of apostles, Paul and Timothy. Afterwards, when the furious tempest had eased and we traversed the sea and boldly confronted the waves, we went quickly to the princes of the apos-

95In the bishops' palace at Ravenna, Peter II built a chapel named, according to early medieval tradition, for Andrew. It is possible neither to verify that this was the original dedication nor to determine whether Peter's commission preceded or followed that of his more eminent Roman colleague. There is, in any case, a link between these early Andrew oratories founded within or adjoining episcopal residences in Rome and Ravenna. For the history of the Ravennate monument, see Friedrich W. Deichmann, Ravenna Haupstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes, Band L Ravenna Geschichte und Monumente (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 201-202.

^Already ca. 400 Gaudentius of Brescia and Paulinus of Nola acknowledged Andrew's connection with Patras: Gaudentius of Brescia, Sermo 17, Patrología Latina, Vol. XX (Paris, 1845), col. 961; Paulinus of Nola, Carmen 19, line 78; Carmen 27, lines 406-410 (Carmina, ed. Wilhelm von Hartel, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vol. XXX [Vienna, 1894], pp. 121, 280). For a summary of the early sources for Andrew's execution and burial, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. 1 (Rome, 1961), cols. 1094-1100, s.v. Andrea, apostólo, santo.

97Dvornik's collation of the references to Andrew in the writings of prominent Constantinopolitan and western authors provides a nearly complete survey of views regarding the apostle current in the fourth and fifth centuries. Dvornik was so intent, however, on demonstrating the seventh-century origins of the belief that the bishopric of Constantinople was founded by Andrew that he underestimated the degree to which Andrew was understood, in the eastern capital and abroad, as representative of Constantinople: see Francis Dvornik, The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 138-146. He admitted the possibility, however, that the legend of Constantinople's apostolic foundation may have circulated "by word of mouth, and perhaps also in writing" well before the seventh century, since "every condition necessary to its origin existed throughout Byzantium from the time of Constantius at the latest" (ibid., p. 222).

ties—Peter, the foundation of the faith, and Paul, the vessel of election—where we held a spiritual assembly in their honor and heralded their struggles, trophies, and victories.98

In his analysis of this text, Dvornik emphasized the apparently extra-liturgical procession across the Bosphorus to the Church of Peter and Paul and reduced the importance of Timothy and especially Andrew. As Chrysostom noted, however, the initial supplicatory cortege of the whole populace had as its goal the urban Church of the Holy Apostles ("the place of the apostles") which sheltered the relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy.99 In the presiding bishop's words, the successful ceremony of propitiation conducted at the Church of the Holy Apostles specifically invoked four martyrs, of whom two, Peter and Paul, had just had their chief annual commemoration; both the eastern and western churches celebrate the joint feast of these Roman saints on June 29100 The prominence of Peter and Paul results from the date on which the miraculous deliverance occurred, immediately after their annual festival. The procession in Constantinople, rewarded by the abatement of the storm, was followed immediately by the transfer of the grateful crowd to a suburban basilica named for, and presumably containing the relics of, the Roman martyrs; thanks must have already

"John Chrysostom, Homilía adversus eos qui ecclesia relicta ad circenses ludos et ad theatra transfugerunt, !,Patrología Graeca, Vol LVI (Paris, 1862), col. 265 (cited by Dvornik, op. cit., p. 142):

. . . ??et???a?, ?a? ttasa ?µ?? ? tt???? ?stte? ?e?µa???? em t??? t??ts?? t?? ap?st???? ?t?e?e, ?a? s????????? ??aµß???µe? t?? a???? ?et??? ?a? t?? µa?????? ??d??a?, t?? ??????da t?? ap?st????, ?a???? ?a? ??µ??e??. ?et' e?e??a, t?? ????? ???e?s??, ?a? p??a??? tte?asa?te?, ?a? ??µ?t?? ?atat??µ?sa?te?, Im t??? ????fa????, et????µe?, t?? ?a???? t? s?e??? t?? e??????, tta??????? ?tpte????te? ?t?e?µat????, ?a? t??? ?????? a?t?? ??a????tt??te?, ta t??pa?a ?a? ta? ???a? ta? ?at? t?? da?µ????.

99Of course, the remains of Luke were also part of the martyrological furnishings of the fourth-century Apostoleion: for the historical sources, see most recently Mango, op. cit., pp. 51-53, and his "Constantine's Mausoleum: Addendum," Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 83 (1990), 434.

'°°For the Constantinopolitan observance of the feast of Peter and Paul, see John Baldovin, The Urban Character ofChristian Worship (Rome, 1987), p. 195; Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris, ed. Hippolyte Delehaye (Brussels, 1902), p. 720. For the trans-Bosphorus "pilgrimage," see Jean Pargoire, "Les homélies de S. Jean Chrysostome en juillet 399," Echos d'Orient, 3 (1899-1900), 151-162.

Dvornik himself observed that perhaps Chrysostom's origins in Antioch, according to tradition a city proselytized by Peter, encouraged in the patriarch a particular devotion to the prince of the apostles (Dvornik, op. cit., p. 143).

been offered at the relic-filled shrines of Andrew and Timothy in the Constantinopolitan apostle-church.101

Chrysostom, therefore, attests Andrew's position ca. 400 as defender of Constantinople on a par with the apostles Peter and Paul and Paul's disciple Timothy. To a remarkable degree, literary and archaeological testimony in the fifth- and early sixth-century West reveals widespread devotion to Andrew and at the same time an awareness of his bond with the eastern capital.102 In a poem composed five or six years after Chrysostom's homily of 399, Paulinus of Nola alluded to the saintly protectors of Constantinople with sentiments strikingly reminiscent of the patriarch's:

> For when Constantine founded the city named for him
> and first among Roman kings bore the name of Christian,
> he made a divinely inspired decision: since at that time the construction of his magnificent city had begun
> and he was building walls that rivaled those of the city of Rome,
> he resolved to follow the lead of Romulus' city with this gift as well
> and readily resolved to make his city more secure with the bodies of apostles.
> At that time he carried Andrew away from the Greeks,
> and Timothy from Asia. In this way with these twin towers looms Constantinople, rivaling the peak (caput) of great Rome—
> or more correctly, resembling with this pinnacle the walls of Rome,
> in that God has compensated Constantinople for Peter and Paul with equal prestige, and Constantinople
> has deservedly received the disciple of Paul together with the brother of Peter.103

101The scant references to this church in an Asiatic suburb of Constantinople were reviewed by Raymond Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de Tempire byzantin, deuxième partie. Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins (Paris, 1975), pp. 36-37. Janin makes no reference to the passage from Chrysostom's homily of 399-

102Mango (Mausoleum, pp. 60-61) and Dvornik (ibid., pp. 149-153) enumerate the principal western monuments in which Andrew was honored.

•'"Paulinus of Nola, Carmen 19, lines 329-342 (ed. Hartel, pp. 129-130):

> Nam Constantinus propra dum conderet urbem
> nominis, et primus Romano in nomine regum
> christicolam gereret, divinum mente recepit
> consilium, ut quoniam Romae moenibus urbis
> aemula magnificis strueret tunc moenia coeptis,
> his quoque Romuleam sequeretur dotibus urbem,
> ut sua apostolicis muniret moenia laetus
> corporibus. tunc Andream devexit Achivis,
> Timotheumque Asia; Geminis ita turribus exstat
> Constantinopolis, magnae caput aemula Romae,

Paulinus stressed, whether correctly or not, the initiative of the emperor Constantine in removing from Greece to his new capital the relics of Andrew.104 The emperor's motive, the poet added, was to provide the new capital with a saintly shield that imitated and rivaled Rome's, just as he had fortified the city named for him with walls that emulated the defense of the city of Romulus.105 Constantinople, according to the poet, received divine compensation in the form of martyrs' remains whose prestige (ambitio) was the equivalent of Peter's and Paul's. For Paulinus, a spirit of competition informed the transferral of Andrew's and Timothy's remains to Constantinople; a century and a half later, the fierce, at times bloody, competition with Lawrence and his pro-Constantinople faction motivated the display by Symmachus of a relic of Andrew, enshrined along with mementoes of six or seven fellow martyrs in the refurbished rotunda ad sanctum Petrum.106 Symmachus' primary goal in laying out this oratory was to secure for his own veneration and use the relics of martyrs which in a sense embodied the power of his opponents, the martyrs closely identified with the bishoprics that did not support him against Lawrence.107

verius hoc similis Romanis culmine mûris,
quod Petrum Paulumque pari Deus ambitione
compensavit ei, meruit quia sumere Pauli
discipulum, cum fratre Petri . . .

My translation of line 341 reads quia, listed as a variant in Hartel's appartus, in place of the quae given in the text of his edition.

104In a postscript to his recent study of Constantine's tomb, Mango observed that some recensions of the Alexandrian Chronicle report the translation of Andrew and Luke in 336 rather than 357, the date furnished by most ancient authors and normally accepted today (Mango, Addendum, p. 434). The earlier date would confirm Paulinus' identification of Constantine as the imperial agent of the transfer.

""In view of Paulinus' repeated use of the word "aemula," which, like "emulous," combines notions of imitation and competition, I cannot accept Dvornik's claim that "the transfer of the relics of St. Andrew to Constantinople was in no way regarded in the West and in Rome as an act of rivalry with the old Imperial City" (ibid., p. 149). Paulinus did not regard the transfer as a hostile measure, but he surely saw in it an act of competition.

106Dvornik acknowledged the growth in Rome of the veneration of Andrew during the Acacian Schism but argued that the spread of devotion to this saint indicated that "Westerners were not yet aware of any Byzantine attempt to overshadow or to equalize the prestige of Peter with that of his brother …" (ibid., pp. 153-154). Whatever the intention of the authorities in the eastern capital, westerners like Paulinus clearly saw an emulative impulse in Andrew's Constantinopolitan cult.

'07A special devotion to Andrew probably confirmed Symmachus' decision to honor him as principal titular in the new chapel. Andrew's martyrdom, commemorated in both Eastern and Western Christendom on November 30, was the first apostolic feast

The pope clearly had a specific political agenda when he gathered Andrew and the saintly representatives of other sees hostile to Rome and commemorated them in the rotunda next to St. Peter's. He wished to emphasize that Peter's brother, and all the other bishops and martyrs venerated in the new oratory, were subordinates of the chief apostle. Peter was the greatest of all martyrs, and Symmachus, who controlled Peter's shrine, was the legitimate pope, the successor to Peter and the superior of all those bishops on whom, indirectly at least, Lawrence the antipope's power rested. Symmachus had no choice but to concede that he had been excluded by force from the Lateran, the traditional seat of Rome's bishop. His ingenious solution was to make for himself a new episcopal complex on the Vatican hill and to multiply its saintly potential by marshaling martyred apostles, bishops, and other saints in the struggle against his rival Lawrence. This strategy was in the long run effective, since he and his followers finally prevailed. In 506, a combination of political pressure and old age induced Lawrence to give up his claims and retire to a country estate.[108] At last the conflict began to ease, slowly but definitively. Allied with Peter, Andrew, Thomas, Apollinaris, and the rest of the sainted group, Symmachus eventually won the contest for the bishopric of Rome, the most venerable and authoritative see in the ancient Christian world. When the pope regained jurisdiction over the Lateran cathedral and palace, the Vatican episcopia, no longer needed, were all but abandoned. The martyr-shrines dedicated by the pope, on the other hand, were frequented for centuries after his death by the pilgrims that thronged to Peter's tomb. Symmachus' oratories were the starting-point for a millennium and a half of further development which culminates in the sanctoral array found at St. Peter's today, where the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century basilica shelters about fifty altars used in venerating hundreds of saints' relics. Symmachus never imagined that his piety and political maneuvering would ultimately bear such fruit.

at which the pope presided after his election late in November, 498. For the date of the western commemoration, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum, Vol. 1 (Rome, 1961), col. 1097, s.v. Andrea, apostólo, santo.

"»Caspar, op. cit., p. 117; Richards, op. cit., p. 76.

CARTHUSIANS DURING THE REFORMATION ERA: CARTUSIA NUNQUAM DEFORMATA, REFORMAR! RESISTENS

BY

Dennis D. Martin*

At least since Hubert Jedin and Joseph Lortz,1 based on the work of Joseph Greven and others,2 gave high marks to die Cardiusians for their role during the Catholic Reformation, this most silent and least-known of monastic orders has been the subject of occasional and passing attention in literature on the Reformation era.3 Carthusian studies specialists, aware that the cliché "Cartusia nunquam reformata, quoniam nunquam deformata,"4 represents an ideal no human organization could ever live up to, have on occasion tilted in die opposite direction, going out of their way to find instances of laxity within the Order. The present study surveys what happened inside and outside the Cardiusian Order during the sixteenth century. On balance, the present writer can only conclude that the "nunquam deformata" label was well deserved. Carthusians bowed to external political pressure in regions that became Protestant, but, with few exceptions they submitted only under duress. In many instances their loyalty to the "old

*Mr. Martin is an assistant professor of theology in Loyola University Chicago. He presented a shorter version of this article at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in October, 1992. A summary of its conclusions, minus the documentation found here, will appear in the Encyclopedia of the Reformation, ed. Hans Hillerbrand (New York, 1995).

'Hubert Jedin, Geschichte des Konzils von Trient, Vol. 1: Der Kampf um das Konzil (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1949), pp. 143—145; Joseph Lortz, The Reformation in Germany, trans, from the 1949 German edition by Ronald Walls (London, 1968; New York, 1968), esp. vol. 1, pp. 105-106 (where he incorrectly claims the Order had 230 houses on the eve of the Reformation), 412; vol. 1, pp. 150—156.

zJoseph Greven, Die kölner Kartause und die Anfänge der katholischen Reform in Deutschland, edited by Wilhelm Neuss ("Katholisches Leben und Kämpfen im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung," Vol. 6 [Münster, 1935]).

'E.g., Erfurt: Robert W. Scribner, "Civic Unity and the Reformation in Erfurt," Past and Present, No. 66 (1975), 29-60.

4For the supposed seventeenth-century origins of this phrase, see the summary by Giovanni Leoncini, "Cartusia nunquam reformata: Spiritualità eremítica fra Trecento e Quattrocento," Studi medievali, 29 (1988), 561-586, at 561, n. 1.

faith" was heroic. To be sure, they also produced some outstanding individual "apostates." But these exceptions only confirm the rule.

I. The Carthusians in the Late Middle Ages

The Carthusian Order[5] traces its origins to 1082—1084,[6] when Bruno of Cologne,[7] a cathedral canon and head of the schools at Reims, left his prestigious positions in the wake of the Gregorian reform party's failed efforts to eliminate ecclesiastical corruption in the diocese. He and six companions eventually found themselves in the Alpine wilderness near Grenoble, where Bishop Hugh of Grenoble welcomed them and helped them establish a monastery that became known as the La Chartreuse (later the "Grande Chartreuse"). Their aim was to live a very simple, primitive monastic life along the lines of that lived by the Desert Fathers but retaining elements of the common life as it had developed in western monasticism. They drew on the statutes of the canons regular of St. Ruf near Avignon, the home community of two of the seven companions, as well as the Rule of St. Benedict and the writings of Jerome. To ensure that their strict regimen (one meal a day from the Ides of September to Easter, with a strict fast on bread, water, and salt three days a week throughout the year; no meat under any circumstances whatsoever; refusal to receive lay guests of any sort and limited hospitality even for monastic guests; weekly rather than

5A general introduction to modern Carthusian life is Robin Bruce Lockhart, Halfway to Heaven (New York, 1985). No single-volume scholarly history of the Order exists; among the best historical introductions are lexicon articles in Dizionario degli fstituti di Perfezioni ("Certosine" and "Certosini") and Dictionnaire de Spiritualité ("Chartreux") or the first part of E. Margaret Thompson's book, The Carthusian Order in England (London, 1930). For an exposition of Carthusian theology and spirituality in the earliest generations, see Gordon Mursell, The Theology of the Carthusian Life in the Writings of St. Bruno imrfGî«go/("AnalectaCartusiana," Vol. 127[Salzburg, 1988]). A combination of scholarly and popular history is found in Die Kartäuser Orden der schweigenden Mönche, ed. Marijan Zadnikar and Adam Wienand (Cologne, 1983). The monograph series, "Analecta Cartusiana," published at Salzburg since the early 1970's, has a wealth of information but offers no coherent overview [hereafter cited as "AC"].

'The chronology of events surrounding Bruno's departure from Reims ca. 1082 and his subsequent movements before settling at what became the Grande Chartreuse cannot be reconstructed with complete precision. See Gerardo Posada, Der heilige Bruno, Vater der Kartäuser, ein Sohn der Stadt Köln, trans. Hubertus Maria Blüm, with contributions by Adam Wienand and Otto Beck (Cologne, 1987), pp. 72-75, 95-98.

7Not to be confused with Bruno, the Archbishop of Cologne, brother to Otto l, whom he served as chancellor. He died in 965. His feast day is October 11; Bruno the Carthusian (d. 1101) is honored on October 6.

daily conventional Masses) would not be relaxed, with Bishop Hugh's assistance, they acquired a large tract of wilderness land as a "desert" (eremus) with clearly established boundaries. More than a century of episcopal and papal legislation prohibited the entry of lay people into this preserve,8 and the Carthusians put severe restrictions on themselves to ensure that the members of the community would have no reason to leave the bounds of the eremus.

When several newly founded primitivist monastic communities asked the fifth head of the Chartreuse, Prior Guigo I (d. 1136), for a written summary of its pattern of life, he wrote down what became the Customs (Consuetudines Guigonis) of the Chartreuse. A centralized order emerged by the mid-twelfth century when several of the monasteries that had requested written customs from Guigo formally placed themselves under the authority of a General Chapter, with the prior of the Grande Chartreuse as their head. Individual houses are known as charterhouses, an anglicized version of the Latin Cartusia. They are headed by a prior, not an abbot.

Some of the original strictness and simplicity was slowly relaxed, but in the later Middle Ages the Order as a whole became famous, indeed notorious in some circles, for its success at retaining much of its original rigor. Part of the explanation for this lies with the system of visitations: the General Chapter named two priors in each province as official visitors; each charterhouse was to be visited biennially. These visitors were expected to examine thoroughly the spiritual, liturgical, economic, and administrative health of the community and were given real authority and power to mandate reforms, including the power to depose unworthy priors.9

Late medieval Carthusians assembled in convent daily for Matins and Lauds, a conventual Mass, and Vespers. Each choir monk recited the other hours of the Office in his cell, which was a two-story cottage with enclosed garden. Lay brothers brought meals to the individual cells, except on Sundays and major feast days, when the community gathered in the chapter house and refectory. Communities were small,

"The texts have been collected by Bernard Bligny (ed.), Recueil des plus anciens actes de la Grande Chartreuse (1086-1196) (Grenoble, 1958).

'Heinrich Rüthing has written a fine study of how this system worked in his article "Die Wächter Israels: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Visitationen im Kartäuserorden," in Zadnikar and Wienand (eds.), Die Kartäuser, pp. 169—183. Visitation protocols were to be destroyed after serving their purpose; hence few have survived. Friedrich Stöhlker discovered a trove of such late medieval reports but they remain inaccessible to other scholars.

consisting normally of thirteen or twenty-five choir monks, and approximately as many lay brethren under permanent vows or other lay members under temporary vows.

The Carthusian Order grew very slowly at first.[10] Rapid expansion began in the late thirteenth century and reached its peak during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[11] On the eve of the Reformation approximately 200 charterhouses were found across Europe,[12] divided into eighteen provinces.[13] The late medieval foundations have been described as marking a shift from isolated rural valleys to the environs of major cities.[14] However, despite the increase in urban and suburban houses, rural charterhouses continued to predominate in the Order throughout the period after 1350. Moreover, no major change in patronage took place—even the new suburban and urban foundations were made primarily by rural and urban nobles and territorial princes after a flurry of episcopal patronage, ca. 1250—1350. The most important shift in patronage between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries was from local, lower, nobles to higher nobles, royalty, and territorial princes.[15]

Because of its reputation for discipline and rigor the Carthusian

[9]Good surveys, with maps and charts, are found in various encyclopedias and atlases. A concise overview with references to the wide-ranging publications in the series "Analecta Carrusiana" is found in James Hogg, "Die Ausbreitung der Kartäuser," in Die Ausbreitung der Kartäuser I La Chartreuse de Lugny 1172-1789, by James Hogg and Leon Landel (AC, Vol. 89 [Salzburg, 1987]), pp. 5-26. A more detailed overview is found in Heinrich Rüthing, Der Kartäuser Heinrich Egher von Kaikar, 1328—1408 ("Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte," Vol. 18 / "Studien zur Germania Sacra," Vol. 8 [Göttingen, 1967]), pp. 9-50.

[10]Foundations: twelfth century: 36; thirteenth century: 33; fourteenth century: 105; fifteenth century: 45; sixteenth century: 18; seventeenth century: 21; eighteenth century: 0.

[12]In the literature, statistics vary, since one scholar may treat instances where one house is transferred or combined with another as a single house, while another scholar may consider these separate foundations. Hogg, "Ausbreitung," p. 8, gives the number as 196. A list is found in the 1510 Amerbach edition of the Statuta ordinis cartusiensis, reprinted by Hogg as The Evolution of the Carthusian Statutes from the Consuetudines Guigonis to the Tertia Compilatio (AC, Vol. 99.1-4 [Salzburg, 1989]).

[11]For the dates of the various provinces, see Hogg, "Ausbreitung," pp. 10—11.

[13]Heinrich Rüthing, "Zur Geschichte der Kartausen in der Ordensprovinz Alemannia inferior von 1320 bis 1400," in Zadnikar and Wienand (cas), Die Kartäuser, pp. 139-167 [= chapter one of Rüthing, Der Kartäuser Heinrich Egher],

[14]Tables providing a Statistical analysis of late medieval foundations as summarized above, are found in " "The Honeymoon Was Over': Carthusians between Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie," in Die Kartäuser and ihre Welt—Kontakte und gegenseitige Einflüsse, Vol. 1 (AC, Vol. 62.1 [Salzburg, 1993]), pp. 66-99.

Order attracted wealthy patrons. The General Chapter was cautious about establishing new houses, insisting on clear evidence of sufficient endowment and adequate planning before accepting a new foundation. In general, houses of the Order thus found themselves in good financial shape during the late Middle Ages.

During the late Middle Ages a "Copernican Shift" is said to have taken place in the Order.16 In or near such cities as Nuremberg, Cologne, Freiburg, Basel, Strassburg, and Paris, Carthusians carried on correspondence with leading humanists and lent books to printers and scholars.17 Charterhouses in Italian cities and near Dijon in France became tourist attractions because of their rich art and architectural ornamentation.18 The patriarch of Venice in 1504 was a Carthusian. The urban surroundings of the London Charterhouse forced the community to tolerate the reception of lay visitors, including women.19

The conventional assumption that outstanding discipline and spiritual fervor typified late medieval Carthusian communities has been challenged by Friedrich Stöhlker, who argues that at least the German charterhouses could not have been in such fine shape or they would not have been so easily toppled by the Protestant Reformation, particularly in northern and eastern German lands.20 Although Stöhlker's foils, Jedin and Lortz, undoubtedly exaggerated and lacked little firsthand knowledge of the history of individual charterhouses during this

¦The term was coined by Hubert Jedin, op. cit. ,p. 115. See also Dieter Mertens, Iacobus Carthusiensis: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Werke des KartäusersJakob von Paradies ("Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte," Vol. 50 / Studien zur Germania Sacra, Vol. 13 [Göttingen, 1976]).

"Literature on these houses is cited in Dennis D. Martin, Fifteenth-Century Carthusian Reform: The World of Nicholas Kempf ("Studies in the History of Christian Thought," Vol. 49 [Leiden, 1992]), pp. 230-239. Die Kölner Kartause um 1500, Aufsatzband which accompanies the catalogue of a 1991 exhibition under the same title (Cologne, 1991), contains important new research showing how thoroughly the Cologne Charterhouse was integrated into urban society.

l8See Leoncini, op. cit., with references to his extensive studies in the AC series. Something similar happened at Basel, where Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin built an extravagant monument to himself in the form of a chapter house, which is known as the "Zscheckenbürlin House" to this day. See Rudolf Wackernagel, Geschichte der Stadt Basel (Basel, 1907; repr. 1968), Vol. 2, pp. 846-847, and Vol. 3, p. 270.

"Thompson, op. cit., p. 178.

20Stöhlker, "Die Bedeutung der Reichskartause Buxheim für den Kartäuserorden in Deutschland, Österreich, und in der Schweiz im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation (ca. 1548-1610)," in Die Kartäuser und die Reformation, Internationaler Kongreß vom 24. bis 27. August 1983 (AC, Vol. 108.1 [Salzburg, 1984]), Vol. 1, pp. 25-65, at 26 [hereafter Kartäuser und Reformation}.

period, Stöhlker himself is too eager to debunk the "myth of nunquam deformata." Countering the few instances of laxity he cites (Eppenburg near Kassel, Crimmitschau, Grünau, Nuremberg), are the heroic stories of London, Roermond, Basel, and others (see below). Gerhard Jaritz strikes a more calm and reasoned tone in a description of the Lower Austrian charterhouses during the sixteenth century. Likewise, Gerald Chaix, examining the vicissitudes of charterhouses in French-language regions during the Wars of Religion, concludes that, despite the absence of detailed comparisons with other orders, the tentative conclusion that the Carthusians bore up under die test remarkably well is warranted.21

We turn now to the events of the sixteenth century.

II. The Carthusians and the Protestant Reformation

Of the approximately 200 charterhouses existing on the eve of the Protestant Reformation, forty-four ceased to exist during the sixteenth century. Of these, thirty-eight were lost as a direct result of the Protestant Reformation. The six other houses disappeared from a combination of religious change and political instability, including the Turkish advance on the Habsburg frontier (see the Table, below). One is struck immediately by the fact that all the French charterhouses survived, despite numerous instances of sacking during the Wars of Religion, whereas the two houses located in Protestant Canton Vaud of French-speaking Switzerland and one in neighboring Savoy were eliminated. Similarly, although nearly all the Flemish houses were sacked, only those in the northern Netherlands disappeared as institutions. The major areas of loss were England (100 percent), the northern Netherlands, and Northern Germany (for convenience we have included here Silesia and the Szepes region).22 During the first

21Jaritz, "Das religiöse Leben in den niederländischen Kartausen im Zeitalter der Reformation," in Kartäuser und Reformation, pp. 66-91;Chaix, "Les Chartreuses françaises et la Réforme," ibid, pp. 203—214; cf. Chaix, "Contributions cartusiennes aux débuts de la réforme Catholique dans les pays de langue française (1560—1620)," Revue d'histoirede ¡Eglise de France, 75 [= no. 194] (1989), 115-123.

22Of the two houses in the Szepes region (Lechnitz, Lethenkow), only one was lost because of Protestantism (Lethenkow), although the territory in general became Protestant. See Jozsef Török, "Les chartreuses Hongroises: Réalités spirituelles et culturelles," in Bernard Bligny and Gérald Chaix (eds.), La Naissance des chartreuses, Actes du Vle

half of the century the major losses came in northern Germany and England, with secondary losses in southern Germany and French Switzerland. During the second half, the northern Netherlands were hardest hit, with significant losses again in northern Germany and on the edges of the southern and eastern Habsburg dominions.23 Clearly the politico-religious outcome in a given region or city was determinative. One sees this, for instance, in the urban-suburban houses in major German cities: Nuremberg, Basel, Strassburg24 were lost; Mainz, Cologne, Freiburg, Würzburg—in Catholic areas—survived. A partial exception to this pattern was the charterhouse at Erfurt, which survived despite severe losses in property and personnel, although it survived largely because the Erfurt city council tried to steer a biconfessional course for a number of years.25 The single south German rural loss was Güterstein in the emergent territorial state of Württemberg. Houses in rural Franconia and Bavarian-Swabia survived.

In short, except for the Habsburg border areas, no charterhouses in Catholic territories were lost. Something of the resilient strength of the Carthusians is indicated by the fact that French, Belgian, and various German charterhouses survived repeated pillages during the Wars of Religion, the Peasants' War of 1525, and the Thirty Years' War (Limbach, Astheim), while several rural German houses managed to survive even though their noble founders and patrons became Lutherans. These were located outside of consolidated territorial lordships or cities (Grünau, Buxheim). Only in the consolidated territories

colloque international d'histoire et de spiritualité cartusiennes, Grenoble, 12-15 septembre 1984 (Grenoble, 1986), pp. 311-324.

25Two Lower Styrian houses were closed in the second half of the century by Catholic authorities (with their endowments given to Jesuits in Graz and Laibach [Ljubljana]). Ostensibly the reason for their demise was the Turkish threat, which had played a role in declining recruitment and incomes. But church politics also were involved. The Order managed to retain two of the four Lower Styrian houses, whose holdings were also eagerly sought by other Catholic institutions. A similar situation obtained in Lower Austria: in 1596 the Bishop of Vienna coveted in vain Mauerbach's holdings for his own, poorly endowed, diocese. See Jaritz, "Das religiöse Leben," pp. 82-83. The Hungarian losses (Varoslöd [Löwöld/Leweld] and Tarkan) were more directly the result of the Turkish advance. Zierikzee in the Netherlands was dissolved for non-Reformation reasons.

24The Strassburg house survived under great pressure until 1592, when its members took refuge with the Jesuits at Molsheim, where they eventually re-established themselves. Unlike the Basel or Nuremberg charterhouses, they were indemnified for their losses by the city of Strassburg.

25See Scribner, "Civic Unity."

and towns of Germany, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands was there no room for Carthusian survival.26 A brief survey of the major regions may be helpful.

In France and French-speaking regions bordering the kingdom of France, Gerald Chaix counts sixty-four houses in 1525, nearly one-third of all the houses in the Order. Of these, based on Chaix's summaries,27 forty-four were attacked at some point during the sixteentii century. The Carthusian provinces of Picardy and Aquitaine in the northwest and southwest were hardest hit (100 percent). Eighty-five percent of the houses in the Carthusian province of Provence (southeast) were attacked. Four of eleven houses in the province of Chartreuse (Dauphiné and Savoy) were sacked, including the Grande Chartreuse itself. In the central French Carthusian provinces of the Loire and Seine, 70 percent were struck. The least affected was the Carthusian province of Burgundy (imperial Burgundy, 10 percent). Apostates were relatively few: Chaix lists three priors (at Castres, Villeneuve, Bonpas) during the sixteenth century.28

In the Low Countries, Jan de Grauwe's survey29 distinguishes two waves of destruction: the iconoclastic riots of August-October, 1566, and the campaigns of William of Orange, 1578—1585. All the charterhouses in the Northern provinces were eliminated, except Roermond, which survived after an utterly savage attack by the Prince of Orange's troops only because the town was reoccupied by Spanish troops.30

26On urban society and the fate of monastic corporations during the sixteenth century, see Kaspar von Greyerz, "Stadt und Reformation: Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 76 (1985), 6-63; Rhiman A. Rotz, " 'Social Struggle' or the Price of Power? German Urban Uprisings in the Late Middle Ages," ibid, pp. 64-95; Jürgen Sydow (ed.), Bürgerschaft und Kirche ("Stadt in der Geschichte," Vol. 17 [Sigmaringen, 1980]).

2'Chaix, "Chartreuses françaises," pp. 204-206.

2t>Ibid, p. 210.

29"L'histoire événementielle de la Réforme dans les chartreuses flamandes," in Kartäuser und Reformation, pp. 192-201.

"Eight of sixteen choir monks and three of eight lay brethren were killed, several after extended torture—the soldiers grabbed a lay brother, Stephan of Roermond, and threw him to the ground "like a prostrate pig," castrated him, eviscerated him, stuffed his testicles in his mouth, and called the surrounding women to observe this "beautiful and charming spectacle," crying out, "Do you know this monk well?" H. J. J. Scholtens, "Het Roermondsche Kartuizer-convent in de zestiende eeuw," Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg, 76 (1940), 91-121, at 104-109, based on the Latin account by Arnold Havensius, a Carthusian of Ghent, translated into Dutch by Michael Uwens (d. 1674 or 1675), published in 1649 at Roermund, Historie

The Carthusian communities in modern-day Belgium survived, mostly by taking refuge, often permanently, inside nearby cities. Individual monks also fled to German charterhouses. Grauwe could find only seven donati (lay associates under temporary commitments), two or three choir monks, and one prior (Bruges) who defected.31

In Southern Germany and German Switzerland we find the only example of an entire convent turning Protestant: at Nuremberg.32 At Güterstein in Württemberg the prior and two monks became Lutheran, but the Carthusian Chapter General tried to rectify the situation, until Duke Ulrich of Württemberg intervened and suppressed the house in 1534.-«

The story in Basel is particularly striking: after the prior, Hieronymus Zscheckenbürlin fled to Freiburg under rumors of impending imprisonment, the community valiantly stood its ground under the leadership of the vicar, Nicholas Müller (Molitoris). Only one monk and one lay brother gave in to the city council's wheedling efforts to empty the monastery, efforts that were largely successful in the city's other convents.34 Despite an iconoclastic riot, despite being held under house arrest and subjected to all manner of ridicule, despite confiscation of their properties, they managed to survive until the last monk died in 1564. The apostate monk, who continued to function as procurator (business manager) under city council order and at Carthusian expense, having set up housekeeping with his fourteen-year-old wife in the prior's empty dwelling, went out of his way to mock his former

van twelf martelaers der Carthuyser ordre, . . .). Severus, a visiting monk from the charterhouse of Koblenz, was stripped naked and scalded with boiling water in the kitchen. Most of die murders occurred in the monastery church.

""L'histoire événementielle," p. 201.

"Heinrich Heerwagen, "Die Kartause in Nürnberg, 1380—1525," Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 15 (1902), 88-132. The prior chosen in 1524, Blasius Stöckl, wanted his brethren to give up "den Sack darin sie bisher ihre guten Werke cumuliert und nach Ellen verkauft oder unserm Herrgott geschenkt." Initially the rest of the community did not share his opinion. Stöckl was deposed by visitors in December of 1524; but he barricaded himself behind the city's Schutzherrschaft over the monastery as established in the foundation documents. The city council forced the Order to hand over the charterhouse to the city in 1525, and twelve of thirteen monks married.

33See James Hogg, "Gueterstein," Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques, Vol. 22 (1988), cols. 735-737.

54On the Reformation in Basel, see the convenient summary of the decisive year 1529, by Paul Roth, Durchbruch und Festsetzung der Reformation in Basel ("Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft," Vol. 8 [Basel, 1942]), with references to Roth's other publications in this area.

brethren, taunting them with the delights of Protestant matrimony in the form of his wife's naked breasts. When the monks complained to the city council, they were told to shut up, since everyone knew that all monks secretly lusted for exactly what the procurator had provided them. This burlesque went on until the procurator and his friend, the Leutpriester from a neighboring parish, fell to quarreling over the poor girl's favors. Tired of it all, she smacked her husband in the face with a bunch of keys, and the resulting black eye, evidence to the Carthusians of the true joys of Protestant matrimony, embarrassed the council into ordering an end to the domestic farce in die prior's cell.35 Although the Carthusians offered to give up their property if they were permitted to remain Catholic, the council insisted on conversion to Protestantism. The Carthusians persisted—all of them died as Catholics.

Elsewhere in German Switzerland, Thorberg in Canton Bern was suppressed by the city after having come under Bern's protection when Thorberg was attacked by Lucerne in the wake of the Swiss-Burgundian war of the late fifteenth century.36 At Ittingen, despite the notorious sack of 1524 and several apostasies, the monastery survived until the Liberal State of the nineteenth century eliminated it.

Southern German houses, however, did furnish some of the more dramatic cases of individual apostates. Perhaps the most significant was Otto Brunfels, an associate of the multi-talented Gregor Reisch at Freiburg. Brunfels left the Freiburg charterhouse to become a Protestant pamphleteer.37 A similar case took place at Eisenach in 152338 Georg Koberer, prior of the charterhouse Engelgarten at Würzburg, 1521—1525, took up contact with Lutheran leaders and filled his li-

"[Nicolaus Molitoris], Aufzeichnungen eines Basler Karthäusers aus der Reformationszeit, 1522-1532, in Wilhelm Vischer and Alfred Stern (eds.), with assistance from Moriz Heyne, Basler Chroniken, published by the Historische Gesellschaft in Basel (Leipzig, 1872), Vol. 1, pp. 439-490, at 462-464. For additional details and literature on the socio-political context, see Martin, " "The Honeymoon Was Over.' "

^Christoph Nicklès, Thorberg 1397—1538: L'ancienne chartreuse de Berne (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1894); Hans von Greyerz, Studien zur Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Bern am Ende des Mittelalters ("Archiv des historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern," Vol. 35 [Bern, 1940]), pp. 322-346, 459-465, 474-477.

37See Brunfels, "Vom Pfaffenzehnten," in Adolf Laube and Hans Werner Seiffert (eds.), Flugschriften der Bauernkriegszeit (Berlin, 1975), pp. 158-177. Brunfels completely rejects the concept of monastic leisure, e.g., in par. 129, p. 176: monks are no longer useful (as if they ever were, in any bourgeois sense); monasteries are full of useless people. See par. 133-134, p. 176.

'"Stöhlker, "Buxheim," p. 28; E. G. Franz, "Die hessischen Klöster und ihre Konvent in der Reformation," in Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte, 19 (1969), 147—233.

brary with Protestant books. When, in 1524, the General Chapter, through its visitors, deposed prior Blasius Stöckl of Nuremberg for his Lutheran tendencies, they had the misfortune to replace him with Koberer (perhaps to placate the Nuremberg City Council, which refused to recognize the General Chapter's authority to depose Stöckl). By April the City Council was asking the General Chapter to permit Koberer, who had temporarily returned to Würzburg, to remain as prior in Nuremberg, and tried to force him on the Poor Clares as confessor. Under Koberer, the traditionalist Catholic party in the Nuremberg charterhouse shrank to a minority. On June 14, 1525, he handed over the Nuremberg Charterhouse to the City Council and asked the council to put its property and income in the community chest. Koberer became a favorite theological counselor of Andreas Osiander, Wenzeslas Linck, and others and served as a theological peritus for the Nuremberg City Council in the controversy over aural, private confession in 1533-39

In Northern Germany houses were lost at Frankfurt on the Oder; Rügenwald; Crimmitschau near Zwickau in Saxony (purchased by Luther's father-in-law, Johann von Bora, 1548-1560), Eppenburg near Kassel, Hildesheim in Lower Saxony (where all the monks remained Catholic, despite repeated plunderings and intense harassment40); Schivelbein in West Pomerania (which came under Mark-Brandenburg control in 1536); Konradsburg near Aschersleben, south of Magdeburg; and Rostock (after stubborn resistance). In many instances, representatives of the Order undertook legal action to regain its properties, but they were unsuccessful in each case.

In Lower Austria, although the nobility largely became Protestant and Lutheran ideas penetrated the charterhouse, relatively few defections occurred among the Carthusians. Three monks left the Charterhouse of Gaming, presumably as Protestants, at mid-century; on the other hand, the severe financial and personnel losses41 only inspired

"Alfred Wendehorst, "Der Kartäuser Georg Koberer: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation in Würzburg und Nürnberg," in Ecclesia Militans: Studien zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte Remigius Bäumer zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet (Paderborn, 1988), Vol. 2, pp. 395-406.

40GrUyS, op. cit., II, 300; Zadnikar and Wienand (eds.), Kartäuser, p. 307.

4'Jaritz quotes at length from the oft-quoted letter of Prior Paul II to Emperor Ferdinand I in 1535, explaining that he cannot come up with the 1500 Gulden Türkensteuer. The Turkish depredations in Lower Austria in 1528 and 1532 had devastated 300 of Gaming's peasant holdings; the monastery had incurred great expenses building fortifications that saved it during the Turkish siege of 1532 and had contributed considerably to the defense of Vienna in 1529; its granges at Nussdorf, Kritzendorf, Baden,

Prior Paul II of Gaming (1532-1541) to attempt, unsuccessfully, as it turned out, to erect a house of studies designed to encourage new postulants. All three Lower Austrian houses, despite depleted personnel, furnished leaders for charterhouses elsewhere or were designated by the territorial princes to assist houses of other orders. They contributed to Catholic reform in a variety of other ways. After 1600 the situation gradually improved and recruitment increased markedly.42 The fate of the four Lower Styrian houses has been discussed above (note 23). Schnals in South Tyrol survived until the Josephine reforms of the eighteenth century.

The London Carthusians resisted the Act of Supremacy at the cost of either being hanged and quartered or slowly starved to death (without trial).43 The Stuart foundation at Perth in Scotland did not survive the abdication of Mary Stuart in 1567.

Italian charterhouses had much less to fear from Protestantism, but especially those houses built just outside city walls had much to fear from the military campaigns that ravaged the peninsula: e.g., the charterhouse at Padua was ordered razed in 1509 so that it could no longer aid besieging armies; the monks took refuge on one of their farms and finally established a new house in a neighboring town in 1564. Although Pontignano near Siena was ravaged by the imperial armies in 1559, it survived until 1785. The artistically celebrated major urban-suburban houses (e.g., Pavia, Bologna, Venice) survived during the sixteenth century but Belriguardo, Maggiano, Pontignano (all near Siena), Padua, Parma, and others suffered in wars.44 Pavia's properties, but not the monastery itself, suffered in the battle of Pavia (1525). In the seventeenth century it was the turn of houses in the upper Po River watershed: Banda-Avigliana (which had been moved from Monte Benedetto to Banda in 1498 to escape Waldensian threats) was razed

and elsewhere were destroyed; the monastery annually gave 3,000 people a loaf of bread, a measure of wine, and a silver penny; because the king had failed to hold the customary alms in Krems, Gaming was giving fifty to sixty people who came every day to the monastery a loaf of bread. See "Das religiöse Leben," pp. 68-70.

"Ibid, pp. 86-88.

«David Knowles, TheReligious Orders in England (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1948-1959), III, 222-240, esp. 230-236, repeated in Bare Ruined Choirs: The Dissolution of the English Monasteries (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 104-120; Thompson, op. cit., 371-479, with documents.

"Leoncini, op. cit., p. 579, notes that the General Chapter tried to discourage the founder of the Florence Charterhouse, Niccoló Acciaioli, from building his own fortified palace near the charterhouse, fearing that someday it might attract unwanted and violent attention.

in 1630 during the War of the Succession of Mantua, with the Carthusians eventually being re-established inside Turin. Other Piedmontese houses attacked included Val de Pezio and Montbracco.

Additional examples of suburban foundations that suffered under siege warfare include Liège, Rouen, Antwerp, Trier, and Parma. Under these conditions, the predilection for suburban locations, in which a modicum of the traditional Carthusian "desert" could be preserved while yet locating near the late medieval centers of patronage, disappeared. Nearly all the newly founded sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French and Belgian houses were located inside city walls.

In Spain, no charterhouses were lost, apart from an abortive foundation of only eight years' duration at Ara Coeli.

Was the violence against Cardiusians any more severe than violence against other institutions? Gerald Chaix identified three motivations for violence against French charterhouses.45 Two of the three would seem to apply generally to other regions as well: (1) desire for material plunder or, in some instances, the desire to destroy landholding records; (2) a power struggle over criminal jurisdiction (Liget in France; not so widely applicable, since few charterhouses held the higher, or criminal, jurisdiction); (3) a desire to violate the sacral, religious symbolism embodied by the Carthusians. Of the three, the third may well have been the most significant at the time, even though modern scholars are not much impressed by violence against sacred objects.46 Repeatedly Carthusians resisted efforts to force them to hear Protestant preaching or to abandon the celebration of the Catholic eucharist.47

"""Chartreuses françaises," pp. 207—208.

46Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modem France (Stanford, 1975), pp. 152-187, concludes that the preponderance of violence should be charged to the Cadiolic side, although, concerned only with crowd violence, she excludes attacks by soldiers and effectively devalues the significance of Protestant violence against sacred objects and space. From a modern perspective this is perfectly understandable, indeed, defensible. From a sixteenth-century perspective, however, in which people created in the image of God inhabited a sacral universe, to privilege one over the other is problematic. Cf. Robert M. Kingdon, Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572-1576 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1988), pp. 37-41; Barbara Diefendorf, Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris (New York, 1991), and Denis Crouzet, Les Guerriers de Dieu- La Violence au temps des troubles de religion, vers 1525—vers 1610 (2 vols.; Paris, 1990), for the most recent literature on the subject.

47One example is at Oujon in the Swiss Canton Vaud: when forbidden by the Bernese, who had asserted control over the area, to celebrate Mass, the community gave up its property rather than convert. The same issue was the sticking point at Basel and numerous other charterhouses.

Soldiers and mobs went out of their way to profane Carthusian churches: at Castres the wives of the Huguenot leaders relieved themselves in the church.[48] Repeatedly monks were stripped of their cowls, which had become a main symbol, both positively and negatively, of the monastic life.[49] Elsewhere Carthusians monks were forcibly stripped and displayed to onlookers, especially women.[50] Incidents of castration, not uncommon in the religious violence of the Wars of Religion, like the one at Roermond cited above, occurred at Bonnefoy, south of LePuy, near Béage, where the vicar (second in authority to the prior) was castrated for having refused to eat meat. Two Carthusians died at the hands of Turkish or Tatar invaders. In all, more than fifty Carthusians died for their faith.

Professor Chaix does not think the Carthusians were the object of specific forms of violence or were singled out more than other religious orders.[51] As he has pointed out, in the absence of careful comparative studies, one cannot be sure on this point. The present writer suggests that the very mysteriousness of the hidden Carthusian life,[52] which contributed to a high degree of discipline and hence to the Carthusian image in the late Middle Ages as a stellar representative of monasticism, may have contributed to the level of ritual violence and violation performed against them. Precisely because they so silently symbolized monasticism, their "obstinate silence"[53] in the face of torment may have infuriated their enemies all the more.

Finally, we have noted repeatedly the General Chapter's interven-

48Chaix, "Chartreuses françaises," p. 208; the entire story of the assault on the charterhouse located at Saix, near Castres, a Huguenot stronghold, is told in graphic detail in Abbé Auriol, "La destruction de la chartreuse de Castres par les huguenots en 1567," Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France (Toulouse), 11 (1898), 132—141; cf. Robert F. Kingdon, Geneva and the Corning of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563 ("Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance," 22 [Geneva, 1956]), pp. 57-58.

49At Basel the attempt to persuade the monks to strip diemselves of their cowls was a recurring theme during the long "negotiations" between city council and monastery. See Martin, " 'Honeymoon,' " and Basler Chroniken, e.g., pp. 461—462, 473-476.

,0Chaix cites examples at Bonnefoy and La Verne.

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,2Georg Carpentarius tells us how, in Basel, people's heads turned on the rare and "almost marvelous" occasions when Prior Heinrich Arnoldi was sighted on the streets of Basel: "There goes the Carthusian Pater" they whispered. Georg Carpentarius, Continuatio chronicorum Carthusiae in Basilea minori, auctore fratre Georgio Carpentarii de Brugg eiusdem domus monacho professe, 1480—1526, in Vischer and Stern (eds.), Basler Chroniken, Vol. 1, pp. 320-356, at ch. 1, p. 324.

"Chaix, "Chartreuses françaises," pp. 209—210.

tion—at Nuremberg, Güterstein—in many of the North German houses. It would be more accurate, perhaps, to refer to intervention by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, for, between annual meetings of the General Chapter (which consisted of the priors of all individual houses plus the choir monks of the Grande Chartreuse),54 the actual administration of the Order was in the hands of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, assisted to some limited degree by a council of difflnitores composed of several priors of individual houses and selected monks of the Grande Chartreuse. Since the composition of the council of difflnitores changed frequently, whereas the prior of the Grande Chartreuse remained in office for life, the head of the Order was clearly the key to its administration.

Intervention by the Order typically involved employing whatever legal remedies were available and was usually undertaken from the nearest surviving charterhouse. In the case of Basel, the prior fled to the Freiburg charterhouse (under Habsburg rule), from which location he took up contact with the Grande Chartreuse and negotiated with the Basel City Council. Where entire regions were lost in relatively short order, e.g., Northern Germany, the Order could only plaintively seek redress by sending a representative from greater distance, after the dissolution was an accomplished fact.

Most commonly, however, it was the prior of a nearby charterhouse who was delegated to do what he could. We see this in action at La Lance, a house in French Switzerland near the town of Concise on Lake Neuchâtel. It suffered harassment at the hands of the Bernese and Fribourgeois after Bernese Protestants gained control in Concise in 1528,55 leading ultimately to the expulsion of the community (the prior, four monks, and one lay brother) in 1538. The prior fled to Savoy, where he headed another charterhouse until his death in 1542 or 1543. Meanwhile, the General Chapter named the former procurator of La Lance to head La Lance in exile and to attempt to recover

,4On the General Chapter, see Léo Moulin, "L'Assemblée, autorité souveraine dans l'Ordre des Chartreux," Res publica, 12 (Brussels, 1970), 7-75.

"In 1536 the prior was put under house arrest in his cell for three days by officials from Bern and Fribourg, then carried off to the Castle of Grandson for seven weeks, where he was threatened with torture in what proved to be a successful effort to force him to reveal where the monastery's charters and documents were hidden. The city officials broke up an altar, took the liturgical furnishings and vessels and keys in an unsuccessful effort to prevent the community from celebrating Mass (they continued to celebrate in secret). For the rest of the details, see Albert-M. Coutray, O.Carth., "Trois documents inédits sur la suppression de la chartreuse de La Lance," Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique Suisse (1912), pp. 277-290.

its goods, operating from his temporary refuge at the charterhouse of Aillon in Savoy. In 1541, the Order deputed the prior of the charterhouse of Part Dieu, near Bulle, south of Fribourg, to assist. An expense account statement from the latter survives. It includes expenses incurred in travel to the Grande Chartreuse to report on the situation, as well as expenses for messengers and aid to the new prior of La Lance at Aillon.56

III. Carthusians in the Catholic Reformation

A. Germany

Carthusians played a central role in the Catholic Reformation in Germany, with Cologne as their initial center57 and Buxheim58 near Memmingen as a later and secondary rallying point. In many ways Cologne took over the leading role played during the late fifteenth and very early sixteenth century by the upper Rhenish houses at Freiburg, Strassburg, and Basel. Cologne and Buxheim were connected by the person of Dirk Loher, a product of St. Barbara's Charterhouse in Cologne and the activist Catholic reform leader at Buxheim and throughout Germany. As prior at Buxheim, 1543—1554, Loher temporarily took over as prior at several south German houses that had fallen on hard times and negotiated with the Emperor to save Buxheim from the city of Memmingen, which had formerly held criminal jurisdiction and advocate's rights over the monastery. The resulting "imperial Charterhouse" enjoyed a constitutional situation unique among charterhouses. Loher also gained partial indemnity for the Württemberg house of Güterstein from Duke Ulrich, helped the Erfurt house survive, but failed to salvage Grünau (which was revived as a Carthusian house only in 1629) or Christgarten near Nördlingen, seized by the Counts of Oettingen in 1557.59

^Coutray, op. cit., p. 283.

"Gerald Chaix, Réforme et Contre-Réforme Catholique: Recherches sur la Chartreuse de Cologne au XVIe siècle (AC, Vol. 80 [3 vols.; Salzburg, 1981]) [cited as Chaix, Réforme}; Greven, Kölner Kartause.

«Friedrich Stöhlker, Die Kartause Buxheim, 1402-1803 (AC, Vol. 96 [3 vols.; Salzburg, 1987]).

wStöhlker, "Reichskartause Buxheim," pp. 33-34. Christgarten remained under Oettinger control until it was restored by the Reichskammergericht to the Carthusian order

The main center of Carthusian leadership in Catholic reform was Cologne60 under its two outstanding priors, Peter Blommeveen (or "Blomevenna," 1507-1536)61 and Gerhard Kalkbrenner (1536-1566).62 Well known in the city and region, this may be the unspecified charterhouse that tempted a young student named Heinrich Bullinger in 1522 to consider becoming a Carthusian.63 Already as a simple monk Blommeveen translated the writings of the fifteenth-century Franciscan mystic, Hendrik Herp, into Latin (1496—1504), which made them accessible across Europe and permitted them to exercise special influence in Counter-Reformation Spain. Blommeveen's other writings were his Vita sancti Brunonis; Candela Evangélica (1526—27), an anti-Protestant polemic; Libellus introductorius in vitam contemplativam (1527); Manuductio in vitam contemplativam (1528); Enchiridion sacerdotum (1532); and Assertio purgatorii (1534), an anti-Anabaptist defense of several Catholic teachings.64 Blommeveen's main work, however, was De bonitate divina (1538), consisting primarily of conferences given to monks at St. Barbara's but intended for the edification of clerical and lay circles outside the monastery, as indicated by its publication in the "pocket-size" half-octavo format

in 1631, only to be destroyed finally by the Swedish invasion of 1632. See Gruys, Cartusiana, vol. 2, p. 327; Blüm in Zadnikar and Wienand (eds), Kartäuser, p. 296.

""That St. Barbara's in Cologne experienced something of a crisis late in the century is not as well known. It reached its lowpoint in 1586 when five monks challenged Prior Johannes Reckschenkel's leadership, sending a list of twenty-one grievances to the General Chapter. See Katharina Zey, Geistliche Texte des Kölner Kartäuserpriors Johannes Reckschenkel (1525-1610) (AC, Vol. 123 [Salzburg, 1989]), pp. 13-14. Harald Goder discussed the remarkable aftermath at Cologne: Prior Georg Meyer (1600-1605) began to build up a large-scale agricultural enterprise within the charterhouse grounds inside the city walls. When he used the monastery's exemptions from taxes and customs duties to gain a competitive advantage selling the surplus produce, the city council protested. The council's complaints to the General Chapter resulted in Meyer's deposition—not because he was a bad leader (as alleged by the council) but because he had embarrassed the Order. Goder, "Ackerbau und Viehzucht in der Stadt Köln: Der Fall des Priors Georg Meyer (1600-1605)," in Die Kartäuser und ihre Welt (AC, Vol. 62.1 [Salzburg, 1993]), pp. 227-243.

r"See Matthäus Bernards, "Zur Kartäusertheologie des 16. Jahrhunderts: Der Kölner Prior Petrus Blomevenna (t 1536) und seine Schrift 'De bonitate divina,' " in Remigius Bäumer (ed.), Von Konstanz nach Trient: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirche von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Tridentinum, Festgabe für August Franzen (Paderborn, 1972), pp. 447-479; Peter J. A. Nissen, "Peter van Blommeveen's Writing 'Assertio Purgatorii' (1534-1535): A Polemical Treatise against Münsterite Anabaptism," inKartäuser und Reformation, pp. 160—191.

62Chaix, Réforme, I, 244-326

«"Bernards, op. cit., p. 454.

"See Nissen, op. cit., pp. 164-166.

frequently employed by the Cologne Carthusians.65 According to Matthäus Bernards, Blommeveen's work is oriented less toward contemplation than toward the dieological and doctrinal underpinnings of Catholic piety. The Cologne Cardiusians were, given their setting, particularly oriented toward the via antiqua of Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and the contemporary Dominican theologians at the university. Blommeveen's most-cited sources were, however, Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux; he also made use of odier twelfth-century theologians and monks. Blommeveen was little interested in the Rhenish Dominican mystics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In other words, facing the Protestant challenge, he focused on "meat-and-potatoes" Catholic teaching.

Under Blommeveen the edificatory publishing apostolate of the Cologne Carthusians66 was furthered by Johann Justus Lanspergius (Johan Gerecht of Landsberg, 1489—1539)67 Although he was best known for his Alloquia Jesu Christi ad fideletn animara (1532),68 his Pharetra [divini] amoris (1538) and Enchiridion militiae Christianae (1538) also enjoyed wide dissemination in various European vernaculars during the next two centuries.69 In the 1530's Blommeveen's eventual successor as prior, Gerhard Kalkbrenner, together with Dirk Loher and Johann of Landsberg, undertook editions of the writings of a circle of devout -women surrounding Maria van Hout at the béguinage of Bethléem at Osterwijk near Tilburg in the Netherlands, as well as a German version of the anonymously written Gospel Pearl, and the

65See Bernards, op. cit., pp. 466—479, for a summary of this work.

"^Chaix gives a graph depicting the entire publishing work of the Cologne charterhouse, 1500-1624 (Réforme, I, 95). This chart and many of the maps found in his book were repeated in "Les traductions de la Chartreuse de Cologne au XVIe siècle," in Kartäusermystik und -mystiker, Dritter internationaler Kongreß über die Kartäusergeschichte und -Spiritualität, Vol. 5 (AC, Vol. 55.5 [Salzburg, 1982]), pp. 67-78. For an overview of publishing in Cologne in this period, see Wolfgang Schmitz, "Buchdruck und Reformation in Köln," Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsverein, 55 (1984), 117—154. For intellectual life in Cologne in general, see James V. Mehl (ed.), Humanismus in Köln ("Studien zur Geschichte der Universität zu Köln," Vol. 10 [Cologne and Vienna, 1990]).

67See Gerald Chaix, "La Réception du Chartreux Lansperge: Survivance ou métamorphose de la Devotio Moderna," in Jan de Grauwe (ed.), Historia et spiritualitas Cartusiensis: Colloquii Quarti Internationalis Acta, Gandavi-Antverpiae-Brugis, ??-?9 Sept. 1982 (Destelbergen, 1983), pp. 59-67; Chaix, Réforme, I, 175-202.

"The recent edition, A Letter from Jesus Christ to the Soul that Really Loves Him by John of Landsberg, trans. John Griffiths (New York, 1981), is more of a paraphrase than a translation.

"Summary and maps of the diffusion in Chaix, "Réception," pp. 65—67, based on Réforme, I, 175-202.

writings of the thirteenth-century Cistercian mystic, Gertrude of Helfta.70

All of this laid the groundwork for publishing activities to move into high gear under Kalkbrenner. The origins of the massive edition of the eclectic, scholastic-contemplative Carthusian writer, Denis the Carthusian (Denys of Rijkel), go back to Gregor Reisch, who helped edit the 1510 Basel edition of the Carthusian statutes and was well connected with humanist writers and publishers in Basel, Freiburg, and Strassburg. Reisch died in 1525 before publishing any of Denis's writings. Blommeveen took up the project, under explicit approval from the Carthusian General Chapter in 1530. The vicar of St. Barbara's, Dirk Loher, initially became the leading force behind the project, until he was called to the priorate at Buxheim in 1543.

The Cologne Carthusians under Kalkbrenner did not limit themselves to publishing their fellow Carthusian, Denis of Rijkel. Laurentius Surius, who was to become the leading editor during the mid-sixteenth century, undertook a Latin translation of the writings of Johann Tauler, whose German writings had been published in 1543 by Surius's friend and future Jesuit apostle to Germany, Peter Canisius.71 Editions of Tauler, Ruusbroec, Suso, Nicholas Eschius (a local writer in the tradition of Herp and Ruusbroec, who entered St. Barbara's as a lay prebendary in 1539), and of the contemporary Carthusian, Florentius of Haarlem (d. 1543), all appeared between 1548 and 155372 The purpose of these translations from German into Latin was to show the rest of Europe that Germans were not inherently heretical.73

Surius did not limit himself to mystical writings. Between 1557 and 1563 he published Latin translations of the German writings of the Catholic controversialists Johannes Gropper, Friedrich Staphylus, Martin Eisengrein, and Johann Fabri,74 before turning his attention to history and hagiography, 1561-1575. In this last phase he published

70Chaix, Réforme I, 202-209.

71Gérald Chaix, "Laurentius Surius (1523—1578)," Rheinische Lebensbilder, 2 (1988), 77-100 [my attention was drawn to this by James Mehl]; Chaix, Réforme, I, 310-313.

72See the chart giving an overview of Surius' editions, 1548-1575, in Réforme, I, 316. Already in 1545 Surius had published a Latin version of the "Gospel Pearl," about the same time as Kalkbrenner brought Maria van Hout (who, in Kalkbrenner's eyes, was another Catherine of Siena [1347-1380]) and two of her associates to Cologne, where they took up residence near the monastery. See ibid, p. 296.

75Chaix, "Surius," p. 87; Réforme, I, 306-310.

1HbUt, pp. 317-323.

editions of the works of Leo I, conciliar acta, and the homilies of Pseudo-Alcuin, as well as a continuation of Nauclerus' chronicle, an early response to Flacius Illyricus's Magdeburg Centuries. His final effort was a six-volume Latin collection of lives of saints (1570—1575), based on earlier Italian models. It also appeared in German (Munich, 1574—1580).75 At the end of the sixteenth century the translating and publishing apostolate at Cologne was taken over by Anton Dulcken (d. 1624) and Theodore Petreius (1569-1640).76

The Carthusians of St. Barbara in Cologne also helped the Society of Jesus establish itself in Cologne and encouraged the early development of Peter Kanis (Canisius).77 Surius's collection of the lives of the saints played an important role in the early formation of the Jesuit saint, Aloysius Gonzaga, among others.

B. France, Spain, Portugal

Four new charterhouses were founded on the Iberian peninsula during the sixteenth century, two in Spain (Aula Dei [Saragossa], 1564; Ara Christi [Valencia], 1585) and two in Portugal (Evora, 1587; Lisbon, 1594).78 Three were founded in France (Lyons, 1584; Bourbon-lez-Gaillon near Rouen, 1571; and Toulouse, 1569), although the Toulouse house was really a continuation of the charterhouse of Castres. Another seven French houses were founded in the first half of the seventeenth century, two of which continued the charterhouse of Bonnefoy diat had suffered so much during the Wars of Religion. As noted above, the French houses were urban foundations. Other early seventeenth-century foundations were in Spain, Poland, Belorussia, Bohemia, and Belgium (Nieuwpoort, a continuation of the English house of Sheen). Many of the French houses, founded by leaders of the Catholic Reform (prelates, princes of the blood, members of the Parlements, urban elites), were intended to help raise the spiritual level of the Catholic faithful. Thus these new charterhouses were remarkably open to outsiders. The Paris Charterhouse played a key role in the Catholic League.79 But nothing of the stature of the Cologne charterhouse was

1HUd, pp. 373-378.

76Gruys, Cartusiana, Vol. 1: Chartreux (1976), pp. 80, 147; Chaix, Réforme, I, 381-402.

11IbId, pp. 297-304.

78A third was founded in Spain, but lasted only from 1588 to 1596.

79CllaIX, "Contributions cartusiennes," p. 211.

to be found in France or Spain. Indeed, Catholic reformers in France and Spain drew heavily on the Cologne Latin translations of devotional and mystical spirituality for translations into their own languages.80

As is well known, after his conversion, Ignatius of Loyola initially considered becoming a lay brother at the Charterhouse of Seville, a flourishing center of spirituality and the initial burial site of Christopher Columbus. While studying at Paris he and his companions met on Sundays at the Paris charterhouse on the island of Vauvert just outside the walls of Paris.81 B. Spaapen has studied Ignatius's use of Carthusian writings, notably Denis the Carthusian, but also the thirteenth-century mystic, Hugh of Balma.82 Perhaps best known is his reading of Ludolph of Saxony's Vita Christi meditations while convalescing from battle wounds—together with the lives of the saints in the Golden Legend. The German Carthusian's Vita Christi had been translated by Spanish Carthusians as early as 1502.83 The Franciscan writer and member of the early Catholic reform movement in Spain, Francisco de Osuna (ca. 1492—1540/41), drew on Ludolf of Saxony, Denis the Carthusian, Hendrik Herp, and the German mystics edited by the Cologne Carthusians for his Third Spiritual Alphabet, which in turn affected the Spanish Carmelites.84

80For the Carthusians in Spain, the fundamental work is Ildefonso M. Gómez, La Cartuja en España (AC, Vol. 114 [Salzburg, 1984]). See also Chaix, Réforme, I, 395-402; idem, "Les Traductions de la Chartreuse de Cologne au XVIe siècle," in Kartäusermystik und -mystiker, V, 67-78; T. H. Martin, "Los místicos alemanes en la España del XVI y XVII," Revista de Espiritualidad, 48 (1989), 111–128. The Franciscan Hendrik Herp, the German Dominican mystics, and the Carthusian Hugh of Balma, among others, played important roles.

81Chaix, Réforme, I, 298; Jean Beyer, "Saint Ignace de Loyola chartreux," Nouvelle revue théologique, 78 (1956), 937-951; Cándido del Dalmases, Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits: His Life and Work, trans. Jerome Aixalá (St. Louis, 1985), pp. 32, 46-47, 73.

82"Kartuizer-Vroomheid en Ignatiaanse Spiritualiteit," Ons geestelijk Erf 30 (1956), 337-366, continued in 31 (1957), 129-149. A critical edition of Hugh of Balma by Abbé Francis Ruello is forthcoming in the "Sources Chrétiennes" edition; the present writer is preparing a translation for Paulist Press's "Classics of Western Spirituality" series. For now, see James Hogg, "Hugh of Balma and Guigo du Pont," in Kartäuserregel und Kartäuserleben, Internationaler Kongreß vom 30. Mai bis 3. Juni 1984, Stift Heiligenkreuz (AC, Vol. 113.1 [Salzburg, 1984]), I, 61-88.

83Beyer, op. cit., p. 938.

84Mary E. Giles (trans, and introd), Francisco de Osuna- The Third Spiritual Alphabet (New York, 1981), pp. 11-12; Fidèle de Ros, Un Maître de Sainte Thérèse: Le père François d'Osuna, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituelle ("Etudes de théologie historique" [Paris, 1936]), pp. 54-55, 287, 361, 529, 610, says Herp's writings were not used by d'Osuna.

We have already seen something of the efforts of Lower Austrian Carthusians to respond to the growth of Protestantism, despite the weakened economic and personnel situation in these once flourishing houses. In Italy the Carthusians did not play nearly so central a role as in Germany, since there were a variety of new orders and other forces more closely allied to the centers of Roman Catholic power (although die charterhouse of Trisulti, in particular, enjoyed papal patronage). The Carthusians preferred to be left to themselves and did not seek out the sort of active reform role thrust on them by circumstances in Germany and, to a lesser degree, in France.85

Carthusians as Catholic Controversialists

We have already noted how the Cologne Carthusians, including Dirk Loher at Buxheim, took the initiative in countering German Protestants. After 1524 they did this with full encouragement from the General Chapter, given the situation of Catholics in Germany. One of the earliest publications of this nature was Peter Blommeveen's Candela Evangélica (1526—27), which was concerned largely to refute the Lutheran doctrine of salvation by grace through faith alone,86 followed by his Assertio purgatorii (1534), which also dealt with the Sacrifice of the Mass, church authority, fasting, veneration of saints, absolution, rebaptism, and so forth. It was published in a German translation as Von dem feegfeuer in 1535. In addition to Surius's Latin translations of the German writings of early Catholic controversialists, as mentioned above, the very timing of the first volumes of the Cologne edition of the writings of Denis the Carthusian was also aimed at the confessional debates—the edition began with Denis's commentary on Paul's epistle to the Romans and on the penitential psalms (1530).87

French and English Carthusians also took part in controversialist publishing. John Batmanson (prior of Hinton Charterhouse) and Pierre Cousturier (Sutor) took aim at Erasmus on the narrower topic of Erasmus's translation of the Bible, receiving in return salvos from loyal Catholics, Thomas More (who himself had spent four years considering a Carthusian vocation in the London charterhouse), and Erasmus.88

85See Martin, Fifteenth-Century, pp. 189-239.
86NiSSCn, op. cit., p. 105.
87Chaix, Réforme, I, 215, 220-223.
88See Heinz Holeczek, Humanistische Bibelphilologie als Reformproblem bei Eras-

Sutor also took pen in hand to attack Luther and to defend the Carthusians from verbal violence and threats of physical violence.89

IV. Conclusion

What should one make of the Carthusians during the Reformation era? Perhaps their opponents are the best witnesses to the degree to which they remained or did not remain, nunquam deformata. Testimony from one of the most conservative Protestant reformers, from one of the most radical Protestant reformers, and from a Catholic reformer with a reputation for irenicism, forms our conclusion.

Hans Hergot's pamphlet, Von der neuen Wandlung eines christlichen Lebens (1526/27), called for the elimination of the nobility, the elimination of mendicancy rights for the four orders of friars, the elimination of the rich abbeys' rents and interest income so that the common folk might own their own homes and all Christians might live together "like Carthusians." Hergot does not mean all Christians ought to live an ascetic, celibate life, but that the elimination of the nobility and other economic and social elites would permit everyone to have a small cottage like the Carthusians and live in a combination of privacy and community. Whatever Hergot may have thought of the traditional liturgical life or celibacy of the Carthusians, he did not associate them directly with the "rich abbeys" that mercilessly exploit the poor. Above all, their combination of individual cottages in community fit his social vision.90

Martin Luther also employed the Carthusians as a symbol, as a quintessential symbol of monasticism. A diorough study of all his references to them, which fill two pages in the new indexes to the Weimar edition of his works, would be a valuable undertaking. They are on the receiving end of his polemic against monks as incorrigibly guilty of works righteousness, but the very fact that he employs them as his symbol of monasticism par excellence could well be taken as a backhanded compliment to their Regeltreue. As I have argued elsewhere with

mus von Rotterdam, Thomas More, und William Tyndale ("Studies in the History of Christian Thought," Vol. 9 [Leiden, 1975]). Batmanson also challenged Luther.

89Ctlalx, "Chartreuses françaises," p. 210. See also H. Bernard-Maitre, "Un théoricien de la contemplation à la chartreuse parisienne de Vauvert: Pierre Cousturier dit Sutor (c. 1480-18 juin 1537)," Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, 32(1956), 174-195.

""Hans Hergot, "Von der neuen Wandlung eines christlichen Lebens," in Laube and Seiffert (eds.), op. cit., 547-557, at 548.

regard to the Austrian Carthusian, Nicholas Kempf,91 Luther was mistaken when he linked monasticism and works righteousness, at least as far as the Carthusians were concerned. One need only study the remarkable mid-fifteenth-century confession made by an otherwise unremarkable member of the Basel Carthusian community as he prepared to take his monastic vows. In it Martin Ströulin expressed his confidence in Christ's works, rather than his own merits, in unmistakable and affective language that evinces precisely the sort of confidence in a gracious God for which Luther searched so hard:

> For all these my many and great transgressions and sins I offer you, most loving God, for satisfaction, the most precious and overflowing treasure of the most innocent passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the crucified, your most beloved Son, since I know that I can be saved and satisfy you in no other way than by the merit of his innocent suffering and death.92

Erasmus's attitude toward the Carthusians is noteworthy, for it illustrates how a Catholic irenicist might also misunderstand the Carthusians. In part Erasmus mirrors Lorenzo Valla's critique of monastic vows as undermining the validity of virtuous living by replacing human freedom with obligatory vows.93 Actions of caritas, Erasmus insists, always take precedence over Rule and precepts (something with which Bernard of Clairvaux and the Carthusians would have completely agreed); indeed, monastic vows almost render the Christian's baptismal profession invalid. Erasmus makes it clear that he has the Carthusians in mind here.94

Yet unlike Valla, Erasmus went on to damn the Carthusians with faint praise: although he insists that he greatly respects the Carthusians, they can enjoy his respect only when they nicely and safely restrict themselves to contemplation and inspire concord in lay society. Petrus Sutor is unworthy of the Carthusian profession because he engages in furious polemics, illegitimately claiming Bruno the Carthusian and Bernard of Clairvaux as his models. Erasmus's neat portrait of the

""Fifteenth-Century, esp. ch. 4.

92Appendix VI in Vischer and Stern (eds.), Basler Chroniken, I, 510-515, text 514—515, translation, 516-517.

9,For a discussion of Valla see Martin, Fifteenth-Century, pp. 152—153.

94RaliO seu Methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram theologiam, in Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia (Leiden, 1704; reprinted Hildesheim, 1962), Vol. 5, cols. 75-138, at 107A; Responsio ad Albertum Pium, Opera, Vol. 9, cols. 1093-1197, at 1143BC, 1147F; cf. Apologiae aliquot in Natalem Beddam, Vol. 9, cols. 442-736, at 708B.

proper role for cloistered monastics95 begs the real question: extraordinary circumstances call for extraordinary actions, and the General Chapter had in effect given its blessing to a more active Carthusian role in sixteenth-century religious controversy, a role that had plenty of precedents in Carthusian history. Erasmus is disingenuous here because he has otherwise challenged the legitimacy of the very monastic vows that make possible the peaceful cloistered life he now praises. When stung by the pen of a cloistered religious (and former Sorbonne professor), he now becomes a champion of a safely cloistered contemplative ideal.

A less polemical view of the Carthusian role in church politics than that of Erasmus would point out that although Carthusians had never sought out an active role in church politics, when called under obedience they responded. Bruno served as an advisor to Urban II, his former student at Reims; Hugh of Avalon became bishop of Lincoln in the late twelfth century, later facing down Henry II and Richard I; Anthelm, bishop of Belley and contemporary of Bernard of Clairvaux, took sides in the papal schism; Boniface of Savoy became Archbishop of Canterbury in the first half of the thirteenth century, later facing down Henry III over the disputed election of Richard Wyche to the see of Chichester. Moreover, the Carthusians had always considered the use of the pen a legitimate way to reach beyond the cloister.96 On occasion, individual Carthusians exceeded that legitimate function and were censured by the Order, notably in the case of Denys of Rijkel (Denys the Carthusian) in the mid-fifteenth century.97

Erasmus's double-edged effort to put the Carthusians in their (safe) place, when combined with his insistence on the illegitimacy of monastic vows and his vision of Christian society as a single, vow-less monastery, illustrate how much the "society of orders" that undergirded contemplative, cloistered monasticism as a socially valuable institution had been undermined in his experience.98 One should, however, beware of making the experience of a cosmopolitan humanist such as Erasmus normative for rural and small-town Catholicism elsewhere in Europe.

The Carthusians offered an elite and conservative spirituality to the

'"Apologia adversus debacchationes Petri Sutoris, Vol. 9, cols. 739-804, at 740C, 740E, and Appendix respondens ad quaedam antapologiae Petri Sutoris, Vol. 9, cols. 805-812, at 803D-804E, 809C.

«'Martin, Fifteenth-Century, pp. 227-239.

91Ibld, p. 231.

9Hbid, pp. 91-98, 150-156.

Reformation world.99 This Carthusian spirituality was a fully Catholic and evangelical spirituality which modern scholars have failed to recognize, in large part because the Protestant Reform, bourgeois Enlightenment, Marxist activism, and the contemporary consumer society alike have shared a contempt for the contemplative life of prayer and its real influence in church and society.100 In large measure the Carthusian Order does, indeed, merit the label, nunquam deformata, or, far better, semper reformans.

CHARTERHOUSES DISSOLVED DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

	1500-1549	1550-1599	lóthc total
England	9		9
N. Germany (incl. Saxony, Silesia, Szepes)	8	5	13
South Germany, German Switzerland	3	2	5
Scandinavia	1		1
French Switzerland (2) / Savoy (1)	3		3
Hungary, Lower Styria	4		4
Netherlands	8		8
Scotland	1		1
	2420		44

"Compiled from Albert Gruys (Gruijs), compiler, Cartusiana: Un instrument heuristique, vol. 2-.Maisons (Institut de Recherches et d'histoire des Textes, Bibliographies, Colloques, Travaux préparatoires [Paris, 1978]), supplemented and corrected by consulting various secondary literature on individual houses and publications. Cf. Hubertus Maria Blüm, O.Cart., in Zadnikar/Wienand, Kartäuser, pp. 288-344.

"Chaix, "Contributions cartusiennes," p. 123.

°°Martin, "'Honeymoon,'" and Fifteenth-Century, esp. pp. 150-152.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC PRESS AND THE EASTER REBELLION

BY

Thomas J. Rowland*

From the onset of European hostilities in the summer of 1914, the maintenance of American neutrality had proven a serious challenge to the American Catholic press. This was particularly the case in the many papers and periodicals with a distinctive Irish-American flavor. While ethnic, cultural, and religious prejudices vied for the sympathies of all Americans, the American Catholic press steadfastly clung to the government's position of unequivocal neutrality and admonished the Wilson administration for any departure from that stance. The outbreak and subsequent suppression of the Easter Rebellion in Ireland in the spring of 1916, however, tested the mettle and capacity of Irish-American Catholics to adhere to established policy.

Representing scores of diocesan news organs, the American Catholic press had emerged at the turn of the century as both a reflector and molder of its community's attitudes, aspirations, and biases. Circulation had risen dramatically in the years leading up to World War I. Because these papers reported on a wide range of political, social, and religious events, they provided a telling and panoramic view of the divisive issues affecting the community.1 No issues were more turbulent, yet more germane, to the Irish-American community than the progress of Irish Home Rule and the maintenance of American neutrality.

For a variety of reasons, Irish-America rallied strongly in defense of the Administration's declaration of neutrality in 1914. Ardent supporters of Irish nationalism, particularly the New York-based Clan-na-

*Mr. Rowland teaches history in the Continuing Education Department of Georgetown University and serves as a health care management consultant.

¦Research for this essay included a review of over twenty diocesan newspapers and Catholic periodicals. Research focused on the English-speaking press, nearly all of which was controlled by Irish-Americans. It should be noted that in several American cities Catholic papers were edited and managed by German-Americans. For insight into the increase in both circulation and influence of the Catholic press by World War I, see Donna Merwick, Boston Priests: A Study of Social and Intellectual Change (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), p. 189, and Aaron I. Abell, American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice, 1865-1950 (Garden City, New York, 1960), p. 289.

Gael, though supportive of German war aims as a means of liberating Ireland, labored passionately to hold the government accountable to its pledge. They doubled their efforts in times when they perceived that American favor was veering toward the Allies. Although others were outspoken in their preference for the Allies, the vast majority of Irish-Americans cooled their ardor for Irish nationalism and insisted on neutrality as a way of taming the potentially inflammatory ethnic allegiances of American Catholicism. Such restraint also had the benefit of trumpeting Catholic patriotism and loyalty at the same time. The parameters of this struggle remained relatively fixed through numerous crises and permutations in public opinion leading up to April, 1916. Then, the issues of Irish liberation and American neutrality emerged in such a convulsive way as to undermine the fragile balance which had been respected by most in the Irish-American community. The Easter Rebellion in Dublin served as both the catharsis and catalyst in reshaping the definition of the status quo.2

The outbreak of war in August, 1914, had placed the entire progress of Irish freedom in abeyance. The British Empire's war effort had wrought a co-operation between the Conservatives and Liberals which effectively robbed John Redmond's Irish party of the political maneuverability necessary to enact the Home Rule measure. Eroding hopes for a Home Rule settlement even further was the promotion of its most implacable foe—Sir Edward Carson of Ulster—to a post within the London coalition government. Redmond's vigorous support of the British Empire appeared to have his countrymen's blessing. However, by April, 1916, with Irish casualties mounting, and with the specter of conscription looming larger, a heightened sense of apprehension and unrest had been woven into the national fabric. Yet, despite these adverse circumstances, the vast majority of Irishmen were opposed to fomenting open rebellion.3

While John Redmond labored to establish credit with the British government to exchange for postwar favors, the small and weak though greatly determined Sinn Fein party continued its pursuit of separatist ways. Taking advantage of the rising disaffection with Irish involvement

2For a useful discussion on the tensions and divisions affecting the Irish-American community during World War I, see Thomas Brown, Irish American Nationalism (Philadelphia, 1966); Edward Cuddy, Irish-Americans and National Isolationism, 1914—1917 (New York, 1976); F. M. Carroll, American Opinion and the Irish Question, 1910-1923 (New York, 1978).

5Eunan O'Halpin, The Decline of the Union: British Government in Ireland, 1892—1920 (Syracuse, New York, 1987), p. 111.

in the war and the absence of countless Redmondites serving in Irish regiments in France, the military council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood determined to stage a rebellion for Easter Sunday, 1916. In February of that year, the plotters stepped up their communications with the Clan-na-Gael in New York. John Devoy and Daniel Cohalan of New York and Joseph McGarrity of Philadelphia, leading Irish-American nationalists, had always dreamed of taking advantage of the European war to bring about Irish independence. Hoping for German assistance, they established contacts with the German diplomatic corps in the United States.4

From the outset of the war, ardent Irish-American nationalists insisted on the need for arms and a cadre of capable German officers in their discussions with Berlin. Between August, 1914, and Easter, 1916, myriad coded messages passed between Clan conspirators and Berlin concerning the raising of money and the vacillating prospects for German aid. One example of diminished hope for German succor was the progress of Roger Casement's mission in Berlin. Not only had his efforts to raise an Irish regiment among Irish prisoners of war ended in abject failure, but it dawned upon him in March, 1916, that the Germans had no intention of rendering adequate assistance for a full-scaled rebellion in Ireland. Their only interest, he claimed, was to deceive Irish-Americans and encourage their agitation within the United States.5

Casement's long-overdue pessimism merely echoed similar sentiments shared by Clan officials in the United States. Writing in typically cryptic fashion to Bulmer Hobson, Secretary of the Irish Volunteers, Joseph McGarrity doubted that the Germans would risk sending a sizable landing force in Ireland's cause as he feared that "the sea serpent [Britain] is too strong in his naval strength to permit strangers to come in large numbers."6

Despite the many factors militating against success, not the least of which was the Clan-na-Gael's inability to supply an ample provision of arms and munitions, the military council of the Irish Republican

4IMd., pp. 112-113.

¦John Devoy, Recollections of an Irish Rebel (New York, 1929), p. 403- Perhaps the most tragic figure of the Easter Rebellion, Sir Roger Casement had served as a distinguished humanitarian in the British Foreign Office before he became an outspoken champion of Irish independence. For Casement's pessimistic assessment of German intentions, see Casement Diary, March 17, 1916, Casement Papers, New York Public Library.

'Joseph McGarrity to Bulmer Hobson, 1915, Joseph McGarrity Papers, New York Public Library.

Brotherhood agreed to a general mobilization of the Irish Volunteers for Easter weekend. The ill-starred rebellion immediately began on a poor footing when Roger Casement, dropped off the Irish coast at Tralee by a German submarine with the ostensible purpose of convincing his compatriots of the futility of rising, was captured and arrested shortly after his arrival on April 21. On the same day, the disguised German steamer Aud, carrying a modest supply of arms for the intended uprising, was intercepted by the Royal Navy in the Irish Sea. When escorted into Queenstown Harbor, her crew promptly scuttled the vessel. In light of these developments, Eoin MacNeill, commander of the Irish Volunteers, published a notice in Dublin's Sunday Independent cancelling the general mobilization previously scheduled for Easter Sunday. For all intents and purposes, the rising appeared aborted.7

That a rising would occur under such adverse conditions never dawned upon British authorities at Dublin Castle. Noting that Casement was already en route to a London prison and that the dreaded mobilization had been cancelled, the British garrison in Dublin relaxed its vigilance. Shortly before noon on Easter Monday, a radical element of the Sinn Fein party rose up in arms. Seizing a number of strategic locations within the city, including the General Post Office, the rebels were able to withstand the pressure of British reinforcements commanded by Sir John Maxwell for only five days. Given a free hand to suppress the uprising, Maxwell brutally crushed resistance and summarily began executing a handful of rebel leaders. Maxwell's zeal quickly provoked an outpouring of Irish outrage, including that of John Redmond and John Dillon of the Nationalist party, which eventually inspired London to curb its Dublin commander's reprisals.8

As news of the uprising seeped into America, it was initially greeted with general disbelief and dismay by the Irish-American Catholic community. In the days before reports of Maxwell's handiwork were revealed, the Irish-American community was incredulous that such a foolhardy enterprise had taken place. The irrepressible John Quinn, a prominent New York lawyer and pro-Ally enthusiast, vented his disgust with the "horrible fiasco" in a letter to the English author Joseph Conrad, by branding the rebellion as "sheer lunacy." John D. Crimmins,

'Although a vast majority of Volunteers stood behind Redmond's commitment to the Empire, a force of nearly 7,000 refused to do so. Maintaining the name "Volunteers," this was the force expected to respond to the general mobilization. See, O'Halpin, op. cit., pp. 105, l\3;Leon 0'ftroin,Dublin Castle and the 1916 Rising (NewYork, 1971), pp. 82-83.

Hbid, pp. 123-127.

former president of the American-Irish Historical Society, glibly proclaimed that "Sir Roger is crazy." P. T. Barry, Chicago's representative of Redmond's Nationalist Party, somberly predicted that the rebellion "is bound to fail." An emergency session of the New York Council of the United Irish League of America resolved that the insurrection was no more than an "insane attempt at rebellion," and expressed continued support for Redmond's Home Rule movement. When a small group of radical Irish-American demonstrators attempted to disrupt the proceedings, they were unceremoniously ejected by a single police officer named Charles J. Clancy.

Other prominent Irish-Americans lamented the outbreak of rebellion, not only because it was ludicrous, but because it jeopardized the cause of Home Rule which Redmond and John Dillon were diligently pressing forward in the British Parliament. Francis Hackett of the New Republic was one of the many Irish-Americans disenchanted with the uprising. Claiming that there was "no chance of material victory," Hackett judged the rebellion as not only imprudent but "wild and futile" as well. Joseph C. Walsh, editor of Ireland, deplored the uprising as a repudiation of the vast sentiments of the Irish people, particularly their civil and religious leaders.9

Such moderate and conservative sentiments were repeated in the Catholic press by Irish-American editors. William A. McKearney of the Catholic Universe in Cleveland endorsed life magazine's version of the rebellion as a "crazy outbreak, timed to the hour of England's peril, dangerous, hapless, and pitiable," and added his own opinion that, while some may call the victims "martyrs or fools . . . we must acknowledge that their activities have injured rather than helped the cause of a free Ireland."10 William A. Hughes in Detroit declared that the "affair was clumsily managed, started at an inopportune hour and encouraged by men who kept well without the sniper's bullets." Blaming the rising on "over-zealous youths and men, harangued by curbstone agitators," he feared that it would be perceived as "malice and treason."11 William Campbell bemoaned the uprising as "all other judicious friends of Ireland have already done." He expressed a prevailing fear in Irish-American circles that the rash actions of "a handful of disloyal Irishmen in Dublin" would offset "the thousands of patriotic

'John Quinn to Joseph Conrad, May 1, 1916, John Quinn Papers, New York Public Library; Crimmins quoted in New York Times, April 25, 1916; ibid., April 29, 1916; quoted in New York Times Magazine, April 30, 1916; New Republic, May 6, 1916, May 13, 1916; Walsh quoted in New York Times Magazine, April 30, 1916.

'"Catholic Universe, June 2, 1916.

"Michigan Catholic, May 4, 1916.

Irish soldiers who are doing and dying in the ranks of the Allies."12

Mainstream Irish-American Catholic disenchantment was not reserved entirely for those of the Irish Republican Brotherhood who responded to the call to arms on Easter Monday. There was a large measure of disgust and contempt left over for those Irish-Americans perceived as having encouraged the rebellion. For its duplicity and lackluster support of the rebellion, the German government was also heavily criticized. Leading the wave of criticism of the role ardent Irish-Americans played in fomenting the crisis in Ireland was the dean of the American Catholic prelature, James Cardinal Gibbons. Upon hearing of the outbreak of fighting, Gibbons reportedly confided to the British ambassador, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, that "all respectable Irishmen condemned [the] revolt in unqualified terms," but feared that if the British did not manage the aftershocks of rebellion carefully, there would be the "danger of 'manufacturing martyrs' for American use."13 In New York John Cardinal Farley immediately condemned the role the Friends of Irish Freedom had played in stirring up rebellious action in Ireland, indicating that he had disapproved of this society from its inception.'4

While most of the Catholic editors supportive of Sinn Fein's program initially appeared to offer muted sympathy for Ireland's plight, they also expressed disapproval of the uprising itself.15 Most Irish-American editors quickly endorsed John Redmond's indictment of those Irish-Americans who encouraged young Irishmen "into this insane and anti-patriotic movement while they have remained in the safe remoteness of American cities."16

From the editorials of the Catholic Messenger in Davenport, Iowa, came the most stinging attack upon Irish-Americans who encouraged the Easter uprising. The first reaction was that the "ill-advised propaganda" of Clan-na-Gael leaders in the United States "has resulted in the slaughter of their incredulous dupes in Ireland."17 When it became

"Southern Messenger, May 16, 1916.

"Quoted in Carroll, op. cit., p. 64.

"Quoted in PatrickJ. Buckley, "The New York Irish: Their View of American Foreign Policy, 1914-1921" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974), p. 30.

"The Freeman's Journal, Catholic News, Boston Pilot, and The Monitor all questioned the wisdom of the uprising. Of all those editors in this survey who generally supported strong measures on behalf of Irish freedom, only Joseph P. O'Mahoney in Indianapolis gave unqualified support for the Easter uprising from the start. See Indiana Catholic, May 5, 1916.

"'Pamphlet, Strong Words from Mr. Redmond. Treason to the Home Rule Cause (London, 1916), p. 5.

"Catholic Messenger, April 27, 1916.

known that the United States government intended to investigate whether the Clan's activities were in violation of neutrality, the Catholic Messenger applauded this news.18

Father Peter Gannon in Omaha colorfully represented many Catholic editors' feelings when he favorably compared the role of those who died in the uprising to that of the Clan-na-Gael.

> They certainly stand on a higher plane in public estimation than the contemptible blowhards of New York and other American cities who urged them on . . . [these] fools and fakirs can be proud of their work. True Irishmen, loyal to the principle of rational liberty . . . have nothing but contempt for men who urge others to enter in a campaign of armed insurrection while they themselves are careful to keep three thousand miles between them and the scene of the conflict.'9

Thomas O'Flanagan of the Hartford diocese was equally vehement in his denunciation of certain New York clerics for their adoption of revolutionary rhetoric. Noting unanimous disapproval of the rebellion in Irish religious circles, O'Flanagan inveighed against the "wisdom of a few New York priests" who deemed that their opinions of what was best for Ireland "may outweigh that of the hierarchy and priesthood of Ireland."20

The Germans did not escape the derision of Catholic editors either. For both their feeble support of the rebellion, which all but assured its failure, and their transparent display of opportunism, they were highly censured. Humphrey Desmond caustically employed biblical metaphor when he claimed that "Casement was vomited up by a submarine much as the whale disgorged Jonah." Later, he laconically observed that while the Irish were renowned for their bravery and the Germans for their efficiency, "the recent German invasion of Ireland and the ensuing Dublin uprising are not the best proofs of either proposition."21

Moderate and conservative Irish-Americans also were quick to dispel any notions that Germany was Ireland's friend. P. T. Barry insisted that the Irish people were not in league with the Germans and had "long ago cast their lot on the side of the Allies and are fighting for them." Desmond concurred with Barry's assessment, noting that the "only real rising that day . . . were the masses of Irish who went about their usual daily work." In Hartford, O'Flanagan railed against those who

'"Ibid, May 4, 1916.
"True Voice, May 5, 1916.
¿"Catholic Transcript, May 4, 1916.
"Catholic Citizen, May 6, 1916.

thought "Germany cares a whole lot for Ireland." Once Germany's purposes were achieved, "she would fling Ireland sheer into the jaws of the British lion."[22]

IfJohn Devoy and others in the Clan-na-Gael were dismayed by the hostile reception that news of the Dublin uprising received in Irish-American and Catholic circles, they were delighted by the revulsion which greeted reports of General Maxwell's bloody dispatching of the rebel leadership. For the first time in the course of the war all segments of the Irish-American Catholic community were unified in their denunciation of British brutality. However, moderate and conservative Irish-American Catholics remained detached from the Clan's agenda, particularly the idea of supporting the Irish-German coalition. While some moderates were weaned from the Home Rule cause, there remained a good measure of support for it in many Irish-American quarters, most notably the American Catholic Church. The Dublin executions revived anti-British agitation which had become somewhat muted in the months following German transgressions on the high seas. Similarly, they stimulated Clan-na-Gael fortunes, and the organization intensified its efforts to assail the government's pro-Allied policies.

It is hardly surprising that the entire Irish-American community was incensed by the execution of the rebel leaders. American opinion in general reflected shock and disgust with the extent of British savagery in meting out punishment to the Irish. The Literary Digest's survey of American editors pointed to near-unanimity in condemning the executions and cited the Washington Post's terse verdict of British action as "stupid and vengeful."[23] British reprisals even horrified some of the nation's leading Anglophiles. In a letter to the New York Evening Post, the novelist William Dean Howells remarked, "In giving way to her vengeance, England has roused the moral sense of mankind against her . . . she has left us who loved her cause in the war against despotism without another word to say for her."[24]

British justice might not have rendered all of her American friends speechless, but it did edge popular opinion back toward adherence to strict neutrality. Having earlier believed that Americans sympathized with Britain's wartime plight in Ireland, Walter Lippmann, editor of

"Barry quoted in New York Times, April 27, 1916; Catholic Citizen, May 16, 1916; Catholic Transcript, April 27, 1916.

^Literary Digest, 52 (May 6, 1916), pp. 1263-1265, 1355.

"Quoted in Arthur S. Link, Campaigns for Progressivism and Peace (Princeton, 1965), p. 13.

the New Republic, declared, "The Dublin executions have done more to drive Americans back to isolation than any other event since the war began." In his frequent reports to the British Foreign Office, Spring-Rice could find little in American opinion to suggest that sentiment toward Great Britain was anything but hostile and contrary. The British ambassador's counterpart, Count Johann von Bernstorff, was finally able to report optimistic news to his superiors, noting that American opinion was "more favorable owing to the influence of the Irish executions."25

To a great extent, the Catholic press reflected the same ambivalence and tensions expressed in secular circles. Irish-American Catholic editors who had previously voiced support for the overthrow of British rule in Ireland by any means now brandished their pens in defense of the martyred rebels. Father Thomas V. Shannon of Chicago's New World spurned England's posturing as the "champion and defender of the liberties of smaller nations." Pointing to the "historic brutality" of England in South Africa, India, and Ireland, he compared her to the proverbial leopard which "does not change its spots."26 The Catholic News of New York concluded that England had made it "impossible for genuine Irishmen to regard her as anything but the enemy of their race."27 This same paper dramatized this sentiment by describing in gory detail how the noted rebel leader Francis Skeffington was actually assisting a wounded British officer when he was arrested and executed. The accompanying editorial contemptuously dismissed the circulating opinion that "England isn't as brutal as in years gone by," by retorting, "England is the same old ruthless England."28 In Indiana, Joseph P. O'Mahoney not only condemned the executions, but also assailed moderate Irish-Americans for their timidity in defending Ireland. Labeling some men of Irish blood as "Tories who would have probably endorsed Benedict Arnold," he clarified that they were a "very small element" who did not represent the views of "any living Irish society in the nation."29

It is hardly surprising that radical Irish-American editors unleashed a barrage of criticism against the British government for the bloody

"New Republic, 7 QuIy 29, 1916), 321-322; Sir Cecil Spring-Rice to Lord Grey, May 10, 1916, May 19, 1916, May 30, 1916, in Stephen A. Gwynn (ed.), The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice (2 vols.; London, 1929), II, 327, 331, 334; Johann von Bernstorff, My Three Years in America (London, 1930), p. 264.

26JVe^ World, May 19, 1916.

"Catholic News, May 6, 1916.

2sIbid, May 20, 1916.

^Indiana Catholic, May 5, 1916.

suppression of the Easter Rebellion. However, Irish-American Catholic editors who had previously written of the Irish situation in temperate tones now swelled the chorus of condemnation. Father Richard Tierney, SJ., oíAmerica concluded that the history of England and Ireland reiterated one ageless theme: "a narrative of savagery and blood, met by intrepid patriotism and unswerving fidelity to the teachings ofJesus Christ."30 In Brooklyn Father John L. Whelan sadly reflected that since the uprising had been quickly and almost effortlessly suppressed, there had been no need for such vengeance. Characterizing British policy as the "astoundingly stupid . . . work of weak men," he predicted that this action would accord Britain the "alienation of the sympathies of many men and women all over the world."31

Boston's William Cardinal O'Connell was dramatically radicalized by the British execution of Irishmen. In fact, O'Connell's disassociation from Home Rule and his subsequent endorsement of a free and completely autonomous Ireland can be traced to the executions, and he used the Boston Pilot to express his outrage. In a departure from its usually restrained reporting of international news, the June 3 edition printed a collection of articles from both the secular and religious press condemning British atrocities, headlined: "England Arraigned at the Bar of Humanity."32 O'Connell's venom was not reserved for the British only; his paper also assailed those "English subsidized papers" which presented the uprising as the work of malcontents. In particular, he attacked the Boston Transcript, as "so faithful to the Union Jack . . . the Koran of the brahmins."33

With moderate and conservative Irish-American Catholic editors turning their attention to the executions, the ranks of Irish America were massed against the British. Father Peter Gannon observed that while the insurrection failed to garner the support of Irish America, the "cruel infliction of the death penalty . . . has exerted a feeling of horror everywhere . . . and there will henceforth be little sympathy for the cause of England among Irishmen in America."34 In Philadelphia, Edward Spillane argued that since the rebel leaders had laid down their arms "to spare further effusion of blood," they should not have been "butchered by court-martial process."35 William Hughes was equally dismayed by this "latest British, brutish murder," and warned

"'America, May 29, 1916.
"Brooklyn Tablet, May 20, 1916.
«Boston Pilot, June 3, 1916.
»Ibid, July 1, 1916.
»True Voice, May 12, 1916.
^Standard and Times, May 20, 1916.

Britain that such action would "rally every Irishman worthy of the name around the holy cause" for which the rebel leaders had lost their lives.[36]

Father John Burke, C.S.P., of the Catholic World, the one Irish-American Catholic editor with decided sympathy for the Allies, delivered one of the most stinging rebukes of British policy. Britain's treatment of the rebels was "atrocious," and her use of courts-martial to execute them was reminiscent of the draconian methods of Lord Castlereagh.

> Whenever the English Government has to deal with Ireland, it shows a pitiful, blundering sense of misunderstanding and oftentimes of injustice which shocks the world."

Irish-American enmity for Great Britain was exacerbated later in the summer when Casement was hanged for treason. The Catholic press, which during the summer made little mention of his trial, assailed the British for this deed. The Boston Pilot proclaimed that "another martyr has been added to the long roll of the Irish patriotic dead." Answering its own question, "Why Do Irishmen Hate England?," the paper offered that "once again has England answered the question and answered it in the only way she knows—by the sword."[38] Thomas Shannon suggested that the "execution of Sir Roger Casement was logical and stupid," adding that "it might prove to be the sorriest day's work that England ever did."[39] Richard Tierney, SJ., of America, an inveterate Anglophobe, eulogized Casement by declaring that he "loved his ideal, and spoke devotion in love's highest terms, and sweetest tone, sacrifice."[40] Even William Hughes, who frequently assaulted the Clan-na-Gael and other avid nationalists for their support of Germany, did not spare British feelings. Likening the British government to "bull-hounds," who "lap their jowls in clean Irish blood," he presented Casement as the apotheosis of Christian martyrdom in his "suffering the modern crucifixion on a British gibbet."[41]

It is misleading to conclude from such vituperation over the executions that solidarity among Irish-American Catholics extended into other related issues. Ardent Irish-American nationalists and those in the Catholic Press sympathetic to the liberation of Ireland applauded

«•Michigan Catholic, May 25, 1916.
^Catholic World, CIII (June, 1916), 430-431.
»»Boston Pilot, August 12, 1916.
"New World, August 11, 1916.
""America, August 12, 1916.
^'Michigan Catholic, August 10, 1916.

the setback to Home Rule caused by recent events in Ireland. However, the executions did not destroy interest in Home Rule among moderates and conservatives in the Catholic Press. Fred Sharon in Iowa reflected that had England enacted Home Rule at the outset of the war, the uprising would have been averted.42 In Texas, William Campbell noted that, despite the harsh measures undertaken by the British, Redmond's cautious course remained the "one hope and security of a free future for poor Ireland."43 In Cincinnati Dr. Thomas P. Hart echoed Campbell's sentiment that the quick enactment of Home Rule would be a judicious decision. Claiming that the British government "is in a bad odor over all the world," he indicated that the establishment of Home Rule would restore her "in the good graces of the world at large."44 Reflecting several Catholic editors' hopes that there might be a silver lining to the pervasive despair instilled by the uprising and deaths was Thomas O'Flanagan's observation:

> If the present European struggle does not prove to England that she needs Ireland and that both countries are to place their highest hopes in mutual friendship and good will, then she is blind indeed.45

Despite widespread condemnation of British methods in quelling the uprising, mainstream Irish-American Catholics continued to shun the Clan-na-Gael and other ardent Irish-American nationalists. Moderate and conservative Irish-American Catholics in both secular and religious sectors remained resilient, even resolute, in their endorsement of Home Rule. Their shared distaste for British brutality with other avid nationalists was purely circumstantial and did not signal any departure from positions they held at the outbreak of the war. They continued to profess a strict neutrality with respect to war-ravaged Europe, and they adamantly refused to be pulled into a pro-German orbit.

The reaction of the American Catholic Church, particularly its Irish-American leadership, to events in Ireland and Europe paralleled that of the overall community in its varying expressions of ambivalence, apathy, and division. It remains difficult to determine precisely where most rank-and-file Irish-American Catholics stood on the issues generated by the failed Dublin uprising. Other than O'Connell'r, sharp denunciation of the Dublin executions, the powerful hierarchy refused to be drawn into any debate over the affair and clearly encouraged

"Catholic Messenger, June 1, 1916.
^Southern Messenger, June 3, 1916.
"Catholic Telegraph, June 8, 1916.
^Catholic Transcript, May 11, 1916.

their faithful to do the same. Given the authoritarian structure of church discipline with its strong accent on absolute obedience, few priests strayed from the advice tendered by their appointed superiors. The few outspoken clerics, such as Peter Yorke of San Francisco, Timothy Dempsey of St. Louis, and the small coterie of priests in the Archdiocese of New York who supported the overthrow of British rule, frequently ran afoul of their local ordinaries. Though these clerics appeared to be popular with their parishioners, their voices were muffled by the appeals of most clerics for moderation and restraint.46

Obedience to hierarchical directives remained the cornerstone of the most popular Irish-American Catholic fraternal organization—the Knights of Columbus. Despite their distinct Irish identification, the Knights maintained a monumental silence throughout the spring and summer of 1916, eschewing commentary on Irish or European affairs in favor of local and parochial concerns.47 That the Knights were sometimes the target of John Devoy's Gaelic-American and other Irish-American firebrands for their absolute and unquestioning loyalty to conventional forms of civil authority suggests that they were not to be counted among those fomenting rebellion in Ireland.48

Rather than become embroiled in the politics of the Irish question, the institutional Church in America sought to alleviate the suffering resulting from the ill-fated Dublin uprising. In a letter addressed to his priests, similar to those issued in most dioceses, Cardinal Farley ordered a collection to be taken up at all Masses on July 9 for the victims of the Irish rebellion. With the exhortation that "Christian charity imposes on us all . . . but especially on those of us of Irish blood," he commanded his priests to collect money for the establishment of an Irish Relief Fund. While acknowledging that England's suppression of the rebellion had induced widespread misery in Ireland, he enjoined his priests to refrain from offering opinions upon the

46John C. Crighton, Missouri and the World War, 1914-1917 (Columbia, Missouri, 1947), p. 98. See also, New York Times, July 10, 1916.

47Of the four Catholic papers (Boston Pilot, Brooklyn Tablet, Catholic Messenger, and Indiana Catholic) which regularly printed summaries of the Knights of Columbus meetings, none revealed any comments or opinions regarding the Dublin uprising or its suppression except to mention relief efforts underway. An examination of the two institutional histories of the Knights of Columbus does not uncover any involvement in the issue. See, Maurice Francis Egan and John B. Kennedy, The Knights of Columbus in Peace and War (2 vols.; New Haven, 1920), and Christopher J. Kauffman, Faith and Fratemalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus, 1882—1982 (revised ed.; New York, 1992).

^Gaelic-American, October 23, 1915.

manner in which the British had handled the matter.49 In San Francisco, Archbishop Edward J. Hanna actually presided over meetings of the Irish Relief Crusade, which raised over $10,000 in its first week's effort.50 In other dioceses fairs and bazaars contributed substantially to the growing amounts of cash available for relief distribution.51 By the end ofJuly, 1916, Church-sponsored fund-raising efforts had netted over »100,000 for Irish relief.52

The church hierarchy also refused to issue any political opinions or to forge any partisan attachments over the Irish issue in the spring and summer of 1916. Clearly, partisan expressions would have undermined the neutrality it had long endeavored to maintain. Moreover, such favoritism might smack of foreign allegiance at a time of heightened anxiety over the issue of hyphenated Americanism. Rather than explicitly condemn the cause of Ireland's misery, or confront the conflicting forces involved, the American Catholic Church opted to palliate the suffering caused by conflict and change. In the case of the Irish question, the hierarchy shunned political considerations and directed church efforts to relief.53 The Church also kept these fund-raising efforts strictly separate from those conducted by Irish-American societies and organizations. In particular, the Church avoided any connection with the Clan-na-Gael or its offshoot, the Friends of Irish Freedom. Evidently the institutional Church's relief efforts received far greater support among Irish-American Catholics than those of secular or fraternal organizations. In Syracuse, for instance, the Friends of Irish Freedom managed to raise a mere $600 while Bishop John Grimes produced $10,000 with minimal effort on his part.54

The American Catholic press, much of which was controlled by Irish-Americans, reflected the same ambivalence and political diversity over the Irish issue in the summer of 1916. Certain papers such as the Freeman's Journal, Indiana Catholic, and The Monitor hardly needed the provocation of the executions to adopt strident attitudes toward the violent overthrow of British rule in Ireland. These papers

"Quoted in New York Times, July 10, 1916.

""The Monitor, June 17, 1916.

"""Michigan Catholic, August 24, 1916; Pittsburgh Catholic, January 18, 1917.

"Carroll, op. cit., p. 79.

"While both Farley and Gibbons refused to condemn British actions, they quickly assumed leading roles in the Irish Relief Fund effort. Farley accepted the position of honorary chairman while Gibbons joined him later as honorary president. See New York Times, May 18, 1916, May 28, 1916.

"John A. Beadles, "The Syracuse Irish, 1812-1928. Immigration, Catholics, Socio-economic Status, Politics and Irish Nationalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1974), p. 274.

had, from the outbreak of the war in 1914, made their pro-German and anti-British feelings patently clear. Only the Boston Pilot seemed to accept a more aggressive nationalism as a result of the British suppression of the Irish rebellion.55 In the months following the Easter Rebellion until America's entry into war, the majority of the American Catholic press continued to toe the hierarchical line by adhering to a strict and impartial attitude toward the Irish issue and how it affected sympathies toward the European belligerents.56

Britain's long-standing political and religious oppression of Ireland, highlighted by the executions following the uprising, made it nearly impossible for Irish-American Catholic editors to avoid criticizing her in the summer of 1916. All the same, an aversion to the Germans and Irish-American agitators tended to mute this criticism and reinforce neutral attitudes. Most Irish-American Catholic editors viewed the executions that summer as a political blunder on England's part that made it difficult to accept her avowed altruism in the Great War.57 Others, like Humphrey Desmond, though outraged by British brutality, continued to hold the Clan-na-Gael and Sinn Fein factions primarily responsible for the uprising and the deprivation which followed.58 This ambivalence over the Irish issue was best demonstrated in William Hughes's exasperated claim, that while the "moral indignation of the world" might have been aroused by British barbarism, "we say this not by way of venting anti-British speen [sic], but as a true friend of England who would save her from herself."59

No other event during the extended period of American neutrality raised the anxiety levels of Irish America as did the Easter Rebellion and its bloody suppression by the British. Given the nature of the provocation, and the overall negative reaction to it by the American public, Irish-American Catholics might well have indulged in relentless attacks on the British. There were, however, no substantive attitudinal shifts in the Irish question once the initial expressions of shock and outrage were exhausted. As a distinct minority in the Irish-American community, ardent nationalists were no more successful in winning

55In an editorial on Casement's death, the paper concluded that "England by their deaths has justified the growing sentiment that the sword is the only answer to the sword." See Boston Pilot, August 12, 1916.

^Catholic Transcript, October 12, 1916; Baltimore Catholic Review, February 10, 1917, March 10, 1917; Pittsburgh Catholic, March 22, 1917; Freeman's Journal, February 24, 1917; Catholic Telegraph, February 23, 1917.

^Catholic Messenger, August 10, 1916.

"•"Catholic Citizen, June 2, 1916, September 30, 1916.

""""Michigan Catholic, August 3, 1916.

converts to their position than at any other time during the war. This stark reality was not lost upon John Devoy, who was forced to draw credit from the sale of his own brother's estate in order to provide a legal defense for Casement.60

Devoy was also well aware that the nationalist cause languished for want of support by the American Catholic Church, and he regretted that the hierarchy had not been won over to his standard. While acknowledging that Cardinal O'Connell was the first to adopt the nationalist position in early 1918, well after America's entry into the war, Devoy recalled that it was not until the Irish Convention of February, 1919, that the Church rallied behind the movement. Then, Devoy noted, "Cardinal Gibbons, who had up to then opposed the advanced movement . . . with twenty-eight bishops . . . gave his blessing to the movement." His frustration with Gibbons actually spilled over into his editorials in the Gaelic-American. He once censured the cardinal for his continued friendliness toward John Redmond and for his involvement in various international movements to the exclusion of Irish liberation.61

The contention that the majority of Irish-Americans were patently anti-British, and that they generally expressed "hopes for a German victory" is difficult to maintain. Nor is it correct that both John Redmond's pledge to recruit Irish soldiers for the British Empire and the bloody suppression of the Easter Rebellion served as death blows to the Home Rule cause in Irish America.62 Numerous Irish Catholic editors continued to promote Home Rule as the only rational and peaceful alternative for ending Ireland's misery. Their views were underscored by the restraint they exercised in dealing with the British in the spring and summer of 1916. Indeed, they clearly believed Irish-American agitators in collusion with German opportunists had instigated the uprising, and that they had done so in contradiction to the wishes of Irishmen. They pinned blame for the rebellion and its bloody reprisals squarely on the shoulders of the radicals and encouraged their readers to have nothing to do with them. While remaining sympathetic to Irish issues, many Irish-American Catholic editors sup-

60DeVOy, op. cit., p. 496. For the depressed financial condition of the Clan-na-Gael on the eve of the Easter Rebellion, see Michael J. Jennings to Joseph McGarrity, February 24, 1916, Joseph McGarrity Papers, New York Public Library.

6lDevoy, op. cit., 126-127; Gaelic-American, April l, 1916.

62ArthurS. Link, Wilson: The Struggle for Neutrality, 1914-1915 (Princeton, I960), p. 22; Cuddy, Irish-Americans and National Isolationism, 1914-1917, pp. 44-47, and Edward Cuddy, "Irish-American Propagandists and Neutrality, 1914-1917," Mid-America, 49 {June, 1967), 259.

ported the hierarchical preoccupation with promoting Irish-Americans as loyal, patriotic Americans.63

In the end, then, it was New World concerns rather than Old World memories that framed the Irish-American Catholic response to the Easter Rebellion. Irish-American Catholics were forced to reconcile long-standing animosity for British and Protestant rule in Ireland with the emerging geopolitical realities in their adopted homeland. It was becoming clearer that should America go to war, she would do so as an ally of Great Britain. Their interests as Americans and Catholics prevailed over their sincere longings for a liberated Ireland. Under the leadership of Americanists such as Gibbons, the Catholic Church in America had long been guiding its faithful along political and social paths compatible with American norms and culture. The Catholic press in America was a willing and energetic ally in this cause. When Woodrow Wilson called for the support of the American people in the war against the Central Powers, he could count on the Irish-American Catholic community. Despite the fresh memory of British cruelty, William McKearney of Cleveland's Catholic Universe spoke for many Irish-American journalists in declaring:

> We have great allies, and we must stand or fall with them. There can be no such thing as "hoping the United States wins, but that England loses." People in this country do not love England. We have sound reasons for not loving her. But now we are fighting the same fight and must win.64

'•'"Catholic Transcript, October 12, 1916; Catholic Messenger, February 8, 1917; Brooklyn Tablet, February 10, 1917; Baltimore Catholic Review, February 10, 1917, March 10, 1917; Catholic Telegraph, March 8, 1917; Pittsburgh Catholic, March 22, 1917.

"Catholic Universe, April 20, 1917. While mainstream Irish-American Catholic opinion reflected conservative views on the Irish question, it did not spare the Wilson administration criticism for some of its other policies. The American Catholic press was very critical of Wilson's anti-hyphenate campaign, his Mexican policies, and his overt violations of the neutrality pledge. See Brooklyn Tablet, July 1, 1916; T. J. Walsh to George Cardinal Mundelein, September 13, 1916, T. J. Walsh Papers, Library of Congress; Catholic Universe, November 3, 1916; Denver Catholic Register, January 11, 1917.

Modern European

Galileo: A Life. By James Reston, Jr. (New York: Harper Collins. 1994. Pp. xiii, 319. S25.00.)

Over the past twenty-five years we have come to know much more about the intellectual world in which Galileo moved. We understand better the complexities of the Aristotelian traditions which informed sixteenth) and seventeenth-century European culture and the relationship of Galileo to these traditions. Scholars no longer accept the traditional account of Galileo's overthrow of Aristotelian science. We are now amply informed, thanks to the work of William Wallace, A. Crombie, and others, of Galileo's commitment to an Aristotelian ideal of scientific demonstration. We have also come to recognize the arguments of leading theologians such as Cardinal Bellarmine as being far more than an attempt to protect the authority of the Church. In fact, the controversy between Galileo and the Inquisition is unintelligible were it not the case that both Galileo and the theologians in Rome shared first principles about the nature of science and the relationship between faith and reason.

Despite the fact that James Reston relies on a wide range of primary documents, especially letters to and from Galileo, in writing his book, there is little evidence in this biography of the fruit of recent scholarly reflection on Galileo. For the most part, Reston retells the old story of a conflict between religion and science, with emphases on the intrigue of the Jesuits and the paranoia of Pope Urban VIII, concerning which Reston takes special note of the importance of astrological forecasts. The popular legend of Galileo, so important a part of modern culture, is alive and well in the pages of Reston's text. At the end of the book Reston writes of his meeting with Cardinal Poupard in April, 1993- The Cardinal was the head of the commission appointed by Pope John Paul II to re-examine the Galileo affair. Reston observes that the Cardinal "repeated again the standard church line I had heard often in three years of writing: Galileo had been condemned because he insisted on treating his Copernican theory as truth rather than hypothesis, and he could not prove it. This position deflected attention from a simple fact: The Copernican theory was true, and the church had used extreme and rigorous methods to crush the truth and protect its falsehood" (p. 285).

The anachronistic character of Reston's comment is obvious. Nowhere in the book does Reston adequately address the notions of science and scientific demonstration which were current in the early seventeenth century. Recent examinations of the different senses of suppositional reasoning, so important for understanding the positions of Bellarmine and Galileo, are also absent. Thus, Reston sees the controversy between Galileo and his Aristotelian opponents as a "debate between philosophy and science, between the first principles of Aristotle and the evidence of the senses" (p. 69).

Theological distinctions also escape the author; yet these are crucial for understanding me Galileo affair. Reston does not seem to be aware of the difference between a literal interpretation of Scripture and one based on what Galileo calls "the nude signification of the words" [il nudo signiflcato délie parole]. On several occasions Reston observes that the view mat the heavens were pure, unchanging, and incorruptible was "a cherished central belief in Christian theology" (p. l 18). To conceive of the moon as being similar to the earth was "a sacrilege to the church" (p. 93), Reston ignores the fact that Cardinal Bellarmine, when he was a professor at Louvain in the late sixteenth century, had challenged several conclusions of Aristotelian cosmology. Furthermore, if a geocentric cosmology, Aristotelian or otherwise, was a central belief of the Church, how could Bellarmine admit the possibility—as he did in 1615—that the opposite might be demonstrated?

Reston writes an engaging narrative, but the reader must be careful to distinguish between the evidence he uses and his additions to that evidence. For example, working with the documents from the Inquisition's questioning of Galileo concerning whether he wrote the Dialogue, Reston quotes from the sources, yet adds comments such as the following: "The inquisitor shoved the book forward on the table toward Galileo with evident distaste" (p. 247). The absence of an adequate system of footnotes makes it difficult for the reader to check Reston's sources; many quotations receive no textual reference at all. Reston's language is often heavy-handed: Bellarmine, for example, had "the burning passion of an inquisitor" (p. 160); the "entire machinery of the Vatican had been harnessed [by Pope Paul V in 1615 and 1616] behind the effort to snuff out the new science" (p. 164); or that one needs to escape "the clammy reach of the Inquisition" (p. 74).

It is true that under the direction of Pope Urban VHI the Inquisition set out to humiliate Galileo, and, for a time at least, succeeded. Many of the theological arguments which supported the disciplining of Galileo were erroneous. Reston certainly captures Galileo's humiliation, but he does not significantly advance our understanding of what led to it. He is critical of Galileo's vanity and arrogance, but Galileo remains the hero of the epic.

Reston, whose recent books include The Lone Stan The Life ofJohn Connally and Collision at Home Plate: The Lives ofPete Rose and Bart Giamatti, is working on a television series on Galileo for PBS. If this book is any indication, the series is likely to highlight the clash of personalities and only

reinforce a constitutive myth of the modern world about the relationship between religion and science. The book may well be valuable for students of contemporary popular culture, but not for those who wish a deeper understanding of Galileo and the Inquisition.

William E. Carroll

Cornell College

Le Père Houdry SJ. (1631-1729). Prédication et pénitence. By Marie-Christine Varachaud. [Théologie historique, 94.] (Paris: Beauchesne. 1993. Pp. 454. FF 297.)

Father Houdry, after fifteen years of teaching and thirty years of preaching, devoted the rest of his life to writing "la Bibliothèque des prédicateurs" (The Preachers' Library). This monumental work of twenty-two volumes, published between 1711 and 1725, has often been republished in Catholic countries. It was probably one of the wellsprings of devout Catholicism in the Age of Enlightenment. At all events "la Bibliothèque des prédicateurs" put a mark on that century not only by its juridic style and the soundness of its doctrine, but also by its aptitude for moving souls and winning hearts.

Marie-Christine Varachaud's book has two parts. In the first part, the author introduces Father Houdry and his work. According to the methods of "quantitative history," she then presents and comments on the biblical, patristic, and theological references of "la Bibliothèque des prédicateurs." Finally, she explains Father Houdry's conception of preaching. The second part of the book is devoted entirely to the study of penance in its broadest possible meaning. The author indeed does not restrict her work to the virtue and the sacrament of penance; she analyzes not only all that can be useful, in Christian life, for the expiation of sins committed (though they may have already been been forgiven by the sacrament of penance), but also all that can help to preserve the Christian from sin. As the first part of the book ends with an analysis of the titles given to Christ by Father Houdry, the second part finishes with a very sound study of the Mystery of the Passion, where Christ is presented as the Perfect Penitent.

This book is the rewriting of a doctoral dissertation and, though most of the technical elements are omitted from this presentation, it remains as austere as the topic treated. Fortunately, page after page and chapter after chapter, the reader is guided step by step and very clearly, to such a point that it is difficult for him to wander. The author justifies all her choices, especially her choice of the theme of penance, which is treated in only twelve percent of the pages of "la Bibliothèque des prédicateurs." Before writing this book, she had written a memoir about conversion; it is obvious that this reflection has had an influence on her thought, making her very sensitive to Father Houdry's

frequent efforts to hold Christ up to the congregation as a model of penance, patience, and humility according to the will of God.

This book is quite interesting, and its approach is very original. But when one closes it, some dissatisfactions remain. Its conclusion is too weak, and the comparisons with contemporary thought and circumstances are not satisfactory. The achievement of a lifetime in the distant past is well understood in the present only if it is put into perspective accurately.

Philippe LÉcrtvain, S. J.

Centre Sèvres Paris

St. Petersburg Dialogues: Or Conversations on the Temporal Government of Providence. By Joseph de Maistre. Translated and edited by Richard A. Lebrun. (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993- Pp. xxxvi, 407.)

Les Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg was almost but not quite complete at the time of Maistre's death in 1821, and appeared posthumously a few months later. It consists of eleven dialogues, each with three participants, set on long summer evenings in the Russian capital where Maistre served as Sardinian Ambassador 1803—1817. It is a work impossible to categorize, and difficult even to describe. Its nominal scope is le Gouvernement temporel de la Providence; its actual scope is very wide indeed, touching on war, sacrifice, punishment, suffering, eighteenth-century philosophie, Indian religion, the history of language, revolutionary politics, science and society, the status of women, prayer, and much more. We know that Maistre's intention was to challenge and to contradict, more than to convey his own position; and indeed, the writer of a dialogue cannot be read as agreeing with every statement that he puts in the mouth of every participant. Of the three participants in the Soirées, it is the Count who most often speaks with Maistre's voice, but the other two have distinctive voices which are also at the author's disposal. The important Dialogue 7 is opened with a long introduction by the Senator, and dialogue 8 begins with a recapitulation by the Chevalier. The dialogue form allows the author to soften, or otherwise modify, statements made by one or another character. Further rhetorical flexibility is provided by the extensive endnotes that accompany each dialogue: some of the notes are identified as 'Editor's note,' though we know that Maistre wrote most of them himself! Only very occasionally does Maistre lose his way, as in Dialogue 9 (p. 266) where he seems to forget that it is the Chevalier, not the Count, who is supposed to be speaking. For the most part he maintains a masterly control, literary as well as expository, over a work of nearly 400 pages.

It is an energetic work of controversy, and centrally, a work attempting, in

the words of Paradise Lost, to justify the ways of God to man—an enterprise always mildly comic, since plans that are divine are not likely to be fully comprehended by minds that are human. Nor does Maistre make any attempt to delimit his task in order to make it more workable; on the contrary, he occupies and defends positions which have only the remotest connection to his central aim, and which admit of no certain conclusion: for instance, that the earliest humans were far superior in abilities to us (Dialogue 2), or that hereditary monarchy, in theory "absurd," is in practice the best form of government (p. 263). He can be quirky, too, about such things as the origins of words (e.g., pp. 49—50). But for the most part he knows very well what he is about. The nature of his argument requires him to contend that the ideas he is attacking are not merely false, but also socially pernicious, (e.g., p. 193) and that the men propounding them are in some way blameworthy for doing so.

He is constantly attacking writers for such shortcomings as "a contentious pride" (p. 90), and can often make the charges stick. Locke he considers to be merely "foolish"; Condillac is "brazen," Hume "employed the most talent in the most cold-blooded way to do the most harm" (p. 180), and Voltaire is "... heavy and gross in comedy . . . for the wicked are never funny," and lacking "seriousness, good faith, and dignity," and much else (p. 110). Maistre does not hesitate to commit himself to such assertions as,

> There is a sure rule for judging books just as there is for judging men: it is enough to know by whom they are loved, and by whom they are hated, (p. 190).

His armory of controversial weapons is very diverse. We keep encountering such advice as,

> If you wish, read irreligious doctors as scholars or as writers, if they have the merit of style, but never call one of them to your bedside, (p. 299)

Especially, a twentieth century reader may add, if you are elderly or infirm! He is at his most deadly in turning his opponents' arguments back on them. Evil as an argument for atheism

> . . . reduces itself to this argument: God is unjust, therefore he does not exist. So these gentlemen know that God, who does not exist, is just by nature. . . . The atheist, to deny God, assumes him. (p. 251)

His attack on Locke's epistemology in Dialogue 6 is a delight to read. But some of his most arresting passages are so without reference to any controversial point—most notably, perhaps, in Dialogue 7, on war.

Maistre's polemics call for a remarkable erudition (his notes refer us to works in Greek, Latin, German, Italian, Spanish, and English, as well as French), a memory to match, and a great suppleness of mind in marshaling his arguments and references. But they also depend on his admirable command of the French language. Such a writer is bound to lose something in translation,

so that anyone who can read French should read and savor Maistre in the original (a new critical edition has been prepared by Darcel). Jack Lively's Works of Joseph de Maistre (New York, 1965) translates excerpts from all eleven dialogues of the Soirées, but omits the endnotes, and tries rather toe obtrusively to save the reader from falling under Maistre's spell. Lebrun, who has been writing on Maistre for thirty years, and who translated Maistre's Considerations on France (Montreal, 1974) has now given us the first complete version of the Soirées in English. Readers may be pained to see a writer like Maistre described as "honing his literary style" and "polishing his linguistic skills" (p. xi), and the incidence of typos is distressingly high. But Lebrun would not claim to write English as well as Maistre wrote French (if such a comparison makes sense), nor would he claim to have rendered the original version redundant (p. xi). What he has done is to produce a clear and complete translation, including numerous corrections (following Darcel) to Maistre's reference: (e.g., p. 48, n. 29), and a fifteen-page, three-column index, "so that those who are unable to read him in his original language can come to a better understanding . . ." (p. xi). We can be glad that he did.

E. D. Watt

University of Western Australia

The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France. By Geoffrey Cubitt. (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 346. S59.00.)

The king of France scuttled through the tunnel connecting the royal palace with the Jesuit novitiate. There the Master of Novices told him how to rule the country. Meanwhile the novices were in the basement practicing small arms drill. This was not the stuff of Gothic novels but only a small snippet of the "true facts" that made up the Jesuit myth. However ridiculous the myth, all too many people in nineteenth-century France firmly believed such stories and others much more far-fetched than these about the Jesuits.

The Jesuit Myth is "a study on what has sometimes been called the 'paranoid style' in politics or 'conspiracy theory.' " René Rémond, the historian of French anticlericalism, said that around the Jesuits there developed "a veritable myth, comparable in many respects to those which have formed around witchcraft, the Templars, Freemasonry or the Jews." A literary and political tradition of anti-Jesuitism exists in the English-speaking world, to be sure, but in no way does it rival in breadth and intensity that tradition in France. This was a phenomenon that engaged Beranger in libelous anti-Jesuit songs, gave Eugène Sue fame with his potboiler serial novel, Le Juif Errant, intrigued Balzac, and turned the deservedly great historian Michelet into a vulgar anti-Jesuit propagandist.

In an introduction, ten chapters, and a conclusion this book provides a vivid, thoroughly documented case study, replete with example, of "the propensity to formulate and to accept conspiracy theories" in nineteenth-century France. The first of two such leading theories came from the Right which "provided a tradition of counter-revolutionary conspiracy theory, focusing on Freemasonry and revolutionary secret societies." Plenty of serious studies exist on this end of the spectrum. The liberal and republican Left had its own tradition of such theory, "as highly developed, as tenacious and as influential. . . . The enemies denounced in this tradition were the Jesuits." About this end of the spectrum, there have been few such serious studies.

Cubitt's book treats the phenomenon in all its complexity. The first chapter explores in general anti-Jesuitism and the Jesuits in France from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, and then after die Society's restoration in 1814. Then three chapters deal with the opposition to the Jesuits as portrayed in myth during the Restoration and the July Monarchy and, in its third great manifestation, in the debate that culminated in the Ferry Decrees of 1880 to its final spasm in the anti-Jesuit portion of the Dreyfus Affair. Then in six more chapters the author turns to an analysis of the structures, imagery, and argument of anti-Jesuitism, to "murder, money and spies" as Jesuit tools, to Jesuits in plain clothes, to the confessor and the schools, to history and morality, and to the supposed Jesuitism which produced Jesuits. The concluding tenth chapter is an excellent recapitulation and analysis of how "the Left's appetite for the myth of a Jesuit conspiracy like the Right's fascination with Masonic plotting . . . did much to encourage the habits of rhetorical intransigence and moral ostracism that bedeviled French public debate on numerous occasions in the century and a half after the Revolution."

This is an excellent book. As usual, the price of Í59.00, set by the Oxford University Press, is so outrageously high as to be a positive disservice to the author. But it is still eminently worth reading, first and foremost, in and for itself. It also has the additional advantage, at least implicit, of making us in the United States, serenely free of the fesuit myth, ask what myths we have fed on in trying to simplify reality.

John W. Padberg, SJ.

The Institute offesuit Sources
Saint Louis, Missouri

Civilizing Mission: Exact Sciences and French Overseas Expansion, 1830—1940. By Lewis Pyenson. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 378. »45.00.)

Pyenson's fine book, following others on German colonies and Indonesia, is for historians of science, imperialism, religion, and the dozen lands where

French savants conducted research. Although there are a few misreadings of secondary sources (The Tunisia-Morocco chapter mentions Khéreddine/Khayr ad-Din as two persons), Pyenson has carefully mined government and private papers. For scores of scientists his wit enlivens narratives of career vicissitudes and bureaucratic-military-academic politics. The style is erudite yet brisk. In Algeria Albert Camus passed through 1937-38 as a research assistant in meteorology (p. 124). "The physical climate is omnipresent in his novels and essays." Meticulous scholarship fills the notes, and the publisher is lavish with photographs. Both appear in the pages where they matter. The handsome edition has a Glossary of French Terms, Note on Sources, and Index (but no bibliography). Pyenson catalogues French endeavors in the carte du ciel and other astronomical measurement, meteorology, seismology, vulcanology, and mapping the earth, its geology, and its magnetic variations. In the twentieth century wireless time signals from the Eiffel Tower, and data cabled or radioed from weather stations, unified the program. French cultural imperialism spanned more than a century in some lands. In the Americas it included Québec, Martinique, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Equador, and Mexico.

The Society of Jesus made particular contributions to science and to the mission civilisatrice. Jesuits carried on despite Third Republic anticlericalism; they resumed after the Great War in which some of them fought. Pyenson describes a Jesuit's fifteen-year formation. Superiors identified adolescent talent and planned the seminarians' doctoral research in philosophy and theology. They scheduled decade-later assignments in Madagascar, Shanghai (which ended after Mao's victory), and the Beqa'a Valley (which Lebanon's recent civil war ended). Many careers demonstrate the inner discipline which made Jesuits so productive and cost-effective in the view of "metropolitan mandarins." These Third Republic bureaucrats, military brass, and academics collaborated, during the late unpleasantness, with Jesuit authorities exiled to Britain or Jersey. As for the latter, "In their view, no civil regime could alter the fact that France remained a profoundly Catholic country" (p. 155). Government money somewhat compromised the autonomy of the Jesuits' observatories and weather stations (a problem for principal investigators in general). But it went for the greater glory of God. As Father Pierre Lejay remarked (p. 187): "Science is one of the most glorious parts given to man in unfolding the Creation that continually advances."

J. Dean O'Donnell, Jr.
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Die Franziskanerinnen von Bonlanden: Licht and Schatten. By Paul Kopf. (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1992. Pp. 308. DM 48,-.)

The book tells the story of the Franciscan nuns of Bonlanden, located in Württemberg, founded in 1854 by Faustin Mennel (1824-1889). As the author

correctly mentions in the introduction, Mennel and his congregation are widely unknown in Germany. Mennel, who became an orphan at the age of seven months, studied theology in Tübingen and, in 1867, became pastor of a parish in a little village near Tuttlingen. Influenced by the 1848 revolution and me suffering of the population, he first cared about young people. He intended to improve their situation by learning and education. In November 1853, he became pastor in Erolzheim. There, he met a couple who gave him as a present a piece of land near Bonlanden. This was the place to build his school for young girls, indigent widows, and sick people. In 1855, he asked the Franciscan nuns in Dillingen to support his work (till 1918, it was forbidden in Württemberg to found a male religious congregation). One year later, the first two nuns were robed in Bonlanden. In the following years, he expanded the property to provide the economic basis.

Although the Prussian Kulturkampf Laws in 1875 made Mennel's work more difficult, he was able to increase the number of nuns and students in his institute. At the end of the Kulturkampf there were forty-five sisters in Bonlanden. On June 17, 1898, Mennel died after several years of illness and afflictions. Up to that time, there were already forty-three Franciscan nuns, diirty-six tertians (members of the third order of St. Francis), and seventy-eight students living in Bonlanden. The year 1925 can be regarded as a turning point in the history of the congregation. The nuns decided to found missions overseas. The first project was to be in Argentina. The reason was that since 1922 there already existed connections to a colony in Misiones-Argentina. In the following years, the political atmosphere in the Weimar Republic changed dramatically. After the so-called Machtergreifung in 1933 the work became more and more difficult. Finally, in May, 1937, tfiirty-two sisters left Bonlanden to continue Mennel's work in Argentina, Brazil, and the United States of America. Brazil was the center of the sisters' work. During the following years, they took over seven convents. Mainly they were busy in the educational field. The same was true for Argentina. In that country the nursery was another important aspect. In the United States, the sisters were not as successful as in Latin America. Nowadays, their activities focus on the poor in the Brazilian cities. They established projects under the motto: "Help others to make them help themselves."

The book under review gives a detailed story of the sisters' history. It is worth reading for those who are particularly interested in this congregation. Other readers, I suspect, will be bored as it is a large collection of material and data. It should be added that two thirds of the book consist of pictures.

Susanne Bohr-Hiri e

Cologne

Carlo Bayer: Ein Römer aus Schlesien und Pionier der Caritas Internationalis. By Christian Heidrich. [Arbeiten zur schlesischen Kirchengeschichte, Volume 6.] (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1992. Pp. 380. DM 48,-.)

Carlo Bayer (1915—1977), a German priest, was the first secretary-general of Caritas Internationalis after its foundation in Rome in 1950—51. Under his dynamic leadership it early became an important factor in international relief work in stricken areas. In 1968 his agency, other church-related organizations, and the Red Cross were confronted with a near-catastrophic food crisis in Biafra, which in the course of its war with stronger Nigeria had been completely surrounded by its foe's army and denied access by land to foreign food sources. Before Western aid groups had gotten on top of the problem through the creation of a large air-lift operation, deaths from malnutrition had mounted to the high hundreds of thousands. Carlo Bayer was probably the most energetic and resourceful and certainly the most daring of the aid officials who were involved in the whole effort to feed the Biafran people. It was his willingness to take certain risks which would either provide the occasion or be the actual cause of his sudden and humiliating dismissal from his highly profiled position in February, 1970.

Christian Heidrich believes that Bayer, whom he much admires, lost his office because of the joint desire of Monsignor Jean Rodhain, the French president of the Catholic relief agency, and of Archbishop Giovanni Benelli, the Deputy-Secretary of State at the Vatican, to take over control of Caritas Internationalis. He stresses the fact that the German episcopate showed its confidence in its countryman by making him the head of its own well-funded program of aid to the Eastern European Catholic churches, a post he would hold till his death in January, 1977. The author may be unfair to the two high churchmen who forced Bayer out of his longtime post as chief operating officer of Caritas Internationalis. Bayer had earlier said that he did not observe diplomatic considerations when he was confronted with starving people. From time to time he found that his agency in trying to feed the people of Biafra needed to buy foodstuffs on its domestic markets, an undertaking which required the exchange of hard Western currency for the inflated paper money of Biafra. On one occasion, when the Biafran government was out of its own currency, he arranged for the printing of a large amount of it in European presses, paid the bills for that work, and then concluded an exchange arrangement with the Biafran government in which his agency secured Biafran paper money for Western currency. The agreement provided that Caritas Internationalis could send its payments to Biafra's European diplomatic missions and not to the home government itself so that it would not be used to purchase weapons. The Nigerian government soon angrily protested, however, that the Catholic relief agency and the Catholic Church itself had become allies of Biafra, and President Richard Nixon of the United States made a formal protest over the above currency pact to Pope Paul Vl in an audience at the Vatican.

For all his admiration of his subject, Heidrich does present a broad and detailed account of Bayer's Biafran operations so that his readers can come to their own conclusions as to whether his critics or supporters had the more right on their side. It is puzzling then that in his writing on the young Bayer as a seminarian, new priest, and non-combatant soldier in the Nazi years (1933—1945) his approach seems to be unusually narrow in focus and anodyne in approach when he deals with the young man's responses to dramatic public events, some of them horrendous in nature.

By the later 1930's Adolf Hitler had achieved a charismatic leadership in Germany with special effects on youth. Nevertheless, there is no evidence in the Heidrich study that the seminarian Bayer's determination in 1938 to enter the army if war came was due in any way to the dictator's inspiration. He did postpone taking that step until after his ordination in December, 1940, and his priestly status enabled him to serve as non-combattant, usually doing office tasks. The author's narrative shows that Bayer served at minor fronts or in quiet sectors except for a late assignment in his beloved Italy. What is strange about Heidrich's narrative is that we learn nothing about the young soldier's reactions to the great military and political developments of the war period, including Germany's defeat, Hitler's death, and the earlier large-scale crimes of his regime. His units might just as well have been stationed in the Gobi desert without radio communications.

There may be, however, an intellectually satisfying and possibly sound rationale for the author's treatment of the young Bayer's thinking and actions in response to the above major historic events. Like most other Germans, Catholics had negative feelings about the Treaty of Versailles. Hubert Jedin, the noted Silesian priest and church historian and a Bayer friend, would later write that he, because of his resentment against that treaty, would have welcomed Germany's victory over France in 1940 if he had not had to worry as a half-Jew what consequences it might have for his own security. On the other hand, many German Catholics had since World War I a strongly positive attitude toward the German army in which they or some of their family members had served. Bayer's own soldier father had fallen in battle in 1917. For some Germans, religious, political, or intellectual foes of Nazism, the army was an honorable institution in which they could serve their country and escape persecution from the regime, or, as one prominent critic put it, "sit out the war." The young Bayer certainly did not sit out the conflict, but he may have been standing with his back toward Berlin and its works.

This is certainly a serious, informative, and worthwhile biographical study of Carlo Bayer's life and career as it stands. Nevertheless, it would be more satisfying if Christian Heidrich had told us what his subject's later reflections were on the causes of the war, for which the author does blame Hitler, and the mass murders of Jews and other smaller ethnic and religious groups. After all, the central theme of this book is Bayer's zealous efforts as a relief administrator after 1945 to save the lives and relieve the sufferings of peoples in

disasters caused by man or by nature. If he did not leave a record of his later thoughts on the war and the massive Nazi crimes committed in it, the author could have said so. In the final analysis it is not the subject of a biography who has the last word but his biographer.

John Zeender

The Catholic University of America

The Letters of Teilhard de Chardin and Lucile Swan Edited by Thomas M. King, SJ., and Mary Wood Gilbert. Textual editor, Karl Schrnitz-Moorman. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 316. «45.00 cloth; S24.95 paper.)

When they met in Peking in 1929, Teilhard de Chardin was forty-eight, a paleontologist who had been a Jesuit for thirty years; Lucile Swan was ten years younger, a divorced American artist. Their friendship flourished for a decade in Peking, for another sixteen years across the globe as both moved and traveled. They discussed Teilhard's ideas, the books and essays on evolution that he was writing and circulating to friends in mimeographed editions. Ms. Swan came to share his views and helped in preparing typescripts. More than two hundred of Teilhard's letters to her are included in this edition, the last major collection of his letters to be published. About forty of Ms. Swan's letters are extant, and selections from them have been included along with portions of her journal and notes to herself about Teilhard. Most of Teilhard's letters were written in English and those written wholly or partially in French have been presented in both languages, with Teilhard's lapses in English and eccentric French punctuation faithfully reproduced. The critical apparatus contains a parallel chronology of their lives, a select bibliography, an index of names, and a guide to indexed names. Ten photographs are included.

The collection is valuable for several reasons. It further illuminates Teilhard's personality and affords more glimpses of his reactions to the trajectory of his career, the genesis and reception of his ideas, and the health problems of his last years. Some more detail is added to what we know of the circumstances in which various of his writings were prepared. The most important aspect of this volume, however, is that it should put to rest once and for all any doubt as to the nature of Teilhard's commitment to his celibate vocation. Ms. Swan many times expressed her desire that their relationship include sexual intimacy, asserting that its omission was inconsistent with his ideas on the relation of matter and spirit. Repeatedly Teilhard denied the possibility of his ever embarking on such intimacy with any woman, explaining to her the organic role of virginity in his continued spiritual and intellectual development and reiterating the views he had set forth in his 1918 essay, "The Eternal Feminine." Indeed, "The Evolution of Chastity," written in 1934, seems

an attempt to deal with the problem presented by his friendship with Ms. Swan. In an epilogue, "Teilhard and the Feminine," Father King rehearses (as he did in pp. 158-174 of his 1988 book, Teilhard de Chardin) the role played both by the idealized view of women and the friendship of specific women in Teilhard's life and thought.

This handsome and useful compilation would have been enhanced by the inclusion of an index of topics as well as that of names.

Joseph M. McCarthy

Suffolk University

American

Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico. By Marc Treib. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 352. 855.00.)

A big, handsome production designed by the author, this volume brings California to New Mexico. Even though Marc Treib earned degrees in architecture and design in the late 1960's at the University of California, Berkeley, where today he is professor of architecture, and the University of California Press published the study, the subject is not California missions, but, surprisingly, New Mexico missions. It began as a guide book. Treib then perceived the need "for an architectural history that synthesized material from these [i.e., previous] studies and bolstered them with fieldwork and formal analysis" (p. xii).

To that end, he achieves a neat balance of words and pictures. Still, it is the latter initially that stand out—dozens and dozens of crisply reproduced black-and-white photographs, period shots interspersed with the author's; a rich color section of his prints (featuring in plates 16 and 17 a creative juxtaposition of natural lighting in church and kiva); and an impressive series of floor plans all to the same scale, allowing easy comparison (as with distinct seventeenth) and eighteenth-century structures at Pecos on facing pp. 212—213).

Accessibility determined Treib's selection of churches; because the pueblo of Santa Ana is rarely open to visitors, the eighteenth-century monument there gets left out. His choice of the word "sanctuaries" allows him to add to the usual canon of roofed or ruined New Mexico mission churches a number of non-mission buildings that served the Hispanic population of the colony.

Part I sets the scene physically and culturally. Treib is at his best discussing continuities, discontinuities, and accommodations between Pueblo Indian and Spanish building traditions, as well as the architectural tides that washed over New Mexico after U.S. occupation in the mid-nineteenth century. In Part II,

the author offers well-crafted compilations detailing the often-confusing successions of churches that occupied at least twenty-nine different sites. Here, he utilizes almost every pertinent published primary source, numerous specific secondary studies, along with the standard general ones: Prince (1915), Forrest (1929), Kubier (1940), Hewett and Fisher (1943), and Kessell (1980).

To see the evolution of these historic monuments through a modern architect's eye is delightful. "The play of curvilinear and planar forms in adobe" (caption 15—3), referring to the famous buttresses and apse of Ranchos de Taos, or Las Trampas, with "the most poised facade of the New Mexican churches, a composition pitting the strong verticals of the towers against the lighter wooden balcony" (caption 13-1)—who but an architect? Typical is this description of the same church inside: "Fortunately, San José is not covered by the tin shed roofs that now protect many of the adobe churches, and as a result the light quality from the windows—however enlarged—and the clerestory reveal an interior characterized by softness and repose. The wash of light over the white plastered walls and the soft rendering of the prismatic masses create a spacial impression that complements the cubic forms of the exterior towers" (p. 176).

Even we who fret about the Californication of New Mexico can celebrate Marc Treib's welcome contribution of this beautiful guide-book-turned-architectural-exposition.

John L. Kessell

University of New Mexico

Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America By Matthew Dennis. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 280. 837.95.)

Cultivating a Landscape of Peace deals with relations between the Iroquois, Dutch, and French in the seventeenth century, prior to the British conquest of New York and the development of the covenant chain between the Iroquois and the English. Matthew Dennis, an assistant professor in the Department of History, University of Oregon, suggests that the central theme in this period of the history of the Five Nations is a continuous search for peace, on Iroquois terms, with the two European powers.

Cultivating a Landscape of Peace is divided into two sections. The first examines the Iroquois world prior to contact; the second their post-contact relations with the Dutch and French. In part one, Dennis examines the development of the Iroquois ideal of establishing peace with hostile groups by establishing ties of kinship between them, and their desire to establish a world

of universal peace. Part two records Iroquois attempts to apply this ideal in the decades following the establishment of Dutch and French colonies on the Hudson and the Saint Lawrence, as they sought peace with Europeans by incorporating them into their kinship system. In die course of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois earnestly attempted to assimilate Dutch and French colonists, and to instruct them in their obligations and roles in the Iroquois kinship system. Neither group proved receptive. The Dutch at tempted to distance diemselves from Amerindians, whom they perceived solely as commercial partners. The French sent Jesuit missionaries to Iroquoia with the avowed intention, not of bringing the French colony into the Iroquois world, but of assimilating the Iroquois and converting them into Christian Frenchmen.

This portrayal of the Iroquois as cultural imperialists provides an invaluable insight into the dynamics of the Catholic missionary effort in Iroquoia, as Dennis depicts the attempts of a confident and successful native society to assimilate Europeans. Viewed from this perspective, the Jesuit enterprise ceases to be a unilateral venture in -which European missionaries preach to more or less receptive Native Americans. Instead, it becomes a competitive process, in which each group seeks to convert and assimilate the other to an alien way of life.

In skillfully portraying me attempts of a confident and successful native society to deal with Europeans on their own terms Dennis has made an important contribution to the literature on the Iroquois, their European neighbors, and the process of evangelization.

D. Peter MacLeod

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide. By George E. Tinker. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 1993· Pp. ix, 182. Paperback.)

The natural source of life for a given people, explains the author, is the integrity of their native culture, the maintenance of their system of values, their social patterns and structures, the interrelationships that bind them together as a community. Destroy, erode, or undermine this complex of social, political, economic, and cultural characteristics and you effectually damage or even destroy them. Such interference with a given people's way of life is what the author terms cultural genocide.

Misfortune of this general character was visited upon many Native American communities at the hands of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who, unable to distinguish adequately between the spiritual values of the Gospel and the cultural values of the European or Euro-American way of life they

represented, attempted to impart both at the same time to the ill-starred objects of their religious zeal.

Inevitably, the fear of the missionaries that the lives of their converts would not conform sufficiently to European standards resulted, for the Indians, in a form of discipline that limited too severely the freedom to which they had been traditionally accustomed.

With these principles in mind, the author sketches briefly the careers of four missionaries, two Protestant and two Catholic, who labored during the period previous to the development of the science of anthropology: John Eliot (d. 1690) in Puritan New England; Junípero Serra (d. 1784) in Alta California; Pierre-Jean De Smet (d. 1873) in the Great Plains, Montana, Oregon, and Alberta, Canada; and Henry Benjamin Whipple (d. 1901), the Episcopal Bishop of Minnesota.

Strangely, the author seems rather persistent in questioning the good intentions with which these and like missionaries are generally credited. "A similar breakdown of good intentions," he says, "can be demonstrated for virtually every important missionary in the history of Native American missions in both hemispheres" (p. 17).

The text is occasionally marred by small errors, at least in the case of Junípero Serra, who died in 1784, not 1782, and who was beatified on September 25, 1988, not on July 1 of that year. Pedro Fages, in 1773, was not yet the governor of California; still a lieutenant, he was only commander of the presidios in the new colony. In the early stages of his missionary experience on the Pacific coast, Serra's most important political superior was named Gálvez, not Galvan. And Indian converts, traditionally, were permitted to supplement their ration of Spanish food with native dishes, which they actually preferred.

With respect to the death rate among the missionized Indians of Alta California, it is worm observing, first, that Dr. Harry Kelsey, drawing upon the research of three archaeologists, specifies five diseases that were present among Alta California natives previous to European contact: streptococcus, staphylococcus, gastrointestinal disorders associated with the intake of contaminated water, venereal syphilis, and tuberculosis; and secondly, that dysentery, a common complaint among the Indians of at least seven of the missions, most probably came from drinking polluted water. The Salinas River and coastal streams to the south tend to dry up during the summer months, and the vast numbers of cattle and sheep had abundant opportunity to befoul the water.

To determine the reasons for the high death rate among the missionized Indians of Alta California, archaeological research is necessary.

Francis F. Guest, O.F.M.

Santa Barbara, California

The Christian Philosopher. By Cotton Mather. Edited with an Introduction and Notes, by Winton U. Solberg. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. cxlii, 488. «49.95.)

This splendid edition of Cotton Mather's ambitious natural theology demonstrates one way Puritanism embraced the Enlightenment in Europe. The argument from design, which buttressed natural theology, depended upon empirical observation of natural processes for its assertion that God existed. Like the 'New Science' in Europe, it presumed that like effects proceeded from like causes, Isaac Newton's second rule of reasoning in the Principia. Yet, in its preoccupation with final cause, the argument from design shared more with the Peripatetics than with the experimental philosophers of the seventeenth century. As both Galileo and Bacon warned, teleology too often became tautology. Still, within the swirling cross-currents of the Enlightenment in Britain and eventually in America as well, the logical structures of natural theology often cut across religious boundaries. Orthodox clerics and heterodox pamphleteers often shared fundamental assumptions. Mather's embrace of arguments also invoked by Deists need not compromise his Puritanism.

Mather published The Christian Philosopher in 1721. As Winton Solberg's excellent introduction details, Mather carefully monitored intellectual developments within the Royal Society in London, and often contributed "Curiosa Americana" to their proceedings. He maintained a huge personal library of British books, which he drew upon extensively when compiling his own natural theology. Indeed, as Solberg demonstrates with stunning thoroughness, little of Mather's book proved original. By Solberg's calculations, almost eighty percent of The Christian Philosopher came directly and sometimes without acknowledgment from the published works of such figures as John Ray, William Derham, John Harris, George Cheyne, and Nehemiah Grew. Mather's personal contribution to this anthology consisted mainly of introductory essays and connective passages which linked his various sources together. Solberg notes forgivingly that such borrowing was widely tolerated in the eighteenth century. He compliments Mather on his extensive knowledge of arcane sources and rightly credits his subject with disseminating the natural theology of the Enlightenment to the American colonies. He also shows how the book influenced both John Wesley and Christian Wolff. Nevertheless, it may come as a surprise to readers just how much Mather lifted from others.

Solberg has edited Mather's work with care. His lengthy introduction and extensive notes place the work within its historical context; the handsomely produced text mirrors the original faithfully; the end matter includes a biographical register, a recapitulation of Mather's sources, a list of biblical references, and a useful index.

D. L. Le Mahieu

Lake Forest College

New Dimensions in American Religious History: Essays in Honor of Martin E. Marty. Edited by Jay P. Dolan and James P. Wind. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 1993. Pp. xi, 329. 829.99.)

This book is a Festschrift for Martin E. Marty on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. The authors are his former students at the University of Chicago, some now distinguished scholars themselves. Rarely in any anthology are contributions of consistently high quality; this one is an exception. Each piece deserves sustained attention.

Tradition suggests that a Festschrift reflect the professional interests of the honorée. To do so in Marty's case would require a multivolume effort; the select bibliography that closes the book notes some 300 of Marty's writings, a mere ten percent of his corpus to date.

Wisely the editors emphasize three themes: the idea of a public religion that weaves through much of Marty's work, new directions in American religious history, and the phenomenon of fundamentalism(s) that dominates much of Marty's recent endeavors. Yet the essays illuminate other of Marty's passions even as they center on these themes.

For example, Marty's editorial tenure at the Christian Century that has made him a public analyst of religious trends receives recognition in an insightful piece by Mark Toulouse. Toulouse uses the Century as a microcosm to view the tensions and ambivalence that cascaded through American Protestantism in the 1950's and 1960's when it came to connecting faith to social issues.

Marty has long urged us not to restrict "American" to the United States, but to embrace the rest of the Americas (especially Canada) and also the impact of American forms of Christianity on global religious life. Two essays highlight these concerns. William L. Sachs probes the dilemmas facing churches established by missionaries in Japan as that culture became stridently nationalistic in the decades before World War II, while Robert Choquette, adapting a perspective Marty advanced in looking primarily at twentieth-century development in the United States, shows how numerous ironies have confronted Canadian Christianity in its multifaceted relationship to cultural forces.

How religious consciousness penetrates public life outside traditional religious institutions is another emphasis that pervades much of Marty's scholarly writing. Sally Promey points in that direction with an appraisal of the murals painted by John Singer Sargent in the Boston Public Library, noting how they reflected the bias in American life of the triumph of Western culture because of its appropriation of Christianity. James Wind, coeditor of the book, also picks up on the way religious influences subtly work in society in a provocative piece on American attitudes toward health and health care.

Four essays build on Marty's nudging religious history in new directions; yet, these, too, reflect other concerns shaping his career. For example, much of Marty's editorial writing has examined the transition of religiosity from being a corporate to an individual matter. Catherine Albanese draws on the fascination with Thomsonian medicine in the nineteenth century to find one source of that privatization as individuals sought inner power in order to understand and control even abstract forces that seemed to set the course of life.

Jay Dolan, the book's other coeditor, masterfully surveys American Catholic historical writing in the twentieth century, explicating the theological and cultural biases that shifted as Catholics moved beyond triumphalism to seeing how the American context enriched their tradition. Marty the Lutheran pastor and churchman lurks behind Paul Westermeyer's appraisal of changes in twentieth-century church music. Westermeyer notes that although music histories give careful attention to religious music in earlier epochs, they mistakenly ignore it when looking at the recent past.

Marty has looked at the religious lives of selected individuals as representative pilgrimages that illumine the larger picture. DeAne Lagerquist closes this section by expanding Marty's approach in using three women (including one African American) as prisms through which to view recent developments.

For the last decade or so, Marty has been identified with the Fundamentalism Project, spearheading endeavors to understand fundamentalism as a religious and cultural phenomenon that is not limited to theologically conservative Protestants. The final three essays emerge from that concern.

Scott Appleby, associate director of the Fundamentalism Project, explains how perceptions that society was becoming too secular spurred both Protestants and Catholics to preserve fundamental religious truth thought essential for the common good.

Especially perceptive is Timothy Weber's scrutiny of attitudes toward issues such as biblical inerrancy and feminism that divided Protestant fundamentalists and led to the emergence of a "progressive evangelicalism." The volume concludes with Yaakov Ariel's careful study of Protestant fundamentalist support for Zionism, partly grounded in the conviction that a Jewish state was a precondition for the eschaton so central to the fundamentalist worldview.

Martin Marty ranks as one of the foremost interpreters of American religion over the last forty years. These essays are a fitting tribute to the range and significance of his work and an indication of how students of an effective teacher push beyond their mentors to open new vistas for reflection.

Charles H. Lippy

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

The Bicentennial History of Georgetown University. Volume h From Academy to University, 1789-1889- By Robert Emmett Curran, SJ. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1993- Pp. xviii, 445. »25.00.)

In view of Georgetown's special status as the nation's oldest Catholic institution of higher education, and the only one founded by the first Catholic bishop, John Carroll, it is fitting that the first volume of R. Emmett Curran's bicentennial history of Georgetown sets a new standard of excellence for institutional biographies of Catholic colleges and universities. And to have done this is no small accomplishment, given the high quality of other recent works in the field by C. Joseph Nuesse, Joseph B. Connors, Donald P. Gavin, and Gerald McKevitt, SJ., to mention only the most outstanding.1 For that matter, it required a certain boldness on Curran's part to include the first century of Georgetown's history in his bicentennial project, since that span of time had already been covered in two quite competent books by John M. Daley, SJ. (Georgetown University: Origins and Early Years [1957]), and Joseph T. Durkin, SJ. (Georgetown University: The Middle Years, 1840—1900 [1963]).

Curran's decision to cover the whole of Georgetown's history derived from his conviction that "there was a distinct value to a new, integrated account of the institution" from its eighteenth-century beginnings as an academy to its present status as a complex multiversity. Three more specific considerations reinforced this conviction: (1) the availability of sources Daley and Durkin could not use; (2) the development of new techniques of historical investigation, especially prosopographic; and (3) Curran's desire to set Georgetown's history more solidly in the context of the ecclesiastical, educational, and regional communities to which it belongs (p. xv). The book at hand triumphantly vindicates his decision to go back once more over the ground covered by Daley and Durkin, and makes us look forward more eagerly than ever to the second volume, which will reveal a century of Georgetown's history about which virtually nothing is now known.

Curran's organization of the first century is beautifully symmetrical (three "parts" of four chapters each, with each chapter in turn divided into labelled

1C. Joseph Nuesse, The Catholic University of America· A Centennial History (1990); Joseph B. Connors,/OHraey toward Fulfillment: A History of the College of St Thomas (1986); Donald P. Gavin,/o*n Carroll University: A Century of Service (1985); Gerald McKevitt, S.J., The University of Santa Clara: A History, 1851-1977 (1979). Other recent works deserving of notice are Charles F. Donovan, SJ., David R. Dunigan, S.J., and Paul A. FitzGerald, SJ., History of Boston College (1990), an updating of Dunigan's 1947 study of the same name; William H. Dunn, C.S.C., Saint Edward's University: A Centennial History (1986); and Herman J. Muller, S.J., The University of Detroit, 1877—1977: A Centennial History (1976). Among somewhat older works William B. Faherty, SJ., Better the Dream: Saint Louis: University and Community, 1818-1968 (1968) is of special value.

subsections, usually ten to twelve in number), and he succeeds nicely in combining narrative movement with comprehensiveness of coverage. The designations he applies to the three parts—"The Academy: Beginnings, 1773—1830"; "From Academy to College, 1830-60"; and "From College to University, 1860—89"—reflect Curran's sense of the main stages of institutional growth. He is, however, quite well aware of the ambiguous nature of these classificatory labels, and his division seems based more on the dominant academic ethos of each period than on its specific organizational or curricular features (although the latter are, of course, dealt with very fully).

The story Curran tells reveals anything but an easy, continuous, built-in progression from academy to college to university. On the contrary, one is struck repeatedly by the uncertain, up-and-down rockiness of Georgetown's development, and by the crucial role of individual leaders in moving it ahead, impeding its progress, or in a few cases endangering its existence. The latter peril was greatest in the early days, and Curran's research fully confirms John Carroll's indispensable contribution as founder, the almost fatal setback inflicted by the rigidities of Leonard and Francis Neale, and the revitalizing role played by Giovanni Grassi, the first Jesuit to hold office as president after the full restoration of the Society in 1814. Further along in the story, the indigenously American, but Roman-trained Jesuits, Thomas Mulledy, William McSherry, and James Ryder are credited with infusing the new spirit that moved Georgetown definitively from academy to college, and Patrick Healy, SJ. (of the famous African-American clerical family), set the stage in the 1870's for Georgetown's evolution toward modern university status.

Besides underlining the importance of leadership, Curran's account clarifies the hitherto obscure process by which Georgetown became a Jesuit institution although it was founded when the Society was officially suppressed, and was controlled through its first two decades by the organization of ex-Jesuits set up on Carroll's initiative in the 1780's. Another revealing feature of Curran's discussion of Georgetown's relationship to the Society are the tensions between the "continentals" (i.e., Jesuits sent over from Europe in the post-Napoleonic era) and their all-too-republican American confreres. But he also makes clear how much Georgetown's academic progress owed to the recurrent waves of Jesuit émigrés, especially those uprooted by the revolutions of 1848. Curran likewise points out how the development of other Jesuit colleges affected Georgetown, but the degree to which the needs of the Jesuit province as a whole took precedence over the interests of any individual institution within it could be brought out more explicitly.

Curran sets Georgetown's story within the larger educational context quite expertly; even more illuminating, however, is the way he links it to the development of the nation's capital and to the school's regional location on the rim of the upper South. These linkages are most consistently reflected in the composition of Georgetown's student body, which brings us to Curran's heroic venture into prosopography. He has created a data bank of computerized information for all of Georgetown's students between 1791 and 1870, and for

the entering classes of every fifth year from 1870 to I960. For this total of 10,621 students, data were collected for fifty-two variables, "including place of origin . . . , family background, religious affiliation, ethnic group, age, academic concentration, history of education financing, reason for leaving Georgetown, career, military service, and family connections with the institution." A similar study was carried out on the faculty from the beginning to I960, but with "scaled-down variables" (p. 342n). The detailed results are set forth in twenty tables of "demographics," and woven into the relevant expository sections of nearly every chapter of the book. Three additional tables of a more conventional sort report annual enrollment figures, degrees awarded, and numbers of Georgetown alumni who served in the Civil War (218 for the Union; 867 for the Confederacy).

The density and richness of the portrayal of the Georgetown community this mammoth undertaking permits is unparalleled in the literature on Catholic higher education, and, I venture to speculate, for American higher education at large. Although nothing like a summary is possible here, we can note that Curran establishes the strongly "Southern" character of Georgetown through virtually all its first century; that he uncovers many connections with the nation's political and military elite arising from its strategic location in the District of Columbia; and that he traces very interesting fluctuations in the relative numbers of Catholics and Protestants in the student bodies of the college, the medical school (established in 1849), and the law school (established in 1870).

All this—in addition to Curran's superb handling of special topics, such as the impact of nativism and the Civil War, and of standard themes, such as student life and curricular development—give this book a special place in the literature of the field that matches Georgetown's special place among American Catholic institutions of higher education.

Philip Gleason

University of Notre Dame

No Easy Road: The Early Years of the Augustinians in the United States, 1796-1874. By Arthur J. Ennis, O.S.A. [Cassiciacum: Studies in St. Augustine and the Augustinian Order, Volume XII (American Studies).] (New York: Peter Lang. 1993. Pp. viii, 472.)

This twelfth volume in the American Series of the studies in St. Augustine and the Augustinian Order presents a story of heroism told exceptionally well and documented thoroughly as it traces the growth of the founding Augustinian community to what is presently three provinces and one viceprovince established separately with a total membership of 651.

If this definitive work has any small shortcoming it is that Father Ennis in

his modesty does not credit the tremendous priestly help the Augustinians have always been to what would become the Archdioceses of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, but especially in those early years with ever mounting thousands and thousands of Irish immigrants into priest-scarce Philadelphia, the leading seaport until the completion of the Erie Canal. Most of the Augustinians in this early period were Irish, making them doubly acceptable to the vast majority of immigrants in the Philadelphia, New York, and Boston areas.

The Augustinians also shortly after the foundation of the Diocese of Philadelphia supplied that great necessity of higher Catholic education in what has now become the imposing Villanova University.

Chapter XII, "Ruin and Recovery," relating as reported "Ecclesia Bellissima Nostra Combusta Est ab Americanis" (so-called Native Americans?) is an outstanding chapter.

Father Ennis corrects those exaggerated ecumenists who assert that religious bigotry did not play a major role in the 1844 incendiary riots when nativists and Scots-Irish united in enmity toward the Catholic Irish, even diough some of the Northern Irish were foreign-born and tíierefore did not possess the high and noble trait of "nativism in its purity."

The author pinpoints Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick's greatest concern as the increasingly anti-Catholic climate in the public schools—the use of Protestant prayers, hymns, and religious services, and above all, the flagrantly anti-Catholic bias found in many secular textbooks and in school libraries. The bishop wrote "a courteous letter begging for free and equal treatment and citing the stated policy of religious tolerance based on the laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; specifically, he asked that Catholic students be permitted to use a Catholic Bible in place of the King James version [but] ... in the mind of the nativist populace the issue was quite simple: the papist bishop of Philadelphia was trying to remove the Bible from the public schools."

The destruction of three Catholic churches followed. After the May 8, 1844, burning of St. Michael's Church, rectory, the sisters' school and convent, and a number of the homes of Irish families, the rioters went that evening to the next Catholic church, St. Augustine's. Stoning Mayor John Scott in his plea for calm, the terrorists burned St. Augustine's church and buildings, even making a bonfire of one of the best theological and patristic libraries of its times, at least 3000 volumes. The church buildings were replaced rather quickly, but the library and paintings could never be restored. "On the interior of the rear wall carved in large gold letters above the main altar were the words 'The Lord Seeth'; though begrimed by the smoke the words nevertheless remained clearly visible," reassuring to all the Catholics of Philadelphia, whose parishes contributed to the new St. Augustine's, which opened the first Sunday in February, 1847, with those same encouraging words on the rear wall.

Copious notes followed by a thorough bibliography are proof of sound scholarship. All are deeply indebted to Father Ennis, now deceased. R.I.P.

Hugh J. Nolan

Wayne, Pennsylvania

Mission and Memory: A History of the Catholic Church in Arkansas. By James M. Woods. (Little Rock: August House, Inc., Publishers for the Diocese of Little Rock, P.O. Box 3223, Little Rock, Arkansas 72203. 1993. Pp. 415. 824.95.)

The year 1993 marked the 150th anniversary of the erection of the Diocese of Little Rock in 1843. Mission and Memory is the history commissioned for the occasion. Many important details concerning the Church in Arkansas appear for the first time.

Catholicism came to the Arkansas territory with the expedition of Hernando de Soto in 1541. Until the territory passed under the control of the United States in 1803, the Church was under Spanish and French ecclesiastical jurisdiction. During this "colonial" period it barely survived. There was little religious activity, small population, few clergy, immense distances, and slow travel. Yet a Catholic presence was preserved. Once a part of the United States, die Church in Arkansas had to start anew. Most settlers in the Early National period were English-speaking Protestants, and Arkansas became a state which even now has a Catholic population of only about three percent of the total population.

Mission and Memory begins with two chapters of prediocesan development, hitherto little known. With the appointment of the first bishop, Andrew Byrne, the story continues, built around each bishop. Two chapters capture the era of Bishop Byrne; two chapters continue the story of Bishop Fitzgerald; diree chapters are devoted to the church under Bishop John Morris, and one chapter each outlines the contributions of Bishop Albert Fletcher and Bishop Andrew McDonald. This centering around the bishop is one of the merits of this book. The most significant bishop is Edward Fitzgerald (1867-1907). Fitzgerald is largely known because of his voting against the constitution on papal infallibility in the First Vatican Council and the "rumor" that he was under a cloud at die Vatican for the rest of his life. Here Bishop Fitzgerald emerges as a human, energetic, and respected man in church and state. The author shows that Fitzgerald was not "condemned" to remain a bishop of a remote diocese but turned down considerations for appointments to Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Kansas City to remain in his first diocese. In 1893 he was asked to administer the diocese of Dallas and the same year was chosen to represent the New Orleans Province in greeting the newly-elected Leo

XIII. In 1884 he was chosen to give the opening address at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

Immigrant Irish, Germans, Italians, Polish, and Czechs formed the largest groups of Catholics. The Irish forged the way until after the Civil War. In more recent decades Hispanic and Vietnamese Catholics have left their marks on Arkansas Catholicism. Dr. Wood studies the immigrant era interestingly comparing the proportions of foreign-born Catholics with the general population.

Chapter XI, "Sisters, Schools and Services: Some Catholic Contributions to Arkansas, 1838—1992," outlines this phase of Catholic life and ministry from die arrival of the Sisters of Loretto around 1840. A minor criticism might be that religious orders of men receive recognition in chapters on the regular development of the church, whereas the orders of women, for the most part, are treated in this chapter.

Bishop Andrew J. McDonald has written in his prologue: ". . . We have opened our hearts and our archives to Professor James M. Woods of Georgia Southern University. A native Arkansan, he is a man of integrity and honesty, and a professional historian." Mission and Memory is a valuable contribution to American Catholic history.

Hugh Assenmachhr, O.S.B.

Subiaco Abbey
Subiaco, Arkansas

Religion and Society in Frontier California By Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 241. 825.00.)

This book is a remarkable piece of scholarship. It draws on a wide variety of primary sources including the letters and diaries of gold-seekers, sermons, the records of home mission societies, and other sources to present an innovative interpretation of the attempt of four major Protestant groups—Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians—to evangelize Gold Rush California. The popular historical interpretation of this era suggests that California was flooded by gold hungry argonauts who had little regard for religion or morality. Indeed, if judged by eastern evangelical standards, which measured religious success by the number of personal conversions achieved, the evangelization of California was a dismal failure. Maffly-Kipp challenges this interpretation, arguing that a broader view of religion in the gold mines needs to be employed.

Maffly-Kipp follows three "interconnecting stories" in her attempt to provide a new understanding of religion in the gold mines. First, she examines the attempt by Protestant evangelicals to transplant their faith and institutions in California. Millennial hopes buoyed by the doctrine of Manifest Destiny

were soon disappointed. Transplantation did not occur easily. Second, many of the most cherished values of antebellum Protestant America were called into question by the new realities presented by the mining regions. Transiency, "extreme ethnic and racial diversity" (p. 113), a paucity of women, and odier novelties, undermined eastern evangelicalism, which was now merely one choice among "a dizzying array of alternative religious conceptions," that competed in "this marketplace of morals" (p. 5). The evangelical world view often conflicted with life in the mines. Particularly troublesome was the evangelical correlation of success with hard work. In the mines, luck was often a greater determinant of success than hard work. In this and other instances, Protestant evangelicalism as brought from the east seemed incapable of explaining the world the miners encountered. Third, there is the story "of the creation of a new type of society . . . that exhibited new patterns of religious adherence" (p. 5), a "California piety," that presaged a more "modern" religious sensibility than that expressed by antebellum eastern evangelicalism. This story is ably demonstrated in her chapter, "The Moral World of the California Miner."

Ms. Maffly-Kipp has written a challenging and important study of religion in Gold Rush California, and of religion in antebellum America.

My biggest complaint with this study is its almost complete neglect of Catholicism; after all, the study is entitled "Religion and Society in Frontier California," and to neglect the significant presence of the Catholic Church is to miss a major part of the story of "religion and society." Maffly-Kipp too easily dismisses the Catholic Church by claiming "the rapid influx of settlers to the north quickly overwhelmed an already weakened Catholic structure producing a free market of religious beliefs" (p. 117). Even so, the Catholic Church was a major player in that free market, and its efforts as well as its relation to competing Protestant groups needed to be considered. Maffly-Kipp's study would have been better named "Protestant Religion and Society . . ."

Jeffrey M. Burns

Chancery Archives, Archdiocese of San Francisco

The Orange Riots: Irish Political Violence in New York City, 1870 and 1871. By Michael A. Gordon, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1993· Pp. xxii, 263- 835.00.)

On July 12, 1870, a provocative Orange parade through Irish Catholic neighborhoods triggered retaliation in Elm Park on New York's upper West Side. When the incident ended, eight were dead, and many were injured. Because of Fenian and Ancient Order of Hibernian threats, Mayor A. Oakley Hall banned the 1871 parade, but Governor John T. Hoffman, another Tarn-

many hack, appealing to Protestant opinion, canceled Hall's directive. Responding to stone throwers and snipers, soldiers protecting the parade route fired indiscriminately into a mostly hostile sidewalk crowd, killing sixty, wounding at least a hundred.

Michael Gordon offers a detailed history of the riots, but the most important sections of his book are the discussions of the reasons for and the consequences of Irish Catholic violence. Contradicting the interpretation of other historians, Gordon insists that the Orange riots were more than an Old Country religious feud transported to the New. Following and expanding on Iver Bernstein's analysis of the 1863 draft riots, he argues that Irish Catholic anger had cultural, social, and political as well as religious sources.

Borrowing from Kerby Miller's Emigrants and Exiles thesis, Gordon interprets Irish Catholic immigrants as pre-modern, pre-industrial people confused and overwhelmed in urban industrial America. They viewed American republicanism from collectivist and egalitarian perspectives. Anglo and other Protestant Americans saw it in individualistic, competitive terms. Orange parades not only reminded New York Irish Catholics of Anglo-Irish Protestant and Ulster Presbyterian oppression in Ireland; they also interpreted them as visible signs of the American Protestant elite's intention to deprive them of a cultural and political place in the city. In defending the Orange right to celebrate Boyne Day, Anglo-Americans expressed contempt for Irish Catholics as an inferior species and their religion as alien and subversive. And they associated Irish "barbarism" with Tammany corruption.

According to Gordon, the Orange riots had a profound effect on late nineteenth-century New York history, encouraging reform movements that destroyed Boss Tweed and limited Tammany power, forcing it under "Honest" John Kelly to reorganize and clean house, fueling a nativist anti-Catholic revival, and instilling a working-class consciousness among Irish Catholics. Reactions to nativism and inspiration from Irish nationalism, particularly the land war, radicalized the New York Irish. They played prominent roles in labor and political movements in the 1880's.

Gordon's interpretation of the causes and consequences of the Orange riots is somewhat limited by his attachment to the Miller myth that the Irish entered the United States as culturally impaired exiles, and his underestimation of the significance of Orange and Green feuds in Ireland, where they also had culture and class implications, to Irish-American Catholics. Although Gordon's analysis of the Irish Catholic mind probably fits his contemporary more than their 1870's perspective, his book is thoroughly researched and nicely organized, clearly presented, and does advance knowledge of New York Irish Catholics, their upper) and middle-class nativist enemies, and the political, social, and cultural environment of America's most important city in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Lawrence J. McCaffrey

Loyola University of Chicago (Emeritus)

A Question of Inheritance: Religion, Education, and Louisiana's Cultural Boundary, 1880-1940. By James G. Dauphine. (Lafayette: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana. 1993. Pp. xviii, 180. 815.00.)

James Dauphine has undertaken an innovative study of Catholic-Protestant divisions, growth, and influence in Louisiana. The study is of particular importance because of the large Catholic population in South Louisiana—what Roger Baudier called "an island of Catholicism in a sea of Protestantism."

Dauphine states, "This is a study of the relationship between cultural change and the persistence of cultural identities in two distinct sections of Louisiana in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (p. vii). He further explains that his purpose is "to examine the historical impact of religion on educational development during a formative period of Louisiana's history—the little more than sixty years from the end of Reconstruction to die outbreak of World War II" (p. ix).

Dauphine's framework is borrowed from anthropology—cultural boundaries formed by such factors as geography, economics, ethnicity, language, customs, religion, and education. Such boundaries, once erected, tend to create a strong "us"-"them" mentality. In Louisiana, according to Dauphine, diese boundaries were primarily shaped by the state's division into Catholic South and Protestant North. Dauphine states frequently that religion was the primary factor in shaping and perpetuating these boundaries until the World War II years initiated rapid cultural homogenization and massive demographic changes. He also points to the growth of the public education system with its incipient secular religion as a major factor in diminishing the centrality of religion in maintaining Louisiana's cultural boundaries.

Dauphine uses well U.S. census data from 1890 and 1936 to provide a general portrait of Louisiana's religious demography. The resultant division of Catholic-Protestant boundaries, based on 1890 census data concerning majority religion by parish (county), does not exactly correspond to Catholic ecclesiastical boundaries that resulted from the establishment of the Diocese of Natchitoches in North Louisiana in 1853- Avoyelles Parish in Nordi Louisiana forms the peak of the French Catholic triangle, while six Protestant-dominated civil parishes were located (in 1890) within the Archdiocese of New Orleans. Dauphine notes that diese boundaries were not clear-cut, with Catholic pockets in the North and vice versa.

The core of Dauphine's study is six brief, though sometimes disjointed, chapters dealing with Louisiana's cultural boundaries in general, Baptist education for Blacks and Whites, Catholic education for Blacks and Whites, and the educational efforts of smaller denominations as well as the growth and influence of public education. He contrasts, for instance, the early twentieth-century Baptist reliance on the public schools for general education and

Sunday schools for religious education with the continuing Catholic efforts to expand their private and parochial school system. The volume's statistical tables and demographic maps are very helpful.

Dauphine has proposed a challenging framework for studying the growth and influence of Louisiana's varied Christian denominations. His execution of this study, however, is seriously flawed. His identification of South Louisiana Catholicism widi "the French triangle" fails to adequately address the significant contributions of and differences between the diverse subcultures—colonial French, Spanish, Canary Island, Irish, German, African, Acadian, Italian, Yugoslavian, Santo Domingan, etc.—that already created a very diverse Louisiana Church by 1900. His central theses on Catholic education are not grounded in local educational theory and statistical data that could be gleaned from pastoral letters and local synods, the annual Catholic directories, annual parish reports (which become general by 1888), and school records. The latter three sources are not mentioned in the bibliography. Dauphine's premise (pp. 88, 101) that Catholic school expansion was seriously retarded from the close of the Civil War to 1906 and then became rapid is erroneous. The total number of Catholic schools in Louisiana jumped from 29 in I860 to 66 in 1880; 146 in 1900; 181 in 1920; and 224 in 1940. While the number of schools increased by only eight in the 1870's, the total number of Catholic schools in Louisiana actually decreased by four in the 1920's. The author's thesis diat the expansion of Catholic schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was fundamentally a reaction to threatened Protestant encroachment (pp. 52, 71) hardly does justice to the state's long tradition of Catholic education dating back to 1725.

The author annoyingly refers to Baptist growth, but Catholic "aggrandizement." Space does not allow the many questionable, unsubstantiated, or simply erroneous generalizations to be addressed in this review. Dauphine writes, "With only six Catholic churches functioning in Louisiana in 1835, the majority of South Louisiana Catholics were only nominally Catholic, however" (p. 84). The 1835 Catholic Directory lists five staffed churches and chapels in New Orleans and an additional sixteen staffed churches in the countryside (including fifteen in South Louisiana). Dauphine observes that the 1916—1918 mission journeys of the Extension Society's Chapel Car St. Paul were "very unsuccessful in their purpose and often provided hostility from Protestants" (p. 115). Given the detailed reports concerning attendance at services, first communions, blessed marriages, and consequent construction of mission chapels, one wonders what Dauphine's criteria for "success" might be. The author's generalization that "different cultural conditions across the United States make [doctrinal] consensus among American Catholics impossible" (p. 123) requires no reviewer comment.

In summary, Dauphine introduces an intriguing model for explaining Louisiana's cultural boundaries and the influence of religious denominations in establishing and maintaining these boundaries. His use of U.S. religious census

data and Catholic-Baptist comparisons are particularly informative. His general observations and conclusions, however, raise more questions than diey answer.

Charles E. Nolan

Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans

North to Share: The Sisters of Saint Ann in Alaska and the Yukon Territory. By Sister Margaret Cantwell, S.S.A. In Collaboration with Sister Mary George Edmond, S.S.A. (Victoria, British Columbia: Sisters of St. Ann. 1992. Pp. xii, 308. 820.95 paperback.)

If I were to keep only one book on the history of die Catholic Church in Alaska, North to Share would be that book.

One's first impression of this oversized paperback is that it has something for everyone. The impression remains. As one examines its pages, a remarkable number of features appear: maps, many excellent photographs and facsimiles, chronologies, lists of Sisters, endnotes, bibliography, index, even diagrams on how to cut up a salmon or skin a wolf.

The text, of course, is the best part. It contains almost as much about others as it does about the Sisters. This is the author's generous interpretation of sharing. In gracious tribute she gives more credit to others than to herself or her gentle colleagues, but in reality, the Sisters deserve more.

Sister Margaret Cantwell, S.S.A., is a veteran of more than four decades of mission work in Alaska and Western Canada and her collaborator, the irrepressible Sister Mary George Edmond, S.S.A., spent as many years in Alaska, where she left her heart. Both drew heavily on the memoirs of their companions and gathered other details, as well as confirmation, from the vast archival resources of their congregation and those of the Jesuits.

Cantwell begins her account with the arrival of three Sisters in Juneau in September, 1886. A deluge of rain greeted them. When they disembarked at midnight, having arrived earlier than expected, they were ushered into the pastor's primitive hut. Father John Althoff gave them all of his blankets and left them to seek their nocturnal repose on the bare floor. He decamped for a hole nearby, where he shivered through the rest of the night.

Two years later, when another group of pioneers sailed up the Yukon River to Koserefsky, to a village called Holy Cross, they, too, found a primitive residence. The only civilized features of this log cabin were inner walls papered with flour-made-paste and pages of The Police Gazette. The flour attracted scores of field mice seeking shelter from die arctic frost, and they multiplied so fast the Sisters' traps could not catch them all.

These two experiences, in the south and in the north of Alaska, were symbolic of the kind of environment they would live in, one Sister of St. Ann after another, for a period of nearly a century. Eight of diem are buried in Alaska.

From Holy Cross the Sisters were summoned to Dawson in Yukon Territory to assist Father William Judge, S.J., with his makeshift hospital. This was during the gold rush in 1898. When Judge died in the following year, the Sisters acquired his hospital and remained in Dawson, serving in a school as well, until 1963. Four of diem lie buried near Father Judge, in die cold, frozen ground of Yukon Territory.

In the contents oí North to Share, then, one finds useful information about Alaska and Dawson, the hierarchy, the missionaries, schools and hospitals, and the people for whom the Church was there. Of special note is the aumor's history of Copper Valley School, which is the best published account of the mission's ambitious experiment in native education. Alas! the school failed, but none of the missionaries, least of all the Sisters, were to blame.

If I have any criticism to offer for this book, it is this: it should have been published in hardback, in traditional format, to provide for its use for a long time to come.

Wilfred P. Schoenberg, SJ.

Gonzaga University

Rose Hawthorne Lathrop: Selected Writings. Edited by Diana Culbertson, O.P. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press. 1993· Pp. v, 242. 824.95.)

Two years ago, when I reviewed Patricia Dunlavy Valenti's biography of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop for this journal, I characterized Ladirop as "an extraordinary woman whose story unquestionably deserves to be better known." With the appearance of Valenti's book and especially now, with the present volume—part of Paulist Press's useful "Sources of American Spirituality" series—Lathrop may finally be be receiving the sort of attention she is due.

Rose Hawthorne Lathrop: Selected Writings consists of two sections. The first is a first-rate interpretive essay by the volume's editor, Diana Culbertson. In eighty pages of very readable text, plus extensive notes, Culbertson places Lathrop's life, religious experience, literary contributions, and accomplishments as founder of the Dominican Servants of Relief for Incurable Cancer into admirable perspective. Although Lathrop's story has been told before, Culbertson provides new insights into at least two aspects of it: the relationship between Lathrop and her collaborator, Alice (Sister Rose) Huber, and Lathrop's profound understanding of the interrelationship between contemplation and

action. Additionally, Culbertson briefly but clearly analyzes Rose's ill-fated marriage to George Lathrop and the legacy of her New England heritage (particularly the influence of her father, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and, less well known but probably as significant, her mother, Sophia Peabody). Shaping the account is familiarity with not only recent scholarship on nineteenth-century American Catholicism, but also that of social and women's history.

The remainder of the volume consists of examples and excerpts of Lathrop's writings, divided into three categories: letters, diary entries, and essays (most of them from Christ's Poor, the magazine Lathrop edited for the Servants of Relief). While all of this material is well chosen, it may not present as full a picture of Lathrop and her spirituality as might have been achieved. It might have been helpful, for example, had additional categories of Lathrop's writing been included here, such as talks she must have given to her Dominican sisters, or verse. (It should be noted that more pieces of Lathrop's writing, including some of her poetry but not talks to her community, are incorporated into the biographical essay.) Also, the primary source material might have benefited from more of Culbertson's editorial commentary; in particular, it would have been helpful to know more explicitly than we can here how typical or atypical Lathrop's thought and writing were, compared to that both of her Catholic contemporaries and of other female reformers of the era.

Nonetheless, it may be unfair to expect all this in a volume of relative brevity, intended to meet the needs of scholars as well as general readers. In the end, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop: Selected Writings is a valuable and accessible resource for both clienteles, and a welcome addition to the growing body of work on this important figure in late nineteenth) and early twentieth-century American Catholicism.

Margaret Susan Thompson

Syracuse University

Separatism and Subculture: Boston Catholicism, 1900-1920. By Paula M. Kane. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 415. «49.95.)

In 1900 most of Boston's Catholics lived apart from their Protestant fellow-citizens in ethnic enclaves. They were poor, undereducated, lacking ambition, and reviled in anti-Catholic propaganda. But by the end of World War I enough of them had risen in the worlds of business, medicine, law, journalism, and police work to create a "lace-curtain," home-owning middle class. Ostentatiously Catholic, nominally averse to capitalist values, they were actually well-attuned to American business life. Leaving behind the isolation of ethnic ghettos as they moved to Boston's streetcar suburbs, they built a subculture, distinct from but closely related to the "hegemonic" Yankee culture around

it. Refining and applying some of R. Laurence Moore's ideas about "insiders and outsiders," Paula Kane shows that "a sense of being excluded [was] a useful stimulus for the formation of an autonomous, separatist subculture, providing Cadiolics with an outgroup communal identity" (p. 2). Her fascinating and detailed book shows how Boston's Catholic subculture developed.

Kane does not attempt a narrative history, and the reader has to dodge back and forth through the first two or three decades of this century in following her examples. Instead she offers "diick description," building up a dense and convincing picture of Boston Catholics from all walks of life. She follows institutional and architectural developments closely, showing how Cardinal William O'Connell built Neo-Gothic churches and colleges as massive apologetic statements in stone, making a bold physical impression on die city landscape. But, blending die best in the old and the new styles of Catholic historiography, she devotes as much space to the laity as to the clergy, and shows that they could often get dieir own way, even against the will of an imperious cardinal. She describes Catholics at work in politics, education, business, entertainment, labor, and in the home, pointing to the ways in which diey fell in with current American habits while trying to avoid their philosophical implications.

Kane's liveliest pages address gender. She shows that the ideal Catholic man, as drawn in sermons and Pilot articles, helped his wife at home, avoided too much fraternal boozing with his chums, and did not think that income and prestige were synonymous. As a member of the Holy Name Society he dedicated some of his evenings to campaigns against blasphemy, and he set his children a good example by going to Mass and praying regularly. At the same time, as a Knight of Columbus, he found ways to mix religious nourishment with boosterism. Not all Boston Catholic men lived up to the ideal, to be sure, and Kane shows how some scoundrels, such as District Attorney Joseph Pelletier, were "unable to escape from the system of corruption, bribery, and cronyism diat disgraced the Irish machines," remaining "unassimilated to a non-Irish Catholic milieu" (p. 74). Another useful vignette, of theater-owner and promoter Benjamin Keith, shows the blending of censorious Catholic moralism, entertainment, and business sense. Keith was rapacious but made his fortune from a wholesome vaudeville show guaranteed to be free of suggestive content. At the urging of his devout Catholic wife, Keith bequeathed mree million dollars to Cardinal O'Connell, although he was not himself a member of the Church.

The ideal Catholic woman, like her husband, felt ambivalent about the mainstream culture though she was as likely as her Protestant counterpart to accept the cult of domesticity and whatever trappings of affluence she could afford. Catholic working women (laity and religious), led by a talented group of converts like Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, aided orphans, "fallen women," and the incurably sick. They urged a balky Church to accept the professionalization of social work but got little response from a deeply conservative hierarchy.

Several gifted women writers, including Katherine Conway and Martha Moore Avery, also had their difficulties with the chancery. A Catholic women's architecture firm, led by Eleanor Manning, never won church building commissions and had to concentrate on domestic restorations instead. As Kane says, "while women theoretically supported die Church's antisuffragism and gender conservatism, the lives and writings of Catholic women repudiate stereotypes of themselves as weak, uncompetitive, and unfit for public activity" (p. 322). Kane makes clear her preference for these gifted women over the obstructive men who stifled their creativity.

Cardinal William O'Connell is the central character of diis book; Kane depicts him as a domineering dullard. His nephew and his personal chaplain both got married on the sly and indulged in extramarital sexual escapades too. The cardinal tried to cover up these scandals when he discovered them, possibly afraid that his subordinates would reveal his alleged homosexuality. He forged his own "early letters," published in 1915, feuded with ambitious priests in his archdiocese, and let personality clashes get in the way of rational reforms. Eager to centralize and act the part of a modern manager, he was often ineffective. He was an effective builder, however, and as Kane says, when embezzlement charges led die Vatican to investigate him in the early 1920's, he pleaded in mitigation of his sins the completion of "eighty-one new parishes, twenty-five missions, two colleges, and two retreat houses, all debt-free" (p. 115). This cardinal with feet of clay is an apt central figure for the paradoxical community he tried to lead into the twentieth century, and Kane's unsparing portrait of him, like the book as a whole, is engaging and convincing.

Patrick Allitt

Emory University

George N Shuster. On the Side of Truth. By Thomas E. Blantz, C.S.C. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 479. 834.95.)

The versatile and remarkable George N. Shuster (1894—1977) and the multiple dimensions of his life have been ably presented and analyzed in this splendidly executed biography by Thomas E. Blantz, C.S.C, associate professor of history in the University of Notre Dame.

The oldest of three children, and only son in a German-speaking, small-town, mini-farm Wisconsin household, Schuster (the c was dropped in young adulthood) enrolled at Notre Dame in 1912. His intellectual abilities and strong preparatory school background resulted in his direct admittance to the sophomore class, and he was soon asked by an English professor to assist him in correcting freshman themes, which he did. He wrote for die student publication, The Scholastic, was awarded the medal for sophomore oratory, and was lead speaker for the debate team for the next two years, winning

commencement medals both years. Notre Dame debaters enjoyed their 1915 defeat of St. Viator's College of Illinois. That victory was later recalled by Shuster widi a modest smile. The lead speaker for the defeated team was young Fulton J. Sheen. Following graduation, Shuster accepted a job teaching English in a Minnesota public high school, continued his writing, had three literary articles published in The Catholic World, and became an army private following his enlistment in 1917.

Blantz has not only an eye for a telling detail, but the diligence of research mat unearths such detail, and each succeeding chapter brings focus to Shuster's virtual multiplicity of lives. Shuster as Notre Dame teacher and humanist, 1919-1924, is followed by Shuster, the Commonweal Catholic, 1925-1937. Shuster, the analyst and interpreter of events in Germany, 1930-1939, is followed by two chapters dealing with his life as President of the dien largest college for women in the world, Hunter College (1939-1960). These same years, however, are also years of Shuster's emergence as a national figure as he continued to publish widely (he wrote nearly twenty books and 300 articles) on international affairs, the treatment of Germany, and die state of education. His Columbia University doctoral dissertation, The English Ode from Milton to Keats, did not get completed till 1939 mostly because dealing widi Hitler took priority. Shuster later chaired a War Department Committee interviewing German prisoners of war, personally interviewing Hermann Goering, Franz von Papen, Karl Doenitz, Joachim von Ribbentrop, and others, was a member of a University of Chicago Commission on Freedom of the Press, was a longtime collaborator with Robert M. Hutchins, and undertook several important studies for the Ford and Carnegie Foundations. Shuster's service as Land Commissioner for Bavaria widi the American occupation in 1950 and 1951, a service widely respected, is amply explored as is seventeen years of distinguished service to die United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

By I960, Shuster had retired from the Hunter College presidency and was convinced by the Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C, president of Notre Dame, that he should return to Notre Dame as assistant to the president. In 1925 Shuster had critiqued Catholic higher education in general and Notre Dame in particular in an America article and a Commonweal editorial. Now the earlier critic returned, bringing his special vigor to Notre Dame, where he remained until his death. At his 1977 funeral, he was eulogized by Father Hesburgh who had often called him his "Fadier Confessor." Hesburgh said, "... as long as there is a cherished spot called Notre Dame, there will be a cherished spirit here called George Shuster."

The book's subtitle is from a quotation of Ralph Waldo Emerson: "We are of different opinions at different hours, but we may always be said to be at heart on the side of truth." Shuster had it engraved on the handsome sixteen story Park Avenue campus building of Hunter College. He took seriously the commitment to strive to be "on the side of truth" and he knew one had to be ready at times to pay a price for this. This was the case when he left the

managing editor's job at Commonweal in 1937 in the uproar folio-wing his criticism of the pro-Franco sentiment among American Catholics. But even in his late years, Shuster's conscience was not slack as he was stirred, for example, at age seventy-four by the lack of episcopal respect for the 1968 conscientious dissent on contraception by Auxiliary Bishop James Shannon and a strange proposal for his taking up residence outside the United States at Vatican expense, but without priestly or episcopal ministerial duties. Shuster wrote Father Hesburgh that the case and the proposed quasi-exile was "such a grave and incredible abuse of ecclesiastical audiority" that he was "earnestly considering making a public statement about it" and that if he decided to make such a statement [he organized a support letter among academicians with five Notre Dame colleagues, and gathered five hundred signatures] he was "quite prepared to sunder my relationship with die University if that seems desirable." It wasn't.

Occasionally one wishes, of course, mat Blantz could have talked with Shuster himself in doing die biography, e.g., regarding the jilting in the St. Mary's-Notre Dame marriage. One regrets also the underdeveloped familial dimensions: both wife Doris, the courtship of whom is warmly related, and it is clear she is a strong woman, but we only get rare glimpses of her later on, as for example when she upbraided Heinrich Bruening; and son Robert, whose treatment is so spare that it may raise more questions than a fuller treatment would have. These are minor quibbles, however, that may indeed be beyond the opportunities presented to die author. Blantz concludes with a somewhat laid-back appraisal of Shuster. For example, regarding Shuster's Catholicism and his adaptation of "the eternal truths of revelation to an ever-changing American scene" we are told that "sometimes he did it well; sometimes not so well." For this reader, however, the case for the former was well developed and established throughout the book, while I'm left rather curious as to what some examples of the latter would be.

The important news is diat this is a first-rate biography of one of the most significant Catholic laypersons of the century. It is a model of conscientious scholarship. It deserves a wide readership and a place in every college and university library.

Rodger Van Allen

Villanova University

Oxcart Catholicism on Fifth Avenue: The Impact of the Puerto Rican Migration upon the Archdiocese of New York By Ana Maria Diaz-Stevens. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1993· Pp- vi, 295. $34.95.)

The eighteen years between 1946 and 1964 mark the period of the Great Puerto Rican Migration, when 614,940 natives of the island migrated to the

mainland. It was the first airborne migration in history. For the great majority, their destination was New York City, which was where the planes landed. At one point in this process, nearly forty percent of all the Puerto Ricans in the world lived in New York and the northeastern United States. By 1980 Puerto Ricans constituted the single largest ethnic group among Catholics in the three New York City counties of the Archdiocese of New York.

This migration presented the Archdiocese of New York with a daunting pastoral problem, which is the subject of this sociological study. The title is meant to suggest the gap between the popular ("oxcart") Catholicism of rural Puerto Rico and the highly structured world of the New York Archdiocese. (Why not "Madison Avenue" instead of "Fifth Avenue"?) The author, a native of Puerto Rico who teaches at Union Theological Seminary, writes both as a sociologist of religion and as a committed Catholic who was herself part of the Great Puerto Rican Migration. Her book originated as a doctoral dissertation at Fordham University, where she studied under Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, the Jesuit sociologist who played a key role in shaping the response of the archdiocese to this pastoral challenge.

The author's focus is not on the way that Puerto Rican immigrants adapted to mainland Catholicism, but on the way that the Archdiocese of New York adapted its structures and policies to meet the religious needs of these newcomers. She gives high marks to Francis Cardinal Spellman, who, she says, "recognize[d] the need for the archdiocese to adopt a missionary character to the apostolate" (p. 99). Spellman sought advice from talented young priests such as George Kelly, Ivan Illich, and Fitzpatrick. He abandoned the hallowed practice of "national parishes" in favor of integrated parishes for Puerto Ricans, established a co-ordinating agency for Hispanic ministry in the Chancery Office, and decided that his own diocesan priests rather than the religious orders should assume the major responsibility for the care of the Puerto Rican immigrants. A stroke of genius was the establishment of the annual San Juan Fiesta, which, for a brief period in New York, became the Puerto Rican equivalent of the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

Diaz-Stevens studies the pastoral strategies of the archdiocese largely through the activities of the Office of Spanish-American Catholic Action (which was the first of many names given to the agency for Hispanic affairs in the Chancery Office). The most controversial co-ordinator of the Office was Monsignor Robert Fox, whose tenure coincided with the Second Vatican Council, the war in Vietnam, and the civil rights movement. Diaz-Stevens is torn between her high regard for the sincerity of this charismatic priest and her honest admission that many of his policies ended in failure.

If Spellman is one of the heroes of this study, his successor, Terence Cardinal Cooke, is one of the villains. Diaz-Stevens holds him responsible for the resignation of the capable Monsignor Robert Stern as director of the (renamed) Office of the Spanish-Speaking Apostolate, and also for resisting efforts to increase lay involvement and to expand the social welfare aspects of the

Spanish Apostolate. Diaz-Stevens' study is not the last word on the Puerto Ricans and the Archdiocese of New York, but it is a valuable contribution to die subject. In conjunction with it, one might also care to read Robert Stern's own account, "Evolution of Hispanic Ministry in the New York Archdiocese," in Hispanics in New York: Religious, Cultural and Social Experiences, edited by Ruth Doyle and Olga Scarpetta, 2nd ed. (New York: Office of Pastoral Research and Planning of the Archdiocese of New York, 1989), pp. 305-389·

Thomas J. Shelley

St. Joseph's Seminary
Dunwoodie, Yonkers, New York

From Framework to Freedom: A History of the Sister Formation Conference. By Marjorie Noterman Beane. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America. 1993. Pp. xii, 158. «37.50.)

The title of this work already expresses a value judgment. It assumes that frameworks are obstacles to freedom and thereby prepares the reader for its predictable and, on balance, understandable bias. In fact, all the leaders of the Sister Formation Movement wanted changes, though in time they came to differ profoundly among themselves about what changes, in religious life.

Almost no one would question the value of improving the education of professionals—mainly teachers and nurses—and in that respect, the movement was an overwhelming success. The author quotes impressive figures, but they are less impressive than the facts. In 1966, twelve years after the Movement's beginning, 90,091 Sisters out of 173,866 had at least one degree. In 1984, 98,143 had degrees. We are not told that this was out of a total now much smaller, a result of the mass exodus from religious life, especially among women, which occurred between these two dates. So the proportion of educated Sisters had risen dramatically. In many groups now there is almost no one without at least a first degree, and the number of higher degrees has kept growing.

The story of the origin of Sister Formation in 1954 is told accurately and well. The encouragement provided by Pope Pius XII four years earlier at a meeting he had called for the heads of male and female religious orders is recognized. He called for "theological preparation and professional credentials for those teaching or doing other kinds of professional work." He even asked for the "elimination of outdated customs and clothing that estranged them [religious] from those they served." In a meeting for teaching communities in 1951, he asked for changes in the lifestyle of active communities so that the needs of the apostolate could be better met.

The author also goes back to the dissertation that Sister Bertrande Meyers,

D.C., published in 1941 on the education of Sisters, which Sister Mary Emil Penet, I.H.M. (Monroe), foundress of Sister Formation, said marked "the real beginning of the Sister Formation Movement." Beane shows how Meyers's suggestion that co-ordination of religious and educational training be achieved through establishment of junior colleges at motherhouses was taken up by the Movement and widely implemented during both administrations—that of Sister Mary Emil and that of her successor, Sister Annette Walter, CSJ. Sister Rita Mary Bradley, C.H.M., editor of the Sister Formation Bulletin, is recognized as a very close collaborator during both administrations.

It is probably too soon to evaluate the Sister Formation Movement in terms of its considerable historical impact. The author makes no effort to analyze its relationship to die vast numerical decline in die religious orders involved which followed its implementation. She does note Sister Mary Emil's concern for the integration of the Sisters' education with their religious formation, and the fact that, in the early years this concern seems to have been shared by all the Movement's leaders. She also recognizes the difficulty in maintaining academic standards in colleges (even junior colleges) exclusively for Sisters. The answer may well have been, as the book implies, in co-operation among communities, which was tried in several projects. Of these, only Mariliac, die college set up by the Daughters of Charity, which welcomed all Sisters, is described in this book. It was probably the most important; when die author graduated from it in 1969, seventeen orders were represented in her class.

Beane's account of die early years is well done, accurate and adequately documented. Her treatment of developments in 1964 is one-sided and incomplete. The founding vision of the movement as correctly described was a holistic training which would take account of the Sister's religious vocation and the unique needs that went with it. In fact, as time went on, this ideal was complicated by increasing disagreement about what these needs were.

The book's description of the Movement's reorganization in 1964 reflects die views of those bitterly opposed to it. Sister Formation had developed as a committee of the National Catholic Educational Association, with what Sister Mary Emil described as a "double dependence" on the NCEA and die Conference of Major Superiors of Women. In 1964, she supported the action of the CMSW in assuming full responsibility for the Movement, as did Monsignor Frederick G. Hochwalt, General Secretary of the NCEA. Beane believes diat the movement was, in effect, terminated with this change. This reviewer, editor of the Sister Formation Bulletin from 1964 to 1969, recalls that its circulation reached its all-time high after the reorganization. The Movement was not dead, but it was soon overshadowed by other initiatives of U.S. Sisters which it, as well as Vatican Council II, had made possible.

Although sources are properly indicated in footnotes, there is no index or bibliography.

Joan Bland, S.N.D.

Education for Parish Service Programs
Trinity College
Washington, D.C.

The Courage for Truth: The Letters of Thomas Merton to Writers. Selected and edited by Christine M. Bochen. (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux. 1993- Pp. xiv, 314. $25.00.)

In the event that readers have wondered what Thomas Merton did -with his time at his Kentucky monastery other than pray, chant, contemplate, teach, write scores of books and hundreds of articles, and make his Trappist censors occasionally nervous, the answer is now clear. He wrote letters—thousands of them—letters usually laced with insight and intensity—letters that could be by turns angry, somber, witty, or luminous.

The Merton epistles have been appearing from Farrar, Straus, and Giroux in recent years in handsome, well-edited editions under the general editorship of William H. Shannon. The latest entry, the fourtíi, The Courage for Truth, contains Merton's side of correspondence with fellow writers. Some of the better-known recipients of the famed monk's letters in this edition include Jacques Maritain, Czeslaw Milosz, Boris Pasternak, Ernesto Cardenal, James Baldwin, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti. The excellent editing here for so diverse a collection is the work of Dr. Christine M. Bochen, professor of religious studies at Nazareth College of Rochester, who has served as secretary of the International Thomas Merton Society.

For those who have followed die biographical studies on Merton from such scholars as Furlong, Mott, or Shannon, there will be little in these pages by way of surprise. Since the vast majority of these letters come from the 1960's, readers will in effect hear Merton thinking out loud as his mind struggles with die immensity of rapid changes in both Catholicism and modern society.

He puzzles primarily, it seems to me, over the nature of belonging in the contemporary era: What it means to belong to church and monastic tradition; to the vocation of poet and essayist; what it means to belong to the American nation in the midst of its turmoil over racism at home and the war in Vietnam.

There are certainly times in diese pages when Merton's tone turns dismal and even apocalyptic. He sounds on a few occasions like a man at his wit's end. "This is an age of deep spiritual winter," he writes publisher Helen Wolff in 1959. "We have ice to walk on instead of water."

But this is Merton, after all, and the power of his utter and ultimate faith perdures. His letters to Milosz alone are worth the careful study of these pages. Merton writes lines to the Polish intellectual in 1959 that could stand as a major thematic of this sometimes searing volume:

> Milosz, life is on our side. ... To be a sinner, to want to be pure, to remain in patient expectation of the divine mercy, and above all to forgive and love others, as best we can, that is what makes us Christians___ Behind it all is the secret that love has an infinite power, and its power, once released can in an instant destroy and swallow up all hatred, all evil, all injustice. . . . That is the meaning of Calvary. (Pp. 57 ff)

Clyde F. Crews

Bellarmine College
Louisville

Catholic Intellectuals and Conservative Politics in America, 1950—1985. By Patrick Allitt. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 315. $29.95.)

This is an exploration of the role of Catholic intellectuals in United States conservative circles over the past forty years. It is a litany of names that have come and gone, predominantly lay and almost exclusively male. Many of those featured were converts to Roman Cadiolicism. A surprising number had no deep roots in Catholicism as it had developed in the United States. They were European émigrés or people whose formative years were in other religious traditions. The study begins with the now-familiar depiction of the "Cadiolic ghetto," defensive and preoccupied widi anticommunism. With a preliminary nod to early converts like Ross J.S. Hoffman widi his Burkean revival and Francis Graham Wilson, Allitt spends a good deal of time on William F. Buckley and the National Review, as well as spinoffs from mat circle. The chapter, "Crises of the Late 1960's," exposes conflicts within the conservative bastion over such issues as the civil rights movement and especially Vietnam. A proper response to the papacy of John XXIII and that of Paul VI, widi its conciliar reforms, also split what had never been a monolith in many different ways. The following chapter, "Sex, Law, and Nature," reveals furdier divisions, as universal adherence to the old, rigid natural-law categories began to diminish. The book finishes with in-depth studies of two immigrant scholars, John Lukacs and Thomas Molnar, and two homegrown products, Garry Wills and Michael Novak. An "Epilogue" treats the 1980's and the pastorals of the United States bishops, Challenge of Peace (1983) and Economic fustice for All (1986), and the negative reactions to them on the part of conservatives. The story ends with the new "traditionalists" coming on scene. Overall Allitt has documented a slice of American Catholic history and preserved it from oblivion.

It's all there from Triumph to Ramparts, the apocalyptic anticommunist and convinced monarchist, Frederick Wilhelmsen, and the American version of the red-bereted Spanish Carlists, to the balanced John T. Noonan, Jr., commenting on the difficulties of the natural-law tradition and writing his penetrating historical analyses of the great moral problems of the day. There are, unfortunately, a number of instances where the author indicates his unsure hold on the history of American Catholicism which is his context. They range from garbled identifications (Cardinal Joseph Mundelein, Cardinal MacIntyre, "George Wiegel [sic], S.J.," in a seeming conflation of two rather different people) to misreading of events, as in the case of the Land o' Lakes meeting (1967) or the supposed "exile" of Daniel Berrigan to Mexico, which was actually orchestrated by his editor and patron, Patrick Cotter. Another is described as "a former Roman Catholic who had adopted eastern-rite Catholicism," and the great breakthrough which involved Protestant and Orthodox leaders in the Second Vatican Council is reduced to the pope permitting "Protestant observers to witness some sessions."

James Hennesey

Jesuit Center
St. Peter's College
Jersey City, New Jersey

Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950—1970. By James F. Findlay, Jr. [Religion in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 255. $35.00.)

The "Church People" in the title are the mainline Protestant churches and especially the National Council of Churches. The "Struggle" was the Civil Rights movement in the United States during the turbulent 1960's. Findlay describes the first hesitant steps taken by the National Council of Churches (NCC) and the major Protestant denominations to become involved in the cause of racial justice, first by the passing of resolutions and the issuance of statements which finally led to decisive action in 1963· Beginning with its major participation in the August 28, 1963, Martin Luther King March, the NCC through its Commission on Religion and Race began to play an important role in lobbying for the passage of President Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill. In a sense this moved the mainline Protestant churches to a concerted effort to bring moral pressure to bear on members of Congress. Such efforts led to new directions in social action.

The step-by-step involvement is described in Chapter 3, " 'ViSItOrS in Hell': Church Involvement in the Movement in Mississippi," and Chapter 4, " 'Servanthood' in Mississippi: The Delta Ministry, 1964—1966." In the summer of

1964 the Commission on Religion and Race of the NCC began its campaign to bring ministers and other professional people, such as lawyers, nurses, doctors, and social workers to go to the South to act as counselors with the young white and black students who were working with the members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in voter registration. That same year there began the Delta Ministry located in the Delta region of Mississippi and composed of ministers working under the NCC. It was a ministry to the poor Blacks of the area co-ordinated with the SNCC.

> As a model for missionary work in the world outside the church, the Delta Ministry clearly broke with tradition. Heavy-handed missionary paternalism . . . and the desire to preach and convert those being helped was never a part of the ministry's work. Instead . . . these church persons lived with and learned about the aspirations of poor African Americans in the Delta and elsewhere, and then put together programs, (pp. 120—121)

The contours of the struggle against racism by the NCC changed, however, with the advent of the "Black Power Movement" after 1966. The involvement of the NCC was changed radically as many black clergymen began to call for more black leadership within the mainline Protestant churches. It reached its climax with the famous Black Manifesto delivered by James Forman, the head of the SNCC, in 1969 calling for five hundred million dollars in reparation from the churches. Findlay describes in the final chapter the massive reaction on the part of many white churches and the resulting crisis in the NCC.

This is an important book because it is the first historical study of the racial crisis that shook not only the mainline Protestant Churches and the NCC itself but all of the American churches, Protestant and Catholic. The book is valuable because the author brings to life many of the church leaders both black and white, many of whom are now forgotten, who were the leaders in the drama of the 1960's. The author's extensive research is evident from the excellent essay on primary source material. This essay will be of immense value to historians of the Civil Rights Movement and to contemporary church historians. For Roman Catholic historians this book can serve as a model of historiography for those now beginning to research the involvement of the Catholic Church in the same movement. This history has yet to be written.

Cyprian Davis, O.S.B.

St. Meinrad Archabbey

The Gentle American. The Life and Times of Brother Charles Henry Buttimer, First American Superior General of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. By Ronald Eugene Isetti, F.S.C (Landover, Maryland: Christian Brodiers Publications. 1994. Pp. 450. $20.00 hardcover; 810.00 paperback.)

This biography is straightforward in its organization, working the "and times" in at die right points chronologically. Brother Charles Henry Buttimer was born in the United States of immigrant parents from Ireland. His childhood in a huge New York parish is redolent of those thousands of bright young people born, at that time, to be overqualified. Paternal resistance to young Tom's vocation (for Charles was his religious name taken upon entry to the novitiate) was not, however, of the more typical clericalist variety. There were, for some decades, four hundred Christian Brothers in New York City and its environs, so "why not go all the way?" was heard a bit less than elsewhere.

Very early on, Charles was assigned to doctoral studies at Cadiolic University and to the formation of undergraduate Brothers there. Nothing thrilling for the general reader here, though he may have been one of the best spiritual directors anywhere. He was later part of the booming fifties in American religious life, heading a spin-off province, building a large house of formation just in time not to be needed, and then taking the post of regional assistant to the superior general for the United States provinces and missions. In 1966, at die momentous general chapter charged widi implementing Vatican Council II, Charles was elected the first non-French general in the three-hundred-year history of the Institute. The pull-and-tug of diat process makes interesting insider reading. But the decade of Brother's generalship was no royal progress; it was tinctured with the sadness of signing thousands of dispensations for members who had decided to leave. Moreover, a tiny band of ultraconservative French Brothers consumed a wildly disproportionate amount of his time and energy as diey ran to willing ears in Vatican middle management. But the general courageously pressed on with renewal.

The years from 1976 onward bade fair to be calmer and yet productive back in Charles's home province of Long Island-New England; but a stroke, from which he never fully recovered, brought deep frustration into his later years.

The achievements of a biographer, clearly, will be to take this relatively hidden life and make it significant for those who didn't know the man, while satisfying those of Brother Charles's own generation who might have preferred hagiography.

In taking on his task, Brother Isetti has given us a foundational work for the understanding of religious life in our century, in terms of one life within it. For one whose own life followed along in that history, even under Brodier Charles's direction as an undergraduate member of the order, every page of

this book brings on a re-living of the past half-century. Great, by coincidence, for a serious retreat.

But the literary question of the target audience has to arise. I cannot imagine what some parts of this work could mean to someone fully outside the subculture. Yet the author has grasped his subject without having known him personally, largely dirough having entered the order just in time to live both halves of the history. (His Called to the Pacific is a gritty chronicle of the California province of the Brothers, with many insights about the "wise men from the east" that were readily transferable to the religious politics in Charles's life.)

Components that will surely transcend the cultural limitations are the poignant chapters on the Buttimer family, the struggles diere about young Tom's leaving home at so tender an age, the canny navigation of Roman reefs and shoals by a non-clerical classical Ph.D., the international conflicts as things seemed to come apart in the decade '66 to '76, and die anguish of re-entry to his home province in "retirement."

Brother Charles's life certainly offsets any cookie-cutter images of the lay brotherhood, especially those congregations founded for education. He would never be a jock, never even teach high school (the dominant apostolate by far in United States provinces), but he did join in the manual labor, he was a role model as a scholar, and his individual religious direction, while traditional, was delivered with a twinkle in the eye and something close to an occasional wink. If one had to signalize one key element in his advice, it was the reading he recommended. Close behind that was the importance of good grades not only because of the order's work but because our tuition was paid, literally, by working people who could ill spare their donations to us.

In all these areas, Isetti somehow has an accurate sense of his subject. His researches led him, however, to a surprise of which even close admirers seemed hitherto unaware. Brother Charles came uncomfortably close to plagiarism, and more than once. As a scholar, Isetti is first puzzled then offended by Brother Charles Henry's apparent—and at times inescapably real—borrowing from published materials in his public or more often semi-public utterances, chiefly discourses on retreats to either Brothers or Sisters. From a man whose own scholarly credentials were very solid and, among higher superiors, virtually pioneering, unacknowledged quotations at great length are puzzling at best, and the biographer doesn't blink at them.

On the other hand, Isetti might not be taking full cognizance of a religious exercise in pre-Vatican Council II communities misnamed the Sunday "conference." It was no such diing. Harried or perhaps indolent local superiors regularly read articles to the assembled community, who were expected to profit from them or, more likely, offer them up in a spirit of atonement. In a dubious view, the worse these "conferences" were, the more merit in sitting through them. This schedule item, not scholarly publication, is die context for Charles's occasional practice; but it remains a nagging inconsistency.

I used "foundational" earlier on because I suggest that Isetti's work needs to be complemented by equally probing studies of religious women, of clerical congregations, and perhaps even of diocesan curias in order that Charles's and the Brothers' experiences can take on a deeper meaning in such a context. One hopes such work either exists but has escaped adequate notice, or that it will be forthcoming. We may have more in common than we think, and biography may be the best way to share it all.

Brother Patrick Ellis, F.S.C.

The Catholic University of America

Canadian

Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895. By Brian P. Clarke. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, 12.] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 340. $39.95.)

Brian Clarke's study of Irish Catholics in Toronto is well written and researched, focusing on two of the most important issues in the history of nineteenth-century Irish: religion and nationalism. The author contends the consensus among most historians is that religious renewal emanated from the church hierarchy and orders, thereby casting the laity into an acquiescent mould. Clarke sets out to demonstrate the vitality of Toronto's Irish immigrants who, while adopting a subculture of religious identity, exhibited a strong initiative that supported the group's social interaction, independent of clerical influence.

Clarke provides insight into the conditions the Irish immigrants encountered, their reaction to the devotional renewal that followed, the subsequent emergence of devotional organizations and the outgrowth of nationalist associations. His chapters on Irish nationalism are erudite. Of particular note is the concept that the clergy's reluctance to participate fully in advancing the causes of national organizations promoted lay leadership in associations that became disassociated from, if not confrontational with the Catholic Church.

One must examine, however, the central theme of this work, that is, the role of the laity in founding many of the Catholic voluntary associations which fostered die development of lay initiative. It seems that Clarke attempts to eclipse the position of the Church and its clergy in the formation of Irish Catholic societies. The major portion of the social work done in Toronto on behalf of the Irish Catholic community occurred under the auspices of the Church and its religious orders of men and women. The Saint Vincent de Paul Society was lay-run, but existed under the guidance of the Church. Prior to the twentieth century the Church led and the laity followed; the Church condoned and condemned. The piety of the people was an outgrowth of what the Church dictated.

Clarke uses a wide range of primary and secondary sources to support his work. However, while discounting the work of some other writers who have explored the Irish Catholics in Toronto, he fails to provide sufficient evidence to disprove their analyses. For example, while admitting that in contemporary accounts and manuscript material Irish Catholics were stereotypical as drunken brawlers, Clarke takes Kenneth Duncan and Murray Nicolson to task for basing "their respective interpretations on this stereotype rather than exploding it as a myth" (p. 28).

Through this in-depth study, Clarke has nonetheless opened a door on an ethno-religious community that contributed to the development of Toronto. It invites new approaches that will lead to a standard work in this field.

Murray W. Nicolson

Wilfrid Laurier University

Latin American

South and Meso-American Native Spirituality: From the Cult of the Feathered Serpent to the Theology of Liberation. Edited by Gary H. Gossen, in collaboration with Miguel León-Portilla. [World Spirituality: An Encyclopedic History of the Religious Quest, Volume 4.] (New York: Crossroad. 1993. Pp. xii, 563. «4950 clothbound.)

South and Meso-American Native Spirituality offers a sampler of the religious life in a region marked by multiple spiritual traditions, in the pre-Contact period; and by the formation of new traditions from the cultural gifts of Amerindians, Europeans, Africans, and Asians, in die post-Contact era. Coverage includes not only South America and Mesoamerica, but also the Caribbean and other parts of Mexico and of Central America. The editor excludes "mainstream Judeo-Christian belief and practice" from consideration; they are "fundamentally linked to the mainstream of world religious tradition, and their Latin American expression, in global perspective, is not particularly distinctive" (p. 22).

History and cultural analysis combine with emphasis upon spirituality and the religious quest. In part 1, the faiths of the ancient Nahua-Mexicas (Aztecs), Maya, and Incas are described by Miguel León-Portilla, Monro S. Edmonson, and Manuel M. Marzal respectively. In part 2, the spiritual legacy of Hispanic Catholicism enters into both Elsa Cecilia Frost's discussion of the theologians' concept of the indigenous soul and Manuel M. Marzal's description of sixteenth-century Spanish Catholicism. The encounter of Iberian Christianity with Nahua, Mayan, and Inca state religions is the theme of part 3· J- Jorge Klor de Alva considers Aztec spirituality and Nahuatized Christianity, while Louise M. Burkhart examines the legend, image, and devotion to the Virgin

of Guadalupe, Mexico. Eugenio Maurer Avalos reports on Maya Catholicism among the Tzeltal in a Chiapas, Mexico, town. Manuel Gutiérrez Estévez describes the spirituality of die Christian Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula past and present. Jan Szeminski's subject is the Peruvian expression of the Thupa Amaro movement in the context of eighteenth-century Andean Indian Catholicism.

Contact between Christianity and groups that did not adhere to the great aboriginal state religions is the concern of part 4. Peter T. Fürst presents the central, cosmogonie myth of the Huichol. Didier Boremanse describes the spirituality of the northern group of Lacandon, Chiapas, Mexico; while Louis Faron focuses on the religion of the Mapuche of southern-middle Chile. Marcos Guevara-Berger's chapter is an experimental, ethnographic re-creation of a visit to a Bribri Indian shaman in Costa Rica. Part 5 brings together spiritual traditions which are rooted in the historical experience of Latin America and have a substantial following. Peter T. Fürst uses Theodor Koch-Gruenberg's text on magical spells among the Pemon and Taurepan of Venezuela. Gary H. Gossen centers his study of the human condition, spirituality, and moral order among the Chamula Tzotzil of Chiapas, Mexico, on native rendition and exegesis of a sacred text. Carlos Rodriguez Brandäo's survey of the religious spectrum in Brazil focuses on popular Catholicism (not considered "official" [p. 470, n. I]), Afro-Brazilian spiritualistic religions, and Protestant Pentecostalism. Julio Sánchez Cárdenas describes Orisha Religion (Santería) in modern Afro-Caribbean societies. David G. Scotchmer describes the spirituality of Maya Protestants in Guatemala in the context of Protestantism there. The sampler approaches its close with Mary Christine Morkovsky's chapter on the "spiritual experience of encountering the Lord in the poor" which "sustains liberation praxis . . . and liberation theology . . ." (p. 526).

Though rich in description and analysis, this book has some flaws. First, it conveys an impression that apart from "Mainstream Catholicism" (not defined, p. 22), and adherence to "reform-oriented liberation theology ("reform" not defined, p. 12), there remains little that can be identified as Catholicism. The approach used ignores the religiosidad popular—the "religion of the people"—which encompasses forms of devotion such as pilgrimages and processions, is integral to Roman Catholicism, and is steeped in Latin American culture (Puebla document [Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano, 1982], Art. 444—469). Second, in organizing material around "Great Tradition" and "Little Tradition," the editor ignores points of articulation—for example, sacred texts, sacred places, a ritual calendar—whereby the two traditions and two kinds of community interrelate. Third, inaccurate translation of a chapters) from the original text into English is a possibility: notably, diere is serious doubt that Eugenio Maurer Avalos, S.J., said, with reference to the Eucharist, "Christ as host, serves his disciples bread and wine with the reminder that these elements will be, forever more, the symbols of his body and blood" (p. 245)—an extraordinary departure from Roman Cadiolic doctrine. Fourth, it is not the case that "all of the modern states of Latin America and die Caribbean

may be characterized as secular in the sense that none has an established state religion or ideology (except perhaps Cuba)..." (p. 22): Article 75 of the Constitution established Roman Catholicism as the state religion of Costa Rica. Fifth, there is no contemporary study of Andean spirituality. Sixth, there are surprising omissions in the General Bibliography: Hugo G. Nutini's, Todos Santos in Rural Tlaxcala: A Syncretic, Expressive, and Symbolic Analysis of the Cult of the Dead (1988) and Michael J. Sallnow's Pilgrims of the Andes: Regional Cults in Cuzco (1987) are two.

Readers will attend to flaws, yet rejoice in the insights, quality of writing, skillful use of texts, and wealth of information in the volume. The book is well worth reading.

Leslie Ellen Straub, O.P.

Providence College

Australian

Die Konzilien in Australien, 1842—1917. By Ian Benjamin Waters. [Konziliengeschichte, Reihe A: Darstellungen.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 195. DM 64,-.)

Written as a doctoral thesis in canon law in St. Paul's University, Ottawa, the present work offers a useful contribution to Australian church history. The author, Father Ian Waters, has long been prominent in the Melbourne Diocesan Historical Commission and its activities. Provincial and plenary councils are often pivotal events in the development of the Church in a particular country. The present volume is included in a series entitled Konziliengeschichte. Those who have found access to invaluable information through Mansi and the Collectio Lacensis will readily applaud the venture by the publisher, Schöningh of Paderborn.

The First Provincial Council of Sydney, the starting point of the study, came just two years after the hierarchy had been established; and the country had not yet advanced beyond the status of a penal colony. Under Archbishop Polding, zealous missionary as he was, its concerns were emphatically pastoral, especially the administration of the sacraments in the rough frontier society. The second, held in Melbourne in 1869 after fire had destroyed St. Mary's Cathedral in Sydney, revealed somewhat more complex conditions, now that transportation had ended. The fathers were preoccupied with the growing problems of mixed marriages and education controlled by the State. Both topics were to occasion concern in all subsequent councils.

These earliest gatherings of the bishops were relatively straightforward affairs. Polding told Propaganda that the council in 1844 had drawn inspiration principally from the councils in Milan under St. Charles Borromeo. It was

different after 1869. Polding's successor, Roger Bede Vaughan, an English Benedictine like himself, when urged by Propaganda to convoke another Council, replied that it would be futile, since it would be no more than "a family gathering." That was obviously an overstatement, but even the simple Polding had already expressed his surprise that the new bishops, nominated under the influence of the redoubtable Paul Cullen of Dublin, were often "closely related." The Australian Church had become thoroughly Irish. The Plenary Council of 1885, convoked by Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran of Sydney, made that very plain. In spite of the advice of Propaganda to study die Plenary Council of Baltimore held in the previous year, the fathers drew inspiration from the Council of Maynooth of 1875. It is hard to avoid a sense of gratification at noting diat Rome intervened in favor of Mary McKillop, soon to be beatified, saving her Josephite Sisters from control by the episcopal cousins.

In his third chapter Father Waters compares the six Australian Councils with those of other countries, providing much to interest the student. Two points, perhaps, call for special notice. In Australia there has been a much larger participation proportionally of the lower clergy in Church legislation than elsewhere. Also it is matter for regret that the best efforts of die Council fathers failed sadly to provide help for the Aborigines. It is small comfort to note a similar judgment by John Tracy Ellis of American legislation for pastoral care of die Indians. Father Waters has been thorough in treating his theme, and he offers valuable information for future students of the Australian Church.

S. J. Boland C.SS.R.

Ballarat, Australia

BRIEF NOTICES

Alexy, Trudi. The Mezuzah in the Madonna's Foot: Oral Histories Exploring Five Hundred Years in the Paradoxical Relationship of Spain and the Jews. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1993. Pp. 316. »2300.)

The author, "a family therapist specializing in art therapy" (according to the jacket blurb), was a child refugee from the Holocaust who spent two years in Spain with her family after leaving Prague in 1938 on their way to New York. Before arriving in Spain, she and her family converted to Catholicism to escape persecution. She left the Church in the mid-1950's and began a search for her spiritual roots in Judaism. In the late 1980's she decided to return to Spain to learn what she could of the Spanish Judaic tradition and also to find other Jews who had escaped the Holocaust by fleeing there. She interviewed the few of the still-remaining Jews she could locate, and she relates their experiences. She also found and interviewed Catholic descendants of the conversos of the fifteenth century who continue to practice Jewish rituals in secret. Aside from relating these interviews, she includes some very superficial history of the gradual emancipation of the Jews in the nineteenth century and their full emancipation under the present monarchy. Throughout, she has nothing but praise and admiration for the Spanish people, who, particularly during the Holocaust, were warm and generous in their aid to the Jews. She includes all classes of people in this admiration, including clergy, both high and low.

The book is a pastiche of long interviews, Alexy's own personal memoirs, historical summaries of dubious accuracy, digressions unrelated to Spain, and it ends with a description of the recent discovery of the crypto-Jews of New Mexico. Much of the book is direct quotation of the interviews, and there are neither enough of these to establish a solid sense of what actually happened, nor are they focused solely on Spanish experiences. There is little of value in this book. Jose M. Sanchez (Saint Louis University)

Cantor, Norman F. Medieval Lives: Eight Charismatic Men and Women of the Middle Ages. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers. 1994. Pp. xx, 197. »23.00.)

There is a certain appropriateness in Norman Cantor, whose writings long have had a proclivity in that direction, explicitly turning to a form of historical fiction. The idea is to construct the conversations of eight charismatic medieval men and women in today's language—indeed there is a fair amount of passing from past to present—in order to communicate their understanding of the cultural issues of their times. A fair amount of what is said is more a reflection on the past than anything someone in that past could have said: at this level, it is often illuminating. There are no footnotes, and only a slender bibliography. Cantor uses the findings of social history to set the scene. Some of the "facts" given by him outside the constructed dialogue are not to be trusted: his words about Peter Damiani's "sex scandal book" are a case in point. In simulated dialogues which leave the general reader both informed and misinformed, the author aims to draw his contemporaries into the medieval world. Some passages are very good, for instance, some of the discussion in the chapter on Augustine and much of the chapter on Alcuin, but each chapter also contains statements at which the expert will wince. That on Hildegard of Bingen is quite effective. In spite of its anachronisms, the presentation of Eleanor of Aquitaine imaginatively articulates twelfth-century ideas. Cantor's claim, whatever the artifice, to preserve medieval sensibility seems to me only partly justified. He invokes Eileen Power's Medieval People in the preface, expressing the hope that his book will have a similar scope and format, though without Power's naivete and enthusiasm. Appropriately enough, Cantor's Middle Ages are more complex and sadder. In some ways his success is not that of the historian, but of the essayist reflecting on the great ideas and dilemmas history presents. Each chapter ends with a Nachleben which is generally accurate. Other figures covered are Helena Augusta, Humbert of Lorraine, Robert Grosseteste, and John Duke of Bedford. The epilogue, a less than convincing and somewhat maudlin apologia for the book, is, in the manner of Petrarch, addressed to medieval people. Glenn W. Olsen (University of Utah)

Contosta, David R., and Dennis J. Gallagher, O.SA. Ever Ancient, Ever New: Villanova University, 1842—1992. (Virginia Beach, Virginia: The Donning Company Publishers. 1992. Pp. 120.)

As Philadelphia's western suburbs blossomed with the opening of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, a small, visionary group of priests of the order of St. Augustine inaugurated Villanova College. It was a "new house" for the fledgling Catholic young men's school situated on the 197-acre Belle-Air estate of John Rudolph. Villanova officially opened on August 28, 1843, and classes

were held and faculty housed in the former Rudolph home. This seminary and school for laity opened with ten students. Like many nineteenth-century Catholic institutions of higher education, Villanova hosted mostly secondary students; thus by 1893, only seventy-six students had earned a true college degree. Still, Villanova had been closed between 1845 and 1846 due to fiscal reasons and the nativist riots in Philadelphia. Closed again in 1857 due to parish demands on priest-faculty, Villanova reopened in 1865 with both lay and clerical instructors.

In 1902, the college and academy separated, and 1905 saw a new Engineering School, followed by a School of Science in 1915 available to a student body of 400. World War I saw the advent of the Army Training Corps. In 1921, a School of Commerce and Finance was established. A decade later Villanova inaugurated its Graduate School, while meeting the needs of 1000 students. By 1933, Villanova had survived three major fires and seemed stronger after each disaster. Given the multifaceted campus athletic activities, the Villanova Wildcat surfaced.

Following the usual disruptions to schedules and student body during World War II, Villanova exploded from 2,000 students in 1947 to 7,500 in 1964. Moreover, with the addition of the Law School and School of Nursing in 1953, Villanova was chartered as a university. Student protests marked the sixties, and by the seventies students served on the University Senate, while, at the same time, university policy became focused on sensitivity to a growing multicultural presence. As Villanova reached 150 years, it proudly harbored a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and was named number one comprehensive University in the East by U.S. News & World Report, while strongly evidencing its Catholic character and Augustinian ideals.

This sprightly written commemorative history clearly sketches the challenges and successes of Villanova. In-depth historical comparison or commentary on higher education of the time will not be found here. Nonetheless, the narrative and outstanding photographs tell an interesting, important saga of Catholic higher education under the able aegis of Augustinian priests and brothers. Certainly this work belongs on every alumnus' coffee table and in every Augustinian institution worldwide. Indeed, the story as well as its attractive presentation has much to say to all institutions of higher education, especially Catholic. For all collegiate and university administrators, faculty and alumni, St. Augustine's experience, Tolle Lege, is not only appropriate for this volume, but wise. Thomas J. Donaghy (Ellicott City, Maryland)

Cornet, Anne, Michel Dumoulin, and Yves Stélandre. Extra Muros: Les réactions de la presse belge à trois voyages de Paul VI (Jérusalem, ONU, BIT), 1964-1969. [Saggi 2, Istituto Paolo VL] (Rome: Edizioni Studium. 1993. Pp. 138. Lire 20,000 paperback.)

As the subtitle of this slim volume indicates, Anne Cornet, Michel Dumoulin, and Yves Stélandre examine the reports of the Belgian press in order to assess the public opinion's perception of the changing role of the Roman Catholic Church in the modern world. The authors painstakingly read and analyzed fifteen French and sixteen Flemish dailies and twenty-five French and twenty-four Flemish periodicals which reported on three of Pope Paul VI's unprecedented trips outside the walls (extra muros) of the Vatican. The trips selected were spectacular though not necessarily diplomatically or politically as significant as other voyages, but they symbolized the opening of dialogue with non-Christians (1964 to Jerusalem), with the international community (1965 to the United Nations in New York), and with workers (1969 to the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the International Labor Organization in Geneva).

The book's organization is both logical and straightforward. It begins with the context for the papal visits, then provides an overview of the Belgian press, offers both a quantitative analysis and a qualitative analysis of first the French and then the Flemish press coverage, and finally ends with a few general conclusions. The final forty pages include extracts from the Belgian press, a list of the press consulted in this study, and five indexes (i.e., names of persons, institutions, newspapers, periodicals, and books).

One value of this book consists in the discussion of the Belgian press itself. It clearly delineates the three trends of the press which reflected Belgian society: the Catholic, the liberal, and the socialist. Nevertheless, the basic criterion for comparison and contrast in this book is language.

Both a plus and a minus of this book is its brevity. The plus is that the book provides a useful model for using the press to gain insight into the changing interaction of the Church and the modern world; the minus is that the reader wants more development and explanation of conclusions. For example, why was there more distinction between the Flemish Catholic and Flemish liberal/socialist papers than between the French Catholic and French liberal/socialist ones.

While the focus of the book is the Belgian press and not Paul VI or his message, this volume reveals the extraordinary steps taken by Paul VI to open dialogue with the world around him. M. Patricia Dougherty, O.P. (Dominican College of San Rafael)

Doré, Joseph (Ed.). Les cents ans de la Faculté de Théologie UER [Unité d'Enseignement et de Recherche] de Théologie et de Sciences Religieuses, Institut Catholique de Paris. [Sciences Théoligiques & Religieuses, 1.] (Paris: Beauchesne. 1992. Pp. 391. 198 FF paperback.)

On December 17-19, 1990, the UER de Sciences Religieuses of the Institut Catholique de Paris celebrated the centenary of the foundation (1889) of its predecessor, the Faculty of Theology of Paris, with a colloquy. In this book the proceedings of the colloquy are published in complete form, divided into three parts: historical investigations, the future of exegesis and theology, and the theological institution in church and society. The different contributions by faculty members provide a good testimony of the scholarship of the school and exemplify their desire to place theological investigation in the context of contemporary culture. As the discussions that followed the lectures expressed, this was above all an in-house discussion that reflected the particular history of this body, especially since its transformation from a faculty of theology to a UER of theology and religious sciences. The fact that this acronym and the many others present in the 'organigrammes' [see pp. 360—361] are never explained confirms the inward context of the exchanges, which renders somewhat difficult their full understanding by any reader unfamiliar with the present state of the institution or its development of the last twenty years. For that reason the first part may be of greater interest since it deals with the history of the Faculty (Claude Bressolette) and dwells upon two of its famous teachers, Louis Duchesne and Alfred Loisy (Bernard Sesboué). As to the more recent changes, the principal actors offer a useful assessment, though what is not said, the non-dit, often seems to be as important as what is expressed. The book editing is poor; particularly irritating are typographical errors in dates. Jacques Gres-Gayer (The Catholic University of America)

Font Obrador, Bartolmeu, and Norman Neuerburg. Fr. Junípero Serra: Mallorca—México—Sierra Gorda—Californias. (Mallorca, Spain: Comissió de Cultura, Conseil Insular de Mallorca. 1992. Pp. 186. Available from Dawson's Book Shop, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90004. »100.00.)

This stunningly illustrated book, most of it in color, was issued to commemorate the observance of the quincentenary of the discovery of America. In fifteen succinct chapters, beginning with a chronology of important dates, the highlights in the life of Blessed Junípero Serra, O.F.M., are detailed in three languages: Spanish, Catalan, and English. The topics included Serra's birth and childhood years in Petra; his religious vocation and education; his early priestly life, including his role as an educator; the influence of Blessed Ramón Llull which sparked Serra's desire to become a missionary, and Serra's brilliance as

a preacher. The remainder of the text narrates Serra's missionary years, first his success in the Sierra Gorda of Mexico, followed by his brief stint in Baja California, and his subsequent presidency of the Alta California Franciscan missions from 1769 until his death, August 27, 1784, at Mission San Carlos Borromeo in present-day Carmel. One striking chapter is devoted to "The Missionary's Doctrine," which illuminates the approach Serra and his confreres used in their evangelization of California native peoples. The book is worth its price because of the compactness and freshness of the narrative, superbly complimented by the sumptuous and profuse illustrations. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (University of Southern California)

James, Marquis. Merchant Adventurer. The Story of W. R Grace. With an Introduction by Lawrence A. Clayton. [Latin American Silhouettes, Studies in History and Culture.] (Wilmington, Delaware: SR Books. A Scholarly Resources Inc. Imprint. 1993- Pp. xxxiv, 385. 824.95.)

Two unusual features claim attention. The first, as Professor Clayton recounts in a substantial introduction, is the fact that this book is now published almost fifty years after it was written. Marquis James, a Pulitzer prize writer, had been commissioned by the Grace heirs; the biography he produced after sound research was ready in 1940, and even the galleys printed when the executives of the Grace interests decided that the publication had to be suspended. Secondly, that this classical American success story did not start in New York, Chicago, or the West coast, but, of all unexpected places for an Irish emigrant, the Peruvian port of Callao. There, in 1851, with his Irish parents, William Russell Grace, nineteen years old, landed. The young Grace was able to establish himself, first as employee, then as partner, in a prosperous business of ship-chandler, i.e., provider of naval equipment and supplies. Many ships then came to Callao, from Europe and North America, braving the distances and the dreaded Cape Horn in search of guano, the malodorous but miraculous fertilizer, unique source of wealth for underdeveloped Peru. Soon Grace and Co. became the main trading house of the country.

In 1865, William Grace moved to New York where he set up the same kind of business, while his brother and associate, Michael, took charge of the activities in Peru and neighboring republics. Their network of friendly relations among shipowners and sea captains, the tactful dealing with local authorities, established the brothers as leading promoters and agents of business relations between North and South America. They were inspirers also of the so-called "good neighbor policy" of the pre-Roosevelt era. The Grace brothers had a most beneficial influence on the emergence of a modern economy in Peru: railway and road building, nitrate mining, sugar plantations, etc. They served as financial advisers, and occasionally political mediators. Before they

consolidated their various interests under a single joint-stock Company, they held full or partial ownership of some sixty private business firms. William's personal wealth was estimated at ten millions. As a prominent citizen and member of the Irish-Catholic community, Grace involved himself in local politics. Twice, in 1881 and 1885, he was elected mayor of New York. Thereafter he remained a major influence in the Democratic national party, helping to seat Cleveland.

This book review might be an occasion to discuss the changes that have occurred in the literary genre of biography in the past half-century. Let us say only that the years have not altered the high degree of readability of the style of Marquis James. G. de Bertier de Sauvigny (Paris)

Kauffman, Christopher J. Faith and Fratemalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus. Revised Edition. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1992. Pp. xxix, 529. »45.00.)

Originally published in 1982 to mark the centennial of the founding of the Knights of Columbus, Kauffman's history was widely praised and quickly became the standard work on the subject. This revision, done by Kauffman to coincide with the quincentenary of the first voyage of Christopher Columbus, retains all the strengths of the original: thorough research, inclusion of a wealth of detail on both the institutional history of the Knights and on twentieth-century American Catholicism generally, and insightful interpretive observations on Knights' rituals and practices.

Structurally nearly identical to the original, it improves on it by carrying the story forward for an additional decade (1982-1992). Kauffman adds more information on the group's founder, Father Michael J. McGivney, and interprets his relationship to the group analogously to that of a founder of a religious order. In doing so and in placing Knights' fraternalism within the broader context of associational behavior, he makes good use of recent research in two widely different fields.

This volume was published along with a more popular version [Christopher Kauffman, Columbianism and the Knights of Columbus: A Quincentenary History (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992)] which, itself, is a good brief illustrated history of the organization. The revised edition is longer and obviously intended more for a scholarly audience. Considering the original edition's great strengths and the improvements made in both the 1992 versions, Kauffman's studies are sure to remain the standard works on the Knights of Columbus for some time to come. David L. Salvaterra (Loras College)

McTighe, Michael J. A Measure of Success: Protestants and Public Culture in Antebellum Cleveland. (Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 283. «21.95 paperback.)

On Friday and Saturday, October 7 and 8, 1994, the Department of American Studies of Case Western Reserve University sponsored its annual symposium on some aspect of local history. In this instance the topic presented was the Origins of Religions in the Greater Cleveland Area. The symposium is always well attended; this year was no exception. What was unusual in this year's program was this. Two of the major papers that were presented focused on themes derived from the late Michael McTigue's new book, A Measure of Success: Protestants and Public Culture in Antebellum Cleveland

In an area in which the local universities have been publishing, under various headings, countless professional studies of both ethnicity and religion in Cleveland, the McTigue book is unique. One would search in vain for any published work that attempts to do what McTigue has done so successfully. He has organized, and to a great extent, synthesized the huge volume of monographs as well as other primary research sources which are cited in the forty-two-page bibliography of this book.

The selection of chapter topics—for example, the mobilization of the strength of the Protestant community and attempt to establish ethos of obligation in the whole debate about slavery—as well as the list of meticulously researched tables, twelve in number, gives insight hitherto non-existent which must be available to future research.

Michael McTigue died on February 4, 1993, one month after he submitted his manuscript to the publisher. Clearly the book addresses topics relevant to a number of academic interests—urban history, women's studies, political history, ethnic history, social and religious history, temperance and anti-slavery movements. It is an excellent monument to his scholarship. Nelson J. Callahan (Bay Village, Ohio)

Maza Miquel, Manuel, SJ. El alma del negocio y el negocio del alma: Testimonios sobre la Iglesia y la Sociedad en Cuba, 1878-1894. (Santiago, República Dominicana: Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra. 1990. Pp. v, 120. Paperback.)

This history is more than an account of Catholicism in the late nineteenth century. The author records a segment of Cuban religious history that reflects and intertwines with the social and political development of the national struggle for independence. Like other major institutions, the Church evolved empirically, just as the process of nation-building itself was experiential.

This book does not attempt to chronicle or analyze the whole corpus of Cuban Catholicism, but to present a selective survey, emphasizing the relationship between the Church and society, from 1878 to 1894. The focus is intriguing; the work is well researched; it closely integrates the writings of major church leaders of the period, including Archbishop Martin Herrera, Bishop Manuel Santander, and Father Juan Bautista Casas, with the general history of Cuban Catholicism. Unfortunately, scant attention is given to the role of the laity.

The main strength of this work is Maza's combining the fine-grained socio-religious description of the working conditions of the clergy with a more general analysis of their place in Cuban society and their political tendencies. Just as important is the author's examination of the practice of Catholicism and of the thought of the Cuban bishops and clergy in this period. In short, this book is an excellent sociological analysis of the relationships between day-to-day conditions in which the clergy found themselves and which affected their consciousness and the larger political conditions in which their lives were situated.

Maza has contributed a needed segment of Cuban religious history. His book provides facts and a chronology, valuable tools for future historians. Since the author is a native of Cuba and has done extensive research on the Cuban church in the nineteenth century, he is a well-qualified historian for such work. And, while his account gives us a more complete picture of the local church in transition, a major flaw in this otherwise well-designed book is the limited number of primary sources. Nevertheless, an important aspect of Maza's work is that he has shown that the Cuban church in the revolutionary period reflects the leadership which was involved in it: their anxiety, their successes and failures, their frustrations and resignation. William L. Montgomery (Washington, D.C.)

Monfasani, John. Fernando of Cordova, A Biographical and Intellectual Profile. [Transactions, Volume 82, Part 6.] (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society. 1992. Pp. x, 116. «18.00 paperback.)

Apart from Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin's work of 1911, this is the only monograph dedicated to Fernando of Cordova (ca. 1421-1486) in this century. While Fernando is well documented as a youthful wonder at the universities and royal courts of the l440's, very little was known of him after that time. Monfasani has changed this.

On the basis of the De artificio omnis et investigandi et inveniendi natura scibilis, which he published for the first time, Bonilla was able to show that despite his Platonist professions, Fernando was more indebted to Aristotle, Scotus, and Ramon Lull than he was to Plato. Monfasani confirms this view.

From the point of view of the history of philosophy his study may not add very much to Fernando's stature, but his expert knowledge of the circle surrounding Cardinal Bessarion (Fernando's most important patron) enables him to provide our first picture of Fernando's last four decades, as a papal subdeacon—a minor member of the papal curia—sitting on papal commissions on controverted doctrinal points concerning the Fraticelli and Lullism, and also as the author of a series of works on philosophy, law, and (in one case) on medicine, none of which, however, seems as interesting as the De artificio. Monfasani's discussion of Fernando's career and writings is supported by a valuable series of unpublished documents, not only from the Vatican Archives but also from Bologna, Siena, and Vienna. J. N. Hillgarth (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies)

Paciocco, Roberto. Da Francesco ai "Catalogi Sanctorum." Livelli istituzionali e immagini agiografiche nell'ordine francescano (secoli xiii—xiv). [Collectio Assisiensis 20.] (Assist: Edizioni Porziuncola. 1990. Pp. 204. Lire 30,000.)

This book follows the development of the Franciscan hagiographie tradition from the earliest biographies of Francis of Assisi to the end of the fourteenth century. With the mid-thirteenth century Bonaventura's Legenda maior replaced all previous lives of Francis in an attempt to create anew a unified founding myth for a rapidly fracturing order. But by the end of that century accommodation to local pressures for a more traditional form of sainthood had manifested itself in the many "minor" Franciscan saints in the catalogues under discussion. The author provides a description of the manuscript of one such: Oxford, Bodleian MS. Canon. Misc. 525, dated 1385 to 1393, and an edition of its "De sacris beatorum fratrum tumulis."

As background to his study Paciocco traces the notion of sainthood from the pontificate of Innocent III, where a saint's moral virtues were stressed as much as or more than the miracles performed by that person both in vita and post mortem. Such an emphasis, the author notes, fitted well with the papal attempt to combat heresy. The saint's imitation of the Gospels was a clear-cut counter to the heterodox evangelical movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Yet already with the canonization of Francis of Assisi and the biographies commissioned around that event, 1 and 2 Celano and his de Miraculis, we see the gradual shift away from the moral virtues of the historical Francis toward an emphasis on Francis the mythic thaumaturge. At the same time a "civic sainthood" emerged around Italian cities' desire to honor their own Franciscans. Despite such local pressures, however, the papacy steadfastly resisted canonizing any Franciscans between Francis himself in 1228 and Anthony in 1232 and Louis of Toulouse in 1317.

With the fourteenth century, however, came a comparative flood of Franciscan sancti minores. The catalogues discussed here list 124 new saints, of which 58 had cults that extended no further than the walls of their own convents. Why this sudden upsurge? While Paciocco notes the "decadence" and decentralization of the order in the fourteenth century and offers some analysis of the types of saints, their geographical divergence, their social and cultural background, and their status in the hierarchy, he fails to give the reason for their numbers. True, we are witnessing a resurgence of an original Franciscan impulse, one that would also give rise to the Spiritual and Observant movements; yet what larger forces could lead to so many and such examples? Here Paciocco's attention to broader trends within church and society, so carefully drawn for twelfth-century antecedents and so attentive of much current research, fails to draw conclusions from his own materials.

Nevertheless, Paciocco provides an interesting case text, a useful prosopographical index of fourteenth-century Franciscan saints, and a good bibliography, though mostly of European historians. This work will thus be of interest to the advanced student of both the Franciscans and of sainthood in the later Middle Ages. Fresh insights are few, but careful attention to one current of this history is welcome. Ronald G. Musto (Itálica Press, New York)

Parrow, Kathleen A. From Defense to Resistance: Justification of Violence during the French Wars of Religion. [Transactions, Volume 83, Part 6.] (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1993. Pp. vi, 79· Paperback.)

This short monograph examines the legal justifications for the violence of the French religious wars. Beginning with the point that Roman law allowed the use of defensive violence, the author shows how a private right of individuals to defend themselves against violence became a broader right of resistance to tyranny. She examines the medieval traditions of the just war, lèse-majesté, and confiscation of the property of traitors, and shows how the latter concepts related to the Church's defining heresy as lèse-majesté divine and seizing the goods of heretics.

Parrow then shows how these concepts were used in the political literature of the religious wars. Her sources are largely the collection of pamphlets found in the Newberry Library. After 1560 the Huguenots argued that the right of self-defense permitted them to take arms not against the king, whom they were defending by their actions, but against Catholic zealots usurping royal authority. The St. Bartholomew's massacre forced the Huguenots to turn toward a more revolutionary position of resistance to the king for his crimes against the people. The Catholic League found itself going through much the same process after Henry of Navarre became the royal successor in 1584. By

1588 it was proclaiming that it was defending the realm against an evil Henry III, and after his assassination, against the heretical claimant. The Leaguer Estates of 1593 was the culmination of the entire range of political literature since 1560, but Navarre's conversion in the midst of the meeting immediately made resistance theory obsolete. Once Henry IV had been to Mass, the onus of treason could be laid on the die-hard Leaguers, who no longer could claim self-defense and just war.

The author provides a good overview of the political literature; yet the brevity that is a virtue in several respects also may leave the reader vaguely unsettled. Too often definitions of key terms and explanations of ideas and events are inadequate to convey the necessary information, while quick generalizations leave inaccurate impressions. For example, the Council of Trent did not lay the foundation for charging the Protestants with heresy (p. 56); their key doctrines were condemned well before then. Parrow downplays too far the real fears that most Catholics had of a Huguenot king. Pledges from Henry that he would protect the Catholic faith (He could not have demonstrated it [p. 60] until he gained effective control of the realm after 1594.) hardly would suffice for those who sincerely believed that a heretic would not keep faith.

Parrow well demonstrates the importance of legal principles to the political writers of the religious wars, and how they strove to clothe themselves with legal rights of self-defense and justified resistance. Her book contributes valuable insight into the political thought of late sixteenth-century France. Frederic J. Baumgartner (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University)

Peterson, Jacqueline, with Laura Peers. Sacred Encounters: Father De Smet and the Indians of the Rocky Mountain West. The De Smet Project, Washington State University. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. 192. «24.95 paperback.)

The American press, long noted for its attractive volumes on Indian subjects, has produced another, unlike most others, viz., a current exhibition catalogue with a learned text. Illustrations of spectacular exhibition items, memorabilia of the nation's best-known missionary, Peter John DeSmet, are presented with an account of his personal history, his involvement in his "Sacred Encounter" with Indians of the "Rocky Mountain West." By report of its principal promoter, Dr. Peterson, 2,500 hardbound copies and 6,000 paperbound copies were run off the press in Italy.

This volume is reminiscent of another by one of DeSmet's Jesuit colleagues, Father Nicolas Point, whose Wilderness Kingdom, first published in 1965 in an edition of 20,000 hardbound copies, evoked high praise, especially for its many illustrations. These paintings by Point, created in the Pacific Northwest

in a five-year period, 1842—1847, were contemporary with other artists of that romantic time, George Catlin, for example. Some of these Point paintings appear in Sacred Encounter, along with plain but authentic sketches and maps made by DeSmet.

It is not easy to find reasons for criticism of this book. Two points, however, should be mentioned. First, the balance of the text and illustrations, especially the latter, weigh heavily in favor of DeSmet's European origins. Some outstanding pieces directly related to his work on the plateau, the focus of Point's paintings and the exhibition itself, have been overlooked, for example, DeSmet's multi-colored chasuble used at Mass on the trail, the remnant of his buffalo robe, the cross with chain presented by DeSmet to a renowned Flathead Chief, and the exquisite Corpus for the cross, carved by Ravalli, used in the Flathead "Christ taken down from the cross ceremony" on Good Fridays. AU of these were readily available in the Jesuit Oregon Province collection. Obviously, not everything available could be used. These, however, were so intimately identified with the Sacred Encounter that their omission in favor of so much of DeSmet's Belgian memorabilia appears to be an oversight.

A more specific criticism concerns an occasional lapse of fact, for example, the text concerning DeSmet's first printed book and the illustration (p. 126) which presents the title page of the 1848 French edition of Oregon Missions. In view of the broad sweep of the text and the splendid illustrations, rich in color and variety, this is not a severe complaint. It follows, then, that Sacred Encounters deserves to be in as many collections of Americana as Wilderness Kingdom, to which it is superior in some respects. Wilfred P. Schoenberg, SJ. (Gonzaga University)

Ruokanen, Miikka. Theology of Social Life in Augustine's "De civitate Dei" [Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte, Band 53] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 179 DM 68,-.)

If the amount written about Augustine is massive, the City of God probably ranks second only to the Confessions as die work most frequently studied. Here a Finnish scholar reviews the older school of Augustinian scholarship and finds it wanting in its interpretation of the De civitate Dei Specifically, it failed to take note of changes in Augustine's views and deemed it sufficient to trace certain concepts from his earlier, more philosophically oriented writings which are more optimistic about the capabilities of human nature.

The later Augustine is characterized as a "moral pessimist" even though still a "natural optimist." While remaining essentially good, creation has become thoroughly flawed because of sin, and for Augustine, says Ruokanen, sin is decisive. Thus, Augustine has long been mistakenly regarded as the ideological father of a sacral medieval political order. But the social order of this

world is founded on pride and moved by the lust for domination. Even if all citizens were good Christians, human society would still be under sin. There is no such thing as a Christian commonwealth, only "a secular society based on the social contract of collective self-interested love" (p. 154). Christians must make the best of a bad situation but can, at most, make it less evil, not really good. They are sustained by the hope of heaven, their true goal. Her conclusions are based on analyses of ordo, civitas, and love.

While her findings are not new, this work contributes to scholarship on the City of God by its synthesis of previous research. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Ryan, James G. (Ed.). Irish Church Records: Their History, Availability and Use in Family and Local History Research. (Glenageary, Co. Dublin, Ireland: Flyleaf Press. 1992. Pp. 207. »46.00.)

Although Ireland is well known as the "land of saints and scholars," one of its richest historical lodes remains unmined for the most part—the records kept, often haphazardly, by various major and minor religious denominations over the past two centuries. James G. Ryan seeks to rectify this state of affairs by providing this very useful guide to the content, location, and accessibility of the extant ecclesiastical records of not only the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Ireland—the country's two major religions—but also of such minority sects as the Quakers, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Jews, and the Huguenots.

Each chapter included in this volume provides a detailed summary of a particular denomination's history in Ireland, and of its record-keeping facilities over time. Also included are the locations of the records and their availability. An extensive index also helps the reader to cross-reference his search. In all, this is a needed guide to the still not fully accessible archives of Ireland's religious institutions. For those interested in documenting the social and cultural (as well as the political and economic) history of Ireland, and who are aware of the difficulties in locating pertinent research materials, Ryan's volume is a very welcome addition to the growing literature available on Irish historical source materials. Janet A. Nolan (Loyola University Chicago)

Saxer, Victor. Pères saints et culte chrétien dans l'Eglise des premiers siècles. [Variorum Collected Studies Series; CS 448.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Company. 1994. Pp. xii, 298. »87.50.)

Monsignor Victor Saxer, now the retired director of the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology, here gathers some fifteen previously published ar-

tides—nine in French, three in German, and three in Italian. Though he has also published a significant study on the medieval cult of Mary Magdalen at Vézelay, these articles concern die patristic era. As the title of the collection indicates, most of them deal with worship and hagiography. Many were written on the occasion of, or in connection with, the appearance of book-length publications on related subjects such as his monographs on the cult of the martyrs in North Africa or on biblical themes in the acts of the martyrs. One article included here, on the Eucharist in Tertullian, has already appeared in English translation.

Other subjects treated include: the cult of the Aposties Peter and Paul in the early Roman liturgy for June 29; the eucharistie significance of the phrase "figura corporis et sanguinis Domini" in Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Ambrose; the date of the first letter in the collection of Cyprian's correspondence; the cult of Hippolytus at Porto; the Platonic theme of the "crucified just man" in pagan and early Christian authors; the differing levels of culture in Cyprian and contemporary African bishops; and, finally, "benedictio" in Augustine. Most of the material is concerned with literary rather than archaeological sources. While treating disparate subjects, the articles are centered on a few themes and it is useful to have them brought together in a collection such as this. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Wills, Jeffrey (Ed.). The Catholics of Harvard Square. (Petersham, Massachusetts: Saint Bede's Publications. 1993. Pp. viii, 212. »2295 clothbound; »15.95 paperback.)

The book is "partly a history, partly a collection of sources." The history consists of six brief sections: a sketch of the parish of St. Paul in Cambridge, Massachusetts; following are studies of the immigrant community served by the parish, two priests native to the parish who in the early twentieth century directed the office of the Propagation of the Faith of the Archdiocese of Boston, the liturgical practices of the parish, and the relations between official Catholicism and both Harvard and Radcliffe colleges. The collection of sources presents the reminiscences of twenty contemporary voices who have been churched at St. Paul's. In conclusion, there is an appendix listing the priests and sisters who have served in the parish and in the Roman Catholic chaplaincy to Harvard University, as well as the principals of the parish grammar school, which closed in 1974.

Lavishly and arrestingly illustrated and handsomely printed, The Catholics of Harvard Square is an intelligently celebratory work that will interest those who have belonged to the parish or been served by the chaplaincy. Social historians of American Catholicism will find in it a partial confirmation of and a frequently instructive supplement to Paula Kane's recent Separatism and

Subculture: Boston Catholicism, 1900-1920. Robert E. Sullivan (St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Massachusetts)

Wood, Diana (Ed.). Martyrs and Martyrologies. Papers read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society. [Studies in Church History, Volume 30.] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers. 1993- Pp. xviii, 497. »64.95.)

Most readers of this journal are probably familiar with this British series. This volume, one of the longest, comprises some thirty-three contributions which, as in the past, study the subject indicated in the title in all periods of church history. Four papers study the patristic period, ten the medieval, nine the Reformation and early modern period, and ten the last two centuries. About half of the papers deal with British church history, if we include one on St. George. Of course, the spectrum of subjects studied necessarily involves a flexible treatment of the matter indicated in the title. Thus the longest essay in the volume treats British fundamentalism in the first half of the twentieth century, a period in which no one was killed.

Some of the most noteworthy essays include one on Roman law and the execution of women in the ancient persecutions by Chris Jones; the attitude of Reformation martyrologists toward medieval dissenters by Euan Cameron, and the relationship between religion and politics in John Foxe's writings by David Loades. Of particular interest to Catholics are treatments of Margaret Clitherow by Claire Cross; Japanese martyrs and "hidden Christians" by Stephen Turnbull, and of English Benedictine Bede Camm by Dominic Bellenger. A theme that runs through most of these papers is the question of how to verify whether a martyr has died for religious reasons only. The fact that in very many cases, it is not possible to specify an exclusively religious cause of the martyrdom is not viewed as disqualifying the victim for the title of Christian martyr.

As with every such compilation, there are substantial papers and some that are more modest either in intent or in result. But, with this volume, the Ecclesiastical History Society of Great Britain continues to make a significant contribution to the study of church history. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The Committee on Corresponding Fellows, of which Martin J. Havran of the University of Virginia is chairman, proposed two candidates for each of the two vacant positions. One had become vacant by the death of Monsignor Michèle Maccarrone, and the other was newly authorized by die Executive Council last January for a Spanish scholar. The Executive Committee by mailed ballot has elected Professor Giuseppe Alberigo of the University of Bologna, director of the Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, and chief editor of Cristianesimo nella storia, and Professor Antonio García y García of die Pontifical University of Salamanca, a specialist in the history of canon law. The president of the Association for 1994, Professor Elisabeth G. Gleason, invited the two scholars and obtained their willing consent to accept the honor.

Meetings, Conferences, Symposia, Courses, and Exhibitions

The sesquicentennial of the Archdiocese of Chicago was marked by two scholarly observances. One was a symposium, entitled "Chicago and the American Cadiolic Experience," which was planned by a committee under the chairmanship of Theodore J. Karamanski, held on November 4-5, 1994, at the downtown campus of Loyola University, and supported by a grant from the Loyola Endowment for the Liberal Arts. Contemporary interests seem to have dictated the choice of topics and participants; the early history of the Church in Chicago was almost ignored. The odier part of the anniversary celebration is an exhibition in die headquarters of the Chicago Historical Society entitled "Bricks and Mortar: Catholic Churches and Chicago Neighborhoods." It was produced by John J. Treanor, assistant chancellor for archives and records of the archdiocese, and researched and written by Ellen Skerrett and Edward Kantowicz. It illustrates how four neighborhoods were shaped by Catholic churches built within them—the German North Side, the Polish Northwest Side, the West Side Boulevards, and Back-of-the-Yards—and tries to depict the interaction between sacred space and urban life, showing how the parishes have adapted to changes in dieir environments over the last 150 years. The exhibition will remain open until April 30, 1995.

The annual dies academicus of the Accademia di S. Carlo was held in Milan on November 18-19, 1994; it was devoted to die tíieme "Le visite pastorali prima di S. Carlo Borromeo." On die first evening Luigi Prosdocimi delivered a prolusione on "La normativa canónica suite visite pastorali nel Decretum Gratiani (1140 c.)." On the following day papers were read on die pastoral visits of Gabriele Sforza (1454-1457) and Carlo da Forli (1457-1461) by Giulio Colombo, of Stefano Nardini (1461—1484) e Guidantonio Arcimboldi (1489-1497) by Giorgio Chittolini, of Melchiorre Crivelli (1543-1546 and 1558—1559) by Agostino Borromeo, and of Giovanni Angelo Arcimboldi (1550-1555) by Giuseppe Alberigo. That afternoon Marco Navoni spoke on the pastoral visits to the cathedral before Saint Charles, and Elena Rotelli on those of Saint Antonio at Florence and of the suffragan bishops at Pistoia and Fiesole.

"Christian Religious Minorities in Early Modern Europe" is the title of a course that will be conducted at the Center for Renaissance Studies in the Newberry Library on Tuesday afternoons from two to five o'clock from February 7 to April 11, 1995. The instructor will be Susan Rosa, Bradley Assistant Professor of History in the Honors Program, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. By focusing on various minorities such as the Recusants in England, die Huguenots and Jansenists in France, and die Protestants in Italy, Dr. Rosa will acquaint the students with some of the library's extensive resources in the religious history of seventeenth- and eighteendi-century Europe. Funds are available to subsidize travel expenses for members of the Center for Renaissance Studies consortium. Those who wish to register for the course should write to the Center for Renaissance Studies, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610-3380; telephone: 312-943-9090, extension 201.

The theme of the fourteenth Comparative Frontier Studies Symposium will be "Religion in Frontier Societies." The symposium will take place in San Antonio on February 24—26, 1995. Upon request ftirdier information will be provided by Colin Wells or Diana Murin in care of the Department of Classical Studies, Trinity University, 106 Oakmont Street, San Antonio, Texas 78212; telephone: 210-736-7647 or -7653; fax: 210-736-7643.

The Texas Catholic Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association in San Antonio on March 3, 1995. A session on "The Catholic Church and the Mexican-American Community in South Texas, 1830—1940," will consist of papers presented by Robert E. Wright, O.M.I., Tim Matovina, and Gilberto Hinojosa. Information about registration may be obtained from the secretary of die society in care of the Texas Catholic Conference, 3001 South Congress Avenue, Austin, Texas 78704.

A conference on "Representation and Interpretation in the Twelfth Century" will be held at Canisius College on April 20-23, 1995. Papers will deal with aspects of intellectual and cultural life. Further information will be provided

by Shaun Gallagher if one writes to him in care of the Department of Philosophy, Canisius College, Buffalo, New York 14208; telephone. 716-888-2329; fax: 888-2525.

The next spring meeting of die American Society of Church History will take place in Miami on April 20—23, 1995. The committee on program has sought to emphasize the following themes: religious diversity and edinicity, secular and the sacred, and religion and the arts. Copies of the program may be requested of the chairman of the committee, Daniel L. Pals, in care of die Department of Religious Studies, University of Miami, Post Office Box 248264, Coral Gables, Florida 33124-4672.

The Middle Atlantic Historical Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities will hold its twenty-first annual conference on April 22, 1995, at Siena College. The keynote speaker will be Iris Berger, professor in the State University of New York at Albany and president of the African Studies Association; she will speak on "Recasting History in the 1990s." Copies of the program, which will be ready by early March, may be obtained from James C. Harrison in care of the Department of History, Siena College, Loudonville, New York 12211-1462.

The Thomas More Society of America will sponsor a tour of London, Canterbury, and Oxford focused on its eponym in the spring of 1995. Lectures on More and his times will be given. The exact dates were to be determined according to response and may be learned by asking George F. Georges at 4000 TunlawRoad, N.W., Apartment 610, Washington, D.C. 20007; telephone: 202-338-8717.

A colloquium entitled "Gender in the Tongue of the Fathers: Ideology and the Subject in Medieval Latin Discourse" will be held at the University of Toronto on May 8—9, 1995. The person from whom information may be obtained is David Townsend at the Centre for Medieval Studies, 39 Queen's Park Crescent East, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C3, Canada.

The fifth International Thomas More Symposium will be held at die Erbacher Hof in Mainz on May 20-27, 1995. It is being sponsored by the Thomas-More-Gesellschaft, the German affiliate of the Amici Thomae Morae. The languages of the symposium will be German and English. Requests for housing and further information should be sent to the Kongressbüro/Secretariat, Thomas-More-Gesellschaft, Hubertshöhe 9, 51429 Bergisch Gladbach, Germany; telephone: 02204/54607. Accommodations at the Erbacher Hof will cost DM85 per day; persons preferring to lodge in a hotel should write to the Verkehrsverein, Bahnhofstrasse 15, 55116 Mainz; telephone: 06131/286210.

The next meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will take place in Montreal on June 8-9, 1995. Sessions dealing with eastern Canadian Catholic history, the multiple languages and cultures of Catholics, Catholic environmentalists, and Canadian religious communities in the world, as well

as with other themes pertaining to the international Catholic experience and the Catholic history of Canada, are being planned. Those who wish to participate in any capacity are advised to consult the president of the association, Margaret Sanche, in care of Saint Thomas More College, 1437 College Drive, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0W6; telephone: 306-966-8914/8900; fax: 306-966-8904; e-mail: sanchem@sask.usask.ca.

College teachers who are scholars of early modern history or related fields are eligible to participate in a six-week summer seminar on "Religion, Politics, and the Origins of the French Revolution, 1560-1991," which will be directed by Dale Van Kley at the Newberry Library from July 10 to August 18, 1995. The seminar will be funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Applications must be submitted by March 1, 1995. Further information may be obtained from Professor Van Kley in care of the Department of History, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan 49546.

The College of Saint Thomas More in Fort Worth has announced an academic program to study Spanish art, history, literature, and culture at die University of Salamanca from August 1 to the sixteenth, 1995. The program will consist of a lecture series, walking tours and other activities outside of class, and group excursions to Avila, Valladolid, El Escorial, and Madrid. It is open to students, academics, religious, retired professors, and librarians. It will be directed by two scholars from the College of Saint Thomas More, viz., Ronald Müller, dean of the college, and Patrick Foley, visiting fellow in history and editor of the fournal of the Texas Catholic Historical Society, who is a specialist on the history of Spain. The program will begin in Fort Worth with lectures about Spanish thought and history. Introductory sessions will be held for orientation and an opportunity to discuss a research project with the faculty. In Salamanca scholars of the university will lecture in English on the art and architecture of the city and other subjects. At the end of the sojourn the participants will be asked to make a short presentation of their work to the group. Undergraduates may earn three hours of course credit by completing a research paper on their chosen topic. The cost of the academic program is $1,875; this includes tuition, transportation with the group, most of the meals, and accommodations in the Hotel Emperatriz in Salamanca. Airfare, some lunches, and admission fees are not included. Those who wish to register must send a non-refundable deposit of $200 by March 1 and the balance of the tuition payment by June 1. Interested persons may write to Dr. Foley in care of the College of Saint Thomas More, 3001 Lubbock Street, Fort Worth, Texas 76109; telephone: 817-232-7972 or 237-9602.

The Society for Confraternity Studies will sponsor sessions at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in San Francisco on October 26—29, 1995. Papers on confraternities in the Mediterranean area and Northern Europe between 1450 and 1650 are solicited; proposals should be sent by April 1, 1995, to

Nicholas Terpstra at the Villa I Tatti, Via di Vincigliata, 26, 50135 Florence, Italy; fax: 39-55-603-383.

Fellowships and Awards

The Pew Program in Religion and American History provides fellowships to stimulate scholarship in the designated area between 1600 and 1980. Applicants must be scholars in the early stages of their professional careers who are completing doctoral dissertations or first books. Requests for application forms and further information should be addressed to the Pew Program in Religion and American History, Yale University, Post Office Box 2160 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520-2160; e-mail: pew_yale@quickmail.yale.edu.

The Program for the Analysis of Religion Among Latinos (PARAL) and the Olga Scarpetta Memorial Fund are co-sponsoring the Scarpetta Award for the best student paper in social science research on religion among Latinos, i.e., Hispanics in the United States. The award will be conferred with an unspecified cash amount in an annual competition in co-operation with the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and the Religious Research Association. The winning paper will be published in Latino Studies fournal. Any student who has not yet completed a doctoral dissertation in any of the social sciences or related fields is eligible. To be considered for the competition of 1995 entries must be postmarked by August 1. Inquiries about the submission process should be addressed to die Scarpetta Award, PARAL, Bildner Center, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, New York 10036.

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American Cadiolicism has announced that the winner of last year's competition for the Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism is Dale Light, professor of history in Pennsylvania State University, Schuylkill. His manuscript, entitled "Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Cadiolicism between the Revolution and the Civil War," will be published by the University of Notre Dame Press mis year.

Publications

A dossier on "La Inquisición en Aragón" constitutes the first part of Volume 63-64 (1991; published in 1994) of the Revista de Historia ferónimo Zurita. It consists of the following articles: Jaime Contreras, "La Inquisición aragonesa en el marco de la Monarquía autoritaria" (pp. 7-50); Pilar Huerga Criado, "La Hacienda de la Inquisición aragonesa durante el reinado de Fernando el Católico" (pp. 51—72); Pilar Sánchez, "Inquisición y juristas aragoneses en los

siglos XVI y XVII" (pp. 73—85); Bartolomé Bennassar, "La Inquisición de Aragón y los Heterodoxos" (pp. 87-92); and José A. Ferrer Benimeli, "La Inquisición como fuente de Ia demografía de Aragón. El Censo de 1748" (pp. 93-138).

John L. Kessell of the University of New Mexico has contributed an essay entitled "Miracles of Mystery: María de Agreda's Ministry to the Jumano Indians of the Southwest in the 1620s" to the book Great Mysteries of the West, edited by Ferenc M. Szasz (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum, 1993).

Virginia Humling has published a useful guide for Cadiolic genealogists entitled U.S. Catholic Ancestors: A Diocesan Research Guide. Copies may be obtained directly from the author at Post Office Box 1193, Bothell, Washington 98041-1193.

The issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for summer, 1994 (Volume 12, Number 3), is devoted to the theme "German-Catholic Identities in American Culture." It consists of the following articles: Joseph M. White, "Cincinnati's German American Life: A Heritage of Lay Participation" (pp. 1-16); Joseph H. Lackner, S.M., "Bishop Ignatius Horstmann, Spokesperson for German-American Catholics?" (pp. 17—40); Rory T. Conley, "Arthur Preuss, German-Cadiolic Exile in America" (pp. 41-62); Oliver M. Schütz, "German Catholics in California: The German Origins of St. Elizabeth's Parish, Oakland, and die Early Move to a Multicultural Parish" (pp. 63—72); Linda Marie Bos, S.S.N.D., "'Let us act promptly': School Sisters of Notre Dame and World War I" (pp. 73—86); Stephen Avella, "Sebastian G. Messmer and the Americanization of Milwaukee Catholicism" (pp. 87-107).

To commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the death of Cardinal Ildefonso Schuster, O.S.B., Archbishop of Milan, Benedictina has restricted the first fascicle (January-June) of its volume for 1994 (41) to articles concerning him: Luigi Crippa, "Alfredo Ildefonso Card. Schuster, O.S.B. Saggio bibliográfico" (pp. 13—39); Mariano DeU'Omo, "In margine alla biografía schusteriana. L'Abate Ildefonso Schuster nei ricordi di D. Anselmo Lentini moñaco di Montecassino, novizio a S. Paolo fuori le mura (1919—1920)" (pp. 41—49); Armando Oberti, "Schuster-Lazzati: un esemplare rapporto spirituale" (pp. 51-68); Giuseppe Anelli, "Ritratto monástico di Ildefonso Schuster alio Specchio délie sue Lettere dellAmicizia" (pp. 69—162); Agostino Ranzato, "Uso e molo della S. Scrittura nel pensiero del Card. Schuster. Analisi esemplificativa dell'opera Un pensiero quotidiano sulla Regola di S. Benedetto" (pp. 163—182); Annamaria Valu, "La prima e la seconda dedicazione della Chiesa monástica délie Benedettine del SS. Sacramento di Milano nell'esperienza spirituale del Card. A. Ildefonso Schuster" (pp. 183-242); Massimo Lapponi, "Vita monástica, studio e lavoro nel pensiero del Card. Schuster" (pp. 243—252); Gregorio Penco, "L'opéra del Card. Schuster nella storiografia monástica del Novecento" (pp. 253—272); Tersilio Leggio, "Ildefonso Schuster storico di Farfa e della Sabina" (pp. 273-294); and Giuseppe Crocetti, "Il Card. Ildefonso Schuster—Santa Vittoria e Farfensi nel Piceno" (pp. 295-308).

Personal Notices

Caroline W. Bynum of Columbia University, who was president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1993, is president-elect of the American Historical Association.

Terry Fay, SJ., of St. Augustine's Seminary, Toronto School of Theology, University of Toronto, has been elected president-general of the Canadian Cadiolic Historical Association and secretary-treasurer of Historia Ecclesiae Cadiolicae Canadensis Publishers, Inc., which oversees the association's publications.

Patricia Herlihy of Brown University became president of the New England Historical Association at its annual meeting on October 22, 1994.

James Tracy of the University of Minnesota has been elected vice-president of the Society for Reformation Research. He will become president in May.

Obituary

Arthur John Ennis, O.S.A., died on March 27, 1994, at the Sacred Heart Home for Incurable Cancer in Philadelphia. At the time of his death Father Ennis was a member of the Saint Augustine Friary Community in Villanova. He was born on October 22, 1922, in Brooklyn, New York, and attended Saint Augustine High School before entering Augustinian Academy on Staten Island as a postulant in 1937. He was received into the Augustinian Novitiate at New Hamburg, New York, in 1940; he professed his first vows on September 10, 1941, and his solemn vows three years later. He received a BA. degree from Villanova University in 1945 and then studied theology at Augustinian College in Washington, D.C, for four years. He was ordained to the priesthood on February 10, 1949. While in Washington, he also took the MA. degree in medieval history at the Catholic University of America. Next he went to Rome to study church history at the Pontifical Gregorian University and received the doctorate in that discipline in 1953. After teaching for two years at Archbishop Carroll High School in Washington, D.C, he returned to Rome as master of professed at Saint Monica's College, die Augustinian international student community. From 1959 to 1968 he was a professor of theology at Augustinian College. In the latter year he was appointed chairman of the Department of Religious Studies in Villanova University. In 1975 he was elected a provincial councilor of the Augustinian Province of Saint Thomas of Villanova, and from 1977 to 1983 he was assistant general of the Order of Saint Augustine for North America and chairman of the Order's international Peace and Justice Commission. In 1983 he returned to Villanova as prior of die Augustinian Community in Overbrook (Philadelphia), and the next year he was appointed prior of Saint Augustine Friary in Villanova. In 1986 he was appointed prior

of the Augustinian Novitiate in Racine, Wisconsin. In 1992 he had a sabbatical leave for study at the Mexican-American Cultural Center in San Antonio but had to interrupt it because of his illness. Throughout his scholarly career he published numerous historical studies, beginning with Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz, O.S.A (1507—1584): A Study of His Life and His Contribution to the Religious and Intellectual Affairs of Early Mexico (Louvain, 1957). He contributed thirty-eight articles to the New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967). His last major publication was the book No Easy Road: The Early Years of the Augustinians in the United States, 1796—1874 (1993). Father Ennis had been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1949.

Letter to die Editor

As editor of Discourse and Context: An Interdisciplinary Study of John Henry Newman, I respond to Ian Ker's review (ante, LXXX [April, 1994], 384—385) to suggest that the collection covers a more extensive scholarly terrain than his remarks may suggest. The review focuses mostly upon three of the eleven essays in the collection, those by Edward E. Kelly on Newman's individualism, M. Jamie Ferreira on faith and imagination in Newman's thought, and James C. Livingston on Christianity and culture in Newman's Idea of a University.

A negative tone opens the review by engaging controversy on isolated and tangential points in Edward E. Kelly's essay, but there is no discussion of the substance of the argument about the relation between Newman's individualism (based on the author's psycho-biographical sketch) and Newman's various forms of discourse. Yet this is a crucial topic for the volume. Moreover, no mention is made in the review of the main theme that brings cohesiveness to the interdisciplinary collection: that the various forms of discourse in Newman's thought need to be interpreted in relation to specific contexts, especially if his thought is to remain pertinent for scholarship in our modern world (as discussed, for example, by James C. Livingston). Perhaps this oversight in the review about the rationale of the book explains why other essays that are crucial to the interpretative relation between discourse and context in Newman's thought received only a passing reference without evaluation: Mary Katherine Tillman's essay on the phronesis tradition in Newman's works, Walter Jost's comparison of philosophical rhetoric in Newman and Heidegger, Alan J. Crowley's analysis of the theory of discourse in Newman and Ricoeur, and C. J. T. Talar's study of the interpretative process in the reception of Newman's Development of Doctrine (which was not mentioned at all).

Other points could be made to expand upon the cursory remarks in the review about the essays by Kenneth L. Parker on Newman's individualistic use of the Caroline Divines in the Via Media and by Edward Jeremy Miller on the viability of Newman's Idea of a University today. Perhaps it suffices

to conclude this response by expanding the picture on two topics that explore controversial features in Newman's theological discourse. The review's mention of Newman's submissiveness to Rome in the essay by Lawrence Barmann does not convey adequately the author's main argument that some of die principles, methods, and conclusions in Newman's discourse can be construed as analogous to those of the Modernists. And the review's comment about Newman's commitment to obedience and patience in my own essay does not impart sufficiently the main point that the form of discourse in Newman's dieory of assent legitimated religious dissent both in abstract and in practice in his own life. I hope this portrayal of a more extensive scholarly terrain in this collection of essays on the variety of discourse in Newman's thought is of interest to your readers.

Gerard Magill

Saint Louis University

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

GENERAI AND MISCELLANEOUS

Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests. On Cunning Folk in European Historiography and Tradition. Willem de BIécourt. Social History, 19 (Oct., 1994), 285-304.

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L'Istituzione "Inter Oecumenici", una svolta decisiva (Luglio-Ottobre 1964). P. Martini. Ephemerides Liturgicae, CVIII (May-June, 1994), 205-231.

"Consecrated to Christ, Nuns of This Church Community": The Benedictines of Notre-Dame de Saintes, 1047—1792. Hugh Feiss, O.S.B. American Benedictine Review, 45 (Sept., 1994), 269-302.

A Study in Schism: Sabbatarian Baptists in England and America, 1665—1672. Raymond D. Irwin. American Baptist Quarterly, XIII (Sept., 1994), 237—248.

Il pellegrinaggio indulgenziato di Grottammare alia sua chiesa madre. Mario Sensi. Lateranum, LX (2, 1994), 299-321.

San Vincenzo al Volturno. Richard Hodges, Catherine Coutts and John Mitchell. Current Archaeology, XII (June-Aug., 1994), 244-250.

San Francisco el Grande de Madrid. Un inventario histórico. Patrocinio García Barriuso, O.F.M. Archivo Ibero-Americano, LIII (Jan.-Dec, 1993), 163—209.

Le chartrier de l'évêché de Limoges, cotation et inventaires. Liliane Delaume-Boutet. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 152 (Jan.—June, 1994), 159—203.

The Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University in Chicago. Walter Krolikowski, S.J. Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, LXIII (Jan.-June, 1994), 77-100.

ANCIENT

Thecla and the Church Fathers. Léonie Hayne. Vigiliae Christianae, 48 (Sept., 1994), 209-218.

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La questione deH'arricchimento dei vescovi e del clero da Cipriano a Dámaso tra polémica anticristiana, autocrítica ecclesiale e legislazione imperiale. Alberto Barzanó. Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, XLVII (July-Dec, 1993), 359-366.

Rifiuto del servizio militare e della violenza nel cristianesimo africano tra la fine del III e l'inizio del IV secólo. Sergio Tanzarella. Augustinianum, XXXIV (Dec, 1994), 455-465.

Gericht über den Bischof von Rom. Ein Problem der kirchlichen und der staatlichen Justiz in der Spätantike (4.-6. Jahrhundert). Klaus Martin Girardet. Historische Zeitschrift, 259 (Aug., 1994), 1-38.

Hilary of Poitiers' Road to Béziers: Politics or Religion? Paul C Burns. Journal of Early Christian Studies, 2 (Sept., 1994), 273-289.

Heidentum und Judentum in Rom nach einer christlichen Darstellung des fünften Jahrhunderts. Ernst Bammel. Augustinianum, XXXIV (Dec, 1994), 437-446.

Clovis: How Barbaric, How Pagan? William M. Daly. Speculum, 69 (July, 1994), 619-664.

Dating the Baptism of Clovis, 1886-1993. Mark Spencer. Early Medieval Europe, 3 (2, 1994), 97-116.

Gregor der Große und sein Verhältnis zum Römischen Recht am Beispiel seiner Politik gegenüber den Juden. Ernst Baltrusch. Historische Zeitschrift, 259 (Aug., 1994), 39-58.

MEDIEVAL

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Erzbischof Egbert von Trier (977—993). Franz Ronig. Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift, 103 (Apr.-June, 1994), 81-91.

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