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GOD AND CONSTANTINE: DIVINE SANCTION FOR IMPERIAL RULE IN THE FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPEROR'S EARLY LETTERS AND ART

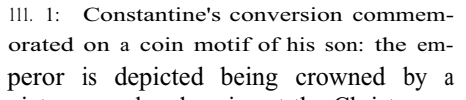
BY

Charles Odahl*

During his arduous military campaign to wrest control of Rome from the usurper Maxentius in A.D. 312, Constantine the Great felt the need for supernatural assistance against the substantial armed forces and the superstitious religious rites supporting his enemy. Noting that the previous generation of emperors who had followed the traditional pagan cults and persecuted the Christian Church had come to unhappy ends, he invoked the "Highest God" of the universe in prayer for aid and power in his time of trial. Believing that he received an answer to this appeal through revelatory experiences from the God of the Christians, he decided to employ the caelestia signa of Christ as talismanic emblems on the arms of his troops. The emperor's climactic victory over the forces of Maxentius at the Battle of the Mulvian Bridge on October 28, 312, convinced him that he had made the right choice for a divine patron and that he should direct his religious loyalty to this Divinity in the future (Illustration I).1

*Dr. Odahl is professor of ancient and medieval history and classical languages at Boise State University in Idaho. This illustrated article was first delivered before a joint session of the American Catholic Historical Association and the American Society of Church History in January of 1994 in San Francisco.

[1]Contemporary Christian sources explicitly recording Constantine's conversion ex-



Ill. 1: Constantine's conversion commemorated on a coin motif of his son: the emperor is depicted being crowned by a victory-angel and gazing at the Christ monogram on his war standard while the Hoc Signo Victor Eris inscription records the celestial message of his vision experience. (Bronze, Siscia mint, 350-351, British Museum)

After his triumphal adventus into Rome in the autumn of 312, Constantine made a most public profession of his new religious orientation in the very center of the capital city. While in Rome for the next few months, he ordered the completion of a grandiose Basilica Nova that Maxentius had begun at the northeast end of the Roman Forum. It was one of the largest structures in the heart of the city, and is still impressive in ruins with a longitudinal axis of over ninety meters in length and with barrel vaults of nearly thirty meters in height. In the western apse of this building Constantine placed a colossal statue of himself holding a war standard shaped in the form of a Christian cross and marked with the monogram of Christ. At its base he set up an inscription proclaiming that it was "by virtue of this salutary sign . . . that I have saved and liberated your city from the yoke of tyranny." Portions of this statue with its six-foot-high head have been relocated to the atrium of the Conservators' Museum on the

perience are Lactantius, Oe Mortibus Persecutorum 44, ed. S. Brandt and G. Laubmann in the CSEL, Vol. XXVII, Fas. II (Vienna, 1897); Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica IX. 9, ed. and trans. J. Oulton and H. Lawlor in the LCL (Cambridge, 1932), and Vita Constantin! l. 26-40, ed. F. Winkelmann in the GCS, Eusebius Werke, Bd. I (Berlin, 1975). Contemporary pagan sources implicitly recognizing it are the anonymous Trier Panegyricus LX, and Nazarius' Roman Panegyricus X, ed. E. Galletier in Panégyriques Latins, Tome II (Paris, 1952).

For modern assessments of Constantine's conversion, see Etienne Delaruelle, "La conversion de Constantin: état de la question," Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique, LIV (1953), 37-54 and 84-100; John W. Eadie, The Conversion of Constantine (New York, 1971); Charles Odahl, "Constantine's Conversion to Christianity," in Problems in European History (Durham, 1979), pp. 1-18, and "Christian Symbols in Military Motifs on Constantine's Coinage," SAN: Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics, XIII (1983), 64-72; Timothy D. Barnes, "The Conversion of Constantine," Classical Views, XXIX, n.s. (1985), 371-391—reprinted in the Variorum "Collected Studies Series" in From Eusebius to Augustine (Brookfield, Vermont, 1994), Chap. Ill; and Charles Odahl, "A Pagan's Reaction to Constantine's Conversion—Religious References in the Trier Panegyric of A.D. 313," The Ancient World, XXI (Spring, 1990), 45-63.

Capitoline Hill above the Forum. Stories of this bold act were soon circulating across the empire, and published by the eastern church historian Eusebius of Caesarea within a year (Ills. 2-4).2

Although he believed that power from the God of the Christians had aided his troops in overcoming the forces of his enemy, and he was willing to make a public profession of that belief, Constantine as yet knew little about the characteristics of the Christian Deity or the practices of the Christian Church. Over the next few years, the first Christian emperor would attempt to remedy this situation by surrounding himself with clerical advisors, by reading Christian literature, and by involving himself in church affairs. Within these years and

Ill. 2: Remains of Constantine's Basilica Nova in the Roman Forum as seen from the south.

2Eusebius first described the basilican statue and recorded its inscription in his Hist. Eccl IX. 9, and later repeated the story in the Vita Const. I. 40. Recent studies on the composition and dating of the Church History include Timothy D. Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 126-150 and 277-279; and Glenn F. Chesnut, The First Christian Histories, 2nd ed. (Macon, Georgia, 1986), pp. 111-140. For attempts to envisage the original basilica and statue, see Anthony Minoprio, "A Restoration of the Basilica of Constantine, Rome," Papers of the British School at Rome, 12(1932), 1-25; H. P. L'Orange, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture (Oslo, 1947), pp. H6ff., and Art Forms and Civic Life in the Late Roman Empire (Princeton, 1972), pp. 121-125; and Mortimer Wheeler, Roman Art and Architecture (New York, 1985), pp. 114-115.

Ill. 3: Remains of the colossal basilican statue of Constantine now in the atrium of the Museo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill.

Ill. 4: Closeup view of the colossal head of Constantine in the Conservators' Museum: the upward gaze of the eyes was interpreted by Christian apologists as the emperor's search for guidance from his new patron Deity; cf. Eusebius, Hist Eccl. IX. 9, Vita Const. I. 40, and IV. 15; and IU. 15 below.

through these activities, Constantine began to see himself as empowered by and obligated to the Christian Deity in the execution of his imperial duties. Out of this new political vision would emerge an early version of the political theory of Christian imperial theocracy. This illustrated article attempts to summarize the Christian influences on Constantine in the early years after his conversion, examine his extant letters and art for Christian motifs, and reveal how he and his western Christian advisors began the erection of a political theory that presented him as the divinely sanctioned imperial agent of the Christian God on earth.3

The Vita Constantini, the official biography of Constantine composed by Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea with the aid of the emperor's personal reminiscences and official archives in the late 330's, contains valuable information about the Christian influences on Constantine in the early years after his conversion.4 Eusebius records that the emperor's initial revelatory experiences induced him to summon Christian clergy to his court and to read Christian writings in order to learn the mysteries of his new faith.5 He further reports that after the conquest of Rome, Constantine made Christian ministers his advisors and traveling companions, began a costly program of material patronage and building for the Church, and convened and participated in synods of Christian bishops (III. 5).6

Other ancient documents and archaeological remains corroborate

'Standard general studies on Constantine's reign and Christian policies include A. H. M. Jones, Constantine and the Conversion of Europe (New York, 1962); Andrew Alföldi, The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome (Oxford, 1969); Ramsay MacMullen, Constantine (New York, 1971); Hermann Dörries, Constantine the Great (New York, 1972); Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius; and Michael Grant, Constantine the Great (New York, 1994). Timothy D. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine (Cambridge, 1982) provides the most accurate chronological framework for the events and evidence of Constantine's reign.

4For recent work on the composition and date of the Life of Constantine, see Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius, pp. 265-271 and 278—279; Chesnut, op. cit, pp. 124—140; H. A. Drake, "What Eusebius Knew: The Genesis of the Vita Constantini," Classical Philology, 83 (1988), 20-38; and T. D. Barnes, "Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius' Life of Constantine," in The Making of Orthodoxy: Essays in Honour of Henry Chadwick, ed. R. Williams (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 94-123—reprinted in the Variorum "Collected Studies Series" in From Eusebius to Augustine, Chap. XI, and "The Two Drafts of Eusebius' Life of Constantine," first printed in the Variorum "Collected Studies Series" From Eusebius to Augustine, Chap. XII.

mta Const I. 32.

6Vito Const. I. 42-45.

Ill. 5: A Byzantine manuscript illustration depicts a fourth-century Christian emperor conversing with Christian clergy as Constantine often did after his conversion. {The Homilies of Gregory of Naxianzus, ca. 880, Ms. Grec. 510, fol. 355, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

the evidence of the Vita, and supply specific details concerning some of Constantine's early ecclesiastical advisors and activities.

In the winter of 312-313 while residing in Italy, Constantine sent out imperial letters to the provincial officials and Catholic bishops of the regions he had won through the victory over Maxentius ordering the restitution of any property the Christian Church had lost in recent persecutions, and the granting of monetary subsidies and legal exemptions to the Catholic clergy. Several of these epistles are still extant.7 The one concerning monetary subsidies specifies that these benefactions were to be distributed according to an attached list drawn up by a certain Ossius.8 This individual was the

7Eusebius preserved Greek translations of some of these letters to the North African provinces in his earlier work, the Historia Ecclesiastica X. 5—7. On Constantine's legislation in favor of the Church, consult J. Gaudemet, "La législation religieuse de Constantin," Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, XXXIII (1947), 25-61; and C. Dupont, "Les privilèges des clercs sous Constantin," Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 62 (1967), 729-752.

"Hist Eccl. X. 6: "Epistle to Caecilianus, Bishop of Carthage."

Bishop of Cordova in Spain, and seems to have been one of the Christian clergy who was summoned to the emperor's entourage at the time of his conversion. He was a man of great learning, of the highest morality, and widely respected as an outstanding leader of the western Church. He would serve as Constantine's foremost ecclesiastical counselor and be a regular imperial companion for more than a decade.9

A contemporary Latin translation of Plato's Timaeus was dedicated to Ossius and indicates his knowledge that similarities between certain aspects of Platonic philosophy and Christian theology could be used to aid the conversion of pagans to the faith.10 The letter on subsidies reveals that he was familiar with the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the West and was advising the emperor on church polity.11 A later law allowing the manumission of slaves in churches was dedicated to him and indicates that he influenced Constantine to inject Christian morality into Roman jurisprudence.12 Ossius very probably guided Constantine's early readings in the Bible and helped him learn what duties the Christian God would expect a Christian emperor to perform.13

9He worked closely with Constantine up through the eastern Nicene Council of 325 and the western imperial Vicennalia of 326 when he finally returned to his bishopric in Spain. The most detailed study on Ossius and his relationship to Constantine is by V. C. de Clercq, Ossius of Cordova (Washington, D.C., 1954). Because of the bishop's great learning, authority, and influence, ancient Greek writers made a play on his Latin name with the Greek word ?s??? meaning "the holy one." Thus, the alternate spelling of "Hosius" for his name is seen in many translations and books.

"'Calcidius, the translator of the Timaeus, praised Ossius' intelligence and learning in the dedication; while De Clercq, op. cit., pp. 59—79, details the bishop's philosophical and theological education. Ossius may have shared this Platonic work with the Christian emperor, as Constantine would later compare its teaching on the first and second Deity to the Christian concept of God the Father and His Son the Word in his Oratio ad Coetum Sanctorum 9 (ca. 325)—the Greek text of this sermon is edited by I. A. Heikel in the GCS, Vol. 7, Eusebius Werke, Bd. 1 (Leipzig, 1902).

"From this epistle it is evident that Ossius was advising the emperor about the Donatist Schism in the North African church.

12The law permitting manumission of slaves in church, dedicated to Ossius, dates from the year 321, and is preserved in the Codex Theodosianus IV. 7. 1—the Latin text is edited by Theodor Mommsen, Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis (3 vols.; Berlin, 1905); and an English translation is provided by Clyde Pharr, The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions (Princeton, 1952).

"Among the many modern scholars who have judged Ossius to have played a key role in advising Constantine on the Christian faith and church affairs are Louis Duchesne, Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1906), p. 59; De Clercq, op. cit, pp. 148 ff; MacMuUen, op. cit, pp. 101-109 and 131; W. H. C. Frend, The Donatist Church (Oxford, 1985), pp. 141-168; and Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius, pp. 74-75.

An ancient papal biography and modern archaeological studies indicate that Constantine early got to know and would long work with the men who served as the bishops of Rome during his reign. In the autumn of 312, the emperor ceded the Laterani Palace from imperial estates at the eastern end of the city to Bishop Miltiades (311-314) and started the construction of a grand basilican cathedral next to it for the public worship of the Roman Christian community. Apparently on the suggestion of Miltiades' successor, Pope Sylvester (314-335), the pious emperor and members of his family would patronize the construction of another seven major Christian basilicas in and around Rome over the next few decades. The liturgical basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano, and the martyrial basilica of San Pietro in Vaticano were the largest and most famous of these eight Constantinian churches, and began the transition of the city of Rome from a pagan capital to the Apostolic See in late antiquity (111. 6).14

It was probably on the advice of Ossius and Miltiades that Constantine initiated his program of material grants and legal favors for the Christian clergy in the aftermath of his conversion. Among the latter were laws exempting Christian ministers from the burdens of public service so that they might be free to devote their efforts to the worship of the "most holy celestial Power" upon whose benevolence the Christian emperor was coming to believe the welfare of his reign and the empire depended.15 These clerical legislative enactments and church building activities certainly would have helped Constantine to

14The ancient text which lists the Christian basilicas founded by Constantine and his family around Rome is the Vita Silvestri, the thirty-fourth entry in the Liber Pontificalis. For the full Latin text with critical apparatus, see Louis Dechesne, Le Liber Pontificalis, XXXIIII. Silvester (Paris, 1955), pp. 170-187; and for an edited Latin text with detailed commentary and illustrations, see Charles M. Odahl, Early Christian Latin Literature (Chicago, 1993), pp. 133-154. Archival material and archaeological work on the Constantinian churches of Rome are surveyed in Richard Krautheimer, Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308 (Princeton, 1980), esp. Chapter V; and Charles Odahl, "The Christian Basilicas of Constantinian Rome," The Ancient World, XXVI (1995), 3-28.

"Eusebius, Hist. Eccl X. 7. 1-2, preserves a Greek translation of Constantine's clerical exemption law in an "Epistle to Anullinus," the Roman proconsular Governor of Africa; while the Cod. Theod XVI. 2. 2 contains a shorter Latin version of the constitution to a governor in southern Italy. It is also in this section of the Historia Ecclesiastica (X. 5. 18—20) that Eusebius preserved a copy of the emperor's "Epistle to Miltiades, Bishop of Rome," requesting him to adjudicate the Donatist Schism—a task which the bishop attempted to accomplish through a synod of Italian and Gallic bishops held at the Lateran Palace in the autumn of 313. For the chronology of Constantine's reign in general, and of these post-conversion laws and letters in particular, see Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine, esp. pp. 68—80 and 238—247.

IU. 6: A. Lafréry's engraving of Le sette Chiese di Roma showing the seven pilgrimage churches of medieval Rome, six of which were of Constantinian construction. In the center is the old San Giovanni in Laterano, and in the bottom foreground is the old San Pietro in Vaticano with Michelangelo's dome rising at its western end. (1575, Vatican Collections)

learn more about how Christians perceived and worshiped the Supreme Deity.

After persuading his eastern co-emperor Licinius to accept an empire-wide religious toleration policy at an imperial conference in Milan,16 and campaigning against Germanic barbarians along the Rhine,

16The imperial conference and a Latin text of the religious toleration policy which resulted from it (traditionally called the "Edict of Milan") are recorded by Lactantius in De Mort Pers. 45 and 48; with a Greek translation of the document provided by Eusebius in Hist Eccl. X. 5. 2-14. Barnes, Constantine and Eusebias, pp. 48-53 and 64—65, and The New Empire ofDiocletian and Constantine, pp. 67-68, indicates that Constantine did not need to publish the toleration policy statement in his own domains since he had already gone beyond its provisions in his post-conversion enactments in favor of the western Church. M. V. Anastos, "The Edict of Milan—A Defense of Its Traditional Authorship and Designation," Revue des Études Byzantines, 25 (1967), 13-41, on the other hand, argued for empire-wide publication of the policy statement. The extant Lactantian and Eusebian texts of the "Edict" are imperial letters sent by licinius

Constantine returned to his imperial residence at Trier in August of 313 (IU. 7).[17]

It was probably at this time that he came under the influence of Lactantius, the Christian teacher who would have the most profound effect on his early understanding of his new faith.[18] This renowned North African scholar had served as professor of Latin rhetoric in the

Ill. 7: An exterior view toward the apsidal end of Constantine's fourth-century palace audience hall at Trier.

to provincial governors at Nicomedia and Caesarea in June of 313 after he had defeated his eastern rival, Maximin Daia, and ended the latter's persecution of the Church.

[17] "Paneg, IX. 21. 5-23 records the emperor's successful campaign against the Germans and joyful return to his northern capital at Trier. For an analysis of this panegyric delivered in honor of Constantine's adventus in Trier, see Odahl, "A Pagan's Reaction to Constantine's Conversion—Religious References in the Trier Panegyric of A.D. 313," pp. 45 ff.

[18] For modern reconstructions of his life and literary career, see J. Stevenson, "The Life and Literary Activity of Lactantius," Studia Patrística, I (1957), 661-677; Jean-Rémy Palanque, "Sur la date du De Mortibus Persecutorum," Mélanges offerts à J. Carcopino (Paris, 1966), pp. 711-716; Hans von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Latin Church (Stanford, 1969), pp. 61-86; T. D. Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," Journal of Roman Studies, LXIII (1973), 29-46; J. L. Creed, Lactantius—De Mortibus Persecutorum (Oxford, 1984), pp. xv-xlvii; and Odahl, Early Christian Latin Literature, pp. 67-98.

eastern capital of Nicomedia at the beginning of the fourth century, and then during the decade of the "Great Persecution" had traveled around the empire working on a massive seven-book defense of Christian faith and ethics entitled the Dtvtnae Instttutiones. Constantine may have met him when serving as a young prince at the eastern court and possibly have offered him refuge after becoming emperor of the northwestern provinces in 306. Although Lactantius seems to have returned to the East for a time, St. Jerome reported that in old age he became the tutor of Constantine's first son, Crispus, at the imperial court in Gaul.19 As Crispus was just entering adolescence, Lactantius must have joined the court at its normal residence in Trier during the autumn of 313, and taught the young prince the higher elements of classical learning and Christian doctrine over the next three and a half years until he became a Caesar in March of 317 (Ills. 8 & 9)20

When Constantine was not touring his western provinces or carrying out military campaigns during these years, Trier was his regular imperial capital and most frequent place of sojourn. When in residence there, he undoubtedly took an interest in his son's education, and probably found such occasions convenient for increasing his own knowledge of Christianity through conversation with the old magister, and by readings in his works.21

By the time Lactantius arrived, he had completed the Divinae Institutiones, and added an effusive dedication at the end of the text

'9De Viris Illttstribus 80—Latin text edited by J-P. Migne, PL, Vol. XXIII (Paris, 1865), cols. 689-690: "Lactantius . . . extrema senectute magister Caesaris Crispí filii Constantini in Gallia fuit "

20Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine, p. 44, dates the birth of Crispus to ca. 300. If this is correct, the young prince would have been in his early teens in these years, and ready for advanced rhetorical training from his Christian magister. With little logic and in opposition to Jerome, Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," pp. 29—46, and Constantine and Eusebius, pp. 13—14, dates the Lactantian tutelage of Crispus to the previous decade before Constantine's conversion, and places Lactantius back in the east at this time. I would agree with Campenhausen, op. cit., pp. 78 ff., and Creed, op. cit., pp. xxvii ff, in locating Lactantius in the west after 313; and I like Palanque's suggestion in "Sur la date du De Mortibus Persecutorum," p. 716, that "[Crispus] était resté à Nicomédia jusqu'à l'été 31 3 et qu'il n'est venu en Gaule rejoindre son père qu'à cette date, accompagné de son nouveau précepteur. Lactance serait donc arrivé avec son élève à la cour de Trêves à l'automne de 313 "

21Barnes, Tbe New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine, pp. 71-73, places Constantine in Trier for several considerable periods in these years: during August and early autumn of 313; from November of 313 to June of 314; from late October of 314 to the end of April, 315; and in January of 316.

Ill. 8: An ancient relief sculpture from Roman Trier showing a magister teaching students as Lactantius did Crispus. (Landesmuseum, Trier)

Ill. 9: A coin minted at Trier showing Crispus holding a shield marked with the Christ monogram (bronze, 322-323, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow).

for the newly converted emperor.22 Constantine certainly studied this massive tome over the years, and many of his later statements on the

22Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones VII. 26—in a note on pp. 668-669 of the Latin text edited by S. Brandt in the CSEL, Vol. XIX (Vienna, 1890). Earlier dedications to Constantine as a good emperor who was tolerating Christians in his domains found in Books I-IV and VI of The Divine Institutes clearly date to his pre-Christian period, but the final one to him as the chosen instrument of God in Book VII at the end of Chapter 26 most probably dates to 313. Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 669-673, offers dates for the individual dedications and the various parts of the whole work between the years 303 and 313.

truth of Christian doctrines as opposed to the fallacy of pagan teachings can be traced to its pages.23 The new dedication at the close of Book VII must have pleased him not only in the way it complimented his personal character, but also by the way it defined his imperial role. In part, it reads:

> Most holy Emperor. . . the highest God has raised you up for the restoration of the house of justice, and for the protection of the human race; for while you rule the Roman state, we worshipers of God are no more regarded as accursed and impious The providence of the supreme Divinity has lifted you to the imperial dignity in order that you might be able with true piety to rescind the injurious decrees of others, to correct faults, to provide with a father's clemency for the safety of humanity—in short, to remove the wicked from the state, whom . . . God has delivered into your hands that it might be evident to all in what true majesty consists.
>
> For they who wished to take away the worship of the heavenly and matchless God, that they might defend impious superstitions, lie in ruin. But you who defend and love His name, excelling in virtue and prosperity, enjoy your immortal glories with the greatest happiness The powerful right hand of God protects you from all dangers And not undeservedly has the Lord and Ruler of the world chosen you in preference to all others to renew His holy religion For you, both by the innate sanctity of your character, and by the acknowledgment of the truth and of God in every action, do fully perform works of righteousness. It was therefore fitting that in arranging the condition of the human race the Divinity should make use of your authority and service. We supplicate Him with daily prayers that He may especially guard you whom he has wished to be the guardian of the world [24]

These words fulfilled predictions that Lactantius had made earlier in the text, and confirmed events that Constantine had experienced in his career. The great apologist had warned the pagan emperors that

"Constantine's indebtedness to Lactantian ideas and phrases has been recognized by many modern scholars, including MacMullen, op. cit., pp. 125—131; Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius, pp. 73—76; Robin Lane Fox, Pagans and Christians (New York, 1987), pp. 635-653; and Charles Odahl, "Constantine's Epistle to the Bishops at the Council of Aries: A Defense of Imperial Authorship," Journal of Religious History, 17 (June> 1993), 279-281.

24Latin for words in italics: "Sanctissime imperator ... te Deus summus ad restituendum iustitiae domicilium et ad tutelam generis humani excitavit Te Providentia summae Divínitatis ad fastigium principale provexit— Te dextera Dei potens . . . protegit Nec immerito rerum dominus ac rector te potissimum delegit per quem sanctam religionem suam restaurar«. . . . Erat igitur congruens ut in formando generis humani statu te auctore ac ministro Divinitas uteretur. Cui nos cotidianis precibus supplicamus, ut te in primis, quem rerum custodem voluit esse, custodiat. ..."

their power had come from God and that, if they abused this trust, divine retribution would result.25 As he had risen to power during the decade of the "Great Persecution," Constantine had seen each of the persecuting emperors come to ruin. Only he and his eastern colleague Licinius, who were protecting Christians in their domains, still remained in power and ruled in prosperity.

Although the Institutiones offered a long-term curriculum for Constantine's Christian education, two other tracts of much shorter length may have engaged the zealous convert's immediate attention. Probably during his first year at the court in Trier, Lactantius completed a little book entitled De Ira Dei.26 It started by simply defining the three steps to ultimate truth: (1) recognize the fallacy of pagan religions and reject their impious worship of man-made gods; (2) perceive with the mind that there is but one Supreme God, whose power and providence made the world in the beginning and govern it still; and (3) come to know God's Servant and messenger, who was sent as His ambassador to the earth, and by whose teaching we are freed from error and learn righteousness.27 The emperor had certainly reached the second step of this ascent to truth and was diligently striving toward the third through his studies. This tract taught him that the Divinity loved good and hated evil; and through kind benevolence rewarded those who worshiped correctly and lived justly, but out of righteous anger punished those who rejected right religion and just conduct.28 Constantine was learning that fear of the Almighty God was not an inappropriate emotion for a true believer.

The other little book Lactantius was composing at this time was the famous De Mortibus Persecutorum.29 He probably completed it about

"Lactantius, Diu Inst. V. 24. Norman H. Baynes, in a book review reproduced in his Byzantine Studies and Other Essays (London, I960), pp. 348—354, drew attention to the threat of divine ultio against the persecutors of the Church in The Divine Institutes.

26The Latin text of the De Ira Dei has been edited by S. Brandt in CSEL, Vol. XXVII, Part II, Fase. I (Vienna, 1893). Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 674-675, and Sister Mary F. McDonald (tr.), Lactantius: The Minor Works in "The Fathers of the Church," Vol. 54 (Washington, 1965), pp. 59-60, both date this work to ca. 313-314.

21De Ira Dei 2.

2BIbid, 5, 6, 8, and 10-20, as, for example: "Deus ... et iustos diligit, et impíos odit (19) Noxios punit, nee patitur longius procederé, cum eos inemendabiles esse perviderit (20)."

29The Standard Latin text of the De Mortibus Persecutorum is that edited by S. Brandt and G. Laubmann in the CSEL, Vol. XXVII, Fase. II (Vienna, 1897). More recently, it has been edited and translated by Creed, op. cit., and edited, annotated, and illustrated by Odahl, Early Christian Latin Literature, pp. 67-98.

3 1 530 and offered it as an historical proof of the theses he had outlined in his earlier writings.31 It chronicled the divine ultio inflicted upon the persecutors of the Church, and the divine favor extended to the protectors of the Christians. Constantine's rise to power, conversion to the faith, and victory behind the sign of Christ are key episodes in the story, and he is again described as a prince "God has raised up … to rescind the impious and sanguinary edicts of the tyrants and provide for the welfare of humanity."32 The emperor probably contributed historical data to the writer and was later to employ themes from this work in his own writings.33

From his readings in the Bible, his discussions with church leaders, and especially his studies with Lactantius, Constantine was quickly learning the dichotomous Christian attitude toward political authority. Based on dicta of Christ and St. Peter, the Church had long taught its members "to render to Caesar" taxes, honor, and good behavior.34 Yet

^Palanque, op. cit., pp. 711—716, dates the composition of the work to the years 313-315 at the court in Trier. Jones, op. cit., p. 80; Alföldi, op. cit., pp. 44-46; and Creed, op. cit., pp. xxxiii-xxxv, all agree. Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," pp. 29-46, and Constantine and Eusebius, pp. 13-14, also accepts this dating, but places the composition of the work in the east. Though I agree with most of Barnes' chronological work, I have to disagree with him on this point. The Lactantian influence on Constantine seems too profound to have been merely literary, and the statement of Jerome on Lactantius' residence at the court in Trier best fits this time frame. A small piece of numismatic data may also support western composition. It was in De Mort. Pens. 44 that Lactantius offered the earliest description of Constantine's dream in which Christ ordered the emperor to place the monogram of the "nomen Christi" as the "caeleste Signum Dei" on the shields of his men before the battle against Maxentius. If Lactantius composed and published this pamphlet at Trier while serving as tutor for the emperor's son, it may not be a coincidence that the first Roman coin to bear a shield marked with the chi-rho monogram was minted for Crispus at Trier in the early 320's (111. 9). Cf. Odahl, "Christian Symbols in Military Motifs on Constantine's Coinage," p. 68, and Early Christian Latin Literature, pp. 67-68.

51Baynes, op. cit., esp. pp. 350-351.

i2De Mort Pers. 1.

"Lactantian themes and phraseology are particularly evident in the edicts and letters Constantine issued in 324-325 to the eastern provinces and bishops in the aftermath of his "Holy War" against Licinius. Eusebius recorded three of these missives in the Vita Const II. 24-42; II. 46; and II. 48-60. A good part of the first one is extant independently on a papyrus fragment from Egypt now in the British Museum, and has been analyzed by A. H. M. Jones and T. C. Skeat in "Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' Life of Constantine," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, V (1954), 196-200. Alföldi, op. cit, pp. 82-85, noted the Lactantian influence in Constantine's imperial writings.

34JeSUs' answer to the tribute question in Matt. 22:15—22; and Peter's counsel to good behavior before the pagans in 1 Pet. 2:11-17.

the basic Christian view of the state had always swung between positive and negative pictures drawn by Paul and John. St. Paul had exhorted the faithful in his Epistle to the Romans to obey earthly authorities because he believed that "all government comes from God," and that civil authorities are divinely instituted to serve God by protecting good people and punishing wrongdoers.35 Yet, he would have agreed with John that emperors who prohibit the worship of the true God and persecute the faithful have forsaken their sacred duty and become like the purple beast who serves the Great Dragon Satan in the Book of Revelation.36 Church apologists had been expressing these views for centuries, and they were at the heart of the political theory Constantine was learning from the works of Lactantius.37

Constantine's growing knowledge of his patron Deity and his new religion was not only coming from the clerical counselors and Christian readings so far mentioned, but also from his involvement in an internal dispute of the western Church. In the course of distributing imperial benevolences to the newly favored cult back in the winter of 312-313, the emperor had discovered that a schism had developed in the hierarchy of the North African clergy. The legitimacy of the election of the Catholic bishop of Carthage was being contested by a schismatic group that came to be known as the Donatists.58 The latter claimed to be the true church and appealed through governmental channels that they should be receiving the emperor's benefactions rather than the Catholics. In order to help settle the schism, Constantine submitted the dispute to Bishop Miltiades of Rome and some

«Paul's political obedience text in Rom. 13:1-7.

36Jolm the Seer's apocalyptic visions in Rev. 12-13 and 17.

"For an overview of early Christian attitudes to the state, consult C. J. Cadoux, The Early Church and the World (Edinburgh, 1955); and Kenneth M. Setton, Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century (New York, 1967). In both the Diu Inst. V. 24, and the De Mort. Pers. 52, Lactantius used apocalyptic language in referring to the persecuting emperors as bestiae malae. This imagery was appropriated and employed by the emperor in his letters and art celebrating the end of the persecutions as seen in Charles Odahl, "The Use of Apocalyptic Imagery in Constantine's Christian Propaganda," Centerpoint, 4 (1981), 9-19.

58Ttle standard modern study on Donatism is W. H. C. Frend, The Donatist Church (Oxford, 1952, 1976, and 1985), with the first edition reviewed by Henry Chadwick in The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 5 (1954), 103-105. For the controversy surrounding the origins of the schism, see T. D. Barnes, "The Beginnings of Donatism," Journal of Theological Studies, n.s., 26 (1975), 13-22; and W. H. C. Frend and K. Clancy, "When did the Donatist Schism Begin,"/owrna/ of Theological Studies, n.s., 28 (1977), 104-109.

representative bishops from Gaul and Italy in mid-313. The Roman synod sided with Bishop Caecilian and the Catholic faction; but the Donatists claimed the decision was unfair. Following church tradition, Constantine then summoned the western bishops to meet in council at Aries in August of 314 to deal with the issue. With the emperor "present . . . and sharing in their deliberations," the bishops at the Council of Aries upheld the Roman decision and condemned the Donatists.39 Yet to Constantine's discomfort, the schismatics appealed over the heads of this episcopal council to him personally. After judicial inquiries over the next couple of years had proven the falsehood of the Donatist claims, Constantine decided in favor of the Catholics in November of 316, and for the future confined his imperial patronage to them alone.40

These events are particularly important for our topic, since it is in the words of Constantine's Donatist correspondence, and in the motifs of contemporary imperial art that we can discern the emperor's early attempts to define his role in terms of a political theory of Christian imperial theocracy.41

In his "Epistle to Miltiades, Bishop of Rome," in June of 313, he stated:

> It seems to me to be a very serious matter that in those provinces, which the Divine Providence has entrusted voluntarily to my Devoted-

"Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine, p. 242, and Constantine and Eusebius, p. 58; and Odahl, "Constantine's Epistle to the Bishops at the Council of Aries: A Defense of Imperial Authorship," pp. 282-283 and 288, interpret the Eusebian narrative in Vita Const I. 44—45 that Constantine "convened synods of his ministers" as referring to the emperor's presence at Aries.

¦""Jones, op. cit, pp. 91-107, and Frend, The Donatist Church, pp. 141-168, provide good summaries of Constantine's involvement in the controversy and quote from many of the contemporary documents. For a more accurate chronology of the events and documents, however, consult Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine, pp. 238-247.

¦"The relevant Greek texts on this subject are found in Book X of Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica, ed. and tr. J. Oulton and H. Lawlor in the LCL (Cambridge, 1932). The key Latin texts are found in the Appendix to Optatus, Libri VII De Schismate Donatistarum, ed. K. Ziwsa in the CSEL, Vol. XXVI (Vienna, 1893), or more recently by C. Odahl in Early Christian Latin Literature, pp. 112-124. Contemporary Constantinian coin motifs are catalogued and illustrated in Patrick Bruun, "The Christian Signs on the Coins of Constantine," Arctos, Series 2, Vol. 3 (1962), pp. 5-35, and Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VII (London, 1966); and Odahl, "Christian Symbols in Military Motifs on Constantine's Coinage," pp. 64-72, and "Constantinian Coin Motifs in Ancient Literary Sources," Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association, 7 (1986), 1-15.

> ness, . . . the multitude is found following the baser course, dividing up, as it were, into factions, and the bishops are at variance among themselves. . . .42

Previous pagan emperors had long claimed divine patronage for their rule, and the preceding Diocletianic Tetrarchy had strengthened and narrowed the divine connection down to Jupiter, Hercules, Mars, and Sol,43 but Constantine was now moving away from pagan polytheism to Christian monotheism in defining the source of his political power in Pauline-sounding biblical terminology.

During the spring of the next year when arranging for the Council of Aries in his "Epistle to Aelafius, Vicar of Africa," the emperor made the following personal confession:

> For since it is certain to me that you also are a worshipper of the Highest God, I confess to your gravity, that I consider it not right at all that contentions and altercations of this kind should be ignored by us, from which circumstances perhaps the Highest Divinity may be moved not only against the human race but also against me myself, to whose care by his oivn celestial will He has committed the management of all earthly affairs, and having been angered, may determine anything otherwise than heretofore. For then truly and most fully shall I be able to be secure and always to hope for the most prosperous and best things from the very prompt benevolence of the most powerful God, when I shall have perceived that all people are venerating the most holy God by means of the proper cult of the Catholic religion with harmonious brotherhood of worship.44

The Christian political concept that God institutes earthly powers was gaining ground in Constantine's thinking, but with two important corollaries—the acceptance of political power from the Divinity required duties in return, and failure to perform those duties could result in divine anger and a consequent loss of divine benevolence. His readings

"Recorded in Eusebius, Hist Eccl. X. 5. 18-20, with the Greek for the words in italics as follows: "?? ta?t?a? ta?? ?tta???a??, a? t? ?µ? ?a??s??s?? a??a???t?? ? ?e?a t??????a evextípiaev. . . ."

43On the religious reforms of Diocletian's Tetrarchy, see John Ferguson, The Religions of the Roman Empire (Ithaca, New York, 1970), p. 43; J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, Continuity and Change in Roman Religion (Oxford, 1979), pp. 235-243; and Stephen Williams, Diocletian and the Roman Recovery (New York, 1985), pp. 58-59 and 161-162.

?"Preserved in Optatus, App. 3 (Odahl, Early Christian Latin Literature, pp. 113-117), with the Latin for the words in italics as follows; "commoveri possit summa Divinitas ... in me ipsum, cuius curae nutu suo caelesti terrena omnia moderanda commisit "

in biblical texts and Lactantian works, and his analysis of recent political events under the influence of the themes therein, were obviously affecting Constantine's definition of his imperial role.45

The emperor's "Epistle to the Catholic Bishops" who had met in council with him at Aries in August of 314 is a most significant document. In it Constantine revealed his growing knowledge of church doctrines and practices in more explicitly Christian terminology than he had heretofore employed—calling the bishops his "dearest brothers" and writing of "Christ . . . our Savior."46 He expressed a sense of guilt concerning his earlier pagan life and indicated his knowledge of Lactantius' teaching that the Deity could see into the secret recesses of the human heart.47 In a key passage, he wrote:

> The Almighty God residing in the watchtower of Heaven has bestowed that which I did not deserve: surely now the things which out of his celestial benevolence have been granted to me, his servant, can neither be named nor numbered . . .*"

The characterization of God as the great commander residing in a heavenly citadel is what we might expect from a recently converted soldier-emperor,49 and the acknowledgment of celestial benevolences continued ideas found in his earlier Donatist epistles. Yet, this was the first time that Constantine referred to himself as God's "very own servant" (famulus suus~), revealing his emerging theory of being a

""Norman H. Baynes in Constantine the Great and the Christian Church (London, 1930), pp. 10-12, and A. H. M. Jones, op. cit., pp. 96-97, both noted that fear was an important element in Constantine's religious policy, but did not pinpoint its origins.

46Recorded in Optatus, App. 5 (Odahl, Early Christian Latin Literature, pp. 11?-?20). For the most detailed analysis of this letter, see Charles Odahl, "Constantine's Epistle to the Bishops at the Council of Arles: A Defense of Imperial Authorship,"/OMraa/ of Religious History, 17 (June, 1993), 274-289.

"Lactantius, De Ira Dei 8: "Multum enim refraenat homines conscientia, si credamus nos in conspectu Dei vivere; si non tantum quae gerimus, videri desuper, sed etiam quae cogitamus, aut loquimur, audiri a Deo putemus," Epistula Constantini ad Episcopos Catholicos, in Optatus, App. 5: "Fuerunt enim in me primitus, quae iustitia carere videbantur, nee ulla putabam videre supernam potentiam, quae intra secreta pectoris mei gererem."

48With the Latin for these words as follows: "Deus omnipotens in caeli specula residens tribuit, quod non merebar: certe iam ñeque díci ñeque enumeran possent ea, quae caelesti sua in me famulum suum benivolentia concessit. . . ."

49SuCh imagery had appeared in germinal form in the "Edict of Milan" in early 313 as the Divinitas in sede caelesti, was reflected in the Trier Panegyric in the autumn of 313 as the potestas supra omne caelum. . . ex arce despiciens, and then appeared here a year later in final form. Cf. Odahl, "A Pagan's Reaction to Constantine's Conversion," p. 54.

special agent of, and his growing sense of mission in service to, the Christian God on earth.[50]

The emperor's expanding view of his theocratic role was clearly revealed during the autumn of 315 in his "Epistle to Celsus, the Vicar of Africa." Having lost patience with the disturbances caused by the Donatist schism, he thundered:

> I shall make it quite clear to all ... by announcing a perfectly plain verdict . . . what kind of worship must be given to the Supreme Divinity, . . . and also ... I shall force those who are set against right and religion ... to pay the penalties they deserve For, I believe that by no means can I escape the greatest guilt, otherwise than that I should consider that this schism, which is wicked, must not in the least be ignored. For what more ought to be done by me in accord with my purpose and the duty of a prince, than that after errors have been dispersed and all rashness has been removed, / may cause all people to offer true religion and harmonious simplicity and due worship to the Almighty God?[51]

Constantine's Donatist epistles reveal that within only three years of his conversion the emperor had come to believe not only that his earthly power was dependent upon the Christian God, but also that he had duties to preserve harmony in the Christian Church and to promote conversions to the Christian cult throughout the empire.[52]

By the time the letter to Celsus was penned, Constantine had already returned to Rome in the summer of 315 for the Decennalia festival

'"Constantine's conviction that he was a chosen "instrument" of divine will and had a "special service" to perform as the imperial "servant" of the Christian God (?e??p?? in later Greek texts) grew in intensity through the course of his reign, and can be seen in the letters he sent to the eastern provinces after the war of 324 {Vita Const. Il. 28-29; Il. 46; and Il. 55). His use of servant imagery and sense of mission were emphasized by Baynes, Constantine the Great and the Christian Church, pp. 10-28; Alföldi, op. cit., pp. 32-35; and Dörries, op. cit., pp. 38-39 and 61-67.

"Optatus, App. 7 (Odahl, Early Christian Latin Literature, pp. 121-123), with the Latin for the words in italics as follows: "Quid potius agi a me pro instituto meo ipsiusque principis muñere oporteat, quam ut . . . veram religionem universos concordemque simplicitatem atque méritant omnipotenti Deo culturam praesentare perficiam?"

"Studies on the ancient authenticity and imperial authorship of the letters in Optatus' Appendices include Louis Duchesne, "Le dossier du Donatisme," Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome, 10 (1890), 589—650; Norman H. Baynes, "Optatus,"/o«rna/ of Theological Studies, 26 (1924), 37-44, and Constantine the Great and the Christian Church; and Odahl, "Constantine's Episde to the Bishops at the Council of Aries."

celebrating the tenth anniversary of his reign.53 In honor of this occasion and to commemorate his victory over Maxentius, the pagan Senate unveiled a grand triumphal arch in the center of the city.54 Above its relief panels recounting the emperor's victorious Italian campaign and joyful Roman adventus, the dedicatory inscription indicated that it had been "by the inspiration of the Divinity" (INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS) that Constantine had been led to overthrow the tyrant and restore the republic.55 The neutral religious language was the Senate's way of acknowledging the conversion of the emperor while avoiding the name of Christ (Ills. 10 & II).56

Constantine offered a much less ambiguous artistic expression of his new faith on the special silver medallions he commissioned for the Decennalia.51 While paying tribute to the troops who had fought for him on the reverse design, he openly expressed his religious convictions in the more important obverse motif. Here the emperor was

"Eusebius, Vita Const I. 48. Cf. Barnes, The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine, p. 72, for the evidence to date the Decennalia in Rome between July 21 and September 27 of 315.

54For modern studies of the arch and its sculpture, see H. P. L'Orange and A. von Gerkan, Der spätantike Bildscbmuck des Konstantinsbogen (Berlin, 1939); L'Orange, Art Forms and Civic Life, pp. 89-105; Diana Bowder, The Age of Constantine and Julian (London, 1978), p. 27; and MacCormack, op. cit, pp. 35-37.

"The full Latin inscription reads: "IMP CAES R CONSTANTINO MAXIMO/P F AUGUSTO SPQ R/QUOD INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS MENTIS/MAGNITUDINE CUM EXERCITU SUOA1AM DE TYRANNO QUAM DE OMNI EIUS/FACTIONE UNO TEMPORE IUSTIS/REMPUBLICAM ULTUS EST ARMIS/ARCUM TRIUMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT."

56For Constantine's tolerance of this kind of neutral religious terminology in public settings in the first years after his conversion, see again Odahl, "A Pagan's Reaction to Constantine's Conversion," pp. 53-54.

"Catalogued by Bruun, op. cit, Vol. VII, p. 364, no. 36; with its iconography analyzed by Andreas Alföldi, "Hoc Signo Victor Eris—Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bekehrung Konstantins des Grossen," Pisciculi: Festscrift für F. J. Dolger (Munich, 1939), pp. 4-5; A. Alföldi, "The Initials of Christ on the Helmet of Constantine," Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allen Chester Johnson (Princeton, 1951), pp. 303-311; A. Alföldi, "Das Kreuzzepter Konstantins des Grossen," Schweizerische Münzblätter, Vol. 4, Heft 16 (1954), pp. 81-86; Konrad Kraft, "Das SUbermedaillon Constantins des Grossen mit dem Christus monogram auf dem Helm," Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte (1954-55), pp. 151-178; Patrick Bruun, "The Christian Signs on the Coins of Constantine," pp. 8-10 and 23-24; M. Pierre Bastien, "Le chrisme dans la numismatique de la dynastie Constantinienne, Collectionneurs et collections numismatiques (Paris, 1968), pp. 112-113; Odahl, "Christian Symbols in Military Motifs on Constantine's Coinage," pp. 67-68; Pierre Bastien, "The Horse's Head and Imperial Bust on Roman Coins," SAN: The Journal of the Society for Ancient Numismatics, XIV (1983), 4-8; and Odahl, "Constantinian Coin Motifs in Ancient Literary Sources," pp. 8-9.

IU. 10: A view toward the east end of the Arch of Constantine, with the Flavian Arch and Temple of Venus in the distant center, and the Colosseum to the right.

lll. 11: The south face of the Arch of Constantine, with the Verona siege and Mulvian Bridge battle reliefs above the lower side arches, and the dedicatory inscription above the higher central arch.

depicted in a high-crested war helmet, holding his horse with one hand and a shield and scepter with the other. At the top front of the helmet was a badge marked with the Christogram symbol (☧)—the first two letters of the Greek word for Christ intersected to form a monogram. And protruding above the shield was a large Christian cross topped with a globe. The monogram was the sacred symbol of the nomen Christi, which Constantine had used since his conversion to invoke the power of the Christian God to aid his endeavors.[58] The globular cross scepter appears to be a symbol used by die emperor and his advisors to graphically portray the Christian political theory emerging at court (Ill. 12 & 13).[59]

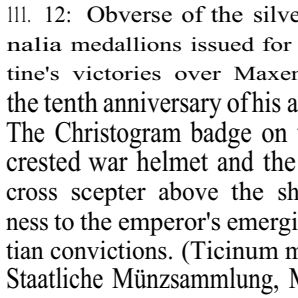
Diocletian and other pagan emperors before Constantine had often been depicted on coins receiving a globe (sometimes topped with victory) as a symbol of power from a patron Deity.[60] As Constantine no longer believed in the pagan gods, they were disappearing from his coins. But the globe as representative of the earth which God had created could stay. This motif perfectly portrayed the biblical political theory which the converted emperor was learning from his clerical advisors and Christian studies. By allowing himself to be depicted with the monogram of Christ on his helmet, and a globular cross scepter in his hand, Constantine was showing in art what he was saying in words—that the Christian God was the creator of the world and the bestower of power, and that the Christian emperor served as the imperial agent of the true God on earth.[61]

[57]Lactantius, De Mort. Pers. 44; and Eusebius, Vita Const I. 31.

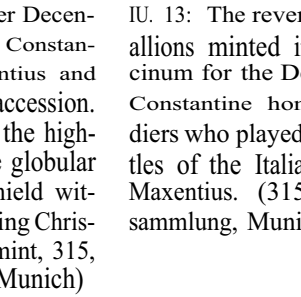
[58]The best preserved specimen of these beautiful medallions is in Munich. Having personally examined it from different angles and in varied lighting, I must agree with Andrew Alföldi and Hermann Dörries that the implement above the shield can be nothing other than a globular cross scepter. Though Constantine minted this Decennalia medallion in limited issue for high officials of the empire early in his reign, he would employ its cross scepter motif again on the Constantinople consecratio coins minted en masse for the general population of the empire late in his reign—for illustrations of the latter, see Odahl, "Christian Symbols in Military Motifs on Constantine's Coinage," p. 70, and "Constantinian Coin Motifs in Ancient Literary Sources," p. 11.

[59]"Ferguson, op. cit., pp. 42-43, 54-56, and 61-62; Odahl, Early Christian Latin Literature, p. 81, Ill. 20 a and b, and p. 93, Ill. 22 a and b; and C. H. V. Sutherland, Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol. VI (London, 1973), passim.

[60]Cf. Alföldi, The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome, pp. 42-43; and Dörries, op. cit., pp. 42—43. Constantine's novel experiment in the iconography of Christian imperial theocracy would barely survive his own reign as his Christian imperial successors through late antiquity tried with various combinations of Christogram, cross, globe, and monogrammed standard to express artistically their acceptance of imperial



Ill. 12: Obverse of the silver Decennalia medallions issued for Constantine's victories over Maxentius and the tenth anniversary of his accession. The Christogram badge on the high-crested war helmet and the globular cross scepter above the shield witness to the emperor's emerging Christian convictions. (Ticinum mint, 315, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich)



IU. 13: The reverse motif of the medallions minted in north Italy at Ticinum for the Decennalta festival of Constantine honors the horse soldiers who played key roles in the battles of the Italian campaign against Maxentius. (315, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich)

Constantine's emerging Christian political theory would have profound effects on the fate of the pagan religions and on the freedom of the Christian Church as his sense of mission to the Christian Deity grew in conviction during his long reign. Many more elements would be added to the theory and practice of Christian imperial theocracy as the emperor and his religion triumphed across the Roman world: apocalyptic imagery would be invoked in imperial letters, sculpture, and coins to depict Constantine as the agent of divine ultio in overthrowing the last of the persecuting emperors; Old Testament typology would be used in Christian writings to present the emperor as a new Moses leading the Christians out of an age of persecutions and into an era of blessings; and Hellenistic motifs and political philosophy would be employed in imperial art and Christian panegyrics to portray Constantine as the interpreter of the divine Logos as he attempted to

power from the Christian Deity. By the end of the fourth century, the cross atop a globe, and the cross on the top of a scepter had become the most common iconographie symbols of Christian imperial theocracy.

Ill. 14: Apocalyptic imagery in imperial art: in the aftermath of his victory in the "holy war" of 324 to stop the Licinian persecution, imperial art and coinage portrayed Constantine's Christian war standard piercing a wriggling serpent, echoing biblical prophecies about the defeat of the devil and his agents (bronze, Constantinople mint, 326-28, British Museum); cf. Eusebius, Vita Const III. 3.

Ill. 15: Christian content in a Hellenistic motif: from 324 to the end of his life in 337 Constantine was depicted with his eyes upraised in prayer to the Christian God on coinage and in palace art, indicating his close connection to his divine patron (gold medallion, Siscia mint, 326-327, Dumbarton Oaks Museum, Washington, D.C.); cf. Eusebius, Vita Const. IV. 15.

create a Christian empire that was a terrestial mimesis of the celestial commonwealth. The eastern theologian and historian, Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea, would draw all of these elements together for his panegyrical Tricennalia Oration and eulogistic Vita Constantini at the end of Constantine's quarter-century of ruling as Rome's first Christian emperor (Ills. 14 & 15).62 Yet, as has been demonstrated here, the

62For later elaborations of Constantine's Christian political theory and Eusebius' climactic role in defining it, see Baynes, "Eusebius and the Christian Empire," in Byzantine Studies and Other Essays, pp. 168-172; Setton, op. cit., pp. 40-56; Charles N. Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture (1944; reprint New York, 1972), pp. 183-212; Erik Peterson, Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem (Munich, 1951), pp. 86-94; Francis Dvorrúk, Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy, Vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1966), pp. 611-658; J.-M. Sansterre, "Eusèbe de Césarée et la naissance de la théorie 'césaropapiste,' " Byzantion, 42 (1972), 131-195 and 532-594; Odahl, "The Use of Apocalyptic Imagery in Constantine's Christian Propaganda," pp. 9-19; Barnes, Constantine and Eusebius, pp. 253—255 and 265-271; Chesnut, op. cit., pp. 141-174; Odahl, "Constantinian Coin Motifs in Ancient Literary Sources," pp. 2-4; Michael J. Hollerich, "Religion and Politics in the Writings of Eusebius: Reassessing the

theory for which Eusebius has often been given nearly sole credit must be traced back in its initial form to the first years after Constantine's conversion, and must be seen as emerging out of his studies with Latin Christian advisors and his involvements in western church affairs. Between the years 312 and 315, Constantine's own words and art announced that the emperor had found a new patron Deity, that the empire was being led by a Christian missionary, and that the Church would have to deal with an imperial theocrat.

First 'Court Theologian,' " Church History, 59 (1990), 309-325; and Averil Cameron, Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 53-65.

ANSELM OF LUCCA AND THE DOCTRINE OF COERCION: THE LEGAL IMPACT OF THE SCHISM OF 1080?

BY

Kathleen G. Cushing*

In the spring of 1085, Anselm of Lucca wrote to Bishop Hermann of Metz, commending him, at a time when the caritas of many was growing cold, for his willingness to persevere and to undergo even death in the cause of the Lord.1 The imperialists, he wrote, seemed to recrucify Christ and his heir, the universal Church of Peter, and were contending with new and unheard-of blasphemies even against the prince of the apostles himself.2 Schism had left the reform movement in a dire climate of crisis: Christ, as Anselm stirringly and significantly noted, stood alone on the field of battle.3

There can be little doubt that the schism of 1080 was a thorough disaster for the papacy of Gregory VII. Of course, schism at any time represented a potential danger, what with its creation of rival hierarchies from whom great benefits could be reaped. Yet the schism that followed from Pope Gregory VH's second excommunication of Henry IV at the Lenten synod of 1080 was a particularly bitter one, provoking a climate of seemingly insurmountable intransigence.4 Re-

*Dr. Cushing received her Ph.D. degree from the University of Oxford, and is currently preparing a book on Anselm of Lucca, reform, and the canon law for "Oxford Historical Monographs."

lBriefsammlungen der Zeit Heinrichs IV., no. 21, edd. Carl Erdmann and Norbert Fickermann (Monumenta Germaniae Histórica, Briefen der deutschen Kaiserzeit, V [Weimar, 1950]), p. 50: "Quia animam tuam pretiosiorem quam te non fecisti quo iniquitate multiplica caritas multorum refrigescit, sicut nobis relatum est, disposuisti."

2BriefSammlungen, no. 21 at p. 51. Cf. Anselm's commentary on Psalm ii (fragments), in Paul of Bernried, Vita Gregorii VIL, c. 112, in Johannes M. Watterich (ed.), Pontificum Romanorum Vitae, I (Leipzig, 1862), at p. 541: "Nonne iterum Barabbas eligitur et Christus sub Pilato morti addicitur, cum Ravennas Guibertus eligitur et Papa Gregorius reprobatur?"

WriefSammlungen, no. 21 at p. 50: "Ecce enim Christus solus in campo "

••The events that led from the Synod of Worms in 1076 to the second excommunication of Henry IV in 1080, the clash between Gregory VII and Henry IV, its back-

gionally, of course, the impact of the schism varied. Clement III enjoyed little if any sustained support in France, Spain, and England. But in the Reich and in Italy, the position of Gregory VII and his supporters was severely undermined.

In the climate of recrimination and partisan obstinacy that followed, a number of disturbing and problematic issues—many of which had been simmering under the surface since 1076, if not earlier—quickly rose to the forefront. For by bitterly intensifying the debate over the relationship between secular and ecclesiastical authority, the schism had brought two diametrically opposed, and seemingly irreconcilable, concepts of the "right order of the world" to a point of no return. Henry IV and his supporters, particularly among the episcopate, labeled Gregory a dangerous man who subverted the traditional order in favor of a quasi-autocratic hierarchy with himself at the apex. Gregory and his supporters, for their part, continued to insist upon not merely the right but the overwhelming duty of the pope to direct Christian society at all levels. Events had in essence outstripped contemporaries' capacity to understand them. Theoretical issues such as rival obediences, the nature of sworn oaths, the relationships between catholics and schismatics, and the validity of the sacraments and orders of those who were extra ecclesiam quickly became pressing and practical concerns as the two hierarchies vied for authoritative position. As the rapid proliferation of polemical treatises indicated, each side felt the need for a justification of policy rooted firmly in ancient tradition. As such, the schism had a profound impact upon the canon law.

While it is perhaps unwise to be too rigorous in insisting that the schism dictated the development, or incorporation, of certain themes in the canon law, neither can one overlook the ways in which the law seemed to reflect, or at least respond to, the problems made manifest by the schism. A striking example of this is found in the two final and still unedited books of the Collectio canonum of Anselm of Lucca, completed circa 1083, viz., Book XII: De excommunicatione, and Book XIII: De insta vindicta.[5] While there are many problems with

ground and its continuing manifestations, are enormous topics with vast amounts of literature. An excellent discussion is Uta-Renate Blumenthal, The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century (Philadelphia, 1988), particularly chapter 3 with its bibliography.

5As Friedrich Thaner's edition oiAnselmi episcopi Lucensis collectio canonum una cum collectione minore (Innsbruck, 1906, 1915) is incomplete, covering only up to

this Collectio canonum, not least of which is Anselm's authorship, particularly of Books VIII-XIII, the collection remains the first of the so-called "reform collections" to go beyond the customary penalty of exclusion inherent in excommunication and to advocate the use of coercive force against the enemies of the Church.6 Although the canonical authorities used to justify coercion were familiar ones and had been employed in previous collections (although not in the immediate past), in this formulation, as I will argue, they found a new, pointed, more stringent and uncompromising expression.7 Indeed, the preoc-

the early chapters of Book XI, all subsequent references to Books XII and XIII will be from Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana, MS. Vat. lat. 1363, fols. 208v—240' (with reference to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 269 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 12519 ["A" group] where necessary). Texts will be cited Collectio canonum, chapter number, rubric title, and identification of material source. Foliation will be noted only when quotations from the actual canonical text appear. [In the interest of brevity, the identification of material sources will not contain the full details of the edition; e.g., Decretales pseudo-isidorianae et capitula Angilrammi, ed. Paul Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863), will be cited by pseudoauthor and page; Regesta Romanorum pontiflcum (Berlin, 1855, 1889) as JK, JL, JE with appropriate number; others will have only the actual text and location, e.g., Augustine, epist. 93, c. 2.] On the various recensions, see Paul Fournier, "Observations sur les diverses recensions de la collection d'Anselme de Lucques," Annales de l'Université de Grenoble, 13 (1901), 427-458, and more recently, Peter Landau, "Intorni aile redazioni più ampie del XII secólo délia raccolta dei canoni di Anselmo da Lucca," in Sant'Anselmo, Mantova e la lotta per Ie investiture, ed. Paolo Golinelli (Bologna, 1987), pp. 339-348; and Peter Landau, "Die Rezension C. der Sammlung des Anselms von Lucca," Bulletin ofMedieval Canon Law (hereafter cited as "BMCL"), n.s. 16 (1986), pp. 17-54, which includes a stemma. Edith Pasztor includes a mixed transcription of Book XIII of the Collectio canonum from several Vatican manuscripts in "Lotta per Ie investiture e ius belli: La posizione di Anselmo di Lucca," SantAnselmo, Mantova..., pp. 375-421, at 405-421. This, unfortunately, has not provided us with a critical edition of Book XIII, any more however than does my subsequent use of the so-called A group, which has been selected for clarity and consistency. A new edition of the entire collection seems to be impossible at this point.

6On the basic problems of the Collectio canonum, see Stephan Kuttner, "Some Roman Manuscripts of Canonical Collections," BMCL, n.s. 1 (1971), pp. 7-29. Anselm's authorship is based upon an inscription in one contemporary manuscript—MS. Vat. Barberini 535—which contains only the first seven books of the fhirteen-book collection. Gérard Fransen, "Anselme de Lucques, canoniste?" in SantAnselmo Vescovo di Lucca (1073-1086) nel quadro délie trasformazioni sociali e délia riforma ecclesiastica, ed. Cinzio Violante (Jstituto Storico italiano per il Medio Evo, Nuovi Studi Storici, 13 [Rome, 1992]), pp. 143-576, considers the various current questions regarding Anselm and the collection, as well as his authorship of the Liber contra Wibertum, concluding nonetheless that, for the present, the tradition should remain. See also Landau, as in fn. 5. For this present paper, Anselm will continue to be regarded as the author of both works.

Ttobert Somerville noted this same phenomenon, what he termed the "Gregorian

cupation with the canonical definition and the status of excommunicates, schismatics, and heretics,8 the strict injunctions regulating the contact and relations of catholics and schismatics,9 the insistence upon the permissibility and even the obligation of compelling malos ad bonum,10 the corresponding emphasis upon the benevolent aspects of coercion,'' the contingent quality of the distinction between strictly secular coercion executed on behalf of the Church, and persecutio directed by the Church,12 together with the hitherto unnoticed con-

formulation," in the conciliar legislation of Gregory VII between 1078 and 1080: "The Councils of Pope Gregory VII," in La riforma gregoriana e ¡'Europa (Studi Gregoriani, 13 [Salerno, 1989]), pp. 33-53, here p. 45.

8E.g., Collectio canonum XII:1: "Quod excommunicati sunt omnes qui in sanctam Romanam ecclesiam superbiendo se erigunt" [Ps.Boniface II, 704]; XII:2: "Quod omnes violatores decretorum Romanorum pontificum sint anathema" [Capit. Angilrammi, cor. 20, 769]; XII:3: "Ut anathema sit quicunque praecepta sedis apostolicae contempserit" [Nicholas I, Cone. Roman., a. 863, JE post n. 2747]; XII-.40: "Quod heretici in aecclesia nichil habeant potestatis ac iuris" [Cyprian, epist. 69, c. Iff.]; XII:41: "Quod non est consecratio sed execratio quae extra aecclesiam sit" [Pelagius I, JK n. 983]; XII.-47: "Non esse veram fidem quae cum Romana ecclesia non convenit" (Ambrose, De excessu fratris, I, n. 47]. See also XII:5-7, 10, 25-28, 30-32, 37, 43, 48, 50, 52, 59, 61, 68-71.

9Collectio canonum XII:1I: "Quod non debet quis ei communicare quem sedes apostólica repellit nisi ab illatis se mundaverit" [Gregory, I, Reg. VI:26]; XII:13: "Ut excommunicatis nemo communicet in oratione, cibo, potu, ósculo, nec ave eis dicat alioquin similiter excommunicatus est" [Ps.Calixtus, 138]; XII:18: "Quod cum excommunicatis non sit communicandum et qui fecerit excommunicetur" [Ps. Fabianus, 159]; XII:20: "Quod excommunicatus et communicator eius aeque debent refutari et puniri" [Gelasius, epist. 12, c. 7,8]; XII:63: "Quando mali tolerandi sunt et quando separandi a nobis" [Augustine, De fide et operibus, 6ff.]. See also XII:12, 14-17, 19, 21, 64, 65.

10Collectio canonum XII:55: "De malis cogendis ad bonum" [Augustine, epist. 173, c. Iff]; XII:60: "De scismaticis ad correctionem cogendis" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 6ff.]; XIII:4: "Quod militantes etiam possunt esse iusti" [Augustine, epist. 189, c. 4, 6]; XIII:13: "Quod inobedientes severius sint corrigendi" [Ps.Calixtus, 138]; XIII:I9: "Qui potest perturbare perversos et non facit eorum impietati consentit" [Ps.Damasus, 508]. See also XIII:5-7, 20.

"Collectio canonum XII:44: "Quod aecclesia non persequitur sed diligit cum punit vel prohibet malum, et divisi a sede apostólica scismatici sunt, et comprimendi sunt a saecularibus iniusti episcopi" [Pelagius I, JK n. 1018]; XIII:1: "Quod Moyses nichil crudele fecit quando praecepto Domini quosdam trucidavit" [Augustine, Contra Fansturn, lib. XXII, c. 79]; XIII-.2: "De vindicta non odio sed amore facienda" [Augustine, De sermone Domini in monte, I, ce. 64—65]; XIII:3: "Quod bella cum benivolentia sunt gerenda" [Augustine, epist. 138, c. 12ff.]; XIII:10: "Ut temperetur vindicta" [Augustine, epist. 133, c. Iff.]; XIII:12: "Ut mali non occidantur sed corrigantur" [Augustine, epist. 100, c. Iff.]. See also XIII-.2, 27.

"Collectio canonum XII:45: "Quod nullis [nullum] sacrificium Deo a potestatibus gratius est ut scismatici episcopi ab [ad] obediendum coerceantur" [Pelagius I, JK n. 1024]; XII:46: "De scismaticis coercendis a saecularibus" [Pelagius I, JKn. 1012]; XII:53:

sideration of who in such situations was to maintain control over the res ecclesiae,13, make it extremely difficult not to envisage these two books as a product, or at least a reflection, of the period of crisis initiated by the schism.

The transformation of the ecclesiastical position regarding warfare was a gradual process that gained momentum in the second half of the eleventh century. It cannot be my task here to describe or analyze the development of the idea of the "just war" from Augustine onwards.14 A brief background, however, does seem warranted in order that Anselm's doctrine of coercion may be seen in the larger context of this gradual but radical transformation.

While it was Aristotle who first used the term "just war" in the Politics, applying it to wars carried out by the Hellenes against non-Hellenes (whom he considered barbarians), it was above all Augustine who, by infusing notions of righteousness, charity, and benevolent discipline, formulated the Western theory of the bellum iustum. Together with Gregory I, Augustine gave the just war a dual character: on the one hand, one of internal discipline and preservation of the faith—war against heretics within—and on the other, one to extend the faith—missionary war against pagans without.15 Both, however, insisted that such action was to be left to public means of coercion, that is, to secular authorities, envisaging a clear separation of war from die ecclesiastical sphere. Like Ambrose, both prohibited clerics not

"De hereticis per saeculares potestates coercendis" [Augustine, In Iohannis evang., Tract. XI, 13ff.]; XII:54: "Ut excommunicati cohibeantur a saecularibus" [Augustine, epist. 93 (excerpts)]; see also XIH-.23, 28. Compare with Collectif) canonum XIII:14: "Quod aecclesia persecutionem possit faceré" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. H]; XIII:15: "De eadem re" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 19]; XIII-.16: "Item ad eundem de eadem re" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 22ff.]; XIII-.17: "De eadem re" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 36ff.].

nCollectio canonum XII:56: "Quod scismatici nee divino iure nee humano res ecclesiarum debent possidere" [Augustine, In Iohannis evang., Tract. VI, 25-26]; XII-.57-. "Ut catholici res possideant excommunicatorum usque ad conversionem illorum" [Augustine, epist. 185, cc. 35-36]; XII:58: "Quod qui extra ecclesiam sunt nullo iure possidere possunt bona aecclesiae" (Augustine, epist. 93, c. 50]. There are additional texts, as will be seen, where these concerns are also addressed, although not explicitly in the rubric: XII:54, 60; XIII:6, 8, 17, 27.

"The "just war" is a topic with an enormous bibliography beginning with Carl Erdmann's classic The Origin of the Idea of Crusade, translated by Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart (Princeton, 1977), and Frederick H. Russell, The Just War in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1975). For a reappraisal of Erdmann, see John T. Gilchrist, "The Erdmann Thesis and the Canon Law, 1083-1141," in Crusade and Settlement, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 37-45.

"See Russell, op. cit., pp. I6f£; Erdmann, op. cit, pp. 7-11.

merely from warfare but even from bearing arms. The "clerical" milites Christi waged spiritual warfare and had no place in such secular endeavors. Military service in the world continued to be viewed as a life quite distant from God.

Throughout the late Merovingian and Carolingian periods, under the stress of the close and necessary relationship with the warrior aristocracy, the Church was obliged to expand the traditional rules of Christian life and to assign this warrior class a protective function as defenders of the Church.16 As a consequence, the Church was forced not so much to soften its position or perhaps its antipathy regarding warfare, but to emphasize its righteous and just aspects. Clerical attitudes were, however, slow to change. Penance was still required for killing in battle, although this was not equated with other forms of killing.17

Erdmann believed that during the course of the eleventh century the Church began to transform warfare in its behalf into an ethical activity, most significantly with Gregory VII and the fidèles or milites sancti Petri.™ Yet in canonical terms, the persistence of a more conservative, and frankly negative, attitude on the part of clerics cannot be denied. Burchard of Worms exemplified this sentiment in his influential and widely diffused Decretum libri XX. (c. 1020-1023), reiterating the vehement prohibition for clerics of any order to bear arms with the clause that "they cannot fight for both God and the world."19 Burchard also demanded, via Hrabanus Maurus, penance for killing even in a just war. The text is indicative of the prevailing ecclesiastical characterization of soldiers, mentioning "those who from greed . . . deliberately slay "20 Clearly there is no thought here of an ecclesiastical material sword. For Burchard, spiritual sanction—excommunication—was the appropriate weapon of the Church.

We find no mention of coercion, the legitimate use of force, nor

16See Karl J. Leyser, "Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood," in Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, edd. L. Fenske, W. Rösener, and T. Zotz (Sigmaringen, 1984), pp. 549-566.

17Erdmann, op. cit., pp. 16-17, and note 32; Russell, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

18On Gregory VII and the fidèles sancti Petri, see Erdmann, op. cit., pp. 118-181, 201-228.

"Burchard of Worms, Decretum libri XX, 11:211, ed. J. P. Migne {Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina [Paris, 1841—1864]), t. 140, col. 661. See Gilchrist, op. cit., p. 38.

20Burchard, Decretum IV:23; XIX:5. See Erdmann, op. cit, p. 80, note 54.

any significant consideration of the problem of handling excommunicates, apart from the standard view that they were to be separated from the body of the faithful, in the Diversorum patrum sententie (74T) and the Breviarium of Cardinal Atto, the two major collections between those of Burchard and Anselm. Only the Swabian Appendix to the Collection in Seventy-four Titles, probably composed by Bernold of Constance, was noticeably preoccupied with the issue of excommunication.21 Yet even here, the compiler essentially followed the policy of exclusion and separation. The Swabian Appendix, however, clearly shows, as Vodola charts, the extent to which excommunication as the strictly religious sanction of the early Church had already become an important weapon in not simply spiritual matters but also in secular or political ones.22 Anselm, however, as will be seen, seems to have taken this ecclesiology of exclusion—that the Church must be unencumbered of secular things in order to fulfill its mission—toward an active incorporation of those things in order that that mission be fulfilled.

While Anselm was rigorous in his definition of those who were excommunicate and schismatic, perhaps in an effort to attest to the complete lack of authority of the (and any) schismatic/excommunicate hierarchy, it seems clear that his main concern lay not only with the evil of schism and its perpetuation, but also with the actual schismatics themselves.23 This concern, however, was not translated merely into an injunction, as had been the case with previous canonists, that such persons simply be excluded from the body of the faithful. On the contrary, such persons had to be returned, forcibly if necessary, to the flock.24 For Anselm believed that it was not enough simply to extirpate evil; evildoers had to be corrected.25

"Diversorum patrum sententie sive Collectio in LXXIV títulos digesta, ed. John T. Gilchrist (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, ser. B: Corpus Collectionum, I [Vatican City, 1973]).

"Elisabeth Vodola, Excommunication in the Middle Ages (Berkeley, California, 1986). Cf. Alexander Murray, "Excommunication and Conscience in the Middle Ages" (The John Coffin Memorial Lecture [London, 1991]).

"For texts, see note 8. Cf. Sermo Anselmi episcopi de caritate, ed. Edith Pasztor in "Motivi dell'ecclesiologia di Anselmo di Lucca in margine a un sermone inédito," Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 77 (1965), 44-104, text 96ff., here p. 101; and Anselm of Lucca, Liber contra Wibertum (MGH, Libelli de Lite, X), pp. 517-528, here p. 522.

2iCollectio canonum XIL60: "De scismaticis ad correctionem cogendis" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 6ff.]; XIII:13: "Quod inobedientes severius sint corrigendi" [Ps.Calixtus, 138], Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, p. 525.

"Collectio canonum XIL55: "De malis cogendis ad bonum" [Augustine, epist. 173,

Anselm was clearly influenced in this overriding duty of action by the doctrine of Augustine and, perhaps more immediately, by Gregory VII himself. And while there is nothing particularly new in this, he was clearly anxious to provide acceptable motivation. Coercive force under such circumstances was not a matter of personal will or arbitrary discretion, but the work of a true pastor ecclesiae.26 The obligation to correct evil or evildoers was all-encompassing, for inaction in essence entailed tacit acquiescence.27 It was in this way, with caritas, that Anselm justified coercive action, transforming it into an expression of pastoral concern.28 As was the case for Augustine, St. Paul is a crucial figure for Anselm: one who is compelled to the truth.29

c. Iff.] [fols. 217v-218v]: "Displicet tibi quod traheris ad salinem, cum tam multos nostros ad perniciem traxeritis. Quid enim volumus, nisi te comprehendi, praesentari et reservan ne pereas? [below] . . . quantomagis vos ab errore pernicioso, in quo vobis inimici estis, trahendi estis et perducendi ad veritatem vel cognoscendam vel eligendam, non solum ut honorem salubriter habeatis, sed etiam ne pessime pereatis! Dicis Dominum dédisse liberum arbitrium, ideo non deberi cogi hominem nec ad bonum." Cf. XIII: 12: "Ut malí non occidantur sed corrigantur" [Augustine, epist. 100, cf Iff.]; and Liber contra Wibertum, p. 522: ". . . et cum catholica matre nostra ecclesia persequar inimicos eius nec convertar, donec deficiant."

26Sermo de caritate, 103-104: "Pastores enim Ecclesiae nullum temporale commodum, nullius timorem, nullius amorem transitorium saluti animarum debent preponere, sed tam per sacerdotalis officii vigorem quam per principum fidelium fortitudinem, errantes ad ovile Domini instantissime reducere." One need only think of Gregory VII's use of Jeremiah 48:10: "Maledictus homo, qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine . . . ," in Registrum Gregorii VII., ed. Erich Caspar (MGH, Epistolae selectae, t. 2 [2 vols.; Berlin, 1920, 1923]), e.g., 1:9, 15, 17; 11:5, 66; 111:4; IV: 1, 2; VII:23; VHI:21.

11CollecW canonum XII:5: "Qui consentit peccanti aut défendit maledictus est" [Isidore, Beati regula Pacbomii Äomee/Smardagus, Comm. in régulant s. Benedicti, c. 69]; XII:64: "Quomodo recedere debeamus a malis" [Augustine, Sermo 88, n. 23] [fol. 221v]: ". . . Quid est enim tangere immundum, nisi consentiré peccatis? Quid est autem exire inde, nisi faceré quod pertinet ad correctionem malorum, quantum pro uniuscuiusque gradu atque persona salva pace fieri potest?"; XIII:19: "Qui potest pertubare perversos et non facit eorum impietati consentit" [Ps.Damasus, 508].

2SCollectio canonum XII:55: "De malis cogendis ad bonum" [Augustine, epist. 173, c. Iff.] [fol. 218Y]: ". . . Quia etsi non ad salutem, non ad ecclesiae pacem, non ad Christi corporis unitatem, non ad sanctam et individuam caritatem, sed ad mala aliqua cogereris, nec sic tibi ipse mortem inferre debuisti"; XIII:I: "Quod Moyses nichil crudele fecit quando praecepto Domini quosdam trucidavit" [Augustine, Contra Faustum, lib. XXII, c. 79] [fol. 231*]: ". . . Nam cum nulla crudelitate, sed magna dilectione fecisse quod fecit, quis non in verbis agnoscat orantis pro peccatis eorum et dicentis: 'Si dimittis Ulis peccatum, dimitte; sin autem dele me de libro tuo?' (Exod. xxii, 22). Sic plane et apostolus crudeliter sed amabiliter tradidit hominem in interitum carnis ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini Ihesu. Tradidit et alios, ut discerent non blasphemare."

29Collectio canonum XII:54: "Ut excommunicati cohibeantur a saecularibus" [Au-

With the doctrine of coercion, Anselm faced a number of problems, the most difficult of which was the need to give the coercive right of the Church, the ius belli, a secure legitimate base. This was especially difficult in the face of the long-standing tradition which prohibited clerics from engaging in warfare and in the effusion of blood. It was a doctrine, however, as Alfons Stickler noted, that required more than mere harmonization of warlike practices or the military profession with a Christian ethos, as Gregory VII had done with the fidèles sancti Petri.i0 It demanded not merely an exhaustive justification of the ius belli and the iusgladii in general, but also a stringent reinterpretation of the role of secular power in the service of the Church. Anselm's consideration, thus, contained two distinct aspects: the legitimacy of the ius gladii in general, and the legitimacy of the vis armata of the Church in particular.

Anselm's first task was to demonstrate that war could be legitimate and even just under the correct circumstances.31 Toward this end, he followed Augustine by stressing that such action was not necessarily unpleasing to God. Here Anselm, using, perhaps significantly, the term "ministrare" as opposed to the customary "militare" of Augustine's text, wrote: "Do not think that one, who ministers with warlike arms, is unable to please God."32 In so doing, he implicitly emphasized both the spirit in which war should be waged (as a "minister") and the ends toward which war was just. There were, after all, circumstances in which war was both necessary and unavoidable. Following Augus-

gustine, epist. 93 (excerpts)] [fol. 217v]: ". . . Cum legas ipsum primo Saulum, postea Paulum, ad verltatem cognoscendam et tenendam magna violentia Christi cogentis esse compulsum"; XII-.55: "De malis cogendis ad bonum" [Augustine, epist. 173, c. Iff.] [fol. 218']: "... Si voluntas mala suae permittenda est libertati, quare Paulus non est permissus uti pessima volúntate, qua persequebatur ecclesíam, sed prostratus est, ut cecaretur et cecatus est, ut mutaretur mutatus est, ut mitteretur, missus est, ut qualia fecerat in errore, talia pro veritate pateretur?"; XIII: 16: "Item ad eundem de eadem re" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 22ff.] [fol. 235r]: ". . . Ecce habent Paulum apostolum; agnoscant in eo prius cogentem Christum et postea docentem, prius ferientem et postea consolantem." Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, p. 523-

wAlfons M. Stickler, "Il potere coattivo materiale délia Chiesa nella riforma gregoriana secondo Anselmo di Lucca," Studi Gregoriani, 2 (1947), 235-285, here 266ff.

ilCollectio canonum XIII-.4: "Quod militantes etiam possunt esse iusti" [Augustine, epist. 189, c. 4]; XIII:5: "De eadem re. Item ad eundem" [PsAugustine, epist. 13]. Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, pp. 523-524.

,2Collectio canonum XIII:4 [fol. 232v]: "Noli existimare neminem Deo placeré posse, qui armis bellicis ministrat." Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, p. 524, where Anselm also uses "ministrare."

tine again, Anselm conceded that it was not licit to kill for personal ends, but rather for the objective of peace.33 Furthermore, following Augustine's justification, Anselm noted that the physical ability which manifested itself in war was, after all, a gift of God.34

With warfare and the military profession at least tacitly sanctioned, Anselm was forced to justify the involvement of Christians. Here the theme of caritas and the fraternal desire for salvation came into play as Anselm distinguished between the just and unjust uses of force.35 Legitimate coercive force was an expression of pastoral concern for salvation, a just endeavor in which the enemies of the truth were constrained to the truth.36 It did not take much to conclude then that war conducted for the preservation of the Church was a service to God. Although Anselm had not stipulated in any place that ius belli was actually a prerogative of the Church, by linking caritas, war, and the need to preserve the Church, he had in effect demonstrated that it had not been prohibited per se.

nCollectio canonum XIII:3: "Quod bella cum benivolentia sunt gerenda" [Augustine, epist. 138, c. 12ff.] [fol. 232'|"]: ". . . Nam si Christiana disciplina omnia bella culparet, haec potius militibus consilium salutis petentibus in evangelio diceretur, ut abiecerent arma seque militiaque [sic] omnino subtraherent. Dictum est autem eis: 'Neminem concusseritis, ñeque calumniam feceritis, sufficiat vobis Stipendium vestrum' (Luke iii, 14). Quibus proprium Stipendium sufficere deberé praecipit, militare utique non prohibuit"; XIII-.4 [fol. 232v]: ". . . Non enim pax quaeritur, ut bellum excitetur, sed bellum geritur, ut pax adquiratur. Esto ergo bellando pacificus, ut eos, quos expugnas, ad pacis utilitatem vincendo perducas." Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, pp. 523—524.

HCollectio canonum XIII:4 [fol. 232v]: ". . . Hoc ergo primum cogita quando armaris ad pugnam, quia virtus tua etiam ipsa corporalis donum Dei est; sic enim cogitabis de dono Dei non faceré contra Dominum."

^Collectio canonum XIII: 14: "Quod aecclesia persecutionem possit faceré" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 11] [fol. 234']: ". . . Si ergo verum dicere vel agnoscere volumus, est persecutio iniusta quam faciunt impü aecclesiae Christi. Ista namque beata est, quae persecutionem patitur propter iusticiam. Proinde ista diligendo; illi seviendo. Ista ut conrigat; illi ut illam evertant. Ista ut revocet ab errore; illi ut praecipitent in errorem." Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, p. 523, where the final part: "Proinde ista diligendo . . ." is omitted.

16CoIleCtIO canonum XII:44: "Quod aecclesia non persequitur sed diligit cum punit velprohibet malum . . ." [Pelagius,JKn. 1018] [fol. 215']: "Non vos hominum vaniloquia retardent dicentium, quia persecutionem ecclesia faciat, dum vel ea quae committuntur reprimat, vel animarum salutem requirit. Errant huiusmodi rumoris fabulatores [si] non persequitur nisi qui ad malum cogit. Qui vero malum vel factum iam punit, vel prohibet ne fiat, non persequitur iste, sed diligit. Nam si ut illi putant nemo nec reprimendus a malo nec retrahendus ad bonum est, humanas ac divinas leges necesse est evacuari quae et malis poenam et bonis praemia iusticia suadente constituit [constituunt]." Cf. XIII:2: "De vindicta non odio sed amore facienda" [Augustine, De sermone Domini in monte, I, ce. 64-65].

There remained, however, the problem of the actual exercise of coercive force. For following tradition as well as his authorities, Anselm had indicated on a number of occasions that coercive action was to be carried out by secular authority.37 Like Augustine, Anselm essentially believed that war was the prerogative and duty of secular authority. But was war strictly the province and responsibility of secular authority? Or did he believe that the Church maintained a "material sword" independent of secular force?

Anselm seems to have believed that the Church possessed an intrinsic coercive right. This, although not consistently, was defined as persecutio, whereas the exercise of secular authority was generally conceived of as vindicta. Stickler believed that the distinction in Anselm's mind between the two, although not always maintained, was an important one.38 Vindicta tended to entail material coercion in general terms, punishment on account of a (specific) crime. Persecutio, on the other hand, while still denoting material coercion, seemed to imply somewhat higher aims·, to impede evil or to compel toward good. Persecutio did not necessarily entail armed force, but neither was such force ruled out.

Yet perhaps even more than that, the two terms concealed a crucial

^Collectio canonum XH:45: "Quod nullis [nullum] sacrificium Deo a potestatibus gratius est quam ut scismatici episcopi ab [ad) obediendum coerceantur" [Pelagius I, JK ?. 1024] [fol. 215?]: ". . . Hoc enim et divinae et mundanae leges statuerunt, ut ab ecclesiae unitate divisi et eius pacem iniquissime perturbantes, a secularibus etiam potestatibus comprimantur. Nec quicquam maius est unde Deo possitis sacrificium offerre, quam si id ordinetis, ut hi qui in suam et aliorum perniciem debachantur cum potenti debeant vigore compesci"; ??-.46-. "De scismaticis coercendis a secularibus" [Pelagius I, JK n. 1012] [fol. 1\(f\. ". . . Quamvis igitur vestra per illorum scelus utilitas facta sit, nolite tarnen impunitam praesumptionem iniquiorum hominum crassari permittere. Si enim hoc quod in vestram gloriam praesumpserunt, non fuerit vindicta compressum, quod in minoribus valeant ambigi ultra non debet. Exercete igitur in talibus auctoritatem, et ne amplius talia committenda crescat, Spiritus vestris coercionibus recomprima[n]tur"; XII:53: "De hereticis per saeculares potestates coercendis" [Augustine, In Iobannis evang., Tract. XI, 13ff] [fol. 217']: ". . . Mirantur autem quia commoventur potestates christianae contra detestandos dissipatores ecclesiae. Si non moverentur, quomodo redderent rationem de imperio suo Deo? Intendat caritas quid dicam, quia hoc pertinet ad reges saeculi christianos, ut temporibus suis pacatam vellent matrem suam aecclesiam unde spiritaliter nati sunt" Cf. XII:54: "Ut excommunicati cohibeantur a saecularibus" [Augustine, epist. 93 (excerpts)]: XIL23 (No rubric in Vat. lat. 1363; Corpus Christi 269 and Par.lat. 12519): "Quod reginae corrigendi malefactores potestas datur" [Gregory I, Reg. VIII:4]; and XIII:28 (No rubric in Vatlat.1363; CC 269 and Par.lat. 125 19): "Quod christianus princeps sicut terrenum peragit bellum sic contra heréticos (ad) aecclesiasticum peragat praelium" [Gregory I, Reg. 1:72].

38Cf. Stickler, op. cit., pp. 239ff.

distinction in Anselm's mind, one which did not necessarily follow from the different terms, but rather from their point of reference. For Anselm, there seems to have been a fundamental distinction between the jurisdictional right of coercive action and the actual exercise of that force. As he wrote to William I of England, the king was a minister Dei, to whom the material sword had been yielded for the purpose of repressing the impiety of the people.39 Although there was nothing new in the concept of kingship as a ministerium, by emphasizing all the implications of ecclesiastical guidance, Anselm was clearly relegating secular authority to a subservient level. The preoccupation of the reformers with utilitas helps to clarify this point. As Anselm would note in his Sermo de caritate, in his distinction between principes fidèles and principes saeculi (Anselm did not speak of laymen in general in the Sermo), secular princes were fidèles when they fulfilled their appointed task: the material defense of the Church.40 Theirs, thus, was a task conceded by God and his Church, the most important part of which was to constrain the enemies of the truth (inimicos veritatis). Temporal or secular authority was thus understood by Anselm in terms of having a coercive function regarding the Church and her interests, and not (necessarily) a specific right. It was, moreover, a function which carried with it a strong implication of direct tutorial guidance.41

There is still the problem of Anselm's seeming assertion that the Church was able directly to exercise this right. Having, at least tacitly, established that the right of coercion was essentially within ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Anselm simply had averred via Augustine that the Church had the power to persecute her enemies with little concern for the practical ramifications. But how could, or can, this be accounted for, in the face of his stipulations regarding both the exercise of force by secular powers and the prohibition of clerics from warfare? Can the exceptional situation of the time—the crisis of schism—be seen as providing the justification?

Anselm does seem to have been seeking to support a position via his authorities, especially Pelagius and Augustine, that the Church had

i9Briefsammlungen, no. 1, at p. 17: ". . .Non sine causa gladium portas, Dei enim minister es ad vindictam malorum, ad laudem vero bonorum."

40SeC Sermo de caritate, p. 104; and Pasztor, "Motivi dell'ecclesiologia," p. 88.

41See Anselm to William I, Briefsammlungen, no. 1, at p. 17: "Dispensationen! itaque tibi a Deo créditant in exhibendo cognosce et ad gloriam et laudem eius ministerium tuum imple." Cf. Sermo de caritate, p. 104; and Collectio canonum XII:45, 46, 53, 54; XIII-.23, 28 [for texts, see note 37], where the concession of the function seems to be emphasized.

the right to act independently of secular power in those circumstances when that power either was in contention with the Church or had fallen into schism or heresy. This covered contingencies like those faced by Anselm when the "normal" secular defender, Henry IV, was not only a schismatic and an excommunicate, but was also physically contending against the Roman Church and her supporters. The implicit point seems to be that under ordinary circumstances, the Church would act through the normal channels of secular authority, while still retaining, of course, "ex professo" the jurisdictional right of coercive action.

It is important to stress here, however, that Anselm was not advocating that clerics actually involve themselves in coercive warfare. On the contrary, he was suggesting that under these circumstances the Church would specifically direct the action and would specifically stipulate the aims of that action. Perhaps he had in mind here the fidèles sancti Petri. What is significant in the end, however, is the insistence upon the Church's right of self-determination especially in crisis, an insistence upon her right not only to define and name the objectives, but also to define and name her own defender. It is further indication, as Erdmann noted, of the ways in which the Gregorians had transformed, and were transforming, notions of kingship.42 The role of the defender of the Church was legally being extended to a wider and widening circle.

It seems useful here briefly to examine this doctrine as developed in Anselm's polemical treatise, the Liber contra Wibertum. Written after the death of Pope Gregory VII in the last year of Anselm's life, the Liber contra Wibertum was first of all an authoritative rebuttal of the Wibertine position on the Church, the papacy, and war.43 Its wider purpose, however, was clearly the justification of coercion in the face of strenuous objections not merely from Wibert himself, but perhaps also from his own party.44 Responding to accusations concerning the

41"Erdmann, Origin of the Idea, pp. 57ff.

43It is clear from xhcLiber contra Wibertum (see pp. 520, 525), not only that Anselm had written earlier, but also that Wibert had responded to that initial letter. Although Wibert's response is not extant, the substance can reasonably be approximated both from the Liber itself and from Wido of Ferrara, De scismate Hildebrandi [MGH, LdL, I: 529-567]. Whether or not the text known as Ans. 1 [British Library, Harley MS 3052, fols. 123G-124G] contains part of the earlier letter, remains unclear. See Robert Somerville, "Anselm of Lucca and Wibert of Ravenna," BMCL, n.s. 10 (1980), 1-13.

«Liber contra Wibertum, pp. 522-523. Cf. De scismate Hildebrandi, p. 541; [Wibert's words] "Sed hoc quis excusabile faciet, quod Teutónicos ad bella commovit vel saltim cum Heinrico pugnare permiserit et quod vins religiosis minime convertit, per-

war waged against them by the fidèles sancti Petri, the treatise, therefore, offers testimony of the extent to which Anselm envisaged this doctrine of coercion not merely as abstract theory, but also as having applicability in concrete situations. Relying upon a number of the canonical texts found in Books XII and XIII of the Collectif) canonum (although much abbreviated), the treatise essentially followed the plan of the collection: the definition and consideration of those who contended against the Church and who consequently needed to be coerced, and then the legitimacy of that coercion.

Anselm began his defense with the Augustinian distinction between just and unjust persecution as illustrated by the story of Sarah and the slave, concluding with Augustine that coercion, or persecution, on account of excessive pride was justifiable.45 Interestingly enough, however, the text here did not include the final part as found in the collection. Anselm was content simply to concentrate upon unjust persecution, that is, that which the impious do to the Church of Christ, omitting the references found in the text in the collection, where emphasis had been placed upon the differing characteristics of those who waged just wars and those who persecuted the Church.46 Perhaps somewhat uneasy about the Church's right to persecute her enemies in practice, Anselm was obviously anxious here to emphasize first and foremost the illegitimacy of the actions of the supporters of Wibert and Henry IV.

Using the Augustinian texts to imply that coercion and correction were the duties of the pious ruler, Anselm first described how the impious were to be corrected by imperial laws. He then addressed the circumstances in which war was licit. Although he again acknowledged the problem of the involvement of Christians in warfare, he again carefully followed Augustine's commentary on Luke, which, at least tacitly, legitimized warfare. In so doing, Anselm again achieved what he had done in the Collectio canonum-. the tacit acknowledgment that the ins belli was a prerogative of the Church without actually

secutionem tantam in iam dictum regem exercuit? Et docere est christianorum virorum non bella movere, pati aequanimiter iniurias aliorum, non ulcisci. Nichil tale Iesus, nichil tale quisquam legitur fecisse sanctorum."

i5Liber contra Wibertum, p. 523: ". . | Si autem melius discutiamus, magis illa persequebatur Saram superbiendo quam illam Sara cohercendo; ilia enim dominae faciebat iniuriam, ista inponebat superbae disciplinam. . . ."

46See above, note 35. XIII:14, however, omitted the final part as in the Liber contra Wibertum at p. 523: ". . | Uli vero miseri, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iniusticiam."

stipulating that this was the case. Subsequent emphasis upon divine dispensation, victory to the just, and the legitimacy of the military profession in general rounded out his testimony.47 It was only then that Anselm effectively introduced the motivation of cantas, stipulating first that coercion was an expression of love, and second and more important, an unavoidable duty.

It seems clear, however, that the justification of coercion in the Liber contra Wibertum had a more urgent purpose than the mere presentation or justification of abstract theory. As has been suggested, the treatise also appears to have been the medium by which Anselm sought to demonstrate that the reformers' armed struggle against the Henrician/Wibertine party was a wholly just undertaking. The treatise is, therefore, indicative of those areas of the doctrine, and especially the exercise, of coercive action with which Anselm felt himself to be most vulnerable not merely to Wibertine accusations, but also perhaps even to those from his own party.

The crucial problem for Anselm seems to have been the conflict in his mind between the respective claims of armed warfare and the Christian ideal. There are a number of vehement denials regarding clerical participation in warfare. In one of the most striking of these, we almost hear Anselm himself denying any participation in the effusion of blood.48 This with other instances where Anselm somewhat tenuously implied that it was licit to fight against Wibert and his supporters precisely because they were no longer Catholics—obviously an attempt to refute the tradition which prohibited Catholic from killing Catholic—indicates some wavering in his mind as to the legitimacy of the action. Indeed, here it becomes apparent that Anselm's doctrine of coercion may have been as much a product of a life lived as a theory worked out.49

"Liber contra Wibertum, pp. 523-524. The Ps.Augustine text in the Liber continued, unlike that in the collection, by stressing that God not only defended the just, but also gave them victory, p. 524: "... Deus apertis caelis spectat et partem, quam aspicit iustam, défendit et ibi dat palmam."

iHLiber contra Wibertum, p. 525: "Nos vero in nullius sanguine miscuimus nee protégeme Deo miscebimus nee de perditione morientium exultamus."

""Following his expulsion from Lucca sometime in October, 1080, Anselm joined the entourage of Matilda of Tuscany and seems to have played an integral part in the resistance to Henry IV. As spiritual advisor to the countess (perhaps from as early as 1074) and papal vicar for Lombardy (if the sources are to be trusted), Anselm probably traveled with the Matildine troops and may have been present at a number of battles and sieges, notably the battle of Sorbaria in 1085. See Vita Anselmi episcopi Lucensis, [MGH, SS, XH: 1-35], cc. 12, 20, 23-24, 29-31, pp. 17, 19-22; Vita Metrica S. Anselmi

While Anselm vehemently condemned Wibert and his supporters in the treatise, he cannot simply be seen as being interested in exalting the Gregorian cause. Behind the condemnation there seems to lie a sincere desire to restore what he believed to be the vital unity of the Church.50 The way, or so Anselm seems truly to have hoped if not believed, was open, if not for Wibert, at least for his supporters to return in penitence to the Church.51 This was the core of his doctrine of coercion: the desire for unity. This is apparent even when he somewhat surprisingly conceded that it was perhaps not licit after all to take up arms even on behalf of justice—a concession which seemed effectively to nullify his entire justification of coercion.52 Yet this was not quite the case. Anselm then stipulated that war was to be waged on behalf of the errantes, in order that they be led ad iustitiae perfectionem." Although this somewhat conveniently served to strengthen the justification for coercive warfare, it likewise resolved, if not wholly satisfactorily, the tension between warfare and the involvement of Christians. War was waged to constrain the errantes to the perfection of justice which effectively resided only in the domus Dei, which, for Anselm, was the Roman Church. It was a position which at the same time relieved the problem for the actual constrainers. They in effect "perfected" themselves in their service of coercion; a service which, after all, was one of caritas.

One final aspect within this doctrine of coercion deserves a brief notice: the issue of the res ecclesiae. It is an issue that quite surprisingly has gone all but unnoticed. Yet it is not perhaps all that surprising that Anselm did address the issue and in this context. For one of the most dangerous aspects of schism was not merely the loss or destruction of ecclesiastical property, but especially the loss of the dispository control of their valuable assets and rights.

Lucensis episcopi auctore Rangerio Lucensi [MGH, SS, XXX: 1152-1307], w. 3659—3664, 6511-6514; Vita Matildis celeberrimae principis Italiae carmine scripta a Donizone presbytero [RIS, n.s. V, pt. II], II, c. 2, 65—66;De thesauro Canusinae ecclesiae Romam transmisse, et de compensatione ecclesiae canusinae facta [Scrip, rerum Italicarum, V, pt. II, 109-110]. What influence these experiences may have had are difficult to assess. It is unlikely that they had no influence whatsoever.

50liOeT contra Wibertum, pp. 527, 528.

^Liber contra Wibertum, p. 528: "Cum fiducia veni ad pingue[tu]dinem matris ecclesiae cuius utero errasti, ut coalescas."

i2Liber contra Wibertum, p. 525: "Verum quidem est, quia nee pro iusticia férrea arma corripi concessum est "

5iLiber contra Wibertum, p. 525: ". . . sed propter se, quantum ad iusticiae perfectionem, quantum spectat ad domus Dei decorem."

The effects of the schism had created a serious drain on resources for Gregory VII and his supporters. Revenue for Rome, in particular, facing ongoing attacks and siege from Henry IV, seems to have been a tremendous problem.54 In May, 1082, Gregory VII had convened a council at Rome, seeking approval for the alienation of ecclesiastical property in order to provide resources to defend Rome against the onslaught of Wibert and Henry IV. Those present at the synod, however, rejected the alienation on the canonical principle that ecclesiastical plate and resources were to be alienated solely for ransoming captives and for providing for the poor.55 It is worth noting here that Anselm and Matilda of Tuscany came to Gregory's support in 1082, causing church plate from Canossa to be loaned for the purposes of defending Rome.56

Throughout the Collectio canonum, Anselm had exhibited concern for the issue of ecclesiastical property and the material well-being of the Church.57 Yet in the final two books, and also in the Liber contra Wibertum, Anselm turned, although briefly, to the issue of Catholic property in the hands of schismatics. Using Augustine and Gregory I as authorities, Anselm stipulated that schismatics and excommunicates had no right whatsoever to possess ecclesiastical goods, and that the property of such persons was to be transferred to true Catholics until such time as they were reconciled to the Church.58 Although there are not many of these texts—just three where the issue is made explicit in the rubric title—and it is clearly a fleeting and undeveloped aside, the implications are important.

It is, however, the connection with coercive action that is clearly the most important. For the texts in which Anselm, by means of careful,

'"See Bernold of Constance, Chronicon a. 1084, a 1085 [MGH, SS, V], 44 Iff.; and Vita Anselmi, cc. 23-24, pp. 20-21; and The Epistolae Vagantes of Pope Gregory VII, ed. Herbert E. J. Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972), no. 55, p. 134.

^Concilium Romanum a 1082, in Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi (53 vols.; Paris-Arnhem, 1901-1927), XX, col. 577.

56De tbesauro Canusinae ecclesiae Romam transmisso [as in note 49], p. 109.

57E.g., Collectio canonum 1:82; 11:44, 59; 111:49, 50; IV:22, 31-37, 43, 44, 53; V:27-28, 31-38, 40, 41, 43-46, 48, 52, 60; VI:56, 57, 62, 63, 67, 132, 149, 153, 156, 162; VH-.4, 67, 139, 155.

58For texts, see above, note 13. Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, pp. 524-525, where he responds to Wibert's apparent complaints regarding seizures: "De depraedatione autem eorum, qui ab ecclesia praecisi sunt, respondeant patres nostri " Anselm uses three texts to support his defense, all of which are found in Book XIII: Augustine, epist. 185, c. 36ff. [= XIII:17]; Gregory I, Reg. 11:7 [=Xffl:6]; and Gregory I, Reg. 11:33 [= XIII:8]. See also De scismate Hildebrandi, pp. 544, 555-556.

not to say dubious, editing, had addressed the issue of ecclesiastical property without making it explicit in the rubrics, were all unequivocal justifications of coercion.59 Yet even in those where the issue was explicit, there is an implicit connection which goes beyond the unequivocal demand for the restoration of property found in the rubric titles. Anselm here is in effect acknowledging that the transfer or restoration of ecclesiastical property will not happen without some form of coercive action. Yet he was not, as Wibert seems to have complained, advocating a rapacious seizure of property and goods from the schismatics. Anselm was at pains to insist upon the same motivation for the restoration of property as that for coercive action. As he insisted with Augustine: it is they and not their goods which are sought first and foremost; both they and their goods had to be justified in caritas, that is, justified in the true Roman Church.60

How, in the end, are we to account for this concern with the res ecclesiae in the midst of a justification of coercion? Does it further support the contention that the entire doctrine was a product of, or resulted from, the schism? It is an issue that was not taken up in the earlier "reform collections." It slowly began to appear in the collections after that of Anselm, ultimately finding a place in Gratian, who

59Collectio canonum XII:54: "Ut excommunicati cohibeantur a saecularibus" [Augustine, epist. 93, excerpts] [fol. 217""]: ". . . Constantinus imperator constituit ut res convictorum et unltati pervicaciter resistentium fisco vendicarentur." This clause followed a lengthy discussion of the caritas aspects of coercion, e.g.: "Meliora sunt vulnera amici quam oscula inimici; melius est cum severitate diligere quam cum lenitate decipere"; XIII:17: "De eadem re" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 36ff. (excerpts)] [fol. 235'v]: ". . . Si autem consideremus, quod scriptum est in libro sapientiae: 'Ideo iusti tulerunt spolia impiorum (Wis. ?, 19)'; item quod legitur in proverbiis: 'Thesaurizant autem iustis divitiae impiorum (6 Prov. xiii, 22),' tunc videbimus non esse quaerendum, qui habeant res hereticorum, sed qui sint in societate iustorum. Item post aliqua. Si corpus Christi tollit spolia impiorum et corpori Christi thesaurizant divitiae impiorum, non debent impii foris remanere, ut calumnientur, sed intrare potius, ut iustificentur." See also XII:68, 70; and XIII:8, 27.

mCollectio canonum XII-.60: "De scismaticis ad correctionem cogendis" [Augustine, epist. 185, c. 6ff. (excerpts)] [fol. 220'v]: ". . . Verum in huius modi causis, ubi propter graves discessionum scissuras, non huius aut illius hominis est periculum, sed populorum strages iacent, detrahendum est aliquid severitati, ut maioribus malis sanandis, caritas sinceri [sincera] subveniat. Habeant ergo isti de praeterito detestabili errore, sicut Petrus habuit, de mendacii morte, amarum dolorem, et veniant ad ecclesiam Christi veram, id est matrem catholicam. Sint in illa clerici, sint episcopi utiliter, qui contra illam fuerunt inutiüter. Non invidemus, immo amplectimur, optamus, hortamur, et quos in viis aut in sepibus invenimus, intrare cogimus, et sic nondum quibusdam persuademus, qui iam non res eorum, sea ipsos querimus" (my italics). Cf. Liber contra Wibertum, pp. 525-526.

may have incorporated these texts from Anselm's collection. Perhaps the answer lies in a different point of view.

It is quite clear that the schism for Anselm, however much a personal affront to his beloved Gregory VII, and an institutional affront to the true Roman Church, was at the same time a situation in which the very existence of the Church itself (as Anselm knew it) was at peril. Anselm's interest with ecclesiastical property in these final books may have stemmed from this concern: that material resources were being unjustly seized or appropriated from true Catholics with the effect of leaving them, and ultimately the Church, in peril. More to the point, however, he perhaps feared that the Church's resources were being used not to preserve the Church but rather to destroy her.[61] Whether in his doctrine of coercion he was simply looking for an ethical covering or a moral justification for a plan of action to deal with harsh political and, especially, economic realities is another question. But Anselm's theory at least was not without a certain logic: for the Church in full possession of her resources would both be able to defend herself in the face of schism and, at the same time, be able to restore, by force if necessary, the unity that was the objective of the entire doctrine of coercion.[62]

61See Anselm's Commentary (as in note 2), p. 541: "Si enim dimiserimus eum sic, venient Romani et toUent nostrum locum et gentem: id est si Papa Gregorius vixerit, mittet contra nos praedicatores veritatis, qui discutientes vitam et actus nostras, eripient oves Christi de manibus nostris, et iusti diripient spolia nostra et committent ecclesiam facientibus fructum in ea."

62Collectio canonum XIII: 17 [fol. 235'"]: "...In Christi ergo compagem corporis veniant et labores suos non dominandi cupiditate sed bene utendi pietate possideant. Nos autem voluntatem nostram, ut iam dictum est, ab huius cupiditatibus sordibus quolibet inimico iudicante purgavimus, quando eos ipsos, quorum labores dicuntur, ut nobiscum et Ulis et nostris in societate catholica utantur, quantum valemus, inquirimus."

THE DOUBLE DOCTRINE OF THE CALDWELL SISTERS

BY

C. Walker Gollar*

One of Louisville, Kentucky's first multi-millionaires, William Shakespeare Caldwell, managed theaters in his younger days but later amassed a fortune through gas work projects in various Midwestern cities. On December 28, 1853, he married Mary Eliza Breckenridge, a descendant of a pioneer Bluegrass family and a Protestant who nonetheless had attended the academy of the Sisters of Charity in Nazareth, Kentucky. Shortly after the wedding she was baptized by the Bishop of Louisville, Martin John Spalding, whom one report called the couple's "intimate friend."1 Ten years later, in Cincinnati, Ohio, she gave birth on October 21, 1863, to her first child, Mary "Mamie" Gwendolin Byrd. A second daughter, Mary Elizabeth "Lina" Breckenridge, was born on December 26, 1865.

One hundred years later, the historian David Francis Sweeney, O.F.M., referred for the first time in any published manuscript to certain "serious allegations" which Lina Caldwell had brought against Bishop Spalding's priest-nephew, John Lancaster Spalding. Sweeney did not reveal the nature of Caldwell's "bill of indictment," but he recognized the devastation that these charges brought to Spalding's career. The "complete truth in this episode," Sweeney conceded, "will perhaps never be known." The sociologist Andrew M. Greeley charged that this information should not have been disclosed unless Sweeney had been more willing to tell the "whole story." Since Sweeney's publication a cloud of uncertainty has hovered over John Lancaster Spalding's integrity. The present work will uncover and explicate the damaging allegations amidst the larger context of the lives of Lina and Mamie Caldwell, and thus will tell the whole story as well as historical records can reveal it.2

*Mr. Gollar is an assistant professor of theology in Xavier University, Cincinnati.

1New York Times, November 16, 1904.

2Sweeney, The Life of John Lancaster Spalding (New York, 1965), pp. 308-309; Andrew Greeley, The Catholic Experience (New York, 1967), p. 166. Sweeney's biography was a revised version of his dissertation written in 1963 at the Catholic Uni-

A month after the birth of Lina Caldwell, Shakespeare Caldwell moved the family from Cincinnati to New York, where they expected Martin Spalding, then the Archbishop of Baltimore, to come and baptize the newborn. Such frequent travel and high lifestyle soon exhausted the weak constitution of the young mother, who fell ill on January 6, 1867, then suddenly died. Stricken with grief, her husband moved to Richmond, Virginia, and there turned to the Church which offered, as one observer had noted, his wife's "only consolation in her last moments."3 Though from a Catholic family, Shakespeare Caldwell had not received baptism until now at the hands of the Bishop of Richmond, John McGill. Mother Columba Carroll of Nazareth, Kentucky, was the godmother. In memory of his wife, Caldwell erected in Louisville Saints Mary and Elizabeth Hospital and placed it under the direction of the Sisters of Charity. Throughout his later years he made similar contributions to numerous Catholic organizations in many of the cities where he entertained personal or business interests.

His girls were enrolled at the Sacred Heart Academy on 17th Street in Manhattanville, where they met the thirty-two-year-old chaplain, Father John Lancaster Spalding, who in July of 1872 had moved from Kentucky to New York in order to write the life of his recently deceased uncle, the archbishop. In the biography, Spalding referred to the type of wealthy children like the Caldwell girls whom he encountered at the academy. "The daughters of the rich," he wrote,

> are brought up like exotics, in a way which develops to the highest degree a finely-wrought and most sensitive nervous system. To this are added all the accomplishments which constitute a merely ornamental education; and the young lady, beautiful, intelligent, refined, so delicate that the winds of heaven may not visit her too roughly, is fit only to sit in the parlor.4

versity of America under the direction of John Tracy Ellis. The minor revision did not change any related Caldwell material. In regard to Spalding scholarship since Sweeney, David Killen refuted Caldwell's insinuation that Spalding had lost his faith, but otherwise did not discuss this matter. "John Spalding's American Understanding of the Church" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Marquette University, 1970), p. 28. Robert Barger acknowledged that Sweeney "did not rehearse all of the specifics of this episode," but still related "the main items involved." John Lancaster Spalding: Catholic Educator and Social Emissary (The Heritage of American Catholicism Series [New York, 1988]), p. 26. Mamie Caldwell most likely spelt her own second name, "Gwendolin," though other references, including some noted in the text below, use an alternative spelling, such as "Gwendolen," "Gwendoline," or "Guendaline."

3Benedict J. Webb, The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky (Louisville, 1884), p. 545.

4The Life of the Most Rev. M.J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore (New York, 1873), p. 370.

From the family apartment in the prestigious New York Clarendon Hotel, Mamie Caldwell on May 23, 1874, warned the new Bishop of Richmond, James Gibbons, that her father was near death.5 In fact, Shakespeare Caldwell passed away later that day. In his last will and testament he asked the four executors, Eugene Kelly and Charles Fry of New York, Reuben Springer of Cincinnati, and Joshua Speed of Louisville, to manage a huge trust fund for the perpetual benefit of his children. He also named Mrs. Mary L. Andrews of New York as the guardian of the two girls. But after his death, as one person recalled, the children "were brought up without any training or government whatsoever, . . . left entirely to themselves and to hired people." Moreover, "they received no education, because it was impossible to manage them when they were at school."6

Shakespeare Caldwell had included in his will an item which requested

> that [each of] my Daughters] respectively shall Also have power . . . after attaining the age of twenty one years … to require the Trustee or Trustees of her share of my Estate to convey and pay unto herself absolutely for her own absolute use and disposition one third part of the Principal of her Share of my Final Estate original or accrued.7

Less than two months after Caldwell had written this will, and while on his deathbed, he supposedly suggested to his then ten-year-old daughter that this money be invested in the formation of a national Catholic University.8 In fulfillment of this request, on October 26, 1884, John Lancaster Spalding, then the Bishop of Peoria (Illinois), announced that the twenty-one-year-old Mamie Caldwell was "disposed to aid in [the] establishment of a Semtnarium Principale."9 Despite some fears that the bishops in accepting the offer might become overly indebted to "Lady Bountiful," Mamie Caldwell's inheritance eventually brought her father's presumed wishes to reality.10

'Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (hereafter cited as AAB), 72-Q-9, Mamie Caldwell to Gibbons, New York, May 23, 1874.

6Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (hereafter cited as AASF), LBR (3a), Patrick W. Riordan to Daniel Riordan, San Francisco, September 10, 1912, copy.

Jefferson County, Kentucky, Courthouse (hereafter cited as JCC), Wills, Vol. VIII (1861-1875), pp. 339-341, "Last Will and Testament of W. S. Caldwell," item 12.

8Louisville Courier-Journal, November 16, 1904, and New York Times, November 16, 1904.

9AAB, 78-S-ll, J. L. Spalding to Gibbons, Peoria, October 26, 1884.

10AAB, unindexed, Corrigan to Gibbons, New York, March 25, 1885. Also see, Archives of the Archdiocese of New York (hereafter cited as AANY), C-2, Gibbons to Corrigan, Baltimore, April 1, 1885.

On May 24, 1888, during the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone for the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C., Bishop Spalding concluded his keynote address,

> with the name of her whose generous mind . . . has given to what had long been the hope deferred and a dreamlike vision, existence and a dwelling-place,—Mary Gwendolen Caldwell."

According to the souvenir booklet from this event, the young benefactress

> considered mat to lay the foundation of such an institution would be the noblest monument that she could erect to the Catholic faith for her father and mother.12

The $300,000 donation reportedly constituted one third of her estate.13

One year after the foundation for the University had been laid, both sides of the Atlantic were entertained by the European courtship of Mamie Caldwell and an invalid prince twice her age. For example, some "men of the world" noted that the suitor, a "wornout old roué" named Joachim Napoleon Murat, sought marriage only that he might liquidate his enormous gambling debts with her fortune. "[T]he silly girl," one person commented, ". . . [was] putting the foot into it, badly." Another reported with condolences that the marriage already had taken place "on the sly." And others lamented the fact that the "Mde. la Princesse" would begin her matrimonial career as a "Grandmamma," for the previously married prince had both children and grandchildren. Meanwhile, the heads of the University movement grew uncomfortable over the intentions of the desperate Murat, for common sense concluded what another speculator had surmised, namely, that, "the University will get no more of her money, as Ie Prince Mari will, naturally, think the funds should be spent 'en famille.' " Thus this final gossip exclaimed, "What utter geese, these wealthy American girls are, to

"Reprinted as "University Education," chap. VIH oí Education and the Higher Life (Chicago, 1890), p. 210.

12Archives of the Catholic University of America (hereafter cited as ACUA), "Souvenir Booklet to the Cornerstone Laying Ceremony of the Catholic University of America, May 24, 1888."

"Though Archbishop Martin John Spalding was not the first to suggest the creation of an American Catholic university, John Tracy Ellis has shown that "to him must be given credit for advancing the idea . . . among the American bishops." Formative Years of the Catholic University of America (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 45. Perhaps his influence extended to Shakespeare Caldwell, as well.

purchase, at the expense of dignity and common sense, these foreign titles. Chacun à son goût."14

Despite these rumors, "a few days before the wedding was to occur," The New York Times reported that Mamie Caldwell "electrified the Continent by breaking the engagement and publicly stating her reasons for taking this course."15 When the prince had insisted that half of her fortune be made over to him before the wedding, Caldwell upon the advice of lawyers demanded justification for this request. "Why, I am a Prince of Royal blood," he is said to have replied, with obvious condescension. "My blood is as good as yours," the girl retorted. "My forefathers were making and assisting in governing the greatest country on earth while one of yours was running an obscure tavern."16 The charge was true, and Murat retired with much embarrassment. Regardless, rumors continued to speculate that this erratic girl, who allegedly "loved him and loves him still," might change her mind, follow her heart, refuse her counsel, and marry the prince.17

Five months after the broken engagement, Mamie suffered a severe case of typhoid fever complicated with heart trouble. Though by March, 1890, she had weathered this storm, her attendants feared that anytime she might "suddenly take a turn for the worse and finally die.'na With improved but uncertain health, she returned to the United States, where the ongoing speculation concerning her engagement was silenced by the convincing June report of the New York World that "she finally refused to marry."19

Mamie gave her wedding dress to her sister, who on June 17, 1890, was married by Spalding to Baron Kurt von Zedwitz in the chapel at the Catholic University, a structure which earlier had been built by the bride in order to ensure "the memory of [her] beloved parents."20 The Protestant groom had been a German diplomat in Washington, D.C., and was considered one of the leading men of the younger

"Archives of the University of Notre Dame (hereafter cited as AUND), X-3-j, Ella B. Edes to Daniel Hudson, Rome, August 14 and October 8, 1889. In these two letters, Edes reported the various speculations noted above.

"New York Times, October 14, 1896. The engagement ended in 1889; thus this, as well as the following reference include reflections which were printed long after the fact.

^Courier-Journal, November 16, 1904.

"New York Sun, December 8, 1889. Concerning the engagement, also sec New York Times, January 2, 1890, and November 16, 1904.

18AUND, XI-Ih, EUa B. Edes to Edwards, Rome, March 24, 1890.

l9New York World, June 9, 1890.

20Chicago New World, November 12, 1898.

generation of German statesmen, eventually serving as Privy Councillor, a member of both the Reichstag and the Prussian Diet, and leader of the Free Conservative party. After the wedding, the couple traveled with Mamie directly to Mexico City, where the baron served as minister. The Caldwell sisters rarely had been separated since their parents' death, but before the year was over Mamie traveled without Lina back to Europe, where in recognition of her benevolence toward the Catholic University the Pope awarded Mamie the Golden Rose, an annual gift to some notable person in token of special services or loyalty to the Holy See.

Meanwhile, Spalding continued to influence the management of the Caldwell estate and, in fact, in May of 1893, assumed the role of co-trustee together with the United States Trust Company.21 By the end of the year he had journeyed to Rome for an ad limina visit and was accompanied at least for part of his travels by Mamie Caldwell. Spalding returned to the United States in the spring. Shortly thereafter, Mamie moved in with her sister, who after her husband's term as German minister to Mexico had expired in 1894 had made her home in a castle at Dresden, Germany, at least when not on the diplomatic or political circuit. On May 8, 1896, the Baroness Lina Caldwell gave birth in Berlin to a son, Waldemar Konrad von Zedwitz. Before the child was four months old, his father the baron tragically was killed on August 18 in a boating accident in the South Sea. Spalding was summoned back to Europe to settle the estate, and, as The New York Times reported, was appointed the guardian of the young Waldemar.22

Less than two months later, the thirty-four-year-old "unusually handsome" Mamie Caldwell announced to the press her intention to marry the Marquis Jean des Monstiers Merinville, a French nobleman reportedly "of middle age, [and] of a very good old conservative French family." Like Mamie's first suitor, this fiancé was widowed with children, but did not demand a large dowry.23 The wedding was expected to be a quiet affair at die von Zedwitz home, in respect of the recent death of the baron. However, a few days after die scheduled event, a dispatch from Paris announced, "Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria, Illinois, the guardian and administrator of the large estate of

21AANY, C-44, J. L. Spalding to Corrigan, Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City, November 20, 1892; and files of the U.S. Trust Company of New York (May 26, 1893).

22NeW York Times, October 14, 1896. This article included the only mention of Spalding's guardianship of the young son. Probably this custody was more spiritual than temporal, as the baroness was able to manage the daily affairs of the child.

2iNew York Times, November 16, 1904.

Miss Caldwell, performed the cermony" with considerable pomp and circumstance on October 19, 1896, at Saint Joseph's Church on the Avenue Hoche in Paris.24 Spalding then returned to Peoria, and the couple began their life together in an apartment at 104 Champs Elysées.

On October 30, 1898, the Madame la Marquise, Mamie Caldwell, with her noble consort received a hearty welcome at the Founder's Day Celebration of the Catholic University in Washington. On behalf of the administration, faculty, and students alike, the rector, Thomas J. Conaty, prayed for this woman, whom he called "one of the founders; in fact, the founder of this University":

> We beg God to bless you, we beg Him to bless you unto many years, and pray that we may always be faithful to the aims and purposes of this University, to its vocation in our American educational life, and that we may always strive to keep it up to the high ideals which you had placed before it, when under the inspiration of God, you made your gift to the Bishops of the Plenary Council.25

During the reception another benefactor, the Right Reverend Monsignor James McMahon, presented to Mamie a beautiful set of diamonds. A press release noted that McMahon had purchased this gift out of his own funds in order to pay "a generous tribute to one who had preceded him by some years in the noble work of generosity." Caldwell Hall and McMahon Hall in 1889 and 1895, respectively, had been constructed through donations from these wealthy individuals. The day after the Founder's Day celebration, Mamie on behalf of her little nephew endorsed a five thousand dollar check to establish for the diocese of Peoria a scholarship to the School of Divinity. Furthermore, she promised an additional 810,000 to be split between the two Caldwell sisters toward the endowment of a fellowship in memory of their parents.26

Upon Mamie's request, the rector next invited Spalding to visit the University. Overwhelmed with work in Peoria, Spalding explained to Conaty that it would be "extremely difficult" for him to comply, but

"Reprinted in "William Shakespeare Caldwell and His Daughters," Louisville Times, June 9, 1949.

^Catholic University Bulletin, 4 (1898), 493. Concerning the endowment on behalf of the Catholic University, one of the conditions stipulated by Spalding was that Mamie Caldwell be considered the foundress, even though, as noted above, her father (perhaps influenced by Martin John Spalding) actually had suggested the idea to her. See, AAB, 78-T-6, M. Caldwell to Gibbons, Baltimore, November 13, 1884; and J. L. Spalding to Keane, Peoria, June 13, 1889.

26NeW World, November 12, 1898.

added, "as you seem to think that I can do some real good and as the Marquise urges me strongly to accept the invitation I shall do my best to be with you about the middle of Jan."27 Spalding's original enthusiasm for the University had faded, and his friendship with Mamie Caldwell had weakened. However, by the end of 1898 a new plan to collect funds for the school had renewed his interest in the school and in her money. Through the management of the Caldwell estate, as well as through the promotion of various charities, Spalding had grown to appreciate contributions from the rich, and in fact, occasionally became overzealous in his pursuit of donations.28 The Caldwell siblings had much money and, at least partly for this reason, had received considerable attention from Spalding, as well as from numerous other members of the Catholic hierarchy. Thus it comes as no surprise that in February, 1899, the former rector, John Keane, noted the "restored friendship" between Mamie Caldwell and John Lancaster Spalding.29

Because Spalding made little effort to conceal his relationship to the Caldwell women, he easily became, as one person noticed, subject to "gossip ... of old maids."30 Some scorned the "absolute disregard (absolute and insolent) of Public Opinion constantly & ever manifested by John L. Spalding." In particular, one old maid recalled an occasion when "a servant out at the Shoreham House in Washington . . . commented to me on his disedification at seeing Bp. Spalding going out driving with Miss C. [presumably Mamie Caldwell]."31 Another who periodically sent complaints about priests to Rome, on one occasion charged that Spalding was "extremely negligent of his duties of his sacred office," more devoted to literature than to the salvation of souls. "But alas!" this critic added,

> in all parts of this country it is whispered, and believed, that he is devoted also to the female sex. I will not give details, the bare fact is sufficient to justify the initiation of an investigation.32

27ACUA, J. L. Spalding to Thomas Conaty, Peoria, November 15, 1898; emphasis mine.

28For illustration of Spalding's zeal, see, ACUA Office of the Rector (hereafter OR), box 4, folder 57, J. L. Spalding to Keane, Peoria, June 13, 1889; March 1, 1890; April 20, 1890; and December 5, 1890; ACUA OR, box 3 folder 13, J. L. Spalding to Thomas Conaty, Peoria, November 15, 1898.

29ACUA OR, Keane to Philip J. Garrigan, Rome, February 2, 1899.

50AUND XI-2-1, note of John Cavanaugh, C.S.C., appended on February 14, 1910, to Archbishop Robert Seton to James F. Edwards, Vannes, France, July 25, 1909-

31AUND XI-2-1, Archbishop Robert Seton to James F. Edwards, Vannes, France, July 25, 1909.

"Archives of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide (hereafter APF), folder

No inquisition was held. John Lancaster Spalding certainly entertained little regard for public opinion. But as a Catholic bishop who in numerous addresses regularly promoted women's rights, and as a celibate man who freely talked with individual women, he became easy prey for certain prudes of the late Victorian era.33

In November of 1899, the Baroness von Zedwitz, Lina Caldwell, fulfilled her sister's pledge given during the Founder's Day visit to donate half of the promised $10,000. "I am happy indeed to aid her in this," Lina explained to Conaty, "as any thing concerning the progress & development of the university is dear to me as to her." Lina also begged Conaty

> to pray and have prayers said for my dear sister whose health does not improve & who is now a very great invalid. She & I believe that the prayers of the members of the University have a double value. Hoping that you will not forget to mention my little son & myself occasionally in your good prayers, & wishing every blessing to you & our dearly beloved University believe me with kindest remembrances to you from my sister i4

Since Spalding's last European visit in 1896, Mamie Caldwell repeatedly had asked him to return. As her condition worsened, he finally agreed, then set sail on January 10, 1900.

Spalding defended his old friend, Father Isaac Hecker, before Pope Leo XIII on February 2, then delivered "Education and the Future of Religion" at the Roman Church of the Gesii on March 21. In April, he traveled with Mamie to Florence, where he visited the church historian, Father Franz Xaver Kraus, who later acclaimed Spalding as "the most sensible, upright character that I have come to know among the bishops of the world."35 Spalding and Caldwell then proceeded on to

57/1891: no. 4239, Jno. H. Cordon to the Most Rev. Ignatius Pérsico, Archbishop of Dametta, Secretary of Propaganda, Louisville, August 24, 1891.

"Concerning Spalding's refusal of the position as first rector of the Catholic University, Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia suggested the influence of Mamie Caldwell, who would be "constantly there, and attract much comment." AANY, Ryan to Corrigan, Philadelphia, June 4, 1885. Yet even as Ryan's remark indicated, Spalding's relationship with the Caldwell women, especially after Mamie's gift of the University, already was well known. In addition, other factors certainly contributed to Spalding's reluctance. See, C. Joseph Nuesse, The Catholic University of America: A Centennial History (Washington, D.C., 1990), p. 50.

34ACUA OR, box 1, folder 11, Lina Caldwell von Zedwitz to Conaty, Paris, November 18, 1899 (written on mourning stationery).

»Hubert Schiel (ed.), Franz Xaver Kraus Tagebücher (Cologne, 1957), p. 735.

Milan, where he met with, among others, the countess Sabina di Parravicino di Revel, who soon would translate his Gesu sermon into Italian. Upon his return to Mamie's Parisian apartment, Spalding was entertained by the young Abbé Félix Klein, who with Mamie's strong encouragement subsequently promoted the French translation and publication of the Gesù address. By May Spalding had returned to the United States where he expressed his enthusiasm about these publications to the rector of the North American College in Rome, Monsignor Denis Joseph O'Connell. "Did you get a letter I sent you," Spalding also asked, "including a check from Mamie?"[36] Mamie also wrote to O'Connell, claiming that Spalding undoubtedly preferred Europe to Illinois. Then she offered the odd remark that Spalding "realizes perhaps that Mamie C. is not so much of a burden as she seemed to be! How sad it is," she reflected, "that we all learn wisdom too late to do us any good in this world."[37]

In July Mamie received the Laetare Medal, an award presented on Laetare Sunday by the University of Notre Dame to a Catholic American of distinction. Concerning the priests who had bestowed this honor on her, Mamie exclaimed in the above-mentioned letter to O'Connell, "God bless those men." She explained:

> They have warmed up my heart, and made me weep again, as in the old enthusiastic days of my girlhood. How I have loved and do love Catholic priests—to be sure with all their faults and short comings & narrowness they have as a rule been the best men I have known in any country.[38]

Later that year, Mamie suffered an attack of paralysis which completely crippled her side. She then startlingly confessed to O'Connell that during a "psychical crisis . . . Rome last winter did for me what it has done for many an honest soul before me, made me Protestant."[59] Apparently she had abandoned ship before she was honored as a distinguished American Catholic! Spalding's last European visit had come after this faith crisis and, in fact, had restored some of her interest in church matters, for even after he had returned to the United States,

^Archives of the Diocese of Richmond (hereafter ADR), Spalding to D. J. O'Connell, Peoria, June 9, 1900. No record concerning the nature of this check has been found.

'7ADR, Caldwell des Merinville to D.J. O'Connell, Paris, June 18, 1900.

38ADR, Mamie Caldwell to D. J. O'Connell, Paris, July 9, 1900. Spalding reportedly was much gratified by the choice of Mamie for the Laetare Medal. In fact, he earlier had recommended to Cardinal Simeoni that her generosity should be recognized, partly in order to encourage similar gifts from other wealthy persons. APF, Congregazioni, vol. 42 (1885), J. L. Spalding to Simeoni, Peoria, February 19, 1885.

»ADR, O'Connell Papers, Caldwell to O'Connell, Paris, November 9, 1900.

Mamie remained enthusiastic about the publication of the Gesù sermon. But the historian Kraus noted that within a few months after Spalding's return, the paralyzed Mamie Caldwell had become completely estranged from Spalding. Moreover, while at this time struggling for her life, she revealed to her sister some incredible news which later would be used against Spalding. When her health had stabilized, Mamie sent to O'Connell Spalding's portrait, explaining that she had "no more room for it in her house."40 Yet despite her doubts about the Catholic faith as well as her estrangement from Spalding, in March Mamie sent her half of the promised donation to the Catholic University and later presented to the chaplain a set of vestments which she had made herself. She may have turned Protestant, but she still maintained some allegiance to the Catholic Church.41

What prompted her latest, and definitive break from Spalding remains unknown, though the Spalding family history recalls that at some point Mamie asked for an annulment of her marriage, which from the beginning had been unhappy. Spalding repeatedly refused to satisfy this wish and thus outraged the wealthy marquise. Her surprising departure from the Church undoubtedly had been triggered by her failing health but also may have been influenced by Spalding's contined refusal to seek the annulment.

Meanwhile, Lina Caldwell also questioned her own faith. After the death of her husband in the summer of 1896, she suffered a long term of illness and only infrequently visited the United States. Gradually the influence of the baron's Protestant family with whom she continued to live prevailed over her Catholic upbringing. By 1901, she with "little comment" left the Catholic Church.42 Nonetheless, she maintained interest in ecclesiastical affairs, especially when they concerned John Lancaster Spalding.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, Spalding had expressed certain views in a fashion which, as one priest noted, were

*°Franz Xaver Kraus Tagebücher, p. 749.

¦"Concerning the donation, see, ACUA OR, box I, folder 1 1, H. L. Thornell (Secretary of the United States Trust Company) to Conaty, New York, March 4, 1901; and notice of receipt, Conaty to Thornell, Washington, D.C., March 8, 1901. Concerning the vestments, see, ACUA OR, box 1, folder 11 (original typed copy of the original), Conaty to Madame (a Marquise (Mamie Caldwell), Washington, D.C., July 10, 1901; and Catholic University Bulletin, 7(1901), 390.

42Courier-Journal, November 16, 1904. The exact date of Lina's little-commented-upon apostasy is unknown, though it occurred sometime in 1901.

bound "to get [him] into trouble."43 In particular, when the Italian Archbishop Francesco Satolli arrived in New York City in late 1892 in order to assume the position of the first permanent Papal representative to the United States, Spalding reportedly was "outspoken in his opposition to the delegation, which he said would be a disaster for the Church."44 Not surprisingly, when Spalding's name was mentioned about this time for the vacancy in Saint Louis, Satolli notified the Roman congregation which handled the appointments of bishops in the United States that Spalding "must not and cannot be selected since he is known to be fickle, haughty, and scornful of Roman authority." Moreover, Satolli judged, "never can or should he be an archbishop."45

Throughout the following year, an anti-Catholic organization called the American Protective Association spread rumors that a Papal decree soon would absolve Catholics from all oaths of allegiance to the United States and that on September 5 a massacre of heretics was planned. The "American Pope," that is, the newly appointed Apostolic Delegate, was viewed by the A.P.A. as an instrument in this conspiracy. In defense of the truth, Spalding in a bold article from September of 1894 entitled, "Catholicism and APAism," articulated the opinion of the majority of the American bishops against the new position of the Apostolic Delegate.46 Satolli immediately admonished Spalding, insisting that the office had been authorized by the Pope and thus demanded the support of all the American hierarchy. Moreover, the Delegate sent to Rome Spalding's article along with the reprimand.47 A few years later, after his term in the United States had expired, Satolli returned to Europe, was made a cardinal, and joined the Propaganda as a specialist in American affairs.

On July 12, 1902, the see of Chicago became vacant when Archbishop Patrick Augustine Feehan, whose troubled twenty-three-year reign was described by one authority as "vexatious," died suddenly

«ADR, John M. Farley to O'Connell, Saint Gabriel's Church, New York, September 28, 1894.

44Saint Louis Chronicle, December 16, 1892.

45APF, folder 92, no. 1066, Satolli to Ignazio Pérsico, Secretary of the Propaganda, Washington, D.C., December 20, 1892.

¦«•"Catholicism and APAism "North American Review, CLIX (September, 1894), 278-287.

47APF, folder 153/94, no. 9458, Satolli to Cardinal Prefect, and copy of Satolli to J. L. Spalding, September 7, 1894.

of an apoplectic stroke.48 Despite conflicting reports concerning the specific troubles of this diocese, the "universal demand" as generally voiced by archdiocesan consultors and irremovable rectors, clergy and laity, Catholics and Protestants alike was that Spalding be named successor.49 "It is absolutely necessary," Spalding's long-time friend, Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan of San Francisco, for example, explained, "that a first class man should be sent to Chicago. Affairs there are in a most deplorable condition and I know of no one who is able to remedy this except Bishop Spalding."50 A professor at the Catholic University, Charles P. Grannan, added, "Since he [Spalding] is [first] on all the lists for Chicago, if he is turned down, it will be Rome that turns him down."51

On August 17, the apostate Lina Caldwell expressed to Cardinal Satolli her opinion concerning the vacancy. The past years in the United States certainly would furnish, she wrote, "des preuves suffisantes de l'iniquité de Mgr Spalding." Moreover, she stressed, "Ma longue et intinte connaissance avec ce prélat me permet d'affirmer que son caractère et sa vie privée sont d'une dépravité et licence peu soupçonnée." After years in defiance of the Pope and papal power, Spalding did not deserve, according to the baroness, a higher ecclesiastical office. Thus she dared to fix her well-known name to such accusations in order to expose "la villainie et la corruption de la vie de Mgr Spalding."52

48Charles Shanabruch, Chicago Catholics: The Evolution of an American Identity (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1981), p. 79.

49ADR, Smyth to O'Connell, Evanston, Illinois, July 24, 1902. Once assigned to Peoria, Spalding always plagued by a certain self-doubt, adamantly had refused consideration for any episcopal advancement, and even explained to Rome that he would never leave Peoria. See, Rochester Diocesan Archives, Corrigan to McQuaid, Newark, April 29 and May 30, 1881. However, as senior suffragan in the Province of Chicago, he showed great interest in local church affairs, especially concerning the vacancy caused by Feehan's death. For example, see APF, 1901: no. 47281, J. L Spalding to Ledochowski, Peoria, November 24, 1901. Other than his general sentiment against any promotion, there remains no indication that he would have refused this position. He did not advocate his own cause and even did not nominate himself when constructing the terna; however, he seemed willing to advance in this case.

50ADR, Riordan to O'Connell, Rome, August 31, 1902. Riordan and Spalding had studied together as seminarians at Louvain. Another person who claimed to be intimately familiar with Spalding's twenty-five years in Peoria, namely, Bishop John Ryan of Alton, Illinois, forwarded a similar endorsement to the Propaganda. APF, folder 153/1903, no. 51287, All. 4, J. Ryan to Propaganda, Alton, Illinois, July 25, 1902.

51ADR, Grannan to O'Connell, Washington, D.C., postmarked October 3, 1902.

52APF, folder 153/1903: no. 52375, Baroness von Zedwitz, née Caldwell, to Cardinal Satolli, Paris, August 17, 1902. On the same day that she wrote Satolli, the widow von

As Satolli mulled over these charges, Archbishop Riordan arrived in Rome largely, according to his own admission, to press for Spalding's appointment.[53] On October 27, Satolli finally requested from Lina Caldwell concrete substantiation for her most general accusations.[54] In addition, he asked Riordan to visit her in Geneva. On November 9 immediately after meeting with Lina Caldwell, the archbishop summarized for Satolli the interview:

1. La Baronne affirme de nouveau les choses contenues dans sa lettre du 18 août [the incorrect date].
2. Elle ne peut pas donner les détails ou nommer les personnes ou la personne impliquées dans l'affaire.
3. Elle estprête d'aller àRome et deparier des témoins et d'affirmer devant votre Eminence et bien devant le Préfet de laPropagande les choses contenues dans sa lettre.
4. Elle vous écrira en réponse à votre lettre.[55]

Zedwitz repeated her indictments against Spalding's character in a letter to the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, Cardinal Girolamo Gotti. She also claimed that Spalding lacked faith, and moreover, was the cause of apostasy and the breaking down of religion in many persons. APF, 1902, no. 51081, Baroness von Zedwitz, née Caldwell, to Cardinal Gotti, Paris, August 17, 1902. Apparently, Gotti never responded directly to Caldwell's letters, but rather let Satolli handle these complaints.

"During the previous month Riordan had attended on behalf of the Church in California an historic case before the Hague Tribunal. See, James Gaffey, Citizen ofNo Mean City: Archbishop Patrick Riordan ofSan Francisco (1841—1914) ([Wilmington, North Carolina,] 1976), pp. 213-243. According to his biographer, Riordan had shown a "lifelong tendency of commenting extensively on episcopal prospects, even well beyond his own province." Moreover, "Fidelity to friends was a paramount virtue [for Riordan], even at the risk of antagonizing authority." Ibid., pp. 162 and 38. Some hoped that Riordan, himself, would fill the vacancy. He had been nominated and reportedly was anxious to return to Chicago, the city of his youth. In fact, Spalding had named him as his first choice. For his elevation over San Francisco, Riordan was indebted to Spalding, who years ago had withdrawn his own nomination for that western see and supplied Riordan's name instead. In 1902, some of the older Chicago clergy had favored Riordan as a second choice to Spalding. In addition, from the irremovable rectors and archdiocesan consulters Riordan had received a few votes for second and third choices. See, ADR, Smyth to O'Connell, Evanston, Illinois, March 19, June 25,JuIy 24, and August 21, 1902; and Shannon to O'Connell, Chicago, September 16, 1902. Despite the rumors, however, the archbishop enjoyed the isolation of San Francisco and never had sought episcopal advancement. Gaffey, op. cit., pp. 319 and 343. Riordan's own brother also appeared as a candidate on several of the lists, but from the outset the archbishop had disqualified him because of his poor health. See, APF, Chicago file (1903), folder C, no. 6, Riordan to Frederick Z. Rooker, New York City, August 6, 1902.

[54]There is no record of this letter other than Caldwell's reference to it.

[55]APF, folder 153/1903: no. 52375, Riordan to Satolli, Paris, November 9, 1902.

Later that day Lina did answer Satolli and upheld "de la maniere la plus formelle et sérieuse" the contents of her letter of the previous August 17. However, she again refused to give any more information, but instead, proposed the private confrontation noted above.[56]

Riordan grew frustrated by such designs, and therefore appended to his summary several remarks of his own, declaring, "Maintenant je dis":

1. Les accusations vagues générales sans détails ni déplace ni de personnes ne doivent pas être admises en évidence contre un prélat.
2. Les accusations doivent être explicites, particulières et supportées par une évidence inébranlable.
3. Je connais ce Prélat depuis 42 années et jamais ai-je entendu la moindre chose contre son caractère moral.
4. Je le crois d'être un homme des moeurs irréprochables.[57]

The predicament seemed resolved, at least for the moment, in Spalding's favor.

Six days later, however, Riordan penned a second report to Satolli with the stern instruction that it "be considered strictly confidential and its contents given to no one except the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda." Riordan outlined certain developments:

1. I wrote to you from Geneva after my interview with the Baroness. She reaffirmed her accusations and confessed her willingness to go to Rome with at least two (2) witnesses.
2. She positively refused to give the name of any accomplice.
3. I suspected that one of the witnesses was a priest now in London and formerly Superior of a religious house in Paris. I have known him for many years and believe him to be a man "omnino fide dignus."
4. I went to London and saw him and from him I learned the whole story.

56APF, folder 153/1903: no. 52375, Baroness von Zedwitz (née Elizabeth Caldwell) to Satolli, Switzerland, November 9, 1902.

57Riordan also wrote a similar report to Cardinal Gotti of the Propaganda. APF, folder 153/1903: no. 52375, Riordan to Gotti, Paris, November 9, 1902. The two reports virtually were identical except for several changes mandated by the specific nature of the addressee, along with a few slightly condensed, elaborated, or altered expressions.

5. The accomplice {complice} is the sister of the Baroness. Hence her unwillingness to give the name.

6. The intimacy between the two continued for nearly twenty years, that is, whenever they met or travelled together.

7. It became known to the Baroness only two years ago when her sister morti próxima made it known to the Baroness, the priest, and a lady who lived with them.

8. I can not enter into all the details but they confirm the accusations in the letter of August 18th [again, the incorrect date].

9. I had hoped that he was innocent but I am now satisfied that he is guilty.

10. Under the circumstances though it is most painful I feel bound in conscience to prevent his promotion to the See of Chicago.

11. The Baroness threatens to make it known if he is promoted.

12. If he [is] left where he is, she will be kept quiet.

13- If this affair should be made public it would be the greatest scandal that ever occurred in the American Church.

14. I am therefore of the opinion
    a. that the Terna rejicienda est
    b. Nova Terna conflcienda
    aut
    c. S.S. Pontifex proprio motu Archiepiscopum nominet[58]

From an anonymous priest, Riordan had discovered that Mamie Caldwell while in a critical condition had disclosed to her sister what the latter did not know, despite the fact that these two women throughout their lives virtually were inseparable. And though the content of this one revelation contradicted Riordan's own appraisal which had been based on forty-two years of friendship, Riordan nonetheless decided to pass on this highly sensitive news which Mamie Caldwell never had acknowledged (and never would mention), and which her sister,

58APF, folder 153/1903: no. 52375, Riordan to Satolli, Maynooth College, Ireland, November 15, 1902. Riordan's biographer described this correspondence as "certainly the most painful letter he ever wrote." Gaffey, op. cit., pp. 345-346. There was no corresponding letter to Cardinal Gotti. All of Riordan's reports were written by his own hand.

Lina Caldwell, refused to reveal when pressed on the matter. Perhaps Riordan had gone too far in probing and reporting this secret.59

During the formal discussions concerning the vacancy, Satolli emphasized, along with a few general, though unrelated charges,60 the accusations of the baroness, the claims of the anonymous priest, and the reports of Riordan. The majority opinion of the cardinals was defeated and Spalding's name removed from the list.61 "I knew it would be that way," Spalding conceded upon reading the news, "and it is well that it is so."62 He apparently never heard the specific charges brought against him, but did assume as one American prelate charged, "Satolli haec fecit."65 Certainly Satolli had maintained resentment to-

"Lina's first letter to Satolli clearly was written on August 17, not 18 as Riordan wrote. Moreover, in her second letter to Satolli which was written on November 9, she referred to the accusations which she had made in "ma lettre du 17 août dernier." The letter to Gotti referred to in footnote 52 also clearly was written on August 17. Perhaps, Riordan's inclusion in the second report (point five, above) of the French word, complice, indicates a missing letter which Riordan had consulted prior to the interview with Lina. In the surviving correspondence, she never used this term. Yet the language of both of Riordan's reports (for example, "les personnes ou la personne impliquées dans l'affaire," and "complice") seem to presume allegations concerning an intimate affair which simply are not present in any surviving letters from Lina Caldwell. In both the August 17 and November 9 letters, her allegations remained general, never alluding to any particular type of iniquity other than Spalding's alleged lack of faith, his breaking down of religion in many persons, and his defiance of Roman authority. Moreover, she claimed that all of these indictments would become apparent through a close look at his episcopal career. Finally, with the exception of Mamie's vague letter to Crowley cited later in the text, there survives no evidence that she or her sister were aware of the claims promoted by the anonymous priest.

These charges attacked Spalding's orthodoxy. See, ADR, Smyth to O'Connell, Evanston, Illinois, November 24, 1902; Chicago Review, LX, no. 46 (November 27, 1902); and ADR, C. P. Grannan to O'Connell, Brookland, Washington, D.C., December 7, 1902. John Conway, SJ., of Georgetown University spoke against Spalding's nomination because of his frequent absences from Peoria, his public association "with his lady friend," and "a ring about his public utterances and written productions that savors of the school of modern philosophy." Cited in Nuesse, op. cit., p. 50.

61APF, folder 153/1903: no. 52583, December, 1902 (29 pages in total), Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide. Ponente L'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Signor Cardinale Francesco Satolli—Relazione con sommario—Sulla nomina del nuovo Arcivescovo di Chicago, pp. 1-4.

62Spalding to Father Maurice P. Sammon, recalled in interview of Sister Mary Evangela Henthorne, B.V.M., in 1929 with Sammon. Henthorne, "The Career of the Rt. Rev. John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria" (unpublished doctoral dissertation from the Catholic University of America, 1930), p. 329.

63Archives of the American College of Louvain, Camillus P. Maes to DeBecker, Covington, December 16, 1902. Other American bishops also blamed Satolli. AUND microfilm, Ireland to Contessa Sabina of Milan, Saint Paul, March 9, 1903. Concerning

ward Spalding; however, in this case it was not the enemy but rather a friend who had destroyed Spalding's candidacy. "The Chicago affair is settled," Riordan wrote undoubtedly with a sad sigh of relief, "and a great scandal avoided." He next instructed O'Connell to "advise the B[aroness] for the sake of her family and especially for the sake of her child to say no more about it to anyone."64 Riordan regretted his over-involvement in this matter and expressed the "wish to blot the whole of that thing" from his memory. He even ordered the rector of the Catholic University to destroy all related correspondence.65

By the time the Chicago vacancy was filled, Mamie Caldwell, indeed, had been rendered an invalid and a recluse with a rare circulatory problem. Amidst constant pain, she sought relief from a renowned New York neurologist, Moses Allen Starr, as well as from an old friend: "Pray for me," she wrote to O'Connell, "that I may either become reconciled to my state or recover."66 Later when nearly deaf and blind, she scratched across a sheet of paper her intention to donate up to $100,000 to the Catholic University in order to construct a church for her final resting place. Her attendant, Mary L. Donnelly, ever fearful that Mamie "might wish to change her mind," reluctantly sent this information to O'Connell, who recently had been made rector. When Mamie received his favorable response, she proclaimed that her faith had been restored just "when I was at the point of leaving it."67 Sketches for the proposed church were drawn up and sent to Mamie. On February 19, 1904, she confirmed in a letter to O'Connell her intention to donate the necessary funds. However the following day, O'Connell received a surprising telegram which simply was signed "Merinville" and which stated, "Pay no attention to letter—gift will only be made under impossible conditions."68 The plans for the university church were thrown out.

Within that year, Mamie's condition again became critical. "It was

Spalding's apparent lack of understanding, see Henthorne, op, cit., p. 395. Cf. Matt. 13:28: "Inimicus homo hoc fecit."

64ADR, Riordan to O'Connell, San Francisco, December 30 [1902].

65ACUA OR, Riordan to O'Connell, San Francisco, April 14, 1903.

66ACUA OR, box 2, folder 1, Mamie Caldwell to O'Connell, New York City, November 8, 1903- The blood disorder Mamie herself had described as "thrombosis—of an artery at the base of my brain!!"

67ACUA OR, box 2, folder 1, Mamie Caldwell to O'Connell, date uncertain but probably delivered on December 21, 1903, as determined by an envelope in Donnelly's hand in the same collection.

68ACUA OR, box 2, folder 1, Merinville to O'Connell, Western Union Telegram from New York dated February 20, 1904.

with the utmost difficulty," her caretaker (someone other than Donnelly) related, "that she was able to scribble a few words on a sheet of paper to make known her wishes "[69] A press release from Rome on October 30, 1904, revealed her thoughts:

> the Marquise Des Monstiers Merinville, formerly Miss M. G. Caldwell, who, it will be remembered, founded the Roman Catholic University at Washington some years ago, has entirely repudiated her former creed.

What Mamie had disclosed in private correspondence four years earlier, she now made public. 'Tes, it is true," she added in her own words,

> ... I have left the Roman Catholic Church. Since I have been living in Europe my eyes have been opened to what that church really is, and to its anything but sanctity.

She recalled Spalding's influence on her early donation toward the establishment of the Catholic University, yet claimed that,

> for years I have been trying to rid myself of the subtle, overwhelming influence of a church, which pretends, not only to the privilege of being "the only true church," but of being alone able to open the gates of heaven to a sorrowful sinful world. At last my honest Protestant blood has asserted itself and I now forever repudiate and cast off "the yoke of Rome."[70]

When Spalding was asked if he could assign any reason for her action, he answered that he could not, that he knew her only as a good Catholic, and until her announcement, had given no thought otherwise. "It is all a mystery to me," he said.[71]

Other observers did point to certain causes beyond those mentioned by Mamie Caldwell which might explain her renunciation. For example, some emphasized the recent financial crisis at the University which resulted in the loss of Mamie's endowments and which, as The New York Times speculated, "may have operated on the sensitive nature of the Marquise, and, while under excitement, impelled her to act as she did." A few other commentators pointed to the troubled church/state relations in France, the country of her primary residence,

[69] NeW York Times, November 17, 1904. The identity of this caretaker is unknown, though certainly not Donnelly, for she had not made the trip to Europe.

[70] CourierJournal, November 16, 1904. This press release was also published in The PeoriaJournal, November 15, 1904; however, the Kentucky newspaper also included additional explanatory information.

[71] Courier-Journal, November 16, 1904.

which may have challenged her religious beliefs.72 And still more noted the cold 'welcome that Mamie had received from the Vatican in her recent visit to Rome.75 All these factors may have contributed to her latest decision to leave the Church. However, as The New York Times reported, one "old friend of Miss Caldwell," Father Denis J. Stafford of Saint Patrick's Church in Washington, D.C., astutely referred

> to the well-known fact that for several years the Marquise had been in ill-health, and this, he must infer, had not a little to do with her change of faith. He expressed the belief and hope that better health would eventually lead her to again change her mind and return to the Catholic fold.74

For years Mamie had endured tremendous physical pain. She had sought consolation from medical specialists and from church hierarchs. Neither were able to restore her health. Finally, as she entered the last years of her short and sad life, she abandoned all hope.

Less than three months after this renunciation, Spalding also suffered a stroke. For months thereafter, he hoped for a full recovery; however, he gradually recognized that this would not be possible. On November 27, 1905, he filed a petition asking permission to resign as co-trustee of the Caldwell estate, "showing that he never acted as trustee nor had any of the property of said trust in his possession."75 Several days after the filing of this petition, the Baroness Lina Caldwell banged on the front door of the Peoria cathedral rectory. Spalding at first refused to see her. Lina, however, demanded an audience. Finally she was let in. The two argued using, as Spalding's sister, Mary Slevin had over-

72Lina Caldwell stated that the political situation in France had revealed to her the "corruptions of Romanism." The Double Doctrine of the Church (New York, 1906), p. 52.

"Concerning the various speculations on the "real" reason for renunciation, see New York Times, November 16, 17, and 22, 1904; Courier-Journal, November 16, 1904; and AUND, X-4-c, Charles Warren Stoddard to Daniel Hudson, Massachusetts, November 18, 1904. The New York Times reported on November 17 the embarrassing fact that occupying a conspicuous place on the wall in the main reception room of Caldwell Hall was a costly painting of Mamie Caldwell which hung next to a large portrait of Pope Pius X. What became of these works is unknown. On November 22 the same paper reported rumors that Mamie's renunciation was preliminary to a suit aimed at recovering her original investment in the Catholic University. Such action never materialized.

7Weti/ York Times, November 16, 1904. This report also noted that the action of the Marquise "caused little surprise among those who have known her for years," for her closest associates were most familiar with the fact that she was "an original character and extremely impulsive." On Stafford see Morris J. MacGregor, A Parish for the Federal City: St. Patricks in Washington, 1794-1994 (Washington, D.C., 1994), pp. 240 ff.

75FUeS of the United States Trust Co., May 15, 1906.

heard, the "language of the fish market." Exasperated, the incapacitated prelate finally addressed his former ward, "Madame, I have rendered naught but service to your family." Then he turned to his own sister and said, "Mary, show Lina the door."[76] Lina stormed away from Peoria. When asked for more details concerning her visit with Spalding, she denied the rumors that she had sought reconciliation with the Church. Instead, she explained that she had approached Spalding in order to adjust "a matter that was unsettled between us." Then she announced, "The incident is closed."[77] Spalding's claim that he never had acted as trustee nor had any of the trust property in his possession is hard to fathom, considering his well-known involvement with the Caldwells; however, these women eventually responded favorably to Spalding's request, "admitting the facts stated in said petition and joining in the prayer thereof."[78]

Immediately after Una's confrontation with Spalding in Peoria, she traveled to New York City, where she met with Jeremiah Crowley, a former priest who earlier had harassed Archbishop Feehan of Chicago, and who more recently had aimed to unnerve the entire Catholic Church.[79] Perhaps inspired by Crowley's vindictive literature, Lina decided to write The Double Doctrine of the Church of Rome, a booklet which she published in 1906 in order to silence, as she explained, "the voices of those who persistently spread the report that I have never completely severed my connection with the Church of Rome." She began by noting that through her "intimate connection"

[76] Monsignor John Tracy Ellis related this story in a personal interview in the summer of 1991. Ellis had heard it from Father William J. Cleary (ordained by Spalding in 1906), who had heard the story from Father Frank J. O'Reilly (the chancellor under Spalding), who had witnessed the exchange. The Spalding family oral tradition also recalls this confrontation.

[77] Chicago Tribune, December 13, 1905.

[78] Files of the United States Trust Co., May 15, 1906. Thereafter, the United States Trust Company agreed to remain on as sole trustee. On one occasion in 1895, H. L. Thornell, the secretary of the Trust Company, wrote to Spalding, "Since our advices of July 18th last we have made two mortgage investments for Miss Caldwell's trust estate, and write to ask your approval, as our co-trustee of the same." There is no record of Spalding's response to this request, and this is the only surviving correspondence which indicates the nature of Spalding's involvement. Archives of the Diocese of Peoria, H. L. Thornell to John Lancaster Spalding, New York, April 17, 1895.

[79] Crowley's anti-Catholic publications included The Parochial School, A Curse to the Church, A Menace to the Nation (Cincinnati, 1904); and Romanism, a Menace to the Nation (Cincinnati, 1912). The latter includes all of the former plus new material. Concerning Crowley's activity in Chicago, see Shanabruch, op. cit., pp. 79 ff

with the Catholic hierarchy, she had discovered the true source of the Catholic Church not to be the Holy Spirit, but rather, the College of Cardinals and the Propaganda in Rome. Aiming to reveal the hypocrisy behind these institutions, Lina exposed a "double doctrine" of contradictory Catholic teaching: on the one hand, "Exoteric" beliefs promoted a strict moral code, while on the other hand, "Esoteric" speculations allowed deviant behavior to continue to exist, especially among the clergy. She mocked the law of celibacy, claiming that it "can be applied only to a restricted class of men who have, through a highly developed spirituality, reached that level where they can begin to realize the possibilities of the super-man." She claimed that church governance had little to do with the kind of high ideals which had created the celibacy law but rather revolved around the advantage of power. In place of firm principles and moral convictions, Rome has inserted "moral adaptability" which, especially in the United States, has displaced the promotion of progress and free expression with the miserly pursuit of greed and wealth. In conclusion, Lina noted that a few learned members of the hierarchy who remain "sincere, zealous, [and] earnest in the cause of humanity" have grown discontent with Romanism. In particular, she sympathized with an anonymous "disheartened prelate" who had begun his religious life genuinely committed to Christian ideals, but who gradually drifted away into the loneliness and doubt of Esoteric Catholicism. He moans, "Was it for this I sacrificed my youth, was it to this I pledged my strength and my faith, was it for this I bartered my manhood?"[80] Perhaps, Lina spoke for John Lancaster Spalding, who had given his life to the Church but, partly due to Lina's allegations from three years ago, may have felt abandoned by the Church of his ancestors.

Shortly after the publication of Una's Double Doctrine, Mamie Caldwell encouraged Crowley to broadcast one particular manifestation of "the awful depravity of the Roman Church." She wrote,

> If you ever have the opportunity to undeceive the world about that 'whited sepulchre,' Spalding, of Peoria, I beg that you will do so in the sacred cause of truth. No greater liar and hypocrite walks the earth to-day. He is a very atheist and infidel, and /, who used to know him intimately, ASSERT IT. If today my sister and I are in open revolt against the Roman Church, it is chiefly due to the depravity of Bishop Spalding. Would mat

[80] The Double Doctrine of the Church, cited quotations from pp. 15,7, 36, 62, and 63.

> you could let his priests know that his asceticism is all bombast! A more sensual hypocrite never trod the earth.81

Despite these strong accusations, and despite the fact that Crowley's publications revolved around numerous outrageous claims (including the news that Cardinal Satolli was a natural son of Pope Leo XIII), Crowley never assaulted Spalding other than through the publication in his second book of various letters from the Caldwell sisters. Crowley did admit that prior to his discussions with these women, he had maintained the greatest respect for Spalding. Perhaps Crowley had recognized that the outlandish charges against Spalding could be linked to him only if the vast deception were true, for Spalding exhibited moral character which appeared to be beyond reproach.

Lina Caldwell also threatened to publish more defamatory remarks against Spalding in order to hasten his retirement.82 Upon hearing about this threat, Riordan suggested that O'Connell "beg of her to do nothing that would storm her own name and the name of her children. Any more reference to this matter in public," Riordan warned, "would bring on a storm in which she would be engulfed as well as others ... ; she can only blacken herself and [her] sister by any public reference to an old story." Riordan also explained that he had asked Spalding to resign.83 Then Archbishop John Ireland of Saint Paul visited Peoria, where he discovered that Spalding "understands ... his health is irreparably shattered & that the work to be done in the diocese demands an active bishop."84 On September 9, 1908, Spalding resigned his episcopate.85

81Marquise des Monstiers, nee M. G. Caldwell, to Crowley, April 11, 1907, Rome. Reprinted in Crowley, Romanism, p. 38.

82See, Cablegram of Baroness von Zedwitz to J. L. Spalding, Spring, 1907. Reprinted in Crowley, Romanism, p. 39. Lina apparently had prepared a manuscript which she submitted to an unnamed minister for review. ACUA, Ireland to O'Connell, St. Paul, June 27, 1908. Ironically, as the baroness circulated threats against Spalding, her sister the marquise issued on July 7, 1908, a check for five hundred dollars to benefit the Catholic University. ACUA OR, box 1, folder 10, Henry E. Ahern (secretary to the United States Trust Company, on behalf of the Marquise des Monstiers Merinville) to O'Connell, New York, July 7, 1908.

83ACUA, Riordan to D. J. O'Connell, San Francisco, July 13, 1908. Riordan was mistaken to refer to Lina Caldwell's "children" for she had but one son, Waldemar.

84ACUA, Ireland to O'Connell, Saint Paul, August 7, 1908. Also see, ACUA, Ireland to O'Connell, Saint Paul, June 27, 1908; and APF, folder 153/1909, no. 83696, Diomede Falconio, O.F.M., to Prefect of the Sacred Congregation in Rome, Washington, D.C., September 24, 1908.

85Spalding had chosen this date for his resignation because it fell on the sixtieth anniversary of his uncle Martin John Spalding's consecration as coadjutor of Louisville.

Since 1905, Mamie Caldwell had been separated from her husband but, in order to keep her title, continued to pay the marquis $8,000 a year so that he would refrain from instituting divorce proceedings.86 In the fall of 1909, she boarded the German liner Kronprinzessin Cécile en route to the United States. Talk on the ship was that she had left Europe in order to consult more specialists, but The New York Times reported that those "who knew her believed that her aim was to die on American soil, and she was fully aware that nothing could be done for her." The American marquise, née Mary Gwendolin Byrd Caldwell, made it to the New York harbor but on October 10, 1909, died while still on the ship, eleven days short of her forty-sixth birthday.87

About a year later, the Baroness Lina Caldwell, while entertaining guests during an open-air party at the family estate in Thune, Switzerland, fell ill with a severe case of influenza which stressed her already fragile heart condition. She died two months later on December 16, 1910, at the Carlton Hotel in Frankfurt. "What was the religion of her last hours could not be learned," the Washington Herald noted, "but those who know her say that she probably maintained her revolt [against the Catholic Church]."88 In the Saint Louis Cemetery of Louis-

After the resignation, the Apostolic Delegate in the United States, Archbishop Diomede Falconio, O.F.M., summarized to the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation in Rome the situation behind "Ie gravissime accuse prodotte contro Mgr. Spalding dalla Signora Maria Gwendelin Caldwell." "Questa disgraziata Signora," Falconio explained, along with her sister, like two obsessed people, had written to various prelates numerous heated letters full of threats of scandal. One might hope, the Delegate added, that Spalding's withdrawal from active ministry in Peoria would calm the wrath of these two women. Regardless, worse still, according to Falconio, it seemed that "Mgr. Spalding nonpossa difendersi contro questi attaccbi." APF, folder 153/1909, no. 83696, Falconio to Prefect of the Sacred Congregation in Rome, Washington, D.C., September 24, 1908. Perhaps, the more certain truth was that the dignified, but now incapacitated, Bishop of Peoria would not defend himself against the absurd charges of two volatile women.

86SeC JCC, Wills, vol. XXX-. 32, "Last Will and Testament of Marquise des Monstiers Merinville, the former Mary Gwendoline Caldwell," item 6; and "Caldwell, Mary Gwendolin," Notable American Women, ed. Edward T.James, Vol. 1: A-F (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971), p. 278.

"1NeW York Times, October 11, 1909. The cause of death was stated to be Bright's disease, a general term used to describe a complicated illness which includes circulatory problems. The marquis died in Paris in April, 1919.

""Washington Herald, December 22, 1910. At the time of her death, her estate was estimated at 56,000,000. In her last will and testament the baroness bequeathed several significant sums to (non-Catholic) charitable organizations. As had been expressed in her father's will, she gave the remains of her inheritance from him to her son, Waldemar, who later became a world-class bridge player, and died on October 5, 1984, having

ville, Kentucky, Shakespeare Caldwell had reserved for his daughters two spaces in the family plot. To this day these remain empty. The Caldwell sisters were interred in the nearby public Cave Hill Cemetery under a majestic monument of two Greek goddesses embracing each other. For many years the people of Louisville remembered Una's child Waldemar von Zedwitz, the sole inheritor of the huge Caldwell estate, as the solitary mourner at his mother's funeral.

After both women had been laid to rest, that is, after their threats finally had been silenced, Riordan wrote to his brother that the "calumnious lies" of the Caldwell sisters reminded him of Christ's warning, "They shall say all manner of things (lies) about you," even though, as Riordan understood things, in the long run false accusations really cannot harm the innocent. Riordan added that he "always" was convinced that the Caldwell women were "partially insane." Their allegations were not based on truth. "Anyone who knows them as I do," Riordan concluded, "would pay no attention to what is said "[89]

Though Riordan did not specify the particular allegations that he sugested be ignored, and though his brother may have been unaware of the 1902 charges against Spalding, still, Riordan's own standard of jurisprudence should have advised that the single report of the anonymous though trustworthy priest should have been questioned, if not dismissed: one interview which revealed the confession of a seriously ill, repeatedly erratic, and partially insane woman should not have been relied upon to supply the évidence inébranlable which Riordan had sought. At issue is not whether the confession was heard but whether the confessing morti próxima should have been believed. Mamie Caldwell regularly issued similar outlandish statements which close friends and caretakers had learned to discredit at least until she had regained her health. But fearing a scandal, Riordan quickly, though begrudgingly, accepted as true the report which contradicted his own appraisal even though it apparently relied on no corroborating evidence. Such verification never came to light, either from the Caldwells or from the brash Jeremiah Crowley. The mere fact that Spalding openly traveled with Mamie Caldwell may indicate that he courted her money but certainly does not prove that he wooed her charm. And though Riordan may have destroyed some related correspon-

never married. JCC, Wills, vol. XXXI: 101-102, "Last Will and Testament of the Baroness von Zedwitz, Formerly Mary Elizabeth Caldwell," items 4, 5, 6, and 7.

89AASF LBR (3a) Riordan to Daniel Riordan, San Francisco, September 10, 1912, copy. The parenthetical interpretation of the word "things" was added by Riordan.

dence, it remains unlikely that any definitive proof of Spalding's infidelity was found during the few days of Riordan's investigation in 1902. That Riordan himself later doubted the allegations might be suggested by his advice concerning the Caldwell lies, as well as by other statements that Riordan subsequently wrote to his brother which described Spalding's character as san tache.90 If Spalding had deceived for twenty years everyone except one woman, then Riordan, likewise, had been deceptive in keeping from his brother the dark stain of Spalding's immorality.

Outliving both Riordan and the Caldwell women, Spalding at the age of seventy-six finally died on August 25, 1916, in the presence of his only two surviving sisters. Avarice may have poisoned his long involvement with the Caldwells, but whether or not his impeccable character had been stained by a sexual relationship with Mamie Caldwell may never be known and perhaps can never be known. However, the whole story reveals more uncertainty over the reliability of the source behind these allegations than it does offer definitive proof of Spalding's alleged sexual indiscretion. Thus to find Spalding guilty of adultery based upon Riordan's belief in unsubstantiated testimony unfortunately might mar the character of a courageous spirit who may have remained faithful to his obligation of celibacy.

'"Riordan used the expression "sans tache" to describe Spalding's character. APF, folder 153/1903: no. 52375, Riordan to Gotti, Paris, November 9, 1902. Another lifelong friend to Spalding, Archbishop John Ireland, had used a similar expression concerning the bishop's integrity. See, Souvenir of the Episcopal Silver Jubilee of the Rt Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D., Bishop of Peoria (Chicago, 1903), pp. 76-77. By way of example of Riordan's ongoing admiration of Spalding, see, AASF LB-l 3(273), Riordan to Riordan [San Francisco], January 9, 1905, copy; LBR (5a), 57-59, Riordan to Spalding [San Francisco], October 29, 1913, copy; and LBR (5a), 61-62, Riordan to Riordan [San Francisco], October 29, 1913, copy. The admiration was mutual, as Spalding's eulogy of Riordan had best expressed. See, AASF, Scrapbook, "Abp. Riordan's Death and Funeral," p. 26; and Spalding to Daniel Riordan, Peoria, January 6 [1915], copy.

NEWLY REFOUND TRANSFER DOCUMENT OF EDITH STEIN

BY

John Sullivan, O.C.D.*

Troubled Times

When the infamous outbreak of violence against Germany's Jews that became known as Kristallnacht shattered much more than just the store windows of Jews, Edith Stein was not surprised. In spite of the real spiritual joy she felt earlier on April 21, 1938, when she made her profession of final vows, for many months in that year which preceded the outbreak of World War II she had kept an apprehensive eye on a progression of threatening events all around her and her family.1 She was much aware of a strident crescendo of unjust persecution within her country that would soon spread far beyond German borders. But she had hopes, too, and quickly put together plans to move out of harm's way.

The text we are publishing here gives rediscovered evidence of the most important step she took at that time, acting on hope. It showed her desire both charitably to relieve her beloved community of Köln-Lindenthal of the threat of Nazi persecution because of her Jewish ancestry, and also assure herself of untrammeled exercise of her Carmelite contemplative vocation.2

•Father Sullivan is second general definitor of the Order of Discalced Carmelites at the Casa Generalizia in Rome.

'See Letters nos. 260, 271, 272, 273, 274, 277, 278, 280, 281, 282, and 285 (penned the day after, and referring guardedly but most definitely to, the ravages ot Kristallnacht) in Self-portrait in Letters 1916-1942, Vol. 5 of "The Collected Works of Edith Stein," trans. Josephine Koeppel (Washington, 1993).

^Before she died in Auschwitz-Birkenau she learned of the Nazis' closure of four Carmelite monasteries in Luxembourg, Pützchen, Aachen, and Düren, all in 1941—see Teresia Renata Posselt, O.C.D., Edith Stein, trans. Cecily Hastings and Donald Nicholl (New York, 1952), p. 193. Her own words attest to the fact that her "family is scattered all over the world," and that her niece, Anni Gordon, left Germany for Norway the same day she went into exile in the Netherlands at the age of 47—see Letter 293 sent from Echt on January 22, 1939, in Self-portrait, p. 301.

The actual date of her own departure is well documented: it occurred just five days after the date on this petition. For anyone who realizes she made a stop in Cologne on that New Year's Eve, 1938, to pray at the chapel of the seventeenth-century Carmelite monastery in Cologne's Schnurgasse, the poignancy of her gesture is quite apparent:

The Text

A mere forty-six days after the November 9-10 Kristallnacht pogrom Edith's signature appeared on two copies of a document that would be taken from Germany to Rome to enable her in turn to leave Germany with the "blessing of obedience."[5] She signed this typed petition stating her request to transfer from her monastic home on the Rhine to another monastery in the village of Echt in the Dutch province of Limburg.[4]

Canonical procedures required that the nun wishing to make such a transfer had to express her own willingness to move from one community to another. Other documents, such as attestations of the nuns' votes in the respective house chapters would have had to accompany it, but they would not have had her own signature affixed to them.[5] The full file would be transmitted first to the General House of her Order, then from there to the Vatican Congregation for Religious, whose permission was being sought. The Congregation was delegated by the Pope to decide on authorizing transfers of enclosed nuns. This explains the direct address, "Most Holy Father," required by protocol, though the Pope himself would neither have read nor seen it.

The document bore her firm and clear signature, in faded black ink, at the end of the simple Latin text. In translation it reads:

> Most Holy Father,
>
> Sr. M. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross, nun of the Cologne Carmel with perpetual vows and under the bishop's jurisdiction, humbly prostrates herself at your Holiness' feet and requests permission to transfer to the Echt Carmel in the Roermond diocese.
>
> And may God . . .
>
> Cologne, December 26, 1938
>
> [signed: Sr. Teresia Benedicta a Cruce, O.C.D.]

that chapel contained a very old and beautiful statue of Mary, Queen of Peace—see Posselt, op. cit., p. 185.

'Further research might reveal who brought the dossier to Rome and how the favorable reply went from Rome to inform the petitioners in Cologne: at the time this text is being published it is not clear who exactly played those roles.

"•Stein herself offers a succinct description of the historical bonding between the two communities—see Letter 293 cited in note 2 supra. For more details of the relationship between Echt and Cologne Carmel at the time see Posselt, op. cit., pp. 186-187.

'Chapter acts are documented, with illustrations, in the recent work, Edith Stein, Wie ich in den Kölner Karmel kam: Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen von Maria Amata Neyer (Würzburg, 1994), pp. 99-102. Rediscovery of the present document took place too late for it to be included in this important recent contribution to the history of Edith Stein.

The single sheet of this copy of the one passed on to the Vatican measures 21 X 22.5 cm.; carries no water mark; has no letterhead; bears a typed, not carbon-copy, Latin text; and shows Stein's signature in black ink. It has the notation "Colonia," written in the upper left-hand corner by a blue editor's pencil (undoubtedly in Rome), earmarking it for inclusion among papers of the Cologne Carmel in the Discalced Carmelite General Archives.

Reappearance of the Document

In the interests of studying various questions concerning ownership of the literary estate of Edith Stein I examined the related files in the General Archives in December, 1993·6 I had just returned from the Netherlands where Stein had taken refuge fifty-five years previously; and I directed my attention to three types of files·, tiiose containing materials about the Carmels in Cologne and Echt, those that have documents of Carmelite friars in the Bavarian and Dutch Provinces, and those of the German General Definitor at the time.7

Unexpectedly, I found inside the cover of a printed booklet the single-sheet petition published here. A well-intentioned gesture must have placed it in die booklet to protect it from being damaged uirough folding, at the same time, however, hiding it away from normal view. Father Camilo Maccise, General Superior, has authorized publication so that the text can now be made available in English.

Since this is an autograph document of Edith Stein it seems quite worthwhile publishing it outright, without lengthy accompanying contextual remarks.8 I hope that acting upon die rediscovery of diis poignant request by publishing it will fill out the picture of the effect those momentous events in Germany during the waning days of 1938 had on Edith Stein. They forced her at Christ-

6SeC Maria Amata Never, "Edith Steins hinterlassene Schriften—Dokumentation," Katholische Bildung, 92 (October, 1991), 540-562.

7In all, seventeen separate file folders were consulted. No catalogue raisonné for the General Archives exists; therefore I will omit supplying their varied identification codes here. Present in one of the folders was another text bearing Edith Stein's signature, viz., a two-page handwritten letter dated (American style), "Nov. 13th, 1939," sent to Padre Battista Pozzi, O.C.D., the General Secretary who had recently seen her in Echt along with Father General Pier Tommaso Sioli, O.C.D., during a visit to the Netherlands. That English-language letter, perhaps the only extant text in English written by Stein, will appear in a revised volume of Stein's letters in the Werke Edith Stein being prepared by Sister M. Amata Neyer.

"Whether the Congregation for Religious still possesses the other copy in its archives would be a matter for further investigation.

mastime to assume the bittersweet destiny she had previously only adumbrated in her lovely and deep reflection of 1931 entitled "The Mystery of Christmas":

> Each of us has no doubt already experienced such Christmas bliss. Still, heaven and earth are not yet united. The star of Bethlehem remains a star in the dark night even today. On the day after Christmas [date of her petition] the Church removes her white garments and clothes herself in the color of blood . . . The mystery of the Incarnation and the mystery of evil belong together . . . Wherever that will lead us on this earth we do not know and should not ask beforehand. Only this do we know: that for those who love the Lord, all things work together for the good.9

Edith Stein's love for God's merciful plan nourished her hope that good would always triumph over the devastation of unjust violence. Pope John Paul II recognized her spiritual vision for the entire Church when he beatified her on May 1, 1987.

'Edith Stein, The Mystery of Christmas, trans. J. Rucker (Darlington [England], 1985), pp. 6 and 9.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

????·??µa. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, SJ. Edited by E. Carr, S. Parenti, A.-A. Thiermeyer, E. Velkovska. [Studia Anselmiana, 110; Analecta Litúrgica, 17.] (Rome: Centro Studi S. Anselmo. 1993· Pp. xxviii, 616. Lire 100,000 paperback.)

Students and colleagues of Father Taft might well believe that the only person capable of adequately reviewing ??????µa is the professor honored by this Festschrift. This hefty collection contains thirty-three articles (seventeen in English, seven in Italian, five in German, and four in French). Original texts (all are translated into the modern language in which the article is written) in these articles included Arabic, Syriac, Greek, and Armenian. In addition to the dedicatory letter of the editors, there is a complete bibliography of Taft's publications (thirteen pages) and a delightful overview of his life and work, "Look Back in Gratitude," by his Jesuit confrere and student, Edward G. Farrugia (twenty-three pages). Although many of the articles defy easy categorization, the principal topic areas of the collection reflect both Taft's own research and publications and those of the accomplished academicians who have honored him with these studies published on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday.

Eucharist/Divine Liturgy (eight articles): Emmanuel Cutrone, "The Lord's Prayer and the Eucharist. The Syrian Tradition." Sebastia Janeras, "La katholike hymnologia dello Pseudo-Dionigi e il Grande Ingresso." Emmanuel Lanne, "Gli incisi trinitari nell'anafora di San Giovanni Crisostomo e nelle anafore imparentate." Stefano Parenti, "VEktene della Liturgia di Crisostomo nell'eucologio St. Peterburg gr. 226." Gaetano Passarelli, "Proposte di abbreviazione della Messa e delle Ufficiature per i Basiliani d'Italia." Hans Quecke, "Die Schlussformeln zum Unservater bei den Kopten." Thomas J. Talley, "Word and Sacrament in the Primitive Eucharist." Pierre Yousif, "The Anaphora of Mar Theodore: East Syrian; Further Evidences."

Liturgical Year (four articles): John F. Baldovin, "A Note on the Liturgical Processions in the Menologion of Basil II (Ms. Vat. Gr. 1613)" Peter Jeffrey, "The Liturgical Year in the Ethiopian Degg (Chantbook)." Hans-Joachim

Schulz, " 'Seht, der Bräutigam kommt!' (Mt. 25,6). Die urkirchliche Passafeier und die Formung der ältesten Traditionsschicht im Markus- und im Johannesevangelium." Michael Van Esbroeck, "Un panégyrique de Théodore Studite pour la fête liturgique des sièges de Constantinople."

Initiation (three articles): Paul F. Bradshaw, " 'Diem baptismo sollemniorem': Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity." Edward J. Kilmartin, "The Baptismal Cups: revisited." Mark Searle, "From Gossips to Compadres. A Note on the Role of Godparents in the Roman Rite for the Baptism of Children."

Monasticism (threee articles): Sidney H. Griffith, "Monks, 'Singles,' and the 'Sons of the Covenant.' Reflections on Syriac Ascetic Terminology." Aidan Kavanagh, "Notes on the Baptismal Ethos of Monasticism." Ugo Zanetti, "Deux chants de bienvenue a Scete."

Byzantine Studies (two articles): George T. Dennis, "Religious Services in the Byzantine Army." Eleuterio F. Fortino, "Il Sínodo intereparchiale di Grottaferrata e la Chiesa bizantina in Italia."

Christian Arabism (two articles): Vincenzo Poggi, "Arabismo gesuita nei secoli XVI-XVIII." Samir Khalil Samir, "Une profession de foi de 'Abdîsu' de Nisibé."

Ordination Rites (two articles): Heinzgerd Brakman, "Zur Evangeliar-Auflegung bei der Ordination koptischer Bischöfe." Frans Van De Paverd, "Ein Gebet zur Bischofsweihe aus dem vorbyzantinischen Jerusalem."

Armenian Studies: Gabriele Winkler, "Das Gloria in excelsis und Trishagion und die Yovhannes Ojnec'i zugeschriebene Konziliengeschichte."

Liturgy of the Hours: Leslie S. B. MacCoull and Patrick W. Jacobson, "Reconstructing the Sahidic Coptic Monastic Vespers."

Ritual Studies: Lawrence A. Hoffman, "Life Cycle Liturgy as Status Transformation."

Byzantine Canon Law: Dimitri Salachas, "La législation de l'Eglise ancienne à propos de diverses catégories d'hérétiques, commentée par les canonistes byzantins du ??G siècle."

Philological Studies: Sebastian Brock, "From Annunciation to Pentecost: The Travels of a Technical Term."

Popular Religiosity: Sophia Senyk, "A Ukrainian in Thessolonica: Some Notes on Religious Customs."

Hagiography: Alexander Kazhdan, "A Strange Liturgical Habit in a Strange Hagiographical Work."

Obviously this is not a book for parish liturgy directors. Liturgy professors and Byzantinists, however, should be tempted enough by some of the titles

listed above to acquire this book for the libraries of their academic institutions. This is the sort of work which professors and students will consult for years. As such it will remain a long-lasting testimonial to the life and work of one of the foremost scholars of our age.

Andrew D. Ciferni, O.Praem.

Washington Theological Union

Amazing Grace: Evangelicalism in Australia, Britain, Canada, and the United States. Edited by George A. Rawlyk and Mark A. Noll. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Books. 1993. Pp. 429. «1999 paperback.)

Amazing Grace is a remarkable collection of articles, a veritable cafeteria of offerings, about Protestant evangelicalism in major areas of the English-speaking world. This theological movement or tendency which these articles help to describe is important for numerous reasons, not the least of which is the fact that it is widely recognized as the most powerful force within contemporary American Protestantism. With its beliefs in the importance of a personal religious experience (conversion), the authority of the Bible in matters of faith and practice, a concern for sharing the faith with others, and the centrality of Christ's redeeming work on the cross as crucial to personal religious salvation, this movement is a widespread religion of choice which cuts across cultural, denominational, geographical, and chronological boundaries.

Rooted in part in the religious experiences of John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Jonathan Edwards in the eighteenth century, evangelicalism became in the nineteenth century the dominating religion in both the United States and Canada—but not in Great Britain or Australia. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, evangelicals were losing their strength noticeably due to several factors: a change in the nature of society from rural and small towns to urban centers, the influence of Darwinism, the rise of higher criticism in biblical studies, the increased attention given to religions of the world, the insights of new psychologies, and the impact in general of Protestant liberalism with its concern about a Social Gospel. In responding to these new forces, some evangelicals went to fundamentalist extremes. Others went in more positive and less militant directions while still opposing fundamentalism's anti-intellectualism, its tendency to splinter and divide, and its lack of social responsibility. These "other" resurging, conservative evangelicals expressed themselves partially after World War II through the National Association c.f Evangelicals; a prominent periodical, Christianity Today; die founding of a new educational institution, Fuller Theological Seminary; the importunate ministry of the crusading evangelist, Billy Graham; the growth of Charismatic

and Pentecostal movements; and the rise of a new scholarship of which Amazing Grace is a single illustration.

Amazing Grace is the title of a hymn written by a former English slave trader, John Newton (1727-1807), who experienced a dramatic conversion and later became an evangelical Anglican cleric. The book is comprised of fourteen chapters, all written by prominent or promising church historians. Ten of these chapters were presented in earlier versions as academic papers at a conference, "Evangelicals in Transatlantic Perspective," held at Wheaton College, Illinois, in April of 1992 and sponsored by Wheaton's Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals. The purpose of this volume is the attempt "to describe both the evangelical impulse and some of the institutions, regions, turmoils, social actions, political instincts, and religious goals of the multinational movement that arose from (the) eighteenth century evangelical experience." The four major divisions into which these essays fall are entitled: "The Origins of Evangelicals"; "The United States and Britain: Modern History"; "Australian Vistas"; and "Evangelicalism in Modern Canada." Among the various articles there is something for everyone's interest. The individual topics range from biographical treatments with theological overtones of John Newton and F. B. Meyer; to Italian Pentecostals in Australia; to Canadian contributions on fundamentalism; to English minorities in eighteenth-century Ireland; and to the holiness movement among Maritime Baptists. In the midst of all such variety and detail do not miss David W. Bebbington's superb, broad-sweeping article, "Evangelicalism in Modern Britain and America," wherein he discusses similarities and contrasts in the same movement in the two differing countries, concluding with the words: "The two countries distilled similar versions of evangelicalism, but the American brand was certainly the headier brew" (meaning that it was more vigorous and growth-oriented).

The two editors have a valuable introduction, which among other features describes the changing emphasis of the essence of evangelicalism during the initial centuries of its existence (Rawlyk is professor of history at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario; Noll is McManis professor of Christian thought at Wheaton College, Illinois). For those who wish suggestions to further reading about evangelicalism, there is an excellent bibliographic afterword by Larry Eskridge entitled: "An Introductory Guideline to the Literature of Comparative Evangelical History."

Amazing Grace succeeds in emphasizing the international and cross-cultural nature of evangelicalism in a variety of times and places while still maintaining a core of common religious beliefs. It is a welcome expression by a new generation of scholars and a sign of hope for a theological tendency which is avoiding much of its earlier extremities.

C. Allyn Russell

Boston University (Emeritus)

Public Religions in the Modem World. By José Casanova. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. x, 320. $49.95 clothbound; »17.95 paperback.)

Casanova's study is impressive and scholarly, yet at times densely written and quite technical in its theoretical formulations. His overall theme is "that we are witnessing the 'deprivatization' of religion in the modern world." By deprivatization he means "the fact that religious traditions throughout the world are refusing to accept the marginal and privatized role which theories of modernity as well as theories of secularization had reserved for them" (p. 5).

To his credit, the author offers no simplistic, unilinear, or modal schema; he gives ample evidence of making important distinctions and qualifications and of noting counter-trends. For instance, the manner in which he dissects secularization theory into three distinct propositions is quite useful, claiming that only one of them is universally defensible. In short, Casanova argues that the propositions that equate secularization with, respectively, religious decline and privatization do not always historically hold up while the remaining proposition does, that is, that religion in the modern world is differentiated from other secular spheres. Moreover, he attempts to explore "the issue of the changing boundaries between differentiated spheres and the possible structural roles religion may have within those differentiated spheres as well as the role it may have in challenging the boundaries themselves" (p. 7). In another example, he acknowledges and analyzes the existence and proliferation of other religious phenomena of the 1980's (e.g., New Age, cults and sects) that do not conform to his deprivatization thesis.

The core of die volume offers five empirical case studies of public religions in the modern world, each offering, according to the author, something distinctive. As he states, "In the case of Spanish Catholicism, the problem at hand is the change from an established authoritarian state church to the disestablished church of a pluralist civil society. In the case of Poland, the analysis traces the more subtle change from a disestablished church that protects die nation against foreign rule to a national church that promotes the emergence of civil society against a Polish authoritarian state. The chapter on Brazilian Catholicism analyzes the radical transformation of the Brazilian church from a state-oriented oligarchic and elitist institution to a civil society-oriented populist one. Moving on to the United States, . . . [analyzed is] the transformation of Evangelical Protestantism in America from its public hegemonic status as a civil religion during the nineteenth century to its sectarian withdrawal into a fundamentalist subculture in the late 1920's to its public reemergence and mobilization in the 1980's. The last case study analyzes the transformation of American Catholicism from an insecure sect to a defensive private denomination to an assertive public one" (p. 8).

In a short review, it is simply impossible to respond adequately to such a rich, complex, controversial, and worthwhile volume—a volume that all college libraries should order. However, as a sociologist who derives much inspiration and insight from an orthodox reading of Catholic social doctrine, I find two aspects of Casanova's overall argument especially problematic. The first is his empirical argument that the economic and social justice statements and policy suggestions of the post-Vatican Council II Catholic Church in the United States are motivated by an authentic understanding and development of the faith. I wish it were the case; rather, I accept the interpretation of Catholic conservatives that a great deal of it is generated by non-Catholic ideologies with reference to church tradition serving as little more than a thin veneer to hide a massive internal secularization from within.

The second is Casanova's theoretical reliance on, and normative attraction to, an admittedly slightly reformulated version of Jürgen Habermas' analysis of "communicative interaction" and "discourse ethics." As the author states, "According to this model, modern social integration emerges in and through the discursive and agonic participation of individuals, groups, social movements, and institutions in a public yet undifferentiated sphere of civil society where the collective construction and reconstruction, contestation, and affirmation of common normative structures—'the common good'—takes place … By going 'public,' religions as well as other normative traditions can, therefore, contribute to the vitality of such a public sphere" (pp. 230—231). The institutionalization of such an indiscriminately pluralistic, experiential, inductive, "Tower of Babel" model of forging morality is, first of all, inconsistent with the natural law which posits, a priori, a given objective moral order. Secondly, such an essentially secular enterprise, practically speaking, almost guarantees, at very best, a secondary and flaccid role for the historic Judaic-Christian heritage.

Joseph A. Varacalli

Nassau Community College (Garden City)
State University of New York

The New Dictionary of Catholic Social Thought. Edited by Judith A. Dwyer. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press. 1994. Pp. xxxi, 1019. $79.50.)

The goal of The New Dictionary of Catholic Social Thought, according to the editor, Judith A. Dwyer, is "to present and analyze the major modern social encyclicals, from Leo XIH's Rerum Novarum to John Paul II's Centesimus Annus, as well as to inspect central movements, figures, and themes that have been the hallmark of Catholic social thought for over one hundred years." This work has achieved its purpose well.

Major articles, five to seventeen pages each, are devoted to nine modern encyclicals (JRerutn Novarum, Quadragesimo Anno, Mater et Magistra, Pacem in Terris, Populorum Progressio, Redemptor Hominis, Laborem Exercens, Sollicitudo Ret Socialis, and Centesimus Annus), and similar or shorter articles to conciliar decrees and other church documents ("The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction," Gaudium etSpes, "Justice in the World"), significant social movements {Action Libérale Nationale, Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, Campaign for Human Development, Christian Family Movement, Volksverein), influential figures (Wilhelm von Ketteler, Oswald von Nell-Breuning, John LaFarge, Frédéric Ozanam, John Ryan), and important themes (care of the aged, capital punishment, euthanasia, homosexuality, Liberation Theology, pacifism, the right to strike). Contributors include Walter Burghardt, Lisa Sowie Cahill, Charles Curran, Avery Dulles, Gerald Fogarty, Josef Fuchs, James Hennesey, Sandra Yocum Mize, Michael Novak, and Ladislas Örsy. In all, the book offers 267 articles by 170 contributors.

With such diversity, the style and quality of the articles vary. Many give excellent historical background, tracing the Church's teaching through the centuries, and most include a short but up-to-date bibliography. Many do not presume a strict or narrow definition of "social thought" but incorporate the Church's moral and ethical teachings as well, adding to the value of the work. This reviewer considered the entries on capitalism, communism, John Courtney Murray, neoconservatives, war, theology of work, and the summaries of official church documents particularly worthwhile.

Since several contributors are members of the groups or organizations they discuss, their descriptions are detailed and accurate but their evaluations less critical. Many entries, in fact, are primarily descriptive, although others—"The Rights of Children" and "Mutuality," to name only two—also suggest where the Church's social teachings might progress further. Each user will undoubtedly question why some topics were included and others not, or why relative lengths were assigned to each, but the overall sweep and balance are easily defensible. The book has had to be priced too high for many users, and this is to be lamented. It is an excellent reference tool for historians and all serious readers. One may not agree with all the articles presented but everyone will learn something interesting and valuable from reading on almost any page.

Thomas E. Blantz, C.S.C.
University of Notre Dame

Ancient and Medieval

The Christians and the Roman Empire. By Marta Sordi. Translated by Annabel Bedini. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 215. $14.95 paperback.)

In 1965, Marta Sordi's// cristianesimo e Roma made the then-useful point that modern accounts erred in characterizing Roman persecution of Christians as "political," because in so doing they failed to take into account the religious nature of ancient state institutions. This argument she took to a wider public in / cristiani e Vimpero romano in 1983, translated into English in 1986 and now made available in paperback. The book is divided into two parts. The first, "Christians and Political Power," containing nine of the total thirteen chapters, covers Christian-Roman relations down to the time of Constantine in the early fourth century; four chapters in the briefer second section, "The Christians in the Roman World," address ways in which the new religion adjusted to Roman society. Sordi's story is one of generally benevolent emperors who attempt to shield Christianity to the extent that they can against popular and Senatorial prejudices. The exceptions—Nero and Domitian, for instance—are emperors who abandon Roman principles for a "theocratic and oriental form of dominatio" (p. 29). Christianity and Rome shared a universal outlook that made them natural partners, despite the efforts of persecutors who vainly attempted to impose ethnic distinctions more suitable to Greek and Jewish thought.

The argument has a familiar ring. For all of Sordi's detailed and frequently original scholarship, she has failed to distance herself from a conceptual scheme laid down by the apologists of the second and third centuries. It therefore comes as no surprise that in Part One Sordi completely accepts the claims of Athenagoras, Melito, and others that Montanists were the ones really responsible for alienating Marcus Aurelius from Christianity (p. 72), or those of Tertullian and Hippolytus that Septimius Severas was not to blame for persecutions during his reign, even though such assertions were standard apologetic fare. Part Two also echoes a familiar line, this one Justin Martyr's, that everything good owes ultimately to the Christians.

More surprising is Sordi's willingness to accept on the authority of Moses Khorenetsi the story of an attempt by Abgar of Edessa to convert the emperor Tiberius, or the claim of Tertullian that Tiberius wished to enroll Christ among the gods of Rome (though here she concedes that "most modern historians reject this account as an apologetic invention" [p. 18]). Sordi also describes the anti-Christian Celsus as a personal spokesman for the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius, deputed by him to extend an olive branch to the Christians—something he manages to do "despite the violent tone natural to polemics" (p. 74). The reader who has gotten this far, however, is not likely to be surprised by anything.

Sordi can be insightful. For instance, she credits a third-century shift away from the prosecution of individual Christians in favor of attacks on the corporate identity of the Church with opening the conceptual path that led Gallienus to grant the Church corporate recognition when he called off his father's persecution in 260, and she shows a refreshing willingness to consider the role of "public opinion" in the operation of the Roman state. But even

here the aim is not so much to open new doors as it is to demonstrate how the "fanatical masses" (a favorite phrase) stayed the hand of benevolent rulers. If there is a single, overriding flaw to this book, it lies in this single-minded determination to make a rich history of Christian-pagan relations fit into a one-dimensional argument regarding church and state.

The intention to show Christians in a dynamic relationship with the Roman state is a good one. It need not be put to such transparent uses.

H. A. Drake

University of California, Santa Barbara

From Eusebius to Augustine-. Selected Papers, 1982-1993- By T. D. Barnes. [Collected Studies Series: CS438.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1994. Pp. xii, 334. $9195.)

This useful book is a recent addition to the "Collected Studies Series" published by Variorum and brings together in the compass of a single volume twenty-two studies on fourth-century imperial and ecclesiastical history previously published as journal articles, book chapters, and professional lectures—plus two new studies made specifically for this volume—by Timothy D. Barnes, professor of classics in the University of Toronto and one of the world's most prolific and distinguished scholars of late antiquity. The studies are grouped into four Parts, with a short Addenda section and an index at the end of the book.

Part One, labeled "Introductory," contains two short studies giving an overview of "Pagan Perceptions of Christianity" (I), and arguing against "Some Inconsistencies in Eusebius" (II). In the latter, Barnes defends his thesis that Eusebius completed the first seven books of his Ecclesiastical History before 303, and that those books provide accurate evidence for the standing of the Church in the empire before the start of Diocletian's persecution.

Part Two concerns the era of "Constantine" and encompasses ten studies which largely defend the views Barnes posited in his seminal books, Constantine and Eusebius and The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1981 and 1982 respectively). Study IH argues that "The Conversion of Constantine" was, in fact, in the emperor's political interest, and follows H. Schrörs in seeing Eusebius as the more reliable source for that event; and it analyzes Constantine's "Oration to the Assembly of Saints" as a source for the emperor's intellectual attainments and Christian knowledge in the decade thereafter. In several of the studies in this part, particularly IV on "Constantine's Prohibition of Pagan Sacrifice," V on "The Constantinian Reformation," and IX on "The Constantinian Settlement," Professor Barnes defends what he elsewhere has labeled his "novel, even heterodox or idiosyncratic views . . . that the Roman Empire became

Christian earlier, and in the fourth century became more thoroughly Christian than has normally been supposed by academic historians of the last hundred years" (XXI, p. 158). Against critics such as H. A. Drake and R. M. Errington, he persuasively argues that Eusebius' statements in his Vita Constantini II. 45 indicate that Constantine outlawed pagan sacrifice in the east, and established Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the autumn of 324 after his successful crusade against the last persecuting pagan emperor, Licinius. He shows that the evidence in Eusebius' Tricennalia Oration and Commentary on Isaiah, plus the testimony of Constans' law in the Codex Theodosianus buttress this assessment, and must be preferred to the late and tendentious statements of Libanius. Studies VII and VIII on "The Religious Affiliation of Consuls and Prefects, 317-361," and "Christians and Pagans in the Reign of Constantius," reveal that among the high officials of the Roman government whose religious affiliations can be ascertained with any certainty, there were more Christians than pagans by the mid-fourth century. In the final two studies of this part, XI on "Panegyric, History and Hagiography in Eusebius' Life of Constantine," and XII on "The Two Drafts of Eusebius' Life of Constantine," he provides detailed analyses of the literary genres and compositional stages behind this key work in the Eusebian corpus. In these carefully argued and detailed studies, he builds upon G. Pasquali's theory that the Vita was a conflation of two drafts that began as a conventional panegyric and then was expanded with the addition of documentary material of an historical and hagiographical nature.

Part Three, entitled "The Reign of Constantius," contains eight studies which laid some of the groundwork for Barnes's recent book, Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993)· After a couple of short studies on the "Praetorian Prefects" (XIII) and imperial "Victory Titles" (XTV) of the era, this part offers two longer studies on "The Career of Abinnaeus" (XV), and "Himerius and the Fourth Century" (XVI). The former reconstructs the career of an imperial military official in Egypt whose bumpy fortunes Barnes feels may be related to his support of Athanasius, while the latter chronicles the disappointing career of a pagan sophist in the eastern provinces fighting for the lost cause of paganism in a Christian empire. The next three studies deal with central players and events in the theological controversies of the period: XVII concerns the reason behind Hilary of Poitiers' exile; XVIII argues for dates of 355 and 357 for the arrest and return of Liberius of Rome; and XLX posits a probable date of 355 for the eastern Council of Gangra. In study XX entitled "Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the Life of Antony" Dr. Barnes analyzes the Coptic, Syriac, and Greek versions of the Life of Antony, charts their relationships, and argues that Athanasius did not write the extant Greek Life. Obviously the latter studies in this part will be of more interest to church historians.

Part Four entails four studies dealing with the late fourth and early fifth centuries, and is labeled "Theodosius and After." Study XXI on "Religion and Society in the Reign of Theodosius" posits that "pagans in the reign of Theodosius were less powerful than the traditional view held, but more embittered" (p. 168), and analyzes the Carmen contra Paganos and the revolt of Eugenius in this light. Study XXII provides evidence that St. Ambrose and Symmachus were cousins of noble pedigree, and that St. Augustine was not a protégé of the latter. Study XXIII offers a prosopographical analysis of key lines of Prudentius' Contra Symmacbum and reaches the conclusion that Book I must be dated to the year 384. The final study in this collection is entitled "Aspects of the Background of the City of God" (XXIV) and analyzes the historical and intellectual background to St. Augustine's composition of the Civitas Dei. Professor Barnes sets its genesis in the North Africa of ca. 411—413, when closet pagan intellectuals fleeing from the sack of Rome were attacking the conversion of the empire to Christianity. Addenda at the end of the book update, correct, or defend many of the above-listed studies in the light of subsequent scholarship.

Throughout the studies in this volume, one witnesses the acute intellect and the profound knowledge of original sources that Dr. Barnes brings to fourth-century imperial and church history. Scholars may not always accept his interpretations, but his incisive analyses and eloquent arguments command respect. Since some of these studies were originally published in limited editions and not always easily obtainable formats, Variorum provides an excellent service in binding them together in one volume. Scholars of late antiquity and early Christianity will want this book in their private offices and in their university libraries. And one cannot but hope that the studies of Part Four of this collected series indicate that a book or two on the ages of Theodosius and Augustine are in the writing plans of Timothy D. Barnes.

Charles M. Odahl

Boise State University

Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor. By Susan Haskins. (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. 1994. Pp. xxii, 518. «27.95.)

"The Magdalene, like Eve, was brought into existence by the powerful undertow of misogyny in Christianity, which associates women with the dangers and degradation of the flesh. For this reason she became a prominent and beloved saint." Marina Warner wrote those polemical sentences almost twenty years ago in Alone of All her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary. Now Susan Haskins, a British art historian, has vigorously taken up Warner's theme, tone, and narrative structure, and similarly has aimed her companion volume for the cult of Mary Magdalen at a popular audience.

To obtain a sense of the ideological framework shaping Susan Haskins' ambitious study of the construction of Saint Mary Magdalen from early Christianity to the present, one need only turn to the final page of the text where this epilogue is found: "On 11 November 1992 the General Synod of the Church of England voted to ordain women as priests" (p. 400). Those hopeful remarks follow this combative statement: "From the early centuries of the Christian era, Mary Magdalen has, like the women she represents, been the scapegoat of the ecclesiastical institution, manipulated, controlled and, above all, misrepresented" (pp. 392-393). Thus it is Haskins' double burden to reveal how history has relentlessly misrepresented Mary Magdalen and to demonstrate how, after such misrepresentations are unmasked, the "real" Mary Magdalen can serve as an appropriate model for the ministry of women in the Church for this and future generations. I have no quarrel with the second part of this enterprise; feminist theologians and biblical scholars such as Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, Carla Ricci, and Ben Witherington III for some years now have been producing fruitful research demonstrating the importance of women in the ministry of the early Church, giving the disciple Mary of Magdala pride of place in their studies.

The problem, as Haskins defines it, is that the faithful disciple, Mary of Magdala, to whom the risen Christ first showed himself and bade announce the good news of his resurrection, is not the woman the western Church has chosen to venerate. Haskins places the blame squarely at the feet of Pope Gregory the Great. In a homily preached at San Clémente in Rome in 591, he proclaimed that Saint Mary Magdalen was Mary of Magdala from whom Christ cast out seven devils. But she was also, he decreed, Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha and Lazarus, as well as the unnamed sinner of Luke's gospel who bathed Christ's feet in tears and whose many sins were forgiven. Haskins regards the Gregorian conflation as the fons et origo of Mary Magdalen's "victimisation" (her word) by the Church. The argument is this: by representing Mary Magdalen as Luke's penitent sinner, the medieval Church constructed a female saint who was defined above all by her presumed sexual sin and perfect repentance. Such misplaced emphasis on penance served to shackle the saint, and by implication the female sex, to a gendered ideology that propounded that all women since Eve embody sexuality and sin. Consequently, it is a woman's lot to submit to male authority in this life and convert to penance to redeem life in the hereafter.

The difficulty with such an interpretative framework is that it focuses on the twin evils of misrepresentation and manipulation of symbols rather than on the richness of the images themselves. I do not believe that the medieval clergy engaged in some sinister plot to represent the Magdalen as the exemplar of penance any more than I believe that Haskins is disingenuous for choosing to emphasize the Magdalen's ministry or role as apostolorum apostóla. Symbols are manipulated at various times for various purposes; the medieval cult of penance found the penitent Magdalen exemplary just

as contemporary feminist scholarship deems the apostolic Magdalen an appropriate model today. My point is that the Middle Ages was far more sophisticated in its interpretation of the symbolic meanings clustered around the figure of Mary Magdalen than Haskins suggests. Many years ago Mircea Eliade argued that symbols by their very structure are multivalent; to restrict them to one frame of reference is tantamount to annihilating them. Haskins does not annihilate the saint's repertoire of symbolic meanings by denying their multiplicity; she merely wounds the symbolic Magdalen by suggesting that the penitential meaning was the only one of consequence, and negative consequence at that. However, if we follow the interpretations contained in the sermons of medieval preachers, the lesson of the penitential Magdalen was a message of liberation and hope. Even the most wayward of sinners—through penance—could hope to earn salvation. Nor was this the only motif in the medieval symbolic economy. Medieval exegetes and lay people alike understood that the Magdalen sometimes stood for the contemplative life by virtue of her identification with Mary of Bethany and, at other times, by virtue of her ministry to Christ and her legendary apostolic career in southern France, she usurped Martha's role and represented the active life in the world. Other times she represented both simultaneously. In the course of one medieval sermon, it was not unusual for a preacher such as Aldobrandino Cavalcanti to elucidate any number of her symbolic meanings for his audience. It is a misrepresentation of the Middle Ages to claim that the Magdalen's only symbolic meaning of consequence was the penitential meaning.

Far more compelling than her treatment of the Magdalen's cult in the Middle Ages, are some of her later chapters in which she is able to treat more fully the production of pictorial images, their benefactors, and the reception of those images. Her treatment of Correggio's "Magdalen Reading in Landscape" (1552), now lost, is exemplary in this regard, as is the fascinating section on the Venetian Magdalen. It succeeds because her "thesis" is nowhere in evidence; these sections almost breathe a grateful sigh of relief.

In a book that depends so heavily on images, I find it odd that it is not more lavishly illustrated. There are no color plates save the dust jacket, and frequently important images are left to the reader's imagination, aided of course by Haskins' well-written prose. I would have liked to see John Evelyn's portrait, for example, in which he had himself "done" as the penitent saint. There are other minor textual irritations as well. A short list would include: the English translation of "la Sainte-Baume" should be rendered "Holy Grotto" (from the Provençal balma or bauma), not "Holy Balm" (p. 120); the diadem sent to Provence in 1283 by the King of Naples was sent by Charles I; Charles of Salerno did not ascend the throne until 1289 (p. 131); Jacques de Vitry was a regular canon, not a Cistercian (p. 144); Frances of Rome is called Francesca Romana in Italian, not da Romana (pp. 177, 180), and Fabriano is in central not northern Italy (p. 229).

AU in all, however, Haskins' survey of the cult of the Magdalen in the West is indeed impressive. She has an easy command of a vast body of scholarly literature that takes in diverse fields and assorted languages. I wish only that she wore her ideology as lightly as she does her learning.

Katherine L. Jansen

The Catholic University of America

The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation. By James C. Russell. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 258. Í35.00.)

This book is an intelligent synthesis of observations from a wide range of anthropological, historical, and other literature. The subtitle, more than the main title, suggests the actual scope and import of the author's revised doctoral dissertation in historical theology (Fordham University, 1990). The exposition, in fact, addresses itself as much to today's moderators of cross-cultural religious interaction as to students of Germanizing developments in Latin Christianity between a.d. 376 and a.d. 754. Russell's ostensible objective is to elucidate the mutually transformed patterns of belief and behavior that resulted from the conversion of Germanic societies to the rejigged version of Christianity which they could accept and which was later imposed on the popes and Rome by Otto the Great and his suite. Russell builds on the received view that Germanic socioreligious imagination and practices deeply affected ancient Christianity and helped to effect "a Eurocentric particularization of Christianity epitomized by the concept of Christendom" (p. 190). His ultimate mapping of the Germanizing shifts in early medieval Christian belief and praxis is done with a subtle eye to this particularization, its consequences, and the attempted undoing of it since the Second Vatican Council. The overall result is a statement of general religiohistorical interest and of equal relevance to the modern heirs of Christendom.

Russell devotes roughly half the study to crafting a "Model of Religious Transformation" (Part I, pp. 1 1-103). The object is to stake out the profound differences, and the likely barriers to cross-cultural transfer without equally profound compromises, between the universal, ethical, world-rejecting religion of Christianity (an eastern system), and the folk-centered, world-accepting religion of primitive Indo-European societies. The subject entails a great deal of definition or reconstruction of ancient world-views and praxis, and above all a rigorous definition of Christianity against which conversion or syncretism can be gauged. Christianity's success among Greeks and Romans invites a consideration of urban rootlessness and alienation as the preconditions of conversion in these evolved and altered Indo-European societies. Christian conversion, with its promise of new community and future salvation,

flourished where anomie prevailed. The Germanic tribes that encountered Christianity retained a high level of group solidarity and a firm attachment to the this-worldly concerns and pursuits of primitive Indo-European peoples. These folk-religious societies could not be expected to embrace a universal religion of salvation on its own terms. For any hope of success, Christian missionaries had, at least temporarily, to accommodate Germanic socioreligious expectations.

Part II, "The Germanic Transformation of Christianity" (pp. 107-208), begins with a synthetic discussion of "Germanic Religiosity and Social Structure" (pp. 107-133) indebted, among others, to Georges Dumézil and subject to caveats sometimes applied to his work. Not all historians will accept his, or Russell's, use of twelfth-century sources as evidence for primordial worldviews and social patterns, and some readers will miss a discussion keyed to postmodern theory. Russell manages, however, to provide a coherent basis for spotlighting the heroic and magicoreligious adjustments necessary for Christianity to appeal to a closeknit, Germanic, military-agricultural society. In the remaining exposition, he briskly traces the vagaries and accommodations of the encounter between the Germanic peoples and Christianity from 376 to 754. Russell links specific Germanic beliefs to their correlates in a Germanized version of Christianity which, he suggests, misconstrued, at least for a time, the notions of sin and salvation essential to his objectivist definition of Christianity. This Germanized Christianity became the norm, and sometimes the burden, of Latin Christendom.

Russell tackles much ground in comparatively few, copiously annotated pages. He considers a complex of issues relevant to history, missiology, and theology, and suggests useful historical explanations. He depends heavily, perhaps too heavily, on modern commentators to document early history, but he has had the courage to propose an overarching schema that identifies and explains important Germanic contributions to Christendom.

Michael Idomir Allen

Centre for Medieval Studies
University of Toronto

La doctrine canonique médiévale. By Jean Gaudemet. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 435.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1994. Pp. x, 323.)

A colleague has invented a new verb for medieval studies, "to variorum." Ashgate Publishing Company has now "variorumed" a formidable number of authors in their "Collected Studies Series," which brings together scattered articles in one volume with additional notes and indices. To "variorum" a scholar's work has proven to be a first-rate idea and, consequently, has spawned several imitators in the publishing world.

Ashgate has "variorumed" Jean Gaudemet, the distinguished French legal historian, five times. This volume contains seventeen articles published in a remarkably short period from 1988 to 1992. Since the death of Gabriel Le Bras, Gaudemet has been the undisputed doyen of French legal history. The range of this volume reflects the scope of his interests and expertise: from the early Church to the twentieth century.

The essays are divided into four broad categories: the spirit of canon law, the sources, the government of the Church, and the individual and marriage. The essays extend from the role of the Bible, custom, and Roman law in canonical jurisprudence to general reflections on papal primacy in canonical doctrine from Ivo of Chartres to Gallicanism in the early modern and modern periods of French history.

When Gaudemet dissects a problem his skill and the extent of his knowledge are staggering. The reader learns very quickly why he has been "variorumed" five times. For the readers of this journal, article 15, " 'Baptismus, ianua sacramentorum' (CJC, c. 849): Baptême et droits de l'homme," is relevant to today's and yesterday's concerns. It is a brilliant display of his erudition, and a convincing demonstration why the history of a legal system is important for understanding the evolution of its language. He begins his discussion of Baptism and the rights of man with a simple quotation of canon 96 of the 1983 Code of Canon Law: "A man (in the universal sense) is incorporated into the Church of Christ by Baptism and is established into this Church as a person with the duties and rights … of all Christians." He points to the long theological tradition of viewing baptism as the "door" of the Church and notes that canon 96 takes its wording from canon 87 in the Code of 1917, in which the historical wording of "member" of the Church was changed to "person." In the older texts baptism made a new Christian a member, we might say citizen, of the Church, but, perhaps in a search for juridical precision, "member" was changed to "person" in 1917.

Both "person" and "member" have deep historical roots. Canon 96 combines the two terms by establishing two points: Baptism is the gateway to membership in the Church and is the vehicle for creating a juridical "person," subject to canon law. However, historically, canon law normally used "person" {persona) in a much more general sense: any person, Christian or not. Gaudemet observes that the Code of 1983 equivocates in its use of "person." Sometimes, as in canon 96, "person" means "member" of the Church; at other times, it includes non-Catholics. By not clearly distinguishing between a juridical person inside and outside the Church, the framers of the new Code have failed to distinguish between "those rights that all men possess by nature and those that are acquired only by the door of Baptism." Imprecision of language leads, inevitably, to imprecision of thought.

One might conclude that Gaudemet's dissection of "person" in the 1983 Code is interesting but trivial—merely "imperfect technique" as he puts it. Yet the equivocal meaning of person in constitutional documents is a key

issue in the debate about human rights. The American Bill of Rights equivocates in exactly the same fashion as the 1983 Code when it specifies the "subject" of its rights. Some clauses use the word "person," others "citizen." Do the rights enumerated in the Bill of Rights only apply to those who have entered our country by legal means? Or do they apply to all persons residing in the territory governed by the Constitution? Our courts have not seen the equivocation and have most often opted for the former meaning of "person" while remaining blind and oblivious to the latter.

The hallmark of Gaudemet's work has been an attention to detail that illuminates large issues. The essays in this book continue that great intellectual tradition.

Kenneth Pennington

Syracuse University

Christian Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages. By Richard E. Sullivan. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 431.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Company. 1994. Pp. x, 265.)

The missionary work of the early Church certainly has not gone unnoticed as a topic worthy of investigation; indeed the lives and activities of some key figures, such as Saint Gregory the Great and St. Boniface, have been of especial interest, particularly in the role each is considered to have played in the formation of the theological underpinnings of the medieval western Church. Nonetheless, this collection of, admittedly, older articles should still claim a place on the bookshelf of any scholar of the medieval Church or of the culture of the Carolingian world; the comprehensive depth of the articles and their wealth of textual scholarship make for compelling reading, and their examination of, particularly, the methodologies of conversion within the early medieval Church affords the reader an opportunity to explore some of the seminal work in the field.

First, a caveat: These six articles are, indeed, familiar—but not antiquated. The earliest does date from some forty-two years ago, and the most recent, from sixteen years ago. There is a single-page bibliography of more "contemporary" (1967?) work in the area of conversion and missionary studies; however, it does not seem very inclusive of works concerned exclusively with missionary studies. Yet, like others in the Variorum series, this collection of essays serves like a personal Festschrift to the career of Richard E. Sullivan, and one cannot help but be grateful that such cogent work has been gathered into one volume for easy availability.

As Richard Sullivan indicates in the preface to the text, when he first embarked upon his own scholarly study of the conversion of the Graeco-Roman culture from a pagan to the Christian system of belief, historians at that time

generally considered the expansion of Christianity among the western nations (in particular) during the early Middle Ages to have been, as it were, foreordained, in fact, well-nigh divined. There could be no doubt for such historians, but that the success of Christianity had been assured because its champions enjoyed a superior morality, manifested by their political victories, economic resources, and cultural wealth. However, through thoughtful analysis of records and documents dating from A.D. 500 to 900, Dr. Sullivan determined that the conversion of the ancient world to Christianity was not as elementary as had been previously thought, and that any "success" was due as much to the individual vigor and enthusiastic adaptability of each missionary monk as to any predetermination of historical processes.

Each article thoroughly emphasizes the bold initiative that was missionary work, and the final article, "The Medieval Monk as Frontiersman," serves well as an articulate counterpoint to all others. Although the article discusses monasticism in general, and not merely in its evangelical function, it does assert that the point (literally and figuratively) at which the Christian monk met the pagan native was as unknown and quixotic a "frontier society" (VI, 36) as any other; indeed, such an environment and circumstance demanded of the monks so prodigious a reserve of self-reliance and spontaneity, that only the most resolute and innovative would be able to survive. Article II, "The Carolingian and the Pagan," article HI, "The Papacy and Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages," and article V, "Early Medieval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods," in fact demonstrate with ample detail that die western missionary, unlike his eastern counterpart, was left fairly isolated, in uncharted lands, to introduce, to preach, to impart, and to persuade elements of Scripture and conditions of new ritual. The evangelical representative of Byzantium had the practical advantage of being able to perform his duties not under the shadow of a political and social vacuum, but usually under the protection of both the aristocracy of the native citizenry and the economic (as well as spiritual) resources of the emperor in Constantinople. His brother in the West was essentially a pioneer in territory and in souls, and was thus personally responsible for his own physical livelihood, his continual access to individual villages and tribes, and his unique status as the only significant emblem of his faith and his civilization.

Given such social and cultural parameters, then, it is quite understandable that the theological dimensions of the mission work in the East and in the West should have differed. The East professed a complete, profound, and mature faith of a superior civilization. The West, as article I "Carolingian Missionary Theories" examines, had to move swiftly, independently, baptizing and then instructing the converts in a faith that seemed diffuse, mobile, fresh of a culture not as readily apparent. An investigation in contrast (and comparison) between eastern and western missionary activity is provided in article rV, "Khan Boris and the Conversion of Bulgaria: A Case Study of the Impact of Christianity on a Barbarian Society," an exhaustively documented look at

the machinations and maneuvers within the conversion paradigm; more importantly, the article also considers (dated 1966, ahead of its time!) the serious effects of conversion upon the later development and stability of native societies.

Church historians, medieval historians, and all medieval scholars, especially those of the early Middle Ages, take note: this is a volume of well-written, expertly documented, and perceptive scholarship, well worth a close read from cover to cover.

June-Ann Greeley

Sacred Heart University
Fairfield, Connecticut

Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours, volume 4: Évêques, moines, et empereurs (610-1054). Edited by Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riche, and André Vauchez. (Paris: Desclée. 1993. Pp. 1049. FF 420.)

The publication of this volume brings to a completion the medieval trilogy in the ambitious series Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours. The loose chronological boundaries of the present volume are provided by the death of Gregory the Great and the final schism of the western and eastern Christian churches. It is complemented by a volume, published at the same time, on the period from the schism to the Council of Lyon {Apogée de la papauté et expansion de la chrétienté [1054—1274] [1993]) and by a previously published volume on the period down to the Council of Florence (Un temps d'épreuves [1274-1449] [1990]). Similar trilogies will eventually appear on the development of Christianity and on the reformations of the early modern period, as well as a four-volume set on the modern period. The series is marked by a self-conscious and laudable intent—indicated in a sense by the use of christianisme rather than chrétienté—to include all of the varied strands of Christian churches and practice.

The present volume is perhaps most notable in its dedication to the geographical aspect of that ideal. The book is divided into four parts. The first, written (except for the section on Greek churches in Italy) by Gilbert Dagron, devotes 364 pages to Byzantine Christianity. The second consists of 228 pages on the "Oriental" churches, divided into chapters on the Islamic-dominated Near East, Armenia, and Georgia. The third, largely the work of Pierre Riche, includes 260 pages on the Latin west. Finally there are 70 pages concerning the "new Christianities" of northern and eastern Europe. The text is supplemented by an impressive apparatus: ample footnotes are included, in contrast to many works of a synthetic nature; useful bibliographies (divided between sources and studies) are placed at the end of every subsection and chapter; material appended at the end of the volume includes an excellent timeline,

lists of rulers, a thoughtful glossary, and an index (of personal names only). There are also maps and illustrations scattered throughout, which are of excellent technical quality but variable utility (there are, for example, no maps in the Byzantine section, while those of western Christendom are all reproduced from elsewhere).

It is, needless to say, impossible to give an adequate review of all of the varied arguments and content of the work in the space available here. Suffice it to say that the volume is a research tool of the first order, which should (along with its companions) be included in any university library and which will also, despite the hefty price, find a welcome home on the shelves of specialists. The volume presents an extraordinary amount of information and bibliography on a staggering array of subjects, all organized in an accessible manner. As indicated by the title, the choice of the authors of this volume (in sharp contrast to those of its sister volumes) has been to present the story of Christian religious history in lockstep with the history of Europe's political development. If the volume has an overarching theme, it is that of the Christian churches' conversion of pagan neighbors and response to Islamic conquest.

The volume not surprisingly suffers from the faults inherent to any such large-scale synthesis. Throughout, both in notes and bibliographies, there is a strong emphasis on works in French, followed by works in German, with those in English placing a distant third. The works of such prominent Anglophone historians as John Contreni, Thomas Noble, and Ian Wood seem to have escaped uncited. Individual authors faced with understandable constraints make idiosyncratic choices. In Pierre Riché's narrative, for example, Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Christianities play a decidedly minor role, except for the effect of Columbanus on the continent. Bede appears largely as a purveyor of anecdotes, not as a thinker of import in his own right. Preaching and education are given, as one would expect, an excellent and thorough treatment, but hagiography and penitentials are slighted. As the same time Riche has also provided a formidably detailed synopsis of the development of Christian institutions on the continent, such as the episcopacy, as well as luminous pages on such topics as Carolingian iconoclasm and the cultural import of the copying of manuscripts.

In sum the work is extremely useful and, at its best, extremely interesting. Perhaps the fairest way to evaluate it is in comparison to similar works. While it does not pretend the analytic depth of the more closely focused volumes which have appeared in the Oxford History of the Church, it is far more accessible as a research tool. In contrast to Hubert Jedin's Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte (1962—1979, English translation, 1965-1981) it is far more inclusive in scope and far more thorough in its attention to sources and bibliography. It also succeeds in its obvious intention to become a worthy successor to the relevant volumes of Augustin Fliehe and Victor Martin (eds.), Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours (1934—1960), providing a thorough updating in terms of bibliography, methodology, and schol-

arly research. But in comparison to its own sister volumes, it is somewhat disappointing. Those two volumes both show, particularly in sections by Evelyn Patlagean and André Vauchez, an attention to the practice of Christianity which is enlightening and novel as far as handbooks go. The volume under review is a bit more traditionalist in concept, albeit equally sure in execution, and nowhere in the handbook literature is the Christian east of this period treated in anything near the same depth. The completion of this trilogy marks a significant and welcome moment in the development of research tools for historians of medieval Christianity.

Thomas Head

Washington University in St. Louis

Church, Law and Society in Catalonia, 900-1500. By Paul Freedman. [Variorum Collected Studies Series.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1994. Pp. xii, 270.)

Church, Law and Society in Catalonia is a collection of seventeen articles previously published in English and French in a number of different journals. Some have been revised and the bibliographies brought up to date in the present volume, and a useful index has been included.

Freedman deals with three main topics relating to Catalonia: its legendary origins, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and serfdom, the latter the subject of his prize-winning monograph Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia I shall attempt to draw attention to the most important aspects of the collection, elaborating on those which I have found either especially interesting or valuable.

The first seven articles refer to the preservation of Gothic influences on the Catalan Church and the way in which Gregorian reform was regarded as a threat to the independence of the Catalan monasteries of Ripoll, Sant Cugat, Sant Père de Roda, and Sant Benêt de Bages. Freedman comments that Catalonia preserved certain Gothic influences on the Church longer than elsewhere in Spain. Furthermore, disputes frequently arose over economic matters between monastic foundations and bishops or between two important sees. Such is the case in the hitherto unknown papal letters included in die volume, those of Innocent III and Honorius HI, regarding disputes of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the bishoprics of Vic and Tarragona and Lleida and the Seu d'Urgell. The letters are among several uncovered by die author in the Ecclesiastical Archives of Vic.

Steps toward the development of an urban economy in Catalonia, Freedman suggests, can be seen as early as the twelfth century. In defiance of their overlord, the bishop of Vic, town associations requested permission to punish and imprison wrongdoers from outside the city. It is the first time that im-

portant merchant families in Vic have been identified, men who were later to become the merchant elite or probt homines. Family-led insurrection was to become a feature of many Catalan towns in the fourteenth century, but nowhere was it more firmly entrenched than in Vic.

Much of the information given on enserfment in Catalonia has since been included in Freedman's monograph, but of special interest are Articles XIII and Xrv. The legendary reason given for the servitude of peasants, "cowardice," dates from the ninth century and is inextricably bound with the medieval image of Catalonia (Article XVI). In this collection the author explains the significance of the ius maletractandi, referring to "the privilege it conferred to mistreat peasants without just cause" (XIII, 41). Such mistreatment increased in the later Middle Ages, exacerbated by social and economic factors, and eventually led to the wars of the Remenees in the late fifteenth century. As a result of this uprising, servitude was abolished in Catalonia. Freedman compares peasant unrest in Catalonia with that in sixteenth-century Germany and concludes that the difference lies in the absence of religious motivation for the wars of the Remenees.

The significance of the present volume lies in its focus on topics which were not unique to Catalonia: the relations between the Papacy and the local church, early attempts to gain redemption from overlords by both townsmen and peasants, and the role of symbolism and legend in history. By collecting these studies into an easily accessible volume, Freedman has ensured that scholars of ecclesiastical and social institutions do not overlook either his important contributions to Catalonia's early history, or indeed the significance of that history for an understanding of medieval European social behavior.

Jill R. Webster

St. Michael's College
University of Toronto

Byzantium and the Crusader States 1096-1204. By Ralph-Johannes Lilie. Translated by J. C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings. (New York: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 342. $5900.)

This book, first published in German in 1981, revised in 1988, and translated into English in 1993, is concerned, as the title clearly declares, with the relations between the Byzantine Empire and the states established by western Europeans in Syria and Palestine in the period from the first Crusade to the Latin conquest of Constantinople. Beginning with the first encounter of the Crusaders with the Byzantines, in 1096—1098, the main part of the book is arranged in chronological order in six chapters, three of which correspond to the reigns of the three major Komnenian emperors. A summary of the

author's findings and opinions forms a final chapter. There follow four appendices on controverted topics, a bibliography, and an index.

Although there is a vast corpus of scholarly writing about the Crusades and the Crusader states and a much smaller corpus about the Byzantine Empire, this is the first detailed book to focus on the relations between those states and the empire. This is not a history of the Crusader states or of Byzantium; Lilie presumes that the reader is already well acquainted with those histories. Instead, he concentrates his attention, and ours, on his avowed primary interest, the relations between those states and the empire. Still, he has based his work solidly on historical facts and, in places, has devoted considerable energy to the clarification of some factual problems, but he is much more concerned about the political motivations of the individuals and the governments he writes of. He begins, as one might expect, with the forceful attempts of Alexios I, and then the more confrontational ones of John II, to secure the recognition of their overlordship in the Crusader states, particularly in Antioch. He then shows how Manuel II altered this policy to one which sought friendship with the Latins. This chapter, of course, must now be read in the light of Paul Magdalino's magisterial study: The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos (Cambridge, 1993). The last chronological chapter shows a weakened empire abandoning Manuel's détente in favor of a more aggressive stance, which culminated in the catastrophe of 1204. It should be noted that Lilie's book, excellent though it is, treats primarily of political and diplomatic history and has very little to say about religious and cultural aspects. The few matters on which reviewers of the original German edition disagreed are dealt with in a responsible manner. While the reader, particularly the specialist, might differ with Lilie on some points, it is clear that any further discussion of relations between Byzantium and the Crusader states must begin with this book.

George T. Dennis, SJ.

The Catholic University of America

Brother and Lover. Aelred of Rievaulx. By Brian Patrick McGuire. (New York: Crossroad. 1994. Pp. xviii, 186. $22.95.)

The present volume considers the filial and erotic tensions in Aelred of Rievaulx's writings. Aelred's history is presented chronologically from his placement at the court of King David of Scotland, through his death eulogized by Walter Daniel, to Aelred's place in present spirituality. McGuire traces, what he calls, Aelred's homoerotic impulse, an impulse which he says Aelred was able to change to an "agapetic union" for his monastic brethren. Various episodes in Aelred's life are viewed to show the development of this struggle.

McGuire has read deeply in Aelred's works. His informal prose style lends his narrative the "feel" of a meditation rather than an historical inquiry. The

book eschews footnotes, and although McGuire translates at length from the Latin he often does not cite the original. We do, however, need the Latin, especially in those instances when he contests other translations, and his own translations lead to interpretations they cannot support, e.g., his point that the passage he cites from De Institutione Inclusarum illustrates the way a twelfth-century monastic leader claims he "forced himself to stop masturbating" (p. 61).

McGuire's goal is to understand Aelred's sexual identity, his struggle with his physical affection for men and resolution of that struggle in Rievaulx. This is a worthy subject and a difficult one, not least because the surviving writings are so opaque. While McGuire ably illustrates Aelred's achievement of spiritual friendship, he oversteps the bounds of the careful historian in his interpretation of the texts. In order to underscore Aelred's attraction to men, McGuire reads into the historical record intentions and conclusions which it cannot sustain, e.g., since Aelred makes no mention of his mother, McGuire states that "He was not keen on motherhood" or, despite Aelred's expressed intention that the De Institutione Inclusarum was written for his sister, ". . . that Aelred lacks much feeling at all for religious women and their concerns." These remarks are drenched with the idiom of the late-twentieth century, and reveal more of the present than the past.

I have no wish to enter into the debate over Aelred's gender preferences. However, what I do wish to discuss is the methodology which informs McGuire's reading. For example, he interprets Walter Daniel's anecdote of the abusive knight as an insinuation of a homosexual affair. Walter states that the knight was angry because Aelred enjoyed the king's favor and, Walter continues, "in his rage and envy he could not endure the sight of our Joseph and the gracious qualities which made him cherished as a father by the other knights . . ." and that the knight's language was more that of a prostitute and "stank of wantonness//wxwri«m redoleret." Despite McGuire's own caution that this remark and many others from Aelred and Walter Daniel represent no more than circumstantial evidence, he concludes the slurs were sexual and "point to a relationship of sexual love with someone else at court . . . [and] all indicate that Aelred at the court of King David lost his head, his heart, and perhaps his body to another young man" (p. 49). There is no evidence in the anecdote for McGuire's conclusion, his "perhaps" notwithstanding.

McGuire's remark that "In this passage Powicke failed to translate the full meaning of the words" intimates that Powicke censored his translation. He is correct: Powicke does not fully translate militis and luxuriant redoleret, yet the omission of militis changes nothing, since Powicke's translation makes it clear the individual is a knight. McGuire's own translation of luxuriam redoleret, as "stank of wantonness" is unnecessarily univocal, restricting luxuriam to the sexual arena. From Tertullian onward the word exhibited a number of meanings. The noun luxuria could and did refer to fruitfulness, immoderate growth, willful behavior, extravagance and licentiousness. Even if we restrict it to the sexual, given the repeated allusion to Aelred as Joseph,

or to Lot or Daniel (see below), a less partisan reading would also consider the possibility that the knight's charge might have had a heterosexual basis. Walter Daniel's own word for "wantonness" which he uses in the Epístola ad Mauricium is the less ambiguous lasciuiam. In short, the anecdote is complex, and richly allusive; our interpretation must account for that complexity.

As I indicated, Walter referred to Aelred as our Joseph. The reference to the scriptural figure could not be more bold. McGuire never mentions its presence. Yet it was a scriptural figure favored by Aelred, who used it more than sixty times in his work. Walter actually mentions three biblical figures, Joseph, Lot, and Daniel, at the conclusion of the anecdote of the abusive knight. They were traditional topoi of the virtuous exile. McGuire never mentions them; what they might mean; how they might structure the argument of the anecdote; how they might figure in how Aelred's colleagues understood the accusation of the intemperate knight; nor what Walter Daniel intended diem to symbolize? Might they even illuminate some sexual innuendo? The stories of Joseph and Lot do contain significant sexual anecdotes. But Joseph and Lot are involved with the opposite sex. In this same anecdote, Walter uses a simile, likening Aelred to a great tree which brought forth perfect fruit "que tantum postmodum fructum fecit in consummacione," a metaphor we find in the "Book of Daniel." Perhaps it is just a coincidence that the first meaning of luxuriant in the Oxford Latin Dictionary concerns the fructification of plants. Although aware of Walter's rhetorical penchant, McGuire never mentions any of these figures. His inattention to such narrative details mars his interesting comments, since these were details inescapable to a twelfth-century monastic audience.

McGuire's reading in Aelred is broad and his is a genuine sympathy and admiration for Aelred. Yet I find some of his interpretations limited by his insistence that the text prove his hypotheses. McGuire's passion for his subject, the seriousness with which he applies Aelred's message, and his intimacy with the works are laudable. However, his analysis often turns Aelred into a late twentieth-century Christian monastic, and less the spiritual leader of an isolated, hardy group of twelfth-century Yorkshire Cistercians. The language of twelfth-century Cistercian spirituality is richly polysemous. We cannot pay too much attention to the ipsa verba McGuire's thoughtful study would have been even more informed and informative, if he had read the Aelredian corpus with greater attention to the historical nuances of that prose.

Thomas J. Heffernan

University of Tennessee

Gratian: The Treatise on Laws (Décrétant DD. 1-20) translated by Augustine Thompson, O.P., with the Ordinary Gloss (translated by James Gordley). With an introduction by Katherine Christensen. [Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, Volume 2.] (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic

University of America Press. 1993. Pp. xxviii, 131. «24.95 cloth; $14.95 paper.)

Gratian's Concordance of Discordant Canons, later the Decreta, still later the Decretum, is the most important single work to come out of an extraordinary revival of legal learning that centered around Bologna in the twelfth century. Completed around the year 1140, the work was quickly adopted as a basic textbook for students of canon law. It was read and glossed throughout the Middle Ages. In the early modern period it became the first and largest part of the Corpus Juris Canonici The book played a role in the development of western legal science rivaled only by the Digest of Justinian, and it stands with the Digest, the Bible, and (somewhat curiously) Peter Lombard's Sentences among die great teaching books of the West.

Considering the importance of Gratian, it is to the enduring shame of the English-speaking world that no edition of his book exists in English. The need for such an edition has been increasingly recognized among those who are teaching students with little or no Latin, but the problem is more serious than that. Even those with quite a bit of Latin find Gratian hard going. The work is a compilation of diverse texts from every Christian era up to Gratian's, woven together with a commentary by Gratian himself. In some places the text is corrupt; in many places it is difficult. Further, in order to understand how Gratian was understood in die Middle Ages and beyond, one must read die gloss. There is no modern edition of the gloss. One is forced to rely on early modern editions, many of which are full of mistakes, and all of which employ a system of abbreviation and cross-reference accessible only to those who have had special training.

One will rejoice, therefore, that Professors Thompson and Gordley have undertaken a translation of the first twenty distinctions of Gratian. (There are 101 distinctions in die first part of die work; the second part consists of 36 causae, divided into quaestiones; a third part, probably not by Gratian, offers five more distinctions. Approximately five percent of the work has been translated here.) One's rejoicing is turned to exceeding great joy by the following discoveries: Thompson and Gordley have not only translated Gratian but also the ordinary gloss (Thompson die Gratian, Gordley the gloss). They have provided a learned apparatus of notes which offer references to modern editions of the works that Gratian quotes and which discuss, among other things, die discrepancies between the edition that the translators have used (the editio romana of 1582) and that of the standard nineteenth-century edition of Gratian (which varies sufficiently from the vulgate edition that it cannot be combined in translation with the gloss). They have given us a translation diat is clear, even elegant. They have packaged all of diis in a book that is laid out in such a way diat students can see how a medieval glossed book looked and was used. They have done so much of die work of typesetting themselves diat the publisher was able to price the paper edition of the work widiin the

reach of most students. The book is preceded by a brief but lucid introduction by Katherine Christensen, which, again, will be of help to students.

No translation, of course, will ever capture all the complexities of the original, particularly an original that is composed of extracts from works of greatly varying purposes and times, harmonized by a twelfth-century author, and then taken apart and recombined by others from that time forward. As is the case with all translations that are used with students, the teacher must be prepared to say, for example, that the word translated as "usages" in the famous first sentence of the work (moribus), also means "customs" and, in some contexts, though probably not this one, "morals." One must also point out that important as the first twenty distinctions of the work are, they operate at a level of generality higher than that of most of the rest of the work. A very different, and in some ways more competent, Gratian is at work in Causa 1 (on simony) and in Causae 27-35 (on marriage). One can only hope that Professors Thompson and Gordley do not stop here, but go on to provide us with at least some samples from the rest of the work.

Charles Donahue, Jr.
Harvard Law School

A New World in a Small Place: Church and Religion in the Diocese of Rieti, 1188—1378. By Robert Brentano. With an appendix on the frescoes in the choir of San Francesco, by Julian Gardner. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 452. $40.00.)

For many years, even as the author produced his important monographs Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century (1968) and Rome Before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome (1974), Robert Brentano has cultivated a growing love affair and scholarly preoccupation with the small Abruzzese commune of Rieti. The resulting opus on this diocese, its bishops and cathedral canons in the high Middle Ages furnishes the student of Italian ecclesiastical life with everything he may reasonably want and be able to know about this humble ecclesiastical entity. With major studies on the ecclesiastical life of cosmopolitan Rome, the Archdiocese of Pisa (one focus of his Two Churches), and now tiny Rieti, Brentano has made a monumental contribution to the ecclesiastical and social history of the Italian peninsula.

The work has modest historical and theoretical foundations because of the paucity of sources, but they deserve the more attention because Brentano exhaustively exploits such archival materials as are extant in Rome, Paris, and Rieti itself. With his title A New World, Brentano means to indicate that sometime after 1215 (Lateran ÏV), the diocese of Rieti changed from being a collection of isolated points of power and influence to a diocese in the more

modern sense, that is, an administratively profiled (if not in the imagined conventional sense of see, pieve, and parish) and yet unified space organized around the bishop's supervisory cure of souls as expressed in synodal constitutions. His argument is finely grounded and persuasive if not surprising: the few other Italian dioceses that have been seriously studied show that development at this time.

Religion, as distinct from ecclesiastical matters, is not as prominent in Brentano's account as the subtitle indicates. The author does analyze some surviving wills, to be sure. But the one significant holy native and relic Brentano turned up, for instance, is the obscure "Saint" Filippa Mareri (d. 1216), said to have imprisoned herself in her family palace and lived a holy life (cf. the comparable Cerchi woman in Florence). And the only hometown heretic, the Paolo Zoppo "chosen" for that role (p. 263) by the anti-Fraticelli Franciscan Inquisitor, seems worthy of note not because he allegedly convinced women to piously disrobe and lie with him, but because of the unusual accusations of bestiality (p. 237) against him and because he is said to have ordered at least one of the women in question to kneel or genuflect five or six times in his presence—presumably an instance of combined prayer and sexual gesture (p. 241). But evidence of more conventional religious behavior proved hard for the author to come by in his limited sources.

The substance of the book is in fact concerned first with a painstaking, definitive reconstruction of the Rietine bishops' list, and how these prelates over two centuries went from being medieval landlords to home-town spiritual prelates to Roman appointees or curialists, and second, with the history and character of the cathedral chapter in the life of the diocese. Brentano casts the bishops as the transient element in the church of Rieti, the canons as providing its continuity. Importantly—and to this Florentine specialist surprisingly—he confirms that view by showing that in this period, several traceable canons of the cathedral served for most of their lifetime in the cathedral chapter and of course also as long-time canons in other Rietine collegiate churches.

Importantly if arguably, Brentano sees the chapter as that element of the diocesan clergy charged with praying in the cathedral; the evidence for such spiritual behavior (as distinct from comparable norms or from processional activity) of the chapter is meager here, as it is elsewhere in this period. Significantly, he pinpoints the first Rietine appearance, around 1300, of a group of cathedral chaplains (that is, as used in the ecclesiastical context necessarily priests as the canons were not), who not only said Mass and prayers in die new family chapels erected in this period, as Brentano indicates, but if as in other dioceses, probably here as well over time assumed the strictly spiritual tasks for the whole cathedral in a division of labor with the canons typical of late medieval Italian churches. Still, the matter of what was a capella and what a capellanus in medieval Italian dioceses, and what was the relationship between urban and regional confraternities of chaplains and the diocesan

lower clergy as a body, questions broached by the contemporary Véneto school of ecclesiastical historians led by Antonio Rigon, remains in need of much further study, as Brentano recognizes.

This opus of Brentano is indeed "eccentric," as the author says (p. xvii): Meritoriously in an age when some medievalists don't know Latin, in his text this author reproduces most of the original texts he describes in that very language. Perhaps more problematically, the text at times indulges a certain baroque verbality and punctuation that could be simpler. But this exhaustive study of a backwater medieval Italian diocese by such an unexcelled kenner of medieval Italian ecclesiastical history deserves all the praise it will receive, and this reader enjoyed and learned from every page. I too now have not only some knowledge of the Rieti diocese in the Middle Ages, but have formed an affection for that town that will lead me to it my next time in Italy.

Richard C. Trexler

State University of New York at Binghamton

Die Traditionen des Kollegiatstifts St. Kastulus in Moosburg. Edited by Klaus Höflinger. [Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, Neue Folge, Band XLII, Erster Teil] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1994. Pp. 65*, 374. Four black-and-white plates. Paperback.)

The monastery of St. Castulus, situated in Moosburg, less than twenty kilometers northeast of Freising, was mentioned for the first time around 800 in the Salzburg book of confraternity. The circumstances surrounding its foundation several decades earlier are obscure. It had been transformed into a collegiate church by 895, when Arnulf of Carinthia conferred it to Freising as a proprietary church. (Scholars had previously thought that the abandonment of the monastic life occurred only in the early eleventh century.) The extant Traditionsbuch was started shortly after 1202 in order, as the prologue states (entry no. 12), to preserve in a single volume a record of Moosburg's property transactions, but the scribe (M1) who compiled the first part of the codex (through entry no. 190a in the present edition) clearly used older collections because entry no. 35, which Klaus Höflinger dates circa 1090/98 to 1133, indicates that the names of the witnesses had been recorded in the "libro testificationis." The earliest notice is dated in fact 1039/52. Twenty-three scribes made an additional seventy-four protocolic entries between 1202 and 1291. However, only one notice is dated later than 1264.

Höflinger's edition adheres to the high scholarly standards of this series. In the introduction he discusses previous editions, describes the codex, identifies the twenty-four scribes, explains the origins and structure of the Traditionsbuch, analyzes its formulaic passages and legal content, provides a brief history of the house until its conveyance to Freising, lists its abbots and provosts, and

compares his numbering of the entries with their placement in the manuscript and in the two previously published editions by Max Freiherr von Freyberg. (Oddly, the latter published two slightly different editions of the Traditionsbuch in 1840.) Every entry is preceded by a lengthy headnote in which Höflinger dates the entry, lists the relevant literature, identifies the witnesses, etc. The planned second volume will contain Moosburg's sealed charters, which begin in the late ninth century, and the Urbar of 1359, its oldest manorial register. In short, Höflinger's edition is a valuable resource for studying the social structure of the Bavarian heartland, in particular the ministerialages of the bishops of Freising, the Wittelsbachs, and the counts of Moosburg, who were the advocates of the church.

Nevertheless, I had a number of reservations about the edition. First, I wish that Höflinger had extended his history of the house from 895 until the end of the thirteenth century, that is, the period with which the Traditionsbuch deals, and discussed such topics as the social origins of the canons and the house's relations with its advocate (the counts' residence adjoined the church [no. 199])· In particular, I am curious about the circumstances surrounding the compilation of the Traditionsbuch. Frequently, such collections were started when a house was reformed (for example, in Salzburg when Archbishop Conrad I introduced the Augustinian Rule into the cathedral chapter), but Moosburg was, as far as I can tell, anything but a reformed house. There are several references in the entries to the canons' wives and children (see nos. 27, 45, 94, 100, 138, 176, and 181). In fact Dean Otto indicated around 1210 that he was the son of Dean Ulrich (no. 206). My guess is that Provost Conrad, who reorganized in the 1190's Moosburg's pittancery (Oblei) (no. 171), the collegiate office that dealt with the performance of anniversaries and the payment of the prescribed pittances (it was known as the "tercius panis"), ordered the compilation of Moosburg's previous transactions because nearly all of the post-1202 notices are concerned with donations to the "Third Bread."

If I am right, this raises doubts about Höflinger's decision to list the entries in chronological order rather than their actual placement in the manuscript. Höflinger justifies his decision on the grounds that Ml copied the entries according to no discernible geographic or thematic structure but chronologically as he understood it (p. 65*). However, if the Traditionsbuch served not only as a legal record of Moosburg's acquisitions, as the prologue states, but also a memorial function (on this point, see most recently Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium [Princeton, 1994]), then it is of interest to know how the canons themselves arranged the notices. It is precisely the study of such groupings that has shed new light in recent decades on the structure of the medieval aristocracy and the way medieval people perceived their world. Finally, I question Höflinger's decision to summarize in his edition as entries 1 through 11 notices taken from the Traditionsbücher of Freising and Regensburg that relate to the history of the house prior to 1027 and two entries, dated around

1180, from the collection of the abbey of Schaftlarn (nos. 141 and 142). Although these notices provide important information about Moosburg (the Schaftlarn notices show that Moosburg, in spite of its moral failings, had an important school), these entries further obscure the actual content and arrangement of the Traditionsbuch. It would have been better if they had been published in an appendix. In spite of these criticisms, I am grateful that Höflinger has made the codex more accessible.

John B. Freed

Illinois State University

The Church and Social Reform: The Policies of the Patriarch Athanasios of Constantinople. By John L. Boojamra. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1993- Pp. x, 181. «30.00 cloth; $19.95 paper.)

This excellently researched, coherently discussed, highly readable, and beautifully produced monograph should be of interest to theologians and historians of the Middle Ages of both the Greek East and die Latin West. It also deserves a place in every theological library. Ecclesiastical historians can adopt it as supplementary reading in their courses.

The theme of the book is the religious, social, and ecclesiastical reforms of Athanasios I, an extraordinary Patriarch of Constantinople (1289—1293; 1303-1311). He served at a time when the state was in constant turmoil, fighting enemies from all sides, and the Church was the only stable institution, even though it, too, faced several internal and external problems.

Dr. Boojamra examines Athanasios as the protagonist and the spokesman of those who realized that the Empire was in constant decline and that the Church, as the only enduring institution, could spearhead not only ecclesiastical but also social and even political reforms.

One hundred twenty pages of text and nearly forty pages of footnotes are divided into seven chapters including a lengthy introduction and a very well argued conclusion. In his "Athanasios and Political Ecclesiology" Boojamra discusses the Patriarch's attitude and policy toward church-state relationship in the context of the long-standing Byzantine tradition which emphasized the principle of dyarchia and harmonía in the relations between die two arches (church and state). Though Athanasios subscribed to the harmonious relationship between Church and State, his work reflected his convictions that political instability and economic and military catastrophes arose from a failure of ethical, social, and theological purity. For him hierosyne (church) and basileia (state) constituted a Christian commonwealth and could not be divided. But with die decline of the State, Athanasios moved into die political life of the Empire. Boojamra sees this as the beginning of the trend which ultimately after 1453 made die patriarch, as the head of the millet, responsible

for the social [not political as Boojamra indicates] and religious life of all Orthodox Christians under Ottoman Turkish rule.

Dr. Boojamra credits Athanasios with an effective policy which determined the process followed by other eminent patriarchs such as Isidoros, Kallistos, and Philotheos who guided the Church to pursue a policy independent of the government's. Notwithstanding several problems and hostilities against the strict patriarch, Athanasios' reforms are considered as "fundamentally successful." Perhaps with an element of hyperbole, the author sees them as "the culmination of the spiritual, moral, and political life of the Orthodox Church of Byzantium and the foundation for the development of a reform movement that prepared a purified Orthodoxy to face the threat of an Islamic overlordship and for the genuinely new role of leadership in secular matters of the church" (pp. 154-155).

In my Poverty, Society and Philanthropy in the Late Mediaeval Greek World (New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1992) I devoted several pages to Athanasios, and I fully agree that he deserves our admiration for his accomplishments in a most critical period of the Empire's history. The hostility toward Athanasios was the result not only of his "monastic" or puritanical mentality but also of a climate that encouraged secularism and distrust of the Church. The designations "Christian" and "secular" people can be traced back to at least the ninth century. Beliefs and traditions, both political and religious, were not questioned for the first time. The Byzantine Empire was never a monolithic and static organism.

Some of the problems the Church faced during the last two centuries of the Byzantine era were the result of the Church's failure to see that times had changed. Athanasios' letters and proposed programs indicate that, in a prophetic manner, he tried not so much to change structures and reform institutions as to metamorphose persons and create a new society, the basis of Church and State institutions.

Demetrios J. Constantelos

The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey
Pomona, New Jersey

Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom: A Reading of the Apocalypse Commentary. By David Burr. [Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 280. »39.95.)

In this thoughtful and well-written book David Burr continues his examination of the life and works of the influential Franciscan theologian Peter Olivi. It is without doubt the best study of the Lectura super Apocalypsim yet produced.

Olivi's Apocalypse commentary is his best known, most difficult, and most controversial work. It was the occasion of his posthumous censure for heresy in 1326. Unfortunately, the work is not readily available. Raoul Manselli's 1955 monograph has been the most complete study of Olivi's work to date, and Burr undertakes his book in part to update Manselli. But Burr is also concerned to illuminate areas obscured by Manselli's sometimes apologetic approach, and to consider the Apocalypse commentary within the context of contemporary mendicant exegesis.

Burr's first three chapters provide this context, skillfully analyzing the early influence of Joachite writings among Franciscans and describing the "respectable" apocalyptic commentary of Franciscan exegetes contemporary with Olivi. Here Burr draws upon a wealth of printed and manuscript materials, including the commentaries of John of Wales, John Rüssel, Raymond Rigaud, Matthew of Aquasparta, William of Middleton, and Vital du Four. Burr finds this Franciscan school to be closely related to die mainstream of Apocalypse commentary running back to Bede through Richard of St. Victor. Moreover, he is able to locate Olivi within this school, at least up to a point. This is one of die most important contributions of die book.

The next five chapters, which consider the commentary itself, demonstrate that Olivi diverged from contemporary Franciscan exegesis in several important respects. Whereas most other Franciscans placed themselves at the beginning of the fifth period of church history, Olivi diought he was at the beginning of die sixdi—the time of die coming of the Antichrist (actually, Olivi believed there would be two Antichrists) and the initiation of the renewal diat would reach fruition in the seventh period. This allowed him to include St. Francis as the founder of the sixüi period and die initiator of die renewal, as well as to weave his order, its rule, and contemporary Franciscan debates into odier aspects of the sixdi period in a way that fellow Franciscan exegetes could not. Here Olivi was clearly influenced by Bonaventure, who also believed that he was living in die sixdi period, and that St. Francis was its founder and the initiator of the renewal of the seventh period. But Bonaventure did not predict that the pope and most of the Franciscan order would reject true Franciscan poverty, or that this would trigger the destruction of die possessing church. Nor did he envision in such vivid detail the "peaceable kingdom" that the church's embrace of Franciscan poverty would produce during the last period of its history.

The book's final diree chapters treat Olivi's condemnation and its results. Here Burr displays great control of the sources for diis complex issue. He demonstrates diat the condemnation was not based upon a misunderstanding of Olivi's views, as is often claimed. The curial theologians who condemned Olivi clearly comprehended what they rejected: his vision of Francis as an apocalyptic figure heralding a new age and his identification of die Franciscan rule with the highest perfection taught by Christ to the apostles. Burr also presents a very judicious analysis of Olivi's relationship to the poverty con-

troversy of the 1320's. He finishes with a consideration of the impact of Olivi's condemnation on Franciscan exegesis.

Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom is a work of thorough and intelligent scholarship. It is an important contribution to the study both of Peter Olivi and of medieval apocalyptic thought.

Thomas Turley

Santa Clara University

Liber Secretorum Eventuum. By Johannes de Rupescissa. Introduction by Robert E. Lerner. Edited and translated (French) by Christine Morerod-Fattebert. [Spicilegium Friburgense. Textes pour servir à l'histoire de la vie chrétienne, Vol. 36.] (Fribourg, Suisse: Editions Universitaires. 1994. Pp. 326.)

As one who first discussed Johannes de Rupescissa with Jeanne Bignami-Odier in 1950, this reviewer must give a warm welcome to the first critical edition of one of his main works. Moreover, it is, indeed, a worthy tribute to Mdme. Bignami-Odier's pioneer work on Rupescissa. The Liber Secretorum Eventuum (abbreviated as LSE) has been edited and translated into French by Christine Morerod-Fattebert. Robert Lerner supplies a substantial historical introduction.

With his usual thoroughness Lerner first surveys, with full references, the fruits of research on Rupescissa's life and writings since Bignami-Odier's study. Much of this research is his own. For instance, Lerner points to an unpublished treatise by the Inquisitor, Nicholas Eymeric, as likely evidence for dating one of Rupescissa's early "revelations" to 1337 (pp. 24-25). Lerner calls Rupescissa "one of the most extraordinary and influential medieval eschatological prophets" (p. 13). His life was certainly extraordinary since, though imprisoned almost continuously from 1344 to ca. 1364, he produced a large volume of prophetic writings, which circulated widely and were very influential. The most curious circumstance of his life was the fact that, incarcerated at Avignon from 1349 "at the hub of the Christian ecclesiastical world" (p. 14), he was freely given facilities and materials for writing and was consulted by many leading ecclesiastics who could not keep away from the imprisoned prophet.

The LSE, the second of his writings, was composed, by ecclesiastical command, immediately after his arrival at Avignon and was completed on November 11, 1349. Intended primarily as an account of his visionary revelations (or "intellections"), it prophesies a future programme which Lerner summarizes in three periods, the first up to 1366 marked by the rise of the "great Antichrist," the second from 1366 to 1370 when Antichrist will reign openly,

and the third, the millennium of peace after 1370 which will last for a thousand years.

Lerner places Rupescissa firmly in the tradition of Joachimist expectation as interpreted within the Franciscan Order. But this politically oriented prophet goes further than his predecessors in the precision of detail he lays out in his programme. The great Antichrist is Louis of Trinacria, King of Sicily. Here Lerner investigates thoroughly the reasons for this strange choice, including the legend accounting for the unusual name, Louis, for a Hohenstaufen descendant and the numerical equivalents of its letters which can be made to add up to 666! (p. 56). Whilst giving a useful summary of Rupescissa's long and complex programme, Lerner remarks that there is no substitute for reading the LSE itself. Whilst extending Joachim's third status into a full millennium, Rupescissa does follow the abbot in expecting a final deterioration and a last Antichrist before the winding up of the saeculum.

The central problem which the Church faced in coming to terms with die Joachites was the nature of their inspiration. Joachim had repudiated the title of prophet and claimed only that the key to his exegetical method in interpreting the Scriptures was the intellectus (or intelligentia) spiritualis which he had received. But therein lay the rub. As Lerner points out (p. 42) there was a "strong inner tension" in Joachim's thought between the traditional interpretation of Scripture and the "new" (even superior) understanding which flowed from the intellectus spiritualis associated with St. John. In fact, Lerner underestimates this tension when he implies that, in Joachim's view, "John" would supersede "Peter." For Joachim it was essential that the "Church of St. Peter" should endure till the end of time; yet he could hardly avoid the implication that the intellectus spiritualis which he claimed for himself (and generally for the Church in the third status) bestowed a knowledge superior to that of the Apostles and the Fathers. This was what shocked Church authorities when confronted with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Joachites who sought to resolve the tension by more arrogant claims (e.g., Gerard of Borgo San Donnino) or more specific attempts to map out the future. Lerner sees the methodological trends of Joachite-Franciscan prophecy as reaching their culmination in Rupescissa (p. 49). He could even claim boldly that his "intellections" gave him a clearer insight into the Last Age than St. Augustine had. In the LSE his overt methodology is the interpretation of Scripture in the light of these "intellections." What he conceals are his extensive borrowings from earlier Joachite writers, notably Olivi and Arnold of Villa Nova. The ambivalence of ecclesiastical authorities toward these claims to "new" prophetic knowledge is clearly illustrated in the treatment of Rupescissa and his LSE: instead of suppressing the work as heretical, they allowed it to circulate and encouraged Rupescissa to embark on a lengthy continuation. Earlier in the century, the difficulties encountered in die condemnation process of Olivi's Apocalypse-commentary illustrate the same ambivalent attitude toward

these radical prophetic visionaries. Indeed, the problem dogged the Church right through the later Middle Ages. To claim knowledge beyond that of the Apostles and Fathers was certainly arrogant, but was there no room for further prophetic vision? How to "test the spirits" was still not wholly clarified in the Fifth Lateran Council's decree on prophecy in 1517.

Lerner discusses two further questions: first, the extent to which Rupescissa can be regarded as the chief exponent of "French Joachimism." There can be little doubt of his pro-French stance in general, but Lerner enters the qualifications that this was not so unique and that in his final millennium, French agencies of reform have disappeared. The second question is discussed under the heading of "Literal Millennialism" (pp. 70 ff.). Although using the key texts (Apoc. 20) in support, it must be emphasized that Joachim's "proof" of the third status to be "given" between the defeat of the great Antichrist and Last Judgment is based on a Trinitarian interpretation of the total historical process rather than on any one key text. Lerner does not seem quite clear on this crucial point, but rightly finds die link between the Joachimist Sabbath Age and the older millennialist tradition, first explored by Olivi, fully developed in Rupescissa's LSK

Dr. Morerod-Fattebert presents an exemplary critical edition of the LSE based on six main MSS. and other extracts and summaries. In their present locations the six MSS. (all fifteenth-century) range from Upsala to the Vatican. The Swedish text appears in a prophetic collection associated with St. Birgitta. A Milanese MS. was copied in 1496 by a physician, Bartholomew Trottus, with an interest in eschatological themes, including the conflict between Church and Empire. In Turin the well-known jurist, Tebaldus, also included the LSE in a collection of prophetic writings. Finally, a Catalan translation in the Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, Carpentras, points to the Joachimist connection across the Pyrenees. All the apparatus of variant readings, spellings, and punctuation are properly in place, and a French translation accompanies the text.

Lerner's critical introduction, together with Morerod-Fattebert's excellent edition of the LSE, will make Ulis book the definitive study of this strange Franciscan-Joachite until his later works receive similar treatment. Winding up his introduction, Lerner claims Rupescissa to have been the "most forceful and original late medieval representative of the Joachite-Franciscan tradition" (p. 85). The claim to originality seems to be based on his adoption of "literal millennialism" and his expectation that the millennial kingdom would be transferred to Jerusalem. Neither of diese ideas was entirely original. For the specificity of his prophetic programme Rupescissa may well be the "most forceful" of the Franciscan Joachites, but in his blending of Joachim's spiritualis intellectus with the Christocentric passion of the Franciscans and in the depth of his intellectual vision, Olivi was surely the more profound thinker.

Marjowe Reeves

St. Anne's College, Oxford

Julian of Norwich's "Showings": From Vision to Book. By Denise Nowakowski Baker. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 215. 829.95.)

After having been little read or studied from the time of its composition up through the middle of the twentieth century, the Book of Showings of Julian of Norwich has been the subject of numerous books and articles in recent decades. Denise Baker's work, however, stands out from the others for a number of reasons. For one thing, Baker (an associate professor of English at the University of North Carolina, Greensboro) carefully situates A Book of Showings historically within the whole movement of affective spirituality that was so evident in earlier medieval writers like Anselm of Canterbury, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Bonaventure. Indeed, close correspondences between parts of Julian's text and the works of some earlier authors enable Baker to argue convincingly that Julian was very familiar with the literature of affective piety and so was not the utterly "unlettered" person she has at times been taken to be. Baker also provides black-and-white illustrations of some medieval English religious art to show how such art helped shape what Julian saw in her visions, even though it was almost certainly Julian's own meditation on Christ's passion rather than die artworks themselves that was the primary catalyst for her visionary experience.

Most importantly of all, Baker examines at great length Julian's theodicy as this had developed over the twenty or more years that intervened between the composition of the short text of her treatise (probably written shortly after she experienced her "showings" in May, 1373) and that of the long text. Extensive additions in the latter, above all in revelations 13 and 14, show how radically Julian departed from the traditional Augustinian understanding of sin and evil. Whereas Augustine considers sin to be the evil assent of free will and accordingly seeks its origins in individuals who have inherited a propensity to sin and so have to suffer God's punishment or "wrath," Julian looks not to causes and consequences but rather to purposes and ends; her focus is on die divine pedagogy that allows sin to be a means of knowing oneself as well as the loving God who draws to himself all who will be saved. Julian even suggests the possibility of universal salvation; unable to reconcile tíiis rationally with the Church's teaching about eternal damnation for hardened sinners, she nevertheless insists that what is impossible for humans is altogether possible for God, who will "preserve [his] word in everything . . . and make everything well" (revelation 13).

Baker's sixth and final chapter is of a different character, being a detailed literary comparison of certain passages from the short text of the Showings with some from the long. With the help of four diagrams, Baker clearly shows that the "re-visioning" diat Julian gave to the long text was far from haphazard, representing instead an intricate interweaving of themes that can enable med-

itative readers to re-enact the gradual enlightenment that came to Julian herself during her years of ruminating over the material.

Extensive notes and a fourteen-page list of works cited are indicative of the scholarly care that went into the making of this book. Anyone interested in die serious study of Julian's treatise will find this book extremely valuable.

James A. Wiseman, O.S.B.
The Catholic University of America

Early Modern European

Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy: The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini, 1453-1524. By K. J. P. Lowe. [Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 314. $5995.)

Professor K. J. P. Lowe accurately entitles her work; every page of her thoughtful biography emphasizes die political nature of Francesco Soderini's ecclesiastical career, and the nepotism, patronage, and devotion to the Florentine cause that guided it. Exploring archives and libraries in Florence, Rome, Vatican City, and elsewhere, the author paints a sharp and vivid portrait of the Cardinal of Volterra—frugal, astute, cautious, and yet passionately loyal. What is missing is any hint of a priestly vocation.

The first half of the book (Parts I through III) traces the life and career of Francesco Soderini. A member of a family active in Florentine politics and business from the thirteenth century, Soderini abandoned his incipient career in civil law for one in the Church at age twenty-four, when his father's friend, ally, and patron, Lorenzo de' Medici obtained his provision to the bishopric of Volterra. Soderini moved to Rome in 1481 and steadily acquired curial offices, a widening circle of friends, clients, and patrons, at the same time working for the interests of Florence, first Medicean Florence and then in support of the revitalized republic. Of the nine embassies he undertook for his home city between 1480 and 1503, the most significant were those to France. Soderini never neglected the French connection thereafter and fostered and maintained it with three kings for the rest of his life.

Soderini, then, had acquired considerable authority and status in Rome when Alexander VI elevated him to the cardinalate in 1503· For the next seven or eight years the Cardinal of Volterra wielded significant power in the interests of his family, Florence, and the French cause. This all ended abruptly in 1510 and 1511, when Pope Julius II turned against France and, as a consequence, the Florentine republic. As it happened, Soderini never again enjoyed a strong voice in Rome. The expulsion of the French and the fall of the republic in

1512, and the election of Giovanni de' Medici (now a bitter enemy) as Pope Leo X a few months later effectively thwarted all of Soderini's causes. The startling and dramatic depths to which Leo X and the Medici adherents descended in opposing the Soderini clan amounted to nothing short of persecution. The election of Adrian VI in 1521 provided only moderate relief, because die College of Cardinals was now filled with Medici nephews and clients, and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the future Pope Clement VII, had far vaster resources in wealth and patronage than Soderini and his followers. The final humiliation was Soderini's incarceration in the Castel Sant'Angelo in 1523 by the suspicious Adrian VI. The elderly cardinal was released and lived just long enough to see his old enemy elected to the see of Peter.

The second half of the book deals with Soderini's official life as a prince of the church, his accumulation of benefices, his real properties within and outside die city of Rome, his private and personal possessions, and his intellectual pursuits. The picture that emerges is one of a survivor. Soderini never neglected his ecclesiastical duties, nor his concerns for his clients, his retainers, or his family. He accumulated a small fortune, almost all of it from ecclesiastical benefices, and used it to build a fine patrimony for his heirs. Soderini managed to become a relatively rich cardinal—certainly a rich man—during a career that was beset by repeated political disasters.

Professor Lowe has presented us widi an excellent and elegant piece of scholarship. Her work is endlessly informative, carefully wrought, and engaging—even gripping—throughout. The Soderini we see here is close to the man his contemporaries admired or feared, a man known for his political shrewdness, his fine speaking ability, his careful observance of the requirements of his profession, his personal integrity, and his fidelity and loyalty to his people and to his causes.

Barbara McClung Hallman

California Polytechnic State University
San Luis Obispo

Louis XII. By Frederic J. Baumgartner. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 319. «3995.)

Louis XII, who reigned from 1498 to 1515, was, with the possible exception of St. Louis, the most popular king ever to sit upon the throne of France. In spite of a nasty annulment at the beginning of his reign, he quickly won the love and respect of his subjects by reducing taxes and ruling justly. He refused to accept 300,000 livres for his joyous accession to the throne, gave his subjects a ten percent reduction in the taille when he married rather than try to wrangle a wedding present from them, and when he quelled a revolt in Genoa more rapidly than expected, he canceled an increase in taxes that

he had ordered. To Louis the principal role of a king was to render justice. To further this goal he had many customs redacted and created several provincial Parlements. In the estates of 1506 he was called the father of his people. Well into the next century there were frequent requests to reduce taxes to the amount levied during his reign, and he was held up as a model of what a king should be. With so many accolades the question arises of why he has been so neglected by French scholars, and we have had to wait until now to have a biography in English. The answer probably lies in the fact that Louis's values differed from those of most historians. To them he sacrificed the interest of France to pursue his interests in Italy. To Louis, however, France was his "estate," and it was sensible to make a few sacrifices around its borders to win the duchy of Milan, which he regarded as equally his lawful possession. Then too, a king who loved his wife and retired after an early meal and a little music or poetry was nowhere near as attractive a subject for the biographer as his thoroughly selfish, flamboyant, womanizing successor, who spent money wildly, even though this successor was equally enamored with Italy.

With Baumgartner's biography this lacuna is removed. As the most prolific historian of his generation of this period of French history, he is thoroughly familiar with the sources and the intellectual climate of the era. His account is mostly one of wars and diplomacy, but this emphasis reflects Louis's life. There are also discussions of taxation, government, the Gallican church, and of course his relations with the papacy including the Council of Pisa. The study contains few surprises, but Baumgartner is a good storyteller with a gift of finding amusing anecdotes. We learn that when Louis XI reluctantly held his namesake and eventual successor at his baptism, the baby wetted his sleeve and the Spider King fled in disgust without waiting for dinner. Or again we are told that the court gossip was that an apothecary gave the already tiring Louis XII a laxative rather than the intended aphrodisiac on his wedding night.

I can find few faults with this well-organized, well-written biography. One could wish that Baumgartner had penetrated behind the written documents to give us more insights into Louis's character. One also wonders if he did not miss an opportunity when he failed to explore Louis's patronage more fully. In 1497 pensions came to 498,000 livres, but by 1511 Louis had cut them to 105,000. Some nobles grumbled about their miserly king, but Louis's reign was among the most peaceful internally in French history. Could it be that a king who governed frugally, honestly, and well could maintain the peace without an elaborate and expensive patronage system to bind the body politic together? Or should we attribute Louis's success to the era in which he lived? There was still land to be brought into cultivation to satisfy noble and peasant alike, while soon it became necessary to divide peasant lots among an ever growing population. This forced rents and grain prices up to the profit of the nobility, but it impoverished peasant and urban worker alike. If it was the era,

we can credit Louis with little more than not making matters worse, but that is more than we can say for most kings.

J. Russell Major

Emory University, Emeritus

William Tyndale and the Law. Edited by John A. R. Dick and Anne Richardson. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, Volume XXV.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers. 1994. Pp. xii, 135. Í35.00.)

This is mostly a helpful collection of essays, worthy of a university library. Given the broad theme of the book, however, it suffers from having too many contributors from departments of English, and none from law, political science, church history, or theology, though there is a clergyman. Tyndale's purposes were not primarily literary, or even political, but theological and spiritual. There is, however, a theological ignorance which pervades the book.

Anne Richardson is anachronistic in seeing Tyndale as a crusader for human rights. His concern is not political but spiritual: persecutions impeded the freedom of the gospel. But to reason from that to a concern for universal individual rights which are blind to all religious, moral, and spiritual distinctions is unjustified. His concern is not for human rights à la the Bill of Rights or the United Nations 1948 Declaration, but the rights of the gospel. Tyndale is hardly a "prophet of modernity" for advocating trial by jury, which was introduced as far back as 1275 (pp. 17—18), and the right against self-incrimination, which dates back to canon law (p. 23). Richardson calls Tyndale's message "the gospel of modernity." That is certainly to be found in the writings of Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke, but Tyndale's is the gospel of the New Testament, i.e., not of modernity but of Christian antiquity.

Donald Dean Smeeton offers a very clear exposition of Tyndale's presentation of the New Testament understanding of the Christian moral life, or the relationship between law and love. Gerald Hammond fills out this thought in his study of Tyndale's Deuteronomy, commendable reading for scholar and saint alike. Peter Auksi usefully distinguishes between Luther's hyperbolic deprecation of reason, i.e., "human stupidity," and Tyndale's advocacy of what Auksi calls "a proper, modest use of reason" (p. 44). James Andrew Clark's essay is an informative look at Tyndale's place in the spectrum of approaches to translation, ranging from narrow or lexical ("verbum pro verbo") to broad or semiotic. "Despite his trust in his mother tongue, however, I think that Tyndale knew that as translator he could not offer unmediated access to God's word or avoid linguistic multiplicity" (p. 66).

The least worthy inclusion of this collection is Richard Duerden's essay on bridging the division between religion and politics in Tyndale's Obedience. A

professor of English, he is writing on theology and politics apparently without a competent understanding of either one. For example, he refers to God's justice when in fact speaking of God's mercy, confusing the two. This is a grave error. He sees justification by faith alone as something opposed to "an active faith operative through love" (p. 70). He identifies the distinction between religion and politics as that between value and fact, an identification which is anachronistic and, even on its own terms, grossly unfaithful to Tyndale's thought in particular, and to the Reformation is general.

Finally, John Dick's essay on Tyndale's examination of Henry's marriage in Practice of Prelates is characteristically illuminating. Contributors also include Rudolph Almasy, David Daniell, and John Day.

David C. Innes

Gordon-Contvell Theological Seminary

The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1535 to 1657, January—December 1525. Translated by Alexander Dalzell; annotated by Charles G. Nauert, Jr. [Collected Works of Erasmus, Volume 11.] (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 476. $110.00.)

This is Volume 11 in the Correspondence series of the Collected Works of Erasmus, the vast project which the University of Toronto Press has been publishing since 1974. It contains 126 letters surviving from the year 1525, 89 of which were written by Erasmus. Their enumeration is that of Allen's Erasmi Epistolae, and they are translated (with one exception) from the Latin text in the first half of Allen's Volume 6. There are a short preface and an extensive index, and the volume is well illustrated. It is a worthy addition to this remarkable publishing enterprise.

The year covered by the letters in this volume was a troubled one. Erasmus "sat uneasily at Basel" throughout the year. He still suffered from kidney stones, and the German Peasant War with much of the conflict nearby made travel hazardous. He was also concerned about the spread of Protestant reform in Basel, and at the same time he was under continuing attack by his numerous Catholic antagonists. He was in the unenviable position of being buffeted and maligned by both sides. See, for example, letter 1576. Religious controversy, however, with Erasmus staunchly defending his orthodoxy dominates the correspondence of this fractious time. A very lengthy exchange with the Paris theologian Noël Béda, one of Erasmus' most formidable critics, is a highlight, as is an exchange with Conradus Pellicanus, a former friend and associate turned Protestant reformer. Erasmus' first letter to Pellicanus (letter 1637) is a forthright affirmation of his adherence to Catholic doctrine.

After reviewing the ten previous volumes in the Correspondence series for this journal, I must confess that I found the present volume less interesting

than its predecessors. This was due to the somewhat narrow and repetitious focus of so many of its letters. They lacked the variety and range of those gathered in the earlier volumes. It was indeed an unhappy year, and we might note that even Erasmus' scholarly productivity during this time was meager. This is not the whole story of the volume, however. There are some other letters of importance in it, and the whole, to be sure, is a contribution to a broader understanding of the great humanist and his times. We can certainly be grateful for it.

John C. Oun

Fordham University, Emeritus

Davidjoris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524-1543. By Gary K. Waite. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 1990. Pp. xi, 235. US »32.50; Can. »27.95.)

The Anabaptist Writings of David Joris, 1535-1543- Translated and edited by Gary K. Waite. [Classics of the Radical Reformation, Volume 7.] (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press. 1993. Pp. 345. »3995.)

With Waite's biography and his recently published anthology, English-language literature on David Joris has at last reached a presentable standard. To get a historical perspective on Joris, an important sixteenth-century Dutch sect leader, a tactic was needed to avoid becoming lost in the labyrinth of his 240 printed works—most of them written in obscure "spiritual language" for the edification of his followers. Roland Bainton did not penetrate far beyond the colorful anticlimax of Joris' career, the years of disguise and comfortable exile in Basel. This is indicated by his characterization of Joris—"the heretic as hypocrite." The foundations for contemporary study of the Davidite movement were laid in 1983 with the appearance of Samme Zijlstra's monograph on Nicholaas Blesdijk, Joris' spokesman and son-in-law. A student of the religious socialist historian, A. F. Mellink, Zijlstra followed him in asserting that the Mennonites were not very important in Dutch Anabaptism before the 1540's, and that the leader who picked up the pieces after the fall of the Münster kingdom in 1535 was not Menno Simons but David Joris. David does, indeed, seem to have been the most prominent Anabaptist leader in Holland from 1535 until 1539, when persecution led him to seek refuge in Antwerp. Zijlstra's research uncovered a number of important writings of Joris and the Davidites, hitherto thought not to have survived the sixteenth century. Waite followed Mellink and Zijlstra in abandoning the Mennonite norm for study of early Dutch Anabaptism, and has encountered criticism from some evangelical historians for not taking a more "original" position over against Zijlstra. Scholarship is a co-operative enterprise, and, in this reviewer's opinion, to have abandoned Zijlstra's findings would have been perverse.

Following Zijlstra's book on Blesdijk, the ground was cleared for a modern biography of Joris. Waiv: produced it in 1990; there is nothing better in any language. A bit more than half of this biography, and its most valuable chapters, are devoted to Joris' years as an Anabaptist leader in Holland, 1535-1539· Waite shows Joris to have been a typical Dutch sect leader in the tradition of Melchior Hoffman, dominated by his proclamation of the looming apocalypse, obsessed by his own charismatic authority, and convinced that the Holy Spirit had raised him above mere biblical literalism. Although the Davidites did baptize adults, exercise church discipline, and organize congregations in the late 1530's, like other Melchiorites they oscillated between Anabaptism and Spiritualism. In later years Joris became entirely Spiritualist, rather like Sebastian Franck, 1SVhO influenced him.

The selections which Waite translates in his anthology of 1993 are those unusual writings of David Joris which provide historical information about him and his sect. Except for the last, the Apology to Countess Anna o/ Oldenburg, all of these writings either relate to, or were composed in, the late 1530's. They are the major sources for Waite's biography, and prior to the publication of his anthology most of them were not accessible in modern editions. For example, the anonymous biography (possibly a lightly disguised autobiography) of Joris was published previously only in a book of die German Pietist Gottfried Arnold from the early eighteenth century. The Response to Johannes Eisenburg (1537) and the Blessed Instruction for Hungering Burdened Souls (ca. 1538) were unknown to scholarship until they were rediscovered in libraries in Basel and Amsterdam by the researchers of the 1980's. On the other hand, the very important protocol of the 1538 disputation between Joris and the Strasbourg Melchiorites was known (but insufficiently utilized) by Bainton and is now available in a good critical edition in Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, Volume 15, as well as in Waite's translation. These sources substantiate important parts of the Zijlstra-Waite interpretation of Joris. They show him to be a full participant in the Melchiorite-Münsterite discourses about the promised David or the authoritative messenger of the apocalypse. They illustrate Joris' continuance of characteristic themes of the Münster Anabaptist spokesman Bernhard Rothmann, such as the subordination of women to men and die procreation of children without libido. Joris diought about sexuality in patterns reminiscent of the Munsterites. The contents of Waite's anthology show Joris as die nonviolent, spiritualizing heir of Münster Anabaptism.

James M. Stayer

Queen's University at Kingston, Ontario

Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility. By Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr. (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 272. $32.95.)

Rarely have rich private collections of family documents survived intact into the twentieth century; rarer still are the occasions when such caches fall into the hands of sensitive scholars. Specialists and students of early modern French history are therefore doubly blessed that a historian of Raymond Mentzer's calibre chanced upon the Lacger family archives back in 1976. The important book -which has resulted analyzes the complex evolution of a Huguenot family of the lesser provincial nobility as it struggled to reconcile its members' confessional beliefs with the abiding concern to preserve and—if possible—enhance the family's status through royal service. In tracing the saga of the Lacger from the early sixteenth century to the eve of the Revolution, a family whose experience was fairly typical of other local Huguenot elites, Mentzer provides a significant new interpretation of how concerns about kinship and religious choice, despite mounting official persecution from the crown, profoundly shaped early modern provincial political culture in France.

The Lacger family archives permit Mentzer to reconstitute the factors of royal officeholding, land acquisition, strategic marriage alliances, and confessional identity that underlay the Lacgers' ascent into the robed nobility of Castres during the sixteenth century. Personal as much as professional considerations motivated the Lacgers' eventual adoption of Calvinism as it swept through Languedoc after 1560. Despite the hardships posed by religious war, this commitment to Calvinism positioned the family to obtain judgeships in the Chambre de l'Edit, newly created by the 1598 Edict of Nantes. As the Lacgers prospered into the seventeenth century, different branches of the family began to move in divergent directions; some concentrated on securing venal offices; some chose military careers in the king's army; while others concentrated on cultivating local landed estates. This divergence carried over into marriage strategies as well, as some lines knitted alliances with distinguished Protestant houses like the Toulouse-Lautrecs, while others preferred to intermarry within the extended lineage in order to prevent a permanent dispersal of the family's patrimony. Inheritance patterns further reinforced the deep sense of family solidarity from one generation to the next. Investing in the education of family members, motivated as much by Calvinist piety as by professional needs, also strengthened the family's identity. Apart from the minor poet and jurist, Jacques de Lacger, none of the Lacgers ever aspired to intellectual leadership in either the world of Calvinist apologetics or the libertine milieu of courtly salons. However conventional it perhaps was, this premium placed by the Lacger on education enabled some of its members to become actively involved in the Academy of Castres, an institution which helped to foster spirited, though respectful, dialogue with local Catholic elites.

Mentzer demonstrates in intricate detail how this broad-based, variegated strategy of resource investment and marriage served to preserve a surprising measure of autonomy for the Lacgers when they later faced the cruel choices imposed by Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Some members of the family entered the ranks of the nouveaux convertis, while

others practiced a discreet Calvinism safely ensconced on their landed estates. In this way, royal persecution reinforced the family's provincial character; the unifying aspirations of Versailles paradoxically served to strengthen regional differences in the realm. Like Robert Forster's The Nobility of Toulouse, published a generation ago, Mentzer shows how equal portions of constancy and resilience enabled noble families like the Lacgers to endure through the upheavals of the Ancien Régime and beyond.

Michael Wolfe

Pennsylvania State University—Altoona

Die europäischen Mächte und der "Lange Türkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593—1606). By Jan Paul Niederkorn. [Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, Band 135.] (Vienna: Verlag de Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1993. Pp. viii, 559. Paperback.)

The "Long Turkish War" of Emperor Rudolf II from 1593 to 1606 was one of the many conflicts between the Empire, with the Habsburg states in the forefront and assisted by the Papacy, and the Ottoman Empire which were a feature of early modern European history and a part of die long contest between Christendom and Muslim powers. Niederkorn's purpose is to investigate, first, die efforts of the emperor and the pope to secure, from states not directly involved in the war, support in the form of alliances, troops, and subsidies; secondly, the response of these states; and, thirdly, the reasons behind their response. In doing this, he provides insights into the domestic as well as the foreign policy of the various states.

After brief remarks on the contemporary negative image of the Turks in Europe and a rather clumsy, annalistic treatment of the years 1590 to 1606, there follows a long chapter assessing the situation and role of the states that directly participated in the conflict: the Ottoman Empire, still despite its weaknesses perhaps the strongest military power in the world; the Ottoman vassal states, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia; the Empire and the Habsburg lands; and the Papacy, under Clement VIII (1592-1605) the principal advocate of war against the Turks. The balance of the book then is devoted to the European states: England, France, Spain, Venice, Tuscany, Ferrara/Modena, Mantua, and smaller Italian states, Moscow, Denmark, Poland, and the Knights of Malta. Each state is treated individually, a procedure the author justifies by his desire to make easily available to scholars his discussion of individual states without requiring them to read die whole volume, and the first four are discussed at considerable length.

Despite the rhetoric of Christian solidarity and the popularity of military campaigns against the Turks among large sectors of the European population, only the Papacy, according to Niederkorn, was not driven primarily in its

Turkish policy by its own security interests or by the pursuit of goals unrelated to the war itself. Clement VIII never conditioned support for Rudolf on the taking of measures against the Protestants in the Empire, and he saw in his advocacy of war against the Turks an opportunity to exercise his role as padre commune of Christendom in the post-Reformation era. The Papacy's financial contribution Niederkorn calculates at roughly 2.85 million florins, which was outdistanced only by the imperial estates with 20 million and Spain with 3.75 million. Spanish support, which increased significantly under Philip IH after the conclusion of peace with France (1598) and England (1604), was dictated above all, according to the author, not by religious or dynastic considerations but by the desire to keep the Turks occupied in the east and so uninterested in harassing Spanish territory in the Mediterranean. Venice withheld contributions not because of fear for its commercial interests in the Levant but of retaliatory attacks on its own territories; moreover, an increasing paralysis of the Venetian governmental apparatus hindered the taking of any effective decision at a time when secret aid to the emperor was seriously considered. Niederkorn devotes interesting pages to the machinations and rivalry of the English and French ambassadors in Constantinople, neither of whose states effectively supported the emperor.

This bulky volume is impressive in its scope and in the range of its sources both primary and secondary; occasionally it is excessive in its detail and seems to lose focus. A weakness is the lack of a map to locate the many unfamiliar places in southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean.

Robert Bireley, SJ.

Loyola University Chicago

Late Modern European

The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760—1857| By Peter Benedict Nockles. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 342. $59.95.)

There was a High Church before the Oxford Movement. The torch of orthodox Anglican Churchmanship had been passed through the eighteenth century by Nonjurors and Hutchinsonians to the Hackney Phalanx of the early nineteenth century. Then came the Tractarians in 1833, bringing a fresh spiritual vitality but sharply diverging from the old High Church on crucial points. More importantly, from Peter Nockles' standpoint, the Tractarians and their historians practically obliterated the old High Church from history, portraying their eighteenth century as a period of religious stagnation relieved only by the misleading emphases of the evangelical revival, until the rediscovery of true Anglicanism in 1833. It is Nockles' mission to recover the history of the old High Church and to trace the continuities and discontinuities

of the two High Church traditions. Perhaps the title and subtitle should be inverted, for the emphasis is on the context of continuity and not on the Oxford Movement.

Nockles, himself Roman Catholic and Assistant Librarian and Methodist Church Archivist at the John Rylands Library in Manchester, first surveyed this ground in a widely cited Oxford dissertation in 1982. Based on a wide range of reading, he has expanded and revised the work over a dozen years. He has also opened himself to new intellectual influences, notably the historical revisionism of J. C. D. Clark; his dependence on Clark may even be too much for that famous spinner of paradoxes. One sign of this is the way in which historical analysis has been transformed into historiographical debate. There is some justification for this in the manner in which the old High Church was written out of existence by Tractarian historians from Newman himself to Tom Mozley and Dean Church, swallowed whole by most twentieth-century historians. But Nockles' demolition of this tradition amounts to overkill and complicates the reader's task of following the development of the old High Church and its interaction with the new. Nockles' chapter structure, after the initial "Historiographical introduction," is topical in the manner of religious studies, pursuing a particular problematic from the beginning to the end of his period, and may thus appear repetitive to chronologically oriented readers. A complete bibliography would have been too exhaustive to publish, but he should have compensated for its absence by giving full citations once in each chapter, which might save one from hunting 300 pages back.

Nonetheless, Nockles makes a convincing case for his thesis of the continuity of the old High Church tradition (the Orthodox party, as it was called in the eighteenth century) and works out successfully the continuities and discontinuities between it and the Tractarians. In the process he recovers a number of important but neglected figures, in particular William Palmer of Worcester College. Neckles concludes that the Tractarians polarized the Church of England into sharply divided parties, tactically to the disadvantage of the High Church generally, but that they brought a spiritual dynamism which the old High Church could never have provided and which, in an age of romanticism, could evoke a response in the younger generation. It is a fair conclusion to a careful study which reserves its polemics only for historians, never for its subjects.

Josef L. Altholz

University of Minnesota

God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne. By R. Howard Bloch. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. x, 152. I24.95.)

As the jaunty subtitle suggests, R. Howard Bloch, professor of French in the University of California at Berkeley, focuses on some human interest aspects

of the life and work of Jacques-Paul Migne. He has woven together in a readable account a wealth of information about the immense energy and productivity of the publisher aptly known to his contemporaries as the "Napoleon of the prospectus."

Migne is remembered today mainly for the great Latin and Greek Patrologiae, but he actually published a number of other big collections (e.g., ninety-nine volumes of sacred orators) and reference works on an incredible number of subjects. Bloch brings out clearly the strong religious zeal that drove Migne in his endeavors: he wanted to do the Church "the greatest service in the world by reviving in toto its tradition," and thus produce a fully informed and competent Catholic clergy. Migne's very large printing plant, the Ateliers catholiques, was one of the largest businesses in France in the mid-nineteenth century, equipped with title latest mechanical steam presses and employing almost 600 workers.

In addition to the texts and reference works, Migne owned and edited some ten newspapers at various times, starting with L'Univers religieux in 1833. Infractions of laws regarding newspapers, and publishing things from other papers—he said it was a public service to assemble and digest news in a journal reproducteur—led to a police record that lengthened steadily over the years. His employees also sued him because of his low wages and some poor working conditions, and church officials disciplined him at times for things like some of his methods of fund-raising. These problems stemmed mainly from his ambition of making all his works available at low prices. He was extremely aggressive in his advertising and ingenious in creating ways for the customer to buy whole series of books.

Migne seems not to have been charged with plagiarism for the patrologies. Sleuth Bloch ascertains that, though most of the works had appeared in earlier collections, Migne in most cases did not act illegally when he published them. He always said that he used the best available editions, and did acknowledge the sources of his texts. Jacques-Paul Migne's work effectively came to an end with the disastrous fire of February 12, 1868, which destroyed his entire plant including the printing plates of the patrologies. Luckily, except for a few details, they were completed before that fatal night. Bloch concludes the book with useful comments about the place of Migne in the industrial and communications revolution taking place in France at that time. Though the whole book is short, it concludes with some twenty pages of meticulous references to archival and other sources.

Richard F. Costigan, SJ.

Loyola University of Chicago

Severino Fabriani nel bicentenario delta nascita: ilsuo tempo e I'educazione dei sordomuti. Atti del Convegno di studi, Modena, l6-17ottobre, 1992. [Accademia Nazionale di Scienze e Arti: Serie di fondamenti e filosofia della física, Vol. 9·] (Modena: Istituto "Figlie délia Providenza." 1994. Pp. viii, 405. Paperback.)

This hefty volume contains a series of papers presented at a studies congress in Modena, sponsored by the Daughters of Providence. The congress honored their founder, Severino Fabriani, on the 200th anniversary of his birth. Fabriani lived from 1792 until 1849, and distinguished himself not only by learning and personal holiness, but by his work in educating deaf children.

Fabriani was a lifelong resident of the Duchy of Modena and lived through many of the political vicissitudes of die formation of the Italian state. He entered the diocesan seminary at the age of 14 and excelled in his studies. Beginning a year before his ordination, he taught physics in die seminary until his health broke down in 1820. He lost his own voice two years later, a misfortune which stimulated his interest in the education of speech-impaired and hearing-impaired people.

He became director of a school for deaf girls in 1824, dedicating himself to what became his life's work. He was profoundly impressed with the possibilities of educating children who had largely been ignored or even considered insane! The remainder of his life (twenty-five years) was dedicated to strengthening his school's program and establishing the Daughters of Providence to carry on this important ministry in a professional and caring atmosphere. Among the distinguished visitors to his school was King Ludwig I of Bavaria.

It is unfortunate that the keynote speaker, Alberto Vecchi (of the University of Padua), was not able to provide a manuscript of his address, entitled "Deafness and the Salvation of the Soul." AU other talks and proceedings are included in the volume. Some of the lectures are fairly narrow in their scope, focusing on Fabriani's spirituality, scholarship, and love of art. Readers with a particular interest in the ministry to the hearing-impaired will find special value in the second day's offerings.

However, one specific paper may be of fairly broad interest. Giuseppe Orlandi of the Pontifical Lateran University presented a study of religious orders in the Diocese of Modena, covering the years 1770 through I860. This detailed and meticulously researched paper is divided into three parts, encompassing the last decades of the Ancien Regime, the Austrian and French occupations, and the restoration of the Este family, in the person of Francesco IV. Orlandi's command of archival sources is impressive, and his work fills fully 40% of the entire volume.

Like religious orders all over Europe, Modena's male and female communities came under intense pressure during the Enlightenment. In many cases,

there were houses with substantial endowed wealth, but relatively few religious living in them. Spiritual and intellectual formation was weak, and ministry was sometimes non-existent. Cases of outright immorality were quite rare (greatly outnumbered by examples of exemplary holiness), but the religious were generally perceived as useless and parasitical.

Beginning about 1770, officials in Modena set out to reduce the number of convents, give local bishops jurisdiction over the religious, and seize property seen as excessive. Within twenty-five years, the number of women in religious communities dropped from 1601 to 864, and the men from 878 to 305. In the same period, the total population of Modena grew almost 20%. As the religious grew fewer and older, die State essentially subjugated the Church to itself.

In 1805, die bishops urged the surviving nuns to convince the authorities of their social usefulness by taking charge of a school or a hospital, instead of merely following the monastic life. Napoleon's decree of 1810 secularized all orders which were not engaged in care of children, die poor, or the sick. During die Restoration period, convents were either strictly cloistered and contemplative, or dedicated to doing charitable work. Fabriani's congregation was one of the many groups founded for such a ministry.

It is significant that Fabriani struggled for many years to get his Daughters of Providence accepted by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The old anticlericalism was not dead, and the vigor of the restored Church required strict standards of formation. But die excellence of the Daughters' ministry finally convinced die skeptics, despite die turmoil of the time. Their work continues today as a memorial to Fabriani and his vision.

Leopold Glueckert, O.Carm.

Loyola Marymount University

A Very Civil War. The Swiss Sonderbund War of 1841. By Joachim Remak. (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 221. Î24.95.)

Joachim Remak has written an elegant, charming book about an important event which, until now, has received little or no attention from English-language historians. The "Sonderbund War" or, "War of the Special League," was an almost bloodless showdown between seven of Switzerland's conservative Catholic cantons (die Sonderbund') and the federal Diet which lasted only diree and one-half weeks in November, 1847. Remak believes diat the Swiss civil war was the catalyst for the revolutions of 1848 because the victory of die liberal and radical factions served as a great morale booster for their fellow travelers north and south of die Alps. James McPherson, die distinguished autíior of Battle Cry of Freedom, contributed die foreword to diis book. He thinks Üiat die events in Switzerland prefigured die American Civil

War in so far as they pitted the advocates of "state rights" (die Sonderbund') against the more progressive advocates of a stronger federal union. The eventual result of the latter's quick victory was a series of constitutional revisions which rendered Switzerland a stronger, more stable country. Another historical analogy comes to mind, namely, the Kulturkampf, the state-church conflict which raged in Prussia in the 1870's. This, too, was a constitutional struggle which started with sectarian overtones. The issues which triggered the conflict in Switzerland were religious: the secularization of monasteries in a Protestant canton; an invitation to the radical Protestant biblical exegete, David Strauss, to teach in Zurich; and, in response, an invitation to the Jesuits to find a new home in Lucerne, which was the heart of the Sonderbund. Remak notes that in those days the Jesuits did not conjure up visions of civil rights, hospitals, and universities and then adds (in something of a non sequitur) that "Father Hesburg and Notre Dame's Fighting Irish were a century and a continent away."

Remak views the program of the Protestant cantons as the march of progress and the key to future Swiss happiness and national unity. But this is not the point of his book. The Swiss demonstrated that the great issues of the mid-nineteenth century could be worked out in a spirit of moderation, mutual respect, and generosity. General William Henry Dufour conducted military strategy in such a fashion that actual fighting was almost irrelevant. The upshot was that the Swiss civil war generated a mere one hundred or so fatalities and about five hundred other casualties. Remak apologizes for a small amount of looting by noting that the Swiss "were and are a nation in which farm folk easily outnumber investment bankers."

Remak combines erudition with a light touch. His book contains many illustrations, cartoons, and maps. A Very Civil War was obviously a labor of love. Anyone interested in Switzerland will find it a pleasure to read.

David Kieft

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis

Anatomy of a Controversy: The Debate over "Essays and Reviews," 1860-1864. By Josef L. Altholz. (Brookfield, Vermont: Scolar Press, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1994. Pp. ix, 198. 85995.)

Josef Altholz again illustrates his virtuosity as a historian of Victorian religious life with a study of the Essays and Reviews controversy. This monograph represents a return to a subject on which Altholz had projected a major study in the seventies, but decided not to publish after the appearance of Ieuan Ellis' book on the Essayists, Seven Against Christ. It appears now as a more focused study: an anatomy of a controversy, as the title has it; that is, a study of controversy as controversy. As such, it has inherent interest. Religious

controversy was, as Altholz aptly says, "the great spectator sport of Victorian England." And Altholz puts his unrivaled knowledge of die ephemeral literature of Victorian religious controversy to work in tracing the emergence, the development, and the denouement of this controversy in the periodicals of the day and in the pamphlet war it generated.

Altholz announces that in his study he will largely eschew the substantive issues of the controversy. While they were important in their day, Altholz is certainly correct in judging that they are now passé. Indeed, in our own day it would take the greater effort of historical imagination to understand the position of the orthodox than it would that of the Essayists. Among the latter were the popularizers in England of the very mildest forms of biblical criticism imported from Germany. The orthodox, for their part, clung to the evidential apologetic of Bishop Butler and William Paley in its most debased and attenuated form. Their hero was Henry Longueville Mansel, who in his 1858 Bampton Lectures was thought to have vindicated the evidential school, but at the price of abandoning any effort to demonstrate the reasonableness of the content of the revelation certified by miracles and prophecy.

Even though the controversy enlisted some of the great names of Victorian churchmanship and stirred thousands of the clergy at least so far as to subscribe their names to a petition, it was, in the judgment of Altholz, largely futile. Few minds were changed^ and the controversy, he says, marked the exhaustion both of the Broad Church movement which precipitated it and of Anglican orthodoxy in whose name it was pursued. And so it may seem that to study the mechanism of the controversy—its propagation through the periodical press, the way in which it mobilized the body of clergy now constituted as a distinctive profession—is all that is left to do.

At the time, however, others judged differently. James Fitzjames Stephen, who assisted in the defense of the Essayists on charges of "contradicting the faith" in the Court of Arches and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, hailed their acquittal on appeal by the latter body as the "Magna Charta of honest inquiry in the Church," wherein the clergy were now "fully at liberty to criticize every part of the Bible." The Anglican Church was accordingly revealed as "an institution adapted, not for the teaching of any particular form of doctrine, but for the common worship of God by many people of very various theological views" (p. **I11**). The failure of Anglicanism to vindicate an orthodoxy however ill-conceived, despite the desire to do so of the overwhelming majority of bishops and clergy, proves that Stephen was right. If the dynamic of the Evangelical and Tractarian movements had been to redefine the Anglican Church as a confessing church, the outcome of the Essays and Reviews controversy was that it must always be a comprehensive one.

Jeffrey von Arx, S.J.

Georgetown University

Carnets du Journaliste Catholique Alexandre Delmer (1860—1889), Tome III: 1867-1869. Edited by Marie-Thérèse Delmer. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Fascicule 79] (Brussels: Editions Nauwelaerts; Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Erasme; Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek. 1994. Pp. 721. Fr.b. 1600.)

This third volume of the carnets of Alexandre Delmer (1835—1915) covers three years of his editing the foreign affairs section, "Bulletin politique," of the daily Journal de Bruxelles and his writing for the weekly Courrier de Bruxelles. The text is from eight of A. Delmer's notebooks and provides a look at the life of a Belgian Catholic who recorded his daily activities in more than sixty-four notebooks, much of it in shorthand. His granddaughter's editing is meticulous and her footnotes help to illuminate references made by A. Delmer.

As in the earlier volumes, Delmer reveals not only his views on the political questions of the day but also his personal worries and activities. Thus the reader learns of his religious practices (e.g., confessions and communions, retreats, visiting the poor), of his leisure activities (e.g., riding horseback, playing dominos, reading Balzac, Bossuet, and Victor Hugo), of the difficulties in his professional life (e.g., keeping a coherent, uniform viewpoint in the newspaper), and of his family, friends, and business associates.

Catholicism is the essential element in the life of this journalist, and he is conscious of his responsibility as a Catholic journalist. He views journalists not as shepherds but as "watchdogs who police the herd and keep the wolves away" (p. 316). More than once he expresses regret that he lives in a country of freethinkers. In the newspaper and in the political Association conservatrice, he advocates electoral reform (and, in particular, universal suffrage) as a means to counteract the liberal Belgian government which he perceived to be both anti-Christian and anti-national.

Unafraid to express publicly his political views, he is more hesitant about his religious views. He wrote: "In matters of religion, we can only conform to the decision of our pastors [i.e., bishops]" (p. 356). Thus as the controversy over the infallibility of the Pope emerges at the end of this volume, Delmer, although sympathetic to Dupanloup's position, believes that Catholic journalists should refrain from theological speculation and that they should wait for the decrees of the Vatican Council and then wholeheartedly submit to them.

In this volume as in the previous two, there are extensive indices (about seventy-five pages) of people, associations, and newspapers mentioned in these three years. Since there is no introduction to this volume, the introductory biography in Volume I is indispensable for providing a context for this volume.

Volume III continues the detailed observations of this conscientious Catholic journalist and ends with the opening of the Vatican Council. The next

volume will cover the momentous political and religious events of 1870 and 1871.

M. Patricia Dougherty, O.P.
Dominican College of San Rafael

Chrétiens dans la première guerre mondiale. Actes des Journées tenues à Amiens et à Péronne les 16 mai et 22 juillet 1992. Edited by Nadine-Josette Chaline. [Histoire religieuse de la France, 4.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 1993. Pp. 201. 135 F.)

The religious history of World War I in France has in the past focused on the importance of the war in mitigating the church-state conflicts that were so much a part of prewar politics. Although two of the essays in this collection deal with the interplay of politics and religion in wartime, most concentrate instead on the beliefs and practices of ordinary soldiers, chaplains, and civilians. The authors call on a variety of sources—diaries, letters, newspapers, literature—to illuminate the experiences of their subjects, and a number of them make excellent use of images as well. The holy cards, photos, and stained-glass windows reproduced in this book make it a rich visual source for anyone interested in the cultural history of World War I.

In her introduction Nadine-Josette Chaline notes both the religious revival that accompanied the outbreak of the war and the religious doubts that were sometimes provoked by the havoc that followed. Although the essays are not grouped by the editor according to theme or method, they do fall into rough general categories. Brigitte Waché and Jean-Marie Mayeur deal with the delicate political situation of Catholics who sought to remain loyal to France and the universal Church. Waché reviews the career of Denys Cochin, the Catholic deputy from Paris whose participation in the cabinet between 1915 and 1917 symbolized the union sacrée; Jean-Marie Mayeur shows how French Catholics interpreted and sometimes opposed the peace initiatives of Pope Benedict XV, when they were judged insufficiently sympathetic to French interests. The prestige of the papacy, considerable after a century of intensifying ultramontanism, was no match for the nationalist sentiments of French Catholics.

The most original contributions in this volume are those which show the links between nationalism and Catholicism in the devotional rather than the political domain. According to Annette Becker, the devotions popular with the soldiers reveal a "spirituality of the front" that sometimes aroused the suspicions of a clergy concerned about the taint of superstition. With the help of holy cards, which flowed back and forth between families and the front, soldiers invoked the standard symbols of nineteenth-century Catholicism—the cross, the Virgin, the Sacred Heart—in seeking to understand and alleviate their suffering. Becker's essay is a sensitive reading of soldierly devotions, but

the state of the evidence does not allow her to make any firm statements about the extent to which these were diffused throughout the armies. Becker avoids a functionalist perspective, never asking how these devotions might have assisted politicians and generals in the work of keeping soldiers fighting in the field. Many of the devotional images described by Becker show up also in Jean-Pierre Blin's piece on the stained-glass windows designed to commemorate the war. Artists worked suffering soldiers and scenes from the front into their representations of Christ, Mary, and the saints, but realistic details with which the dying were portrayed (uniforms, weapons, etc.) contrast with an idealized death without the blood and dirt of war. According to Blin, the artists and their patrons had agreed to "tacit self-censorship" (p. 172) in the face of the inadmissible realities of war. Frédéric Gugelot's case study of Henri Ghéon illustrates how Catholic devotions and liturgy, combined with the powerful example of practicing Catholics and the omnipresence of death, could contribute to the conversion of unbelievers. Ghéon's memoirs, analyzed closely by Gugelot trace his progress from a prewar estheticism and a close friendship with André Gide, to the reception of communion on the front at Verdun on Christmas Eve, 1917.

Two essays deal with the role of the chaplaincy in the war. Chaline contributes a valuable article on the struggles and partial successes by the French clergy to reach the front in the absence of a clear policy on the part of the government. Chaline's use of the correspondence left by the Jesuit Louis Lenoir is especially telling. One comment made by Lenoir, that "the soldiers most assiduous in their churchgoing were the bravest under fire" (p. 105), suggests a theme taken up by Laurinda Stryker in her piece on English chaplains in France. Stryker argues forcefully that these ministers provided a measure of continuity with ordinary reality which was crucial in fending off despair. Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau contributes a fascinating essay analyzing the nationalist/religious themes in Anais Nin's diary, which she had already begun at the age of eleven in 1914. Michel Lagrée explores the shifting attitude toward Protestantism, as French Catholics came to have a high regard for the tolerance and public prayers and ceremonies of the English.

This capsule summary cannot convey the richness of these essays, but it should suggest the importance of the issues raised, and the variety of perspectives and evidence available to historians as they pursue the religious history of France during World War I from the bottom up. There is no conclusion in the volume summing up the pieces, and the individual historians restrict themselves to modest generalizations that arise from their specific evidence. I came away from this book, however, persuaded that Christianity was a crucial moral force helping to keep the soldiers in the lines at the front and the civilians generally passive at home. This book raises questions, historical and contemporary, that merit further critical attention from historians and citizens.

Thomas Kselman

University of Notre Dame

American

Religion in a Revolutionary Age. Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. [Perspectives on the American Revolution Series.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the United States Capitol Historical Society. 1994. Pp. xvii, 350. $39.50.)

In recent years the United States Capitol Historical Society has treated students of the American Revolution to a succession of excellent studies covering the military and diplomatic conduct of the war, political, constitutional, and economic development, and topics such as slavery and gender. This volume, the tenth in the series, contains eleven essays originally presented at the Society's symposium on religion in Revolutionary America. On the whole they demonstrate the vitality of recent work on American religious history and the central place contemporary historians afford religion in interpreting the period ranging from the mid-eighteenth through the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Most of these carefully crafted studies are frankly revisionist in nature. The two introductory essays, for example, offer sharply contrasting surveys of the period. Cautioning against an overemphasis on evangelicalism, Jon Butler insists on the diversity and complexity of eighteenth-century religious experience. Amid the assertions of religious freedom, Butler discerns the continuing presence of authority, power, and coercion in both political and ecclesial bodies; he also emphasizes the popular beliefs in miracles and the occult that existed alongside widespread religious indifference and the rationalism and Deism derived from the Enlightenment. Patricia Bonomi's essay, on the other hand, challenges the recent conservative emphasis on Anglo-American cultural continuity. Reasserting the value of considering colonial religion in terms of American exceptionalism, Bonomi argues for the dominant importance of the dissenting religious tradition. These voluntary, lay-formed churches, operating under majoritarian principles and tending toward denominational fragmentation, helped form an American culture distinctly different from that of Britain.

The next three essays consider women, African-Americans, and Philadelphia's working-class. Elaine Forman Crane traces the religious motivation underlying women's unique and crucial contributions to the Revolution. This was also the formative period of Afro-Christianity, Sylvia Frey notes, and she stresses the central role played by slaves and free blacks in its construction and development. Ronald Schultz argues that religion offered Philadelphia's working class not just emotional release but significant moral support for labor reform. Schultz's essay focuses on the role of the Universalist ministers, and Paul Conkin regards Joseph Priestley's Unitarianism as the most appropriately radical religion for a revolutionary age, though its appeal was limited to Thomas Jefferson and a select few. But most of the authors restrict themselves

to the evangelical Protestant bodies that claimed the religious allegiances of the vast majority of church-goers. Robert Calhoon examines the "persuasion" of Southern evangelicals and how their distinctive mentality informed their political thought, found expression in congregational discipline and homiletics, and wrestled with the contradiction of slavery.

Several essays explore aspects of the Revolution's religious politics. Stephen Marini argues persuasively that the struggle over the ratification of the Constitution held an explicit religious dimension that cut across denominational lines, while Edwin Gaustad elucidates the contradictions and confusion over religion that marked virtually every state constitution as well as the work of the Confederation Congress and the Constitutional convention. M. L. Bradbury studies the impact of republican ideas on the church polities of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Baptists. In a thoughtful concluding essay, Ruth Bloch examines popular religious culture in terms of the historiographical debate over the relative importance of classic republicanism and liberalism in American Revolutionary ideology and argues that religion blended the themes of communitarianism and individualism.

The breadth of the material is extensive, though readers of this journal will regret the absence of any treatment of American Catholicism at a crucial moment in its formation. Those familiar with the work of the historians represented here will recognize many of these ideas; but the well-written and beautifully edited volume should prove valuable to the specialist as well as anyone interested in religious history and the Revolutionary era.

Thomas E. Buckley, SJ.

Loyola Marymount University

History of The Catholic Ladder. By Philip M. Hanley. Edited by Edward J. Kowrach. (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press. 1993. Pp. 246 [4]. »24.95; 814.95 paperback.)

In recent years, much has been said about visual aids for teaching as if the concept were something new. The production, then, of the Catholic Ladder by an obscure missionary in 1839 in the wilds of the Pacific Northwest should get appropriate attention.

This missionary was the redoubtable Father Francis Norbert Blanchet, later Vicar Apostolic of northwestern North America (1843) and then Archbishop of Oregon City (1846). Blanchet first devised his teaching aid on a wooden paddle, which he called "the Sahale Stick," or "Stick from Heaven," for the use of Indian visitors from Puget Sound, to help them remember the simple catechism he had taught them. Subsequently, he composed his lessons on butcher paper, still in a very simple form. But as time passed, assuming more

was better than less, he added more and more detail, ending up in his last edition of 1859 with a very complex broadside that defies the talent of an ordinary catechist to understand. Meanwhile, other missionaries in Canada, the United States, and Europe, having recognized the value of what Blanchet had produced, designed their own versions of what had become formally known as Ladders. Ladders appeared in English, French, Spanish, and even Russian at various dates, extending from their origin into the twentieth century.

The Ladder's presentation started at the bottom, using a system of bars and dots to represent centuries and years, with a sketchy history of the Old and New Testaments attached at the proper places, ending with the current theology of the Schoolmen, a narrow road leading Catholics into an enticing heaven and a broad road leading Protestants into a fiery hell. Protestant missionaries responded with their own Ladder, reversing the destinies of their followers with that of the Catholics. Their versions, which were never published, specialized in elaborate scenes of the pope and bishops falling headlong into the flames. These Ladders were seen by few and had little influence on the Indians.

On the other hand, Catholic Ladders enjoyed great influence with the Indians, who tended to take what they saw literally. One of the many causes of die Whitman Massacre of 1847 has been correctly attributed to the Catholic Ladder, because many Indians believed that the Protestants were going to hell anyhow.

Father Kowrach's edited account of Fadier Hanley's master's diesis, "The Catholic Ladder and Missionary Activity in the Pacific Northwest" (Ottawa, 1965), and his doctoral dissertation, "Frs. Blanchet and Demers and Missionary Preaching in Oregon" (Rome, 1965), is a happy achievement. Using the two academic papers, he has assembled his edited account, added photographs or facsimiles of various versions of Ladders, and retained Hanley's erudite footnotes. The latter are worth the price of the book, which in this reviewer's opinion, is a good bargain.

Some of the illustrations in this book appear to be inappropriate, but this is a small matter. The book deserves to be in Catholic libraries everywhere.

Wilfred P. Schoenberg, SJ.

Gonzaga University

"Come, Blackrobe": De Smet and the Indian Tragedy. By John J. Killoren, SJ. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 448. «2995; Í1795 paperback.)

John Killoren's study focuses on the career of the nineteenth-century Jesuit, Peter John De Smet, whom he views as a forerunner of twentieth-century

Jesuit activists. De Smet's lifelong passion was the welfare of Native Americans, particularly those who lived on the northern Plains and in the Pacific Northwest. He played a unique role as both a witness to and a participant in the events that drove the tribes from their lands and onto reservations. Blessed with a charismatic personality and an ability to accept people on their own terms without abandoning his convictions, De Smet easily won the friendship of people wherever he went. Native Americans looked upon him as a religious leader. Those in the Indian Service and the army valued his influence with the tribes.

The first part of Killoren's book deals with the Jesuit missions in the Northwest. In 1841 De Smet established a mission among the Salish in present-day Montana 'where he and his colleagues intended to develop a Native American Catholicism. But this effort to present the Gospel to the Indians in their own idiom was not successful. In the first place, the effervescent De Smet mistakenly equated personal affection for himself with a desire on die part of the Indians to convert to Christianity. And second, the Jesuits had not reckoned with a large and continuing influx of white miners and settlers into the region. With their hopes for a "Wilderness Kingdom" frustrated, they changed their strategy to one of trying to teach the Indians to live as non-Indians.

The second part of Killoren's study focuses on De Smet after 1849, when he was recalled to St. Louis, where he lived until his death in 1873. He was a prolific writer and became an exceedingly effective fund-raiser for the Western missions. At the request of the federal government, he had several assignments as an envoy to the Indians. De Smet accepted the commissions, hoping to persuade the tribes to make peace and so avoid even more loss of life and autonomy. But over the years he became increasingly dismayed by the callousness with which die federal government treated the Indians.

A subtheme of this book is Killoren's condemnation of the federal government for making no serious effort to implement its many treaty commitments to the tribes. Killoren rejects the usual explanations for the Indian tragedy, namely, that there was too little time, too little manpower and funding, too little effective control over the frontier, and too little unselfish concern on the part of Euro-Americans. In his view De Smet contradicts each one of those, and is an example of what might have been had more whites treated Native Americans with respect and justice.

While this is a well-researched and sound study, diere are some areas this reviewer found unsatisfying. One is that Killoren focuses so much on De Smet that he gives very little information or insight into the Native American perspective. Anodier flaw is that the text is sometimes difficult to read. In places it appears disjointed and the product of considerable abbreviating. It does not pretend to be a full biography of De Smet, but perhaps that was the intention of Killoren's original manuscript.

Because of his unique involvement in Indian affairs De Smet will always

interest those who seek to understand Indian-white relations in the nineteenth century. And despite its shortcomings, this is die best available analysis of De Smet's public career. The specialist and general reader alike will find the study useful and informative.

David M. Brumbach

Seattle, Washington

Adapted to the Lake: Letters by the Brother Founders of Notre Dame, 1841—1849- Edited and translated by George Klawitter. [American University Studies, Series DC, Vol. 141.] (New York: Peter Lang. 1993. Pp. xxx, 382. »67.95.)

The diaries, letters, and other primary sources in the archives of both men's and women's religious congregations are infrequently used respositories, even through they contain valuable material. Adapted to the Lake makes accessible 200 archival letters written from 1841 to 1849 by twenty Brother-founders of the Congregation of the Holy Cross in the United States. When they first came to America in 1841, the correspondents were young men; the oldest Brother was forty-four, while the youngest was a mere fifteen. The letters, most being translated from French, primarily were written either to Father Edward Sorin, the superior at Notre Dame, Indiana, or to Father Basil Moreau, the founder-director of the Congregation of Holy Cross at Le Mans, France. Arranged chronologically, they can also be read by using a listng of letters by author. A good introduction, a chronological table, a location of early foundations, and an historical index of names mentioned in the letters are also included to aid the reader.

That the frontier shaped American culture goes without saying, but how the frontier influenced American Catholicism is rarely discussed (recent articles by Brother Thomas Spalding, C.F.X., and last fall's issue of U.S. Catholic Historian are exceptions). These letters of young Holy Cross Brothers reveal the challenges of coping with frontier conditions. Travel was difficult and sometimes dangerous. Money was scarce (the Brothers often could not afford postage). Communication was slow (it took three months to get an answer from Moreau in France). Sickness was omnipresent. The number and quality of personnel available to teach in their schools was inadequate. Many struggles were relational: mistrust and misunderstanding between local bishops and pastors and the Brothers; bitterness toward their superior, Sorin; anxiety over permissions delayed by procrastination; constant financial preoccupations.

These Frenchmen's letters from the American frontier offer us fresh perspectives. Poverty for them was not an ideal to be discussed, but a daily reality to be lived, since the Brothers often lacked food, warmth, adequate clothing, or classroom equipment. What motivated them was neither success nor in-

dividual accomplishment, but a deeply ingrained spirituality based on the tangible presence of God through Providence, the will of their superiors, and their experience of the Paschal Mystery. The state of their spiritual lives was a frequent topic of discussion. These letter-writers are remarkably direct, frank, and honest in their complaints and in their recognition of their personal limitations. Like soldiers on the front, they were men who perpetually asked for permissions or awaited orders. Like soldiers, they saw themselves as part of a larger communal enterprise which demanded their self-sacrifice. Like soldiers, they often had an unflattering view of their leadership. The Brothers see a less perfect Sorin, unlike the unerring and righteous one presented in the recently published Chronicles of Notre Dame du Lac. Unlike the latter work by Sorin, these letters by the Brothers reflect the viewpoint of foot soldiers, not generals, a perspective which makes this volume valuable.

Michael J. McNaixy

St. Charles Borromeo Seminary—Overbrook
Wynnewood, Pennsylvania

Voices from the Catholic Worker. Compiled and edited by Rosalie Riegle Troester. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1993· Pp. xxii, 597. S49.95 clothbound; «22.95 paperback.)

Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker movement, the quintessential expression of North American Catholic renewal and social radicalism in the twentieth century, has again inspired a massive tome. Rosalie Riegle Troester's Voices from the Catholic Worker, an oral history in the Studs Terkel tradition, has taken a modified "bottom-up" approach to Catholic radicalism, having focused on Catholic Worker volunteers over its founder and longtime leader.

Drawn from more than two hundred interviews with Catholic Workers from throughout the continent, Voices offers a spectacular panoramic view of the enduring values of the movement since 1933. The ideas of more than 150 persons whose lives have intersected with the Catholic Worker are presented, a sampling of thoughts from a few generations of volunteers. Many of these narrators have their roots in satellite Catholic Worker houses, rather than in the original New York City group, where Dorothy Day presided for forty-seven years. Published thirteen years after Day's death, these interviews respectfully note her legacy without allowing her magnetic qualities to dominate the personal stories and perspectives of those who responded to the call to live in community and perform the works of mercy.

This book provides the best single account to date of Catholic Workers' principled yet diverse responses to human need at the local level. Having heroically reduced a hefty 6600 pages of transcript to nearly 600 printed pages, Troester managed to incorporate the findings of new scholarship into her interviews, chapter introductions, and notes. Wisely, Troester avoided the

hubris of complete inclusivity (recently there were 125 houses of hospitality scattered across North America, Europe, and Australia). The views of Catholic Workers who have regularly co-operated with other authors as well as many first-time narrators successfully present topical "roundtable discussions" in the Catholic Worker style.

These conversations, loosely fitted into five major parts and thirty-one chapters, illuminate the recent past of the widespread Catholic Worker network more than the origins and evolution of the New York Catholic Worker, the concern of most previous works on the movement. Only about twenty percent of the work is devoted to "history."

Voices irresistibly engages readers in the work and values of the movement (spirituality, hospitality for the poor, resistance, and community life). Building on insights from Harry Murray's fine comparative analysis of the Catholic Worker, Do Not Neglect Hospitality (1990), the work is devoted to exploring diversity within the movement: rural and urban houses, contemplatives and activists, and even Catholic Worker families and children. Besides offering a range of Catholic Worker thinking on issues central to its existence, Troester skillfully guided conversations into sensitive contemporary topics, such as abortion, feminism, sexuality, and the bottom line of Catholic belief.

Inevitably, the genre itself is the book's greatest strength and weakness. Voices from the Catholic Worker is a breathtaking collection of documents about the lives and works of members of one of the most significant radical lay religious communities ever conceived on the North American continent. Still, the engaging conversations must be treated as critically as any archival document or printed source, since oral histories are hardly immune from factual errors and biases. Engrossing and deeply personal, Voices should be read by anyone interested in contemporary Catholicism or social activism. Rosalie Troester should be saluted for this valuable and convenient volume and her thoughtful gift to Catholic Worker scholars of the unedited transcripts, deposited in Marquette University's Dorothy Day-Catholic Worker Archives.

Anne Klejment

University of St. Thomas
St. Paul, Minnesota

For God and Country: 150th Anniversary of the Society of the Precious Blood in the United States of America. Books One and Two. By Paul Link, C.PP.S. (San Leandro, California: Author, Province Center, 2337 West Avenue 134th, 94577-4132. 1993. Pp. viii, 183, A 12; xii, 184-372, A 25. 89-95 each paperback.)

"An immense multitude of men, a series of generations that passes unobserved without leaving any traces is a sad but important phenomenon: and

the reasons for such a silence can be even more instructive than many historical discoveries." The phrase written by the famous Italian writer Alessandro Manzoni, whose fame as a novelist overshadowed his historical research and assertions, comes to mind whenever Father Link puts ink on paper.

First he gave us a book about an Irish-born missionary, Patrick Hennebery (see ante, LXXVII [July, 1991], 549), unknown to most people, who contributed to the lives of the immigrants in the United States in a special way. Now he gives us the history of a small group of missionaries of the Precious Blood who undertook to give their services to the American military.

To my knowledge, until now, no one has compiled the historical data which show how the military chaplains of any religious congregation, with their service and sacrifice, have contributed to the formation and glory of a nation. This is the first history of Catholic chaplains even if it is limited to a small group in the great American society—the proverbial needle in the haystack.

The work is presented in two fast-moving books in which the various events of World War II, from April 20, 1940, to December 31, 1946, are dramatically developed. Subdivided into twenty-two chapters, it is an historical account taken from various sources such as newspapers and correspondence between the chaplains and their superiors and others. It also includes a rather complete album of photographs; only one photo of a chaplain is missing.

If at times the writing seems episodically differentiated, it is obviously due to the style chosen, that of the diary. The private histories are fitted in the history of a nation and in the totality of the forward movement of the Church in the world. Father Link, however, gives a complete panoramic view of the activities of the military chaplains during that specific period.

Although the events of the time are recounted verbatim from their sources, they are tied together by the author's comments in which a spirit of enthusiasm and a fire of participation enlivens the history that at times becomes truly dramatic. Father Link lets the facts tell the story, and it is fact which makes history: a history lived, participated, felt, and suffered by a small group of Precious Blood missionaries.

Father Link is a spontaneous writer. He seems to ignore the pitfalls of the profession but dips his pen in the inkwell of the heart. This is why the simple unembellished news items awaken enthusiasm, participation, and love.

This work was done in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Society of the Precious Blood in the United States of America, and no doubt, it is a precious gift to the "Precious" Society.

Louis M. La Favia

The Catholic University of America

The Philosopher and the Provocateur: The Correspondence of Jacques Maritain and Saul Alinsky. Edited by Bernard Doering. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1994. Pp. xxxviii, 118. 125.95.)

Too ill to come to Alinsky's 1966 Auburn Lectures at Union Theological Seminary, Jacques Maritain sent this note introducing his friend:

> I have admired and loved Saul Alinsky for a great many years. His methods may seem a little rough. I think they are good and necessary means to achieve good and necessary ends. And I know . . . that the deep-rooted motive power and inspiration of this so-called trouble-maker is pure and entire self-giving, and love for those poor images of God which are human beings, especially the oppressed ones—in other words, it is what Paul calls 'agape,' or love of charity.

The collected letters of Jacques Maritain and Saul Alinsky are a welcome glimpse into the loving friendship of two seemingly dissimilar men: Maritain, the most famous Catholic philosopher in the Thomistic tradition in the twentieth century, and Alinsky, the Chicago social researcher who invented the profession of community organizer.

The French Catholic convert and the American Jewish agnostic shared—for nearly thirty years—an affectionate dialogue about politics, God, social justice, worldly spirituality, and democratic means to nurture freedom and equality and to empower citizens to work together for the common good.

They were introduced during World War II by George N. Shuster, the president of Hunter College. Alinsky was in his early thirties, elated with his first organizing victory in Chicago's Back of the Yards. Maritain was older, a world-class philosopher exiled from Nazi-occupied France.

Maritain recognized Alinsky's genius in adapting union organizing skills to create an energized community of poor Stockyards families, neighborhood parish churches, union locals, and other neighborhood groups. Alinsky was about to take his one-man organizing campaign on the road.

The philosopher was looking for ideas about rebuilding France after the war. He liked Alinsky's vision of a democratic government with citizens empowered locally to run neighborhoods and communities. In turn, he confirmed Alinsky's intuition that neighborhood "mediating structures" bridging the gap between families and government was at home in the Catholic tradition of society and the political order.

As the war wound down, Maritain prodded the young activist to write Reveille for Radicals, a manual for organizers. Maritain hoped to interest Charles de Gaulle in Alinsky's democratic organizations.

After the tragic death of Saul's wife, the good friends had long talks about death, immortality, and Maritain's God of justice and love. Years later Maritain recalled what he learned about Saul in those conversations:

> There is in him, I think, much more than he himself is aware of. . . . He says that he knows nothing of God, or the immortality of the soul. Well, God does know him. . . . And a man whose whole life and work are inspired by dedicated love for the humiliated and oppressed one is surely loved by God.

Saul was a superb political teacher, but his teaching came in the lull of battle and was a rough Socratic dialogue that often left newcomers enlightened but somewhat bruised. He was hard on religious leaders who argued airily for a more "Christian" approach than his, one that eschewed conflict and left change to time and good will. In his Chicago office Alinsky kept pictures of Holocaust victims as reminders of what passivity can do to one's neighbors.

This welcome collection of the correspondence of two democratic "revolutionaries" may help deflate the persistent "Alinsky Myth" that he was not a serious social reformer. Maritain clearly revered Alinsky as a political visionary dedicated to helping American society fulfill its promise of freedom, equality, and a share for all in the common good.

P. David Finks

Sanford, North Carolina

Mennonite Peacemaking: From Quietism to Activism. By Leo Driedger and Donald B. Kraybill. (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press. 1994. Pp. 344. »14.95; «19.50 in Canada paperback.)

This study explores what the authors call the "restructuring of Mennonite peace convictions" in North America over the past fifty years. Part one of the book examines the theological and ethical issues evident in formal documents and the writings of Mennonite spiritual leaders. The theological differences that separate Guy Hershberger, John H. Yoder, J. Lawrence Burkholder, and Gordon Kaufman are emphasized and portrayed as irreconcilable. Part two of the book analyzes data accumulated from two church-wide surveys of some 3,000 members of five mainline Mennonite and Brethren in Christ groups. Contemporary rank-and-file Mennonite attitudes toward peacemaking, military service, and political participation are revealed. Using these data, Driedger and Kraybill, both sociologists, lament the decline in the traditional Mennonite belief in the "steely character of nonresistance" within the historic peace church.

Throughout the book the aim of the authors is to find a way to reconstitute a coherent theological tradition of peace in the face of modernity. During the past century the forces of modernity have persuaded many Mennonites to leave the protective walls of dieir rural enclaves. There also has been a new emphasis on training so that they may attain positions in education, business, and the professions. Moreover, Mennonite groups developed aggressive international mission and service programs that provided world-wide experi-

enees for its membership. Their involvement and integration in the world shifted their views toward the state and led Mennonites away from a separated church-and-state vision to a new emphasis on their moral responsibility in the world. The meek and mild became active peacemakers seeking ways to resist oppression and social injustice. The theological brokers found ways to turn the nonresistant tradition on its conceptual head to sanction civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance. Driedger and Kraybill are fearful that these changes "have resulted in a pleasant veneer of contemporary peacemaking that will crack under the stress of harsh political conditions." It is the old story of a Christian community trying to do good and ending up doing well.

This is a highly readable book which provides not only a basic history of the Mennonites and their current status, but also provides a thorough understanding of the theological transformation from nonresistance as church doctrine to active nonviolent peacemaking with respect for individual conscience within their historic peace church tradition. Thus, today's mainline Mennonites and Brethren in Christ have pasted the label of peacemaking on such wide-ranging efforts that only a few congregations have been willing to require a firm commitment to peacemaking as a requirement for church membership. This theological transformation that the authors examined would have had greater significance if they had placed it within the context of comparative studies in American religion. Regrettably, they made no such attempt.

Patricia McNeal

Indiana University, South Bend

A History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Steubenville, Ohio. Volume I: The Mussio Years (1945-1977). By Francis F. Brown. (Lewiston, New York: The Edward Mellen Press. 1994. Pp. lxi, 504. «119.95.)

In the volume under review, Father Francis F. Brown has written a first-person account of the foundation of the Diocese of Steubenville, Ohio, and the ensuing three decades of Bishop John King Mussio's tenure as ordinary. Father Brown himself was active in the diocese for most of this period, usually in some official diocesan position. It is important to realize that the work is more of a memoir with historical material than a history of the diocese following strict historical methodology. In the introduction the author admits that he does not consider himself to be an historian but rather "a journalist with some sense of history." He relies primarily upon his own memory, the diocesan newspaper of which he had been the editor, and extensive interviews with more than one hundred persons involved in the life and the work of the diocese during its first thirty-two years. The author states explicitly that he has avoided the diocesan archives, in part because of the destruction of the

priests' confidential files by the second bishop of the diocese, Albert Ottenweller. Given this approach, the work lacks the historical objectivity that one would expect to find in a work entitled a History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Steubenville, Ohio. Conjectures and opinions are given about episcopal motives, some of which might be quite valid, but without the backing of archival material they often remain simply in the realm of conjecture and opinion. The reader learns a great deal about how others perceived the actions of Bishop Mussio but not necessarily why the bishop acted as he did.

This is not to say that the work does not have value. Father Brown gives a great deal of factual material about the diocese and the oral testimony that he presents is of genuine value. He strives for objectivity in presenting views other than his own and is generally successful in this endeavor. The Diocese of Steubenville encompasses an area that has long been depressed economically and at times the very continuance of the diocese has been questioned. The story is rather inspiring in terms of the sacrifices made by the priests, religious, and laity of the diocese. The author writes with an engaging style that displays his journalistic background. Often he shows a sense of humor such as when he describes how he himself was relieved of the title of Monsignor. The book could have benefited from a more thorough editing since there are spelling mistakes and grammatical errors. There are also factual errors. John Courtney Murray made remarkable contributions to the Declaration on Religious Liberty but he did not provide "the substance of the Council's crucial document on The Church in the Modern World" (p. 243); Richard, not Henry, Gilmour was the second bishop of Cleveland (p. 445). Finally, the price listed on the invoice is outrageous. At such a cost even libraries will hesitate to purchase the work.

Thomas W. Tifft

St. Mary Seminary
Cleveland, Ohio

Latin American

Las Casas en México: Historia y obra desconocidas. By Helen Rand Parish and Harold E. Weidman. [Sección de Obras de Historia.] (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica. Order from Fondo de Cultura Económica, USA, Inc., 2293 Versus St., San Diego, CA 92154. 1992. Pp. 409. $22.99)

In this volume Helen Rand Parish, with extensive input from Harold Weidman, SJ., continues her life-work of illuminating the career of the famous Dominican friar and bishop Bartolomé de las Casas, known for his defense of Indian liberties. Here the co-authors take as their theme four episodes when Las Casas visited the city of Mexico in 1535, 1536, 1539, and 1546. The volume is composed of two parts and a long section of appendices. Part One (pp. 7-119), entitled "Una Historia Desconocida" (An Unknown History), is the work of Dr. Parish and presents her arguments for the four visits of Las

Casas to Mexico and his participation in discussions regarding the problems of relationships between the Spaniards and the Indians during those years. The presentation is episodic and at times the sequence is hard to follow. But it gives new insights into the friar-bishop's work, in spite of the fact that Dr. Parish never finds any cause to criticize the work of Las Casas.

Part Two (pp. 121-247), "Una Obra Desconocida" (An Unknown Work), is a co-operative editorial work of the two authors in which they present a previously unknown Latin writing of Las Casas, which they have entitled "De exemptione, sive damnatione" (On Exemption or Damnation). The original is preserved in manuscript form, written in Las Casas' hand, in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris in the tome Mss espagnols 325. It is a work that the editors judge that Las Casas wrote in Mexico in 1546 and gave to his friend the Augustinian scholar Alonso de la Vera Cruz, who added some annotations to it. It is a Scholastic disquisition on the question of whether the clergy are exempt from the coercive jurisdiction of the princes and secular judges, to which Las Casas answers in the affirmative. It is published here in the original Latin, with Spanish translation and extensive annotations.

The final and longest section (pp. 249—391) is made up of thirty documentary appendices that have been gathered from a large number of archives, libraries, and published sources. It is a treasure trove for anyone looking for documents related to questions of Spanish treatment of the Indians during this period. There are two documents related to enslavement of Indians, the first an opinion of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga of Mexico, the second from Archbishop Gaspar de Avalos of Granada. There follow a series of documents related to the issuance of the papal documents of 1537-38 supporting the freedom of the Indians, including the texts of the papal documents themselves (app. 3-15); various items on the controversy over mass baptisms of Indians (app. 16-19); documents related to the meeting of the bishops in 1546, most notably several letters of the inspector general Francisco Tello de Sandoval (app. 20—26); and finally various writings of Las Casas himself related to his final stay in Mexico in 1546 (app. 27-30). The documents are extensively annotated.

This is a valuable addition to the Lascasian literature and will be of use to all those who are interested in the relationship between Spaniards and Indians or between Church and State in sixteenth-century Mexico.

J. Benedict Warren

Colegio de Michoacán
Zamora, Michoacán, México

The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain. By Fernando Cervantes. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 182. «22.50.)

With some success, this book views diabolism in Spanish Colonial Mexico from the early 1500's to 1767 within the context of European philosophical

and theological currents. Three chapters draw heavily on two of the author's previously published articles. The narrative approach to intellectual history is a refreshing change from the present emphasis on socioeconomic statistical studies and merits praise for Fernando Cervantes, who was educated in Mexico and Great Britain and is now a lecturer at the University of Bristol. He is neither nostalgic about the loss of Mesoamerican religions nor overly patronizing toward poorly educated friars. At least twice, Cervantes notes that well educated ecclesiastics opposed superstition. He enhances our knowledge of folk Catholicism with information on Indians who appropriated and reinterpreted Christian elements, including the devil as well as saints. An analysis of the importance the Christian liturgy held for Indian communities is a major contribution.

The author's distance from Mexican sources perhaps explains his decision to incorporate a sweeping survey of thinkers ranging from Origen to Voltaire. Time spent in Mexican archives, nevertheless, yielded significant findings, primarily on Inquisition cases concerning demonism. Cervantes detects a shift in the tribunal's attitude toward such questions and presents inferences, instead of evidence, to explain the change. He furnishes no data on the Inquisitors' educational background and professional experience. Richard D. Greenleaf, Zumárraga and the Mexican Inquisition, 1536-1543 (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1961), appears in the citations, but his The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), does not.

Establishing intellectual antecedents for works written before the advent of mandatory documentation is difficult, and Cervantes sometimes evades the challenge. His thesis stressing the strong, lasting influence of Franciscan nominalism may be valid, yet it requires additional support with more specific links to Mexican individuals and events. It might be upheld or refuted by research on the courses of study seminarians and university students pursued and what texts they read. Discussions of Descartes and Leibnitz are digressions because the author fails to connect them to the subject of Mexican diabolism.

Although Cervantes errs in attempting to cover too many topics and too much time and space in a short book, he addresses issues which should be pursued from a narrower and deeper perspective in future monographs.

Deixa M. Flusche

Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti

Indian Population Decline: The Missions of Northwestern New Spain, 1687—1840. By Robert H. Jackson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 229. Î29.95.)

Demography is one thing; history another. And demographic history is open to serious question when investigators assign causes to the decline of popu-

Iations. For eons man has tried to explain the problem of evil as retribution for "immoral" conduct whether the trashing of traditions or the smashing of the Ten Commandments. Jackson's foray into mission records emerges in his conclusions that the missionaries (read the Roman Catholic Church) intentionally congregated American Indians with an eye to population decimation.

This study commences with Padre Eusebio Francisco Kino's arrival in the Pimería Alta, steps onto the peninsula of Baja California, where, if one is to believe and accept Miguel Venegas, the missions were uniquely adapted to the austerity of the environment, and terminates with the disappearance of mission communities in Alta California. The scant and incomplete records of baptisms, marriages, and burials is fair game for quantitative speculation, but it falls far short of assigning causes for decline exclusively attributable to mission life. Indians were experiencing disastrous epidemics long before the waters of baptism contaminated their lives. To apply the formulas of a computer program, Populate, to these records can be explained away, but how does this methodology divulge the purposes of the missionary program?

Jackson has done a good service in accumulating these mission statistics and placing them in comparative tables. But major underlying factors shaping the mission systems are woefully missing. The congregation patterns of which Jackson speaks were a policy of the Leyes de Indias, not the Church. The missionaries adapted their systems as best they could within the strictures of Spanish regulations, and frequently these systems reflected the life styles imposed by the ecological system. Not so in Alta California, however, where the Bourbon policy had so radically changed the organization and operation of the missions. This sort of inadequacy in this study leaves one wondering about life and death outside the mission compounds and about the sanitation of contact with non-religious Europeans. Unfortunately for the missionaries, almost no records of non-mission contact are extant; so they take the blame unfairly for smallpox, measles, influenza, and cholera. Now that the missions are gone, one wonders why the diseases have not similarly vanished?

Given the modern penchant for making history a pseudo-science, this book will be around a long time presenting useful data to the serious scholar and distinctly biased interpretations for crafting seminar papers. The plight of the American Indian is truly shared by the devotee of Spanish history; everyone lost in the climate of ignorance and cultural intolerance. But the beleaguered road to modernity deserves much more credit for good intentions than condemnation for the loss of a questionable paradise. The figures stand. The veiled critique does not.

Charles W. Polzer, SJ.

Arizona State Museum

Asian

A History of Christianity in Asia: Volume I: Beginnings to 1500. By Samuel Hugh Moffett. (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, A Division of Harper Collins Publisher. 1992. Fp. xxvi, 560. «45.00.)

"The Church began in Asia. Its earliest history, its oldest centers were Asian. Asia produced the first known church building, the first New Testament translation, the first Christian king, the first Christian state, and even perhaps the first Christian poets. Asian Christians endured the greatest persecutions. They mounted global ventures in missionary expansion which the West could not match until after the thirteenth century."—So writes Professor Samuel Hugh Moffett in this new book. The history of Christianity being an unashamedly Europe-centered discipline even if a good half of the Christans live in continents other than Europe, this well-written work of Moffett is a unique gift for the world at large, particularly for the young and growing Church of Asia.

Born in Korea of American parents, Moffett was a teacher in postwar nationalist as well as communist China. This Asian connection has certainly helped the author not a little, to be sensitive to the Asian perspective of studying Christianity.

The author has divided the entire volume into twenty-two chapters grouped under three parts. The first part of fifteen chapters deals with the history of the church in Asia from the Apostles to Mohammed the Prophet. While the first section of three chapters deals with the first two hundred years, in the second and third sections Moffett describes the early and later Sassanid periods in Persia (225-400 a.D.; 400-651 a.D.) and in the fourth section of this first part he introduces Christianity in South Asia, viz., Indian Christianity and Christian kingdoms of the Arabs. In the second part, comprising three chapters, Moffett narrates vividly the spread of Christianity to China and other regions of the Asian continent from the mid-seventh century till the crusades. The third part, consisting of the last five chapters, deals with the expansion of Christianity during the "Pax Mongólica" till its near extermination under Tamerlane.

Moffett's task of writing a very readable history of Asian Christianity using the latest available sources from East and West has not been easy. The work is all the more laudable when one realizes that the primary sources for the history of Christianity in Asia are very scarce and incomplete while the secondary sources are frequently contradictory in their conclusions.

Nestorianism is interpreted by the author quite favorably following the latest findings in which Nestorius is rehabilitated from heresy. On the contrary, the early Nestorian monks, bishops, and patriarchs and particularly monastic leaders are described as missionaries "par excellence." They lived in a milieu that was non-Christian and often even positively anti-Christian. In fact, the Persian

persecution of Christians was much bloodier than the Roman one. Moreover, the ancient Christianity of Asia never had the luxury of a "Constantine" to create a socio-economic and political climate that would be favorable for Christianity to take deeper roots or to spread in any of the many empires or kingdoms of this vast continent.

Following the Zoroastrian rulers of Persia, the Muslim rulers too stifled the Asian Church by isolating it from the masses in the socio-political and cultural fields. In the economic field, an oppressive system of taxes ruined the prosperous Christian communities. This subtle persecution of Christianity caused a steady falling away of many large groups of Christians of Nestorian, Jacobite, and Byzantine traditions to Islam.

Although Moffett has not broken any new ground regarding the pre-Portuguese history of Christianity in India, he presents at length the various opinions. Unlike other non-Asian scholars, he is sympathetic to the position held by most of the Indian social scientists regarding the arrival and work of Thomas the Apostle in North and South India.

The Christian history of mediaeval China both under the T'ang dynasty (635-907 A.D.) and the Mongols (1245-1368 A.D.) is quite vividly described by him.

In the concluding section, Moffett sums up the various reasons for the decadence of Christianity in the different regions of Asia. This brief section with its analysis is perhaps the most original and interesting of Moffett's contributions.

Occasional orthographic errors and inaccuracies not withstanding, the presentation and contents of A History of Christianity in Asia- Beginnings to 1500 is a rare work. Asian countries, particularly where there are vibrant Christian communities like India, China, Philippines, and Korea look forward with eagerness to the publication of the second volume as well as to a far less expensive "Asian edition" of the entire work.

George Kottuppallil

Sacred Heart Theological College
Shillong (Meghalaya), India

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

Sister Mary Oates, C.S.J., of Regis College, whose appointment to the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize was announced in the April issue, has asked to defer the first year of her three-year term until 1996. To take her place this year the president of the American Catholic Historical Association, Jay P. Dolan, has appointed James M. O'Toole of die University of Massachusetts at Boston. Dr. O'Toole will resume service in 1999 after Sister Mary completes her term.

Meetings, Conferences, Colloquia, Symposia

In preparation for die year 2000 die Wethersfield Institute is presenting a five-year review of the first two millennia of Christian history. Each year a series of speakers will endeavor to convey a sense of die rise and decline of great movements, "of fresh mindsets, effective institutions; of key persons seizing critical moments, of the personal courage of heroes and die obscurantism of dreary leaders." Five experts delivered lectures in New York in die spring of diis year, and five more will speak in the autumn on die Apostolic and Patristic period. In 1996 the post-Roman and early medieval periods will be studied. The chairman of die program is Glenn Olsen of die University of Utah. Further information may be obtained from the Wethersfield Institute at 230 Park Avenue, Room 1528, New York, New York 10169; telephone: 212-949-0949.

At the international conference commemorating the eighth centenary of die Battle of Alarcos (in die Province of Ciudad Real), in which the Almohades under Almanzor defeated Alfonso VIII of Castile, Joseph F. O'Callaghan, professor emeritus of Fordham University, read a paper on "La vida de las Ordenes militares españoles según sus estatutos primitivos." The conference was sponsored by the Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha and was held in Ciudad Real on April 3, 1995.

The Istituto per Ie Ricerche di Storia Sociale e Religiosa in collaboration widi die Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana held a conference on May 20 in Vicenza on die dieme of die Jesuits and Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo.

The annual meeting of die Canadian Catholic Historical Association was

held at the University of Quebec at Montreal on June 8—9, 1995. Its theme was "Religion and Secularism in Canada," and die program chairmen were Margaret Sanche and Terry Fay, SJ., president and president-general respectively of die English Section. The papers will be published in die next volume oí Historical Studies.

The Oxford International Newman Conference, which will be held at Oriel College on August 6-12, 1995, will be devoted to die theme "Newman and Conversion" to mark die 150di anniversary of the reception of John Henry Newman into the Cadiolic Church. The chairmen of the conference are Michael Barber, SJ., and Ian Ker. The lecturers will be Jean-Robert Armogathe, Louis Bouyer, Avery Dulles, Sheridan Gilley, Alan G. Hill, Father Ker, John Macquarrie, Vincent Alan McClelland, Terrence Merrigan, Aidan Nichols, Stephen Prickett, and Geoffrey Rowell; the guest speakers will be Vincent Blehl, Graham Leonard, Richard John Neuhaus, and William Oddie. The conference will open with a Mass celebrated by one of the guests of honor, William Cardinal Baum, Major Penitentiary of the Holy Roman Church, on Sunday afternoon. The total cost for attendance, which includes full board and accommodation in a single room, is $580. The program and odier information may be obtained from Father Barber at Campion Hall, Oxford OXl IQS, England.

The sixty-second annual meeting of the Société canadienne de l'histoire de l'Eglise catholique and the Fourth Western Oblate Studies Conference will be held in Saint-Boniface on August 25 and 26, 1995. Copies of the program and practical information may be procured from Angele Chaput, La Société historique de Saint-Boniface, CP. 125, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba R2H 3B4, Canada; telephone and facsimile: 204-233-4888.

The annual fall meeting of the New England Historical Association will be held at Saint Anselm College in Manchester, New Hampshire, on October 28, 1995. Information about the program is available from Roland Sarti in care of die Department of History, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002; telephone: 413-545-1330.

A three-day conference entitled "Engendering American Catholic Studies," sponsored by die Cushwa Center for die Study of American Catholicism and supported by the Lilly Endowment, will be held at the University of Notre Dame from September 29 to October 1. It will consist of a series of seminars and workshops designed to facilitate the sharing of ideas, methods, and information. It will address some of die questions raised by the new studies of gender and religion by focusing on Catholic memory and the practices which constituted preconciliar ritual, sexuality, art, and literature. Those who wish to attend the conference should write to the director of the Cushwa Center, R. Scott Appleby, at 614 Hesburgh Library, The University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556-5629.

A colloquium commemorating die centenary of the birth of Marie-Dominique Chenu will be held in Paris on October 28 and 29, 1995, by die

Département de la Recherche of the Institut Catholique de Paris and the Centre d'études du Saulchoir. Devoted to "Moyen-Âge et Modernité," it will begin with an address by Jacques Le Goff, "L'intellectualité dominicaine au Moyen-Âge et sa relation au monde de la ville et de l'université." Those who wish to register should send the fee of 100 francs to Le centre d'études du Saulchoir, 43 bis, rue de la Glacière, 75013 Paris, France; telephone: (1) 44 08 71 97; facsimile: (1)43 31 07 56.

"Chivalry, Knighthood, and War in the Middle Ages" is the theme of the twenty-third annual Sewanee Mediaeval Colloquium, which will be held on March 29-30, 1996. The principal lecturers will be Marjorie Chibnall of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and A. C. Spearing of the University of Virginia. Anyone wishing to present a paper related to the theme in any discipline should submit two copies of an abstract of it (approximately 250 words long) and two copies of a brief curriculum vitae by November 1, 1995, to the Sewanee Mediaeval Colloquium Committee at The University of the South, 735 University Avenue, Sewanee, Tennessee 37383; telephone: 615-598-1531.

The eleventh biennial meeting of the Conference of Quaker Historians and Archivists will be held at Oakwood School in Poughkeepsie, New York, on June 21-23, 1996. Anyone who wishes to present a paper on any aspect of Quaker history should send a one-page abstract of it by December 31, 1995, to the chairman of the steering committee, Charles L. Cherry, in care of the Department of English, Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania 19085.

A workshop on "The Holocaust and Its Impact on Philosophy and Theology," sponsored by the International Society for the Study of European Ideas, will be held in Utrecht, The Netherlands, on August 19-24, 1996. Proposals for papers should be submitted by December 1, 1995. Anyone interested in participating should write to Donald J. Dietrich in care of the Department of Theology, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167; telephone: 617-552-4799; facsimile: 617-552-0794.

In regard to the colloquium on "The Traditions of Tolerance and Pluralism in East-Central Europe," organized by the Institute of East-Central Europe at Lublin and the International Federation of the Institutes of East-Central Europe, which will be held at Lublin on September 2-6, 1996 (see ante, LXXX (July, 1994], 663—664), Jerzy Kloczowski, director of the Institute of East-Central Europe, wishes to emphasize the intention of situating East-Central Europe in the wide European context and even in the context of Christianity broadly understood. For example, in the course of the discussions devoted to the structures of typology of parishes in East-Central Europe, it would be very illuminating to make a comparison with the situation of parishes outside of this region; hence, it would be desirable to include in the program communications on various territories into which Christianity has penetrated. Professor Kloczowski is open to all suggestions and proposals either for papers or for round tables or for more detailed topics that could be discussed in small groups. Anyone desiring to participate in the colloquium should write

to Professor Kloczowski at the Institut de l'Europe du Centre-Est, plac Litewski 2, 20-080 Lublin, Poland.

Publishing Projects

The Catholic Record Society and Wolverhampton University have undertaken a joint project to examine the role of Catholics below the rank of gentry in England between 1575 and 1778. The intention is to map the figures of papists returned in the "Compton Census" in 1676 to discover clusters of papists; then these clusters will be related to known Catholic centers and priests. Listings of papists in as many of these places as possible will be compared with special attention to the parish returns of 1705, 1706, and 1767. The findings will be correlated with what is already published by local record societies and local Catholic historical societies, the Catholic Record Society, and country and national record societies. At the same time individual scholars will be working to produce essays on particular areas, e.g., London, and on particular issues, e.g., (1) whether the religious life of yeomen, craftsmen, and townsmen was different from that of the gentry; (2) whether distinctions can be made between Catholics in agricultural areas, industrializing areas, and towns; and (3) whether change over time in their situation and practices can be traced. The results will be published by the Catholic Record Society; the project will be completed by the summer of 1997. The sponsors are soliciting contributions. Anyone interested in the undertaking is asked to write to Marie B. Rowlands in care of the School of Humanities and Social Sciences, The University of Wolverhampton, Castle View, Dudley DY1 3HR, England.

To commemorate the bicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase in 2003 the Center for Louisiana Studies of the University of Southwestern Louisiana will publish a series of nineteen volumes on the history of what became the State of Louisiana in the last two centuries. It will also mark the tricentennial of the founding of the French colony of Louisiana in March of 1999. Each volume will consist of the best articles, essays, and book parts that have been published about Louisiana in the twentieth century, especially in the latter half of the century, and that exemplify new methodologies leading to broader interpretations of the state's history. The first volume, "The French Experience in Louisiana," edited by Glenn R. Conrad, will be published in 1995, and the others will follow but not in sequential order. Volume XLX, entitled "Manifestations of the Spirit: Religion in Louisiana," will be edited by Charles E. Nolan, archivist of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and adjunct professor of historical theology in Notre Dame Seminary (New Orleans).

The Accademia di San Carlo in Milan has decided to begin a complete inventory of the letters of Saint Charles Borromeo and to publish an edition of them that will at long last give full value to their extraordinary historical importance. The Ambrosian Library preserves approximately 40,000 pieces

in this letter collection dating from the twenty years (1564—1584) in which Saint Charles functioned as archbishop of Milan. He covered all of Europe with his correspondence and linked Milan day by day to contemporary history, that of the Church after the Council of Trent, that of the monarchies in the age of Philip H, that of Milan as a diocese and a city, that of culture and of art, etc. This immense deposit needs to be correlated with many other documentary funds preserved in Italian and foreign libraries and archives. It is estimated that 30,000 more pieces are scattered in these other locations. The Academy has formed a "Commissione per l'Epistolario Carolino," in which Franco Buzzi of the Ambrosian Library, who is also director of the Academy, is coordinatore dei lavori. The commission has defined two objectives: (1) an inventory and edition of all the documentation preserved in the Ambrosian Library; (2) an inventory of all the material pertaining to Saint Charles's letters held by other depositories, its acquisition in photocopy, and its edition. The commission envisions various integrated and complementary products, viz., (1) a CD-ROM of the whole corpus of the letters (in progressive releases); (2) the facility of on-line consultation of the entire documentation; (3) the transfer to books in homogeneous groupings (by correspondents, geographical areas, or other criteria); and (4) the reconstruction of the entire corpus of Saint Charles's letters through the acquisition (in reproduction) of the originals located elsewhere. The time foreseen to be required for the execution of this project, exclusive of the printing, is three years. Since the costs will be enormous, the Academy is seeking sponsors among banks, credit institutions, corporations, cultural institutions with disposable funds, and individuals interested in the undertaking. Relevant inquiries should be addressed to Prof. Don Franco Buzzi in care of die Accademia di S. Carlo, Piazza Pio XI, 2, 20123 Milano, Italy.

Grants and Prizes

The George Edward Clerk Medallion of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was presented on June 8, 1995, to Raymond Huel of the University of Lethbridge. The award is made biennially to a member of the association who demonstrates excellence in at least one of the following categories: teaching, writing, or researching the history of the Catholic Church in Canada, archival work, and leadership and service to the association; Dr. Huel has excelled in all three.

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation has granted fellowships to the following scholars (among others): Susanna Elm of the University of California at Berkeley to study fourth-century images of Christ's imperial body; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall of Rutgers University to study slavery and race relations in early Louisiana; George M. Marsden of the University of Notre Dame to write a biography of Jonathan Edwards; and John Martin of Trinity University to study heresy, identity, and individualism in the Italian Reformation.

The American Friends of the Vatican Library have granted $25,000 in support of two projects recommended by the prefect, Leonard E. Boyle, O.P., namely, for the continued work of William Sheehan, O.S.B., on the incunabula catalogue, and for the continuation and publication of Antonio Manfredi's reconstruction of the Library of Nicholas V.

The Irish American Cultural Institute has given a grant from the endowment donated by the O'Shaughnessy family of Minnesota to Anne Butler of Utah State University in support of her research on Catholic sisters, particularly those from Irish congregations, in the American West. Each year the Institute presents grants ranging from $1,000 to $5,000 to scholars of all disciplines who are studying the Irish-American experience. The next deadline for proposals is August 15, 1995. Further information may be obtained from James Rogers at the Irish American Cultural Institute at 2115 Summit Avenue, Room 5026, St. Paul, Minnesota 55105; telephone: 612-962-6040.

Catholic Relief Services, the overseas relief and development agency of the United States Catholic Conference, has announced an award of $750 for the best published essay, monograph, or book on any aspect of its humanitarian operations during its fifty-two years of worldwide activity. Entries must be at least 10,000 words in length and must be submitted by December 31, 1995. Catholic Relief Services has aided needy people in more than 135 countries on all the inhabited continents. Interested authors may address inquiries to Rosalie McQuaide, C.S.J.P., Archivist, Historian, and Records Manager, Catholic Relief Services-U.S.C.C, 209 West Fayette Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201-3443; telephone: 410-625-2220; facsimile: 410-685-1635.

Canonizations

In Olomouc, Moravia, on May 21 Pope John Paul II canonized Blessed Zdislava of Lemberk and Blessed Jan Sarkander. Saint Zdislava, wife of Count Havel of Lemberk, mother of four children, and a Dominican tertiary, 'was known for her charity toward the sick and the poor; she was born in Moravia and lived in southern Bohemia in the thirteenth century. Saint Jan Sarkander was born in Skoczow (Skotschau), Austrian Silesia, on December 20, 1576, and was ordained a priest for the Diocese of Olomouc in 1609. In 1616 he was appointed pastor in Holesov (Holleschau), Moravia, after Baron Ladislaus Lobkovic (Lobkowitz) bought the estates of that place and returned them along with the church, which had previously been controlled by the Bohemian Brethren, to the Catholic Church. Lobkovic also established a Jesuit College, which likewise had formerly been occupied by the Bohemian Brethren. The success of Sarkander and the Jesuits in making converts increased the rivalry between the baron and his anti-Catholic neighbors. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War the Protestants seized power in Moravia. Sarkander made a pilgrimage to Czçstochowa and remained in Cracow for several months before returning to his parish. In February, 1620, Sigismund III, King of Poland,

sent Cossocks into Moravia to support Emperor Ferdinand II in his struggle with the Protestant Estates. They depredated Protestant lands but spared Holesov when they met Sarkander Carrying the Blessed Sacrament. He was sei2ed by Lobkovic's enemy Bitovsky of Bystrzyca, accused of conspiracy with the Poles, and sent to Olomouc, where he was chained in a dungeon to await questioning. At his trial he denied any treasonable acts and resisted his judges, who in an attempt to implicate Lobkovic demanded that the priest reveal confessional secrets. On February 13, 17, and 18 he was racked, then burned with torches, covered with pitch and feathers, and set aflame. He died in prison on March 17, 1620. Immediately afterwards he was venerated as a martyr of the seal of confession. He was beatified by Pius IX in I860.

Periodicals

The beatification of Mother Mary MacKillop (1842—1909) which Pope John Paul II proclaimed in Sydney on January 19, 1995, has inspired a series of articles in the Australasian Catholic Record for January, 1995 (Volume LXXII, Number 1), viz., Eugene James Cuskelly, "Mother Mary MacKillop and Australian Spirituality" (pp. 3—6); Kath Burford, "Always a Saint: Mary MacKillop's Cause and the Sisters of St. Joseph" (pp. 7—19); Margaret Press, "Mother Mary and the Bishop of Bathurst" (pp. 20-28); John Chryssavgis, "The Making of Saints: An Orthodox Reflection of the Beatification of Mary MacKillop" (pp. 33—43); Daniel Lyne, "Mary MacKillop and Australian Spiritual Identity" (pp. 44-52); and Judith Steer, "Select Bibliography: Publications on Mary MacKillop" (pp. 73-80).

The volume (LXIV) of the Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome for 1994 is devoted to "Mission and Inculturation"; the articles illuminate the contact of the Catholic Church at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century with some areas that entered within its direct scope for the first time: Dries Vanysacker, "The Contribution of Scheut (CICM) to Health Care in North China (1865-1953)" (pp. 11-55); Chris De Wilde, "Een oefening in de dood en het leven: Scheut in Oost-Mongolië (1890—1920)" (pp. 57—84); Lies Van Rompaey, "De ontwikkeling van de katholieke jeugbewegingen in Belgisch Kongo (1908-1960)" (pp. 85-111); Betty Eggermont, "Se marier chrétiennement au Congo Belge: Les stratégies appliqués par les Missionnaires de Scheut (CICM) au Kasai, 1919-1935" (pp. 113-147); Zana Aziza Etambala, "Les missionnaires rédemptoristes face au mouvement Kimbanguiste: 1921-1925" (pp. 149-221); and Leo van den Berg, C.I.C.M., "The China World of the 'Scheutfathers' " (pp. 223-263), which consists of photographs from the the congregation's archives in Rome with ample explanatory texts.

The subject of conversion, which is central to the ministry, history, and identity of the Paulist Fathers, is the theme of the latest issue of the Journal of Paulist Studies (Volume 3, Number 1 [1994]). The leading article is the

1994 Hewit Essay, "The Meanings of Isaac Hecker's Conversion," by Patrick Allitt (pp. 9-29). Among the other articles is "The Theological Conversion of John T. McGinn," by Lou McKernan, C.S.P. (pp. 55-61). A document is "How I Became a Catholic: The Conversion of Augustine F. Hewit, C.S.P.," with an introduction by the editor, Paul G. Robichaud, C.S.P. (pp. 79-89).

In Fugitive Leaves from the Historical Collections of the Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia for fall, 1994 (Third Series, Volume 9, Number 2), Harold D. Langley of the Smithsonian Institution recounts from the papers of Charles Fleury Bien-aimé Guillou (1813-1899), a surgeon in the United States Navy then assigned to the frigate Constitution, the call of that flagship of the Mediterranean Squadron in Naples in the summer of 1849. Pope Pius LX, who was then in exile in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, accepted the invitation of the American chargé d'affaires, John Rowan, to visit the Constitution. Accompanied by King Ferdinand II on the gun deck, the pontiff passed between the lines of sailors who had requested die opportunity to present themselves to him. He was then treated for seasickness by Guillou, who was a Freemason. In gratitude Pius the next day sent religious objects and a plenary indulgence to the surgeon as well as rosaries to the men and boys of the crew.

The fortieth anniversary of John Tracy Ellis's lecture and article "'American Catholics and the Intellectual Life" is commemorated in the issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for winter, 1995 (Volume 13, Number 1). The following "Essays in Memory of John Tracy Ellis" are published: "The Young John Tracy Ellis and American Catholic Intellectual Life," by Thomas J. Shelley (pp. 1—18); "A Look Back at the Catholic Intellectualism Issue," by Philip Gleason (pp. 19-37): "Contemporary Reflections: 1985, 1995," by James Hitchcock and David J. O'Brien (pp. 39-56); "American Women Converts and Catholic Intellectual Life," by Patrick Allitt (pp. 57—79); "Alternative Sources of Catholic Intellectual Vitality," by James T. Fisher (pp. 81-94); and " 'Less Brains and More Heart': Father Herman J. Heuser, Founder of the American Ecclesiastical Review" by Joseph Hubbert, CM. (pp. 95-122).

Personal Notices

Peter R. D'Agostino and Richard E. Gribble, C.S.C., have been appointed assistant professors of history in Stonehill College.

Astrik L. Gabriel, professor emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, past president of the American Catholic Historical Association, and titular mitred provost of St. Margaret's on the Island, received an honorary professorship and doctorate from the University of Budapest on May 13, 1994.

John W. O'Malley, S.J., of the Weston Jesuit School of Theology in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

On May 13 Father O'Malley received an honorary doctorate from the University of Detroit-Mercy, where he taught for fourteen years before going to Weston.

John Sullivan, O.C.D., second general definitor of the Discalced Carmelite Order, will receive the Edith Stein Award from the Edith Stein Guild at a Mass celebrated in Saint Patrick's Cathedral, New York, on August 12, 1995. The ceremony will mark the fifty-third anniversary of the death of Blessed Edith (Teresa Benedicta Stein) in the camp at Auschwitz. The award is meant to acknowledge contributions toward better understanding between Christians and Jews and toward wider knowledge of Edith Stein's accomplishments. Father Sullivan, when head of the Institute of Carmelite Studies, was editor of the first three volumes in the series of the "Collected Works of Edith Stein" and has published translations and original articles about her; under the Guild's auspices he has also delivered lectures, conducted a symposium, and led a tour to Europe on the occasion of the beatification of Edith Stein in Cologne in 1987.

Francis J. Weber, archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, received the Archivist Award of Excellence for 1994 from the California Heritage Preservation Commission on April 29, 1995, at a luncheon of the Society of California Archivists held during its annual meeting in Oakland. The award gives recognition to persons who have "displayed exceptional performance in the archival field." Monsignor Weber was cited for establishing and organizing archives for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles at Mission San Fernando in Mission Hills and for his numerous publications related to ecclesiastical archives. The award is sponsored by the California State Archives Foundation.

Obituary

Paul Horgan, who was president of the American Catholic Historical Association in I960, died at the age of ninety-one on March 8, 1995, in Middletown, Connecticut, where he had been professor emeritus and author in residence at Wesleyan University since 1971. He was born in Buffalo, New York, on August 1, 1903, in a comfortable, artistic Catholic family, which moved to New Mexico when he was twelve years old, because his father had contracted tuberculosis. After attending the New Mexico Military Institute from 1919 to 1923, he worked for a local newspaper, writing music and drama reviews, and then studied singing at the Eastman School of Music in Rochester in 1923. Throughout his life he remained deeply interested in music and painting, but he became known as a writer of novels, history, and biography. By Catholics he was especially esteemed for his definitive biography of Archbishop John Baptist Lamy, Lamy of Santa Fe: His Life and Times, for which he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1975. He had already won the Pulitzer Prize and the Bancroft Prize in 1955 for his two-volume historical epic, Great River The Rio Grande in American History. Among his other

historical works, which were based on extensive research and characterized by abundant details, was The Historic Triad, a study of the three cultures of the Southwest. From the publication of his first novel, The Fault of Angels, in 1933, for which he won the Harper Prize, he produced a book every year and a half on the average. In all he wrote seventeen novels, two children's books, four volumes of short stories, and some twenty works of history. In die obituary published in the New York Times on March 9 (p. Bl 3) Richard Bernstein wrote: "Still, despite much praise and commercial success, Mr. Horgan was commonly excluded from the lists of die foremost American writers of the century. Among the reasons given by critics who felt he belonged in the top rank were tfiat his writing was too traditional and old-fashioned to compete with the likes of Faulkner or Hemingway; that he was seen primarily as a Catholic writer; that his writing, so concentrated on die Soudiwest, was too regional, and that he spread himself too thin over so many subjects and fields of interest." Yet Mr. Bernstein calls him a polymath, conversant in several European languages, a voracious reader, and a friend of many figures in the arts. In his later years he taught at Yale University, the University of Iowa, and Wesleyan University; at the latter he was a senior fellow of the Center of Advanced Studies from 1959 to 1961 and its director from 1962 to 1967. Nearly fifty other universities or colleges awarded him honorary degrees; the University of Notre Dame conferred die Laetare Medal on him in 1976. He was also a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is the subject of a book published in May by Texas A&M University Press, Nueva Granada: Paul Horgan and the Southwest, by Robert Franklin Gish, who demonstrates that Horgan is a world-class writer.

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