ELISABETH G. GLEASON

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WHO WAS THE FIRST COUNTER REFORMATION POPE?

BY

Elisabeth G. Gleason*

The Counter-Reformation, once the almost exclusive preserve of Catholic scholars, has assumed a different physiognomy in studies published during the last ten or fifteen years. Older schemes divided sixteenth-century Catholic church history into two distinct periods, the pre- and post-Tridentine, with the Council as the watershed between them. Adopting this division, it was easy to define the Counter-Reformation in a straightforward fashion chronologically as following the Council of Trent, and structurally as the great offensive movement aimed not only at stopping the tide of Protestantism, but also at reversing the patterns of Protestant gains and Catholic losses on the religious map of Western and Central Europe.

Recent studies have introduced a number of changes and refinements into this older image of the Counter-Reformation. Continuities rather than discontinuities have been stressed, and the connections

•Mrs. Gleason is a professor of history in the University of San Francisco. She read this paper as her presidential address at a luncheon held in the Chicago Hilton Hotel on Saturday, January 7, 1995, during the seventy-fifth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association.

between ideas of reform during the first and second half of the sixteenth century have been established.1 New concepts have been introduced into the way scholars approach the Counter-Reformation, and the kind of questions they pursue. Foremost among them probably is the concept of Sozialdisziplinierung, or the exploration of new and more pervasive forms of control over the Christian people exercised by the Church and later, the state.2 They included, for example, the requirement of proof that laypeople had fulfilled their Easter duty, or the increasing bureaucratization of the parish clergy. Methods from other disciplines such as sociology and anthropology have been brought to bear on analyses of the Counter-Reformation, which, interestingly enough, has become a new frontier in early modern history. Witness, for example, recent attempts to see the remarkable clustering of the so-called "New Orders" as an integral part of sixteenth-century history,3 rather than as a phenomenon which concerned only the Catholic Church. Another example of methodologically innovative works has been the result of the current emphasis on contacts between European and non-Western cultures. This vast topic has reopened the whole subject of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholic missionary activity to more sophisticated analysis than it has traditionally received, for instance, in Jonathan Spence's The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci.4

When compared to these new developments, the history of the papacy has received relatively little attention.5 Although Paolo Prodi's innovative The Papal Prince6 examined the institutional aspects of the papal monarchy, the book has so far remained magisterial and isolated without becoming the inspiration for more works along similar lines. We have no new biography of a Counter-Reformation pope, except for

¦For excellent bibliographical introductions to major topics concerning the Counter-Reformation, see Catholicism in Early Modem History: A Guide to Research, ed John O'Malley, SJ. (St. Louis, 1988).

2The basic essay on these topics remains Wolfgang Reinhard, "Gegenreformation als Modernisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," Archiv für ReformationsgeschichtelArchive for Reformation History, 68 (1977), 226-252.

'See the recent volume onReligious Orders of the Catholic Reformation, ed. Richard L. De Molen (New York, 1994).

4New York, 1984.

The stimulating essay by Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformpapsttum zwischen Renaissance und Barock," in Reformatio Ecclesiae. Festschrift für Erwin Iserloh, ed. Remigius Bäumer (Paderborn, 1980), pp. 779-796, offers numerous suggestions to future historians of the Counter-Reformation papacy.

^Because of the inadequacies of the English translation, the original version should be consulted: // sovrano Pontefice (Bologna, 1982).

the recent one of Pius V,7 which breaks no new ground. In dealing with individual pontiffs, therefore, we still fall back on the work of historians like Ranke, Pastor, and Seppelt. It goes without saying that their studies, despite their great merit, were written in and for other times, and from our perspective are outdated not so much in their documentation as in their attitudes and value judgments.

Approaches to the Counter-Reformation papacy for almost half a century now have been influenced by Hubert Jedin's Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Begriffe, published in 1946. This short book, really an essay, has exerted a disproportionate influence on subsequent scholarship, not least on account of its clarity. Jedin attributed the key role in the genesis of the Counter-Reformation to the papacy, and used a well-known metaphor to underline its crucial position. Likening efforts at Catholic reform to rivulets, Jedin argued that what ultimately united all these little watercourses into a mighty river was the papacy. According to him, no true reform, let alone an organized Counter-Reformation, was possible without the pope.

But which pope was the first to unite reform efforts into one stream? On that, Jedin is less clear. He writes that "the papacy, renewed inwardly by Catholic reform, becomes the proponent of the Counter-Reformation. The papacy employs existing religious forces and political means of power for a counterattack on innovation."8 One has to look very carefully in order to find when this papacy becomes the carrier of new ideas: in just one phrase we are told that "the decisive victory was won when in the year 1555 Marcellus II and Paul IV, both of them, despite their differences, representatives of the new spirit, ascended to the throne of Peter."9 In another place, Jedin affirms the key role of Marcellus II by elaborating: "Marcellus II had decided on [the necessity of] drastic measures: therefore, he is the first pope of Catholic reform."10 At this crucial juncture, we are thus presented with a rather weak statement or an ahistorical aside, since the Cervini pope lived less than a month after his election." Scenarios of what might have been do not answer our question.

7NiCole Lemaitre, Saint Pie V (Paris, 1994).

8Jedin, Katholische Reformation, p. 36.

•>Ibid., p. 28.

10Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik, and Hubert Jedin, Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Vol. IV: Reformation, Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna, 1967), p. 505.

''See William V. Hudon, Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy (DeKalb, Illinois, 1992).

On Paul IV, the Carafa pope, there is more agreement among historians.12 He is generally considered the paradigm of a Counter-Reformation pope, if that is taken to mean an intransigent man who had little sensitivity to many of the burning issues of his own time, and who wanted to turn the clock back to the days of Innocent III or, better, Boniface VIII. His policy concentrated on the repression of dissent and punishment of dissenters. If we define the Counter-Reformation as repression, then he is our man. But few non-Italian historians define it that way.

In Italy, the old battle between so-called lay and Catholic historians has taken on new life with the work of several younger scholars who have reaffirmed the well-established idea that Italian Renaissance culture was strangled by Inquisition and Index. For example, Massimo Firpo has elaborated the Crocean image of Italian Renaissance culture being forced to go underground by the Catholic Church like one of the mysterious rivers which simply disappear at a certain place in their course, the reverse of Jedin's image. His view of the Counter-Reformation stresses the elements of repression and control of thought and expression for which the Church was responsible, and the pervasive suspicion and fear which were their inevitable result. Paul IV, the former inquisitor, fits neatly into this view of the Counter-Reformation.13

If, however, one defines the latter more broadly, then Paul IV becomes an embarrassment to the Catholic historian precisely because of his seemingly one-dimensional mind and action. His was an inquisitorial mentality, and he certainly lacked the sort of global imagination which we find in later and "classical" popes of the Counter-Reformation. His field of vision was narrow, his politics fanatical, and the imprint he left on the Church slight. Only if the Counter-Reformation is defined in the narrowest possible way would he emerge as its first significant pope.

By now it should be abundantly clear that the question I posed at the beginning of my talk hinges on the definition of the Counter-Reformation. I would like to define the Counter-Reformation more broadly than some of my predecessors or colleagues have done. First of all, it was a movement with roots in the late medieval Church. It

12See the useful volume by Alberto Aubert, Paolo IV Carafa net giudizio délia età delta Controriforma (Città di Castello, 1990).

13For Firpo's views, see especially his essays in Inquisizione Romana e Controriforma (Bologna, 1992).

was both defensive and offensive in nature, but could have cohesion and consistency not only under papal guidance, but more importantly, only after the leaders of the Catholic Church put on "a new thinking cap," to borrow an expression of Sir Herbert Butterfield. Only after the bitter realization by popes and their key advisers that the split in Western Christianity was final, and that instead of the one Church several churches actually coexisted, can we speak of a Counter-Reformation. What is a given to us was a shocking idea to men of the 1530's and 1540's, especially to those who, in the spirit of Erasmus, hoped for an end of the schism and a healing of the break in Christian unity. Once this break was acknowledged as irrevocable, the popes could and did turn their attention first to in-house Catholic doctrinal and disciplinary reform, and second, to the missionary activity of a revitalized but also significantly changed church both in Europe and in the non-European world.

If we accept the consciousness of the break as a key criterion, then the task of seeking the first pope of the Counter-Reformation becomes easier. As we reflect on popes after 1517, it emerges without a doubt that Hadrian VI was the first to understand the seriousness for the Catholic Church of the issues Luther had raised. But calling him "Ie premier pape de la Contre-Réforme," as the title of a volume of essays does,14 is an exaggeration, or rather, a mistake. His famous confession of faults which Chieregati brought to the German estates meeting in Nuremberg in 1522 shows no conception that the break between Catholics and Protestants was final. On the contrary, he still spoke of reform of the Church under papal leadership as something for which "the entire world" was longing,15 and he appealed to the Lutherans as brothers who were temporarily alienated, to be sure, but who would ultimately be welcomed back into the one church where all Christians belonged. Pope Hadrian's mental universe did not include the reality of a permanently splintered Christianity. Besides, his pontificate was too brief to allow him to accomplish any significant change.

To my knowledge, nobody has called his successor, Clement VII, a pope concerned with reform. We have to await a promised new biography of the second Medici pope before we can decide whether the bad press Clement has received is fully justified.16 But that he in

14 Cardinal van Roey et al., Adrien VI, le premier pape de la Contre Réforme (Gembloux, 1959).

15 In John C. Olin, The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola (New York, 1969), p. 125.

16 Kenneth Gouwens has begun work on such a biography.

no significant way either advanced the defense of the Church or supported its offensive against Protestantism is clear. His priorities were Florentine, not Roman or universal.

Historians have dealt with his successor, Pope Paul III, in a curious way. If ever a pope needed a new biography, it certainly is he, although it is not likely that a single scholar will be able to write it, given the mass of material related to his pontificate that has come to light in the last twenty-five years or so. In works as different as the magisterial fifth volume of Pastor's classical Geschichte der Päpste, the fourth volume of the more recent Handbook of Church History, or a synthesis of the Reformation period like that by Lewis Spitz,[17] for example, Paul III is labeled a figure of transition, a "precursor of Catholic Reform, not its first pope."[18] In Pastor's view, "Paul HI did not become a man of the Catholic Reform in the full sense of the word. In him, the old struggled continually with the new."[19] Elaborating this further, Pastor added: "He [Paul III] found a connection to the new times, so that, although he still remained in some respects the representative of an epoch that was over, he seems in many others to be the first of a new epoch."[20]

It is certainly tempting to continue interpreting Paul HI as a Janus-faced figure. After all, he was a quintessential Renaissance cardinal whose rise to prominence was associated with one of those titillating stories so dear to nineteenth-century anticlerical historians. His sister, the (of course) beautiful Giulia Farnese, the mistress of Pope Alexander VI, reputedly used her influence to advance the career of her brother. Stronger evidence of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese's worldliness are his illegitimate children, whom he never disavowed, but acknowledged, featured, and championed as pope.[21] Yet this same man also had a clearer grasp than any of his predecessors of what the Protestant Reformation meant for the Catholic Church, and he acted on this new understanding to initiate reform. By putting Paul III in a limbo marked "transition," one evades the difficult task of trying to understand the pattern formed by the seemingly incompatible pieces of his intellectual and religious makeup.

"The Protestant Reformation 1517-1559 (New York, 1985), p. 294: "Paul III ... , Julius III ... , and Marcellus II . . . represented a transition to the reforming mentality."

^Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte, Vol. IV, p. 477.

"Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste, Vol. V, p. 29.

20Ibid., p. 30.

2'For a full family tree of the Farnese and portraits of the children and grandchildren of Paul III, see Clare Robertson, 'Il Gran Cardinale': Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts (New Haven, 1992).

I would like to offer two theses concerning Pope Paul III: (1) He was the first pope of the Counter-Reformation, and (2) his actions were not those of a man caught on some sort of historical picket-fence separating two epochs; rather, his decisions were guided by principles we can uncover.

As to the first thesis, if we accept the definition of the Counter-Reformation which I have previously proposed, and agree that it necessarily entailed the consciousness that separate Christian churches existed in actuality, then Paul III emerges as a shrewd and intelligent pope without illusions about the nature of Protestantism. He was aware of the threat that Protestant theology and practice posed to the Catholic Church, and he sought effective countermeasures. It is true that his interest in church reform was partly a response to the demands of Charles V, the heavy -weight of whose policies on the Italian states left the pope less and less room to maneuver. But the other side is equally true: for Paul HI church reform was as much a religious as a political issue, and he considered it absolutely essential for the maintenance of Catholic supremacy in Europe. Paul III well understood that promoting reform and calling a council were forms of damage control in which he was prepared to take the lead.

During his pontificate, the Church faced aggressive Protestantism in Germany, the rumblings of dissent in Italy, schism in England, and an unpredictable French king. The pope was not merely cynically playing along with German or imperial demands for reform, but was acting out of conviction that it must be initiated. There was nothing transitional about this conviction.

Within a few months of his election, in his second nomination of cardinals in May, 1536, Paul III chose men who were known as proponents of reform. During his relatively long pontificate of fifteen years, his many cardinals predictably included family members, clients, and political appointees, but also men who swam against the stream and who were critics of the Curia, outsiders to it, and advocates of church reform. This last group was responsible for changing the atmosphere in the College of Cardinals. Instead of transacting business as usual, the College under Paul III became lively and at times argumentative. While numerically always in the minority, the reform-minded cardinals were disproportionately conspicuous for no other reason than the support given them by the pope. He appointed them to important commissions, entrusted them with legations, and most importantly, listened to their concerns.

A crucial source is missing which would add immeasurably to our

understanding of Paul III. We have no documentation of how and why he made decisions about whom he appointed to the cardinalate. But one thing is certain: this pope acted only after careful consideration and reflection. The changing face of the College of Cardinals was due to Paul IH and to him alone, as was the hearing given at his court to ideas of church reform.

Two examples will suffice. In the fall of 1536, the pope appointed a commission to draw up proposals for reform in preparation for a general council. Its chairman, Cardinal Gasparo Contarini, was given free hand in the choice of members, and selected noted proponents of reform.22 This commission of nine prelates presented its report to the pope in a consistory of March, 1537. Entitled "Consilium de emendanda ecclesia," the report was substantially different from the many lists of grievances of the past two generations because it struck at the heart of the matter. The document flatly stated that the sources of all ills besetting the Church were the exaggerated claims made for papal power and its wrongful use. Furthermore, it asserted that unless the pope realized he had been led astray by curial lawyers who argued that his will was law, no reform could ever begin.2'

In effect, the "Consilium" criticized the entire system of papal government because it had created and was perpetuating the conditions under which abuses could exist. The preamble called for conceiving papal power in spiritual rather than political or economic terms. Had it led to a thorough re-examination of the power and role of the pope in the Church, this proposal would have been a major document in the history of Catholic reform. It was nothing of the kind because it lacked a consistent concept of reform, notwithstanding claims for its importance made by some historians. What remains significant, however, is the fact that Paul III ordered the report, had it read in consistory, and although it remained a dead letter owing to the opposition of the majority of cardinals and curial politicians, he continued to support and even favor its authors. The pope in this case was testing the waters at the papal court and assessing the strength of the reform party like the consummate politician he was.

Another and perhaps more striking example of Paul IH's support of this party was his appointment of new cardinals in June, 1542, among

22For the consilium see Elisabeth G. Gleason, Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform (Berkeley, California, 1993), pp. 143-157.

"The English translation of the consilium is in Reform Thought in Sixteenth-Century Italy, ed Elisabeth G. Gleason (Chico, California, 1981), pp. 81-100.

whom were such known protagonists of church reform as Giovanni Morone, Tommaso Badia, and Gregorio Córtese. Even the most cynical interpretation of the pope's motives cannot detract from the significance of these appointments, made at a critical moment, which confirmed Paul IH's confidence in men who were at once critics and innovators.

That he had an open mind about the ideas of innovators can also be shown in his support of the first Jesuits and Capuchins. John O'Malley's recent work has cautioned us about simply linking the first Jesuits and the Counter-Reformation, since neither St. Ignatius Loyola nor Paul III envisioned the new order's primary purpose as combatting Protestantism.24 The pope's approval of the Jesuits is proof that he was willing to give serious hearing to new concepts of organizing a religious community. This can be seen in his support of the first Capuchins as well, especially during the difficult period after the flight of their general Bernardino Ochino to Protestant Switzerland. Despite his advanced age, Paul III was flexible enough to bend his own rule against admitting new religious orders when dealing with Jesuits and Capuchins, both of which orders eventually played key roles as preachers, teachers, and counselors in Catholic Europe.

Along with political acumen and sensitivity to the concerns of reform-minded prelates, Paul III also had a keen understanding of the threat posed by German Protestantism. One of the most telling documents supporting this assertion is the instruction given to Cardinal Gasparo Contarini when he was sent as legate to the religious colloquy between Protestants and Catholics in Regensburg in 1542.25 We read in the instruction that Protestants "have departed from the bosom of the Church," and that it remains to be seen to what extent they are still in accord with Catholics on such key issues as papal primacy, the sacraments of the Church, and others confirmed by Scripture and tradition. "From the very moment that there is disagreement on these issues, any attempt at agreement on other controverted matters would be bound to fail," Contarini was told.26 Paul III viewed the Lutherans as heretics who had separated themselves from the true Church, and never envisioned a real discussion in which they would be accepted as equals. His attitude was that cutting the cord rather than building bridges to them was the best course of action. In this matter he

"The First Jesuits (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993).
"Gleason, Contarini, p. 204, n. 84.
lHbid., p. 205.

expressed a view typically held by all the Counter-Reformation popes.

This attitude also explains his support for the institution charged with surveillance over thought and expression, the Inquisition. InJuIy, 1542, only one month after he had appointed the three spokesmen for reform to the College of Cardinals, Paul III announced the reorganization of the Roman Inquisition. Almost more than any other of his actions, the creation of a streamlined and ultimately effective Inquisition shows that the pope had adopted a militant stance in the confrontation of the Catholic Church and Protestantism. During his pontificate, therefore, one of the key institutions of the Counter-Reformation was in place and would continue to function with greater or lesser effect all through the remainder of the sixteenth century.

Paul Ill's outstanding contribution to the Counter-Reformation was the calling of the Council of Trent. In convoking its first session, he was not merely responding to pressure by the emperor. Much more importantly, he was personally convinced that the council must meet to deal with burning issues, as he repeated tirelessly from the moment of his election. One of the great merits of Volume I of Jedin's magisterial History of the Council of Trent is to have demonstrated that Paul III was not deflected from his purpose despite the enormous political complications which stood in the way of the council. Paolo Sarpi's cynicism notwithstanding, Paul III championed the council for all the right reasons.

One more major item of evidence in my argument for considering Paul HI as the initiator of the Counter-Reformation is his realization of the implication of the overseas discoveries for the future of the Catholic Church. As the recently published volumes of papal documents regarding the newly discovered American continent27 demonstrate, he envisioned the Christianization of the new world much as the two Venetian Camaldolese Paolo Giustiniani and Pietro Querini had done a generation before him, as an immense opportunity which the Church was called upon to pursue. But he was also concerned with the native populations and came down on the side of those theologians and moralists who were defending the human dignity of American Indians.28 Here, again, he was pointing to the program which his successors were going to institute in the future, and which became such a characteristic feature of the Counter-Reformation Church.

"America Pontificia primi saeculi evangelizationis 1493—1592, 2 volumes, ed. Josef Metzler (Vatican City, 1991).

28See an especially good example of his concern for the Indians in America Pontificia, Vol. I, pp. 26-27.

My second thesis, that historians can uncover the principles according to which Paul III operated, and that he was not just a Janus-faced transitional figure, cannot be documented quite so easily. He alternated between support of spokesmen for reform at the papal court and marked foot-dragging and even stone-walling. Not only modern historians have been puzzled by his inconsistent behavior, but even contemporaries were at a loss how to understand it.

Among them were, for example, Cardinals Contarini and Pole who were clearly perplexed by the pope's vacillations. When their friend, the poet Vittoria Colonna, on one occasion inquired why reform measures were discussed but not implemented, a witness reports that the two cardinals "shrugged their shoulders, meaning to answer her (she had a quick mind) by their silence "[29] Paradoxically, modern historians have a better handle on the pope's mind, and a clearer understanding of the limits of his commitment to reform. The first limit was his inability to conceive of the Church otherwise than as it was during his lifetime. Unlike some members of the Italian spirituali, or proponents of reform, the pope took for granted the entrenched concept of the Church as property, meaning the matter-of-course acceptance of the traffic in benefices, offices, or compositions. Catholic reform proposals hit the proverbial brick wall the moment they touched upon property, as Barbara Hallman has convincingly shown.[30] Paul III did not challenge this. Sweeping change would have amounted to a revolution which it was hardly in his power to effect, because not the pope but bankers and creditors controlled much of church property. His realism, not his unwillingness to act, explains much that to his contemporaries looked like vacillation.

The second limit to the pope's implementation of reform ideas was his well-known nepotism. The cultivation of one's own family interests was in reality a structural element of Italian society and an integral, admired part of social norms in sixteenth-century Italy. It has been shown by Wolfgang Reinhard[31] that nepotism had a moral dimension, contributing as it did to the central and immensely important value of pietas, or the ideal of proper behavior toward one's family and dependents in a society which assigned greater importance to familial

"Report of the Mantuan agent De Plotis, Rome, November 18, 1538, to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, quoted in Aldo Stella, "La lettera del Cardinale Contarini sulla predestinazione," Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia, 15 (1961), 416 n. 22.

KItalian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property (Berkeley, California, 1985).

ä'"Nepotismus: der Funktionswandel einer papstgeschichtlichen Konstanten," Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 86 (1975), 145-185.

collectivities than to the individual. Pietas was not an excuse for nepotism, but its legitimation. Financial support, even on an extravagant scale, of family and familia, meaning the household including retainers, for the Farnese pope was an inescapable obligation rather than an abusive diversion of church funds.

Seen in this light, the principles according to which Paul III acted become more comprehensible to our age with its different social norms. The issue for the pope was not whether to cut off his family and entire network of clients, including his grandson Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, from numerous and lucrative benefices. That would have clashed with his sense of priorities as well as with that of most of his contemporaries of equal social rank. Rather, in his mind concern for the welfare of the Church was compatible with his desire to elevate the Farnese to the highest possible social position, even if that meant alienating church lands for the purpose of creating a new principality for his descendants, or destroying the independence of abbeys so that they could become benefices in the hands of his family. Paul HI, perhaps more than any other sixteenth-century pope, truly was a papal prince. All his efforts at reform, therefore, proceeded within parameters that were defined by this reality, and they excluded change in property arrangements or in what he considered family affairs. Reform in these areas could come only later, in consequence of changing views about the nature of papal power, of the economic crises of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and last but not least, of more modern ideas about family bonds, the limits of the obligations family members had toward one another, and the relation of the family to the state.

By situating Paul III firmly in his own world and society, it becomes possible to see how in him elements coexisted which to us seem incompatible. His reform-minded contemporaries, like us, were keenly aware of the pope's shortcomings and, yes, his vices. His critics, however, were decidedly in the minority. For the leaders of Catholic Europe and for sixteenth-century Italians, Paul III was pope, prince, patron, and paterfamilias. In his self-image, however, his chief role was that of leader and defender of the Catholic Church and faith, a role which he took with the utmost seriousness. It is this role that made him indeed the first pope of the Counter-Reformation, if we accept its more inclusive definition for which I have argued in this talk.

NARRATIVE AND ILLUMINATION IN THE BEATUS APOCALYPSE

BY

Kenneth B. Steinhauser*

1. Introduction: The Goal of the Present Study

Beatus was a priest and monk of the Abbey of Santo Toribio at Liébana, located near Santander in northern Spain. He completed the first edition of his lengthy commentary on the biblical book of Revelation in the year 776. The commentary would undergo two subsequent revisions at his hand in 784 and 786.[1] Although thirty-two manuscripts have survived, I have predominantly relied upon two: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 644, a. 922 (or 926 depending upon how one reads the date), and Gerona, Museo Diocesano Ms. 7,

•Father Steinhauser is associate professor of historical theology and director of graduate studies in the Department of Theological Studies at Saint Louis University. Research for the present study was initiated during a National Endowment of the Humanities Summer Seminar in 1990 at Cornell University under the direction of Robert G. Calkins.

1Of the thirty-two extant manuscripts, twenty-five are more or less complete and seven are fragmentary; see Anscari M. Mundo, "Sobre los códices de Beato," Actas del Simposio para el estudio de los códices del "Comentario al Apocalipsis" de Beato de Liébana (Madrid, 1979), I, 107-1 16. There have been three printed editions: Henricus Florez (ed.), Sancti Beati presbyteri Hispani Liebanensis in Apocalypsin ac plurimos in utriusque foederis paginas Commentaria, ex veteribus, nonnullisque desideratis patribus mille retro annis collecta, nunc primum edita (Madrid, 1770); Henry A Sanders (ed.), Beati in Apocalypsin libri duodecim ("Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome," 7 [Rome, 1930]); E. Romero-Pose (ed.), Sancti Beati a Liébana Commentarius in Apocalypsin (2 vols.: Rome, 1985) For a current inventory of the manuscripts and bibliography see Richard Kenneth Emmerson and Suzanne Lewis, "Census and Bibliography of Medieval Manuscripts containing Apocalypse Illustrations, ca. 800-1500," Traditio, 40 (1984), 34^-379. I also refer the reader to the ambitious and monumental work of John Williams, The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse (5 vols.; London, 1994), which, when completed, in addition to analysis will provide every illustration from each extant manuscript; vols. I and Il are now available.

a. 975.2 The Morgan Beatus and the Gerona Codex are the earliest extant manuscripts and both represent the third or last edition.

A comparison of the combined literary and artistic program of the first edition to that of the third indicates that during the decade a radical change in the intention of the author and the function of the commentary had taken place. The first edition was actually not an exegetical commentary at all but lectio diuina—spiritual reading for monks consisting of continuous selections from the entire book of Revelation. After each excerpt came a pictorial illustration and a written explanation. The second edition of 784 manifests only minor revisions of the first. In 785 Beatus and Etherius, Bishop of Osma, collaborated in writing Aduersus Elipandum. This overtly polemical work was a strident critique of Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, for his adherence to adoptionism. One year later in 786 Beatus issued the third and final edition of his Apocalypse Commentary, which he had changed into a polemic against heretics and the reign of the antichrist. In the turmoil of Moslem-ruled Spain, the heretics were readily identifiable as the adoptionists who belong to the body of the antichrist. Beatus transformed his commentary from contemplative reading into polemical invective without removing any original text or illumination. Instead, he provided for certain well calculated artistic and literary additions. At his direction the following material was included in the third or final edition: illuminations of the evangelists, partially illuminated genealogical tables beginning with Adam and Eve and continuing through the entire Old Testament (Plate 1), an alpha at the beginning and an omega at the end of the text, a chapter entitled De antichrtsto taken from Augustine's De ciuitate Dei, a chapter entitled De adfinitatibus et gradibus taken from the Etymologiarum libri of Isidore of Seville, and a relatively complete copy of Jerome's commentary on the biblical book of Daniel with some pictorial representations of Daniel's prophetic ministry.

The goal of the present study is to investigate the relationship of narrative to illumination in the "Beatus Apocalypse," which the entire compilation of text and miniatures is frequently called. Each edition of Beatus' work contains its own communicative program composed of literary and artistic elements, which have been combined into an organic whole for the purpose of achieving a specific aim. This is

2The Gerona Codex is available in gorgeous facsimile edition: Jaime Marques Casanovas et al. (eds), Sancti Beati a Liébana in Apocalypsin Codex Gerundensis (Olten, 1962).

Plate 1. Gerona, Museo Diocesano Ms. 7, fol. 8V.
Adam and Eve and beginning of the genealogies

particularly evident when one compares the first and the third editions. Since Beatus and Etherius coauthored Aduersus Elipandum only one year before his final revision of the Apocalypse Commentary, that work will provide a description of Beatus' concerns and preoccupations immediately prior to his revising the Apocalypse Commentary for the last time. In other words, Beatus himself has documented his theological and personal interests by writing his polemical Aduersus Elipandum in such close temporal proximity to his final revision of the Apocalypse Commentary so that one readily knows what was on his mind during the third revision. Scholars seem to be deadlocked on the question whether the Beatus Apocalypse was anti-adoptionistic or not.3 My hypothesis seeks to solve this problem with a sort of compromise. The first edition was not anti-adoptionistic but the third edition was. In other words, an illustrated biblical commentary was revised into an illustrated apology.

The present study will proceed as follows. After establishing the goal and theoretical basis of our research, we will turn our attention to the characteristics of the first edition of Beatus' Apocalypse Commentary. Then, the purpose and content of Aduersus Elipandum as well as the historical circumstances surrounding its composition will be considered. Finally, we will investigate the peculiarities of the third edition, which is essentially a synthesis of the first edition and Aduersus Elipandum. The following chronological table4 will assist the reader:

Chronological Table

633	Fourth Council of Toledo
711	Arab invasion
776	First edition of the Beatus Apocalypse
784	Second edition of the Beatus Apocalypse
785	Beatus and Etherius write Adversus Elipandum
786	Third edition of the Beatus Apocalypse
792	Council of Regensburg

'See John Williams, "The Purpose and Imagery in the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus Liébana," The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages, eds. Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn (Ithaca, New York, 1992), pp. 217-233, and The Illustrated Beatus, I, 114-115.

4For an historical overview see Roger Collins, Early Medieval Spain: Unity in Diversity, 400-1000 (London, 1983), pp. 200-224.

922 (926)	Completion of the Morgan Beatus
975	Completion of the Gerona Codex
1031	Extinction of the Umayyad dynasty

1.1 The Beatus Apocalypse

The Beatus Apocalypse presents a thorny series of technical problems which are extremely difficult to solve but which nevertheless must be mentioned here before we proceed to the task at hand, namely, the relationship between text and illumination. The first problem concerns the three editions. Based upon the dating of the present era in each manuscript, Henry A. Sanders developed the hypothesis of three distinct editions.[5] There does exist a clear consensus of scholarship which identifies three families of manuscripts. However, there is considerable debate whether or not the three families of manuscripts represent three editions or three recensions. The third edition or recension presents the greatest difficulty. Did Beatus personally revise his work or was the revision accomplished sometime after his death? This question is further complicated by a second problem. No one has been able to reconcile the textual tradition with the pictorial tradition satisfactorily. Scholars seem to answer the question of edition versus recension differently, depending upon whether or not they prefer the textual or pictorial tradition. On the basis of textual criticism, Sanders and Wilhelm Neuss[6] conclude that Beatus himself composed three editions. Concretely, this would mean that Beatus added Jerome's Commentary on Daniel and its illuminations to the work. On the basis of the iconography, Peter K. Klein[7] and John Williams[8] conclude that the third edition was composed after the death of Beatus. This would mean that Beatus is not responsible for appending Jerome's Daniel Commentary and its illuminations to the work. The reconciliation of the textual tradition with the pictorial tradition appears to

[5]See Sanders, pp. xi—xxiii.

[6]See Wilhelm Neuss, Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration: Das Problem der Beatus Handschriften ("Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft," 2, 2—3 [Münster, 1931]), I, 62-111.

[7]See Peter K. Klein, Der ältere BeatusKodex Vitr. 14-1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid: Studien zur Beatuslllustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts ("Studien zur Kunstgeschichte," 8 [Diss. Bonn, 1976; Hildesheim, 1976]), I, 302-303.

[8]See John Williams, "The Beatus Commentaries and Spanish Bible Illustration," Actas, II, 201-219.

be an insurmountable obstacle. For this reason, some scholars, for example, Manuel Díaz y Díaz9 and Mireille Mentré,10 remain neutral regarding the problem, which indeed could be a legitimate position if the evidence were inconclusive. Nevertheless, the preponderance of the evidence indicates that the third revision is an aactual edition at the hand of Beatus and not merely a later recension. Among the various arguments the explicit dedication of the third edition to Etherius is especially convincing. Only the author, Beatus himself, could dedicate the work. The present study accepts and supports the hypothesis of Sanders and Neuss that Beatus himself composed three editions of his commentary.

In addition to the arguments presented by Sanders and Neuss one further piece of evidence needs to be considered. Within the Apocalypse Commentary the Prologus libri secundi, which is essentially an excursus, explicitly mentions the book of Daniel. A miniature corresponding to the text of Daniel contains animal representations of the four kingdoms of the earth and the statue of Nebuchadnezzer's vision. Since the miniature is contained in all three manuscript families, Neuss concludes that it belonged to the original commentary. This illumination bears a striking resemblance to the illuminations of Jerome's Daniel Commentary. First of all, it is unframed while the illuminations of the Apocalypse Commentary are framed. Second, the same representation of the statue appears in the miniature of Nebuchadnezzer's dream and the mountain. Third, the four animals appear again in Daniel's vision of the ancient one. This means that the miniaturist of the Apocalypse Commentary had consulted an illuminated copy of the book of Daniel. In other words, the prototypes of the miniatures of the Daniel Commentary were readily available at the time of the first edition. Since, as we shall soon see, Beatus planned the illuminations of the Apocalypse Commentary, we may be certain that he was at least aware of the pictorial tradition used to illuminate the Daniel Commentary.

'See Manuel C. Diaz ? Díaz, "Tradición del texto de los Comentarios al Apocalipsis," Actas, l, 163-184,

'"See Mireille Mentré, Contribución al Estudio de la Miniatura en León y Castilla en la Alta Edad Media: Problemas de la forma y del espacio en la ilustración de los Beatus (Leon, 1976), p. 146.

1.2 Principles of Interpretation

Early scholarship generally conceded that the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus was neither original nor important. After all, it had even been overlooked by Abbé Migne. If anyone was interested in the Beatus Apocalypse, it was for some tangential reason relating to either the text or the miniatures. Until recently, research had remained more or less bifurcated.

Beatus copied verbatim—today we would say he plagiarized—extensive sections of his commentary from patristic sources. Scholars were interested in Beatus not for what he had written but for what he had copied. His Apocalypse Commentary provides one of the chief pieces of evidence used in partially reconstructing the lost commentary of Tyconius, an African, Donatist, and older contemporary of Augustine.11 For example, Taugott Hahn had considered the Apocalypse Commentary of Beatus a haphazard collection of patristic quotations sometimes concerning the book of Revelation and sometimes unrelated to the biblical text at hand. In fact, his explanation of the structure and disposition of the lost commentary of Tyconius was based upon a so-called "mistake" of Beatus—a title erroneously and mechanically written at the beginning of the wrong book.12 Furthermore, to discover the lost text of Tyconius' commentary, supposedly one needed only read the text of unimaginative Beatus, who slavishly copied from his sources. Although the Beatus Apocalypse remains an invaluable source for reconstructing the lost Tyconian commentary, Beatus was no mere copyist. His work was carefully composed, and he had specific goals in mind.

The lavish illuminations, which the vast majority of codices contain, are absolutely essential for understanding early medieval Spanish book illumination.13 Although these miniatures manifest African and Islamic and northern European influences, they are, nevertheless, distinctive

11See Kenneth B. Steinhauser, The Apocalypse Commentary of Tyconius: A History of Its Reception and Influence ("European University Studies," Series 23, Theology 301 [Diss. Freiburg, 1986; Frankfurt, 1987]), pp. 141-196.

12See Taugott Hahn, Tyconius Studien: Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte des 4. Jahrhunderts ("Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche," 6, 2 [Leipzig, 1900; rpt. Aalen, 1971]), pp. 18-19, and Kenneth B. Steinhauser, "The Structure of Tyconius' Apocalypse Commentary: A Correction," Vigiliae Christianae, 35(1981), 354-357.

13The studies of Neuss, Klein, and Mentré are especially important; see also John Williams, Early Spanish Manuscript Illumination (New York, 1977).

and in most manuscripts are considered typical of the style known as Mozarabic, characteristic of Christian Spain under Arab rule. Furthermore, their influence may be found in romanesque and Carolingian imitations. From this perspective the Beatus Apocalypse is an important link in the chain of the history of art.

Otto Pacht writes of Kunst als Bedeutungsträger and, if art does indeed carry meaning, then the goal of the art historian is Kunstexegese or the exegesis of art.14 The discovery of mutual influences and the investigation of recensional characteristics, though important, do not deal with the problem of meaning. One must consider the "didactic or programmatic selection or juxtaposition of images that go beyond a mere narrative function."1, In other words, the unique configuration of text and illumination must be interpreted as a unity. This will reveal the overall program which Beatus designed out of literary and artistic elements. Any separation of text from illumination destroys the intention of the author and clouds the possibility of arriving at a genuine understanding of the original work as Beatus wrote it in 776. Furthermore, when Beatus revised his work in 784 and again in 786, his revisions extended to both text and illumination. These subsequent revisions of Beatus' commentary cannot be understood unless both text and illumination are interpreted together, as was the intention of the author. "One of the basic requirements for an understanding of medieval illumination is to have a clear idea of how the miniature or pictorial decoration is anchored in the organic structure of the book, both physically and conceptually."16 This approach will ultimately uncover the reason why Beatus revised his commentary, which was already enjoying a wide circulation. Essentially the final edition contains not one literary and artistic program but two—the final program itself and the original program imbedded within the book, which was inherited from the first edition. Although some extraneous literary and artistic material is present in the manuscript tradition, two distinct programs are evident. Once the two programs are identified, they will be compared in order to demonstrate how text and illumination carry meaning.

uSee Otto Pacht, Methodisches zur kunsthistorischen Praxis: Ausgewählte Schriften (Munich, 1977), p. 237.

"Robert G. Calkins, "Pictorial Emphases in Early Biblical Manuscripts," in The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art, ed. Bernard S. Levy ("Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies," Vol. 89 [Binghamton, New York, 1992]), p. 78.

16OUo Pacht, Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction (New York, 1986), p. 32.

2. The First Edition of Beatus' Apocalypse Commentary

Why did Beatus choose Revelation out of all the books of the Bible to be the subject of his commentary? This question cannot be answered without considering the historical position of Revelation within the medieval Spanish church. Perhaps no book of the entire New Testament has generated more controversy than the book of Revelation. Due to its apocalyptic character, which is indeed a very specific Jewish genre, the canonicity of the book of Revelation was enthusiastically embraced by some communities and rejected by others. Its absence from many Greek papyri, including the oldest majuscule, namely, the Codex Vaticanus, could hardly have been oversight. There was resistance to the book of Revelation also in Spain which prompted the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 to assert that Revelation does belong to the canon and is the inspired word of God. To give its theoretical declaration teeth, the council insisted that Revelation be read at Mass on Sundays from Easter to Pentecost. Indeed, use in worship is the litmus test to demonstrate whether or not a community considers a book sacred. Incorporating a cycle of readings from Revelation into the Mozarabic liturgy clarified for all the canonical status of the book more than any doctrinal pronouncement. Apringius, Bishop of Beja, wrote a brief homiletic commentary on selections from Revelation. The fragmentary nature of Apringius' commentary was a perplexing problem until A. C. Vega discovered that his selections correspond to the cycle of readings in the Mozarabic liturgy between Easter and Pentecost as mandated by the Fourth Council of Toledo.17 Ecclesiastical legislation, liturgical usage, and scholarly interest combined to make Revelation a theologically significant as well as popular book in early medieval Spain. These religious and historical circumstances explain the reason for the disproportionate importance which Revelation enjoyed in eighth-century Spain. Why then did Beatus choose Revelation above all the biblical books available to him? In the dedication, Beatus states that Etherius considered the book of Revelation the basis for understanding all the books of the Bible: 'Tet you should believe this book to be the key to the library of all books."18 Beatus presumably shared this viewpoint.

,7See A. C. Vega (ed.), Apringii Pacensis Episcopi Tractatus in Apocalysin [sic] ("Scriptores ecclesiastici Hispano-Latini veteris et medii aevi," 10-11 [Escorial, 1941]), pp. xxviii-xxxv.

MCommentarius summa dicendorum, ed. Romero-Pose l: 4.8-9: Omnium tarnen

Although Aduersus Elipandum deals with adoptionism, Beatus reveals there his exegetical method and the theoretical principles by which he had organized his Apocalypse Commentary. His method was based on allegory, which he considered essential for the proper interpretation of the sacred scriptures.19 Four kinds of allegory may be found in the sacred scriptures: (1) the transference of a human characteristic to God, (2) an imaginative person, as a character of a parable, referring to a real person, (3) a simple comparison or similitude without a story, and (4) the proverbial mode. Beatus writes that the Jews do not accept these allegories and carnal Christians do not understand them. Just as the face of Moses was veiled when he spoke to the people, the entire library of the sacred scriptures has been veiled until Christ. The whole library is like one book, veiled at the beginning and revealed at the end. This entire library is to be understood as one man:

> And as we stated that one entire man consists of three parts, so let us explain that one entire book in our library consists of three parts, that is, the letter, the metaphor, and the mystical understanding. The letter, which is the history itself, corresponds to the body of man. The metaphor corresponds to the soul of man. The mystical understanding corresponds to the spirit of man.20

In other words, the science of exegesis has an anthropological basis derived from the human being's body, soul, and spirit. Therefore, every book has a threefold level of meaning, namely, the literal, metaphorical (or tropological), and the mystical (or spiritual). Far from being original, this approach was in vogue during the late patristic and early medieval periods and may be traced through Gregory the Great to Origen and ultimately to Plato.21

librorum tbecae hunc librum credos esse clauiculam (my translation). I have cited the edition of ancient works by volume, page(s), and line(s).

19See Beatus and Etherius, Beati Liebanensis et Eterii Oxomensis adversus Elipandum libri duo 1.99; ed. Bengt Löfstedt ("Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaeualis" [Turnhout, 1984]), 59: 75.2899-2900.

20Adversus Elipandum 1.104, ed. Löfstedt, CCCM 59: 78.3008-13: Et sicut unum hominem integrum ex tribus constare diximus, ita biblioteca nostra unum librum integrum ex tribus constare explanemus, id est littera tropología et mística intellegentia Littera est sicut corpus hominis, quae littera ipsa est historia Tropología sic est sicut anima hominis. Mística intellegentia sic est sicut Spiritus hominis (my translation). Since Löfstedt had only one meaningful manuscript, he followed its orthography throughout his critical edition.

21See Henri de Lubac, Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'écriture ("Théologie," Vol. 41 [n.p., 1959]), I, 198-219.

The originality of Beatus lies in his organization of an entire commentary around the three levels of meaning. The Apocalypse Commentary is designed in a threefold pattern of story, picture, and explanation corresponding to his anthropologically based exegesis. His method of procedure is quite simple and remains uniform throughout the entire Apocalypse Commentary. First, Beatus writes an excerpt from the text of Revelation which he identifies as the storia. Next, a pictorial illustration of the storia follows. Finally, he writes the explanatio suprascriptae storiae, which is verbal explanation of the sacred text. Essentially each storia has two explanations—one pictorial and the other textual. The entire book of Revelation has been divided into sixty-two storiae of varying lengths. In no case do we find a storia without a pictorial illustration and explanation. I will limit myself to one example. After a brief introductory paragraph, Book I begins with the text of Rev. 1:1—6, which describes the revelation of God to Jesus Christ which was subsequently passed to John through an angel. Then, an artistic representation of the text follows. Plate 2 portrays the scene in two registers. In the top register an enthroned Jesus, identifiable by the nimbus, speaks to the angel. In the bottom register the angel communicates the message of Jesus to John. Last comes a verbal description of the scene and an explanation of its theological significance for Beatus' contemporaries. Thus, regarding Rev. 1:1 Beatus writes: "The matter was not conceived through reflection nor through some lying incantations but it was directed 'through an angel,' that is, through a messenger of his truth, 'to his servant,' namely, John, the most tested and holiest of all the apostles."[22]

One may be certain that Beatus himself planned the illustrations, because the miniatures in all existing manuscripts are essentially identical.[23] In addition, he does mention them in several places. For example, in the second book we find a title: STORIA SVBSEQVENTIS PICTVRAE.[24] In the prologue to die second book Beatus writes: "And, therefore, the picture of the diagram below more easily shows these grains of seed through die field of this world, which the prophets tilled and will reap."[25]

22Commentarius 1, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 76.4-8: non cogitatione concepta res erat, non aliquibus falsiloquis scripturarum carminibus, sed per angelum,' id est, per ueritatis suae nuntium, 'seruo suo,' probatissimo scilicet uiro et sanctissimo apostolorum omnium Iohanni directa est (my translation).

2,See Casanovas, "The Gerona Codex," Codex Gerundensis: Prolegomena, p. 67.

2iCommentarius 2, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 285.12.

2,Commentarius prologus libri secundi, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 195.5-6:£tquofacilius haec seminis grana per agrum huius mundi, quem profetae laborauerunt et hi metent, subiectae formulae pictura demonstrat (my translation).

Plate 2. Gerona, Museo Diocesano Ms. 7, fol. 31?·
The First Revelation

There is also a quotation from Isidore discussing why artists usually paint angels with wings.26

Since Beatus explicitly relates the literal understanding of a book to the story which corresponds to the human body, we may complete the analogy and summarize Beatus' exegetical method and the literary structure used in his commentary schematically:

homo	liber	Apocalypse Commentary
corpus	Uttera	historia or storia
anima	tropología	pictura
Spiritus	mística intellegentia	explanatio

The Beatus Apocalypse was never used liturgically and was not intended to implement the seventeenth canon of the Fourth Council of Toledo, which insisted that the book of Revelation be proclaimed. The lengthy time lapse, well over a century, between Toledo IV in 633 and the first edition of the commentary in 776 seems to preclude this possibility. What purpose did the first edition of the Beatus Apocalypse serve? How did it function as a book? Jacques Fontaine has identified the work as lectio diuina composed for the spiritual edification of monks. He traces Beatus' approach through Isidore and Gregory back to Cassiodorus' monastery at Vivarium.27 Essentially Beatus' Apocalypse Commentary stands in the tradition of western mysticism. Rather than strict biblical exegesis, its goal is education here and now in an actual method of contemplation. Mentré has presented an excellent description of the illustrative program of the Beatus Apocalypse where she states that Beatus' exegesis of Revelation is profoundly spiritual and directed toward the mystical vision of God.28 However, she also describes the Beatus Apocalypse as a "summa" or synthesis of the whole Bible and Christian dogma formed into a kind of exegetical encyclopedia combined with religious and profane thought inherited from church fathers and Visigothic culture.29 Unfortunately, I must disagree with her on this point. Unlike many of the writings of Isidore of Seville, the goal of the Beatus Apocalypse was certainly not encyclopedic. In all his writing Beatus tends to be extremely attentive to his prospective reader. Developing Mentré's vision theme further,

26See Commentarius prologus libri secundi, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 173.4—174.7.

27See Jacques Fontaine, "Fuentes y tradiciones paleocristianas en el método espiritual de Beato," Actas, 1, 75-101.

28See Mentré, op. cit., pp. 78-86.

29Ibid., p. 73.

O. K. Werckmeister has investigated the theology of death as presented in the Beatus Apocalypse. Beatus deals primarily with eschatological issues such as resurrection, salvation, damnation, and final judgment.30

Beatus utilizes various sources from his monastic library. His biblical text of Revelation was an Old Latin translation of African origin. His illuminations were taken from a Bible and possibly other sources. His explanation of the biblical text was partly copied from various patristic authors, primarily Tyconius, Augustine, Gregory, and Isidore, and partly his own composition relating Revelation to the concrete needs of his contemporary monastic audience.31 The biblical text of the Apocalypse, the illustrations, and the commentary on the text constitute a unified communicative program directed toward monastic contemplation. AU three levels of meaning have been integrated into the program of the commentary according to an expressed exegetical method. The short excerpt or story presents the letter of Revelation. The picture or illumination is a metaphor. The explanation is designed to lead the reader beyond the letter and beyond the metaphor to spiritual understanding. Beatus has molded his sources into a practical program of monastic piety with a strong eschatological emphasis ultimately leading to the mystical vision of God.

3. The Polemical Work Aduersus Elipandum

Beatus had already alluded to adoptionism in the first edition of his Apocalypse Commentary. In Spain Jews, Moslems, and Christians lived side by side at peace but not without occasional conflict. Both Moslems and Jews were strict monotheists and both had accused Christians of believing in three Gods. For them it was ludicrous to speak of Jesus as the Son of God in a literal sense. In addition, the Arabs had brought Nestorian writings, particularly those in Syriac translation, into Spain so that one may posit a direct historical link between late and early adoptionism. The theological goal of Spanish adoptionism was a reconciliation of Moslem and Christian belief.32 Adhering to a rigid mono-

30SeC O. K. Werckmeister, "The first romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the liturgy of death," Actas, II, 163-192.

"See Commentarius summa dicendorum, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 4.3-6.

32See Wilhelm Heil, "Der Adoptionismus, Alkuin und Spanien," in Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben, ed. Wolfgang Braunfels (Düsseldorf, 1965), II, 95-155. For a revisionist hypothesis, which identifies adoptionism as an indigenous Spanish

theism, the Koran relegates Jesus to the role of a prophet. Adoptionism is a mediating position which attempts to preserve the uniqueness of Jesus as God's son while retaining monotheistic belief in one God only. Elipandus, Archbishop of Toledo, had the task of shepherding a Christian community under Moslem occupation. This had two results. First, he was open to the development of a more conciliatory formula of faith, which could induce Moslem respect for Christianity. Second, ironically he enjoyed a certain freedom because the decisions of ecclesiastical councils could hardly be enforced in his diocese since the Church exercised no civil authority under Umayyad rule. Thus, in spite of anti-adoptionistic declarations at the Council of Regensburg in 792 and subsequent condemnations at Frankfurt in 794 and Aachen in 799, Elipandus was able to continue his struggle on behalf of the adoptionist cause until his death in 809.

Meanwhile, Liébana and Osma were in Asturia, which was under the rule of Charlemagne. Neither Beatus nor Etherius faced the problem of Moslem occupation, and they had absolutely no sympathy with Elipandus' genuine pastoral problem. In 785 Beatus, monk of Liébana, and Etherius, Bishop of Osma, wrote a letter to Elipandus attacking him for his heretical beliefs.33 As archbishop of Toledo, Elipandus was also primate of Spain, and he was incensed to have been publicly criticized by an upstart monk from the provinces. The anonymous Vita sancti Beati praises Beatus as another Isaiah sent to fight error in Spain and discipline with an iron rod.34

Beatus compares Jesus to a book: "Thus, Christ is our book. Outside is the page and the letter, which is the man, both body and soul. Inside is divinity, just as the meaning is in the letter."35 When describing Jesus as the son of God, Beatus insists: Non est allegoria.i6 With rather facile logic he presents his argument to demonstrate that Elipandus is the antichrist. Elipandus believes that Christ is merely the adopted son of God. The adopted son is not the real son. Elipandus denies that

problem, see John C. Cavadini, The Last Christology of the West: Adoptionism in Spain and Gaul (785-820) (Philadelphia, 1993), and my review in Theological Studies, 55 (1994), 354-355.

"The coauthorship of Etherius is questioned in some quarters; see Löfstedt, op. cit., p. vii.

i4Vita sancti Beati 2, Patrología Latina, Vol. 96, col. 891; on the questions of authorship and reliability see Williams, The Illustrated Beatus, I, 13.

"Adversas Elipandum 1.112, ed. Löfstedt, CCCM 59: 86.3305-6: Sic est Christus liber noster: exterius pagina et littera, quod est homo: corpus et anima Intus diuinitas, tamquam intellectus in littera (my translation).

*Adversus Elipandum 1.105, ed. Löfstedt, CCCM 59: 79.3052.

Christ is the real son of God. "But also the antichrist is he who denies that Jesus Christ is God."37 Elipandus is, therefore, the antichrist. Beams' vocabulary is unabashedly polemical. For example, the word antichristus is used some 83 times; diabolus 115 times; serpens 11 times; draco 26 times; bestia 84 times; hereticus and related words 172 times.38 Beatus seems to become progressively more polemical and insulting so that by the end of the second book we find him entering into a lengthy discussion concerning the testicles of the antichrist, who engenders heretical offspring.39

4. The Final Edition of the Beatus Apocalypse

The third and final edition of Beatus' work clearly reflects turmoil of the adoptionist controversy. The lectio diuina—a pious commentary for monks—is now transformed into a polemical work echoing the content and spirit of Aduersus Elipandum. Beatus changed the communicative strategy of his commentary without removing any illustrations or text. Instead, he planned and directed extensive literary and artistic additions. The theological position oíAduersus Elipandum provided the rationale for the third edition.

4.1 Literary Changes

First, there are several literary changes which Beatus makes to keep his work current. For example, the date of the present era has been changed to 786.40 Indeed, this date identifies the third edition of the work. The third edition of Beatus' Apocalypse Commentary is dedicated to Etherius.41 Sanders surmises that after they had collaborated on Aduersus Elipandum, Etherius may very well have asked Beatus for a copy of the Apocalypse Commentary which was quoted about twenty-four times in that polemical work.42 It would have been quite natural to simply insert his name in the dedication.

"Adversus Elipandum 2.8, ed. Löfstedt, CCCM 59: 109204-5:Serf etilleAntichristus est, qui negat Deum esse Ihesum Christum (my translation).

MThese statistics are from Instrumenta lexicológica latina, Vol. 19 (Turnhout, 1984).

»See Aduersus Elipandum 2.95-98, ed. Löfstedt, CCCM 59: 162.2298-163.2358.

40See Commentarius 4, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 608.16-17.

41See Commentarius summa dicendorum, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 5.1-3.

42See Sanders, op. cit., p. xviii.

Second, we find a preoccupation with the devil and the antichrist, who were mentioned in the original edition but become more important in the final edition. A typical example of a reference to the antichrist in the first edition is the word antichristus itself identifying "the lawless one" in a quotation from 2 Thess. 2:8; in this way Beatus uses Paul to explain the meaning of Rev. 7.1—3, which is being treated in this section.43 In the final edition references to the antichrist appear to be more concrete, perhaps alluding to a specific historical character. For example, in one section Beatus introduces a lengthy quotation from Augustine's De ciuitate Dei with his own words, which are partially cited below:

> After the gospel of Christ spread throughout the whole world, that false and deceptive, and indeed spiritual, persecution remains within the church. Nevertheless, hereafter the learned would understand it and all the impious would not, because the devil changes himself into the cult of religion with such subtlety that he can more easily deceive. Thus, he mixes the true thing with the false under the name of Christianity and the devil stirs his preachers more to conjecturing than to believing.44

This is a thinly veiled allusion to Elipandus, who in Beatus' view now preaches heresy rather than faith under the guise of Christianity. In addition, there is also a whole chapter entitled De antichristo taken from De ciuitate Dei.4*1

Third, appended to the manuscript we find a relatively complete copy of Jerome's commentary on Daniel, which is the lengthiest and most significant addition to the book. Jerome's Daniel Commentary has been organized into eight visions without division into books; this organization departs from earlier manuscripts of the work.46 Jerome was responding to Porphyry's Contra christianos, which is no longer extant. Porphyry insisted that Daniel's prophecies refer to the historical figure Antiochus, while Jerome interpreted them as referring to the future antichrist coming at the end of the world. The fourth book

"'See Commentarius 4, ed. Romero-Pose Ii 598.1, and Carl Otto Nordström, "Text and Myth in some Beatus Miniatures: Part II," Cahiers archéologiques, 26 (1977), 126.

44Beatus, Commentarius 2, ed. Romero-Pose 1: 308.7—14: Postquam totum orbem peragrauit euangelium Christi, spiritalis quidem in ecclesia est persecutio ista falsa atque deceptuosa, Ut tarnen porro docti intellegant earn, nee intellegant omnes impii: quia tali subtilitate se diabolus in cultum mutat religionis, et, quo facilius possit decipere, sub nomine christianitatis uera miscet falsis, ut magis opinando quam credendo suos suscitet praedicatores (my translation).

4,See Commentarius 6, ed. Romero-Pose 2: 176.12-180.19.

46SeC F. Glorie, Corpus Christianorum 75A (Turnhout, 1964), pp. 751-754.

of Daniel's commentary, which had an independent circulation as De antichristo in Danielem, is also present in Beatus' copy of the commentary.47 Beatus himself merely adopted Jerome's exposition intact and appended it to the book without making his own compilation as he had done when writing his Apocalypse Commentary.48 Why did Beatus simply include Jerome's commentary with no comments of his own? There are several possible answers to the question. He may have been perfectly satisfied with Jerome's commentary on Daniel and saw no need for revision. However, even if he had wished to revise Jerome's commentary, time was probably an important factor as well. Beatus was responding to a crisis and delay would have made his response less effective.

Fourth, some manuscripts have De adfinitatibus et gradibus inserted between the Apocalypse Commentary and Daniel Commentary. The excerpt from Isidore's Etymologiarum libri obviously made its way into the commentary because of its brief treatment of the word adoption

4.2 Artistic Changes

First, several artistic changes emphasize the authority of the revised commentary. For example, Beatus provided four full-page miniatures of the four evangelists indicating that the book of Revelation has a status equal to that of the gospels. Beatus also includes portraits of the patristic authors whom he used as sources amassing the full weight of ecclesiastical tradition behind his cause. In the Gerona Codex eight fathers are named, and they appear on the top third of a full page miniature of an alpha which introduces the text of the commentary. The alpha immediately before the beginning of the text and the omega as a colophon at the end is a characteristic shared with some Spanish Bibles, for example León, Colegiata de San Isidoro, Cod. 2, fol. 514. This also emphasizes the authority of the book. The only Beatus manuscript which contains the alpha and the omega but does not contain the Daniel Commentary is Burgo de Osma, Archivo de la Catedral,

«See ibid., pp. 757-759.

48See Carl Otto Nordström, "Text and Myth in some Beatus Miniatures: Part I," Cahiers archéologiques, 25 (1976), 24.

49See Isidore, Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum siue originum libri XX 9.5.16, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), not paginated.

Cod. 1, which comes from an original which did have the Daniel Commentary.[50]

Second, the Christological theme is reinforced. However, one must proceed with caution. On one hand, the full-page miniature of Jesus in majesty and the scenes from the life of Christ do not come from Beatus.[51] The Herod miniatures, taken from an illuminated copy of Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History, as well as the stylistically related Christian horsemen killing the snake were also added at a later date.[52] On the other hand, the illuminated genealogical tables, which begin with a small miniature of Adam and Eve (Plate 1) and run through the entire Old Testament up to the birth of Christ, do come from Beatus, who modeled them on either Eusebius or some Donatist chronicles. In some manuscripts, for example, Biblioteca del Monasterio, & II. 5, fol. 18, the miniature of Adam and Eve in the garden has been expanded into a full page. The text of the genealogy refers to Mary in the following way. "Mary from whom Jesus Christ the son of God was born according to the flesh in Bethlehem of Judea."[53] Beatus echoes the anti-adoptionistic sentiment found in Aduersus Elipandum. Jesus is called "son of God" rather than the more common biblical designation "son of David, son of Abraham" (Matt. 1:1). In addition, the text also mentions that Jesus was born "according to the flesh." The arrangement of text and illumination within the genealogical table constitutes a summary of salvation history which begins with the fall of the human race and culminates in the advent of Christ, the son of God. Furthermore, a programmatic unity is indicated by the fact that every manuscript, which contains or once contained the evangelist portraits, also contains the genealogical tables.[54]

Third, a cycle of miniatures illustrates Jerome's Daniel Commentary, which deals with the reign of the antichrist. Beatus also directed this pictorial program. By comparison to the Codex Legionensis and the Ashburnham Pentateuch, Neuss has demonstrated that the Daniel cycle of illustrations contained in the Beatus Apocalypse derives from a Hellenistic model which was subsequently reworked by a Mozarabic artist.[55] The illuminations are based upon an illustrated Bible or at

[50] See Nordstrom, op. cit., "Part I," p. 26; see also Neuss, op. cit., p. 237.

[51] See Neuss, op. cit., pp. 237-238.

[52] See Nordstrom, op. cit., "Part I," pp. 22-24.

[53] Neuss, op. cit., p. 125: Maria de qua ihs xps deifilius in bethleem iude secundum carnem natus est (my translation). Neuss provides the text of all inscriptions within the miniatures. Thus, this text from the genealogy is present in no critical edition.

[54] See Neuss, op. cit., p. 119.

[55] See ibid., pp. 244-246.

least an illustrated Book of Daniel. A selection of these illustrations was then adapted to the text of Jerome's Daniel Commentary and placed in the Beatus Apocalypse. This is more difficult to prove than in the case of the Apocalypse Commentary because that text was written by Beatus himself and we needed only to find his explicit references to pictures to demonstrate that he had some hand in illustrating the commentary. Here the text is not his but Jerome's. However, some evidence indicating the presence of Beatus may be uncovered. The grieving Jeremiah, who is pictured in the illumination of Jerusalem under siege, is not mentioned in the Book of Daniel but is mentioned in Jerome's Commentary.56 This would prove that, even though the illustrations of the Daniel Commentary may have been dependent upon an illustrated Bible, the text did influence the illumination at this point. Thus, one may legitimately conclude that the cycle of Daniel illuminations had been integrated into the overall program of the book.

Beatus united the Daniel Commentary with the Apocalypse Commentary through a series of visual contrasts. For example, the historical Babylon is contrasted with the historical Jerusalem. The above mentioned miniature of Jerusalem under siege with the lamenting Jeremiah in Jerome's Daniel Commentary parallels the miniature of the burning of Babylon with the lamenting kings and merchants in the Apocalypse Commentary. Babylon is contrasted with Jerusalem again in a theological context. The Daniel Commentary is introduced with a miniature of Babylon surrounded by the serpent (Plate 5). This stands in contrast with the miniature of the heavenly Jerusalem (Plate 3) and the reigning Jesus57 (Plate 4) toward the end of the Apocalypse Commentary. In Aduersus Elipandum the title of the second book reads as follows: De Christo et eins corpore, quod est eclesia, et de diabulo et eins corpore, quod est Antichristus.™ The contrast is the same in both works. The serpent or devil surrounding Babylon represents the antichrist while Jerusalem represents the Church, the body of Christ. Within the codices the miniatures of Jerusalem and Babylon stand in close physical proximity to one another with only the closing mini-

,6See Jerome, Commentariorum in Danielem libri III (IV) 1.1.1, ed. Glorie, CCL 75A: 776.4.

"The folio of the reigning Jesus is present in the Morgan Beatus but absent from the Gerona Codex, from which it was obviously removed at a later date. The Gerona Codex shows signs of having been rebound. For example, when Romero-Pose, op. cit., p. 392, states that a section of Book 12 is missing from the Gerona Codex, the missing material may be found within Jerome's Daniel Commentary in fols. 239—241".

""Aduersus Elipandum 2. inscriptio, ed. Löfstedt, CCCM 59: 104.1-2.

Plate 3. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 644, fol. 222".
Heavenly Jerusalem

Plate 4. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms. 644, fol. 223-
Christ Enthroned at River

ature of the Apocalypse Commentary, namely, the sending of John, intervening.

Two rivers present another contrast. Adjoining the heavenly Jerusalem the reigning Jesus sits enthroned at the river of life (Plate 4). In the last miniature of the book (with the exception of the omega which is actually a colophon), Daniel stands at the Tigris (Plate 6) asking the angel: "How long shall it be to the end of these appalling things?" (Dan. 12:6) Various rivers are also compared to one another in Aduersus Elipandum-.

> Behold one Christ and field of writings, nevertheless divided into two parts: One part correctly believes in Christ, as he says: 'rivers of living waters flow from his side' (John 7:38); and since this part will have possessed Christ, it will also possess the law and the gospel. Another part, which will not have possessed Christ, will not enable water to flow from him and will be unable to navigate in those rivers, which the Holy Spirit will not have designated. But without a doubt that water was named depraved knowledge by Solomon through the woman [Folly], whose type upholds heresies and flatters with cunning persuasion, saying: 'Stolen waters are sweeter' (Prov. 9:17).59

Since water is traditionally a positive Christian image—for example, the waters of the Red Sea, the flood and the covenant with Noah, the waters of baptism, water flowing from the side of Christ crucified—this contrast of good and evil waters appears to be a characteristic peculiar to Beatus.

In the absence of Beatus' own verbal comments on the Book of Daniel, a comparison of the illuminations of the Daniel Commentary to the text of Aduersus Elipandum clearly reveals not only the concerns and preoccupations of Beatus but also his method of procedure and mode of expression. In other words, Beatus' choice of illuminations from an illustrated Bible and their placement within the text of Jerome's Daniel Commentary constitute Beatus' interpretation of Daniel. In her comments on the Morgan Beatus, Mentré has an intriguing explanation regarding the iconographical differences between the two

^Aduersus Elipandum 1.14, ed. Löfstedt, CCCM 59: 10.366-375: Ecce campum scribturarum et unum Christum, et tarnen inter utrasque partes diuisum: Pars, quae recte credit in Christo, sicut ipse ait: "flumina de uentre eius fluent aquae uiuae;" et qum habuerit Christum, tunc habebit legem et euangelium. Etpars, quae non habuerit Christum, non poterit illa aqua ex eo fluere et ea in flumina non ualebit diriuare, quae Spiritus sanctus non dictaberit; sed procul dubio illa aqua, quae apud Salomonen praua scientia nuncupaturper mulierem, qui tipum hereseos tenet et callidis suasionibus blanditur, dicens: "Aquae furtiuae dulciores sunt" (my translation).

Plate 6. Gerona, Museo Diocesano Ms. 7, fol. 270v.
The Seventy Weeks: Daniel at the Tigris

commentaries. Perhaps these differences were intentional corresponding to the different types of visions found in the Old and the New Testaments with the visions of Daniel being less multidimensional than those of Revelation.60 In any event, Beatus is convinced that, in spite of trials and tribulations, God's apocalyptic intervention in history will soon save Jerusalem, the Church, from Babylon, the Moslem occupation.

5. Conclusion: Narrative and Illumination

In 776 Beatus had written an Apocalypse Commentary whose communicative program was directed to the spiritual development of a monastic community. The lectio diuina was designed to enable the monk to contemplate the book of Revelation, which was systematically presented according to the exegetical method of Beatus in three stages: storia, pictura, and explanatio. Text and illumination functioned together to achieve the goal of the book, which was to lead its reader to the mystical vision of God.

Ten years later the commentary was expanded not simply for the purpose of including more material but in order to totally transform its communicative program. The three stages of story, picture, and explanation, though not deleted, are overshadowed by a new preoccupation. The literary additions in the third edition refer to either the antichrist or adoptionism or historical persons involved in the adoptionist controversy. Illuminated scenes of salvation history within the genealogical tables emphasize the divinity of Christ and anchor the work in time. Miniatures of evangelists and Fathers of the Church as well as the alpha and omega usually reserved for the Bible give the work authority. Finally, the illuminated Daniel Commentary stresses apocalyptic expectation and warns of impending crisis.

The book, whose illuminations originally began with an illustration of John receiving his commission (Plate 2) and ended with John being sent to the seven churches, assumes epic proportions. The Beatus Apocalypse now begins with a miniature of Adam and Eve, signifying the fall of the human race (Plate 1), and ends with Daniel standing at the Tigris (Plate 6) seeking the divine vindication which will come only at the end of the world.

'See Mentré, op. cit., p. 146.

THE REVEREND CHARLES COUGHLIN AND THE CHURCH: THE GALLAGHER YEARS, 1930-1937

BY

Earl Boyea*

"He cannot control himself in the excitement of oratory; much less can anybody else control him." So noted Bishop Michael Gallagher of Detroit about one of his priests, the Reverend Charles Coughlin.1 Yet, if his own bishop, who supported Coughlin, admitted such limits, how could anyone else in the Church hope to contain the man or his rhetoric?

Much has been written about this Detroit cleric.2 Coughlin's talks and articles have been published, described, and analyzed. His use of the medium which earned him the sobriquet, "The Radio Priest," and his effect on popular culture have also been examined. Others have studied his political involvement, his relationship with unions, his anti-Semitism, and his isolationism. Still others have presented his social and economic theories. Nearly all of these works have been based on printed materials in the public forum. If in addition to the views expressed in these many documents Coughlin had other more private views, only these latter are a part of his story not yet told. In the

•Father Boyea is the academic dean and a professor of church history in Sacred Heart Major Seminary, Detroit, Michigan.

'Charles Edward Coughlin was born in Hamilton, Ontario, on October 25, 1891. He was ordained in Toronto in 1916 and incardinated into die Diocese of Detroit on February 26, 1923. In 1926 he was assigned to Royal Oak, Michigan, to establish the parish of Saint Theresa of the Little Flower. He began his broadcasting the same year. He died on October 27, 1979, in Birmingham, Michigan.

2The best summary of Coughlin's life is contained in Leslie Woodcock Tender, Seasons of Grace: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit (Detroit, 1990); also see Sheldon Marcus, Father Coughlin: The Tumultuous Life of the Priest of the Little Flower (Boston, 1973); Charles J. Tull, Father Coughlin and the New Deal (Syracuse, 1965); Alan Brinkley, Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression (New York, 1982); James P. Shenton, "The Coughlin Movement and the New Deal," Political Science Quarterly, 73 (September, 1958), 352-373; and James P. Shenton, "Fascism and Fadier Coughlin," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 44 (Autumn, I960), 6-11.

context of a general history of the Archdiocese of Detroit, Leslie Woodcock Tender has presented a thorough but necessarily brief account of Coughlin using the Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit. In this work the few papers of Bishop Michael Gallagher, Coughlin's superior, are discussed for the first time. That story here will be augmented with more detail.3 Archival materials will also be used to expose more clearly the part played by Gallagher's colleagues in the American episcopate as well as by the Vatican and its representative in the United States, the Apostolic Delegate.

All of the evidence available points to one overriding theme: that the local ordinary was responsible for handling one of his priests. The other ecclesiastics involved in this long affair all felt, to one degree or another, unauthorized to deal with what was so often termed "a local problem." Canon law provided little guidance on how anyone could interfere in the relationship between a bishop and his priest. This was true even when Vatican or American clerics thought that some intervention would be good for the Church in America.

Indeed there were other factors which caused everyone to be cautious in handling Father Coughlin. First of all, there was no desire among the bishops to oppose publicly one of their brothers, in this case Michael Gallagher. Secondly, Coughlin had many followers. Their rowdiness was well known, and no ordinary wanted to be the cause of riots or personal assaults on himself in his own diocese. Many feared that this dissension, as a third reason, could lead to a schism in the Church if Coughlin were mistreated. He also had followers in the hierarchy, or at least some of the church leaders, besides Gallagher, were sympathetic with some of his views, and that was a fourth reason why corporately the American churchmen could not address the situation.

Charles Coughlin had the clear backing of his own ordinary. There remains no question about that.4 Leslie Tender shows that the two ecclesiastics shared many views: on money, on isolationism, on Britain,

»The collection of papers from the administration of Bishop Michael Gallagher is very sparse. This is even truer of those items dealing with Father Coughlin. The reasons for this are unknown, but it appears reasonable that Bishop Gallagher himself or his secretary, after the bishop's death in 1937, ordered the papers purged. Whatever the source of the action, the results force the historian to rely on the testimony of others who knew either Gallagher or Coughlin or both. These other witnesses provide the basis of this article.

4See Tull, op. cit., p. 19.

and on a bankers' conspiracy in the economy which caused the Depression:

> Both were impulsive and stubborn and extremely sensitive to criticism, and both were resentful of the ambiguous social position assigned even to affluent Catholics in a country where the social elite had historically been Protestant. . . . And both were inclined to an almost paranoid view of history and politics, an inclination that was nurtured, if not born, in a passionate commitment to Irish nationalism. . . .
>
> [Gallagher] had been a vocal opponent of American entry into the First World War, urging Americans as late as March 1917 to petition Congress against intervention. . . . Gallagher remained an isolationist for the rest of his life, always ready to see, in any argument in favor of an international role for the United States, a nefarious British hand. . . .
>
> Gallagher and Coughlin shared as well a distinctive perspective on domestic politics. Both thought mainly in terms of conspiracy: politics was simply the manifestation of an eternal struggle between an unscrupulous monied elite and the mass of humanity Gallagher was in sympathy with the rage that moved the man [Coughlin]. He could never see Coughlin's critics as anything but agents—unwitting, in some cases—of the shadowy powers that oppressed small nations and condemned the working man to want in the midst of plenty.5

The closeness in ideas and personalities was such that Tentler concludes that "as early as 1930 [Gallagher] found an outlet for his political anxieties in Father Charles Coughlin."6 Gallagher was quite willing to allow this priest free rein because he mirrored his own mind.

When the papal representative to the American bishops, the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, attempted to curb the priest's growing radicalism, he could not do so through the priest's superior, a man too identified with the one he was to correct.7 In fact, the first extant correspondence on the matter had to do with Gallagher's own outspokenness. In mid-1930 the delegate wrote to Gallagher's friend and metropolitan, Archbishop John Timothy McNicholas of Cincinnati, knowing "how laudably zealous and prudent" the latter was "to maintain a good spirit among [his] suffragans." Fumasoni-Biondi felt particularly disqualified from even addressing this political issue—the Detroit prelate's attacks on President Hoover—

'Tender, op. cit., pp. 320-322.

Hbid., p. 315. In November, 1936, after Coughlin's defeat at the polls, Gallagher wrote Coughlin: "I consider you a national institution, invaluable to the safeguarding of genuine Americanism and true Christianity. And l hope you will live long to carry out this sublime vocation" (ibid., p. 319).

7See ibid., pp. 323-325, where some of the following is discussed.

since he was not an American citizen. McNicholas was to speak to the bishop "to prevent further interference in political matters."[8]

Seemingly Gallagher responded by himself remaining silent but by fully allowing his priest to carry the attack on the president to the public. After seeing his Columbia Broadcasting System contract terminated in April, 1931, Coughlin began his own network. That October he voiced his objections to President Hoover and international bankers. He noted that while the president was willing to help out the bankers, who were foreclosing on farmers, he was unwilling to find any assistance for the hungry. Coughlin also offered the solution of monetary inflation to bring relief to the many debtors in the country. By April of 1932 he was alienating not only politicians but even some churchmen as well. This brought another call from the delegate. Fumasoni-Biondi directly ordered Gallagher to make sure that Coughlin made no further discourses "of a political character." He particularly objected to the priest's use of a church building for "arousing political partisanship" and for encouraging citizens to vote in a particular way.[9] Needless to say, such a reprimand would only have effect if Gallagher would restrain Coughlin.

Others also objected to Coughlin's activities. The first of the bishops to speak out was Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston in the spring of 1932. Though there was need of Catholic voices demonstrating that Coughlin was not the spokesman for Catholicism, McNicholas viewed this as interference in the arena of "episcopal [i.e., Gallagher's] supervision." McNicholas felt that even though Coughlin's voice could be heard across diocesan boundaries, he still needed but the approval of his own ordinary to continue. He claimed that O'Connell, by reaching beyond his own diocese with an attack on the Detroit priest, was doing the very thing which he accused Coughlin of doing. McNicholas concluded:

> Good, however, may come of it. I confess I have always been fearful of Father Coughlin. I have spoken to Bishop Gallagher about him. I am convinced that he is not grounded in the fundamentals. I think he has not the sense of the Church and of the priesthood. I feel that he is not armed as a theologian and as a philosopher, and my constant anxiety has

[8]Archives of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, McNicholas Administration (AACi), Apostolic Delegate, Fumasoni-Biondi to McNicholas, June 30, 1930, Washington, D.C., a copy.

[9]Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit (AAD), Gallagher Administration (GA), Box 3, File 9, Fumasoni-Biondi to Gallagher, October 1, 1932, Washington, D.C.

> been that he would get the Church in trouble. I never saw, however, that we could do anything, as his own Bishop was in favor of him.10

McNicholas here expressed the frustration that any other ecclesiastic would have felt in these circumstances.

One of Bishop Gallagher's closest friends was a fellow suffragan, Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland. He too had mixed feelings about Coughlin. He wrote to Archbishop McNicholas on March 30, 1933, alarmed at the impression given by Coughlin that President Franklin Roosevelt was being tutored by Catholics, particularly himself. This, Schrembs warned, could do damage to the Church once the ire of non-Catholics would be aroused and Roosevelt would deny the connection, as he surely would.11 Yet, later that year, when responding to a concerned Catholic about Coughlin's speaking for the Church, Schrembs's secretary showed his protection of his brother bishop:

> Father [Coughlin] has the approval of his own Bishop and is exercising his right as an American citizen. He speaks as an American citizen, but undoubtedly speaks from a priest's viewpoint and must be defending solemn principles or his own Ordinary would be conscientiously obliged to silence him.12

Roosevelt was concerned about Coughlin and expressed this to Father John Burke, the General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), in 1934.13 The president was especially

10AACi, Bishops, [McNicholas] to Noll, April 21, 1932, [Norwood], a copy; see Tull, op. cit., p. 19, and Gerald P. Fogarty, The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965 (Stuttgart, 1982; reprinted Wilmington, Delaware, 1985), p. 239.

"Archives of the Diocese of Cleveland, Joseph Schrembs Papers II (ADC), [Schrembs] to McNicholas, March 30, 1933, [Cleveland], a copy.

12ADC, Secretary to Mr. Leon Lehman, November 24, 1933, [Cleveland], a copy. Schrembs maintained that he was a friend of Coughlin's, having dedicated his church of the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak; he noted this friendship in many letters to Coughlin's followers; cf. [Schrembs] to J. S. Jacubec, November 10, 1936, [Cleveland], a copy.

"The NCWC was the conference of American Catholic bishops which met annually, usually in Washington, DC, and which had a standing secretariat, headed by a General Secretary. For the history of this organization see James M. McShane, "Sufficiently Radical": Catholicism, Progressivism, and the Bishops' Program of 1919 (Washington, D.C., 1986); Elizabeth McKeown, "Apologia for an American Catholicism: The Petition and Report of the National Catholic Welfare Council to Pius XI, April 25, 1922," Church History, 43 (December, 1974), 514-528; eadem, "The National Bishops' Conference: An Analysis of Its Origins," Catholic Historical Review, 66 (October, 1980), 565—583; and eadem, "War and Welfare, A Study of American Catholic Leadership, 1917-1922" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972); John B. Sheerin, Never Look Back: The Career and Concerns of John J. Burke (New York, 1975); Earl Boyea, "The National

bothered by Coughlin's suggestion of raising the price of silver to inflate the nation's money. He told Burke that the Treasury Department had discovered that Coughlin himself was speculating in silver. Roosevelt was obviously offering this information as a warning to the man who was "stirring up religious intolerance and hatred" by his attacks on Jews, particularly his mentioning some by name.14 There was, of course, little that the secretary could do with this information save relay it to the apostolic delegate.15 It was something best handled through the proper channels, that is, by way of Coughlin's superior.

It was, however, this superior who allowed Coughlin his tremendous freedom. In a broadcast of December 9, 1934, the Radio Priest attacked Cardinal O'Connell's challenges of his teachings:

> Every word that I have written had received the imprimatur of my right Rev. Bishop. When this is taken into consideration William Cardinal O'Connell practically accuses a brother Bishop, who for years has been famed in Michigan for his defense of the poor and for his opposition to the type of pampered evils which have been so rampant in the textile industries of New England.16

In early January, 1935, Archbishop Amleto Cicognani, the new Apostolic Delegate, directed McNicholas to ask Gallagher to curb Coughlin's name-calling, which had continued in his broadcasts. The Cincinnati archbishop informed his "brother and friend" in Detroit that many prelates were discussing Coughlin and wondering whether the issue of clerical use of the airwaves was not a topic to be sent to Rome for settlement since broadcasts crossed diocesan boundaries. McNicholas knew how Gallagher's "great heart" went "out to the poor" and was aware that many in the hierarchy sympathized with the radio priest's denunciations of injustice. Many, however, could not accept his criticism of specific individuals nor the impression that he left that he had "a special mandate to interpret the Papal Encyclicals." Delicately presenting the problem, McNicholas felt the issue should be settled locally and not by Rome.17

Catholic Welfare Conference: An Experience in Episcopal Leadership, 1935-1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1987); Douglas Slawson,/O«ndation and First Decade of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (Washington, D.C., 1992).

'!Archives of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, General Secretary Files (ANCWC), Private Files, Roosevelt, Memorandum of Burke, April 30, 1934.

"ANCWC, Church, Clergy, Coughlin, Burke to Cicognani, [April 30, 1934], (Washington, DC], a copy.

16Tull, op. cit., p. 71.

17AACi, Bishops, [McNicholas] to Gallagher, January 22, 1935, [Norwood], a copy.

This had little effect on Coughlin's behavior. In January, 1935, he launched a massive attack on Roosevelt's attempt to have the United States join the World Court, and the next month mused about Communist and capitalist controls being exerted on the president. In March he openly attacked the president's financial plans. McNicholas was asked to write yet another letter to his Detroit suffragan. The ordinary of Cincinnati reported in April to Cicognani that he did not expect a response from Gallagher:

> I spoke to His Excellency, Bishop Gallagher, two or three times about Father Coughlin, but one often fails—at least, I do—to put sufficient emphasis on a difficulty when treating with him. The Bishop is so exceptionally keen in his judgments, and is marvelously clever in turning a thing into a joke. He is indeed good-hearted beyond any doubt, and he loves the Church, but his criteria judicandi are not those of a Bishop having a fine, balanced judgment.18

The next day McNicholas sent his message to his suffragan in Detroit. He recommended, to avoid the issue being sent to Rome, that Gallagher publicly announce that Coughlin spoke for himself alone and not for the Church in the United States. McNicholas was certain that if the question of authorizing clerical radio broadcasts were answered by Vatican authorities, it would not be in Gallagher's favor. Rome, he claimed, would probably state "that a priest must have not only the permission of his own Ordinary" but that of all the other ordinaries into whose dioceses his voice reached or even of the pope himself. He then included a possible statement for Gallagher's use.19

On Easter Sunday Gallagher made the communication suggested by his metropolitan, but, as he put it to McNicholas, "with full explanation to prevent the misunderstanding that such pronouncement [meant] repudiation of the lecturer" by himself.20 McNicholas later thanked Gallagher for his "love of the poor," for his "fearlessness," and for his "knowledge," but felt that his claim that the spoken word should, like the written word, require only the approval of a priest's immediate superior would "not be the solution." He added, by way of warning, that other priests might soon take to the radio and broadcast contradictory messages, thus creating confusion in the Catholic community. He was, nonetheless, grateful for Gallagher's distancing himself from

18AACi, Apostolic Delegate, [McNicholas] to Cicognani, April 13, 1935, [Norwood], a copy.

19AACi, Bishops, [McNicholas] to Gallagher, April 14, 1935, [Norwood], with enclosure, a copy.

20Ibid., Telegram of Gallagher to McNicholas, April 21, 1935, Detroit.

Coughlin by clearly stating that granting a priest permission to speak did not mean agreement with what he had to say.21

The Coughlin issue appeared on the agenda for the November, 1935, annual meeting of the NCWC. The American hierarchy met while Coughlin was distancing himself even more from Roosevelt. The minutes, however, recorded nothing of any debate, let alone even the mention of Coughlin's name. Gallagher was in attendance and perhaps that led to a reticence on the part of some to raise the question. McNicholas, writing a year later to the Apostolic Delegation, indicated that the hierarchy simply "refused to discuss the matter." He labeled his colleagues' behavior irresponsible by forcing Rome or the Delegation to take the dangerous risk of silencing the priest.22 The Delegate, however, was to toss the matter back into the bishops' court.

While in Washington for the NCWC Administrative Board meeting in February, 1936, McNicholas chanced to speak with the delegate. Cicognani was by this time aware that no amount of pressure on Gallagher either from himself or from McNicholas would be of any avail in the taming of Father Coughlin. The priest was rapidly moving toward the support of a third party in that year's presidential elections, and his broadcasts were continuing to create the impression that he spoke for the Church. Cicognani sought a statement from the board, not condemning the priest, but rather distancing the hierarchy from him. Since McNicholas, unfortunately, had had no time to discuss the matter with Archbishop Edward Mooney of Rochester, the chairman of the Administrative Board, he did not raise it during the board meeting. Instead he sent a suggested text to the chairman, one that recognized Coughlin's "liberty of opinion" and freedom to express it, but also one that clearly indicated that the priest was "not speaking for the Catholic Church in the United States." He added that he hoped the American episcopate could handle Coughlin, as he feared the repercussions of a Roman censure of the priest.

Mooney was warned, however, of the dangers of making any negative remarks about Coughlin. McNicholas wrote that if he were to speak out in Cincinnati, then "half the people, at least, of [his] See city would take sides against their Bishop." The board members would be labeled "plutocrats" by Americans in general and would have "millions of Catholics" in opposition were they to take a similar stand as a body

21Ibid., [McNicholas] to Gallagher, April 26, 1935, [Norwood], a copy.

22AACi, Apostolic Delegate, [McNicholas] to Monsignor Egidio Vagnozzi (Auditor of the Apostolic Delegation), August 14, 1936, [Norwood], a copy.

against the radio priest. Nonetheless, claimed McNicholas, he would have been ready to propose just such a declaration by the board had he had time to speak with Mooney about it beforehand.23

Mooney was aware of the delicacy of the delegate's and McNicholas' suggestion. He informed his colleague in Cincinnati that any statement that could be made would be so mild as to make it practically worthless. Mooney then reminded McNicholas of the standing problem up to that point, that only two authorities could "step into this affair, his own Bishop and the Holy See." After pointing out that the pope, rightly, did not wish to interfere, he described the limits of the NCWC:

> If supreme authority wishes to exercise some indirect control, could that not better be done by bringing pressure to bear on the Ordinary than through the medium of a necessarily vague statement of a group whose competence is not clear enough to defy a challenge—perhaps on the part of the proper Ordinary who is something of a challenger? I very much fear that any statement which stops short of condemnation—and it must do that—will almost inevitably be taken as some sort of approbation.

The chairman was, however, willing to try to fulfill Cicognani's request and asked McNicholas to draft an announcement for circulation to a few of the other board members.24

McNicholas was very much in the middle of this controversy. While attending the February meeting he had received a telegram from Gallagher inquiring about the board's activities and whether it was discussing Coughlin. Since the archbishop had not brought up the topic requested by Cicognani, he could honestly inform his suffragan: "[T]he indivisual of whose liberty of speech and action you are such a staunch defender, [was] not so much as mentioned at our meeting." He made no reference to Cicognani's request nor to his own personal misgivings about Coughlin's talks and activities.25

Conditions became rapidly worse that summer as Coughlin, at his large campaign rallies, attacked Roosevelt. OnJuIy 16, Coughlin called him a "liar" at a rally in Cleveland. As if anticipating such behavior, Bishop Schrembs wrote that morning, "I am afraid that it is such

2,AACi, Bishops, [McNicholas] to Mooney, February 28, 1936, [Norwood], with enclosure, a copy; see Fogarty, op. cit., pp. 244-245.

24AACi, Bishops, Mooney to McNicholas, March 5, 1936, Rochester; see Tentler, op. cit., pp. 326-327.

25AACi, Bishops, [McNicholas] to Gallagher, March 5, 1936, [Norwood], a copy.

performances as these that are doing harm to Bishop Gallagher."[26] Gallagher did chide his priest into apologizing to the president, though he thoroughly supported Coughlin's ideas.[27]

Gallagher was worried about Coughlin not due to any disagreement but rather due to conflicts with his own superiors. He tried to arrange a meeting with the apostolic delegate on June 15 but was unsuccessful. He also flew to Cincinnati in early July at McNicholas' request to discuss the priest. McNicholas was convinced that Gallagher understood the dangers to the country due to Coughlin's activities. Gallagher assured his metropolitan that Coughlin was a good priest, careful about his religious duties. McNicholas later related to Cicognani a common fear, that Coughlin would cause a schism in the Church:

> I do know that Bishop Gallagher has always been solicitous to so deal with Father Coughlin as to keep him a true priest, ever ready to obey the Church. Bishop Gallagher remembers well the McGlynn case of New York. Some time ago I personally heard Cardinal Hayes say something to the following effect, when speaking about Father Coughlin, to about twenty of us Bishops—that we who have gone through the McGlynn case know that today hundreds of souls are dying outside the Church because of McGlynn. And yet the McGlynn case would be but as a drop of water to the bucket in comparison with Father Coughlin's, if the worst should come to him! His Eminence was stressing this point: In considering Father Coughlin and all the questions connected with him we must have one thing in view—the supreme interests of religion.[28]

Finally, Gallagher and his close friend, Bishop Schrembs, went to Rome in July, 1936, to defend the Bishop of Detroit and Father Coughlin "before the Holy Father and the Roman Curia."[29] The Detroit prelate found no support for his handling of his priest.

Some bishops began to speak out more. For example, McNicholas found the courage to correct some of Coughlin's views. While recognizing his freedom to speak and applauding his support of the poor

26ADC, [Schrembs] to McNicholas, July 16, 1936, [Cleveland], a copy. Schrembs and Gallagher were preparing to leave for Rome on July 18, and both bishops were aware of rumors circulating that some reprimand of Gallagher was in store due to his handling of Coughlin. See also [Schrembs] to Gallagher, July 9, 1936, [Cleveland], a copy: "The more I think about the matter you spoke to me about, the more I am convinced that it is just empty gossip by some of your 'friends' just to get you excited."

27Tentler, op. cit., p. 327.

28AACi, Apostolic Delegate, [McNicholas] to Vagnozzi, August 14, 1936, Norwood, a copy.

29ADC, [Schrembs] to Coughlin, December 5, 1939, [Cleveland], a copy.

and his opposition to Communism, McNicholas could not countenance the priest's seeming advocacy of revolution and force against the president. That the archbishop was far from condemning other of Coughlin's views was indicated in his closing paragraph:

> There is no reason to criticize Father Coughlin for condemning the action of our Government in recognizing anti-God Russia, and in cuddling Mexico, with its unspeakable anti-God program. It is to be hoped that every Christian and every one who has die normal judgment of fair-minded men will express likewise his condemnation. There can be no objections to expressing condemnation of the acts of the Administration in destroying crops and food and in advocating scarcity when millions were hungry. I must, however, condemn the statement which seems clearly to say that Mr. Roosevelt is "anti-God."[50]

No doubt, McNicholas was so balanced in his criticism because he was fully aware of Coughlin's strong support in Cincinnati. It was also true, however, that McNicholas and many other bishops agreed with Coughlin in many of his stands against Roosevelt.[31]

Roosevelt was affected by Coughlin's personal attacks. He summoned Father Burke on August 10, 1936, to discuss die matter. Burke's memorandum records the event:

> "Fr. Burke do not worry about Father Coughlin, for I am not worrying. . . . I don't mind Father Coughlin calling me a liar: but I do mind his reference to my father and my father's attitude towards me. However, I will say nothing until November 3rd " [Burke concluded:] It is the more striking that, while it was a priest who hurt him, he sends for a priest who may give him some measure of healing.[32]

Meanwhile, Gallagher was claiming that he had found silence about Coughlin during his recent visit to Rome and that this signaled Rome's approval. John Burke wrote Archbishop John Mitty of San Francisco that, in fact, Pope Pius XI had expressed disappointment to Gallagher about Coughlin's language. Burke added tihat the Vatican did not want to interfere in the United States or with a person's freedom of speech; instead the Holy See expected Gallagher, or, if not him, the American bishops, to act. Yet, Monsignor Egidio Vagnozzi, auditor of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington, informed McNicholas of the lack of

30AACi, Coughlin, Statement of Archbishop McNicholas, [September 26, 1936].

31See AACi, Apostolic Delegate, [McNicholas] to Vagnozzi, August 13, 1936, [Norwood], a copy.

32ANCWC, Private Files, Roosevelt, Memorandum of Burke, August 10, 1936; revised September 9, 1936.

American episcopal unity on the Coughlin affair; he noted that Rome would know what to do especially since Archbishop Cicognani was currently in Rome to give his advice."

In fact, the Vatican was working behind the scenes. Monsignor Joseph Hurley, an American serving in the Vatican Secretariat of State, made a secret visit to Coughlin during the summer of 1936. He reminded Coughlin that he should never forget he was a priest, "that he should be prudent and that he should say nothing which might diminish respect for constituted authority."[34] Cicognani informed Gallagher on September 29, 1936, that a recent statement in the Osservatore Romano (September 3, 1936), which denied Gallagher's earlier claims that Coughlin had the approval of the Holy See, "accurately [represented] the mind of the Holy See." The Apostolic Delegate continued:

> Nor is it true that "in the absence of criticism" (from the Holy See) "we assume that everything is satisfactory" as your Excellency has stated in the Michigan Catholic of September 10th. I trust that this point has been made sufficiently clear.
>
> . . . The Holy See, while respecting liberty, deplores and always will deplore any violation of the proprieties with regard to those who represent the supreme civil authority; and such impropriety is the greater when coming from a priest. Words that vilify public officials, ungentlemanly references to them, and intimations of civil violence clearly fall beneath this condemnation.
>
> As I have said, I am authorized to indicate that the statement of the "Osservatore Romano" is official.
>
> I must add that certain expressions which the newspapers attribute to Your Excellency (cf., e.g., the NEW YORK TIMES of September 26) create a very unfavorable impression not only in the minds of our Catholic people, but on large groups outside the faith as well. Your Excellency will reply perhaps, as on other occasions, that quotations are not exact, or that the reporters send out entirely false accounts of the statements you give them. If this is the case, Your Excellency might well consider the advisability of refusing such interviews, and thus avoid endangering your dignity as a Bishop.[35]

33AACi, Apostolic Delegate, Vagnozzi to Eccellenza, August 6, 1936, Washington, D.C., Italian.

34AAD, Mooney Administration Uncatalogued, Box 9, Hurley to Doc [Mooney], October 12, 1937, [Vatican]; and Hurley to Doc, November 3, 1937, [Vatican].

35AAD, GA, Box 3, File 9, [Cicognani] to Gallagher, September 29, 1936, Washington, D.C., a copy. Cardinal Pacelli, the Papal Secretary of State, visited the United States in late 1936. It was assumed that he had come to address the Coughlin situation. If he had come for that purpose, he failed. See Marcus, op. cit., p. 131; also see Sheerin, op.

This had a quelling effect upon Coughlin's behavior if not upon his views.

Meanwhile, John Burke, following another Vatican directive, was trying to solicit public comments from American bishops against Coughlin. He noted that the Holy See did not want to act publicly as this would be seen "as interference in American political matters by Rome" but wanted the bishops to speak out against Coughlin's language even as Gallagher was supposed to be taking action behind the scenes to discourage Coughlin's behavior.36 Bishop John Peterson of Manchester explained some of the episcopal reticence to John Burke:

> I believe that the Holy See and many of our Bishops feel that the Coughlin bubble may presently burst; and that meanwhile prudence counsels no action against him which could easily alienate his admirers from the Church.37

A further sign of the cautiousness of the bishops was Mooney's reaction, as chairman of the Administrative Board of the NCWC, to a political speech delivered by Monsignor John A. Ryan on October 8 under the auspices of the Democratic National Committee. Ryan explained that he had done this as a private citizen, not as an agent of the NCWC, and that he was trying to counter the impression that Coughlin was speaking for the Catholic Church in America and that he was interpreting the papal encyclicals correctly. Mooney was furious, since Ryan was employed by the NCWC. He wanted Ryan's resignation even if this gave the appearance that the bishops had thereby sided with Coughlin. In fact, upon reflection the bishops of the Administrative Board decided to let the matter die by not acting against Ryan.38

Bishop Gallagher, "one of nature's princes" (as McNicholas described him), died in January, 1937, and this changed the whole pic-

cit., pp. 217-218; Fogarty, op. cit., pp. 246-248; John Cooney, The American Pope: The Life and Times of Francis Cardinal Spellman, 1889—1967 (New York, 1984), p. 64; and Robert I. Gannon, The Cardinal Spellman Story (New York, 1962), pp. 134-152.

"¦Archives of the Diocese of Toledo, Alter Administration, Burke to Bishop Karl Alter, September 30, 1936, Washington, D.C.

37ANCWC, Administration, Policy, Politics, Peterson to Burke, October 22, 1936, Manchester.

38ANCWC, Private Files, Roosevelt, Memorandum of October 11, 1936; Memorandum of October 12, 1936; [Burke] to Archbishop John Mitty, October 19, 1936, [Washington, D.C], a copy; ANCWC, Administration, Policy, Politics, Bishop John Peterson to Burke, October 22, 1936, Manchester.

ture. Bishop Schrembs described the era that was passing. He noted that the Detroit bishop had not "lost faith in Fattier Coughlin. He still felt that he had a great mission to perform. He deeply regretted mistakes that had been made but never thought of them in terms of personal disloyalty."39 Writing to a fellow bishop after the funeral, McNicholas, in the midst of a glowing tribute to the deceased churchman, used Gallagher's words about Coughlin to make the same point: " 'Let us keep in mind the good that he is doing. He cannot control himself in the excitement of oratory; much less can anybody else control him.' " McNicholas did record the cost to Gallagher in that while it would have been natural to have Detroit made an archdiocese, Rome clearly did not view Gallagher in good grace and thus would not raise Gallagher's see. He concluded with a prayer for the road ahead:

> We shall never see his [Gallagher's] like again. May his soul rest in peace, and may the Holy Spirit send a successor to carry on the work of the Detroit founded by Bishop Gallagher!40

Gallagher's successor was not to be of his mind and sympathy regarding the Detroit priest. "Indeed it was widely assumed that Archbishop Edward Mooney was sent to Detroit in part to solve the Coughlin problem," as Tentler has put it.41 Mooney realized that the situation he faced "had been built up by the course of events in the late years of [his] lovable and overly generous predecessor."42 Yet, Mooney was ready to take a stand. He set the stage for his work with his arrival at the railroad station in Detroit on August 2, 1937, when he agreed with the statement that "The most distressing and alarming symptom I note in the United States today is the growth of hate."43 He would soon have to counter the expressions of hate from one of his own priests.

The Vatican, the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop McNicholas, and many members of the American hierarchy all wanted to see Father

39ADC, [Schrembs] to Gertrude M. Coogan, February 2, 1937, [Cleveland], a copy.

40AACi, Bishops, [McNicholas] to Cantwell, February 10, 1937, [Norwood], a copy. Bishop Schrembs commented on Gallagher's death: "The nation has lost an outstanding citizen; the Church has lost a brilliant scholar and a great Bishop; and I have lost my best friend," ADC, [Schrembs' Statement on the Death of Bishop Gallagher], January 21, 1937.

4,Tentler, op. cit., p. 329.

42AAD, Mooney Administration, Coughlin Collection, Box 2, File 4, [Mooney] to Spellman, March 27, 1942, [Detroit], a copy.

43AAD, Mooney Administration, Box 41, File 3, Address of August 2, 1937.

Coughlin curbed. Yet, this has been a story of limitations in the exercise of ecclesiastical authority. First of all, the very constitution of the Church served as a circumscription to curbing the Radio Priest in any effective way. To some the Church appears monolithic and easy in its use of power. Yet, an ordinary, not in sympathy with his superiors' view of things, could easily deflect or delay their efforts. Episcopal autonomy is a factor never to be neglected in the study of church history. Secondly, other bishops would decline to co-operate in any coercing of a colleague because therein they might see their own future. Thus, in spite of the developing collegiality among the American bishops in their National Catholic Welfare Conference, the hierarchy would never take a stance which would be viewed as curbing a brother bishop. Thirdly, the American culture imposed its own limits. The expectations about freedom of speech and the fears of anti-Catholic bigotry were enough to make the Vatican cautious. Rome summoned Gallagher only as a last resort. There had been the clear expectation that the bishops of this country would address the errors of one of its priests. It was only when the bishops abdicated their own responsibilities that papal authority had to be invoked. Another aspect of this American culture was its ubiquitous religious pluralism. The fear that American Catholics would vote with their feet and choose to rebel against what they might view as unjust episcopal sanctions was embedded in the American Catholic consciousness. In the face of these limitations, the American hierarchy still could have acted. The NCWC could have issued a statement merely distancing the teaching authority of the Church from the opinions of the Detroit priest. Such a statement could have included elements to accommodate the American sensibilities as well as those of Bishop Gallagher. As it was, the ecclesiastical silence lent credence to the popular impression that the Church was indeed monolithic and that it agreed with Father Coughlin. No amount of individuals working behind the scenes could counter the solid impression Coughlin was continuing to make. Since, however, the Church chose to work through the cleric's superior, this episode left one lesson in everyone's mind—at Gallagher's death what was needed was an ordinary who would tame Coughlin.

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Program

The seventy-fifth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association took place January 6—8, 1995, at the Chicago Hilton Hotel. There were nine sessions, of which three were jointly sponsored. The Executive Council convened on the evening of January 5, and the Business Meeting of the Association was held on the afternoon of January 6, followed by a Social Hour. The sessions began on the morning of January 6 to large audiences.

The morning session on January 6 saw two excellent panels on medieval and early modern Europe. The first, "Rethinking the History of Early Modern Catholicism: New Historiographical Directions and Related Research," was chaired by Professor Philip Soergel of the Institute for Advanced Study, and jointly sponsored with the American Historical Association. The session aimed to examine the dramatic changes in historiographical perceptions of early modern religious movements in Europe. Marc Forster of Connecticut College examined confessionalization and Catholicism in Germany, shifting the perspective from the traditional political and institutional emphases of German historiography to an examination of the nuances of Catholic identity and function at the local, and particularly rural village level. William Hudon, of Bloomsburg University, in a paper entitled "Beyond 'Counter' Reformation or 'Catholic' Reformation: Rethinking Early Modern Italian Catholicism," discussed the growing awareness of the role of non-traditional groups in the development of religious identity. In particular, an examination of Italian inquisitions, new religious orders, and writings by religious women create a much more complex picture of the relationships of religious institutions and individuals than previously thought. The final paper was delivered by Allyson Poska, of Mary Washington College, who discussed the reassessment of the power and presence of the Church in early modern Spain. Through the reexamination of the tribunals of the Inquisition, historians have come to the perspective that the Church exerted a much more limited influence over Spanish Catholicism and Inquisition, and that Catholic identity was much more regionally nuanced than traditionally thought. The commentator was the Reverend John W. O'Malley, SJ., of the Weston School of Theology.

The second session, jointly sponsored with the American Society of Church History, was entitled "The Word Preached and the Word Heard: The Laity and Preaching in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe." The session was chaired by Professor Phyllis Roberts of City University of New York. Professor Darleen Pryds of the University of Wisconsin-Madison spoke on "Jurists and Heretics: Re-examining the Status of Lay Preaching in Late Medieval Europe." The second paper, "Preaching, Lollards, and the Laity," presented by Professor Simon N. Forde of the University of Leeds, focused attention on the religious situation of late medieval England. Professor Benjamin W. Westervelt of Lewis and Clark College spoke on clerical ideals for the laity responding to Counter-Reformation preaching in the Milan of Cardinal Borromeo. Commentary was provided by Professor Beverly Mayne Kienzle of the Harvard Divinity School.

The session on Friday afternoon, "The American Catholic Historical Association Past and Future: Reflections on the Seventy-fifth Anniversary," was a lively and well-attended anniversary session in which four past presidents discussed both the history of the Association and offered reflections on the future. The Reverend James Hennesey, SJ., of Canisius College, Past President in 1986, presided. Perspectives were provided by Professor Philip Gleason of the University of Notre Dame, Past President in 1978, Professor James Brundage, of the University of Kansas, Past President in 1985, and the Reverend Gerald Fogarty, SJ., of the University of Virginia, Past President in 1992. Among the issues discussed were the foundation and history of the Association and its relationship to broader concerns in American Catholic cultural and intellectual history, the broadening of perspective as the Association attempted to go beyond its original focus on American Catholicism and Catholic intellectual life to European, Asian, African, and Latin American issues, and to topics in ancient, medieval, and early modern history, and considerations on new directions for the Association, focusing in particular on the broadening of membership and the greater involvement of women and young scholars, as well as the importance of the fact that the Association promotes a fuller dialogue on religious history, contributions, and concerns in the United States than is possible in other intellectual contexts. A lively discussion between all members of the panel and the audience ensued.

The first morning session on Saturday, January 7, examined "Renaissance Life-writing: Constraints, Strategies, Reception." The session was chaired by Anne Reynolds of the University of Sydney. Three broad themes linked the papers: the possibility for writers of personal self-expression within the constraints of humanistic genres, the ways that writing served as a vehicle for self-definition, and the reception of the authors under consideration. Jennifer Rondeau of the University of Oregon examined the strategies of women humanists for writing, and the opportunities such strategies made for women within a highly gendered social and intellectual world. She showed that women worked within the traditional images available to them—images of the family—to create a personal voice. Kenneth Gouwens of the University of South

Carolina discussed "Group Biography and Memory: Valeriano's De Litteratorum Infelicitate as Therapeutic Life-writing." This was a reinterpretation of the famous text of Valeriano as a representation and memorialization of a golden age of literary society already past, as a perpetuation of the humanist tradition of Rome prior to the Sack of 1527, and as a reflection on evanescent fortuna, thus making of the text a significant and positive cultural contribution. The final paper in the session was given by Thomas Mayer of Augustana College. This was an analysis of Reginald Pole's Vita Longolii as the idealized memorialization of Christophe de Longueil as a pure humanist unsullied by the kind of involvement in cultural politics that Longueil had in fact practiced. This became the model for Pole's subsequent work on Thomas More and John Fisher, De unitate, and provided the foundation for the subsequent writing by scholars of eulogy as history.

The second morning session was entitled "Education and the Congregation of Holy Cross," and was chaired by James T. Connelly, C.S.C., of the University of Portland. The panel focused on how an educational tradition was developed in the American Holy Cross communities, which assumed a primary ministry of teaching and the cultivation of the intellectual life when the Congregation came to America in 1841. Sister Georgia Costin, C.S.C., traced the development of an educational tradition in the Sisters of the Holy Cross after their arrival in Notre Dame and in Bertrand, Michigan, in 1843. Among her conclusions were that the Sisters developed their ministry in education in practical response to the needs of local settlers, Indians, and recent immigrants, and to young women who would have to support themselves. Brother Philip Armstrong, C.S.C., of the Holy Cross Brothers Center, presented "Early Twentieth-Century Education in the United States: The Role of the Brothers of Holy Cross," which examined the disengagement of the Holy Cross Brothers from primary education and their reorientation toward secondary schools. It was primarily through the agency of Brother Ephrem O'Dwyer that the development of quality secondary institutions took place after the Civil War, establishing the ministry in urban secondary education associated with the Brothers of Holy Cross. The final paper in this session was by Anne Kearney, of Jefferson Community College, University of Kentucky, who discussed the upgrading of the priestly faculty at the University of Notre Dame in the early years of the twentieth century. She discussed the role of Father James A. Burns, C.S.C., President of Holy Cross College and Provincial of the Indiana Province, in the development of the highest academic standards and intellectual training of the faculty at Notre Dame.

The morning session was followed by the Presidential Luncheon attended by seventy-four persons. Professor Jay Dolan of the University of Notre Dame and president-elect of the Association, presided at the luncheon. He introduced Professor Elisabeth Gregorich Gleason of the University of San Francisco, President of the Association and this year's winner of the Howard R. Marraro Prize, who delivered her address, "Who Was the First Counter-Reformation Pope," arguing that the distinction rightly belongs to Pope Paul

III, usually considered a conciliator, instead of the confrontational Paul IV. The John Gilmary Shea Prize was awarded to Brian P. Clarke.

The afternoon of January 7 saw two excellent sessions. The first, "Church and Society in Ramon Llull's Majorca," was chaired by Olivia Remie Constable of Columbia University, and examined three diverse elements of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Majorca. Mark D. Johnston of Illinois State University discussed "Education and Schools in Ramon Llull's Majorca, c. 1250-C.1320." Pamela Beattie, of the University of Toronto, examined Majorcan ecclesiology in "Responsibility and Authority in Ramon Llull's Plan for Ecclesiastical Reform." Larry J. Simon of Western Michigan University examined the "Ransoming and Manumission of Slaves by Christians in Ramon Llull's Majorca." Comment was provided by James Brodman of the University of Central Arkansas.

The second session examined "The Search for Identity Among Catholic Immigrants in the United States," and was chaired by Christopher Kauffman of The Catholic University of America. Anita L. Specht of the University of Notre Dame examined authority and ethnic identity in the American Catholic Church in the decade between 1887 and 1897, comparing Irish-American and German-American viewpoints on human nature, bureaucratic and institutional power, and the role of women. Despite substantial differences between the two groups, they shared a common liturgical identity and respect for clerical authority, and the paper concluded that it was through the judicious use of hierarchical authority that schism and disunity could be prevented, a process increased by gradual German acculturation to the English language and American society. Nicole Mische Gothelf of the University of Notre Dame discussed the ways in which Catholic immigrants balanced their developing understanding of democracy and their sympathy for monarchical Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century by focusing on the political coverage of Cincinnati newspapers in 1848. She concluluded that Catholic newspapers condemned revolutionary activity in Europe, but distinguished American democracy from European radicalism and republicanism. Walter D. Kamphoefner of Texas A & M University provided the commentary on the papers.

Sunday morning, January 8, began with Mass celebrated by the Reverend Robert Bireley, S.J., of Loyola University of Chicago. The first session of papers considered "Medieval and Renaissance Scholars," and was chaired by James W. Brodman of the University of Central Arkansas. Jill R. Webster of the University of Toronto examined "The Attitude of Medieval Aragonese Mendicant Friars to Scholarship." Besides the traditional participation of the friars in university study, their contribution to scholarship extended to works of interpretation and translation commissioned by the monarchy and citizens. These activities could be at variance with the traditional mendicant calling, though the friars' attitude toward learning made their emphasis on scholarship more comprehensible within the broader mendicant mission. James K. Farge, C.S.B., of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, discussed the

ways in which the University of Paris was regarded in its own day, discarding the traditional humanist and historiographical viewpoint that Paris seriously declined as an intellectual center during the Hundred Years' War. By focusing closely on the Faculty of Theology, masters and students who taught and studied in it, university recruitment and scholarly output, all against the backdrop of the debate between Scholasticism and Humanism, the true and powerful role of Paris as a moral and intellectual force in its day becomes clear. Erika Rummel of Wilfrid Laurier University discussed the difficulties faced by Renaissance scholars whose works were censured by the Church: Giovanni Pico della Mirándola, Antonio Nebrija, and Desiderius Erasmus, examining their willingness or unwillingness to compromise their findings or submit their scholarship to Church authority.

The final session on Sunday morning was jointly sponsored with the American Historical Association and the Medieval Academy of America, in commemoration of the 900th anniversary of the calling of the Crusades. Entitled "Crusade: Holy War or Holy Vengeance?," the session brought together some of the most noted contemporary scholars of Crusade history, and examined the enormous growth and change in perspective of Crusade historiography in recent decades. The session was chaired by Professor James M. Powell of Syracuse University. Professor James A. Brundage of the University of Kansas discussed the Crusades as Holy War. Professor Bernard Hamilton of the University of Nottingham, whose paper was read by Powell, discussed "Church and Crusade." The perspective of "Byzantium and the Crusades" was taken up by Professor Donald E. Queller of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. Commentary was provided by Professor William Chester Jordan of Princeton University.

The Committee would like to express their appreciation to all those who submitted proposals and organized panels for the meeting. We were pleased to be able to incorporate a number of fine proposals, and regret that we were unable to incorporate others. The members of the committee would also like to thank Monsignor Robert Trisco, Secretary-Treasurer, and Miss Maryann Urbanski, secretary in the executive and editorial office, for their assistance, help, and patience. As co-chair I would like personally to thank the other members of the committee for their experience, generous help, and insight: the Reverend Robert Burns, SJ., Professor Emeritus of the University of California at Los Angeles, co-chair, the Reverend Michael Engh, SJ., my colleague at Loyola Marymount University, and Professor Emeritus Doyce Nunis of the University of Southern California. Their contributions to the success of this anniversary program were invaluable.

Susan A. Rabe, Co-Chair
Loyola Marymount University

Letter from His Eminence, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Archbishop of Chicago, to be read at die Presidential Luncheon

My dear Friends in the Lord Jesus:

It is my pleasure to extend a warm welcome to our city to all gathered for the annual Presidential Luncheon of die American Catholic Historical Association to be held in Chicago on January 7, 1995.

Although I would be delighted to join you, unfortunately, I will just be returning from a two-day meeting on Pastoral Priorities in Herndon Valley, Virginia, at this time and so am regretfully unable to be present.

I wish to take this occasion, however, to express my heartfelt congratulations to the members of this distinguished and learned society upon the completion of three quarters of a century of scholarly service to the Church—a precious gift.

May God bless your meeting. Although unable to be with you in person, know that you will be in my thoughts and prayers at this special time.

With cordial good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,
[signed] Joseph Card. Bernardin
Archbishop of Chicago

Resolution Adopted at die Annual Meeting

Whereas Professor Caroline Walker Bynum served the American Catholic Historical Association with distinction as its president in 1993, and

Whereas she has been recently elected as president-elect of the American Historical Association,

Be it resolved, That the members of the American Catholic Historical Association assembled in their annual meeting thank her for her services, congratulate her on her new dignity, and wish her every success.

[signed] Elisabeth G. Gleason
President

Chicago, Illinois
January 7, 1995

Report of die Committee on Nominations

In this election 423 ballots were cast. The results are as follows:

For First Vice-President (and President in the following year):

William J. Callahan, University of Toronto	218
Frank J. Coppa, St. John's University, New York	205

For Second Vice-President:

Elisa A. Carrillo, Marymount College, Tarrytown, New York	138
Bennett D. Hill, O.S.B., Georgetown University	218

For the Executive Council (three-year term, 1995, 1996, 1997):

Section I:

Susan Schroeder, Loyola University Chicago	184
John F. Schwaller, Academy of American Franciscan History, Berkeley, California	208

Section II:

Margaret Mary Reher, Cabrini College, Radnor, Pennsylvania	186
Leslie Woodcock Tentler, University of Michigan, Dearborn	225

For the Committee on Nominations (three-year term, 1995, 1996, 1997):

Anita Marie Rasi May, Oklahoma Foundation for the Humanities	186
J. Dean O'Donnell, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg	220

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS
JODI BIUNKOFF
University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Thomas R. Greene
Villanova University
Sandra Horvath-Peterson, Chairman
Georgetown University

Report of die Committee on die John Gilmary Shea Prize

The John Gilmary Shea Prize for 1994 is awarded to Dr. Brian P. Clarke of Toronto for his book Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations

and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850—1895, published by McGill-Queen's University Press in Montreal. In this meticulously researched, richly detailed volume, which is marked by both a sophisticated use of social scientific methods and an informed appreciation of trends in nineteenth-century piety and church polity, Brian P. Clarke traces the evolution of the ethnic identity of the Irish Catholic community in Toronto during its formative years. As he investigates the role that lay associations, both secular and religious, both pious and nationalistic, played in creating and sustaining that identity, he both enriches our understanding of the often complex dynamics and tensions that marked the lives of the Irish living in diaspora, and challenges many of our inherited assumptions concerning the role that "ethnicity," that most volatile of commodities, plays in the life of the immigrant communities. Indeed, by examining the ways in which church authorities, nationalistic groups, and gender-specific associations within the Irish community interacted with and reacted to changing social, economic, and political circumstances, he argues persuasively that "ethnicity … is not a fixed identity that is merely inherited. Rather, ethnicity is constantly in the process of being made and reformulated by people. Culture, including custom and tradition, is mobilized to achieve specific goals in response to a particular social situation."

Although the story that he tells is neither simple nor devoid of conflict, the end product is an admirable example of the kind of "people history" that Philip Gleason and others called for in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council over two decades ago, a history that never slights the importance of the institutional life of the Church, but that insists on seeing and celebrating the contributions that the laity have made to the very institutions that define and enliven the Church in every age. It is hoped that other historians will follow Clarke's lead and provide us with studies of other faith communities that are marked by the same sensitivity and sophistication that characterize this work.

Donald J. Dietrich
Boston College

John Howe
Texas Tech University, Lubbock

Joseph M. McShane, S.J., Chairman
Fordham University

Report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize

The Marraro Prize Committee received numerous strong entries, especially in medieval and Renaissance Italian history. Of diese entries, one stands out: Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform, by Professor Elisabeth G.

Gleason, published by the University of California Press. Contarini was first and foremost a Venetian noble who brought a civic perspective to religious issues. As cardinal, he committed himself to a reform agenda in Rome and to mediation between Catholics and Protestants, an effort that failed. In this thoroughly documented study, Professor Gleason offers a balanced and convincing interpretation of an influential and controversial figure. For these reasons, the American Catholic Historical Association awards the 1994 Howard R. Marraro Prize to Elisabeth G. Gleason of the University of San Francisco.

Alexander J. DeGrand
North Carolina State University

Donna Gabaccia
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Paul F. Grendler, Chairman
University of Toronto

Report of the Chairman of die Committee on Recruitment

During 1994 our major project was the placement of an advertisement in Perspectives, which is sent to all members of the American Historical Association. The committee hopes for a continuing response and encourages members to xerox copies of this advertisement to put in the mail boxes of graduate students and colleagues or to send to friends. During the coming decade, retirements will continue to be numerous. We suggest that each member planning to retire should make an effort to recruit at least one new member for the Association. Finally, does your library subscribe to the Catholic Historical Review?

James M. Powell, Chairman
Syracuse University

Report of the Delegate to the Joint Committee of Catholic Learned Societies and Scholars

The Joint Committee of Catholic Learned Societies and Scholars, of which the American Catholic Historical Association is a constituent member, is charged with facilitating dialogue and exchange between the Catholic scholarly community and the American hierarchy.

This exchange is accomplished principally through the agency of the Commission of Bishops and Scholars, a group jointly sponsored by the Committee on Doctrine of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Joint

Committee. The Commission is composed of bishops appointed by the Committee on Doctrine and representatives of the Joint Committee. The purpose of the Commission is to serve as a standing co-operative structure to assure continued interaction and collaboration between the bishops and scholars.

Since its inception in August, 1987, the Commission has met annually, usually in conjunction with the November meeting of the N.C.C.B. in Washington D.C., most recently on November 17, 1994.

The greater part of the work of the Commission has been dedicated to the planning and evaluation of regional colloquies sponsored by the Commission. The purpose of these colloquies is to address topics of concern and interest to the bishops of a particular region with the resources and perspectives of the Catholic scholarly community. Last year, the Commission made a commitment to the bishops of Region Twelve (the Pacific Northwest) to sponsor a colloquy in that region on the topic "Evangelization in an Unchurched Society: History and Challenge." That colloquy was scheduled for the fall of 1994, but the bishops of the region requested that the colloquy be rescheduled for fall of 1995, since a significant number of bishops from the region would be in Rome much of the fall for the synod on the religious life. The colloquy is now scheduled for next fall, and the Commission is presently at work on the planning of this colloquy.

Until now, the Joint Committee of Catholic Learned Societies and Scholars has attempted to be responsive to the needs of the bishops by helping to organize and providing resources for colloquies on topics requested by the bishops. The Commission believes that the positive experience of these colloquies has helped improve relations between the scholarly community and the hierarchy, and that now is the time for some reciprocity in the relationship. Accordingly, delegates from the constituent societies of the JCCLSS are requested to ask their societies if there are issues that they would like to see bishops and the Catholic scholarly community address. This request has been passed on to the Executive Council of our Association.

Jeffrey von Arx, S.J., Delegate
Georgetown University

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

Although I am expected to submit a report only on the past year, I will be forgiven, I trust, for beginning with a few words about the last seventy-five years. Soon after its founding at the end of 1919, the Association achieved a recognized position among professional historical societies as well as within the Catholic Church in the United States, and for many years it has been winning ever greater respect from non-Catholic and Catholic scholars alike. It has become a truly national and to some extent even an international society.

If it has been less preoccupied with defending the historical truth concerning the Church against falsehoods and misinterpretations due to prejudice or ignorance than in its early years, it has continued to promote the study of Christianity, especially of Catholic Christianity, in all ages, to foster a better appreciation of the immense debt that our present-day civilization owes to Christianity, and to present a Christian view of history in this era of contrary philosophies. Far from separating its Catholic members from their non-Catholic colleagues, it brings them into closer contact at its annual meetings and in other activities, and at the same time it helps them to preserve their religious identity, which is essential for any efficacious dialogue with non-Catholic Christians or with non-Christians. The founders may have envisioned a grander expansion than has ever been realized, but the Association has remained the leaven in the mass of dough and embodies the same potential for growth and for good as it had at the beginning.

Our seventy-fifth anniversary has been the occasion for bringing the Association to the attention of the members of the American Historical Association in several ways. In the November issue of its newsletter, Perspectives, we placed a half-page advertisement authorized by the Executive Council last year and designed by the chairman of our Committee on Recruitment, Professor James M. Powell of Syracuse University, who also supplied camera-ready copy. So far only seven persons—not as many as we had expected—have used this form to apply for membership. Secondly, the editor of Perspectives, Mr. Robert B. Townsend, invited me to supply material for an article in the section entitled "Affiliate News"; he then added paragraphs at the beginning and the end and devoted a page and a half to our Association in the December issue. A box occupying one-half of a column was also given to us free of charge to advertise our presidential luncheon and to announce the location of our registration desk during the meeting. Lastly, our program is printed on nearly two pages in the preliminary section of the American Historical Association's program booklet; for this service, however, we must pay; last year the charge was $250. Besides thanking Mr. Townsend, I wish to express warmest gratitude to the executive associate and convention director of the American Historical Association, Miss Sharon K. Tune, who has been generous with her assistance.

To organize this seventy-fifth annual meeting we have turned to members in Los Angeles, who have not enjoyed that privilege since 1981 and will not be so favored again in the foreseeable future. We are deeply indebted to the co-chairmen of the Committee on Program, the Reverend Robert I. Burns, S.J., professor emeritus in the University of California in that city and a past president of the Association, and Dr. Susan A. Rabe of Loyola Marymount University, for presenting nine sessions, more than usual, one of which is devoted to reflections on the seventy-fifth anniversary. For our next January meeting, which will be held in Atlanta, the chairman of the Committee on Program, Dr. Patrick Allitt of Emory University, is still soliciting proposals for sessions.

Our spring meetings continue to be held in steady succession. The last one, sponsored by the College of the Holy Cross, was the best attended, 206 persons

having registered. Since all the sessions, papers, and participants were named in the report that was published in the July issue of the Catholic Historical Review, nothing remains to be said except our profound thanks to the organizing committee and especially to its chairman, Professor James T. Flynn, as well as to the officials of the college who subsidized the meeting to the extent not covered by the registration fees. Now we look forward to the meeting of next April at Marquette University, which is being prepared by a committee under the chairmanship of the Reverend Steven M. Avella. Our first spring meeting in Texas will take place in March, 1996, at the University of St. Thomas; the chairman of the organizing committee, the Reverend Richard J. Schiefen, C.S.B., began laying plans a year ago. No university or college has yet invited the Association for the spring of 1997, although many institutions ought to covet the honor.

During the past year the Association was represented by members as official delegates at two academic functions: by Dr. Susan E. Ramirez of DePaul University (a member of the Executive Council) at the installation of the twenty-second president of Loyola University Chicago on April 9 and by Sister R. Patricia Smith, G.N.S.H., of DTouville College at the installation of the twenty-third Jesuit president of Canisius College on April 30.

During the past year we have lost through death two of our past presidents and many other members of long standing. We mourn the following:

The Reverend Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., of Saint John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, a member of the Association since 1948, a member of the Executive Council in 1960-1962, and president in 1976;

Professor Frank L. Beach, of the University of San Francisco, a member from 1969 to 1975, chairman of the Committee on Program in 1973, and a member again since 1993;

Mr. Clement D. Brown, of Wilton, Connecticut, a member since 1959;

The Reverend Caspar Caulfield, C.P., of the Passionist Historical Archives, Union City, New Jersey, a member since 1991;

The Reverend John L. Ciani, S.J., of Georgetown University, a member since 1987;

The Reverend Paul E. Crunican, of London, Ontario, a member since 1959;

Brother Henry Cuddy, O.S.F., of Saint Francis College, Brooklyn, New York, a member since 1956;

The Reverend Arthur J. Ennis, O.S.A., of Saint Augustine Friary, Villanova, Pennsylvania, a member since 1949;

The Reverend Cornelius P. Forster, O.P., of Providence College, a member since 1963 and organizer of the Association's spring meeting in 1987;

The Most Reverend Lawrence P. Graves, Bishop Emeritus of Alexandria-Shreveport, a life member since 1969;

The Most Reverend Charles H. Helmsing, Former Bishop of Kansas City-St. Joseph, a member since 1949;

The Most Reverend John L. May, Archbishop of St. Louis, a member since 1976;

Reverend Monsignor Joseph N. Moody, of Statesboro, Georgia, professor emeritus of the Catholic University of America, a member since 1936, a life member since 1969, president in 1979, and associate editor of the Catholic Historical Review since 1965;

Sister Miriam Ellen Murphy, of Mount Saint Vincent Convent, New York, a member since 1951;

Sister M. Georgiana Rockwell, S.B.S., of Bensalem, Pennsylvania, a member since 1980;

Mr. George A. Schneider, of Old Bridge, New Jersey, a member since 1963 and a life member since 1966.

Let us also remember in our prayers Reverend Monsignor James A. Magner, of Palm Beach, Florida, formerly of the Catholic University of America and director of the Catholic University of America Press (the publisher of our journal), a member from 1937 to 1992. May their souls and the souls of all the faithful departed members of the American Catholic Historical Association through the mercy of God rest in peace.

As you may have counted, three life members passed away in 1994. Their places have been filled in part by two new life members, who were both previously yearly members, namely, the Reverend Paschal Baumstein, O.S.B., of Belmont Abbey (whose fee was paid by a friend and admirer), and Dr. Paul Misner, of Marquette University. May they benefit from the investment for many years. There are now seventy-four life members, of whom sixty are individuals and fourteen are immortal organizations.

The past year has seen a larger number of new members than the preceding year—105 as compared with eighty-five. Twenty-three of them are students, and at least thirty-one are women; six of the women are also students. In 1993 thirteen of the new members were students, and twenty-seven were women (of whom three were also students). There are now eighty-three student members, although a few of them are no longer bona fide students and some have been students for many years. Again we gratefully acknowledge the effective work of our membership director, Professor Erving E. Beauregard of the University of Dayton, who has brought back to the fold several straying members. In all, twelve persons renewed their membership after having let it lapse for a year or more; in 1993 we reported seven in that category. The number of retired members remains unchanged from last year—nineteen.

From the 117 members thus gained we must subtract the sixteen deceased (seven more than in 1993), eight who resigned their membership (two fewer than in 1993), and sixty-five who have failed to pay their annual dues without explanation (eight more than in 1993). Sixty-three of them are individuals, and two are organizations. Thus we arrive at a net gain of twenty-eight members. Adding that figure to the 1,126 reported a year ago, we now count 1,154 members on our rolls.

As treasurer I have less agreeable results to report. We have suffered an even larger net operational loss than in 1993. If we did not include the life

memberships fees in the revenue, since they should be invested, the loss would be nearly $19,000, and if we added to the membership fees thirty dollars for each life member, the loss would still be nearly $17,000. We have supplied the deficit by applying most of the income from investments collected by our brokerage firm, Alex. Brown & Sons, and deposited it into our Cash Reserve Fund, Prime Series. Since this fund has nearly been depleted (though it will be replenished as quarterly dividends are received) and since the value of some of our stock and shares in mutual funds has declined, the Association has less in resources than it had a year ago. It should be borne in mind that fewer than one thousand members pay thirty dollars per year, and our expenses for everything other than the subscriptions to the Catholic Historical Review are $21,000. Moreover, beginning next year, the Association will have to pay more to the Catholic University of America Press for each subscription to the Review, because the Press is raising its rates in order to defray the increased costs of printing (especially of labor and paper) lest it require an even larger subvention than it now receives from the university. We will have to pay 826.40 instead of $24.00 for each subscription. Hence, an increase of our dues, which were last raised in 1992 but not sufficiently, seems to be unavoidable, as the American Society of Church History has also found necessary.

A few explanations of the financial statement will perhaps be enlightening. The expense for the office secretary, $11,544.78, covers one-half of Miss Urbanski's salary and benefits; the other half comes from the Catholic Historical Review. That die charge for postage is more than $2,000 larger than it was in 1993 is partly due to our university post office's erratic practice of billing and partly to our having sent the programs, ballots, etc., by first-class mail rather than by bulk mail, which requires more labor in our office than we can provide. Some of the amount for miscellaneous expenses also goes for postage, since it includes petty cash used in part to buy stamps while only larger mailings are metered in our university post office. Finally, the loss of more than $700 on the last annual meeting was due in small part to the social hour, at which the tickets sold do not cover all the charges, but in large part to the expenses for the travel, lodging, meals, etc., of Miss Urbanski. The presidential luncheons always pay for themselves.

Without purchases we have gained some shares of stock during the past twelve months. On March 11 ITT Corp., in which we have 200 shares, gave us fifty shares of Rayonier, Inc., as a spinoff. On May 16 General Electric Co. declared a stock split; hence, our 800 shares have been doubled to 1,600.

The net value of our portfolio held in street name by Alex. Brown & Sons as of November 25, 1994, was $224,761.40, including $2,944.40 in the Cash Reserve Fund, $219,556.00 in stocks, and $2,261.00 in mutual funds. This constitutes a decrease from the net value of our portfolio posted at the end of November, 1993, when it was $246,761.61. In addition, we have several holdings apart from our portfolio with Alex. Brown & Sons, the current value of which is as follows:

Columbia First Bank: certificates of deposit	
(September 30, 1994)	4,509.85
(September 30, 1994)	2,190.15
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund: 2,871.658 shares at	
«8.83 per share (November 30)	25,356.74
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 2,850.267 shares at	
$969 per share (September 30)	27,61909
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 466.511 shares at	
$9.60 per share (December 15)	4,478.51
Vanguard High Yield Bond Portfolio: 847.767 shares at	
$7.14 per share (December 15)	6,05306
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund: 1,003.690 shares at	
Î8.13 per share (December 15)	8,160.00
Washington Mutual Investors Fund: 4,941.853 shares	
(less l 32 shares held by Alex. Brown) at $17.54 per	
share (December 15)	84,364.82
To these should be added the portfolio held by Alex. Brown . . .	224,761.40
Hence, the Association's total invested assets were valued at . . .	387,493.62

This figure represents a decrease of $22,61 2.42 from 1993. This loss, of course, reflects mainly the depreciation of some of our stocks and shares in the mutual funds, which is due to the market's fluctuations.

In all respects but one it has been a prosperous year for the Association's journal. The volume for 1994, our eightieth, contains 846 pages numbered with arabic numerals and forty-eight with roman numerals. This total exceeds the number allowed by our budget (608) by 238. In these pages we have published fifteen articles, six review articles, and 197 book reviews. Unfortunately, we could not afford such a sizable enlargement. It is true that we collected a considerable amount (more than $3,000), and we had a little over $2,500 left over from 1993, but still we overspent our expansion fund by $2,300, and we will have to reimburse the general treasury to that extent. Until we satisfy that obligation we will be limited to the standard length of 152 pages per issue, although we have been promised a subsidy that will enable us to publish in the January issue an article of approximately twice the normal length. Last October thirty-three reviews that had been set in type could not be published, because we had exhausted our savings, but they will appear in the January issue and others will be held over to April. I wish to express my own gratitude and, I assume, that of the subscribers and readers to all those who have contributed amounts of any size for the enlargement of the journal.* I regret that because of the insufficient staff in our executive

*Mr. Maurice Adelman, Jr., Miss Charlotte Ames, Dr. R. Scott Appleby, Reverend William A. Au, Reverend Robert C. Ayers, Professor William S. Babcock, Reverend Paul F. Bailey, Ms. Carla Bang, Mr. Charles Bashara, Mr. Clifford J. Berschneider, Reverend Edward J. Biggane, S.M.A., Dr. Jeremy Blanchet, Professor Maxwell Bloomfield, Dr. Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Reverend Monsignor Myles M. Bourke, Professor Henry

and editorial office we have not yet sent acknowledgments to everyone who has made a donation of twenty-five dollars or more, but we shall do so as soon as possible in case the donors may need such a receipt to prove their deductions from their income when they file their tax returns.

After several years in which we have received relatively few manuscripts—

W. Bowden, Reverend Thomas S. Bokenkotter, Mr. James F. Breen, Professor Sidney A. Burrell, Professor William J. Callahan, Reverend Daniel E. Carter, Mr. Aloysius Clarke, Professor Robert H. Connery, Professor Jay Corrin, Mr. Timothy P. Cross, Dr. Ronald S. Cunsolo, Reverend R. Emmett Curran, SJ., Most Reverend Thomas V. Daily, Dr. Roy P. Domenico, Reverend John P. Donnelly, SJ., Mr. R A. Dowd, Reverend Monsignor Thomas M. Duffy, Reverend Monsignor Walter J. Edyvean, Mr. Edward V. Egan, Reverend George P. Evans, Reverend Dr. John Whitney Evans, Reverend James K. Farge, C.S.B., Sister Janice Farnham, R.J.M., Most Reverend Joseph L. Federal, Mr. Paul C. Ferguson, Reverend Peter Fleming, S.J., Dr. Michelle M. Fontaine, Professor John B. Freed, Reverend Monsignor John T. Foudy, Professor Sixto J. Garcia, Professor Edward T. Gargan, Mr. Richard C. Garvey, Mr. Geoffrey K Gay, Professor Frank X. Gerrity, Most Reverend Peter L. Gerety, Reverend Paul E. Gins, O.S.M., Reverend Monsignor Edward R. Glavin, Professor Elisabeth G. Gleason, Dr. Philip A. Grant, Professor Walter D. Gray, Dr. Thomas R. Greene, Brother James A. Gutowski, O.F.M.Cap., Professor Jan T. Hallenbeck, Professor Hanns Gross, Professor Francis X. Hartigan, Professor Martin J. Havran, Reverend Lawrence Hennessey, S.T., Reverend Bennett D. Hill, O.S.B., Mr. Robert J. Horak, Jr., Reverend Monsignor John V. Horgan, Professor Robert F. Hueston, Reverend John Jay Hughes, Reverend Monsignor Robert A. Hughes, Most Reverend Mark J. Hurley, Dr. Jane C. Hutchison, Reverend Leon M. Hutton, Dr. Cathy J. Itnyre, Professor James J. John, Professor Christopher Kauffman, Reverend Leonard J. Kempski, Mr. Michael J. Kennedy, Professor Eric D. Köhler, Professor Peter J. Kountz, Reverend Raymond J. Kupke, Reverend Monsignor Andrew P. Landi, Dr. Charles F. Lasher, Mrs. Joan M. Lenardon, Professor A. Paul Levack, Most Reverend Oscar H. Lipscomb, Reverend Ambrose Macaulay, Dr. Ellen A. Macek, Mr. Paul R Madden, Dr. Joseph F. Mahoney, Dr. Dennis D. Martin, Dr. Lawrence J. McAndrews, Miss Maureen McArdle, Professor Lawrence McCaffrey, Reverend John R. McCarthy, Reverend Floyd McCoy, Reverend Thomas C. McGonigle, O.P., Dr. Mary M. McLaughlin, Reverend Robert F. McNamara, Reverend Clarence C. Menard, O.M.I., Sister Brigid Merriman, O.S.F., Dr. David C. Miller, Professor Samuel J. T. Miller, Reverend Wilson D. Miscamble, C.S.C., Dr. Carlton T. Mitchell, Reverend John V. Monestero, Professor John C. Moore, Professor James Muldoon, Reverend Francis J. Murphy, Professor Thomas F. Noble, Honorable John T. Noonan, Jr., Professor Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Reverend Fergus O'Donoghue, S.J., Most Reverend Gerald O'Keefe, Most Reverend Joseph T. O'Keefe, Professor Glenn Olsen, Reverend Charles E. O'Neill, S.J., Dr. John W. Osborne, Mr. John R. Page, Dr. Matthew L. Panczyk, Reverend Louis J. Pascoe, S.J., Dr. Robert E. Paul, Professor Neal Pease, Reverend Dr. John F. Piper, Jr., Professor George J. Prpic, Mr. Robert R Quigley, Mr. John F. Quinn, Reverend Monsignor John A. Radano, Reverend Francis Reed, Dr. Alan J. Reinerman, Mrs. Margherita Repetto-Alaia, Mr. John W. Robbins, Professor John F. Roche, Professor John D. Root, Mr. Gerard Roubichou, Dr. James C. Russell, Professor Francis J. Ryan, Dr. James D. Ryan, Dr. David L. Salvaterra, Reverend Monsignor Robert J. Sarno, Dr. Daniel L. Schlafly, Professor John A. Schutz, Reverend John C. Scott, O.S.B., Professor Paul S. Seaver, Reverend Monsignor Francis R. Seymour, Dr. William D. Sharpe, Dr. Albert Shumate, Reverend Joachim Smet, O.Carm., Right Reverend Matthew Stark, O.S.B., Mr. George C. Stewart, Jr., Dr. Neil

only twenty-three in 1988 and thirty-nine in 1993—during the past year fifty-seven have been submitted. That number is still notably lower than the seventy-two we received in 1974, but it provides a good choice. The articles are rather well distributed over the various fields, as the following table shows:

	Accepted	Conditionally accepted	Rejected	Pending	Total
General and Miscellaneous			3		3
Ancient	2	1			3
Medieval	1	1	8	1	11
Early modern European	3	4	7		14
Late modern European	4	5	1		10
American	2	4	2	2	10
Latin American	1	1			4
African			1		1
Australian			1		1
Total	13	16	24		57

The proportion of articles rejected in the medieval period is lamentably high, although we have published an excellent article in Late Antiquity or the Middle Ages in each of the last four issues. Consequently, we continue to solicit essays in that as well as in all odier fields. We caution writers, however, that papers prepared for oral delivery at scholarly conferences usually require substantial revision before diey can be deemed fit for publication. I express cordial gratitude both to the advisory editors and to the numerous referees who have evaluated manuscripts for us and in many cases have made very constructive and extensive suggestions for revision. Most of the referees prefer to remain anonymous, but they deserve public recognition in globo, because without their expert assistance many manuscripts would not be made suitable for publication.

The index for Volume LXXX has again been compiled by Mr. Lawrence H. Feldman. It is more detailed than usual, occupying twenty-eight pages of small print in double columns. We hope that it will also be more useful than ever.

According to the statement of ownership regarding management and circulation that the business manager of the Catholic Historical Review, Mr.

Storch, Miss Elizabeth M. Streitz, Professor Richard E. Sullivan, Reverend Charles J. Talar, Mr. Daniel F. Tanzone, Professor Leslie W. Tender, Professor Samuel J. Thomas, Reverend Thomas W. Tiflit, Dr. William J. Tighe, Dr. John B. Tomaro, Professor James D. Tracy, Reverend Edward R. Udovic, CM., Professor Nicholas Varga, Capt. Andrew J. Walsh, Mr. Thomas M. Walsh, Professor Morimichi Watanabe, Dr. Joseph M. White, Professor Joseph L. Wieczynski, Reverend John W. Witek, S.J., Mrs. Leah R. Wolf, Reverend Norbert G. Wolf, Reverend William L. Wolkovich-Valkavicius, Dr. Ann Marie York, Reverend Martin A. Zielinski.

Gordon A. Conner, will insert in the January issue to comply with the requirement of the United States Postal System, the average paid circulation, which includes not only the members of the Association but also direct subscribers such as libraries and institutions, was 1,926 per issue in 1994. Moreover, 166 free copies were sent out each quarter, mostly in exchange for other historical journals. Thus, the total distribution was 2,092 per issue. In 1993 the average number of paid subscriptions was 1,949, or twenty-three more but these figures fluctuate from year to year. Since January 1, while the postal rates for first-class mail have been raised by approximately ten percent, the rates for second-class mail, which we use for sending the Review, have been raised by approximately fourteen percent.

I wish to thank my secretary, Miss Maryann Urbanski, for her careful, reliable, and accurate work during the past year, and our undergraduate work-study assistant, Miss Christina Sinck, who has been both helpful and cheerful in the office.

As we begin not only a new year but also a new quarter-century of the Association's existence, let us resolve to renew our efforts to make this organization, which is both professional and familial, an ever more effective instrument for the advancement of the study of the history of the Church and of Christianity. Perhaps we should begin by observing the exhortation that Pope John Paul II has set forth in his recent apostolic letter, Tertio millennio adveniente; in the first phase of the immediate preparation for the Great Jubilee of the year 2000 the Holy Father thinks it appropriate that "the Church should become more fully conscious of the sinfulness of her children, recalling all those times in history when they departed from the spirit of Christ and his Gospel and, instead of offering to the world the witness of a life inspired by the values of faith, indulged in ways of thinking and acting which were truly forms of counter-witness and scandât" (par. 33). "Among the sins which require a greater commitment to repentance and conversion," the Pontiff says, "should certainly be counted those which have been detrimental to the unity willed by God for his People" (par. 34). Finally, the Holy Father reminds us, "Another painful chapter of history to which the sons and daughters of the Church must return with a spirit of repentance is that of the acquiescence given, especially in certain centuries, to intolerance and even the use of violence in the service of truth." He admits that "an accurate historical judgment" must take into account "the cultural conditioning of the times, as a result of which many people may have held in good faith that an authentic witness to the truth could include suppressing the opinions of others or at least paying no attention to them. Many factors frequently converged to create assumptions which justified intolerance and fostered an emotional climate from which only great spirits, truly free and filled with God, were in some way able to break free. Yet the consideration of mitigating factors does not exonerate the Church from the obligation to express profound regret for the weakness of so many of her sons and daughters who sullied her face, preventing her from fully mirroring the image of her crucified Lord, the supreme witness

of patient love and of humble meekness. From these painful moments of the past," he concludes, "a lesson can be drawn for the future," namely, that the truth cannot be imposed on anyone by force (par. 35).

In all the ways, whether customary or new, in which the Association will be engaged in the next twenty-five years, may it provide ample grounds for those who will celebrate its centennial in late 2019 or early 2020 to look back with satisfaction upon substantial accomplishments.

Robert Trisco
Secretary and Treasurer

Financial Statement

Fund Statement (as of December 15, 1994)			
Cash:			
Balance as of December 15, 1993		1,658.07	
Increase (Decrease) : see Exhibit A		(17,924.17)	
Transfer from investment income		17,000.00	
Balance as of December 15, 1994			733.90
Investments: see Exhibit B			234,772.80
Total Fund Resources			235,506.70
Statement of Revenue and Expenses (Exhibit A) (for the period December 15, 1993, through December 15, 1994)			
Revenue:			
Membership fees (annual)		25,00547	
Membership fees (life)		1,000.00	
Annual meeting, 1993/94		3,046.00	
Rental of mailing list		420.00	
Endowment Fund		312.49	
Dividends (cash)		574.31	
Miscellaneous		8.00	30,366.27
Expenses:			
Office Expenses:			
Secretary	11,544.78		
Telephone	38.31		
Supplies, printing	1,598.14		
Postage	2,206.08	15,387.31	
Catholic Historical Review			
Subscriptions		27,468.00	
Annual meeting, 1993/94		3,771.95	
Annual meeting, 1994/95		300.00	
John Gilmary Shea Prize		500.00	
C.I.H.E.C. dues (two years)		6598	
J.C.C.L.S.S. contribution		100.00	
Bank charges		191.61	
Discount on checks		41.87	
Miscellaneous		463.72	48,290.44
Operational surplus—Net gain (loss)			(17,924.17)
Investments (Exhibit B)			
General Fund			
Balance as of December 15, 1993			210,922.93
Income from investments (dividends and interest):			
Abbott Laboratories		592.00	
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund		9953	
American Capital Bond Fund, Inc		1,540.00	
American Electric Power Company		480.00	

Detroit Edison Co	201.88	
First American Financial Corp	48.60	
General Electric Company	2,304.00	
ITT Corporation	396.00	
Johnson & Johnson	904.00	
Montana Power Company	480.00	
Rayonier, Inc	27.00	
SCE Corporation	1,452.00	
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund, Inc	1,866.63	
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio	1,86352	
Vanguard High Yield Bond Portfolio	694.55	
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund	666.15	
Washington Mutual Investors Fund	2,720.48	16,336.34
Capital Gains:		
Washington Mutual Investors Fund		1,842.20
Total		18,178.54
Less dividends received as revenue (Exhibit A)		(574.31)
Total income from investments		17,604.23
Less transfer to cash		(17,000.00)
Balance as of December 15, 1994		211,527.16
Special Fund I—Howard R Marraro Prize		
Balance as of December 15, 1993:		
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	5,536.94	
Central & Southwest	7,966.47	13,503.41
Investment income:		
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	198.78	
Central & Southwest	680.00	878.78
Prize and luncheon		(532.00)
Balance as of December 15, 1994		13,850.19
Special Fund II—Anne M. WolfFund		
Balance as of December 15, 1993:		
Columbia First Bank CDs		6,941.94
Investment income		218.17
Balance as of December 15, 1994		7,160.11
Special Fund III—Expansion of the CHR		
Balance as of December 15, 1993		2,508.75
Contributions		3,027.90
Expense		(7,843.81)
Balance as of December 15, 1994		(2,307.16)
Special fund IV—Endowment		
Balance as of December 15, 1993		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		4,542.50
Investment income		312.49
Transferred to Exhibit A		(312.49)
Balance as of December 15, 1994		4,542.50
Total investments		234,772.80

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BOOK REVIEWS

Ancient and Medieval

The Roman Near East, 31 BC-AD 337. By Fergus Millar. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xxxii, 587.)

This is an extremely well-documented volume on the extension of Roman rule in the Near East in the course of the four centuries or so that elapsed after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. Its Near East is not that region in its entirety but the Semitic Near East, the future Byzantine Diocese of Oriens, that excluded Anatolia and Egypt. The author ably discusses the various stages of this extension of Roman rule, which in the reigns of Trajan, Severus, and Diocletian went beyond the Euphrates, thus going counter to Augustus's decision to make the Euphrates the boundary between Rome and Iran. The author is careful not to present his work as a contribution to the history of Roman "drums and trumpets," and so he thoroughly goes through the history, geography, and religions of the sub-regions which constituted the Near East, and in the process he demonstrates the power of Hellenization and Romanization in transforming this Semitic Near East from what it had been to what it came to be at the end of this period. The author has acquitted himself remarkably well in the execution of his task, and all students of Roman history should be grateful to him for this well-researched and richly-documented volume.

What would interest readers of this journal most is what the author says on Christianity and the two Semitic peoples that were related to it, namely, the Jews and the Arabs, the latter being the people who sponsored the spread of Islam, the monotheistic Abrahamic religion, in the seventh century and with it the Arab conquests. These topics are important in this age of ecumenism and of inter-faith dialogues and their treatment calls for the following critical comments. In a volume of this size and context, more might have been said on Christianity: on its fortunes in the Near East as a persecuted religion and on its final triumph in the fourth century when Constantine converted and declared it religio licita, thus revolutionizing the history of the region and the world. There is fresh material on both Christianity in this period and on the vexata quaestio of Constantine's conversion.

His treatment of the two Semitic peoples, the Jews and the Arabs, is of unequal value. It is excellent on the Jews, with whose language and history he is evidently conversant but not so on die Arabs, who do not do well with him. The sedentary Arabs of Emesa, Edessa, Nabataea, and Palmyrena—whose territories formed a large chunk of die Near East—wrote important chapters in die history of this region and of Rome, as they contributed to the welfare of Christianity before Constantine and as they protected the Roman frontier. It is common knowledge that their Arabness was much diluted by the forces of Hellenization and Romanization, but it was not entirely obliterated. The audior strips them of dieir Arab identity and chooses to conceive of die Arabs as those nomads of the steppe who appear as a threat to the Roman-controlled Near East. The vulnerability of this conception of the Arabs is advertised by the author himself, who confessedly has no knowledge of Arabic (p. xvi). This naturally has led him to operate with dependent judgments and to a view of Arab history, which no true and objective scholar of Arabic, Arabica, and Romano-arabica will accept. But it is good to hear die audior say diat by down-playing the significance of Arab identity, his book should not "seem to take one side in the profound religious and communal tensions of the modern world." The volume, however, remains a substantial contribution to the study of the extension of Roman rule in the Near East from the principate of Augustus to die reign of Constantine.

Irfan Shahid

Georgetown University

Religion and Literature in Western England, 600—800. By Patrick Sims-Williams. [Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, Volume 3·] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1990. Pp. xvi, 448 incl. 2 maps. $79.95.)

The proliferation of general and specialized studies in Anglo-Saxon life and institutions over the last five years or so is gratifying; most encouraging is dieir universal tendency toward scholarly syncretism, mating fields of study that are traditionally separate, and making resourceful use of new and overlooked kinds of sources. There are at least three ambitious survey projects out now—one of them on CD-ROM—and there are advanced studies that cover subjects as various as Anglo-Saxon dress, medicine, and military techniques. For students of intellectual history diere are new contributions in folklore, liturgy, hagiography, and the overall problem of England's conversion to Christianity. Critical studies in die dynamics of early English religious sensibilities in particular fill important gaps in our understanding of how Anglo-Saxon culture worked; these studies are especially welcome when they deal in regional matters, and at the very earliest stages of Anglo-Saxon settlement,

where the sources are routinely bare. For sensitivity to the value of scattered sources none surpasses Patrick Sims-Williams' remarkable study of the tiny sibling kingdoms of the Hwicce and the Magonsaetan, who centered in the seventh-century Avon and Severn valleys, cheek-by-jowl with the Welsh, and whose story is so obscure that even Bede has little to say of them. This local study has wide consequences: these two kingdoms are never politically weighty, but they are important proof of how widely religious institutions can vary over place and time, and also how international the patterns of influence can be, some of them coming in Ulis case from Ireland and the Continent.

The problem is how to come to know a people who leave so little behind, and how much then to infer about other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The book's measured pace begins with the geographical and genealogical boundaries of die two kingdoms, drawing from place-names and archaeological information. The Hwicce and the Magonsaetan turn out to have kept their own kings and monasteries well into the eighth century. Their first flirtations widi Christianity and their eventual formation into what will be the dioceses of Hereford and Worcester follow. The success of the English Church is thought to have much to do with die success of its monasteries, and not the episcopal sees founded generally on Roman city sites. In Worcester, however, it seems that die bishops had a consistently high degree of control on the development of all die important aspects of monasticism. This picture of the eighth-century Church fills out to a complex chapter on the administrative realities of the reigns of die Mercian over-kings ¿Cdielbald and Offa, during which the significance of terms like monasterium and mynster could vary tremendously.

Even so, die monastic component of die religious culture dominates, and die rest of the book deals widi die extensive literary expression of tíiis fact. On die evidence of biblical study, letter writing, and poetry and prose diese bishops and monastics built a strong and anachronistic pastoral system which, diough it was soon eclipsed by Mercia, stands as a lively rebuke to many traditional generalizations about Anglo-Saxon religious culture. It is too early to generalize about die pre-Conquest Church, Dr. Sims-Williams observes, and this is the substance of his book.

He is undoubtedly right about the importance of deep local studies. He is right as well to choose from such a broad range of sources: some multi-disciplinary study is absolutely necessary to elevate die art of the historian. The clarity with which he does this is truly impressive. One could wish for a brassier conclusion; he may be more cautious dian he needs to be about what we can learn from die Hwicce and the Magonsaetan, and perhaps subsequent work should deal with the continuity of institutions. Still, this book is an exemplar for high-order scholarship, and it will survive as such.

Duncan G. Fisher

New Haven, Connecticut

Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France. By Megan McLaughlin. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 306. $32.50.)

By "early medieval" Dr. McLaughlin understands the period between the mid-eighth century and ca 1100. The thesis of her book is that, during it, prayer for the dead followed a distinctive pattern which differed from what came before and followed after and which reflected current social, economic, and cultural structures. By 750, people were no longer participating directly in most rituals for the dead but sought to be associated with clerical, and especially monastic, devotions on behalf of die faithful departed. The consequence was an age of ecclesiological symbolism; a prime manifestation was the collective service which spiritual communities undertook on behalf of the dead. After 1100, this rapidly changed. Prayer for die dead became dissociated from the context in which it had been performed and, in line wiüi the commercial emphasis of later medieval society, became more of a commodity. If it became theologically more sophisticated, it also became more numerical and even mechanical.

Dr. McLaughlin's monograph has solid merits. She offers a conspectus, much needed by Anglophone readers, of the recent historical study of the commemoration of the dead. Such study was promoted in the second half of die nineteenth century by Delisle in France and the Monumentists in Germany until, in 1890, Adalbert Ebner published his still useful survey of commemorative practices up to Carolingian times. Relative neglect followed until after World War II, which was followed by a major revival, especially but by no means only in the Münster-Freiburg school. In her first two chapters, Dr. McLaughlin discusses the funerary ceremonies that followed die death of an individual, and then prayer for the dead collectively and the continuing commemoration of individuals. The core of the book, and its strongest part, is constituted by two further chapters on the laity and liturgical communities, noting the different treatment of humiles and potentes. A long final chapter on the ideology of prayer for the dead is less successful because more couched in generalities.

Dr. McLaughlin's principal contention is that early medieval rituals for the dead were primarily "associative," that is, their symbolism exhibited the complex relationships that bound the intercessors with the dead and the divine. She has surprisingly little to say about die biblical citations and references which suggest more individual preoccupations. Perhaps the most often attested is Christ's mysterious saying about the mammon of iniquity (Luke 16:8), which was used to suggest how the tables might be turned upon a corrupt world by diverting its goods to endow and to win a part in the prayers and good works of the monks. Abbot Odilo of Cluny's statute about AU Souls Day ends with the thought that everyone in God's household should offer according to his means lest he share the fate of the slothful servant who hid his

talent in a napkin. A just balance between the individual and the social is difficult to strike. However, it is probably significant that confraternity with an older black-monk monastery does not seem to have established any such solidarity amongst confratres as would mark the Third Orders of the later medieval mendicants.

H. E. J. Cowdrey

St. Edmund Hall, Oxford

The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century. By Gerd Teilenbach. Translated by Timothy Reuter. [Cambridge Medieval Textbooks.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 403. $79.95 cloth, $22.95 paperback.)

This is an outstanding translation of an outstanding book; it was published originally in German as Die westliche Kirche vom 10. bis frühen 12. Jahrhundert (Göttingen, 1988). English readers will be especially grateful that Professor Reuter has updated and expanded the bibliography in accordance with English practice as well. Tellenbach's masterful survey of the history of the tenth- and the critical eleventh-century history of the Church deals with the Church as both an institution and as a spiritual body in eight chapters: "Western Christendom and its environment in the tenth and eleventh centuries" (1), "The church and its manifestations on earth" (2), "The material existence of the churches and the clergy" (3), "Religious life and thought" (4), "The beginnings of the revolution in church history" (5), "Gregory VII (1073—1085)" (6), "Continuing conflicts between established principles" (7), and "Pope, church, and Christendom" (8). A brief epilogue, a select bibliography, and a very helpful index conclude the volume which will be welcomed by scholars who are non-specialists in this field as well as by specialists, for Tellenbach, who devoted his entire scholarly life to the investigation of this period, does more than just nod in the direction of recent scholarly contributions; he reflects and comments upon them with wit and incomparable insight.

The division of the volume alone indicates that its emphasis lies on the second half of the eleventh century, the period of the so-called "Gregorian" reform. In agreement with Yves Congar and others, Tellenbach interprets this period primarily as a transformation of ecclesiology through the papal introduction of a new type of ecclesiastical government, centralization in short. The full force of this revolution and its source is revealed in Tellenbach's consideration of the tenth and early eleventh century. The author is able to show convincingly that the description of the Church as suffering in the hands of the laity—popularized many years ago by Augustin Fliehe—is anachronistic. "If the institutions of proprietary church and monastery were responsible for

so much damage as has often been maintained, usually in a radier stereotyped fashion, then one would have to blame not only lay but also clerical owners" (p. 108). The unreflected use of the term "reform" is criticized with particular insistence. "There have always been 'monastic reforms'. What was understood by Ulis varied greatly, and needs to be clarified from case to case" (p. 109). Tellenbach himself does so in exemplary manner with regard to Cluny (p. 11 Iff.), concluding that the Burgundian abbey could not have meant much to the popes of the tendí century whose political and jurisdictional activities focussed essentially on Rome and central Italy.

Thus the ecclesiological change after 1046 is attributed almost exclusively to the activity of the popes themselves, and among them especially to Gregory VII. Tellenbach differentiates this change from reforms supported by both Church and monarchy, such as the ancient struggle against simony and clerical marriage. Revolutionary changes were wrought, he argues, by die vision of the papacy as "called to lead Christendom" in a "religious, dogmatic, legal, and political sense" on the basis of the old idea of papal primacy (pp. 187, 308). According to Tellenbach, Gregory VII at one with the radical reformer Humbert of Silva Candida felt primarily compelled to secure the effectiveness of papal authority, to assert its divine origin, and to deny the same to the monarchs of Europe in pursuit of this ideal. The result was a fundamental and permanent change, primarily widiin the Church but also in the relationship between the papacy, Byzantium, and the western monarchies.

Not all questions are answered by die volume, and here and there one might disagree with the views presented, but the mosaic so carefully and learnedly constructed by Tellenbach is on the whole most persuasive, stimulating, and richly rewarding.

Uta-Renate Blumenthal

The Catholic University of America

Canon Law in the Age of Reform, 11th—12th Centuries, By John Gilchrist. [Collected Studies Series, 406.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Company. 1993. Pp. xx, 313- Î8995.)

It seems impossible to deny that a connection exists between the movement for ecclesiastical reform and developments in the canon law in the mid-eleventh and early twelfth centuries. While recent historiography has tended to minimize die direct influence of die so-called Gregorian reform by emphasizing the persistence of die canonical tradition of the earlier period, especially diat of Burchard of Worms, it is clear that along with continuity, there was significant innovation. Even if no single personality, group, or cause can, or should, be identified as the principal raison d'être, the diversity of the new appeals to the law, the very different types of canonical collections, the

obvious attempts by disparate people to apply the law to real and pressing problems if only in a polemical sense, demonstrate that the period 1049—1140 was significantly different from that which had gone before.

The twelve studies by the late John Gilchrist collected in this volume support all of these statements. While not easily summarized in a review, the articles reveal both the progressive phases of Gilchrist's ideas and his underlying preoccupation with the sources. Gilchrist was convinced at an early stage of his career of an idea of "reform rooted in diversity." A number of the articles collected here show his attempts to find the antecedents of the "Gregorian reform" in the earlier period. Articles I and II consider the life of Humbert of Silva-Candida and his doctrine of Roman primacy. (Gilchrist would, however, later reject Humbert as a subject for strictly canonistic inquiry.) In Article III, Gilchrist traced the supposed "novel principles" of the Gregorian Reform as represented by the Dictatus papae of Gregory VII in Humbertine writings and in the Diversorum patrum sententie, finding a much longer tradition for these than had previously been assumed. Gilchrist would later restrict a strictly "Gregorian" program to the decrees of the November synod of 1078 (Article VIII). In Article IV, on the heresy of simony from Leo LX to Gratian, Gilchrist showed that the supposed radicalism of Gregory VII, especially in terms of the issues of simony and clerical chastity, had to be set in context with a far older tradition and indeed controversy regarding the problem of orders. Gilchrist soon came to the conclusion that the movement for reform was "less ecclesiological, less definite and certainly not as Gregorian-oriented as formerly assumed" (Article VII). No longer seeking simply to limit the uniqueness of the Gregorian reform by tracing its antecedents, Gilchrist then questioned whether such a program had even been adequately defined. The important Articles VIII and LX, in which he charted the reception of Gregory VII in subsequent canonical collections, reflected these concerns.

One common element in these articles is the minute attention paid to the sources. It was this preoccupation that led Gilchrist to adopt what he termed a "quantitative approach," largely with unpublished canonical collections. There were certain methodological problems inherent in such an approach, as he acknowledged, notably that of determining what actually constituted a canonical collection, and what value should be given to collections surviving in only one or two manuscripts. His work on the Epístola Widonis (Article X) is an important example of this approach. Tracing one text through a number of collections and canonistic materials, he believed, might reveal important and hitherto unnoticed relationships.

It is perhaps inevitable that, with Gilchrist's tragic death, this volume will acquire a sort of memorial status. This is unfortunate in that, as his introduction shows, Gilchrist envisaged this publication as a midway point of synthesis, and clearly looked on to new projects, not least of which his much-anticipated edition of the Collection in Four Books. A far better tribute to this scholar

of canon law would be for us to assume his challenge: to rigorously examine the structure of the "reform" collections, their reception and their influence; indeed, to continue his attempt to explain how and why the period 1050—1150 was so different from that which had gone before.

Kathleen G. Cushing

Cleverdale, New York

Love and Marriage in the Middle Ages. By Georges Duby. Translated by Jane Dunnett. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. x, 231. Í37.50.)

Georges Duby brings together in this volume fifteen studies, written between 1967 and 1986, which have appeared in scattered books, journals, and occasional publications. To these Duby has added a concluding chapter, originally written in 1980 but previously unpublished, in which he surveys "Trends in Historical Research in France, 1950—1980."

The papers in this collection fall into three parts. The studies in the first and longest section discuss, as the book's title suggests they should, issues connected with love, marriage, and women's history. Part two treats patterns and changes in family structure. The final section of the book brings together seven shorter essays on a variety of general topics that range from "The History of Value Systems" to "Heresies and Societies in Preindustrial Europe between the Eleventh and Eighteenth Centuries."

The essays in part one of this book for the most part reproduce arguments that Duby has made in earlier books that are available in English, especially Medieval Marriage (1978) and The Knight, the Lady, and the Priest (1983). The essay "On Courtly Love" and Duby's introduction to the 1976 edition of the Roman de la Rose, however, present provocative readings of courtly literature that will perhaps not be familiar to an Anglophone audience.

The three papers on family structures that make up part two of Love and Marriage deal with matters that are central to Duby's scholarly interests, namely, the relationship between the French monarchy and the aristocracy in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The primary evidence that Duby relies upon in these three studies comes largely from French chronicles and other narrative sources, together with a sprinkling of information from charters. The limitations of this evidence base, in turn, significantly restrict the force of Duby's conclusions about the structure of medieval families. Important as France undeniably was in the intellectual, literary, and social life of Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it remains to be demonstrated that the marital and family relationships that characterized the French military and landholding elite in those two centuries faithfully reflected conditions elsewhere in Christendom or in social groups other than the high aristocracy.

Even for France, moreover, the abundant evidence that still lies fallow in other types of documents, notably in the poorly explored records of the French ecclesiastical courts, might well present quite a different picture of the family structures that prevailed, not only among the aristocracy, but also among peasants and city dwellers during the thirteenth and following centuries.

The third part of Love and Marriage presents a medley of seven studies, mostly brief, on grand themes that range from the history of value systems to Duby's report on trends in French historical research.

Duby quite properly compares the studies in this volume to "the pages of a workshop notebook." They constitute a progress report on work that he was engaged in over roughly two decades. Readers may differ widely in their reactions to these fragments from Duby's workbench, but many will find them stimulating and suggestive, although even their author would be reluctant to claim that they present definitive solutions to the problems that they explore.

James A. Brundage

University of Kansas

Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages By Richard Marks. (Buffalo, New York: University of Toronto Press. 1993· Pp. xxvi, 301; 30 color plates, 200 black and white figures. $85.00.)

Earlier in Ulis century a number of general histories of stained glass in England were published; these were followed by numerous detailed treatments of windows in one or more locale, including five titles that have been published in the international Corpus Vitrearum series. A book that draws this material into a lengthy and probing new synthesis is, therefore, timely, and the author is eminently qualified for the task.

One of the great merits of his book is the space given—the first 100 pages—to general topics of current interest to social historians. "Donors and Patrons," "Technique . . . and die Organization of Workshops," "Iconography," and "Domestic Glass," before embarking on a "Chronological Survey" in Part II (pp. 105—246). The scant published documents that shed some light on the ways in which pre-fourteenth-century glazing was financed are drawn together (pp. 3-4), followed by a discussion of the abundant donor 'portraits' and documents from the later periods. The author rightly alludes to the "English connections" of the early representations of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine as donors in the east window of Poitiers Cathedral, but cautions against taking all later royal arms as an indication of royal donations (p. 10). Under "Technique," centers of glass production are discussed, and the conclusion supported that colored glasses were at all times imported from the continent (pp. 29—31). The author gives valuable surveys of records of individual glass

painters, guilds, and wages (pp. 40-47), and of prices for glass and windows (pp. 48-51).

The late medieval documentary evidence for the spiritual functions of windows and for donors' specific wishes in the selection of subjects is emphasized in the section on iconography (pp. 59-91). The case is well argued that didactic themes in windows had a powerful effect on their medieval viewers, despite the frequent modern quibble that windows are hard to see (pp. 59-61). This section takes particular note of subjects that have some claim to be "English," such as the life and miracles of Thomas Becket, and even St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read (p. 75). Themes from catechism are very clearly laid out in relation to the Church's mission to instruct the laity (pp. 78—81).

In Part II we learn that recent archaeological finds, in addition to the famous fragments from Bede's monastery at Jarrow, have served to carry a well established and continuous history of glass painting in England back to the seventh century (pp. 105—1 12). Fully utilized throughout are documents and drawings that often survived iconoclasm and neglect better than the windows themselves (Pl. XXX, figs. 104, 109, 114, 117, 121, 124, 129, 150, 176, 180, 197—200; notable among these are the superb mid-nineteenth-century watercolor tracings by Charles Winston). These are of especial assistance in a valuable section on "The Reformation and After," in which the effects of iconoclasm and restoration are discussed (pp. 229—246). Also notable are the number of significant comparisons the author is able to make with contemporary works in other media, most frequently with paintings in manuscripts, but also with panel paintings, sculpture, tiles, tomb brasses, and printed block books (figs. 12, 24, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 48, 91, 97, 107, 126, 133, 138, 140, 151). Relationships to continental works are also kept in sight. The discussion of these connections helps to transform the parochial character of "glass studies." Furthermore, architectural contexts are illustrated as well as discussed throughout, so that the reader can apprehend the complementary nature of windows and stonework in the Gothic period (figs. 32, 35, 76, 78, 92, 116, 123, 132, 182-183).

The book is handsomely produced, though with color plates that are very slightly greenish to this reviewer's eye; the excellent black and white figures are liberally distributed through the text, and their referencing in the margins as well as the italicization of sites within the text assists the retrieval of information. Footnotes, placed at the end of the volume no doubt to avoid further cluttering of the text page, are clear and succinct, with an apparently complete grasp of bibliographic sources; the only impediment to their use is the lack of a header indicating the chapter or text pages they refer to. Overall very few errors were noted (e.g., the situation of Sens in ducal Burgundy instead of the royal domaine, p. 75).

Madeline H. Caviness

Tufts University

Beginen im Bodenseeraum, By Andreas Wilts. [Bodensee-Bibliothek, Band 37] (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1994. Pp. 508; 1 color plate. DM 78,-.)

In this meticulously researched Habilitationsschrift Andreas Wilts has examined the Béguines from two methodological perspectives. First, he has employed a regional approach, that is, he has looked at all the houses of Béguines situated in the Lake Constance region, which he defines as the area which was under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan friaries in Constance, Lindau, Überlingen, and Schaffhausen. This analysis is based on a 169-page appendix that contains the histories of all known communities of Béguines in the region prior to the Reformation. Second, Wilts seeks explanations that do justice to the diversity of the movement, both geographically and chronologically. Previous scholars, in his opinion, have offered either general explanations that have concentrated on only one facet of the movement (for example, Karl Bücher's view that béguinages were asylums for unwanted women is based largely on late-medieval evidence) or have written descriptions of individual convents that have ignored the broader interpretive questions.

The first appearance of the Béguines in the region in the second decade of the thirteenth century was part of the European-wide search for apostolic perfection. Wilts rejects Joseph Greven's thesis that the Béguines were frustrated nuns who were forced to develop their unique lifestyle because the older male orders refused to assume the care of additional nunneries. Rather, they were women who sought to live an active life in the world supported by their own work and begging but who were impeded by their gender from doing so. The movement's diversity was caused by the women's differing responses to Ulis conundrum. If anything, religious opportunities for women in the Diocese of Constance had declined in the twelfth century as the few existing double houses were dissolved. Here, I would have liked an explanation why the region was so inhospitable to women religious compared, say, to Saxony in the tenth century or the Archdiocese of Salzburg, where Benedictine and Augustinian double houses flourished during the High Middle Ages.

Communities of Béguines founded before 1230, normally by women inspired by the preaching of the Fifth Crusade, were transformed into Benedictine and Cistercian nunneries. The most important were affiliated with the Cistercian Abbey of Salem. After the appearance of the friars, die women gravitated toward them. The more traditional Dominicans with their emphasis on learned contemplation, at first reluctantly and after the 1250's deliberately, encouraged the Béguines' claustration. The Franciscans' own ideals were more attuned to the women's aspirations, and most of the remaining Béguines, roughly 80 percent in the Later Middle Ages, became Franciscan tertiaries. Wilts emphasizes that while there were significant differences in the social composition of individual houses, the majority of Béguines, whether or not

they became nuns or lived in the countryside, were of urban origin. He presents his findings about the Béguines' social origins in an appendix. The movement was thus a response to both the problems and the opportunities created by medieval urbanization.

The publication of the Constitutions of Vienne in 1317 accelerated the institutionalization of the movement; the Béguines were forced to become Franciscan tertiaries to escape the suspicion of heresy. Some of die urban houses remained true to the original ideals of ministering to the needy but were closely supervised by the municipal authorities. The majority of new late-medieval foundations were established in the countryside, but these communities were small. These rural Béguines assumed many of the characteristics of inclusae whose cells were attached to a parish church or anchoresses. It is impossible in a short review to do justice to the complexity of Wilts's arguments, but his book is required reading for anyone with an interest in the Béguines.

John B. Freed

Illinois State University

Eckhardus Theutonicus, homo docttis et sanctus. Nachweise und Berichte zum Prozess gegen Meister Eckhart Edited by Heinrich Stirnimann in collaboration with Ruedi Imbach. [Dokimion, Band 11.] (Freiburg/ Schweiz: Universitätsverlag. 1992. Fp. x, 312. 49 S.Fr. paperback.)

In the 1980's a movement to request an official reconsideration of the 1329 condemnation of excerpts from Meister Eckhart's writings began to gather strength, both in the Dominican Order and in wider circles of readers of the great Dominican mystic and theologian. Given recent Vatican willingness to reverse earlier judgments, as in the Galileo case, the time seemed ripe for such a request, though not all readers of Eckhart (including myself) found it either necessary or appropriate.

This volume of essays is intended to contribute to this effort, at least in part, by providing new information and consideration of the actual condemnation process itself—one of the best known and most fully documented of all medieval condemnations for heresy. Like so many collective volumes, however, the title is not really fulfilled by what we find in the volume. This is not to say that a number of the essays in Eckardus Theutonicus are not useful contributions to recent Eckhartian scholarship.

Four of the eight essays have substantial relevance to John XXII's condemnation. Winfried Trusen provides a competent, if not original, overview of the whole process, stressing the canonistic aspects of the Cologne and Avignon proceedings. The long article of Tiziana Suárez-Nani on the interpretation of

those articles that were finally censured in the Bull In agro dominico is often insightful in its detail, but suffers from a perspective that is more interested in showing how the Avignon investigators misunderstood Eckhart than in uncovering how they also disagreed with him. At least some Eckhart scholars may be inclined to think that had the inquisitors understood him better the comdemnation would have been even more severe. This judgment would not be shared by all, as witnessed by E.-H. Weber's article. "Maître Eckhart et la grande tradition théologique." Massively documented, but fundamentally wrong, this article seems designed to demonstrate that there is no difference between Eckhart and Thomas Aquinas, especially on the issue of mystical union. By far the best article in the collection is that of Georg Steer, demonstrating how the German sermons ascribed to Eckhart and excerpted by the inquisitors are far more the product of his authentic "authorship" (with all the medieval complexity of the term) than much previous scholarship has been willing to admit.

The other essays in the volume deal with aspects of the Dominican's reputation and therefore have sometimes marginal connection to the condemnation itself. Among these we can single out those of Loris Sturlese which provides important information on how Eckhart's writings continued to provide a resource for theology in German-speaking rearms in the fourteenth century, as well as the lengthy and provocative piece of Alois M. Haas, "Aktualität und Normativität Meister Eckharts." Haas's essay raises issues of how Eckhart's theology relates to the wider normative theological tradition that go beyond the scope of the historical essays found in this volume and makes it obvious that theological and dogmatic evaluations of Eckhart's thought can still provide food for contemporary thought.

Bernard McGinn

Divinity School
University of Chicago

The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy. By Daniel E. Bornstein. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 232. S32.50.)

If this book had nothing else to commend it, it would serve to inform the Anglophone student about a religious movement of some interest which has hitherto been treated principally in Italian. In fact, the merits of Bornstein's book are much more considerable. Some recent writing on the background to the English Reformation, though more polemical in tone, belongs to a related historiographical trend. The thrust is to remind, or convince, us that late medieval men and women accepted, to all appearances willingly, the sacraments and devotional practices offered them by the Church. Religion

may have functioned as social control, but it did so with the complicity of its subjects; and as Bornstein emphasizes in an enlightening first chapter on "The Religious Culture of Late Medieval Italy," clerical regulation even of the sacraments was, in this pre-Tridentine world, less complete than we may suppose. Readers may add their own illustrative examples to Bornstein's. Jean de Joinville, in his life of St. Louis, relates how a companion of arms on crusade, anticipating slaughter at the hands of the infidel, knelt and confessed his sins to him; in the thirteenth century, he clearly believed that "a dying penitent could confess to and receive absolution from a layman" (pp. 13—14).

Miri Rubin's study of Corpus Christi has increased our knowledge of popular devotional uses of the eucharist. If the clerical monopoly over the consecration of the eucharist was unquestioned (except by outright heretics), it was otherwise with baptism. Bornstein quotes the Exultatio Dei of Eugenius IV (1439) which affirmed both the indispensability of baptism and the permissibility of its performance by anyone, man or woman, in case of necessity. It might have been helpful to stress that this permission was no novelty. The first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which enunciated the doctrine of transubstantiation and simultaneously restricted the power of consecration to the ordained priest also, in explicit contrast, reminded the faithful that baptism could be performed "by anyone whatsoever" in accordance with the formula specified by the Church.

The Bianchi processing behind their crucifixes were accompanied by their priests; they dutifully heard Mass and listened to sermons. Yet the apparent seamlessness of the web of devotion and practice which enveloped both clergy and laity can raise problems of interpretation. Bornstein distinguishes a secondary phase in the movement, in which members of die clergy deliberately promoted and manipulated devotions, and in which local elites, lay and ecclesiastical, were accorded greater prominence. This he contrasts with the social inclusiveness and cohesiveness of the original demonstrations, and adduces evidence that observers sensed a different, and diminished, value in what was now happening. Conceding that "distinct groups formed on the basis of social ties" did in fact play a part in the original devotions, Bornstein nonetheless stresses (p. 115) that they were described by observers "as undifferentiated wholes, in which all social distinctions were subsumed in a fundamental unity," which "could not last." In fact, we are not told how the first processions originated; the initiatives behind them, lay or ecclesiastical, are invisible. To conclude from the manner in which the chroniclers chose to describe them that they were not orchestrated by higher authority is, in part at least, an argument ex silentio; it may be true, but is not entirely demonstrable.

Bornstein argues that the undifferentiated inclusiveness of the original processions gave them their (temporary) value as agencies of peacemaking. Here it should be observed, if only for the sake of clarification, that the concern with peacemaking evinced by the Bianchi and their spectators was not in any

sense a new one which had somehow overtaken a preoccupation with social justice and ill-gotten wealth in the popular mind (cf. pp. 203-205). Augustine Thompson has written of the Great Devotion of 1233: "The preaching of the Alleluia was itself, above all, the preaching of peace." The mendicant peace-making activity of 1233—preaching, the sponsoring of formal acts of pacification, and legislation—was clearly of a different character from what happened in 1399; it is a comparison that might with advantage be pursued further and integrated into a fuller picture of the endless, hopeless quest for peace in the Italian city and of its religious dimension. The Virgin, who played a prominent part in 1399, was a peacemaker of long standing; the statutes of Siena ca. 1300 specifically permitted notaries to redact not only wills but peace agreements on the Feast of the Assumption, although the making of other types of contract was forbidden.

It is a virtue in any book that it suggests further projects. For this, and for much else, Bornstein is to be congratulated.

Diana M. Webb

University of London
King's College

Early Modern European

Konrad Braun (ca. 1495—1563): ein katholischer Jurist, Politiker, Kontroverstheologe und Kirchenreformer im konfessionellen Zeitalter. By Maria Barbara Rössner. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Band 130.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1991. Pp. xxxix, 435. DM 98,—.)

Konrad Braun, author of influential treatises on heresy law and sedition, was also active in imperial church politics and the conservative side of the Catholic Reform. He is now almost completely unknown, partly because his major works are too long and partly because in his active life he worked behind the scenes. Any study of Braun's work is thus a contribution to our knowledge. Maria Rössner's book, originally a dissertation directed by Konrad Repgen, gives much more than an ordinary biography: it makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of German Catholicism in the mid-sixteenth century.

Rössner's study is organized into biographical categories which are defined broadly enough to allow room for some analysis of Braun's thought. She has made thorough use of manuscript sources, as well as of early printed works, and presents Braun's career with a degree of detail not usually found in biographies. For example, her reconstruction of the inventory of Braun's library provides a valuable glimpse of the intellectual world of a German cleric.

Likewise, her presentation of Braun's services for court, church, and university helps us both to appreciate his work and to understand those complex institutions more deeply. Braun's importance unfolds in the fascinating discussions of his work at imperial commissions and Diets, but Rössner is not pleading the case of neglected importance. Rather, she presents a figure whose versatility made him useful in die highest circles. Such a thesis courts the danger that any unifying definition of his work will be lost in the multiplicity of activities. The unity here rests on the fact that Braun's assignments were in die service of the Church. Whether that is a sufficient unifying principle for a biography is a reader's decision. Usefulness without a strong sense of purpose tends to make an historical figure more passive than active and thus to undermine a claim to our interest.

Braun the theologian complements Braun the diplomat and jurist. This is a new side of Braun, for most of his dogmatic works, like his copious Catechism, remain in manuscript. The reporting of Braun's unpublished work shows Rössner's usual care, but one questions the necessity of the detail, for Braun was not an original thinker, nor an influential one outside of ecclesiology. He was a voice of die inherited tradition, and the unity of his thought is the coherence of the tradition. Moreover, the theologian and the diplomat remain unconnected. The subtitle of the book announces its major weakness, for we do not see die four roles blending into one career. Braun's activities as controversialist and reformer turn out to be minor alongside his juristic work. This book would have been more unified had it identified Braun as a canon jurist and ecclesiastical diplomat and presented his several roles as aspects of that career. Even in his dogmatic works Braun describes himself as a "jurisconsult," and that is how he was known among his contemporaries.

To wish for a more closely focused presentation is not to show ingratitude for the wealth of material in this book. As a result of Rössner's work we have a full picture of a complex, influential, but still somewhat enigmatic figure. The thoroughness of this biography places it among die most valuable contributions to scholarship in an important but still largely neglected area of Catíiolic history.

One omission needs noting: the classic article on Braun by Nikolaus Paulus is cited by author's last name in die notes but is missing in the bibliography. It is "Dr. Konrad Braun, ein katholischer Rechtsgelehrter des 16. Jahrhunderts," Historisches Jahrbuch, 14 (1893), 517-548.

Ralph Keen

University of Iowa

The Irish Dominicans, 1536—1641. By Thomas S. Flynn, O.P. (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Four Courts Press. Order from International Specialized Book Services, Inc., 5804 N.E. Hassalo Street, Portland, Oregon 97213-3644. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 379. Î55.00.)

Well written and impressively researched, Father Flynn's book joins that growing body of good, modern material, now being made available, about the Counter-Reformation in Ireland. Having suffered from comparative neglect by historians, the history of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries benefits today from much research and from regular publication of the results of such scholarly effort. Attention is paid to civil history, but that cannot be written without discussing the religious life of the country. This book is a valuable contribution to the latter.

In 1536, when Henry VIII's breach with Rome was extended to his lordship of Ireland, the Irish Dominicans were not the most spiritually healthy group in the Irish Church, because many had become accustomed to a restful and untroubled existence. The Observant movement within the Orders in Ireland had already begun to make its mark and was one of the reasons why the government was hostile to all friars as it attempted to sever the Irish link with Rome. Some Dominican communities managed to survive for decades, but all were dispersed under Elizabeth I, and religious formation at home became impossible; so it became accepted policy to send young Dominicans abroad for study.

The European link thus established, as it was for other Orders, became an essential element in the Irish Counter-Reformation and was fundamental in its success. This European-based revival of the Irish Dominicans began about 1580, was part of die intellectual renaissance of the whole Order, and resulted in Irish foundations in Lisbon (1615) and Louvain (1625), with the foundation of a house for Irish Dominican nuns in Portugal in 1639.

The Dominicans were spared the severe ethnic tensions between Old English and Gaelic Irish which troubled the Franciscans, and they flourished so much when the Catholic revival became established in the early years ofJames I that an Irish Province was formally established in 1622. There were nineteen houses in 1632, and Irish Dominican life, when war returned to Ireland in 1641, was healthier than it had been two hundred years previously.

One of the strengths of this book is the portrayal of many individual Dominicans, whose careers have been traced through many European archives. Prominent among them are Eugene O'Hart, Bishop of Achonry from 1562 to 1603 (one of the five Dominicans who held Irish dioceses at the time), Ross MacGeoghan, provincial for ten years from 1617 and Bishop of Kildare from 1629 to 1644, and, most fascinating of all, Dominic O'Daly, who developed the house at Lisbon into a college in the 1630's, identified himself completely with the cause of Portuguese independence, and died in 1662 as bishop-elect of Coimbra and president of the State Council of Portugal.

Survival and revival of the Irish Dominicans, and of other Orders in Ireland, was based on the Irish reception of renewed Catholicism, but there were negative aspects to the story. The mendicants presumed, wrongly, that they could return to their medieval foundations, with all their former rights. There

was tension between the Franciscans, who were by far the largest Order in Ireland, and other friars. Feuding and bickering between the Orders was to the detriment of their spiritual mission in Ireland. During the 1630's there was serious discord between diocesan and regular clergy, particularly in Munster. All these quarrels hampered the catechizing of the Gaelic Irish, who were the vast majority of the population.

Continental education broke down barriers at home, leading to a modus Vivendi between the Gaelic Irish and Old English, who constituted the Irish Catholic population. It was the international organization of the Orders which caused the greatest opposition amongst generations of Protestant administrators in Ireland, but this organization was the basis of the vigorous revival of the Dominicans in most areas which had a medieval foundation, with the exception of heavily-planted Ulster. The courage and faith of the Irish Dominicans was shown in die period of civil war and Cromwellian conquest which began as this book ends, because, between 1641 and 1657 at least thirty-five of the province were put to death.

The footnotes and appendices enhance this excellent book and the only mistake which meets the eye is on page 151, where Nicholas Skerret, Archbishop of Tuam from 1580 to 1583, is erroneously described as a Jesuit.

Fergus O'Donoghue, SJ.

Milltown Institute
Dublin Ireland

Rekatholisierung, Konfessionalisierung und Ratsregiment: Der Prozess des politischen und religiösen Wandels in der österreichischen Stadt Konstanz, 1548-1637. By Wolfgang Zimmermann. [Konstanzer Geschichts) und Rechtsquellen, Neue Folge der Konstanzer Stadtrechtsquellen, XXXIV.] (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1994. Fp. 328. DM 78,—.)

The past thirty years have seen a steady stream of monographs on the theme of Reformation and the city in Central Europe, but only recently has the topic "Catholic Reform in the Cities" stirred an interest among early modern German historians. True, there has not been a lack of interest in Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire, but the historiography on the Catholic reform hitherto has focused on church history, with emphasis on biographies of reform bishops, histories of new religious orders, and explorations of diocesan visitation records. The study of Wolfgang Zimmermann represents a new trend, one in which the methods and questions associated with social and cultural history are applied to elicit the relationship between society and religion during the Catholic renewal.

The imperial city of Constance on the Swiss border lost its political autonomy when it capitulated to imperial forces during the 1547 Schmalkaldic War. As part of the restructuring of political forces, the victorious Emperor Charles V placed Constance directly under Habsburg rule, hoping thereby to break the nexus between civic autonomy and Protestant dissent that seemed to have characterized the majority of the imperial cities in the empire. Zimmermann's study begins with this politico-confessional restructuring in Constance and ends with the Thirty Years' War (the year 1637 being the end of the Swedish siege). Divided into four chapters, Zimmermann offers both a thematic structural analysis and a chronological narrative of the history of the urban community. Chapter 1 analyzes the crucial years 1548 to 1551 when a new Catholic oligarchic regime was put in place by the Habsburg. The constellation of power between a Catholic ruling minority, a Protestant citizenry in opposition, a Habsburg regime, and the interest of the Catholic bishop are laid out for the following chapters. The next chapter pursues the theme of civic autonomy and territorial politics. The ruling Catholic elite continued to pursue a policy of restoring Constance to its former status as an imperial city, in spite of its professed loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty and the Catholic Church. Zimmermann's analysis suggests that civic autonomy in sixteenth-century Germany was not necessarily identified with Protestantism, contrary to the influential thesis advanced by Bernd Möller in his 1962 essay, "Reichsstadt und Reformation." The strong presence of Protestants in Constance also strengthened the hand of the Catholic ruling elite in that the arguments for civic peace and unity outweighed the considerations of confessional uniformity.

It was precisely the considerations of civic peace that allowed the Constance burghers to resist recatholicization. Desirable as the goal of Catholic uniformity might be to the Habsburg rulers, they were not prepared to provoke civic unrest that would jeopardize their rule. As Zimmermann demonstrates in Chapter 3, the attempts at introducing Catholic reforms to Constance met with persistent and strong opposition from the civic community. The bishops of Constance found ambivalent support in Innsbruck for their effort to restore ecclesiastical jurisdiction; city fathers and Habsburg princes formed a common front in this matter to defend lay interest against clerical pretensions. In the last third of die sixteenth century, civic opposition significantly hindered the settlement of the Jesuits and Capuchins, although the new religious orders eventually succeeded in establishing their presence. The Catholic resurgence, therefore, was not a development imposed politically from above. Rather, it represented a gradual process of change in the religious beliefs and behavior of die citizens. The last chapter of the book analyzes diese longterm trends. The loss of political power by the Protestants condemned them to a permanent disadvantage in the peaceful confessional competition during the early modern period. In spite of persistent opposition to the Counter-Reformation, the norms and behavior of a resurgent Catholicism gained die upper hand in Constance, as reflected in testamentary bequests and pious donations. The political and confessional restructuring created an environment in which die steady effort

of the Jesuits and Capuchins eventually yielded fruit. During the Thirty Years' War Constance remained loyal to the imperial dynasty and withstood a long siege by the Protestant Swedish army.

The story of this development is reconstructed from rich archival material in Constance and Innsbruck. A prosopography of Protestants in Constance, graphs and tables of pious donations, and selected documents from the archives all add to the solidity of this work. This is a thorough, well-conceived, and reliable monograph, a tribute to its author and the tradition on religion and urban society at the University of Tübingen.

R. Po-CHIA Hsia

New York University

Aloisius Lippomano (1555—1557). Edited by Henricus Damianus Wojtyska, CP. [Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae, Tomus III/I.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae. 1993. Pp. xliii, 500.)

I reviewed for Ulis journal (LXXVII [July, 1991], 516) die first volume of Ulis series, which presented an overview of die whole series, projected for sixty tomes: fifty-six for die old Polish Commonwealth from 1519 to 1797 and four for the restored Republic, 1919 to 1939. The current volume covers only the short nunciature of Aloyse Lippomano, Bishop of Verona, to Poland during die pontificate of the archconservative Paul IV (1555—1559). The main part of die volume prints 130 documents, basically the correspondence of Lippomano pertinent to his mission, plus several papal letters of credence to Polish dignitaries and three letters of the Jesuit Alonso Salmerón, Lippomano's theological advisor, to Ignatius of Loyola. Sixty-six documents are in Italian, three in Spanish (Salmerón's letters), and the rest are in Latin. A long appendix prints thirty-four more documents, all but two in Latin, which shed light on Lippomano's mission. Both sets of documents are arranged chronologically; all are prefaced by a Latin summary, and there are copious explanatory footnotes in Latin. The long introduction (in Latin) summarizes Lippomano's career previous to his appointment as nuncio to Poland; his healdi declined while in Poland, and he died two years after his return to Italy. The introduction then discusses the archival sources of the documents and concludes widi a bibliography. The volume has fifty-one pages of indices.

What can these documents tell historians? Many of them deal widi routine ecclesiastical administration. Several discuss the deep-seated problems of the Polish Catholic Church and the advance of Polish Protestantism (mainly Lutheranism) bodi as a theological movement and as an institutional church. King Sigismund II (1548-1572) tended to rebut Cadiolic demands mat he uproot heresy by pointing to the rights which the Diet had granted the nobility on their estates. Several documents suggest remedies to die situation. Many

Catholics argued for married clergy, vernacular liturgy, and communion sub utraque, but Paul IV was adamant against such concessions. The most interesting documents deal with Bishop John Drohojowski of Wroclaw, who was repeatedly accused of fostering heresy—charges he denied. Similar charges were made against Bishop Andrew Zebrzydowski of Krakow. Another series of documents deal with Dorothy Lazecka, who received the eucharist and was accused of selling it to several Jews; King Sigismund ordered her to be burnt. The accused Jews were also punished. My own research has involved reading the nuncios' reports from the 1580's, in which relations with the Orthodox figured prominently—a subject about which the Lippomano documents are almost silent.

Wojtyska is the leading authority in this area. This is his fourth volume in the series; in 1977 he published a volume in Polish on diplomatic relations between Poland and the papacy from 1548 to 1563. The present volume is a work of excellent scholarship which libraries with strong collections in Polish or church history should purchase.

John Patrick Donnelly, S.J.

Marquette University

Réforme protestante, Réforme catholique dans la province d'Avignon au XVIe siècle. By Marc Venard. [Histoire Religieuse de la France, Vol. 1.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 1993. Pp. 1280. 340 F.)

The appearance of this book is an event to be hailed. France's Société d'Histoire Religieuse, which from 1912 to 1977 produced the worthy "Bibliothèque d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France," has resumed sponsoring a publication series. As the inaugural volume of its new series, it has presented us with one of the finest studies ever written about the religious history of sixteenth-century Europe.

Marc Venard's thèse de doctorat d'état was originally entitled "L'église d'Avignon au XVIe"* siècle" when it was completed in 1977. It was then, and remains today, the richest, most thorough, and most accomplished local study of religious life in late medieval and early modern France yet undertaken. Standing within the important French tradition of studies of the implementation of the reforms of the Council of Trent in individual dioceses that has produced so many exemplary monographs over the past three decades, it at die same time transcends that tradition, for it complements a sympathetic study of the visions of reform advanced by different religious elites and die degree to which they were implemented at the parish level with a sensitive ethnographic approach that explores what religion meant in the lives of individuals of different social backgrounds. Those who have had the good fortune to read one of the copies of the thesis that specialists have passed from hand

to hand since it was duplicated in 1980 by the Service de Reproduction des Thèses at Lille have long recognized its many merits, but its 2,466 typed pages understandably discouraged publishers. One can only applaud the decision of the Société d'Histoire Religieuse to subsidize its unrevised and virtually uncondensed publication.

The study is a total religious history of the erstwhile Papal seat and its hinterland: five small bishoprics (Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaillon, Orange, and Vaison), encompassing and sprawling slightly beyond the borders of the Comtat Venaissin and the principality of Orange. Because of Avignon's subordination to Rome, the region was recognized long ago by such historians as Henri Brémond and Paul Broutin as the initial bridgehead in France of Tridentine reform and of the "mystical invasion" that shaped the spirituality of the early part of the "century of the saints." But the region was also the home of Luther's first important French disciple, François Lambert, of numerous Waldensians, and of such a powerful Reformed movement around 1560—particularly in the principality of Orange, where a "revolutionary Reformation" temporarily drove out Catholic worship in 1561—that a Protestant triumph was averted only by more than a year's fighting in 1562-1563. The region was thus far more than a bastion of Catholicism. It represents a fascinating lab) oratory in which to view the religious changes of the sixteenth century, at once sui generis because of the distinctive political status of both Avignon and Orange, yet partaking of many of the same trends and events that affected the kingdom that surrounded it. It is also blessed with exceptionally rich archives.

No brief review can do justice to the book that Venard produced after nearly twenty years of research in those archives. Its scope is vast, and every topic that it treats is examined in considerable and consistently illuminating detail. Highlights include a rich and nuanced depiction of the character of the local religious life in the years 1500-1525—Venard finds not the "Christendom living in anguish, intensely focussed on the mysteries of suffering and the threat of judgment" perhaps characteristic of other parts of Europe, but "a far more moderate, balanced, and even pacified religion" (p. 237)—an exemplary dissection of the uneasy mixture of co-operation and hostility that marked Catholic-Protestant relations in the region in the last part of the century, and a long concluding "sociography" that explores the religious functions of local communities, guilds, youth groups, and confraternities, then sketches the religious practices first of the regional elites and then of the "popular classes." But every chapter commands the reader's interest and attention. All display the book's many merits: its massive evidentiary base, deft use of visual as well as written sources, equally deft employment of the methods of serial religious history, sympathy for all of the competing visions of Christianity that it explores, and careful avoidance of reductive interpretive schema and of analytical categories that obscure more than they reveal.

A schematic outline of the book will indicate its full scope. The first two chapters introduce readers to the city and its hinterland. Next are explored the character of local religious life in the years 1500-1525; Christian hu-

manism in the region; the Waldensian proselytization from 1526 onward and the violent persecution that this called forth; the first weak steps of Catholic reform attempted around mid-century; the foundation of Reformed churches and the showdown of 1562—1563; the subsequent course of the Wars of Religion; and the introduction and advance of the Tridentine reforms, die new religious orders, and the novel practices that they championed. Then comes the "sociography." Finally, an extended conclusion evaluates the significance of the century's changes for the broader history of Western Christendom. In the final balance sheet, Venard, rather like John Bossy, discerns the century's deepest trends to have involved a clericalization of religion and a partial detachment of lay religious practice from the organizing structures of community life. For men in particular, these changes represented a loss of religious autonomy. This helped to prepare the way for their detachment from the faith in later centuries.

More than fifteen years after its original completion, Venard's study remains a masterpiece. Now that it has finally been published, it should obtain the audience that it deserves.

Philip Benedict

Brown University

The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait. By Margaret Aston. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 267. $59.95.)

One of the advantages of living in the late twentieth century is that we have no difficulty in understanding the impact of visual images. At a time when Rwandans, Bosnians, and others of the world's afflicted process daily across our television screens, the instinct of the iconoclast is easily aroused. Our parents, whose information system was dominated by the "wireless," may have been better equipped to understand the effect of a two-hour sermon. Our grandparents, for whom newspapers still consisted mainly of printed words, were certainly more attuned to tracts and broadsheets. But never since the Reformation has a generation been better adjusted to visual propaganda than ours. It is appropriate, therefore, that this eccentric and sometimes brilliant book should appear in 1994.

Its subject is a single intriguing but totally undistinguished picture now hanging in the Tudor gallery of the National Portrait Gallery in London. It depicts the dying Henry VIII passing on the legacy of his antipapal struggle to his son, Edward VI. Edward is attended by his councillors, headed by the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset, and under the king's feet, in postures of varying subjection and subversive action, are the pope and two regular religious who appear to be friars. Above the heads of the councillors

is an inset picture of a crowd destroying images, and scattered about the canvas are four other spaces which seem to have been designed to hold texts. Although classed as a group portrait, it is in fact a rather crudely executed piece of didactic propaganda. The picture has attracted a fair amount of attention in the past, and is frequently reproduced, but it has never before been subject to the kind of critical analysis which Dr. Aston exercises in this book.

The main thrust of her argument is simple and convincing. The picture does not belong to Edward VI's reign, where it has usually been assigned to the years 1548—9, but to the early part of Elizabeth's reign, probably about 1563. It does not belong to the period of active official iconoclasm, but rather to the controversial sequel, when a restored Protestant hierarchy was battling to impose its priorities upon a reluctant queen. The iconographie evidence for this dating is assembled in great detail, particularly from the Netherlands, with reference to dated works by Maarten van Heemskerk. As there is no convincing iconographie argument supporting the earlier dating, there is an element of overkill about this. The justification for the inclusion of so much of it, and in such detail, is not that it is necessary to make the case, but it makes an interesting and worthwhile story in itself. The same could be said of other parts of the book, notably the chapter on the iconography of the 1570 edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments. It is not irrelevant to the main theme, although it has only marginal connections with the group portrait. In fact, "Edward VI and the Pope" is a convenient peg upon which to hang a study of the Elizabethan iconoclastic controversy, and its ramifications into the worlds of visual propaganda and book production, both in England and in the Netherlands. Every image used in the group portrait was a cliché, or was directly borrowed from other identifiable works, and Dr. Aston analyzes all these connections with great assiduity and perception. No doubt some of her arguments will be challenged by other iconographers equally learned and diligent, but that will make little différence to the value of this book. In the process of dating a particular picture, Dr. Aston has opened up a whole aspect of the English Reformation, the existence of which has always been appreciated by historians, but which has tended to be bypassed with a few conventional observations. There will no longer be any excuse for doing that, and in the process of deepening our perceptions, Dr. Aston has also drawn attention to another aspect of Reformation propaganda, the necessity to fight like with like. A religion of the word naturally denounced images as alternative means of communication, but sixteenth-century Protestants were not at all reluctant to depict biblical heroes like Josiah and Hezekiah in the act of destroying the images which were so much hated. Paradoxically the image of the iconoclast was persuasive in Protestant culture.

This is a book which every student of the Reformation should read, and absorb the lessons of the illustrations. Dr. Aston is not unique in presenting the period in this way, but she is highly original in an English context, and however little we may think of the group portrait as art, we can certainly not

ignore it as a document appropriate to scholars who are having to readjust to visual persuasion.

David M. Loades

University College of North Wales
Bangor, Givynedd

The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640. Volume II: Works in English with Addenda and Corrigenda to Volume I. By A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers. (Brookfield, Vermont: Scolar Press. 1994. Pp. xxxv, 250. S121.95)

In 1956 Antony Allison and David Rogers published their Catalogue of Catholic Books in English printed abroad or secretly in England 1558—1640. It soon became familiar to scholars of the period as "A&R" and had an enormous influence on historians and literary students of die Elizabethan and early Stuart periods of English history. In the years since, besides numerous other scholarly activities, they have been engaged in a revision of their masterpiece. The first volume devoted to books in languages other than English appeared in 1989 (see the review in this journal, ante, LXXVI [January, 1990], 134—135). Now this second volume of works in English, as well as a few in Welsh, Gaelic, and Scots, completes the revision.

We have already seen the fruits of their researches in the second edition of the Short Title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640 (STC) published in three volumes by the Bibliographical Society of London from 1986 to 1991. The editors of the volume in hand acknowledge the co-operation they received from the late Professor W. A. Jackson and Miss Katherine Panzer, who did the STC revision. Indeed, the notices of Catholic books in STC are vastly improved.

But there is still a need for the fuller entries we have in this volume together with the very useful indices of titles, dates of publication, publishers-booksellers, and proper names. They give up to fifteen locations for each item, and the notes accompanying each entry give authorities for authorship and reference to scholarly works. All bibliographies are imperfect, but it is difficult to imagine one closer to perfection than this one. It will be a standard work for decades to come.

As one would expect in the age of the Counter-Reformation, a little under half of the items deal with theological controversy. But spirituality and works of religious devotion and popular piety are the next biggest block. There are twenty-nine editions of the Manual of Prayers and sixteen editions of the Primer or Office of the Virgin Mary. There are also spiritual treatises on prayer and asceticism by Alonso of Madrid, St. Augustine, St. Albert the Great, John of Avila, St. Robert Bellarmine, St. Bernard, St. Bonaventure, as well as two

editions of the Douay Old Testament and five editions of the Rheims New Testament to limit ourselves to the first two letters of the alphabet. In all I count about a hundred treatises of high spirituality, almost two hundred and fifty treatises of religious devotion, thirty-three catechisms, and seventy lives of saints or accounts of Catholic history, notably accounts of Catholic martyrs. That is almost half of the total corpus of 932 items. Some of these books were among the first imported by English-speaking Catholics of North America. Here we are at the headstream of American Catholic piety.

Some readers will regret that the old "A&R" numbers have been changed, but there is a concordance for easy reference. I was disappointed that the authors/translators/editors were not identified as lay or clerical or religious. It is important to know such details in studying the Franciscan or Benedictine English spiritual tradition. There are some hints in the entries and the index of proper names, but often one has to go to another source to know the background of the author or translator.

But these are small imperfections in a jewel of scholarship.

Thomas H. Clancy, SJ.

Jesuit Archives, New Orleans

Later Calvinism: International Perspectives. Edited by W. Fred Graham. [Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, Volume XXII.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc. 1994. Pp. xii, 564. 845.00.)

The twenty-six essays in this volume, though disparate in the subjects treated, do form a unity; all deal with some aspect of Calvinism during the years following Calvin's death. The essays are grouped according to an international perspective, i.e., six deal with the Swiss Confederacy, three with France, four touch on Scotland, five have reference to the Rhinelands, three with the Netherlands, and the final five with England. Before each of these geographical areas, the editor has a brief introduction, which further helps unify the essays.

Since the contributions in the volume are many and the themes discussed so varied, this notice can describe only a limited number and this will be done under three general headings: faith statements, church discipline and polity, and theology. Four deal specifically with faith statements. Edward Dowey reflects on the Second Helvetic Confession (1566) and demonstrates the high place it gives to the preaching of the Word. I. John Hesselink narrates the origin and history of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), and while admitting that Zacharias Ursinus (1534-1583) and Caspar Olevianus (1536—1587) had some share in its composition, he sees Frederick III, Elector of the

Palatinate, as its real hero. Frederick not only commissioned the catechism, but according to Hesselink, was involved in its composition from beginning to end. Lyle Bierma likewise treats the Heidelberg Catechism but limits his investigation to Olevianus' role as an author. By studying Olevianus' later work Vester Grundt, Bierma concludes that the former's involvement with the catechism may have been greater than recent critics would like to grant him. Finally, Fred Klooster's essay suggests that Calvin did approve the Heidelberg Catechism. Klooster draws this conclusion from the fact that Calvin dedicated his Jeremiah commentary to Frederick III, and in his preface to the commentary Calvin supports positions found in the catechism, especially with regard to the mode of Christ's presence in the Supper.

Several contributors' essays touch on church polity and discipline. After studying the National Synods of the French Reformed Church up to the publication (1620) of the Canons of Dort, Brian Armstrong concludes that the French Church remained faithful to its principle of semper reformando, but with the publication of the Canons it became a static ecclesia reformata. The political activism of the Reformed ministers in the Rhaetian republic is described by Randolph Head, and David Mullan treats the Scottish Covenanters' attempt to impose presbyterian polity on the Church of England. While Jeffrey Watt describes the modifications that marriage legislation underwent in Neuchâtel and Geneva during the years 1550-1800, Michael Graham studies the imposition of behavioral codes on the Scottish kirk, and Mary Black Verschuur investigates the enforcement of discipline in Perth by its minister, Patrick Galloway (1551?-1626?).

The third heading is that of theology. Catherine Randall Coats' essay suggests that Beza's Icones had evangelism as its primary goal and was not a mere edifying collection of reformers' portraits. Stephen Spencer and Martin Klauber investigate Geneva's two famous scholastic professors; the former examines Francis Turretin's (1623-1687) understanding of the covenant of nature, i.e., whether God entered into a covenant of works with Adam before the latter's fall, and the latter studies Benedict Pictet's (1655-1724) thought during the period when Reformed Orthodoxy began to yield to Enlightened Orthodoxy.

Antoine de Chandieu's (1534-1591) call for the use of Aristotelian methodology (scholasticism) in Reformed theology—it has the advantage of quickly laying bare the truth and exposing error—is probed in Donald Sinnema's offering. John Farthing's study of Jerome Zanchi's (1516—1590) eschatology reveals die latter's faithfulness to Calvin's teaching on the "last things," but not in any slavish manner. Robert Letham considers the differences in understanding the nature of saving faith and its relation to salvation in the early seventeenth century; this diversity, however, will not become controversial until a later date. Dan Danner writes on the introduction and spread of the Geneva Bible in England and attributes its popularity to its annotations and notes. Finally, Richard Greaves sees Calvin's resistance theory as the basis

for the Calvinist ministers' participation in the Rye House Plot (1683), a plan to assassinate Charles II and his brother James and, thus, keep the English throne from falling into the hands of Catholics.

The volume well demonstrates Calvinism's influence in those countries where the Genevan reformer's theological thinking had taken root.

Joseph N. Tylenda, SJ.

Woodstock Theological Center Library
Georgetown University

Stampa, libri, e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo. Edited by Nicola Raponi and Angelo Turchini. [Biblioteca di storia moderna e contemporánea, Vol. 3.] (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, Pubblicazioni dell'Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. 1992. Pp. xxxiii, 302. Lire 44.000 paperback.)

In his two decades as Archbishop of Milan, Carlo Borromeo (died 1584) recognized and exploited the power of the printing press as an instrument for control and for his great work of reform. The five essays contained in this book study key aspects of the "editorial" policy of Borromeo, which ranged from the censorship of heretical works to the foundation of a printing press directly attached to the seminary of Milan. They present interesting summaries of previous research and fresh inquiries into Milanese archives and collections.

Pride of place is given to an article by the recently deceased Enrico Cattaneo, one of the most prolific historians of the Milanese church. Although based on secondary studies and largely unedited at the time of Cattaneo's death, "La cultura di San Carlo. San Carlo e la cultura" (pp. 5—37) provides a useful overview of the education of Borromeo and his projects for the clergy, religious, and laity of the archdiocese. Cattaneo describes Borromeo, trained in the humanities and the law rather than in theology, as a man of action who assembled a team of collaborators and set in place the legal and institutional framework for implementing the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545—1563).

In "Libri e letture nella Milano de San Carlo Borromeo" (pp. 39-96), Claudia di Filippo Bareggi notes that Borromeo's reforms, despite the employment of censorship, stimulated the Milanese printing industry, which had been stagnant in the first half of the sixteenth century. Drawing on a variety of sources, including an unpublished thesis (1987—88) by P. De Luca on the Ponte family of printers, Filippo Bareggi divides the output of the Milanese printing industry into the categories of official publications (synodal decrees, episcopal edicts, and instructions to clergy), and liturgical and devotional works. She also examines Borromeo's strategy for using the press as a means of developing lay spirituality.

In "Printing and Politics: Carlo Borromeo and the Seminary Press of Milan" (pp. 97—133), Kevin Stevens examines the brief history of the printing press which Borromeo established at the seminary of Milan in 1576 under the direction of Michel Tini. The project was designed to meet the increasing demand for educational, devotional, and liturgical material, and to gain independence from secular control. In March, 1580, the Spanish governor of Milan raided the premises and imprisoned Tini for publishing bans of excommunication without the approval of the Senate. Borromeo's contract with Tini was terminated later in 1580, falling victim not so much to the jurisdictional struggle between Borromeo and the governor as to economic factors.

In "Mercato Iibrario e letture devote nella svolta del Cinquecento tridentino" (pp. 135-246) Danilo Zardin analyzes the inventory of books possessed by the nuns of convent of Santa Caterina alia Chiusa in 1581. Zardin assesses the cultural level of the nuns and the role of the printed word in the convent, and provides abundant notes on the 139 entries listed in the inventory.

The final essay (pp. 247-277), by Riccardo Bottoni, examines Borromeo's policy on the use of the printed word in lay confraternities. While Borromeo encouraged spiritual reading and specifically recommended the works of Luis of Granada, Gaspar Loarte, and Ludovico Pittorio, he discouraged discussions of church dogma and of the scriptures by the lay membership.

In sum, this collection is a valuable addition to the study of Borromean reform and a mine of information on the educational and devotional works printed at Milan and used by its clergy, nuns, and laity. The essays are thorough, the documentation meticulous, and, as the editors note, there is promise of more to come.

Thomas Deutscher

St. Thomas More College
University of Saskatchewan

Index de l'Inquisition Espagnole, 1583, 1584. Edited by J. M. De Bujanda, with the assistance of René Davignon, Ela Stanek, and Marcella Richter. [Index des Livres Interdits, Volume VL] (Sherbrooke: Centre d'études de la Renaissance, Editions de l'Université de Sherbrooke. 1993. Pp. 1246.)

In this especially large volume the established pattern of the series is essentially maintained. Despite its length, however, the volume is unable to reproduce in its entirety the 1584 list of passages to be expurgated in works not totally prohibited. The introduction discusses the genesis of the 1583 Spanish Index associated with Quiroga's tenure of the office of Inquisitor General. The intention of the Spanish Inquisition to maintain the distinction of the Spanish Index from any Roman document was clear from the start. Yet

in expanding on previous Spanish lists considerably, the commission of peninsular scholars apparently involved in preparing a new Index was not working in absolute isolation. Awareness of die foundations for a new Index laid by die Council of Trent was natural, tiiough diis edition makes clear where Tridentine or Roman principles were not followed, as for example over die category of immoral as opposed to heretical works. The long period of gestation, however, seems to have permitted a crucial, late intervention by the Jesuit Mariana, influential in Quiroga's circles. While Mariana's intervention, based on his acute knowledge of recent European publications in a variety of languages, expanded die evolving Index, as is persuasively argued here, it also brought the emerging document into greater, though not absolute or uncritical, conformity widi Roman prohibitions. Anodier fascinating effect of die events in which Quiroga was involved as die 1580's began, widi die Spanish succession to die Portuguese dirone, was apparently an effort to achieve some convergence between die new Spanish and existing Portuguese lists. Here die editors are clear that diey cannot prove dieir case in detail, but rightly suggest that diis probability deserves further research. In some respects the apparent interventions of Mariana, approved by Quiroga, softened die attitude to specific works or even categories, when compared widi earlier lists, not least Spanish. But peculiarities of die Spanish Index, nevertheless, survived, such as die utter condemnation of vernacular Books of Hours. The variety of sources used by die Spanish commission in revising the Spanish Index embraced die Louvain Index, not least for works in Flemish and German. Reorganization of die list allowed a clearer identification of works in Italian, diough Mariana surprisingly seemed to think die circulation of some of the most deplorable French works in die Iberian peninsula unlikely. The Jesuit also influenced die decision to categorize clearly, by appending a list of names, die heresiarchs whose works were to be absolutely condemned in bodi Roman and Spanish views. The editorial suggestion diat by diis period die royal council in Castile was relaxing its own attempt to control by prior review and license die publication of die decrees of diocesan synods, among odier purely ecclesiastical publications, is open to doubt. Quiroga might have made some ironic comment on diis, indeed, in die light of his own experiences widi provincial conciliar decrees. The work of the preparatory commission, similarly, at first concentrated at Salamanca, was disrupted and in diat sense delayed by Inquisitorial intervention, notoriously, against some of die academics involved, because of die bitter rivalries and disputes over biblical scholarship and die use in particular of Hebrew studies. Yet in die finished Index the initial rules, as tiiey related to die linguistic foundations of theological expertise, were not totally restrictive. What understandably did distinguish diis Spanish Index, on die odier hand, was a care to prevent Christian polemics against Islam having die contrary effect of increasing knowledge of Islamic beliefs and arguments.

A. D. Wright

University of Leeds

Antwerpen, Internationaal Uitgeverscentrum van Devotieprenten 17de-18de Eeuw. By Alfons K. L. Thijs. [Miscellanea Neerlandica, VIL] (Leuven: Peeters. 1993. Pp. xvii, 163- 12 color & 81 b/w illustrations. 1650 B.Fr. paperback.)

The author, professor of history at the University Faculties of St. Ignatius in Antwerp, has previously distinguished himself with a pioneering study of the Catholic renewal in Antwerp (Van Geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk: maatschappelijke betekenis van de kerk in contrareformatorisch Antwerpen, 1990). The present work is in many ways a continuation of his explorations into the cultural, economic, and religious history of the Southern Low Countries during the early modern period.

Divided by the violent history of the Dutch uprising, the Low Countries evolved during the seventeendi century into a Calvinist-dominated, independent political entity in the north, the United Provinces, and a Catholic south loyal to the Habsburg. Whereas the story of the Calvinist north has been the subject of close historical investigation, the development of a distinct identity in the southern provinces, especially the way it was shaped by post-Tridentine Catholicism, has been relatively neglected since the monumental Histoire de Belgique by Henri Pirenne. Yet the Habsburg Netherlands occupied a central role in the Catholic renewal of northern Europe: the Jesuits were strongly represented in the two Belgian provinces, distinguished not in the least by their part in the English seminary in Douai and in their participation in the China mission; the Bollandists embodied a heroic vision of Catholic scholarship that furnished a counterpoint to Protestant church history; in Flemish artists such as Rubens the Baroque found its unique representation of the Catholic renewal; and the printing presses supplied a large part of the devotional literature consumed by Catholic northern Europe.

This last theme is the subject of the present study. In a thorough investigation of the Antwerp archives and the print collection of the Ruusbroecgenootschap at his university, Thijs has given us an interesting preliminary introduction to this important subject. The book is divided into two parts; the first five chapters describe die history of the print industry between the late fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, while the last four focus on the men behind the devotional prints: the engravers, printers, clerics, and printsellers. The height of print production was in the seventeenth century, when Antwerp produced for a huge internal and external market. Most of the prints (usually with a devotional picture accompanied by prayers or descriptions) were consumed by the Jesuit Marian sodalities and guild confraternities. Export to Germany and to the Spanish Americas also played a significant role in the expansion of production. Antwerp prints were in high demand for their artistic quality; the art of engraving developed into an industry of pious consumption. During the eighteenth century, however, the print industry went

into gradual decline, faced with secularization and competition from French prints.

Thanks to his initial training as an economic historian, Thijs is at his best analyzing the economic aspects of print production: the capital investment, the respective roles of illustrators, engravers, and printers, and the economics of consumption. His is less satisfactory with respect to the iconography of these prints. The success of the print industry is explained more in the context of the general history of the Catholic renewal rather than the intrinsic iconographie content of the prints. Nevertheless, the copious reproduction of devotional prints points to the richness of this source material; and scholars will be in his debt for his effort in pointing to the importance of these popular visual representations in the making of post-Tridentine Catholicism.

R. Po-CHiA Hsia

New York University

Jeanne-Françoise Frémyot de Chantal. Correspondance. Tome V: 1635—40. Edited by Marie-Patricia Burns, V.S.M. (Paris: Editions du Cerf, Centre d'Etudes Franco-Italien des Universités de Turin et de Savoie. 1993. Pp. 970. 360 FF paperback.)

This is the fifth of a projected six-volume critical edition, containing about 2600 letters of Saint Jeanne-Françoise-Frémyot de Chantal (1572—1641), cofounder with Francis de Sales of the Visitation Order (1610). Edited and annotated by the present archivist of the Annecy monastery, the collection enlarges and corrects a nineteenth-century compilation (1874—1879) by the Annecy Visitandines, taken from their archival documents. When completed, the present work will include almost 600 heretofore unpublished letters that originate from a variety of sources and reveal the broad extent of this remarkable woman's socio-religious network.

Overall, Burns's editing has already been hailed as a major achievement in Salesian scholarship. Her rigorous methodology and commitment to authenticity are evident throughout. Each volume contains a biographical chronology of that period of the saint's life; introductory notes for each year's correspondence in addition to careful endnotes for every letter; detailed tables related to Visitation foundations; glossaries, illustrations, and indices. Concise introductory essays for each text situate the foundress as writer and mystic within church, society, and mentalités of seventeenth-century French Catholicism. They also describe the context of women's spirituality in the classical era.

The present volume is the longest in the collection thus far, covering the correspondence from 1635 to 1640. There are 494 letters, of which one-fourth (122) have not been previously published. They were written in the

final period of Jeanne de Chantal's life, a period of consolidation and expansion for the Visitation foundations, which by 1640 numbered eighty-two. It was likewise a time of sorrow, with the deaths of her last three founding companions. Most of the letters are directed to superiors and sisters of the Visitation communities. They deal with admissions and formation of new members, community problems, relationships with authorities, and temporal affairs. There is also a subtantial correspondence with major ecclesiastical and secular figures of the period, among whom are Vincent de Paul, Princess Christine of France ("Mme. Royale"), the Jesuits Etienne Binet and Jean-Baptiste St-Jure, Charles de Condren, and Marie de Combalet, sister of Cardinal Richelieu. Perhaps the most intimate correspondent of this period is "Mère Angélique" Arnauld (1591-1661) of Port-Royal, who in 1619 had been refused ecclesiastical permission to transfer to the Visitation order. The saint confides to the abbess her inner pain and prolonged spiritual desolation, because she no longer has "any creature in the world that I can trust, except you" (p. 447). The ten letters presented here bear witness to Jeanne's heroic struggle in the midst of severe temptations against the faith. She admits that while she speaks to others of God, she feels only disgust for spiritual things. Nonetheless, she chooses to pray by means of wordless surrender and a "simple gaze of the heart." What emerges from these letters is a strong personality, an ideal yet realistic woman of God who brings her own distinctive, mature interpretation to Salesian mystical teaching.

Until recently, Jeanne de Chantal has remained largely unknown to scholars, overshadowed by Francis de Sales as his spiritual daughter and collaborator. This superb edition of her correspondence balances out the picture by revealing a spiritual leader moving in her own light, endowed with originality, initiative, and administrative genius. It will be an indispensable tool for historians and researchers in the French spiritual tradition. One earnestly hopes that an English translation has been foreseen.

Janice Farnham, RJ.M.

Weston Jesuit School of Theology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Ulster 1641: Aspects of the Rising. Edited by Brian Mac Cuarta, SJ. (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies; the Queen's University of Belfast. 1993. Pp. xi, 238. £15.)

For a couple of generations the Irish historical scene has been fascinated by what has come to be called "revisionism," "scientific history," the belief that the past "as it really was" can be sought, and found, in a kind of aseptic mental laboratory. What have been euphemistically dubbed "the troubles" of the last twenty-five years have generated two opposing stances: on the one hand an insistence on the need for this aseptic revisionism; and on the other

a growing realization that the historian just cannot live in an ivory tower, above the pains of mankind.

It is not surprising, then, that very recently there have been two studies of the Ulster rising of 1641, for this still casts a long shadow over our present discontents. This volume is a collection of essays edited by Brian Mac Cuarta, who is both a highly competent historian and associated with the Jesuit mission in Portadown, County Armagh, which had been at the very storm-center of the events of 1641 and still bears the scars. It hangs together better than many such collections. Four master-themes are addressed: the place of the rising in the general political evolution of what became the United Kingdom; the motives of the insurgents; die massacres; and the legacy left to the future.

The first point receives illuminating treatment from John McCavitt and Michael Percivall-Maxwell. The conclusion which emerges is diat had it not been for the Ulster rising the odds were in favor of Charles I getting his problems under control and being able to prorogue what became the Long Parliament, with unforeseeable but undoubtedly immense consequences. As for the motives of the insurgents, die picture emerging from the essays by Michelle O'Riordan and Raymond Gillespie would seem to be of two cultures blending, the "only difference" being that one went to Mass, the other to service, the native learned class completely fossilized in a vanished past, and die rising coming as a total surprise to the settler community. But serious doubts of this picture must remain, as underlined by Gráinne Henry's study of the Irish Catholic exiles in Flanders and Phil Kilroy's exploration of die Calvinist doctrine of election in Irish Protestantism.

Hilary Simms attempts a count of diose massacred in County Armagh, relying, as she must, on the evidence of the "Depositions." When all allowance is made for the fact that Armagh was at the storm-center, and that in the nature of the evidence the lowest figure given for any single incident is likely to be closest to the truth, it is clear that diere were many murders. As has long been accepted, it is overwhelmingly clear that diere was no planned massacre, and that even the worst of them were local incidents. Yet there are still unanswered questions. It seems beyond doubt that the first reaction of the insurgents was to despoil the settlers; the murders came later. And while despoliation was often accompanied by physical humiliation, commonly the humiliation of being stripped naked, rape is never mentioned. Clearly furdier investigation is needed of what precisely are die dark recesses of the mind to be unveiled here.

Finally, Aidan Clarke, Jacqueline Hill, and Toby Barnard trace the rapid growtii of the legend of a popish plot to massacre all Protestants, assiduously fostered to exclude Catholics from the political nation. It is curious to find the name of Lecky missing from its historiography.

Patrick J. Corish

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

First among Friends: George Fox and the Creation of Quakerism. By H. Larry Ingle. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 407. «45.00.)

Although concentrating almost entirely on the early years of Quakerism (to ca. 1661), this book admirably fills a longstanding need for a critical biography of George Fox (1624—1691). Ingle adroitly places Fox in historical context and relates him to the broader themes of the period. Thus we are informed that during the civil war the royalist army came within thirteen miles of his village of Fenny Drayton, how in 1659—60 he tried unsuccessfully to influence Parliament as events led toward the restoration of the monarchy, and even how his father would have weaved on his loom and later used barnyard urine to leech the cloth. At times the author also employs a folksy style in which metaphors and colloquialisms convey a rusticity not inappropriate to some of the subject matter.

An admirer of Christopher Hill's work, Ingle stresses the two themes in Fox's message that most challenged the established hierarchical authority in society: (1) the proclamation that God had come to teach his people himself, and (2) the denunciation of tithes. Catholics as well as Protestants were the objects of Quaker criticism, of course, but at the same time the Friends' Arminianism and the threat they were seen to pose occasionally led to their being denounced as papists themselves. Most of Fox's religious thought, however, is treated perfunctorily (e.g., pp. 111—114) so that for an analysis of die theology of early Quakerism readers will need to consult Douglas Gwyn's Apocalypse of the Word and books by Hugh Barbour and Geoffrey Nuttall. In the end, Ingle identifies Fox's major achievement not as die successful proclamation of the doctrine of die universal Inner Light (die divine dwelling within all persons), but rather the circumscription of the movement's early radical individualism by die development of an institutional structure tíiat provided die discipline and unity needed for survival in Restoration England.

Not unexpectedly in a work of Ulis nature, diere are (1) blurred lines between speculation and fact: Fox is described as musing in 1651 over who among his followers might be qualified to become chief administrator of die movement (pp. 85-86); (2) overdramatizations-. Ingle states (p. 87) diat in Ulverston, "Fox entered the church, jumped up on a seat, and lashed out at minister and congregation," whereas Margaret Fell, an eyewitness, reported, "He came in; and when they had done singing, he stood up on a Seat or Form, and desired, That he might have liberty to speak," and after permission was granted he began; and (3) conclusions stretching beyond the evidence: surely Fox's brief visit to Newport Pagnal in 1644, departing before the Baptist preacher Paul Hobson even arrived, and a correspondent's assumption years later diat Fox knew where Hobson lived provide insufficient evidence to conclude (p. 31): "For more dian diirty years, Fox followed the career of die Baptist." However, such matters can be attended to in a second edition, for

this surely will be the standard account well into the future, and we are all in Professor Ingle's debt for providing it.

T. L. Underwood

University of Minnesota, Morris

Papal Art and Cultural Politics: Rome in the Age of Clement XI. By Christopher M. S. Johns. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993· Pp. xiv, 269. Î75.00.)

Christopher M. S.Johns's volume on the reign of Clement XI (1700—1721) fills an important gap in the literature on eighteenth-century Roman art and culture. In the past the Albani pope was not considered an important patron, because he directed his energies primarily to restoring and embellishing Early Christian monuments. Johns presents a compelling argument that during the reign of Clement XI the Papacy emerged again as a major presence in patronage following the decline experienced after the death of Alexander VII in 1667 principally on the basis of these same projects. He maintains correctly that Clement's achievements must be assessed in the context of the realities of his own times, not by the standards of the High Baroque period. Even if financially feasible, conspicuous consumption and familial aggrandizement, to use his words, would have been inappropriate for several reasons. He begins with an overview of the political climate at the turn of the century and follows with a detailed discussion of intellectual developments, both of which inform Clement's art patronage. The remainder of the book is devoted to Clement's projects, both major and minor, executed and unexecuted.

The War of the Spanish Succession, as expected, was a disaster for the Church. Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, the Catholic monarchs had revealed their intent to secularize religious authority in their realms. Exposed as a weak secular power, the Papacy was now more vulnerable on this front. With papal prestige and influence at a nadir, he turned to the past to support his claims in both the political and spiritual arenas. The Papacy was older than any secular dynasty and its authority was sanctioned by Christ himself through St. Peter, facts that Clement wanted to impress on a European audience. From the beginning of his reign Clement had used culture to advance his political goals. Now it was virtually the only effective weapon he had left.

In his formative years Gianfrancesco Albani was an active member of the progressive intellectual circles in Rome. As a result he was fully committed to the reform movement, to scholarship based on reason, and to the spirit of freedom of inquiry. For example, he made major contributions to the bull of 1692 which abolished nepotism. Later as pope, he had the opportunity to put all his beliefs into practice. He assiduously avoided premature promotions of

members of his family in the ecclesiastical ranks, and he avidly supported scholarship in all fields, founding museums and expanding libraries in order to promote Rome as the center of European intellectual life. In particular, the study of sacred history was vital to his political agenda. The resulting Paleochristian revival differed from its antecedents in one important respect: historical accuracy was paramount. Traditions and literary sources were carefully scrutinized for authenticity, using empirical methods. As a result, the Faith was purified by the elimination of spurious practices, an outcome which Clement, an ardent reformer, welcomed. Moreover, the separation of fact from fiction lent greater credibility to the former, most particularly the antiquity and the legitimacy of papal authority. The emphasis placed on material evidence as the primary source of truth led to the study of art, architecture, and artifacts of the Early Christian and medieval periods as historical "documents."

St. Peter's and St. John Lateran embodied the antiquity and legitimacy of papal authority in both the spiritual and secular realms. Clement built upon and enhanced the iconography of these churches without altering the structures themselves. These projects have to a greater or lesser extent a political component. For example, the Founders series, initiated by Clement, in the nave of St. Peter's complements the seventeenth-century sculpture in the crossing and visually documents the historical continuity of papal authority in spiritual matters. The equestrian statue of Charlemagne in the narthex, which balances Bernini's Constantine, is both a reminder that secular powers owe total obedience and allegiance to the Papacy and an appeal for military support from France. The Lateran Apostles are the crowning achievement of Clement's reign and without doubt constitute the most ambitious sculptural program of the century. Clement deliberately involved foreign ecclesiastical and secular figures in the financing of this expensive project, and engaged non-Roman artists to execute four of the statues. The message here is more subtle. The origins of common culture are in Rome, whose monuments are under papal protection.

The most characteristic projects, however, involved the restoration and embellishment of less prestigious monuments of Early Christian origin, which had fallen into disrepair from neglect. Johns argues that these were also Clement's most ambitious undertakings not because of their scope, which was often limited, but rather because of the intent. Restoration was a metaphor for reform, one which aimed at re-establishing the entire institution of the Early Church including the traditional rights enjoyed by the Papacy. S. Clemente, S. Maria in Cosmedin, and S. Maria in Monticelli were major repositories of relics of Early Christian martyrs and thus they served as reliquaries. By extension, these churches were relics of the golden age of Christianity. Therefore, Clement stressed preservation. Structural changes to were kept to a minimum, existing frescoes and mosaics were repaired and restored; and new ornament was subordinated to the old. Although radical by modern standards, Clement's contemporaries considered the restorations to be sensitive interpretations of the existing fabrics. Unfortunately, later archaeologists were not so apprécia-

tive of Clement's efforts and only S. Clemente has survived intact. The less comprehensive projects at S. Teodoro, the Pantheon, S. Maria Egiziaca, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Crisogono exhibit the same preservationist approach.

Around 1705-1706 Clement turned his attention to the dilapidated chapel of Pope Saint Fabian at S. Sebastiano fuori le mura. Begun as a pietistic restoration, it later became die Albani family sepulchral chapel. Typically such chapels were located in the heart of Rome in churches of high visibility. Throughout his reign Clement de-emphasized familial associations in his projects. Although the Albani coats-of-arms are present, they are often located in an inconspicuous position. Moreover, as a pilgrimage church, S. Sebastiano had the proper pedigree. St. Fabian also appealed to Clement, because his history embodied the theme of papal absolutism and the predecence of popes over secular rulers. This theme was later taken up in more obvious form in die equestrian statue of Charlemagne in die narthex of St. Peter's.

Johns ends with a discussion of the urban projects in which Clement stressed continuity from ancient to modern times, beautified the city, and provided for the public good. With the exception of the Porta di Ripetta, a project in which Clement took little personal interest, he did not create new urban spaces. He eidier reclaimed or regularized existing squares, in two cases adding fountains. However, he did prepare the way for the construction of the Spanish Stairs as a papal initiative. Johns also discusses the triumphal arch portico in the courtyard of the Conservators' Palace on the Capitoline Hill, which commemorates victories over the Turks by the Holy League in this chapter, although it is not strictly speaking an urban project.

In conclusion, changed political circumstances forced Clement XI to reassess the position of Rome vis-à-vis Europe. The city itself became his most powerful ally in his attempt to re-establish papal hegemony in die political, spiritual, and cultural spheres. By preserving precious remains of the past and sponsoring rigorous scholarship, among other activities, he refocused papal patronage on the glorification of die institution itself. This was perhaps his most important and enduring reform, one which had important ramifications not only for the art and scholarship of his times, but also for developments of the second half of the century.

Cathie C. Kelly

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Storia delta Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore. Vol. I: Le Origini (1732—1793)· Edited by Francesco Chiovaro, C.SS.R. [Studia et Monumenta Congregationis SS. Redemptoris, series prima: Historia Congregationis, Vol. I.] (Rome: Edizioni Rogate. 1993. Pp. 627. Lire 80,000.)

The Redemptorist order founded by St. Alfonso de' Liguori in the Kingdom of Naples in die early eighteenth century has long lacked a history corre-

sponding to the standards of modern scholarship. This first volume, covering the origins to 1793, of a projected comprehensive and collectively authored official account edited by Francesco Chiovaro avoids many of the expected pitfalls of a work of this kind. It is not written entirely from within the order nor entirely for the order's benefit, even though the latter may have been the original intent. It relies not only on die chronicle tradition discussed by Chiovaro in his introduction, but also on an impressive number of letter collections and archival sources, including the numerous complex versions of rule and constitution discussed in separate chapters by Sabatino Majorano and Frabriciano Ferrero. Furthermore, this book directly confronts some of the most controversial issues about the order's founding. For instance, it attempts to explain the role of the Neapolitan Chinese missionary college and founder Mateo Ripa in influencing Alfonso's ideas. It attempts to define the precise role of Sister Maria Celeste Crostarosa, the Neapolitan mystic whose visions led to the founding of the female order and later became highly controversial reference points for the male one. It attempts to explain the roles of Tommaso Falcoia and Vincenzo Mannarini, whose plans, respectively, for big convents and urban missions collided with Liguori's desire to live in the midst of a rural flock. Indeed, in discussing these issues, the authors have deliberately steered clear of hagiography. They refuse to read back into the rustic origins in Scala in 1732 and the primitive rule of 1749 the subsequent success of the order in sprinkling missionary houses throughout rural Southern Italy, dedicated to the spiritual development and renewal of the most underprivileged groups, in Villa, Ciorani, Nocera dei Pagani, and so forth. And in doing so, they pay due attention to the Neapolitan branch's serious disputes with the local government and subsequent compromise on some of the main points of its program, to die dismay of the branches in Sicily and die Papal States. They refuse to overplay the organizing role of Liguori himself, who was apparently less concerned with the day-to-day-details of practical leadership than with providing inspiration. What is more, Giuseppe Orlandi's sections on the role of the order within eighteenth-century Neapolitan political, social, and religious life, aspects of which, from quietism to freemasonry, the author has covered in voluminous other publications, are lucid and bibliographically up-to-date. However, the collective plan leads to some contradictions. Orlandi points out the necessity of regalism to save Neapolitan society from an ecclesiastical organization gone completely out of control; Théodule Rey-Mermet sees it as die great disaster of die time and Bernardo Tanucci, the minister responsible for Enlightenment reforms in Naples, as an evil genius. However, Liguori's efforts to combat clerical ignorance and superfluousness are incomprehensible without the background of this debate. What is more, modern scholarly methods are not uniformly applied in the volume. John O'Malley, in his recent pathbreaking history of the first Jesuits, asks how die routinization of charisma can be achieved by an institution after its first founding as a charismatic organization loosely grouped around a powerful spiritual leader. For answering such a question, the present volume provides no statistics of recruitment, no prosopography of die original members, and no explanation of what they might have seen in this leader and this message at

this moment. Mario Rosa, David Gentilcore, and others have recently examined the impact of missionary work on target populations in the South in terms of a clash between cultures. Instead of taking this clash seriously, the present volume uncritically adopts the perspective of contemporary episcopal visitation reports on the ignorance and vice of the population and reduces the opposition of the local barons to nothing but a legal dispute about land inheritance—reproposing, in an admittedly more sophisticated fashion, the apologetical approach of the hagiographers, which the authors declared it to be their very purpose to revise.

Brendan Dooley

Harvard University

Anti-Catholicism in Eighteenth-Century England: A Political and Social Study. By Colin Haydon. (Manchester University Press. Distributed in the United States and Canada by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1994. Pp. xii, 276. S69.95.)

Dr. Haydon demonstrates the continuity of anti-Catholic feeling throughout the eighteenth century. He examines extensively the means by which anti-Catholic propaganda was disseminated, and argues that while the elite became increasingly tolerant and pragmatic, the old hatreds and obsessions persisted among the general public. Anti-Catholic riots culiminating in the Gordon Riots of 1780 gave expression to popular perceptions of popery as dangerous to the religious and national order. Dr. Haydon makes effective use of the techniques of modern social history to bring fresh understanding to his subject, and seeks to penetrate the mentality and social dynamics of this manifestation of collective prejudice.

He examines the various interests which benefited from the active encouragement of fear of popery. He shows that despite changing political circumstances the state continued to need and to use this method of reinforcing national unity and shows that local reactions could be the result of the active intervention of agents of the state manipulating the cultural obsessions of the lower orders. The Church of England and Protestant dissenters also institutionalized anti-Catholicism, and many and varied political and social associations were formed to combat popery. In the local community ritualized rioting against deviance reaffirmed the sense of order and the self-importance of local leaders. Dr. Haydon raises the question of how far Catholics brought odium upon themselves. He considers the importance of their engagement in public polemical debate, and the extent of their proselytizing, but he believes that most provocative to the general public was their continued allegiance to the Stuarts, and this in turn leads to a subtle and complex investigation examining how far the official stance of Catholic leaders reflected

real allegiance among Catholics of differing social degrees and the manner in which Catholic loyalties shifted through the century.

There follows a thoughtful consideration of the impact of the Relief Act and other measures of toleration in 1778 and 1780, and the popular opposition to toleration expressed, not only in the Gordon Riots in London, but all over the country, emphasizing the continuing importance and centrality of religious issues in both central and local politics.

Dr. Haydon offers insights from a wide range of forms of historical inquiry—social, political, religious, ecclesiastical, literary, and local history. He draws together people and events which have hitherto been studied as discrete entities—from John Locke to Walter Wyatt, a farmer of Brailes, from bonfires in Brecon to the policies of Lord Rockingham and Edmund Bruce—with the result that we approach more closely to the complex elements of social and political change.

The text is well produced and has the luxury of footnotes as opposed to endnotes. The illustrations are an important part of the argument, but their impact is reduced by being placed all together in the center pages, and having poor definition.

This is a coherent, readable and thoroughly researched work. Fresh material, especially that relating to local affairs, makes an important contribution to our understanding of the period. It will be regrettable if it is marginalized by being deemed to relate only to a small minority of the population. Dr. Haydon more than justifies his claim that anti-Catholicism was an integral part of the whole culture of eighteenth-century England.

Marie B. Rowlands

University of Wolverhampton, Dudley Campus

"Pedlar in Divinity": George Whitefield and the Transatlantic Revivals, 1737—1770. By Frank Lambert. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 238.)

This is a masterful study of the evangelist George Whitefield, one of the most popular and influential religious figures of the eighteenth century. Preaching to thousands of converts in his native land of England as well as in Scotland and America, Whitefield became one of the best known religious celebrities of his era. According to Lambert, his meteoric rise to fame was the result of his success at "peddling" his beliefs from the pulpit and press. Ironically, Whitefield condemned the excesses of consumer society, but he also embraced the strategies of mass marketing in order to communicate his beliefs to a transatlantic audience.

Lambert argues that Whitefield was profoundly shaped by eighteenth-century consumer culture. He often used commercial language and imagery in his sermons, portraying salvation as a "bargain" or "investment" that sinners could not afford to ignore (p. 48). Taking advantage of advances in print technology, he also used newspapers and magazines to publicize his beliefs to as large an audience as possible. In one of the most important insights of this book, Lambert stresses the role of the press in creating an intercolonial evangelical identity. Scholars have tended to focus on Whitefield's power as an orator, but Lambert points out that he used the printed page as well as the spoken word to foster a "Great Awakening" that linked diverse men and women together in a common culture. Through the press, Whitefield advertised his meetings and transformed his life into a "commodity" for sale.

Lambert carefully charts Whitefield's use of commercial strategies, but he is careful to stress his religious rather than secular motivations. Because Whitefield gave away most of the money he earned to charities and educational institutions, he never became wealthy through his success at "selling" God. Even though he used the "language of goods" to appeal to his audience, he never stopped identifying the luxury and wealth of an expanding economy as one of the greatest dangers to Christianity.

In a fascinating epilogue, Lambert argues that Whitefield—rather than Charles Finney—deserves recognition as the father of modern mass evangelism. Men such as Finney and Dwight Moody were Whitefield's heirs; just as Whitefield had exploited the press, they manipulated nineteenth-century technological advances in order to popularize the doctrines of evangelical Christianity.

In its central line of interpretation, this book echoes Harry Stout's recent study, The Divine Dramatist: George Whitefield and the Rise of Modern Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991). Influenced by the works of scholars such as Neil McKendrick and T. H. Breen, both Lambert and Stout situate Whitefield's life in the larger context of the eighteenth-century "consumer revolution." The two books are similar, which may tempt some readers to read only one. However, scholars who are interested in eighteenth-century religion and culture will benefit from a close reading of both studies. Stout offers greater insight into Whitefield's personality and character, but Lambert's detailed discussion of the connections between evangelicalism and the rise of consumer society makes fascinating reading.

Catherine A. Brekus

The University of Chicago Divinity School

The Dublin Paper War of 1786-1788: A Bibliographical and Critical Inquiry. Including an Account of the Origins of Protestant Ascendancy and Its "Baptism" in 1792. By W. J. McCormack. (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press. 1993. Pp. 165.)

This work, the author tells us, "is published to mark the bicentenary of the passing in the Irish Parliament of die Catholic Relief Act (1793) . . ." (p. 7). His focus, however, is primarily on the pre-history of the act to which he brings a close linguistic analysis. He contrasts his methodology with "the essentially narrative account of the subject" (p. 8) such as is set forth in Thomas Bartlett's 1992 work The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation: The Catholic Question 1690—1830. A major purpose of McCormack's approach is to challenge the view that "a coherent 'protestant ascendancy' ideology" predated the Relief Act itself. Indeed, he tells us in his preface, "Catholic Relief, in die early 1790's, was possible partly because no such ideology had seized the commanding heights of debate . . ." (p. 8). In his dissection of the emergence and exact meaning of the term "protestant ascendancy," the author is confident that he has belatedly brought to eighteenth-century Irish history the modernization of attitude and procedure which first began to characterize Irish historiography in the 1930's.

Crucial to McCormack's analysis of the concept of the "protestant ascendancy" is an agonizingly detailed linguistic and bibliographical analysis of Richard Woodward's 1786 pamphlet The Present State of the Church of Ireland; he attempts to convince the reader that Woodward's use of the term "protestant ascendancy" has been seriously and widely misunderstood, even by such respected contemporary scholars of eighteenth-century Ireland as Thomas Bartlett and James Kelly. The author concludes his chapter entitled "The Debate Surrounding Woodward's Present State" with die assertion that "those who endorsed protestant ascendancy in 1786—88" (p. 85) were few in number and tíierefore tiiat the concept did not play an important role in Irish politics until several years later.

A significant portion of this volume is a recapitulation of McCormack's views on the protestant ascendancy set forth more than a decade ago and further elaborated in the 1987 volume of Eighteenth Century Ireland. In the present volume, he has marshaled more evidence, especially that drawn from linguistic analysis, to support the position at which he had arrived at least as early as 1981. An important body of die evidence analyzed is the actual Irish parliamentary debates which preceded the passage of the 1792 Catholic Relief Act. In what this reviewer found as one of the clearest statements of his central thesis, he concludes his analysis of the debates as follows: "all of die features of the parliamentary debates point unambiguously to the inauguration as concept [protestant ascendancy] of what had been an unfamiliar phrase" (pp. 125-126).

In his "Afterword—a Reply to Some Colleagues" McCormack again challenges Thomas Bartlett and James Kelly and reiterates the importance of linguistic analysis in his own (presumably) more correct approach. He is hopeful that his methodology might lead to a closer analysis of "other familiar terms of debate in Irish history," such as "emancipation, union, repeal, home rule, parnellism, free state, etc." (p. 150). If McCormack or others undertake this endeavor, let us hope that their work will be less cluttered by the jargon which mars this work and more characterized by the clarity which is often the hallmark of those traditional narrative historians whose approach McCormack finds so inadequate.

Thomas F. Moriarty

College of Our Lady of the Elms

Late Modern European

Sacrificed for Honor Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control. By David I. Kertzer. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 272. 825.00.)

Filled with dead babies, heartless parents, imprisoned women, syphilitic wetnurses, and caesarian operations on cadavers of possibly pregnant women so as to assure baptism of the unborn, this book is not for the squeamish, but it certainly deserves a wide audience because it focuses on a variety of important topics dealing with gender, religion, and power, and brings to light a story that is at once informative and frightening. Using extensive archival and bibliographic sources, the author melds the detail and color of a local case study in Bologna with an excellent comparative analysis of infant abandonment in the rest of Italy. Although undaunted by temporal boundaries, he is primarily interested in the great numbers of infants abandoned during the nineteenth century. Part of this had to do with demographic expansion and economic disruption, especially in the countryside, but Kertzer feels that cultural factors were more at fault. Specifically, he contends that Counter-Reformation attempts to control sexuality led to an overwhelming stigmatization of illegitimacy, which in turn forced women to protect their honor—and their future chances of marriage—by keeping illicit pregnancies secret and turning the resulting babies over to public institutions. Charities for the protection of unwanted children from exposure or infanticide had already been established in die Middle Ages, and eventually were symbolized by "die wheel," a rotating box which allowed a woman (or her midwife) to transfer her baby into an institution without revealing her identity. Under the pressure of post-Tridentine concepts of honor, such wheels proliferated throughout Cadiolic Europe, and by the early nineteenth century the pre-unitary states of Italy had over

1200 of them, many of which acted as rural collecting points for babies that were sent on to foundling homes in die cities. Widi diese mechanisms in place, abandonment flourished, widi die rate fluctuating from between 1% to 6% of total birdis depending on region, although in certain cities by mid-century a staggering one-third of all newborns were abandoned. Unfortunately, die desire to protect these infants and die economic wherewithal to do so were sadly at odds, and as a result most of the babies died witiiin dieir first year. Thus in 1819, of die 1,835 infants placed permanently in die Annunziata foundling home of Naples only 76 were alive after a year.

Kertzer blames diis massacre of the innocents on "a society diat forced unwed mothers to abandon dieir babies" (p. 70). Such pressure came from a general onus attached to illegitimacy which forced women out of dieir homes until diey could secretly give birdi, dump the evidence of dieir "shame," and return to take up life anew. In some areas diey were allowed the anonymity of a maternity hospital but only in exchange for their services as wetnurses (a position fraught widi medical risks) for a set period of time to children in the attached foundling homes. In other areas, such as the Papal States, the pressures were more draconian. Using a network of midwives, priests, and police, papal autiiorities actively sought out unmarried pregnant women who remained in dieir communities, forcing them into prison until diey delivered their babies. Such a woman then owed a year's servitude trapped in die foundling home as a wetnurse, but only for children not her own. Worst of all, these women were categorically not allowed to keep dieir own children (even if they so desired) because of die scandal it would create at home, because diey were deemed unfit to raise diem, and because diey had to be punished for dieir wanton ways. Men, of course, bore little or no responsibility for their sexual activity. Some pressure could be brought to bear to try to arrange a marriage, especially if a rape or a promise of betrodial were involved, but overwhelmingly women paid the price of illicit love.

Kertzer also deals effectively with the abandonment of legitimate children, which was by far highest in die cities of Milan and Florence. Indeed, by mid-century in Milan, over half the children abandoned were legitímate. He examines various theories accounting for such behavior on the part of married couples, concluding diat a variety of forces were involved although changing economic patterns which led women to want more control over their family size probably predominated. Certainly the much greater tendency of married parents to seek dieir abandoned offspring later, suggests diat economic considerations were often in play.

Despite its obvious merits, a second edition of Kertzer's book would be well served by two changes. First, die extremes of coercion used against unwed mothers in die case study of Bologna were undoubtedly die norm for die Papal States, but as presented diey might be construed as die norm for all of Italy. If this is true, more clear-cut evidence from odier areas needs to be offered. Secondly, it would be nice to have more information on illegitimacy

and honor from Protestant countries, where unmarried mothers were expected to keep their children and no wheels of abandonment existed. One wonders if attitudes toward such women and their offspring with regard to honor were all that less strong than in Italy. Kertzer gives a hint of this in his epilogue, which examines the contemporary implications of his research, and where he asserts that in the 1920's thousands of young women in the United States were "driven out of their homes, forced to seek anonymous refuge in institutions set up for this purpose," although in contrast to Italy they were encouraged to keep their babies (pp. 183-184). This emphasis on honor was hardly the Counter-Reformation at work, and a more careful analysis of honor in Protestant Europe could only enhance Kertzer's presentation of conditions in Catholic Italy. Such suggestions are, however, ancillary. Overall, this is a dramatic work of real importance that will set the terms of debate in this field for a long time to come.

Steven C. Hughes

Loyola College in Maryland

Souvenirs d'un ultra-royaliste (1815-1832). By Ferdinand de Bertier. Edited and introduced by Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny. (Paris: Librairie Jules Tallandier. 1993. Pp. 691. 198 FF.)

With the publication of the memoirs of Comte Ferdinand de Bertier (1782-1864), the scholarly labors of Père Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, the distinguished French historian and authority on the French Restoration, have come full circle. In manuscript Bertier's memoirs were the main source for his published dissertation: Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier et l'énigme de la Congrégation (1948). In the intervening years he published over fifteen historical works, of which La Restauration 1815—1830 (1977), later translated into English, is particularly noteworthy.

The work under review is a sequel to Souvenirs Inédits d'un conspirateur (1990), which covered the period from 1789 to 1814. Like the earlier volume, it includes only those parts of the original manuscript deemed of historical interest.

Ferdinand de Bertier belonged to the robe nobility, holding administrative rather than judicial offices. His father, the intendant of the Paris generality in 1789, was lynched by the mob, and his head was mounted on a pike. This atrocity aroused in Ferdinand an intense hatred of the French Revolution that fired his militancy for the royalist cause. A devout ultramontane Catholic, he ardently desired the union of throne and altar.

To further these aims he established in 1810 a secret society, the Chevalerie de la Foi, incorporating into it features of religious and military knighthoods and even of the masonic order, which he briefly joined to learn its system of

secrecy. (This is described in chapter 8 of the first volume.) It rapidly gained adherents among influential members of the nobility. It incited resistance to Napoleon, prepared the return of Louis XVIII, and influenced events during the ministries of Villèle and Polignac. After 1830, against his better judgment, Bertier joined remnants of the now-disbanded secret knighthood in a disastrous attempt to overthrow Louis Philippe and restore the Bourbon dynasty.

Bertier held various posts including prefect in two departments, counselor of state, deputy, and minister of state, but never a top-level one. A good administrator, skilled at operating behind the scenes, he lacked confidence in himself as a leader. More royalist than the king, he had difficulty in compromising.

As memoirist, Bertier has an engaging style, a good narrative sense, and a historian's concern for accuracy. But his opinions of adversaries are hardly dispassionate.

Bertier de Sauvigny, a direct descendant of Bertier, has done a superb job of editing Bertier's memoirs. The notes constitute a veritable who's who of the period. The editor mentions their "superabundance," for which historians will be generally grateful. A minor defect is a sprinkling of typographic errors.

What is the value of Souvenirs d'un ultra-royaliste to scholars? Besides an insider's view of Restoration politics, it provides a unique insight into the workings of the secret knighthood, which some historians have either ignored or lumped together with the Congrégation. Bertier de Sauvigny's dissertation argues persuasively for the autonomy of the Chevalerie de la Foi. Souvenirs sheds light also on the religious history of the period, for example, on the origins of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which Bertier headed in the Paris region. In short, this work, which is indexed, will be useful to anyone studying the political or religious history of the Restoration period and the beginning of the July monarchy.

Martin J. Bergin, Jr.

Washington, D.C.

The Great Dissent: John Henry Newman and the Liberal Heresy. By Robert Pattison. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 231. $29.95.)

Not every valuable book is a good one, and this book is both valuable and irritating. Its merits include wide reading in both ancient and modern sources and a lively sense of the unity of Christian thought, as it treats John Henry Newman as the great scourge of modern liberalism, which it discerns as he did in the heresies of the fourth-century Christian heresiarch Arius. For Newman, Arius had his liberal descendants in the Socinians of the sixteenth century and in the Unitarians of the eighteenth, who had led in Newman's day to the

downfall of Christian orthodoxy and of religious conformity, and to the victory of "the anti-dogmatic principle." Professor Pattison gives an excellent account of Newman's conflict with his 'liberal' Oriel common room colleague Renn Dickson Hampden, who declared the facts of Scripture revealed but the doctrines built upon them mere verbal constructions; and no one who knows, say, of the Anglican Liberal Professor Maurice Wiles's triple enthusiasm for Arius, the English Arian William Whiston, and Dr. Hampden himself, can doubt that here is a "liberal descent," against which Newman and his hero Athanasius stand as the great apologists for orthodox believing.

Unfortunately, Professor Pattison's work lacks the scholarly reservations which would turn a good book into a better one. He sees Arius's insistence on the ineffability of God as one step away from atheism, because Arius distinguished God, who is beyond intelligibility, from both Jesus Christ, who is not of the substance of God, and a Godless and intelligible world. But like Newman himself, Professor Pattison is too ready to read the nineteenth-century into the fourth, and the context in which the strict Arians "maintained that the only true statements about God are statements about what we cannot know" is not that of the modern liberal who uses it to assert that Christ is only a man. The views of Arius are admittedly obscure, as they survive only in the fragments cited by his enemies; but his world was a good deal more than a step away from modern atheism, even though he did think that the Son did not know the Father. Nor did he strictly speaking reject the "dogmatic principle," his point being a dogmatic one, that Christ, although our Savior and a perfect angelic creature, was only a creature and not consubstantial with God.

This species of Christology is not the view of any modern liberal. Again, Professor Pattison overstresses Hampden's heterodoxy as Newman overstressed it, because Newman also saw the profounder radical implications of Hampden's theology. It is, however, doubtful if Hampden himself saw them, as he was arguably personally orthodox, and his proto-fundamentalist view of the New Testament as the record of divinely guaranteed facts attested by miracles made him peculiarly vulnerable to Biblical Criticism, as Newman was not. Owen Chadwick remarks of Hampden, who for Professor Pattison is a miracle of modernity, that as a bishop, he "surprised everyone by a strong orthodoxy. Not a single liberal divine of the Victorian age derived even one idea from Dr. Hampden."

Because Hampden forged his theory of doctrine in opposition to the medieval scholastics, Professor Pattison makes Newman too much a scholastic; but Newman, although anxious as a Roman Catholic to find affinities with scholasticism, really knew little about it, as he himself declared. As Professor Pattison notes, Newman's epistemology was rooted in British empiricism—one of his claims to modernity. And it was precisely because, as Professor Pattison also notes, "Newman conceded everything his liberal opponents could demand except the major premise," that he engaged with liberalism

and modernity in ways that mere conservatism does not, absorbing whatever he thought that liberalism might have of truth into his system, and even seizing upon it (as in the matter of biblical criticism) to his own polemical advantage. He was no liberal, but nor was he a conservative (hence his later criticism of the papacy). His ultimate commitment was to an orthodoxy transcending both the liberal and conservative points of view.

But that makes him complicated, and Professor Pattison makes him too simple. In an essay on Newman'sAnVaws of the Fourth Century in die collection edited by Ian Ker and Alan Hill, Neivman after a Hundred Years (Clarendon Press, 1990), Rowan Williams unsays his previous harsher judgments on Newman's work in arguing that it contains some of the elements of Newman's later rejection of a static Anglicanism for a developing Catholicism; moreover, Newman does this in a way which anticipates what is of value in Hampden's theory of religious language; Newman also had a partly non-propositional view of revelation. There is a wider context to the theme of heresy in Stephen Thomas's Newman and Heresy: the Anglican Years (Cambridge University Press, 1991), which shows the importance to Newman's anti-liberalism of his Evangelical background and of ancient heresies apart from Arianism, which was only at the beginning of his quest, before he went on to study Sabellianism, Apollinarianism, Nestorianism, and Monophysitism. Dr. Thomas demonstrates the ambiguities of Newman's changing position from the surviving manuscript as well as Xhe printed evidence, and the differences between his published and unpublished utterances. Newman was not singlemindedly obsessed with the Arians, but was concerned with all ancient heresy, and as he struggled toward his understanding of doctrinal development, he declared that a heresy like Eutychianism could be conservative, not liberal. He did contradict himself and change and develop, though Professor Pattison asserts the contrary, as he glosses over both Newman's inner struggle to reach a coherent view of heresy and the shifts of intellectual position which attended it.

The work is also marred by some very obvious errors and some terrible proof-reading regrettable in one so merciless with the errors of others, and so uncharitable and unfair in some of his judgments on movements and individuals. Its own perspective is difficult to discern; its extraordinary conclusion hardly suggests much sympathy for Newman, who is described as "among the first to demonstrate how terrorism might subvert liberal society." Yet the author shows a distinct unease about the decline of liberalism into relativism and subjectivity, and his very sharpness, clarity of tone, and lack of subtlety help to make this a stimulating book which, despite its faults, poses a fundamental intellectual problem with vigor and scholarship, and offers its readers the kiss of intellectual life.

Sheridan Gilley

University of Durham

Newman and Heresy: The Anglican Years. By Stephen Thomas. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 335. «54.95.)

Newman and Heresy is a daunting study of Newman's Anglican writings on the early Christological heresies (Arianism, Sabellianism, etc.). Readers will be grateful for the definition of these many heresies in a glossary with which Thomas begins the book. Also, he has studied various Newman manuscripts on individual heresies, and brings to our attention some of Newman's writings that I had not known existed.

Thomas focuses on Newman's changing attitude toward the origins of heresy, and seems to ignore Newman's geographical locating of heresy. When Newman in 1839 described himself as a Monophysite, he was, I believe, describing his situation as a place rather than accepting a heresy, namely, professing to be a Catholic while resisting the claims of the pope to sovereignty. Whatever be the merits of Newman's Arians, Thomas' description of it as Newman's first novel will surely raise eyebrows. But such a description is, perhaps, the working principle of Newman and Heresy. Newman's gift is that of a "writer of genius, a brilliant storyteller, a biting polemicist" (p. 3). The author is certainly correct when he argues that Newman viewed the heresies of the past as intensely relevant to disputes that were then current. Newman made such a point endless times throughout his Anglican and Catholic correspondence.

The phrase "story-teller" was not an artistic slip. Thomas, I believe, views Newman primarily as a rhetorician, and uses the word rhetoric hundreds of times to describe his writings on heresy. Newman's ultimate story, however, may have been the one he invented about himself, after his conversion. Thomas argues for a serious discrepancy between the Anglican and Catholic Newman. The volume ends with a series of citations from earlier Newman critics who were even more severe with their subject than Thomas, which is saying a good deal. Newman was/is the great Victorian sophist.

Thomas is not alone in his perception of Newman's weakness. In the many books that followed upon the centennial of Newman's death, the Anglican community was far from silent; and the line was often like that of Thomas. Newman was ever the rhetorician. One might ask, then, why bother? If Newman were dishonest, his work would surely have died by now. For myself, Newman is the most literal of all writers. Certainly, he made a number of errors in his evaluation of the crisis of 1833 and beyond. It was, he said in the Apologia, inconsistent for a Protestant to be anti-liberal.

John R. Griffin

University of Southern Colorado

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

At its meeting held on January 5, 1995, the Executive Council of the American Catholic Historical Association decided to increase the fees for membership as follows: for ordinary members $35.00; for retired members (after twenty consecutive years of ordinary membership) and for student members »25.00; and for life members «600.00.

The president of the Association, Jay P. Dolan of the University of Notre Dame, has appointed Mary J. Oates, C.S.J., of Regis College (Weston, Massachusetts), to the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize for a three-year term. She will represent American history. The Committee for this year, therefore, consists of the chairman, Donald J. Dietrich of Boston College (for modern European history), John Howe of Texas Tech University, Lubbock (for medieval history), and Sister Mary.

Professor Dolan has also appointed Robert C. Figueira of Lander University and Kenneth Gouwens of the University of South Carolina to the Committee on Program for the seventy-sixth annual meeting, which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 7—9, 1996.

Meetings, Conferences, Congresses, and Colloquia

The only session dealing with religious history among the approximately 150 sessions of the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians and the National Council on Public History, which will be held in Washington, D.C., from March 30 to April 2, 1995, is entitled "Evangelism, Mysticism, and Minority Status: American Protestantism, 1790-1960." Emma J. Lapsansky of Haverford College will speak on "The Utopian Impulse in Twentieth-Century America: A Quaker Experience"; Donald Mathews of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, "From Evangelicalism to Liberalism, 1880-1920"; and Dickson D. Bruce of the University of California, Irvine, "African Americans and American Theological Discourse, 1790-1830."

Under the title "Re-enchanting the World: Christian Education and the Imagination," Albert J. Raboteau of Princeton University will deliver the annual Catholic Daughters of the Americas Lecture at the Catholic University of America on April 2, 1995.

The American Society of Church History will hold its spring meeting on April 20—23, 1995, in Coral Gables, Florida. Further information may be obtained from Daniel L. Pals in care of the Department of Religious Studies, University of Miami, Post Office Box 248264, Coral Gables, Florida 33124-4672.

The theme of the forty-third study week of the Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, which will take place at Spoleto on April 20-26, 1995, is "Il Caucaso: Cerniera fra culture dal Mediterráneo alla Persia (secoli IV-XI)." Among the thirty papers that will be presented are "La cristianizzazione del Caucaso" by Bernard Outtier of the Bibliothèque du Caucase, Saulieu, France, and "Generic and Methodological Developments in East Christian Theology" by Peter Cowe of Columbia University.

The American Cusanus Society will sponsor three sessions at the thirtieth International Congress on Medieval Studies, which will be held at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, on May 4-7, 1995. In die first, entitled "Nicholas of Cusa's Place in Intellectual History," papers will be read by Dennis D. Martin of Loyola University Chicago ("Hugh of Balma and the Tegernsee Controversy over Affective Mysticism"), by F. Edward Cranz of Connecticut College ("Cusanus' Place in Western Thought"), and by Eric Crump of Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary ("Conjecture and Representation in Nicholas of Cusa and Kant"). "Preaching and Reform in the Age of Cusanus" is the theme of the second session, in which the following papers will be read: "A Call for Reform: Nicholas de Clamange's Use of Medieval Apocalypticism," by Christopher Bellitto of Fordham University; "The Art of Preaching in Ten Sermons of Nicholas of Cusa," by Lawrence Hundersmarck of Pace University; and "Word as Bread: Recent Research in Nicholas of Cusa's Theology of Preaching," by Peter Casarella of the Catholic University of America. The third session will be devoted to a discussion of Brian Tierney's book Foundations of Conciliar Theory "forty years after." Francis Oakley of Williams College will present the book's "Significance for Ecclesiology and Political Thought," and Professor Tierney, emeritus of Cornell University, will give a response. Heiko A. Oberman of the University of Arizona will preside and comment. After the dinner and business meeting on May 5 Donald Duclow of Gwynedd-Mercy College will speak on "Nicholas of Cusa's Dialogue on World Religions: A Student Response Approach."

A colloquium on "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. All desirable information may be obtained from David Townsend in care of the Centre for Medieval Studies, 39 Queen's Park Crescent East, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2C3, Canada.

The program of the "Colloque universitaire international" that will be held at Clermont on June 23-25, 1995, and will be devoted to the theme "Le Concile de Clermont et l'Appel à la Croisade" (see ante, LXXIX [April, 1993], 389) has now been completed "under the high scholarly authority" of Georges Duby of the Académie Française. Among the sixteen medievalists presenting papers will be H. E. J. Cowdrey of the University of Oxford, "The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades"; James A. Brundage of the University of Kansas, "Crusaders and the Jurists: The Legal Consequences of Crusader States"; Jonathan Riley-Smith of the University of Cambridge, "The Idea of Crusading in the Charters of Early Crusaders"; Giles Constable of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, "Cluny et la première croisade"; and Marcus Bull of the University of Bristol, "Overlapping and Competing Identities in the Frankish First Crusade." Requests for copies of the program and for practical information should be addressed to the dean René Chiroux, Vice-President of the Conseil Régional d'Auvergne, Hôtel de la Région, 13/15 Avenue de Fontmaure, Boite postale 60, 63402 Chamalières Cedex, France; telephone: 73 31 85 85; fax: 73 36 73 45.

Robert M. Kingdon of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a vice-president of the International Commission for Comparative Ecclesiastical History, has organized the first section of a session for the eighteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences, which will be held at Montreal from August 27 to September 3, 1995 (see ante, LXXIX [July, 1993], 592; LXXX [July, 1994], 663, and [October, 1994], 819-820). The theme of the session is "The Religious Cultures of the Americas: European Roots and Transformations." The principal paper in the first section (September 1), which will deal with the United States and Canada, will be presented by Mark Noll of Wheaton College. Communications will be presented by Dominique Deslandres of the University of Montreal ("La séduction de Dieu: Eléments d'histoire comparée des missions chrétiennes en Amérique du nord-est"); by Michael Gauvreau of McMaster University on Scottish and English influences on Protestant Evangelicals in North America; by Jerzy Kloczowski of the Catholic University of Lublin ("L'Emigration de l'Europe du Centre-Est et ses racines religieuses"); by Hugh McLeod of the University of Birmingham on "Immigrant Religion in New York City in the Late Nineteenth and the Twentieth Centuries"; by Susan Hardman Moore of King's College, University of London on "Rhetoric and Circumstance in the Formation of New England's Idea of Church"; by A. G. Roeber of the University of Illinois-Chicago on German Lutheranism in North America; by Hermann Wellenreuther of the University of Göttingen on German Christian missions to North America in the eighteenth century; and by John Wolffe of the Open University (England) on anti-Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century. In the second section (September 2), which will deal with Latin America, the principal paper will be read by Antón Pazos of the University of Navarre ("Las influencias religiosas entre América del Norte y Latino-América"). Preregistration for the International Congress should be done by April 30. The fees are $200 before April 30 and Î225 thereafter for

all countries except Canada; for students and registered guests the fees are $100 before April 30 and Sl 15 thereafter for non-Canadians. A registration circular may be obtained from the XVIIIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, CP. 8888, Succursale Centre-Ville, Montréal, Québec H3C 3P8, Canada; fax: 514-987-0259; e-mail: cish95@uqam.ca.

Sponsored by the Centre d'Histoire des Réformes et du Protestantisme, the ninth "Colloque Jean Boisset" will take place at Montpellier on October 3—6, 1995, and will deal with the topic "Protestantisme et politique, XVP-XX" siècle." Anyone interested in participating should write to M. Peronnet in care of Arts, Lettres, Langues et Sciences Humaines, Université Paul Valéry, Route de Mende, Boite postale 5043, 34032 Montpellier Cedex, France; telephone: 67.14.20.00; fax: 67.14.20.52.

The twenty-second Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies will be held on October 6—7, 1995, at Saint Louis University. Scholars are invited to present papers in such areas of manuscript and textual research as codicology, paleography, papyrology, illuminations, textual criticism, epigraphy, cataloguing formats, and computer applications. Abstracts of proposed papers, not exceeding 200 words in length, should be submitted by August 1, and complete texts (not exceeding nine double-spaced pages) must be sent by September 1. Inquiries concerning proposals and accommodations should be addressed to the Conference Committee, Manuscripta, Pius XII Memorial Library, Saint Louis University, 3650 Lindell Boulevard, Saint Louis, Missouri 63108.

Siena College is continuing its sponsorship of annual, international, multidisciplinary conferences on the fiftieth anniversary of World War II. The title of the conference to be held on May 30-31, 1996, is "World War II—a Dual Perspective," which will embrace "1946, World War II—The Aftermath," and "1936, World War II—The Preliminary Period." Proposals for papers should include a brief outline or abstract and should be submitted by December 1, 1995. All inquiries should be addressed to the co-director of the World War II Conference, Thomas O. Kelly, II, in care of the Department of History, Siena College, 515 Loudon Road, Loudonville, New York 12211-1462; telephone: 518-783-2595; fax·. 518-783-4293.

The second International Tyndale Conference is being planned for September 2—7, 1996. It will take place at Hertford and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Those who wish to participate should communicate with the secretary of the Tyndale Society, Priscilla Frost, at 10B Littlegate Street, Oxford OXl IQT, England; telephone: (011-44) 865-794-727; fax: 865-794-695.

Publications

Persons interested in the history of Christian art and architecture in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages may wish to read the following articles pub-

lished in Volume 42 (1994) of Cahiers Archéologiques: Hetty J. Van Ginhoven, "Le miniaturiste du Pentateuque de Tours ou Pentateuque d'Ashburnham et sa méthode de travail" (pp. 65—74); Paul Mylonas, "Le Catholicon de Kutlumus (Athos). La dernière étape de la formation du catholicon athonite: l'apparition des typicaria" (pp. 75—86); Thomas Steppan, "Die Mosaiken des Athosklosters Vatopaidi: Stilkritische und ikonographische Überlegungen" (pp. 87-122); Tania Velmans, "Observations sur quelques peintures murales en Syrie et Palestine et leur composante byzantine orientale" (pp. 123—138); Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Painters in Late Byzantine Society. The Evidence of Church Inscriptions" (pp. 139-158); Athanassios Semoglou, "Le Christ-Vengeur. Remarques sur un sujet iconographique rare" (pp. 159-166); and Eva Haustein-Bartsch, "Zur Rekonstruktion der Festtagsreihe einer Novgoroder Ikonostase des 15. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 167-184).

"Frontier Catholicism" is the theme of the issue of the U.S. Catholic Historian for fall, 1994 (Volume 12, Number 4). One will find here the following articles: "The Catholic Frontiers," by Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X. (pp. 1-15); " 'How I would save them all': Priests on the Michigan Frontier," by Leslie Woodcock Tentler (pp. 17-35); "Sacred Encounters in the Northwest: A Persistent Dialogue," by Jacqueline Peterson (pp. 37—48); "The Art of Conversation: Jesuits and Flatheads in Nineteenth-Century Montana," by Gerald McKevitt, SJ. (pp. 49-64); "Frontier Catholics in the Pacific Northwest," by Wilfred P. Schoenberg, SJ. (pp. 65-84); "From Frontera Faith to Roman Rubrics: Altering Hispanic Religious Customs in Los Angeles, 1855—1880," by Michael E. Engh, SJ. (pp. 85—105); "Lay Initiatives in Worship on the Texas Frontera, 1830-1860," by Timothy M. Matovina (pp. 107-120); and "Catholic Female Academies on the Frontier," by Mary J. Oates, CSJ. (pp. 121-136).

The Asbury Theological Journal has published a "Special Issue Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of Bethel Academy" in Kentucky (Volume 49, Number 2 [Fall, 1994], pages 5-115). The history is written by G. Herbert Livingston.

Resistance in the Third Reich is the theme of five articles published in the issue of Internationale katholische Zeitschrift "Communio" for November-December, 1994 (Volume 23, Number 6). The authors and their titles are Victor Conzemius, "Zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand. Die Christen und der Nationalsozialismus" (pp. 483—502); Heinz Hurten, "Wo stand die Kirche am 20. Juli?" (pp. 503-517); Curt Hohoff, "Literarischer Widerstand durch innere Emigration" (pp. 518-527); Rudolf Lili and Heinrich Oberreuter, "Widerstand: Resonanz, Rechtfertigung, Ziele" (pp. 528—536); and Eberhard Straub, "Die Deutschen und der Widerstand" (pp. 537-542).

The latest issue of the Revue des Ordinations Episcopales (Volume I, Number 3 [January, 1995]; see ante, LXXX [October, 1994], 822) contains not only the episcopal ordinations performed in 1993 but also an index of places for 1991, 1992, and 1993 as well as the geographical distribution of such ordinations and an index of consecrators for the same three years. A new

component gives the episcopal genealogies of the twenty-seven cardinals (who are bishops) created in the consistory of November 26, 1994.

Personal Notices

Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., has been named William R. Kenan, Jr., Professor of Religious Studies in the University of Virginia. The appointment was approved by the Board of Visitors on February 4, 1995, and was made retroactive to September 1, 1994.

William P. Schoenberg, SJ., has been named University Archivist Emeritus of Gonzaga University by die Board of Trustees, who wished thereby "to express special appreciation for the many exceptional contributions that [he] has made to preserving the history of the Northwest, to the enrichment of the Spokane and University communities, and for his exemplary record of scholarship and service."

Obituaries

John L. Ciani, SJ., died at the Jesuit Community of Georgetown University of non-Hodgkins lymphoma on December 22, 1994. Born in the Bronx in 1951, he graduated from the Fordham Preparatory School and Brown University. He then obtained a master's degree in journalism from Northwestern University and worked in the field of religious journalism before entering the Society of Jesus at Wernersville, Pennsylvania, in 1977. Ordained in 1986, he then pursued graduate work in religious studies at the University of Virginia, from which he received his Ph.D. degree in 1992. His dissertation was entitled "Across a Wide Ocean: Salvatore Brandi, SJ., and the Civiltà Cattolica, from Americanism to Modernism 1891—1914"; it has been accepted for publication by the Catholic University of America Press. From 1992 to 1994, he was assistant professor of theology at Georgetown University, and in September, 1994, he assumed the position of director of Catholic campus ministry. He is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Ciani of the Bronx, and a sister, Valerie, of Manhattan.

Gerald P. Fogarty, SJ.
University of Virginia

Edward T. Gargan, professor emeritus of history in the University of Wisconsin—Madison, who had been president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1970, died on January 10, 1995, in Madison. Two days after returning from Chicago, where he had attended the meetings of the historical societies, he was stricken by a heart attack while working on an article in his

study. He was born in New York on February 25, 1922, and received his BA. degree from Brooklyn College in 1945. He earned the doctorate in European history at the Catholic University of America in 1955 with a published dissertation on Alexis de Tocqueville. Subsequently he taught at Wesleyan University, Loyola University of Chicago, and Boston College. In 1967 he was appointed professor of French history in the University of Wisconsin, where he remained until he retired in 1992. He authored two books, co-authored one, and edited four, and wrote more than thirty articles and more than 200 book reviews. He received numerous grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, die National Science Foundation, die American Philosophical Society, and other institutions as well as a Guggenheim Fellowship. He was a national finalist in the E. Harris Harrison Teaching Award of the Danforth Foundation. The French Ministry of National Education named him a Chevalier des Palmes Académiques in 1963, and he was president of the Society for French Historical Studies in 1974. He was a much-loved teacher whose students now carry on his legacy in prestigious universities and colleges; twenty of diem wrote their doctoral dissertations under his supervision. Besides his historical pursuits, he had recently returned to an early interest in die visual arts; as an adolescent he had studied at the Arts Students League in New York, and last August he exhibited two pastel paintings in a group show in Madison. He is survived by his wife, Bernadette Praetz Gargan, and by two sons. He was preceded in death by his first wife, Louise Quesnel Gargan, and by two infant children. He had been a member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1950.

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