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Abbreviations:

biog.—biography
b.n.—brief notice
?.—noted
rev.—review

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SPIRITUAL PROGRESS IN CAROLINGIAN SAXONY: A CASE FROM NINTH-CENTURY CORVEY

BY

David F. Appleby*

In view of the centrality of the evangelical impulse in the New Testament, it is not surprising that the mission of the Church, and even the "Church as mission" should arise as a topic of discussion among Christians.1 But during the twentieth century and especially since 1945, the history of the expansion of the Church has attracted the interest of academic historians both inside and outside the Church, and a substantial literature on the history of Christian missions has emerged. Whether the story is presented in optimistic tones as the growth of the Church from Antiquity to the present, or as a more complex process of expansion and resistance at various times in the past, mission history has become an exceptionaUy productive field of inquiry.2

While much attention has been focused on Christianity in Africa, Asia, and the New World in the modern age, the period before 1500 has not been ignored. The early medieval West presents exceptional oppor-

*Mr. Appleby is an assistant professor of history in the United States Naval Academy.

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1 See the conference papers published under the title "The Church as Mission: The New Evangelization and Western Culture," Communio, 21 (Winter, 1994).

2John Kent, "The Study of Modern Ecclesiastical History Since 1930," in J. Daniélou, A. H. Couratin, and John Kent, Historical Theology (Baltimore, 1969), pp. 241-369,at pp. 255-270; for more recent literature, see the bibliography of Stephen Neill,^4 History of Christian Missions, 2nd ed. (New York, 1990), and Bibliographia Missionaria, 55 vols. (Vatican City, 1935-), where titles are listed under the heading "History of Mission."

tunities to examine some of the diverse forms that Christianization can take.3 Between the fall of the western provinces of the Roman Empire in the fifth century and the emergence of Frankish hegemony under the Carolingians in the eighth, evangelical monks and priests could count on very little in the way of logistic or political support from a central authority. Missionaries were faced with the task of translating the concerns of a universal faith into the language and thought world of gentile cultures with no written tradition of their own, and in the midst of social conditions quite different from those of the late antique Mediterranean. The circumstances of each mission varied according to the historical and cultural background of the people being evangelized. As a result early medieval Christianization in western and northern Europe had an episodic character, and recent studies have highlighted the differences between St. Augustine's rudes and the rustid of Gregory of Tours, and between Martin of Bragas simple people and the Germanic pagans whom Boniface encountered.4

Among these early medieval episodes, the subjugation and forced conversion of Saxony in the later eighth and early ninth century has been a subject of enduring interest, in part because the affair seems to epitomize the chief strengths and the weaknesses of the order forged by the Carolingians. Contemporaries were aware of the remarkable character of recent events in Saxony. Writing sometime between 817 and 825/826, Einhard described Charlemagne's wars as thirty-three years of sporadic fighting, broken agreements, and sharp reprisals.5 His depiction of the Saxons is not flattering: naturally ferocious and given to demon worship, they violated divine and human law at will. Their treacherous testability contrasts with Charlemagne's magnanimity and

3 Important recent works are listed in the bibliographical note which accompanies the collected articles of Richard E. Sullivan, Christian Missionary Activity in the Early Middle Ages (Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS 431 (Brookfield, Vermont, 1994]),p. 1.

4For example, Raymond Van Dam, Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul (Berkeley, California, 1985); Peter Brown,"Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours," in the author's Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity (Berkeley, California, 1982), pp. 222-250, and idem,The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (Chicago, 1981).

'The most important passage is Einhard, Vita Karoli 7, 6th ed., ed. O. Holder-Egger, Monumento Germaniae histórica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum [hereafter cited as MGH, SSrG] (Hannover 1911; reprint 1965), pp. 9f On the work's date, see Heinz Löwe, "Die Entstehungszeit der Vita Karoli Einhards," Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters, 39 (1983), 85-103, who favors 825 or 826; Matthew Innés and Rosamond McKitterick, "The Writing of History," in Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 192-220, at pp. 204ff., think it most likely that Einhard wrote "in or shortly after 817."

constancy of purpose in the face of changing fortune.6 The Franks eventually succeeded on the battlefield and then subdued the Saxons through a regime of martial law and a policy of selective deportation and resettlement.7 Lasting peace came only in 804 and on condition that the Saxons give up the worship of demons, relinquish their ancestral ceremonies, and accept the sacraments of the Christian faith. Only then, "united with the Franks, were the Saxons to become one people with them."8

The Vita Karoli was well known at Carolingian and Ottoman Corvey, the Benedictine house located near Höxter northeast of Paderborn on the Weser and established during the reign of Louis the Pious.9 Authors of the house often borrowed from the Vita Karoli, paying special attention to the passages concerning Charlemagne's actions in Saxony.10 Einhards remark about religion as a bond uniting the two peoples may have interested the monks of Corvey because the "how" and "why" of Frankish-Saxon unity were linked to their conception of themselves as members of the Church and as subjects of a Frankish and later Saxon political hegemony. They readily accepted the broad concept of a Chris-

6 Vita Karoli 7-8, pp. 9ff.; 12, p. 15.3-6. See S. Hellmann, "Einhards literarische Stellung," Historische Vierteljahrschrift, 27 (1932), 40-1 10, reprinted in his Ausgewählte Abhandlungen zur Historiographie und Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, ed. Helmut Beumann (Weimar, 1961), pp. 159-229. For a recent discussion, Helmut Beumann,"Die Hagiographie 'bewältigt': Unterwerfung und Christianisierung der Sachsen durch Karl den Grossen," in Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nel-Talto medioevo: espansione e resísteme, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 28 [Spoleto, 1982]),Vol. l,pp. 129-163, with"Discussione,"pp. 165-I68,atpp. 137f., 141, 143, 148, who notes tb&fperfidia" of Vita Karoli 1, p. 10.1 and p. 10. 18, should be understood as treachery, not as apostasy, a meaning inferred by some later authors who used the work. Although Beumann's wider conclusions have attracted some criticism, for example, Heinz Wolter, "Intention und Herrscherbild in Einhards Vita Karoli Magni" Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 68 (1986), 295-317, I accept his findings within the limitations of the present discussion.

7 Vita Karoli 1 ,p. 10. 19-24, on deportation.

'Ibid. 7, p. 10.26-30.

'On Corvey, Lexikon des Mittelalters, (6 vols.; Munich and Zürich, 1977-) [hereafter cited as LexMA], Vol. 3, cols. 295ff.; Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques (25 vols.; Paris, 1912-) [hereafter cited as DHGE],Vol. 13, cols. 922-925; Wilhelm Stüwer, "Corvey," in Die Benediktinerklöster in Nordrhein-Westfalen, ed. Rhaban Haacke (Germania Benedictina, Vol. 8 [St. Ottilien, 1980]), pp. 236-293.

10 For a discussion of the use of Vita Karoli at Corvey in the ninth and tenth centuries, Beumann, "Die Hagiographie 'bewältigt'"; idem, "Einhard und die karolingische Tradition im ottonischen Corvey," Westfalen, 30 (1952), 150-174, reprinted in the author's Ideengeschichtliche Studien zu Einhard und anderen Geschichtsschreibern des früheren Mittelalters (Darmstadt, 1969), pp. 15-39.

tmn populus as descriptive of the new unity of faith and common orientation of the two peoples. But a more precise understanding of the significance of that unity and the means by which it was achieved varied over time and according to changing circumstances." Corvey authors writing during the period of Louis the Pious and his sons reflected on the meaning of Frankish-Saxon unity in ways that reveal signs of Saxon historical self-consciousness at Carolingian Corvey. These ideas may be traced in the Translatio sancti Viti and the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae, both of which were written at Corvey by anonymous authors working about a generation apart, soon after 836 and between 862 and 875.[12] My argument is that the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae presents a retrospective image of recent Saxon history which takes on meaning when understood against the background formed by the events Einhard described and by the Translatio sancti Viti. The author of the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae affirmed the nobility of the Saxon people and asserted that the Saxon monks at Corvey and nuns at Herford had now attained the spiritual maturity necessary to accept Paul's "solid food."

"Beumann,"Die Hagiographie 'bewältigt' ",idem," Unitas ecclesiae—unitas imperii—unitas regni. Von der imperialen Reichseinheitsidee zur Einheit der Regna," in Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia: un 'equazione da verificare, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 27 [Spoleto, 1981]), Vol. 2, pp. 531-571, with "Discussione," pp. 573-582, especially pp. 565ff.; idem, "Einhard und die karolingische Tradition im ottonischen Corvey"; idem, Widukind von Korvei. Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts (Abhandlungen über Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung. Vol. 3 [Weimar, 1950]).

"Gerhard Bartels. Dré Geschichtsschreibung des Klosters Corvey (Inaugural-Dissertation, University of Göttingen [Münster, 1906]), pp. 17-26. The best edition of the Translatio sancti Viti martyris is that of Irene Schmale-Ott in "Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Westfalen," Vol. 41, "Fontes minores" 1 (Münster, 1979), which I cite in preference to that of Franz Stentrup in Abhandlungen über Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung, ed. E Philippi (Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Westfalen [Münster, 1906]), pp. 75-100, and to that of G. H. Pertz in MGH, Scriptorum, Vol. 2 (Hannover, 1829; reprint Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 576-585. On the question of the authorship of Translatio sancti Viti, I follow Schmale-Ott, Translatio sancti Viti, pp. 9ff. Although I cite the edition of Roger Wilmans, Translatio sanctae Pusinnae in idem, Die Kaiserurkunden der Provinz Westfalen (777-900), Vol. 1 (Münster, 1867), pp. 541-546, the text is also available in the edition of Daniel Papebroch in Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, Aprilis tomus tertius (reprint Paris, 1866), pp. 170ff. The version edited by G. H. Pertz in MGH, Scriptorum, Vol. 2, pp. 681ff., is an excerpt. On the date and place of composition of the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae, Klemens Honseimann, Gedanken sächsischer Theologen des 9- Jahrhunderts über die Heiligenverehrung," Westfalen, 40 (1962), 38-43, at pp. 38f. and note 5, and idem, "Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen," in Das erste Jahrtausend. Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr, ed. Victor H. Eibern (3 vols.; Düsseldorf, 1962), Vol. 1, pp. 159-193, at pp. 178f.

In these texts modern scholars have found information useful in reconstructing the history of Frankish political aims in Saxony, the evolution of Frankish-Saxon social relations, and the course of Christianity's penetration of the pagan northeast. These two documents seem to confirm what scholars know from other sources of the period, namely, that brutality and simplification were two prominent characteristics of the Christianization of Saxony. As the Vita Karoli suggests, military and political hegemony stood in reciprocal relation to mass baptism, swift imposition of the tithe, and enforced conformity to the new religion.13 While Alcuin opposed the use of violence in evangelical enterprises, even his influence over Charlemagne was limited, and in any case the harsh soil of physical coercion might someday yield spiritual fruit. The most he could do was to urge restraint and remind those concerned that true conversion involved a voluntary reorientation of the inner person.14

The Translatio sancti Viti and the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae are often cited in discussions of the simplified nature of the faith preached among the Saxons. Simplification of this sort was an extreme version of the didactic strategy of adapting the form of presentation to the capacities and proficiency of a particular audience. From Paul's metaphor of milk and solid food, to the advice on homily-writing presented by Pope Gregory I in his Liber regulae pastoralis, simplification was well known in the care of Christian souls, but the same approach could also be taken in the mission field.15 Pagan shrines that escaped demolition were rededicated as Christian churches; holy relics replaced sacred trees and idols as venerable objects that could bring success and prosperity.16 To follow a generation after the baptism of the Saxon leader

13Karl Hauck, "Die Ausbreitung des Glaubens in Sachsen und die Verteidigung der römischen Kirche als konkurrierende Herrscheraufgaben Karls des Großen," Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 4 (1970), 138-172, tries to reconstruct the stages of Charlemagne's Saxon policy.

14Alcuin, Epistolae 110 and 111, ed. Ernst Diimmler, MGH, Epistolae Karolini aev!, Vol. 2 (Berlin, 1895; reprint Munich, 1978), pp. 158-162.

15Richard E. Sullivan, "Carolingian Missionary Theories," Catholic Historical Review, 42 (October, 1956), 273-295, and idem, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," Speculum, 28 (1953), 705-740, both of which are reprinted in the author's Christian Missionary Activity.

16The locus classicus is Gregory !, Registrum Epistolarum 11.56, ed. Dag Norberg, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, V61. 140A (Turnhout, 1982), pp. 96lf.; R. A. Markus, "Gregory the Great and a Papal Missionary Strategy," in The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith, ed. G J. Cuming (Studies in Church History, Vol. 6 [Cambridge, 1970]), pp. 29-38. Prominent examples from Saxony include Willibald, Vita Bonifatii 6, ed. Wilhelm Levison, MG7/, SSrG (Hannover, 1905), pp. 1-58, at p. 32, and Adam of

Widukind in 785 is to enter a twilight world of pagan survivals and syncretism.17 The quest for the holy as encompassed in tangible objects and localized in particular places accompanied a formalism in other aspects of religious life and an excessively literal, even mechanical approach to the sacraments. The draconian measures of the early Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae can only have encouraged a grudging piety, more concerned with forms and external observation than inner disposition. Even after moderate legislation of 797 signaled détente and normalization, this attachment to visible, immediate sacrality persisted well into the ninth century.18 Nothing attests this lasting attachment more clearly than the translationes of holy relics from Rome, Francia, and elsewhere to the churches and monasteries of ninth-century Saxony.19

That the conversion was a brutal affair and that the faith preached was in some respects watered down to accommodate the traditions of the new converts seems undeniable. The Translatio sancti Viti and the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae clearly illustrate these themes. Yet if we view them not only as sources of information on the events they purport to describe, but as intellectual productions with an intrinsic interest of their own, these documents also permit us to glimpse the cultural horizon and expectations of authors working at mid-century Corvey. The value of such an approach has become apparent in a study that considered these two translatio narratives in a larger effort to trace continuity in the structure of Saxon society before and after the conquest.20 Another has discussed the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae as an indication of the level of learning at Corvey in the third quarter of the century.21 But it is possible to sharpen the focus on at least one part of the contextual meaning of these documents.

Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum 2.48, 3rd ed., ed. Bernhard Schmeidler, MGH, SSrG (Hannover, 1917), p. 108.

17RuLn Mazo Karras, "Pagan Survivals and Syncretism in the Conversion of Saxony," Catholic Historical Review, 72 (October, 1986), 553-572. For general discussions, see James C. Russell, The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociohistorical Approach to Religious Transformation (New York and Oxford, 1994), and Valerie I. J. Flint, The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe (Princeton, New Jersey, 1991).

"Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae and Capitulare Saxonicum, ed. Alfred Boretius, MGH, Capitularla regum Francorum, Vol. 1 (Hannover, 1883), pp. 68ff. and 71f., respectively.

19Honselmann, "Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen."

"Heinrich Schmidt, "Über Christianisierung und gesellschaftliches Verhalten in Sachsen und Friesland," Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte, 49 (1977), 1-44.

21 Honselmann, "Gedanken sächsischer Theologen."

The Translatio sancti Viti records the mid-eighth-century transferal of relics of the child martyr Vitus from Rome to Francia, ultimately to the monastery of St. Denis near Paris, and from there in 836 to Corvey.[22] The author presents the transferal as a part of the larger story of the expansion of the Church among the nations after the Passion. The conversion of the Saxons is simply the most recent step in a process reaching back through the conversion of the other Germanic peoples and the Roman empire, and before that to the age of the martyrs and apostles. Now kings serve the Church and honor the martyrs whom their predecessors put to death.[23] Charlemagne appears vigorous and powerful inside and outside his realm, successful in war because he brings pagan nations into the Church.[24] There is no effort here to conceal the brutality of his activity: ruling by divine grace, he terrorizes and coerces the enemies of the Church. Instead, the Saxons are presented as fortunate to learn the sweet name of the Lord while submitting to Frankish authority.[25] Charlemagne sent missionaries to them to preach the Gospel and build churches, because both subjugation and instruction in the faith were essential elements in the good ruler's policy toward barbarian peoples.[26]

The co-operation of Saxons in the evangelization of their compatriots is a theme that runs throughout the Translatio sancti Viti. This willing participation in the spread of Christianity seems to vindicate Charlemagne's coercive action by suggesting that divine grace animated at least some Saxons in the wake of the forced conversion. The main example of this is Warin, a nobleman of mixed Frankish and Saxon blood who became the second abbot of Corvey, immediately following its founder Adalhard.[27] Warin used saints' relics to help him strengthen the community as a solid headland of the faith against the tide of Saxon pa-

"On Vitus, Bibliotheca hagiographica latina (2 vols.; Brussels, 1898-1901) [hereafter cited as BHL], with Supplementi editio altera auctior (Brussels, 191 1) and Novum Supplementum (Brussels, 1986), nos. 8718, 8719, 8719a.

^Translatio sancti Viti 1, p. 32; Schmale-Ott, ibid., p. 14, note 47, points out a parallel passage in Paschasius Radbertus, De passione sanctorum Rufini et Valerii, ed. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina (221 vols.; Paris, 1844-1864), Vol. 120, cols. 1491C-1492A.

2l Translatio sancti Viti 3, pp. 34-36.

2iIbid. 1, p. 32, for "licet compulsi."/Wrf. 3, p. 34.

26Ibid. 3, p. 36.

27On the foundation of the abbey and its first abbots, Josef Semmler, "Corvey und Herford in der benediktinischen Reformbewegung des 9· Jahrhunderts," Frühmittelalterliche Studien, 4 (1970), 289-319, especially pp. 289-304; Helmut Wiesemeyer, "Die Gründung der Abtei Corvey im Lichte der Translatio sancti Viti" Westfälische Zeitschrift, 112 (1962), 245-274.

ganism. He made several attempts to collect relics for Corvey before realizing that Vitus was best suited to confirm the faith of his people and help save the Saxon nation. In acquiring the relics, Warin had the assistance of Hilduin of St. Denis, and he scrupulously consulted Louis the Pious before the transferal.28 But the thrust of the account is clear: a Frankish-Saxon abbot in a Frankish-Saxon monastery transferred relics of Vitus from Francia for the edification of Saxons.

The story of the saint's miracles performed during the movement of his relics reinforces this message of Frankish-Saxon unity in the faith. As is common in this form of hagiography, the Translatio sancti Viti stresses the public and ceremonial aspect of the movement of relics.29 Both the miracles and the progress of the itinerary point to the dramatic arrival of the relics at Corvey. There, gathered reverently to greet the saint, a multitude of noble Saxons prayed and sang throughout the night. This display of genuine devotion received divine approval through the saint's signs and miracles.30

In an immediate way, these miracles confirm the faith of the Saxon concursus at Corvey, offering tangible proof that faith in transcendent truth has its reward.31 On a deeper level, they help express the author's vision of the Saxons' place in the Christian populus. When the Translatio sancti Viti was written, soon after 836, an observer at Corvey could accept Charlemagne's Saxon wars and the initial forced conversion as events beneficial to the Saxons. Providence had determined that the Saxons should be brought into the Church just as the faith had earlier triumphed among the Franks and other nations. Although Charlemagne deserved credit for compelling the Saxons to come in, not even he could force them to open themselves to the full working of grace; this they had to do on their own. Happily, a number of noble Saxons rose to the task and with the help of Vitus brought many of their compatriots to a willing acceptance of the faith, thus adding the Saxons to the list of gentile peoples converted in the interim between the Incarnation and the Second Advent.

28 Translatio sancti Viti 4, pp. 44-46; ibid. 5, pp. 46-48; ibid. 9, p. 52.

29 Martin Heinzelmann, Translationesberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, Vol. 33 [Turnhout, 1979]), especially pp. 66-83 and 94-99.

30 Translatio sancti Viti 27, pp. 60-62, on the "adventus" and "signa et sanitates hominum."

31 Ibid. 20, pp. 58-60, for example.

The second translatio narrative produced at Corvey, the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae, was written between 862 and 875 and records the transferal in 860 of the saint's relics from Binson, in the Diocese of Châlons-sur-Marne, to the Saxon convent of Herford located northwest of Paderborn.32 Although its author was familiar with the Translatio sancti Viti and probably the Vita Karoli, and thus had at his disposal fairly extensive information on Carolingian military and missionary activity in Saxony and the movement of relics, he departed from his sources in two significant ways.33

First, the account praises the Saxons before and after their conversion. Once again the role of Saxons in the evangelization of their compatriots is central. Commenting on Matthew 28:20, the author says that the movement of Pusinna's relics to Herford is simply one episode in the gradual expansion of the Church in the present age.34 The initial conversion had been a violent business because the Saxons clung tenaciously to their ancestral paganism. Charlemagne was "great and glorious" because he pried them loose from idolatry and gave them the chance for eternal salvation. But the author also strikes a note of pride on behalf of the Saxons by pointing out that they were reluctant to give up what was after all their religious heritage. Noble and vigorous, the Saxons were also wise, because, once members of the Church, they eagerly endowed monasteries and presented their sons as oblates.35

The author recounts the foundation of Corvey and Herford with emphasis on the noble, Frankish-Saxon lineage of Warin, second abbot of

52On Pusinna,#Ät,no. 6995, and Baudouin de Gaiffier,"La plus ancienne Vie de sainte Pusinne de Binson, honorée en Westfalie,"/4«e/ecf« Bollandiana,76 (1958), 188-223. On the transferal of relics, Honselmann,"Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen," pp. 178ff. On Herford, which was affiliated with Corbie and Corvey, LexMA, Vol. 4, cols. 2152f., and DHGEXoI. 23,cols. 1430-1434.

53G. H. Penz,MGH,Scriptorum 2, p. 681, includes both the Vita Karoli and the Translatio sancti Viti on the list of works to which the author seems to have had access. The author of the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae certainly had access to some account of the Saxon wars, and that of Einhard seems most likely. He mentions the presence of relics of Vitus at Corvey, 4, p. 543, and seems to use the earlier translatio narrative as a model. For example, Translatio sancti Viti 27, 28, 29, pp. 60-64, and Translatio sanctae Pusinnae 7, p. 544.

^Translatio sanctae Pusinnae 1,p. 541.

"ZWd. 1, p. 541. See also, Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 22f.; Beumann,"Die Hagiographie 'bewältigt,'" p. 156; for another example of Saxon patriotism in the mid-ninth century, Klemens Honseimann, "Eine Essener Predigt zum Feste des hl. Marsus aus dem 9. Jahrhundert," Westfälische Zeitschrift, 1 10 (I960), 199-221, at p. 207.

Corvey, and Hadewig, Warin's niece and first abbess of Herford.[36] Through her brother Cobbo, who spent time at the court of Charles the Bald, Hadewig obtained royal permission to acquire and move relics of St. Pusinna. Thus, like the Translatio sancti Viti, the story highlights the transferal of holy relics and its Saxon participants as a part of the growth of the Church among the gentiles, and the patronage of Pusinna at Herford is an indication that Saxony now enjoys the unity and concord of the faith.[37]

The absence of miracle stories in the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae marks the author's second major deviation from the path charted by his sources. In view of the prominence of miracle stories in the Translatio sancti Viti and other narratives of Saxon translationes, this omission is curious.[38] The author's own explanation shows that the departure from convention was deliberate and also sheds light on the broader question of the Saxons as new members of the Church.

The author expresses no doubt about the possibility of miracles in general or the reality of those of Pusinna in particular: miracles have occurred in the past and will occur in the future.[39] But he reminds his audience with greater insistence than is typical of other Saxon translatio reports that signs and miracles reflect divine power, not the saint's.[40] Paraphrasing 1 Corinthians 14:22, he notes that miracles are intended more for the unfaithful than for believers; they open the eyes of those who were asleep with faithlessness and help keep them vigilant thereafter. The faithful, on the other hand, know that miracles may indicate the presence of sanctity but do not themselves convey blessedness. He mentions that the apostles Matthew (7:22f.) and Paul (1 Cor. 13:2) had warned that signs, miracles, and prophecy are not inherently beneficial and do not necessarily reflect charity.[41] Finally, he notes that some of the Church's greatest teachers and theologians, men such as Augustine and

[36] On the foundation and earliest abbesses of Herford, Semmler, op.cit, pp. 292-304, who feels that a reliable core of information exists in the Vita beati Waltgeri confessoris, despite its discrepancies with the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae.

[37] Translatio sanctae Pusinnae 2 and 3, p. 542, on the family of Warin and Hadewig; ibid. 1, p. 541, on the expansion of the Church carried on by the servants of Jesus; ibid. 3, p. 542, on Hadewig's quest for relics.

[38] Heinzelmann, op.cit., pp. 63-66.

[39] On the saint's signa in Francia, Translatio sanctae Pusinnae 6, p. 544; ibid. 9, p. 545.

[40] Ibid. 9, p. 545; Schmale-Ott, Translatio sancti Viti, pp. 13f, places more emphasis on this theme.

[41] Translatio sanctae Pusinnae 11, p. 546.

Jerome, performed no miracles, raised no one from the grave; yet their doctrine sustains the entire Church and helps lead mankind to resurrection.42

This approach to miracles illuminates the author's view of the spiritual progress of the Saxons. The discussion of miracles implies that he considered his audience sufficiently advanced in the faith not to need wonder stories as proof that grace is at work in Saxony. The monks of Corvey and the nuns of Herford should know that only those of weak faith need to see miracles or hear stories about them. In the earlier days of the Church in their nation, for instance when the relics of Vitus were moved to Corvey, the Saxons may have been so stubbornly devoted to their ancestral religion that they were like a people asleep. Under those circumstances, signs and wonders of the sort recorded in the Translatio sancti Viti were necessary to arouse them and make them vigiliant members of the Church. A generation later the situation looked different. Now the Saxons could pass beyond miracles to see the divine truth reflected in them. While mentioning that miracles had occurred near the relics of Pusinna, the author refrains from describing them because a circumstantial account would not serve the needs of his audience. It is enough to know that Pusinna's arrival at Herford is an episode in the recent history of the Church in Saxony. As we have seen, his view of the history of the Saxon Church agrees in some ways with that expressed in the Translatio sancti Viti. But the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae goes beyond its immediate Corvey model, as well as the Vita Karoli, by crediting the Saxons with wisdom and native stability of character; they not only adopted the true faith but also became so steadfast in their focus on the next world as no longer to need stories of miracles to direct their attention to God.

It has been suggested that impatience with the popular enthusiasm for holy relics and miracles was one part of Corvey's legacy from its mother house, Corbie.43 As Klemens Honselmann has pointed out, the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae reflects a higher level of theological sophistication than one might expect to find in a monastery on the periphery of the Frankish world among a recently Christianized Saxon population.44 One precondition of this relatively advanced discourse

42 Ibid. 11, p. 546.

43 Schmale-Ott, Translatio sancti Viti, pp. 13f.

44 Honselmann, "Gedanken sächsischer Theologen," p. 43; idem, "Die Annahme des Christentums durch die Sachsen im Lichte sächsischer Quellen des 9. Jahrhunderts," Westfälische Zeitschrift, 108 (1958), 201-219.

was certainly Corvey's longstanding cultural relationship with Corbie as well as with the court of Louis the Pious.45

But it would be a mistake to take the remarks on miracles in the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae as signs of a general hostility toward miracles and other forms of tangible, visible sacrality at mid-century Corvey. An immediate indication that the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae does not reflect a wider hostility toward wonders and stories of wonders is found in a record of Pusinna's miracles apparently written in the 860s which confirms the assertion made in the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae that the saint had performed miracles at Herford since the arrival of her relics there. In more general terms, however, very few Carolingian sources present a consistent polarity between matter and spirit in devotional practice and forms of worship.47 Instead elements of the transcendent, spiritualizing tradition appear in more or less uneasy combination with traces of materialism and the tradition of immanence.

The two tendencies appear side by side in the work of the Corbie author Paschasius Radbertus. He is worth singling out here because he visited Corvey at the time of its foundation and later wrote biographies of its founders, Adalhard and Wala, in which the "new Corbie" is prominent.48 Because he dedicated two works, De corpore et sanguine Domini and De fide, spe et caritate, to Abbot Warin, Radbertus has also been linked to the school of Corvey, about which we otherwise know very little. Helmut Wiesemeyer, an authority on the history of medieval

4On the library and scriptorium of Corvey, Paul Lehmann, "Corveyer Studien," which appeared in 1919 and is reprinted in his Erforschung des Mittelalters. Augewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze (5 vols.; Stuttgart, 1959-1962), Vol. 5, pp. 94-178, and Helmut Wiesemeyer, "Corbie und die Entwicklung der Corveyer Klosterschule vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert," Westfälische Zeitschrift, l 13 (1963), 271-282.

"Klemens Honseimann, "Berichte des 9. Jahrhunderts über Wunder am Grabe der big. Pusinna in Herford," in Dona Westfalica. Georg Schreiber zum 80. Geburtstage (Schriften der historischen Kommission Westfalens, Vol. 4 [Münster, 1963]), pp. 128-136.

47TwO exceptions may be the Libri Carolini and the Apologeticum atque rescriptum of Claudius of Turin. See Celia Chazelle, "Matter, Spirit and Image in the Libri Carolini" Recherches augustiniennes, 21 (1986), 163-184, and Claudio Leonardi, "Gli irlandesi in Italia. Dungal e la controversia iconoclasta," in Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter, ed. Heinz Löwe (2 vols.; Stuttgart, 1982), Vol. 2, pp. 746-757. Despite the author's tendency to exaggerate the misgivings of elite authors about popular devotion, and to present the veneration of holy relics as little more than a pragmatic concession to the many, Hans Liebeschütz, "Wesen und Grenzen des karolingischen Rationalismus," Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 33 (1971), 17-44, especially pp. 28-32, remains useful.

48 On these biographies, Walter Berschin, Biographie und Epochenstil Im lateinischen Mittelalter (3 vols.; Stuttgart, 1986- 1991), Vol. 3, pp. 304-326.

Corvey, suggests that these works help us understand how theology was taught in the school of Corvey.49 Finally, Radbertus is also sometimes said to have been critical of popular enthusiasm for holy relics and miracles.50

While it contains some truth, this last assertion requires serious qualification. In his revision of an earlier De passione sanctorum Ruflni et Valerii Radbertus observed that records of the lives and virtue of the saints provide the faithful a greater means of improvement than do "little scraps of clothing or a bit of dust of a dead body"51 A few lines later, however, Radbertus assures the reader that he does not mean to disparage holy relics, because those who venerate them do receive the assistance of the saints in this world and the next. He draws attention to the relative importance of spiritual and material goods, and then turns this idea of relative goods to help explain his own literary revision of the earlier Passion2 Again, Radbertus wrote De corpore et sanguine Domini around 831 at the request of Abbot Warin, who hoped that such a work would improve the understanding of the Eucharist among the monks of Corvey, especially those bound for ordination.53 So far from depreciating the sacral character of certain physical objects, Radbertus' "realist" position rests upon his conviction that the natural order is itself immediately susceptible to the influence of divine will. It has been suggested that Radbertus' awareness of miracles helped shape his doctrine.54 He emphasizes eucharistie miracles and the charismatic power wielded by priests in the transformation of the bread and wine. Since the real substance of the elements changes, while their figura or species remains the same, the Eucharist, he feels, surpasses other sorts of miracles which involve unexpected changes in sensible appearance only.55

49 For De corpore et sanguine Domini, see below, note 55, De fide, spe et caritate, ed. Bede Paulus, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Vol. 97 (Turnhout, 1990), pp. 3-l42; Wiesemeyer, "Corbie und die Entwicklung der Corveyer Klosterschule," p. 274, who cites Bartels, op. cit., pp. 24f., to the same effect.

50 Schmale-Ott, Translatio sancti Viti, p. 14; Berschin, op.cit., Vol. 3, P- 306.

51 De passione sanctorum Rufini et Valerii, PL, 120, cols. 1489C-1490C.

,2Ibid, cols. 1490C-1491B; for discussion, Berschin, op.cit., Vol. 3, pp. 305f.

"De corpore et sanguine Domini, ed. Bede Paulus, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Vol. 16 (Turnhout, 1969), pp. vii f., for 831-833 as die time of composition. Radbertus dedicated a reworked version of the book to Charles the Bald in about 844.

54 MaHa Cristiani, "La controversia eucaristica nella cultura del secólo LX," Studi medieval!, 3rd. ser., 9 (1968), 167-233, at p. 190.

"Ibid., p. 172, no. 19, and pp. 193f, on his understanding of the terms figura and species.

These examples from the work of Radbertus suggest that remarks which might at first appear to be hostile to relics and the miracles of the saints may turn out to have a rather different character when judged in their wider context.[56] This is true of the comments on miracles included in the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae. They too seem more occasional than programmatic or expressive of a consistently "spiritualizing" theology. But recognizing this leaves open the question of the circumstances which might have elicited an expression of such ideas. Heinrich Schmidt has argued that they served a social function.[57] According to this view, the use of images of spiritual growth as well as other forms of Christian religious expression were instrumental in the preservation of the power and status of the Saxon social elite. He argues that the Saxon aristocracy furnished resources and oblates for new monasteries and supported the pastoral work of the Church in Saxony as a means of subordinating and eventually controlling the free peasantry, which was the main locus of pagan resistance to Christianization.[58] One need not accept his functionalist view of religion in order to acknowledge the value of Schmidt's identification of an important domestic Saxon source for the mid-ninth-century reappraisal of the conquest and conversion evident in the Corvey sources surveyed here.[59]

I would simply add that the perspective reflected in the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae also makes sense in light of a foreign concern, namely, the on-going evangelical effort east of the Aller River and on the Danish frontier. Consciousness of a duty to convert pagans in neighboring lands may have encouraged the monks of Corvey to reflect on recent events in their own history and the impetus those events had given to the Spiritual progress of at least some Saxons. Within a decade of its own foundation, Corvey became a staging point for missionaries

56For another example of an expression of reservations about signs and wonders which could easily be taken out of context, Adam of Bremen, Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum 1.40, pp. 43f. For discussion of the problem in general, Benedicta Ward, Miracles and the Medieval Mind (Philadelphia, 1982); Klaus Schreiner, "'Discrimen veri ac falsi': Ansätze und Formen der Kritik in der Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung des Mittelalters" Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 48 (1966), 1-53, and idem, "Zum Wahrheitsverständnis im Heiligen- und Reliquienwesen des Mittelalters," Soeculum, 17 (1966), 131-169.

57 Schmidt, op.cit.

58 Ibid., pp. 35ff.

59 As Schmidt, ibid., p. 25, puts it: "The second generation of aristocrats after the Frankish conquest began to project its Christianized self-awareness backwards onto the pagan past."

bound for northern Saxony, Denmark, and what is now western Mecklenburg. Anskar, who traveled to pagan Sweden as an imperial legate and in 831 became the first bishop of Hamburg, had spent time as a monk of Corvey.60 The same was true of his successor, Rimbert, who presided over the church of Hamburg-Bremen from 865 until his death in 888. The effort was at times perilous, as when Danish raiders sacked Hamburg, destroying both cathedral and library in 845, and during the same decade when turmoil in Francia threatened the logistic support of the northern mission. Located along one of the major routes to the northeast, Corvey and neighboring Herford were in close contact with the apostles of the north and dispatched personnel of their own to participate in the evangelical effort. Consciousness of this responsibility to bring others into the Church may lie behind the view of Saxon spiritual progress presented in the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae.

In short, the memory of the transferal of holy relics had a contextual significance at Corvey in the ninth as well as the tenth century. At Ottoman Corvey, Widukind reassessed the conquest and forced conversion by viewing it as the beginning of a process which culminated in his own time with the rise of the Saxon dynasty. Corvey's acquisition of the relics of St. Vitus in 836 marked a shift of prosperity and success from the Franks to the Saxons.61 Several generations earlier, soon after the arrival of relics from Francia, the author of the Translatio sanctae Pusinnae had expressed his own view about the place of the Saxon people in a wider historical canvas by rehabilitating their national character and asserting that some Saxons had, in effect, gone well beyond pagan survivals and syncretism.

60 Wolfdieter Haas, "Forts apostolus—intus monachus. Ansgar als Mönch und 'Apostel des Nordens¡" Journal of Medieval History, 11 (1985), 1-30.

61 Widukind of Corvey, Rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri tres, 1.34, 5th ed., ed. G Waitz and K. A. Kehi, MGH, SSrG (Hannover, 1935), pp. 41.26-42.12; for discussion, Beumann, Widukind von Korvei, pp. 220ff.

JUAN MATEO GUATICABANÚ, SEPTEMBER 21, 1496: EVANGELIZATION AND MARTYRDOM IN THE TIME OF COLUMBUS

Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo*

The first native converts to Christianity in the Americas were baptized on September 21, 1496, on the island of Hispaniola in what is now the Dominican Republic and claimed the palms of martyrdom for the faith less than two years later. Sadly, this first willing acceptance of the Gospel by native peoples in 1496 has gone relatively unstudied by theologians and historians alike.[1] The lamentable void may be partially explained by the enigmatic character of the evangelization of the Taino natives of the Caribbean, which is overshadowed by the successes of missionary efforts among the natives of Mexico a generation later. If we are to understand the special character of the first native conversions in 1496, I do not think we can use as guideposts the evangelization after the Caribbean experience.[2] Instead, we should turn to the evangelization which came before 1492, even if this means we must trespass the disciplinary boundaries between Americanists and medievalists.[3] The quick-

*Mr. Stevens-Arroyo is professor of Puerto Rican Studies at Brooklyn College, City University of New York, and affiliate research fellow at the Center for the Study of American Religion at Princeton University, 1995-1996.

[1] Gerald R Fogarty's review of Columbus' accomplishments ("1892 and 1992: From Celebration of Discovery to Encounter of Cultures," Catholic Historical Review, LXXTX [October, 1993], 621-647) reflects more than 100 years of historiography and omits these events. The Catholic theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez (Las Casas: In Search of the Poor of Jesus Christ [Maryknoll, New York, 1993]) never mentions the Taino converts at all, nor does the Protestant Luis Rivera (A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas [Louisville, 1992]) despite acknowledging the work of Ramón Pané (pp. 155,219).

[2] Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and the Caribbean Islands," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 35 (July, 1993), 515-543.

[3] The work of James Muldoon stands as a notable, if not solitary, exception to this division. See James Muldoon, The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century (Philadelphia, 1994).

ening pulse of medieval Christendom in the twelfth century had brought contact with China and other non-Christian kingdoms, necessitating a reformulation of how Christendom viewed "the other."[4] This impetus to evangelization converged with Atlantic exploration after 1351 when the Canary Islands became the laboratory for conversion of native peoples who were neither Jews nor Muslims.[5] It has become increasingly clear that Columbus' voyage is best understood as part of medieval Europe's exploration of the Atlantic.[6] I would attach study of evangelization in the Caribbean to this paradigm of a fifteenth-century Atlantic world.

Columbus' first description of the native Tainos of the Caribbean compares them to the natives of Gran Canaria. It should not be surprising that the Canaries were the analogue for the Admiral's narrative, since Columbus' first voyage in 1492 occurred midway between the subjugation of Gran Canaria in 1488 and the conquest of Tenerife in 1496.[7] But the physical appearance of the natives was not the only similarity between the Canary and the Caribbean Islands for the Admiral. His insistence upon feudal rights to govern the islands he had "discovered" placed Columbus in the mold of the fourteenth-century colonizers of the Canaries who had tried to reproduce medieval society by placing themselves as lords over the natives as serfs.[8] These entrepreneurial hidalgos clashed with missionaries who preferred to leave the chiefs in power, because even if the mission was vulnerable to native rebellions like the massacre of 1483, Christianization was longer lasting when a converted native ruler imposed the faith upon his own "vassals" without Spanish arms.[9]

The Spanish monarchs, Fernando and Isabela, who settled Spain's claim to the Canaries in 1479, insisted that evangelization and colonization go hand in hand,[10] and intervened as arbiters between friars and hi-

[4]James Muldoon, Popes, Lawyers and Infidels: The Church and the Non-Christian World, 1250-1550 (Philadelphia, 1979).

[5]The status of native Canarians raised questions of jurisdiction, both political and ecclesiastical. The eventual result, directly influencing America, was classification of the inhabitants as negative infidels, i.e., as persons who had done nothing to reject the faith. See Dominik J. Wöfel,"La curia romana y la corona de España en defensa a los aborígenes de Canañas'Anthropos, XXV (1930), the classic source on this issue.

[6]Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1229-1492 (Philadelphia, 1987), p. 8; see also pp. 203-208.

[7]Ibid., pp. 212-217.

[8]Felipe Fernández-Armesto, Columbus (Oxford, 1991), pp. 135-138.

[9]Stevens-Arroyo, op. cit. pp. 533-534; for the killing of missionaries, see p. 520.

[10]"This is the central notion of Antonio Rumeu de Armas in La política indigenista de Isabel la Católica (VaUadolid, 1969). See also Rumeu de Armas,"Los problemas derivados

dalgos in the frequent conflicts over native rights. Imposing what might be called a "speak softly but carry a big stick" approach, the crown offered native chiefs a stark option: feudal vassalage or Spanish attack. The condition for vassalage was acceptance of baptism, sort of a Catholicism-as-citizenship, and the crown found this combination of evangelization and conquest a more efficient way of dealing with the natives than allowing friars and hidalgos to act independently and, more often than not, adversarially.

This mixture of religious goals and political advantages should not be viewed cynically. The chiefs, called menceyes on Tenerife and guanartemes on Gran Canaria, came to realize that they could remain rulers by professing obedience to a far-off monarch. In effect, they were thus elevated to feudal status, equal—rather than subordinate—to the conquering hidalgos, who were likewise bound by fealty to the crown. Moreover, the chiefs were showered with the resources of European culture, which they often used as prestige items to enhance their rule over the native people. The crown-endorsed religion also became a protection for the natives from rapacious Spanish slave traders, because in 1477 Queen Isabela ordered the manumission of native Canarians taken as slaves. They were freed from the households and farms of Seville and were offered transportation back to the islands whence they had come, an order repeated in 1481 and extended to the whole of Spain." Under the aegis of religion, the Catholic monarchs deprived hidalgos of income vital to self-financing the colonization,12 just as similar tactics on the peninsula had lessened the influence of the nobility and concentrated power in the crown.13

Columbus' romantic mysticism had given the natives an aura of the "noble savage" in his self-laudatory letters to the crown. But despite such posturing, the weight of historical evidence places Columbus in the role of exploiter, not of evangelizer, of the Tainos. He ordered forced labor, torture, enslavement, and execution of the Tainos when it suited his cause. There was apparently some effort of Columbus at conversion of the cacique Guacanagri, whom he perceived as the ruler of the

del contacto de razas en los albores del renacimiento," Cuadernos de Historia, Anexos de la revista Hispania (Madrid, 1967), pp. 86-90, et passim.

"Rumeu de Armas, La política indigenista,^. 37.

12In 1526, two decades after Columbus' death, his descendants recognized that they could not colonize the Americas as a private enterprise and surrendered their patrimony to the Spanish Crown in exchange for special considerations.

"Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca, New York, 1975), pp. 662-663, et passim.

northern area of Hispaniola, where the Admiral had landed in 1492, but no baptism is recorded for Guacanagri.14 His effort to convert a local chieftain was part of Columbus' imitation in the Americas of the monarchs' strategy employed in the Canaries. But the conversion effort was unsuccessful, probably because among other things Columbus simply could not offer the benefits to the Taino chief that the crown had been able to provide to the native Cañarían rulers. The Admiral had taken Tainos back to Spain after the voyage of discovery in 1492, where apparently seven survived and accepted baptism.15 But these baptisms in Spain of native hostages do not clearly qualify as evangelization of a people and their culture. Those efforts began after the second voyage.

From a fleet of seventeen ships and a force of about 1,300 men, which had landed triumphantly on Hispaniola on November 27, 1493, Columbus had seen his forces steadily shrink. Within weeks of his arrival, disease, discontent, and the lack of food had forced him to abandon his first landfall and seek a new settlement near the Bajabónico River, where the first Eucharistie liturgy in America was celebrated on the Feast of the Epiphany in 1494. This Mass was celebrated by King Fernando's appointed missionary, Bernardo Boyl, a former Benedictine, who had entered the convent of the Friars Minim. Pope Alexander VI had granted Boyl faculties over all the Tainos in the bull PUs fidelium (June 25, 1493), but Boyl's appointment probably owed something to politics as well, because he had served the king in various secret diplomatic missions to Italy16 Columbus laid out a town he named Isabela after the Queen, envisioning a coastal settlement of some two hundred homes built of wood and native materials. He strategically placed his own residence, constructing it of stone so that it might also serve as a fortress.

But within weeks, the Tainos in the area could not offer any more of their food to satisfy a thousand Europeans and some twenty horses. Complicating the crisis, food spoilage in the tropical heat began to deplete Spanish supplies. Columbus sent foraging expeditions into the in-

14Troy S. Floyd, The Columbus Dynasty in the Caribbean, 7452-7526(AIbUqUeTqUe, 1973), pp. 28-29.

15Bartolomé de Las Casas, Historia 1, 96, in Obras escogidas, edd. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso and Emilio López Oto (5 vols.; Madrid, 1957-1958).

16Besides the Minim Boyl, the missionaries included the Mercedarian Juan Infante and three Franciscans: Father Rodrigo Pérez and Brothers Juan de Deule and Juan Tisim, the latter from French provinces. To these must be added the catechist and Hieronymite from Catalonia, Ramón Pané. León Lopetegui, S. J., and Felix Zubillaga, S. J. ,Historia de la Iglesia en la América española. México. América Central. Antillas (Madrid, 1965), p. 214.

terior of the island. When Antonio de Torres returned with not only food but gold nuggets as well, Columbus dispatched him with three hundred men to Spain in twelve of the seventeen ships at the end of January, 1494. Torres was to prove to the crown that gold was available and bring back needed supplies. But although his departure also relieved the pressing need for food, it did not assuage the rising tide of discontent.

On March 14, 1494, Columbus led his troops from Isabela southeastwards to the island's interior. Along the way, he founded two inland forts on the Yaque River. The first in the contemporary town of Jarico he named "Fort St. Thomas," after the apostle who had doubted the resurrection of Jesus. Columbus had intended this settlement to provide enough gold to silence the "doubting Thomases" who were skeptical about finding quick wealth on the island. Some two weeks later, he founded a second fort named Magdalena, after the repentant sinner of the Bible. According to Las Casas, it was located some "ten or twelve leagues" west of what became the present-day town of Santiago in the Dominican Republic.17 Columbus left a garrison there under Luis de Artiaga, while he plowed on for his first visit to the fertile and densely populated valley area near the present-day La Vega.18

Upon his return to Isabela, Columbus found hunger, much misery, and the makings of a mutiny.19 In order to ensure total loyalty from the grumbling colonists, the Admiral resorted to splitting the noses and ears of those who hoarded food or gold.20 This permanent disfiguring was a drastic measure that built resentment against the high-handed dictates of a commoner seaman who -was a foreigner to boot. Such harshness toward his own men merited reproach from Father Boyl and sowed seeds for the deterioration of Columbus' authority.21

But Columbus' cruelty also extended to the natives. Alonso de Ojeda, an hidalgo, penetrated to the interior during the second week of April, 1494, and cut off the ears of a cacique in reprisal for stealing the clothes of three Spaniards. Judging such terror to be a useful tactic for extracting food, Columbus authorized the knights of the light cavalry to raid Indian villages for food whenever necessary.22 Thus, instead of depending solely on Guacanagri, the cacique of the north, Columbus spread

17 Las Casas, op. cit., 1, 100.

18Samuel M. Wilson, Hispaniola: Caribbean Chiefdoms in the Age of Columbus (Tuscaloosa, 1990), pp. 78-83.

19Las Casas, op. cit., 1, 92.

20Cuneo as cited in Floyd, op. cit. ,p. 25, n. 37.

21Las Casas, op. cit. , 1, 92.

22Demetrio Ramos Pérez, JSZ conflicto de las lanzas jinetas: El primer alzamiento

out his garrisons on Hispaniola, placing them closer to food supplies from various Indian villages. Recalcitrant natives, such as those who assaulted the fort at St. Thomas, were captured and enslaved in the traditions of medieval warfare, putting approximately 1,500 Tainos to hard labor to benefit the colonists.

The Admiral thought that he had resolved the immediate food problems and could get on with his explorations. Accordingly, he sailed west on April 24, 1494, on a search for oriental kingdoms that brought him instead to Cuba and Jamaica. While he was away from Isabela, his brother Bartolomé arrived from Spain and assumed command of the infant colony sometime in June, 1494. Columbus' brother encountered not only starving and grumbling colonists, but an irate missionary in Boyl. The king's appointed military commander, Mosén Pedro Margarit, sided with his fellow Aragonese. And together with the other priests, Margarit's soldiers, and most of the knights of light cavalry, they commandeered ships from the returning Antonio de Torres and set sail for Spain in the middle of September, 1494.23

With Boyl's departure, the first stage of evangelization of the American natives ended scarcely nine months after it had begun. The official complaints filed in Spain by the three groups of dissidents detail their reasons for desertion. Margarit was concerned about the survival of his men, who had already suffered many deaths by disease and starvation. The knights complained that instead of protecting the colonists according to a chivalrous code of conduct, Columbus had asked them to supervise the oppression of the Tainos. In this light, it would seem unfair to categorize their unauthorized departure as mutiny against Columbus, because it had aspects of justifiable disobedience to immoral orders.24

The grievance of Father Boyl included a pessimistic evaluation of the Tainos' capacity for evangelization.25 For nearly a century in both Majorca and the Canary Islands, Aragonese evangelization policy dictated the use of the native language in catechesis.26 Perhaps because he was a

en tierra americana, durante el segundo viaje colombino (Santo Domingo, 1982), p. 106.

25Las Casas, op. cit., l, 102.

24Ramos Pérez, op. cit. ,pp. 133-134.

25Floyd,op ai., pp. 16-17.

26The Arabie language schools established there by the Dominican, the Blessed Miguel de Benázar, proved decisive in the conversion of leading Muslims to Christianity. Recognizing this early success, principles of evangelization tolerant of culture were developed

proponent of the teachings of Ramón Iiull,27 Boyl anticipated encountering non-Christians like Muslims, who possessed writing and the technologies of civilization. But his testimony in Spain describes the Tainos as "savages" who resisted conversion, contrasting with the more romantic views espoused by Columbus. The only measure taken by Boyl toward a systematic effort at evangelization seems to have been his decision to send some two dozen natives back to Spain with Torres in February, 1494, in order to have native speakers trained as catechists. But the physical deterioration of most natives taken to Spain undercut plans to train native catechists away from their island homelands.28 The testimonies of Mosén Margarit, the knights, and Friar Boyl threw doubt on Columbus' enterprise, and a year later the monarchs dispatched Juan de Aguado to evaluate the situation.

Only weeks after the unauthorized departures, the Admiral returned to Hispaniola from his inter-island explorations on September 29, 1494. With good reason, Columbus understood that the stability of his administration depended upon satisfying the remaining colonists, even if it entailed abuse of the natives. In February of 1495, the Admiral once again sent Antonio de Torres back to Spain. This time about five hundred captured Tainos were transported to the slave markets of Seville in order to raise money for the colony. But just as she had done for the native Canarians decades before, Queen Isabela repudiated the slave trade among the Tainos, ordering the manumission of the Tainos in 1500.29

The gold held by the Tainos became the immediate source of wealth to satisfy the grumbling colonists. Columbus decreed that all Tainos had to regularly pay a tribute in gold nuggets. However, the Admiral's penchant for pomp and displays of force no longer offered an effective means of intimidating the natives. To secure tribute, Columbus was compelled to respond with force to every manifestation of native unrest. But this created a spiral of violence, because the more impossible

by Raimundo Peñafort (1175/80-1275) and Ramón Hull (d. 1315). See Rumeu de Armas, "Los problemas derivados," pp. 70-72.

"Miguel Cruz Hernández, El pensamiento de Ramón Hull (Valencia, 1977), pp. 316-317.

28For the fate of Tainos sent to Spain, see Rivera, op. cit. ,p. 95, citing Cuneo.

29In one of history's ironies, a Taino slave had been given by Pedro Las Casas as a "houseboy" to his son, Bartolomé. The elder Las Casas had accompanied Columbus on the second voyage in futile search of fortune. The Taino was freed, and in 1502 Bartolomé de Las Casas, fresh from schooling in a Spanish seminary, was to journey to Hispaniola as an unordained catechist. (Pedro Borges, ¿Quién era Bartolomé de las Casas? [Madrid, 1990], pp. 22-23.)

were the demands he placed upon the Tainos, the more likely was their resistance. When their brothers and sisters, wives and children were so cruelly abused by the invaders, passivity was no longer possible for the local chieftains. Instead of accepting Spanish cruelty as Columbus had anticipated, the caciques led by Caonabó began a chain of sporadic rebellions in February of 1495. A month later, Caonabó's ally, Guatiguaná, killed ten unsuspecting Spaniards in an attack on the fort at Magdalena and then burned a settlement outside the stockade, slaying another forty people. In reprisal, Columbus marched into the interior, attacking the natives near the two forts and taking another 1,500 Tainos captive. Ojeda used a ruse to capture Caonabó and brought him back to Isabela in chains.[50] Further south on the Rio Verde in March of 1495, Columbus' brother Bartolomé founded a third garrison called "Concepción de la Vega," which survives today as the oldest Spanish settlement in the Americas.[31]

No sooner erected and placed under the command of Juan de Ayala, the new fort was surrounded by hostile Tainos. Columbus marched rapidly southeastwards from Isabela to lift the siege, enlisting Guacanagri in the struggle against his fellow Tainos. Las Casas' reconstruction of a subsequent battle describes the Spanish victory with a medieval literary device dating back to the times of the Reconquista against the Moors. The encounter with the rebellious Tainos at La Vega on March 27, 1495, it was said, occasioned the appearance of Our Lady of Mercy to the triumphant Spaniards.[32] Embellishing this legend (which does not appear in Columbus' writings), Las Casas says that when Tainos intent upon desecration assaulted a wooden cross erected as a memorial of the victory, they were frustrated by heavenly forces.[33]

The Admiral needed some evidence that his enterprise would eventually enlist chiefs as Christianizers of their own people. He attempted the medieval tactic of a marriage alliance by offering one of the Christianized Tainos taken from the Lucayo Islands on the first voyage of 1492 as husband to a daughter of Guarionex, the major chieftain of the Cibao region, whose rule had been shaken by Spanish victory at La Vega. Columbus hoped that such a marriage would lead to the baptism of this paramount cacique, thus helping to subdue the natives, just as

[30] Wilson, op. cit., pp. 84-87, citing Las Casas, op. cit., 1, 406-407.

[31] Ibid., p. 81.

[32] Las Casas, op. cit., 1, 90. Floyd, op. cit., pp. 28-29, n. 42.

[33] See José Gabriel García, Compendio de la historia de Santo Domingo (4th edition; 4 vols.; Santo Domingo, 1968), 1, 43. Also, Wilson, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

similar marriage alliances had brought pacification of Gran Canaria. For the task of converting Guarionex, in early April of 1495 Columbus turned to Ramón Pané, a Hieronymite lay brother from Catalonia who had come to the colony as a catechist. Columbus also requested that while Pané was engaged in catechesis, he should put into writing a description of Taino religion and practices.

Five months later, in October of 1495, the court's emissary, Juan de Aguado, finally arrived from Spain to make a secret evaluation of Columbus. The Admiral recognized the threat to his control in the presence of Aguado and sought to convince the emissary that all was going well, even as it was apparent that Aguado was questioning the Spanish settlers for information that would undercut Columbus.3* Aguado found a society in which the natives had begun a precipitate demographic decline. Between Spanish reprisals for abortive revolts and the inexorable toll exacted by European diseases, the population of the Cibao is thought to have been cut by a third between the years 1494 and 1496." There was some good news for the enterprise when a Spanish deserter, Miguel Diaz, reappeared in the colony explaining that he had "married" a widow of a Taino cacique and had discovered a gold mine on the Ozama River near what is now the city of Santo Domingo. Columbus was anxious to return to court with this good news that seemed to ensure the self-financing of his enterprise, but a hurricane struck a few weeks after Aguado's arrival and destroyed all the sailing ships. It was not until March of 1496 that two vessels were repaired and Columbus and Aguado returned together to Spain. Recognizing that discovery of the gold mine might please King Fernando, Columbus also needed something to reassure the pious Queen Isabela. It appears that he recited from memory some details of Pane's still unfinished report of Taino religion. Pietro d'Anghiera, the court chronicler, included these descriptions in his narrative, De Orbe Novo Decades* Unfortunately, the baptism of the first American converts took place in September, six months after Columbus' departure, and this signal event did not figure in the Admiral's presentations at court or in d'Anghiera's publication.

But if Columbus would have been happy to learn that at last natives in the islands had embraced the faith, he would have been disturbed by subsequent developments in Hispaniola. The absence of the Admiral

34LaS Casas, op. cit.,1, 107.

wIbid.;c(. Frank Moya Pons, Después de Colón (Madrid, 1987), pp. 181-189.

56LaS Casas, op. cit.,1, 96. See the arguments of Arrom in Ramón Pané, Relación acerca de las antigüedades de los indios, ed. José Juan Arrom (Mexico, 1974), pp. 6-10.

and the cloud that Aguado's investigations had left over the legitimacy of the Columbus family rule helped produce the mutiny of Francisco Roldan. Perhaps disgruntled because he had been denied command over one of the forts, Roldan capitalized on discontent among the Spanish soldiers. Bartolomé Columbus' bitter quarrel with Miguel Diaz until July of 1496 over control of the gold mine in the south added to the fear of many settlers that they would never be allowed to prosper from the enterprise. In the spring of 1497, Roldan took his men north to Isabela, which was under Diego Columbus, another of the brothers from Genoa, where he begged for meat and part of the stores in the warehouse of the Admiral. When Roldan and his rag-tag band were refused consideration, they slew the horses and cattle, presumably for food, and marched on for what proved to be an unsuccessful attempt to capture the fort at Concepción.

Through the rest of 1497, Roldan and his men lived in rebellion. Hoping that the crown would issue decrees against the Admiral, Roldan anticipated justification for his revolt just as had Margarit and Boyl three years earlier. When the first ships returned from Spain in March of 1498, however, the colonists' preparations for Columbus' return made it clear that the Admiral had retained his authority. Roldan fled to the southwestern corner of Hispaniola in a region called Xaraguá (now Haiti), settling in a native village and adopting some of the Taino ways. He declared amnesty for all deserters, offering lands, servants, and Taina women to his followers. So convincing was this message, that about fifty of the newly arrived colonists deserted to join Roldan. Moreover, the outlaws won over several Taino chieftains by eliminating the tribute in gold in exchange for food, which now had become more precious to the settlers.37 Guarionex, the chief of the populous area surrounding Concepción de la Vega, whom Columbus had hoped to baptize and to whose village Pané had been sent, threw in his lot with Roldan. When Columbus finally returned from Spain in August of 1498, the revolt was in full bloom, and the Admiral had little choice but to promise amnesty to the rebellious Spaniard and his Taino allies. These sad years of trial, treason, and despair led to the martyrdom of the first native converts.

Fray Ramón Pané had begun his remarkable pastoral experience after almost a year on the island of Hispaniola, having accompanied the garrison under Artiaga to Magdalena in the spring of 1494. In his report, he tells us that although he had intentions of returning to Spain with Fa-

37LaS Casas, op. cit., I, 105; see Herman J. Viola and Carolyn Margolis (eds.), Seeds of Change (Washington, D.C, 1991), pp. 43ff.

ther Boyl in September of 1495, he had been sent by commander Artiaga into the Taino village near Magdalena in an area the Indians called Macorix, which was ruled by a minor cacique named Guanáoboconel.38 Pané was in the fort at Magdalena during the uprising of March 1495. In his first year at Magdalena, Pané began the work of catechesis among the Tainos who lived outside the stockade. His contacts with the natives helped him learn the rudiments of their language, probably by his interaction with the naborías, or servants of the cacique. He tells us that there were sixteen such servants, and that they were all family. There were five brothers in the kinship group, although one died during the following year. It was from this family that the first converts were to come.

When Boyl left the expedition, Columbus needed proof that the Tainos were disposed to the Gospel, and only eyewitness testimony could offset the prestige Boyl carried with the court. While he obviously had not mastered their tongue in a year, Pané spoke the language better than any European. His value as an interpreter was surpassed only by the Taino who had been taken to Spain after the first voyage and returned with Columbus as interpreter.39

Despite the increasing hostilities between the Tainos and the Spaniards that had led to the attack on Magdalena, it appears that the four brothers of the naborías had remained faithful to Pané.40 Columbus wanted to send the catechist to live in the village of Guarionex, further to the south near the fort of Concepción de la Vega. This was a part of the effort at forging an alliance with the cacique, which included the marriage of one of the Taino's daughters with Columbus' Christianized Indian. Pané was concerned that the language he had learned in Macorix was not the same as that spoken elsewhere.41 Moreover, since he did not want to abandon the work he had already accomplished in

"Pané, op. cit., p. 48; the historical materials are in Chapters Twenty-Five and Twenty-Six, pp. 47-56.

3*Arrom in Pané, op. cit. ,p. 10.

«Pané, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

¦"Columbus told the friar, however, that the language spoken by the Macorix, who lived around Magdalena, was "not understood everywhere" (Pané, op. cit., p. 49). This statement by the Admiral has been repeated by historians, and raises the question of whether there was linguistic homogeneity among those called Tainos. Because the religious and cultural symbols of Macorix and the rest of the regions were the same, I side with Arrom in seeing the linguistic differences as the variations of a regional dialect rather than distinct language (Antonio M. Stevens-Arroyo Cave of the Jagua: The Mythological World of the Tainos [Albuquerque, 1988], p. 76, n. 42).

evangelization, he requested permission to take with him the best catechumen, Guaticabanú.

Pané says that he and Guaticabanú went to Isabela and waited for Columbus to instruct them personally, before proceeding to the village in Cibao ruled by Guarionex, who had expressed interest in becoming a Christian. Captain Avala at Concepción, "a half league" away, was ordered to supply food for the missionary. Pané states that he and Guaticabanú lived in the village of Guarionex for almost two years, which would bring him to the early spring of 1497. During that time, he compiled some twenty-four chapters of his detailed description of Taino belief and practice. These included the myths of creation, of the invention of fire, of puberty rites, of divination, and of healing, as well as explanations of the çemies or spirits of Taino religion. Upon the return of Columbus in August of 1498, Pané added another two chapters of historical narrative. He then handed to Columbus the report consisting of about 7,000 words. It became part of the biography of the Admiral collected by his son, Fernando, who died in 1539 before the biography could be printed. In 1571, an Italian translation of Fernando's work was issued in Venice by Alfonso de Ulloa, containing Pane's account. Because d'Anghiera had published segments of Pane's narrative before it was delivered in written form to the Admiral, the authenticity of Pane's account met with some skepticism, but that has been definitively dispelled in the past thirty years by the work of Dr. José Juan Arrom of Yale University.

Throughout his descriptions of Taino mythology and ritual, Pané offers a picture that resembles patterns still found among some Amerind peoples today,[42] and his text is considered today a reliable eyewitness account of the Taino religion and culture. The narrative of the conversion and martyrdom of the first American Christians is contained in the two chapters (Chapter Twenty-Five has two parts) that Likely were added after Columbus returned in 1498. Pané begins the chronological record of personal experience with a description of a vision by Cáicihu, the father of the cacique, Guarionex. In the vision, the old man prophesied the coming of invaders who would displace the Tainos. Pané says that the Indians originally believed that the invaders would be other Indians, called Caribs and confused with cannibals. But, says Pané, the Tainos came to the conclusion that the invaders were the Spaniards.

[42] Stevens-Arroyo, Cave of the Jagua.

The baptism of Guaticabanú, the first native convert to Christianity in America, took place on September 21, 1496, probably in the village of Guarionex in the Cibao. The ceremony may have been intended to influence the chief. The new Christian took the name "Juan Mateo" in honor of St. Matthew, whose feast day it was. Pané also brought to Christianity seven others from Macorix, including Juan Mateo's brother, who was baptized "Antón." As an unordained catechist, it is unlikely that Pané himself performed the rituals,43 but there were no priests in Hispaniola in 1496. Pane's mention of Friar Juan de Borgoña, i.e., de Deule,44 suggests that it was the Franciscan who administered the sacrament of initiation. And although de Duele was also a lay brother Ciego), he may have baptized by virtue of his knowledge of Latin.

As preconditions for baptism, Pané did little more than require the Taino catechumens to have learned certain prayers. What should be remembered is that this was the extent of religious practice among most Spanish Christians of the time. The Cañarían aborigine, so often placed alongside the Taino in the colonist mindset, learned his beliefs through rote repetition of prayers and through devotions such as the rosary that combined these prayers with an elementary catechesis of the mysteries in Christology and Mariology.45 Moreover, the Hieronymite Order was a part of the devotio moderna of the late Middle Ages.46 In this tradition, affective reading of the Scripture and fervent practice of piety were the pillars of Christian Life, not theology.

The baptism of Guaticabanú fit the Cañarían pattern of making natives into catechists. Pané tells us that his converts spoke both languages, i.e., those of Macorix and of the village of Guarionex in Cibao, which was "understood throughout."47 Hence, it appears his reason for bringing the Taino from the village of Guanáoboconel in Macorix to that of Guarionex in Cibao was that the native would translate the tenets of the faith. Pané had placed some Christian statues in an Indian hut making it an oratory. Guarionex ordered the construction of a thatched hut or bohío in his village alongside the one containing the statues. This new house served as residence for the other converts from Macorix, including the mother of Guaticabanú, while the oratory pro-

43Cf. Pedro Borges, Misión y civilización en América (Madrid, 1987), pp. 15, 20.

44Pané, op. cit. ,p. 52.

4,Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, "Religiosidad popular en los orígenes del Obispado de Canarias," Vll Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana, 1986, pp. 220-234.

* Stevens-Arroyo, Cave of the Jagua, p. 75, ?. 2.

47Pané, op. cit., p. 50.

vided a place where the seven new catechumens from Guarionex' village could "kneel and pray and be consoled." Guarionex himself learned the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Creed, reciting them three times daily[48]

But Pané says he and his companions later decided to leave for another village in Cibao under the cacique Mahubiatibere, because Guarionex said he was no longer interested in baptism.[49] Pane's departure took place in the planting season of 1497, possibly in the middle of April. This was the fateful year of Columbus' absence and of Roldan's revolt. But Pané mentions no intrigue from Spanish sources, attributing Guarionex's change of mind entirely to influence from Taino caciques. Two days after Pané and his party had left the village, Guarionex sent six of his men to the oratory and demanded the surrender of the images from the seven male catechumens of his village. When they were refused entry to the oratory, the men of Guarionex forced their entrance and took the statues. They shattered the images into pieces, covered them over with soil in a planting field and urinated on them, apparently as part of a planting ritual. The youths who had been overpowered told the older catechumens what had happened, and they in turn fled some sixty-five miles south to the fort near the Ozama River, where they related the events to Bartolomé Columbus, who sought out the six perpetrators and burned them at the stake.

The planting season for the Tainos began in the last week of April, when the Pleiades disappear on the horizon and the rains begin.[50] We do not know how much time elapsed between the smashing of the statues and the reprisal by Bartolomé, but allowing for a month at most, it would have taken place sometime in May or June, 1497, after Roldan had marched on Isabela and Magdalena. The actions by the Admiral's brother may have been intended to frighten Guarionex into loyalty. Bartolomé treated the perpetrators as if they were backsliding Christians, because the punishment—burning at the stake—was usually reserved to heretics. The result of his punishment, however, seems to have been the opposite of his expectation. Guarionex plotted to assassinate the Taino Christians on the day on which the tribute in gold was handed

"Ibid., pp. 51-52.

i9Ibid.,p. 51.

"Sebastian Robiou-Lamarche, "Ida y Vuelta a Guanín, un ensayo sobre la cosmivisión taina," in Myth and the Imaginary in the New World, edd. Edmundo Magaña and Peter Mason (Amsterdam, 1986), p. 483. The Julian calendar was still used at the time that Pané wrote, so that a date in early April would have been closer to the astrological configuration that we presently record for April twenty-sixth, when the Pleiades constellation disappears from the horizon.

over, but the plot was uncovered before it could be accomplished. The resolve by Guarionex to punish the Christianized Tainos continued, however, and Guaticabanú and his family were killed in an ambush. We have no secure information when the murders took place, or even if they occurred all at once. Nor is it clear why Guaticabanú had not remained with Pané in the village of Mahubiatibere. But because ambush on the trails between settlements was a tactic of Taino warfare,[51] it is likely that the martyrdom occurred while Guaticabanú traveled between the village where he worked and the village where his mother and kin resided. The account of the martyrdom appears to be the testimony of an eyewitness. Since neither Pané nor any other Spaniard was present, it is likely that the information was supplied by a Taino who accompanied the war party. We know the perpetrators were captured, and the information supplied by Pané might have been part of an extracted confession.

Pané tells us that when the mother of Guarionex went to harvest the ajes (a type of sweet potato) that had been planted where the broken statues had been buried, she discovered that the stalks had grown in the form of a cross. Pané says this woman was hostile to evangelization, but that even she recognized this cruciform as a miracle.[52] Since the appearance of the stalks in the form of a cross is viewed as an effect of the martyrdom, Guaticabanú must have been killed sometime before. It takes the ajes about four months to mature, but because they are tubers, they can be left in the ground for as long as another six months before the stalks wither. I would suggest that Guaticabanú and his companions were martyred between August, 1497, which would have been the earliest date for harvest and February, 1498, before the arrival of the ships from Spain, since it is unlikely that a hostile provocation against Bartolomé's rule would have been perpetrated against Spanish reinforcements. Certainly, the Christian Tainos had been martyred by the time Pané handed his report to Christopher Columbus upon his return from Spain in August of 1498.

Pane's narrative discloses similarities to the Franciscan efforts among the Guanches of the Canary Islands in terms of language apprenticeship, the use of a catechist, emphasis upon kinship conversions, and recognition of the native political authority of the caciques. Nonetheless, Pané was not opposed to the use of force in order to facilitate the

[51] Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, "Warfare Among the Tainos from the Defeat of Caonabó to the Victory of Enriquillo," 1st International Conference on the Dominican Republic, Rutgers University (Newark), April 11, 1986 (typewritten).

[52] Pané, op. cit., p. 54.

preaching of the Gospel. He confesses impatience with rulers like Guarionex who pretend to be interested in conversion but postpone their commitment to baptism. Pané suggests persuasion by physical violence, a tactic commonly employed on disobedient European peasants at the time. I am unconvinced that advocacy of conversion-by-force constitutes racism, and in this case, Pané confesses an admiration for Guaticabanú that is exceptional between Europeans and natives.

> And God in His goodness gave me for companionship the best of the Indians, and the best informed in the holy Catholic faith, and later He took him from me. Praised be God who gave him to me and then took him from me! Truly, I held him as a good son and brother. This was Guaticabanú, who later became a Christian and was named Juan.53

Pané begins the historical narrative of the martyrdom with a miracle: the prophetic vision of invaders by Cáicihu, and ends with a miracle: the growth of the ajes in the form of a cross. Pané cites Captain Ayala testifying, "This miracle has been made manifest by God where the images were found, God knows why"54 Thus the medieval perception that conversion was accompanied by miracles is repeated as a refrain at the beginning and the end of the historical narrative, with an eyewitness testimony similar to that of the Roman centurion at the crucifixion.55 It is also a literary device to place the Christian epiphany in the same site of "pagan" perfidy. The aje stalks grow where the broken statues had been buried just as, for instance, Our Lady of Guadalupe in Spain bears the Arab name of the river where the virgin appeared predicting the discovery of a long-hidden statue.56 These stylistic elements suggest that Pané wrote in the manner of a medieval history of conversion, seeking to establish the basis for a legend of divine approval upon the enterprise.

Pané never says he sought to change Taino culture before baptizing Guaticabanú or his family. Nowhere does he complain of Indian nakedness, while in contrast the Franciscan effort after 1502 insisted upon clothes.57 Pane's missionary activities produced converts, catechists, and martyrs. Nor were these sixteen the only Taino converts, since Pané states that "many more are Christian now," presumably in August of 1498, when he completed his manuscript.58 Pané considered the Tainos

'»|Pané, op. c/£, p. 50.
uIbid.,p. 54.
"Mark 15:39.
,6William Christian, Jt., Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain (Princeton, 1981), pp. 88-93.
J7 Borges, Misión y civilización, p. 186, et passim; Stevens-Arroyo, "The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm," pp. 535-537.

converted and ready for baptism when they demonstrated a piety similar to that of European peasants. In the absence of a church or parish, such piety produced home altars or shrines which were the first oratories in the same bohíos or thatched huts in which the Indians lived. The later effort of Franciscans after 1502 imitated Pané until it became evident that candles and votive lights could not be lighted inside houses made of straw without incendiary results.59 But by the time the crown launched a major effort with the Franciscans in 1502, nearly a decade had passed, eroding the purity of Gospel preaching among the Tainos who had suffered greatly from the greed of the conquistadores. Simply put, Pane's effort ultimately failed because it moved too slowly and on too small a scale to counterbalance the oppressive aspects of Spanish colonization that betrayed the purity of the Gospel.

Bartolomé de Las Casas is the other major source of information on these events of conversion and martyrdom. Since Las Casas says he knew Pané in Hispaniola, the Hieronymite must have been there for some time after 1502, when Las Casas first journeyed to America. Even though he took Holy Orders in 1510,Las Casas did not renounce the encomienda until 1514, and so it is possible he consulted Pané only after he began composing the various polemic works of his crusade for justice on behalf of the American Indians.

Las Casas was seldom laudatory of any cleric in America other than his spiritual mentor, Pedro de Córdoba. Pedro Borges has analyzed this human failing of the Dominican, attributing it to religious obsession and self-promotion.60 Pané, who personally converted more Indians than Las Casas, is dismissed by Las Casas as a missionary of good intentions but limited ability.

> Only this Friar Ramón, who first came to the island with the Admiral, seems to have had some zeal and good will, and went to work imparting a knowledge of God to these Indians. Since he was an unsophisticated fellow who scarcely knew what to do, he could only teach the Indians the Hail Mary and the Our Father. As much as he could, he led them to understand in a few words, with much confusion and serious gaps, that there was a God in heaven who was the creator of all things.61

5ePané, op. cit. ,pp. 54-55.

59 See Floyd, op. cit., pp. 87-88; he derives most of his information from Antonine S. Tibesar,"The Franciscan Province of the Holy Cross in Española, 1501-1559," The Americas, 13 (April, 1957), 377-389.

60 Borges, ¿Quién era?, pp. 267-272, 278-282. See also pp. 176-177.

"Bartolomé de Las Casas, Apologética, Chapter 120, as cited by Arrom in Pané, op. cit., p. 105.

While there is little doubt that Pané was "«« hombre simple? one would expect more importance to be placed on the peaceful conversions and subsequent proof of faith in the martyrdoms of the natives. Clearly, other considerations influenced Las Casas. He cites the narrative of Pané only in his Apologética, which was written toward the end of his life, and it is not found in either of his earlier histories. What is significant are the omissions and commentaries offered by the Dominican. Las Casas omits the miracles of the prophetic vision of Cáicihu and the growth of the ajes in the form of a cross. Thus while he helped build the legend of the miraculous appearance of the Blessed Mother at the "battle" of La Vega in 1495,62 no extraordinary expression of divine favor was repeated in describing Pane's work. Moreover, Las Casas' original manuscript did not contain the account of either the conversion or martyrdom: these were added at a later date as an appendage.63

Significantly, Las Casas contradicts Pané and alleges that the Tainos would not have killed the converts for holding to the faith.64 The Dominican, writing nearly half a century after the events, claims that the Tainos killed the converts because they were too closely associated with the Spaniards. I believe this expresses the basic reason for the reluctance of Fray Bartolomé to award more recognition to Pané and the martyrdom of Juan Mateo Guaticabanú. Las Casas was more worried about the negative judgment that would fall upon the Taino executioners than about the esteem that might be given to the Taino converts. In his explanation, Las Casas removed the onus for the killings from Guarionex in order to place it on the converts for associating with the Spaniards. He even suggests that the assassins had reason to suspect the converts of betrayal of their own people, which would mean that the murders constituted legitimate vengence upon traitors. The single concession that Las Casas makes to the martyrs is to admit that because they called upon God, the converts might have been pardoned in heaven for collusion with Spaniards on earth.65

Sadly, an uncritical reliance on Las Casas' account has contributed to the neglect of Pane's narration of these first native conversions to the

62LaS Casas, op. cit.,1, 90.

"Arrom in Pané.op. a'?.,??. 101, 108-109.

"Las Casas, Apologética, Chapter 120 as cited byArrom in Pané, op. cit., p. 109-

"Ibid. "Pero no los mataban por aquello [la fe], porque nunca indios algunos tal hicieron, sino porque vivían con los españoles, o los loaban, o defendían a quien todos tanto desamaban, o porque quizá les hacían aquellos indios por mandado de los españoles algún daño, como habernos visto de esto harto.Y en estos casos harta merced les hizo Dios si por confesar ser sus siervos se salvaron"

faith. Few historians have given much attention to Juan Mateo Guaticabanú, perhaps because they have adopted the attitude of Las Casas that the conversions and martyrdom were suspect. But in my judgment, we have to challenge Las Casas' version of the incident.

The insinuation that the converts were not killed on account of their faith frames Fray Bartolomé's narration. He simply asserts that "no Indians ever did such a thing." Is this another example of his penchant for romanticizing native culture and excusing brutality when it came from the Indians?[66] The centuries-old debates over Las Casas' accuracy and fairness need not be repeated here in order to raise three basic questions about his interpretation of the conversions and martyrdoms. First, it should be remembered that Las Casas was not an eyewitness to the martyrdoms in 1497 or 1498, since he came to Hispaniola in 1502. His attribution of motives, therefore, does not come from eyewitnesses; it is of his own making. Second, the composition of his Apologética between 1555 and 1559 is separated from the events by more than half a century. Las Casas clearly depends heavily upon Pane's manuscript in his descriptions of Taino customs and beliefs as part of his effort to prove their humanity and cultural development. But in his first draft, he completely omitted the martyrdoms, although they were the highlight and chief conclusion of Pane's narration. Las Casas' interpretive comments on the martyrdom were affixed in editing, suggesting to me that the Dominican friar knew that repeating faithfully Pane's original version would weaken the polemical and political aims of his work. Third, there is a major contradiction in stating that Juan Mateo Guaticabanú and his companions were killed "because they lived with the Spaniards, or praised or defended [them] . . ."[67] As has been shown above, Guarionex joined Roldan in the revolt against the rule of the Columbus family traveling to the village where the Spanish soldier and his band had "gone native." Why would the Tainos under Guarionex be disturbed at Juan Mateo Guaticabanú and his companions for making allies of the Spaniards or living with the Europeans when they eventually did the same thing themselves? Las Casas' effort to paint the killing as a Taino versus Spaniard uprising falls apart.

These contradictions with the version in the Apologética raise further questions. Why would this account cite only that portion of the events that fits a polemical purpose? And why would Las Casas rob the

66BoTgES, ¿Quién era?, p. 299; see also pp. 282-291; and Rivera, op. cit., pp. 142-146, et passim.

"Las Casas, Apologética, loe. cit.

Taino converts and Pané of due credit? Inasmuch as the Dominican friar was arguing that the missionaries before him had failed in the Indies, it was not convenient to admit to any previous success.[68] Nor would Las Casas blame the Tainos for the revolt, since that would play into the hands of those who justified a hard hand of governance upon the natives. The exaggerations of old age may also be at work here.[69]

This is not to say that Las Casas' writings are valueless. By framing the murders within a Taino mindset toward the Spaniards, Fray Bartolomé draws attention to the close parallel of evangelization with the ebb and flow of Spanish military power. This insight needs to be enhanced with data from the historical and ethnographical sciences. As in the conversion of the "savages" in the Canaries, Columbus approached tribal rulers with offers of baptism as a form of alliance that would have made the natives exempt from military attack, although at the price of tribute. The continual vacillation toward baptism of Guarionex follows the pattern of Columbus' up-and-down fortunes. When the Genovese subdued and captured Caonabó, the rival cacique of the Cibao in 1495, Guarionex drew close to the Spaniards. He invited Pané and Guaticabanú to his village; he married one of his daughters to the Christian Indian and professed interest in becoming a Christian himself. But in 1497, when the Admiral was absent, Guarionex definitively broke with the prospect of baptism. Then facing reprisal for the murders of the converts, Guarionex fled to Xaraguá, when Roldan proclaimed the alternative colony in 1498. It is fair to say, therefore, that the Tainos saw conversion to Christianity as a matter of alliance with the most powerful Spaniard of the moment. The tight interweaving of religious and political authority meant that adoption of Christianity was equivalent to absorption into a chiefdom alliance that would enhance the existing social power of the chiefs.

The initial experience of Pané in the Macorix village of Guanáoboconel was with the servants, or naborías. It was a convention of Taino society for the cacique to make a gift of such servants as part of a compact with another cacique. This was transferred to the Spaniards as a matter of course. As personal servants, the naborías like Guaticabanú and his kin were expected to obey the new lord or nitaino, represented by Pané. Hence the receptiveness to the Gospel of these other sixteen persons, all kin, may be explained as compliance with a social expectation.[70]

[68] Borges, ¿Quién era?, pp. 298-299, 237.

[68] Ibid., pp. 237-239.

[70] For an overview of the social and political structure of the Tainos, especially on the relationship of naborí and nitaino, see Wilson, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

Each cacique and each of the lords, or nitainos, was accustomed to have his own collection of religious artifacts or çemies as expression of spiritual powers, which paralleled his poUtical importance. The more the çemies, the more the social power. To the Tainos, Pane's collection of statues of the Blessed Mother and saints were the çemies that defined his social status among the Spaniards. That was one of the reasons he was provided with servants who were supposed to provide food from cultivated fields, bring him water, and attend to his daily needs. But Pané did not insist upon such labor, because he got food from the fort at Concepción. Instead he asked for language instruction in order to provide a catechesis in Christian doctrine. In the eyes of an ordinary naborí, those assigned to the friar had a soft life indeed, and it is little wonder that the catechumens would have been attached to a master who asked for no hard work.

The principal issue of interpretation concerns this relationship between lord and servant. The Tainos expected the naborías to serve their masters indefinitely But because this service seems to have been based upon kinship relations, separation of lord from servant by residence in different villages presented a dilemma. There appears not to have been any conception of loyalty from the naborías to absent lords. If a lord marched to another village, the naborías left behind reverted to the control of their original master, the cacique.

There was Uttle or no problem of legitimacy when Guaticabanú and his family accompanied Pané from their home village in Macorix to the town of Guarionex in Cibao, because the servants accompanied the master. But when Pané left the village of Guarionex for that of Mahubiatibire, it seems he took only Guaticabanú with him. To whom did the family of naborías left behind belong? They were not native to that village, having come from Macorix. Moreover, they did not seem inclined to return to the hard work in the fields that naborías were expected to perform. According to Taino custom, since their lord was now absent, they fell under the jurisdiction of Guarionex if they remained in his village.

Thus, the building of the hut by the cacique alongside the oratory seems to have been a measure of goodwill. The new lord provided a home for his naborías without asking them to disturb the "çemies" of Pané. But with the arrival of planting season, Guarionex wanted to sow fields using the spiritual artifacts of Pané to insure fertility for his crops just as the other nitainos did for theirs. Rather than desecration of the Christian images, the Tainos were treating them as fetishes possessing

the same spiritual powers as their own çemies. The breaking into pieces may have been an accident with fragile pieces, or a mode of scattering the pieces in imitation of the scattering of seed. The urination was a symbol of watering from above, and Pané records the ritual incantation for fertility when the deed was done, "Now your fruits wiU be good and abundant."71

1 doubt the Christian naborías protested treating the statues as çemies: rather, Guarionex' usurpation of the possessions of Pané caused the objections. The converts may have sensed that the Christian images were not intended for such burial, since Pané had not treated them in this way in previous planting seasons. Their resistance to the tribesmen of Guarionex raised a question of authority. Even though the Catalan catechist was no longer present in their village, they remained faithful to Pané, refusing obedience to the new cacique. This represented a rupture with Taino custom. Carried to a logical conclusion, it meant that no cacique was secure in his power because conversion of naborías meant an absolute loss of cacical authority. If Guaticabanú traveled between viUages, this threat would have been even more patent, because naborías were bound to the villages in which they were placed, much Like European serfs. To freely move back and forth undermined cacical prerogatives, making a lowly naborí into a nitaino, unattached to any land or kinship legitimacy.

Las Casas was correct to inject a Taino perspective in assessing the motive for the murders, but in attributing the killings only to hatred of the Spanish, Las Casas understated the threat to Taino authority that Christianity represented. The behavior of the Christianized Tainos was reprehensible to native society because it disrupted the harmony between earthly authority and cosmic forces. Guarionex ordered the execution of Guaticabanú and his kin for much the same reasons Roman Emperors had killed Christians: refusal to worship in the traditional reUgion constituted treason against pubUc authority.

Moreover, Guaticabanú's testimony at the moment of his martyrdom shows that the conversion was indeed a religious transformation. If initiaUy the acceptance of the Gospel was merely sociaUzed behavior, the embrace of death was an act of faith. "I am a naborí of God," he said. Significantly, he did not say he was a naborí of Pané. Juan Mateo Guaticabanú had come to recognize that by his baptism he had been freed of

"Pané, op. cit. ,a. 155; cf. José Juan Arrom, Mitología y artes prehispánicas de las Antillas (Mexico, 1975), pp. 112-115.

subservience to his old masters. Importantly, he also saw that baptism did not simply place him under new lords, now Christian, but no less absolute. With Pane's ministry, Juan Mateo saw that his only master was the God in heaven, and that his obedience was due only to heaven. He broke not only with the old master, but with the old order as weU. It is not far from the bibUcal experience of Peter and the apostles who proclaimed to Jewish leaders, "We must obey God rather than men!"[72]

In this Ught, his profession of faith was as much a repudiation of the Spanish practice oí encomienda, or serfdom of the Indians under Spanish lords, as it was of the Taino system under the caciques. Lamentably, Las Casas disregarded this heroic witness to the faith. In his marginal description of the events, he omitted the medieval convention of the miracle confirming divine acceptance of the conversion. Instead, Las Casas focused upon the experiences of the Christianized cacique, EnriquiUo, some twenty years later, in which he played an influential role.

Such disinterest in the positive results of Pane's evangeUzation or the martyrdom of Juan Mateo Guaticabanú has contributed to the neglect of this earliest evangeUzation in the Caribbean which belongs to medieval Christianity along with the Cañarían experiences that served as its model. The world today knows Las Casas much better than it knows Pané, and EnriquiUo better than Juan Mateo. During the past century, there has been more interest in canonizing Columbus than in raising the first American martyrs to the honors of the altar. But as long as history has meaning and truth is honored, Juan Mateo Guaticabanú wiU remain forever the first American convert and this hemisphere's protomartyr for Christianity.

2Acts 5:29.

HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM: ENFANT TERRIBLE OF THE LIBERAL CATHOLIC MOVEMENT IN MID-VICTORIAN ENGLAND

BY

Wayne M. O'Sullivan*

John Bossy argued that the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England in 1850 "represented the accomplishment of the clerical program of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the close of a long and patient effort to undermine the constitution of lay supremacy which had emerged from the conflicts of the earlier period."[1] From this point of view there is a certain irony in the fact that the stream of conversions to Roman Catholicism stimulated by the Oxford Movement put in place a group of assertive laymen prepared to vie with the hierarchy for influence in the revived Catholic community. Many of these men constituted the liberal Catholic movement. They articulated their views in The Rambler, "the most famous English Catholic magazine to be published in the nineteenth century."[2] Founded in 1848 by John M. Capes, an Oxford convert, this journal was from its inception the voice of the converts and as such it ruffled the feelings of old Catholics and members of the hierarchy. It became the distinctive voice of liberal Catholicism at the end of 1857 when it came under the management of Richard Simpson, another convert, and Sir John Acton, scion of an old Catholic family, fresh from immersion in the historical methods and liberal Catholicism of southern Germany. Not all of the converts found The Rambler congenial, and some allied with elements of the hierarchy in what quickly became a struggle between liberals and ultramontanes for the soul of the Roman Catholic Church in England.[3]

*Mr. O'Sullivan is director of the International Resource Center and professor of history in Erie Community College, Buffalo, New York.

[1] John Bossy, The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850 (London, 1975), p. 323.

[2] J. Derek Holmes, More Roman Than Rome (London, 1978), p. 112.

[3] Invaluable to the study of the liberal Catholic movement is Josef Altholz, The Liberal Catholic Movement in England (London, 1962), and perhaps even more useful die superbly edited and annotated The Correspondence of Lord Acton and Richard Simpson eds. Josef L. Altholz, Damián McElrath, and James C. Holland (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1971-1975), cited below as Correspondence. More recent publications address the con-

Liberal Catholics in England were devoted to the values of intellectual and scientific freedom. They argued that the Church had nothing to fear from modern science and scholarship and that apparent contradictions between science and faith would best be reconciled by the process of free inquiry. They perceived their mission as bridging the gap between modern scholarship and English Catholic culture which they found provincial and intellectually backward. John Henry Newman articulated their ideals when he wrote, "I want a laity . . . who know their creed so well that they can give an account of it, who know so much of history that they can defend it. I want an intelligent, well instructed laity. . . ."[4]

But Newman was not a liberal Catholic, or at least, not a part of the liberal Catholic movement, despite the fact that he shared many of its convictions, sympathized with many of its goals, and even edited The Rambler for a short time. Newman parted with the liberal Catholics over the issue of church authority, in particular over the right of laymen to engage in public discussion of theological issues. While Acton emphasized the imperative of open and free discussion, Newman was concerned about the prerogatives of the bishops as custodians of Catholic dogma. He pleaded with Acton to keep theological speculation off the pages of The Rambler? Even when Acton and the other liberal Catholics were mclined to accept his counsel, they found it difficult to apply: the line between theology and issues which they considered legitimate concerns of the Catholic layman (for example, education) proved difficult to determine in theory and impossible to maintain in practice. Conflicts between Newman and the liberal Catholics inevitably occurred and in the case of Acton led to a fundamental estrangement.[6]

flict between liberals and ultramontanes as part of the history of nineteenth-century English Cadiolicism: Edward Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1984), emphasizes the debate over education, which is thoroughly covered in Vincent Alan McClelland, English Roman Catholics and Higher Education 1830-1903 (Oxford, 1973); and J. Derek Holmes, op. cit., devotes a chapter to the liberal Catholic movement which carries die story through the First Vatican Council.

4J. H. Newman, The Present Position of Catholics in England (London, 1903), pp. 390-391, in Holmes, op. cit., p. 112.

5See Damián McElrath, O.F.M., "Richard Simpson and John Henry Newman: The Rambler, Laymen, and Theology," Catholic Historical Review, LII (January, 1967), 509-533.

6Hugh MacDougall, O.M.I., The Acton-Newman Relations: The Dilemma of Christian Liberalism (New York, 1962): the author is generous to Newman and critical of Acton, although he offers a more balanced view of Acton in "The Later Acton: the Historian as Moralist" in Bishops and Writers: Aspects of the Evolution of Modern English Catholicism (Wheathhampstead Hertfordshire, 1977).

Although Acton still awaits his biographer, his thought and activities, and certainly those of Newman, have been objects of much historical scholarship; but little has been written about the lesser figures who gathered around Acton and wrote for The Rambler. This article is about one of those figures, Henry N. Oxenham, and is based in part on letters he wrote to Acton.[7] Unfortunately, Oxenham saved few letters, and Acton's portion of the correspondence does not seem to have survived.[8] Oxenham's correspondence with Acton tended to focus on two principal issues: education for Catholics, laymen as well as the clergy, and the temporal power of the papacy, issues which were large, if not dominant, concerns for mid-Victorian EngUsh Catholics. He debated with Acton over his interpretation of religious tolerance and intolerance, eventually articulated in the "The Protestant Theory of Persecution." Oxenham was also deeply involved in the struggle, which Acton led, against the definition of papal infallibility, although his published work rather than private letters iUuminate his role in this affair.

Oxenham: A Brief Biography

Richard Simpson once apologized to Newman for being an "enfant terrible." Simpson was surely being disingenuous. The man who in Newman's clever characterization enjoyed nothing more than "flicking his whip at Bishops" and "discharging pea-shooters at Cardinals" must have relished the sobriquet. There was another liberal Catholic, however, who dismayed the hierarchy and disquieted his fellow Catholics even more than Simpson.

Born November 15, 1829, Henry N. Oxenham was educated at Harrow, where his father was a second master. In 1846 he entered Balliol with a classical scholarship, earning his B.A. with honors in 1850 and his M.A. in 1854. A member of the Alfred Society and president of the Oxford Union in 1852, he had a keen mind and talent for composition that merited him a respectful audience whenever he spoke.[9] His

[7] One hundred and forty-nine letters and partial letters are found in the Cambridge University Library Manuscript Room (cited below as CUL) 8119 (7) 367-518. Ninety-one of the letters were written between 1861 and 1864 and were for the most part clearly dated; later letters are often undated or partially dated, usually leaving off the year. The latest dated letter is postmarked 1872.

[8] Oxenham's brother, replying to Acton's request for Oxenham's correspondence with Ignaz von Döllinger, noted that Oxenham kept very few letters: E. L. Oxenham to John D. Acton, June 25, 1890, CUL Add 8119 (J)/ 517.

[9] Herbert A. Morrah, The Oxford Union, 1823-1923 (London, 1965), p. 118, and

achievements entitled him to look forward to a successful career at Oxford, where he hoped to obtain a fellowship.

Oxenham's high-church views turned his career at Oxford into a debacle: a single speech destroyed his future. He contended that "the Company of Jesus has deserved well of the Church and of mankind." An eyewitness reports that one startled member of the audience gasped: "He will die a Jesuit yet!" Although denied the much-coveted fellowship, after approaching as many as ten different colleges, he never overcame his attachment to Oxford, and "it was pathetic to the last to see how he . . . would go there on a few days visit to men far his juniors as his own contemporaries disappeared."[10]

Oxenham took orders in 1854 and received a curacy at Worminghall. In the same year he published The Sentences of Kaire and Other Poems, a volume of Catholic verse, and compiled a Manual of Devotions for the Blessed Sacrament, publications which left little doubt as to the direction of his religious thought. His reception into the Roman Catholic Church in 1857 by fellow Harrovian Henry Manning caused no surprise.

Oxenham's activities over the next three years are unclear. He apparently sought entry into several religious communities, including the Oratorians and the Jesuits, without success.[11] He undertook studies for the priesthood, which he relinquished because of his conviction of the validity of his Anglican orders.[12] Thomas Wetherell introduced him to the liberal Catholic circle in 1860.[13]

Oxenham was eager to write for The Rambler and its successor, The Home and Foreign Review, but was limited in his involvement because of the ambiguous feelings with which many liberal Catholics regarded him. Thomas Wetherell, Acton's cautious subeditor, feared Oxenham would alienate what thin support the liberal journal enjoyed among English Catholics. Writing to Acton about Canon

Christopher Hollis, The Oxford Union (London, 1965), p. 79. Merle M. Bevington, The Saturday Review, 1855-1868 (New York, 1941), p. 27, notes that many members of the Alfred Society would be recruited as writers for The Saturday Review, as indeed was Oxenham.

[10] Vicesimus [John Oakely], "Henry Nutcombe Oxenham," The Manchester Guardian, March 31, 1888, p. 5.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Josef Altholz, op. cit., pp. 141, 145.

[13] Richard Simpson to John D. Acton, May 10, 1860, in Correspondence, II, 60, refers to "Wetherell's friend Oxenham."

Richard G. Macmullen, a sometime contributor to The Rambler, Wetherell warned:

> MacMullen associates Ox[enham] with the R[ambler], looks with some fear and trembling at Ox's state of mind, and has a habit of talking at people indirectly. Therefore, very likely, it's Ox he is 'strong against' rather than ourselves.14

Referring again to Macmullen's complaints about The Rambler, he asserted: "The sound of Ox's blasphemies was still ringing in his ears."15 But there was more to Wetherell's opposition than fear of Oxenham's liberal views: Tt is not his opinions I am afraid of: but the absence of any basis for them."16 Richard Simpson went even further. When trying to decide between an article by Frederick Capes and one by Oxenham, he declared himself in favor of Capes because "the one is a man, the other a girl." "I used to think Wetherell feminine," he continued, "but in comparison to Oxenham he is Mars Baccus Apollo vivorum[«'c] ."And in a more serious vein:"Oxenham writes too much—he draws out of himself more than is in him, so that we have only crude knowledge ill cooked and served up with plenty of paper ruffles. . . ."17 Acton, on the other hand, had a different view: he described Oxenham on various occasions as "the ablest convert since Wilberforce," one of"our best men," and "a delight."18 Even Wetherell, although unwilling to "pick up all the crumbs that fall from his table, nor to be bullied for declining to do so," recognized the need "to soothe him with a view to the future."19

"Tall, thin, dark-haired, dark-eyed, and with the mien and gait of a recluse,"20 Oxenham was eccentric. Difficult, argumentative, and uncompromising, he was never, as Wetherell put it, able to "understand a man's accepting for prudential reasons what he does not altogether like."21 He was also talented and in many ways remarkably ahead of his time. Perhaps the most balanced and insightful appraisal by a contemporary was rendered by Rowland Blennerhassett, writing to Acton from Munich, where he and Oxenham were studying in 1864:

> Oxenham seems to me a most wonderful fellow, quite a genius but so awfully positive and one sided . . . that, I don't know what to make of him. . . .

,4Thomas Wetherell to John D. Acton, Monday, 1862, CUL Add 8119 (8).
15 Thomas Wetherell to John D. Acton, Tuesday, 1862, CUL Add 8119 (8).
"Thomas Wetherell to John D. Acton [?] ,1863, CUL Add 8119 (8).
"Richard Simpson to John D. Acton, December 14, 1861, in Correspondence, II, 231.
18 Altholz, op.cit., p. 239.
"Thomas Wetherell to John D. Acton, January 3, 1862, CUL Add 8119 (8).
2l"Dictionary of National Biography, XV, eds. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, p. 14.
21 Thomas Wetherell to John D. Acton, Monday, (1862?) CUL Add 8119 (8).

> He seems to me however to be the most brilliant man I ever saw, full of wit and with wonderful concentration of mind when he likes, altogether he is to me a psychological study.[22]

Tolerance and the Temporal Power

Acton complained to Simpson early in 1862: "It has been impossible for me to do any work with so very talkative, dispertatious, and obstinate a man as Ox in the house. . . . Ox goes tomorrow, having exhausted the topics of possible discussion with me, and kept me up to 2 1/2 in the morning for a fortnight."[23] Writing two days later, Acton took up the same theme:"Ox has just gone, after leading me a dreadful dance through every conceivable subject, and quarreling on all; … his mind is quite made up about the absurdity of many of my doctrines."[24] Although Acton was not specific as to the 'doctrines' under discussion, a fairly clear idea can be deduced of what they entailed because, as Acton put it, Oxenham sent him "an illegible letter every other day" prior to his visit to Aldenham.[25]

The debate between Oxenham and Acton was occasioned by the former's submission of reviews of François Guizot's Christian Society and Church in 1861 (London, 1861) and Goldwin Smith's Irish History and Irish Character (London, 1861). The reviews were rejected in part because of differences between Acton and Oxenham over Catholic intolerance. Acton complained to Simpson:

> In his notice of Guizot there is a passage that would have made us obnoxious to the Index. To say that persecution is wrong, nakedly, seems to me first of all untrue, but at the same it is in contradiction with solemn decrees, with Leo X's Bull against Luther, with a Breve of Benedict XIV of 1748, and with one of Pius VI of 179126

Acton elaborated his meaning in his own review of Goldwin Smith which he published in place of Oxenham's. The morality of tolerance and intolerance was relative; and if Acton would not condone intolerance in the modern state, neither would he absolutely condemn intol-

22 Rowland Blennerhassett to John D. Acton, March 20, 1864, CUL Add 8119 (7)/536.

23John D Acton to Richard Simpson, February 6, 1863, in Correspondence, III, 261-263-

24John D. Acton to Richard Simpson, February 8, 1862, ibid., p. 263.

25Jolm D. Acton to Richard Simpson, November 28, 1861, ibid., p. 213. Oxenham's handwriting is indeed "illegible" and can be deciphered only with great difficulty.

26Jolm D. Acton to Richard Simpson, December 13, 1861, in Correspondence, III, 227-228.

erance in the past. The modern liberal state is the product of historical evolution. By contrast, the medieval state was immature, incapable of surviving in a pluralistic society, and dependent on religious unity for its very existence. But religious unity was maintained at the price of persecution, a "misfortune of peculiar stages of political society."[27] Nor was the Roman Catholic Church the mother of intolerance, as her critics charged; rather "systematic intolerance was imposed on her by the exigencies of half organized societies."[28] Acton went further, dismissing Roman Catholic intolerance as a transitory phenomenon, but indicting Protestant intolerance as inherent in the nature of a national church. This idea, introduced in his review of Goldwin Smith, was fully developed in "The Protestant Theory of Persecution," published in The Rambler in 1862.

Oxenham objected to Acton's arguments on moral and historical grounds. "I hold firmly and deeply that persecution as a principle is wrong," he wrote, "directly opposed to the letter and spirit of the gospel and so to the will of God."[29] Persecution could never be justified on religious grounds, whether it be the cause of religious truth or religious unity.[30] The State's duty to preserve social order, leading it at times to suppress a "so called religion" whose activities and principles were detrimental to society itself, must be exercised with great discretion: "terrible diseases may demand terrible remedies, but there may be remedies worse than the diseases."[31] The Albigensian Crusade, for example, was frequently justified on social grounds; but Oxenham did not believe that "one half of the atrocities" of that crusade could be justified on any grounds.[32]

"John D. Acton, "Mr. Goldwin Smith's Irish History," The Rambler,Xl (January, 1862), 205.

"Ibid., p. 209.

29Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, December 15, [1861], CUL Add 8119 (7)/387. Acton's benign view of Roman Catholic persecution was imbibed at the feet of his master, Ignaz von Döllinger: see James C. Holland, "Toleration Intolerable: Simpson's Suppressed Essay," Catholic Historical Review, LXXV (January, 1989), 1-54. Döllinger's editorial changes to a Simpson manuscript are clear evidence of die consistency between Acton's and Döllinger's views on this issue. Acton's outlook would change dramatically; for the transition, see Owen Chadwick,^4cton, Döllinger, and History (London, 1987), and Terrence Murphy, "Lord Acton and the Question of Moral Judgments in History: The Development of His Position," Catholic Historical Review, LXX (April, 1984), 225-250.

»Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, December 21, 1861, CUL Add 8191 (7)/390.

3,Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, December 15 [1861] and December 17, 1861, CUL Add 8119 CO/ 387 and 510.

"¦Ibid.

Oxenham rejected Acton's distinction between Catholic and Protestant "alleged theories of persecution." In fact, he argued, Protestants could justify their intolerance on political and social grounds far more easily than could Catholics. Did not Elizabeth I, for example, have plausible political grounds for persecuting Catholics? Richard Simpson's biography of Campion (at this time being published serially in The Rambler) showed that "there was a disloyal Catholic party acting under presumed obedience to the pope." Oxenham had no desire to justify Elizabeth's persecution, but thought it "fully as defensible as many Catholic ones with alleged political causes."33 Far from being an innovation, the "Protestant theory of persecution" was learned from Catholic antecedents:

> . . . practically the dominant idea of Catholic persecutions was the idea of suppressing error, though often coupled with the more circuitous reasons you offer for them. The Lollards, for example, were burned in England not because they were a danger to the state but because they preached heresy. . . .'4

The debate between Oxenham and Acton was not limited to a discussion of the past, but touched on an issue that dominated Catholic affairs in the 1860's: the temporal power of the papacy. Acton was an ambivalent defender of the temporal power: "it is not so much an advantage as a necessity; not so much desirable as inevitable."35 It was the politics of Italy that made it necessary even in the modern period. "The annexation of all Italy under the Sardinian crown would have been, perhaps, not so much an evil as a blessing to religion, if the political system of Italy had been sound."36 Acton took a dim view of the risorgimento. He stated his case against Cavour in the following passage:

> In truth his policy was directed to the greatness of the state, not to the liberty of the people; he sought the greatest amount of power consistent with the monarchical constitution, not the greatest amount of freedom compatible with national independence. To this question of state, to this ragion di stato, everything else but the forms of government were to be sacrificed.37

There was one nagging problem for a liberal defender of the temporal power: millions of Catholics had to live with less freedom than their co-religionists in other countries. "Can any spiritual necessity," Acton ag-

3>Ibid.

"Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, March [?],1862, CUL Add 8119 CO/405.

«John D. Acton,"The Roman Question," The Rambler, IV Qanuary, I860), 149.

36John D. Acton, "Cavour," The Rambler,V Ouly, 1861), 164.

17Ibid., p. 148.

onized,"be an excuse for so gross a political wrong?"38 Oxenham found the question even more disturbing. He lamented the fact that many Catholic writers, otherwise liberal, adopted a narrow view of the Italian unification movement, willing, it seemed, to offer the political rights of the pope's subjects as a "legitimate holocaust to the general interests of the Church."39 Acton's ambiguous position bemused him; it differed from "the haughty optimism of the political and ecclesiastical Tories," but at the same time allowed that "what is lawful elsewhere is unlawful in Italy because one of the parties is also head of the Church."40

Oxenham did not share Acton's reservations about the risorgimento. The Italians possessed a "community of language, race, religion, and character" and were "very definitely linked by geographical position."41 Why then were they not entitled to a "common nationality in the political sense?"42 To Acton's argument that a nation cannot be created overnight but must evolve gradually out of historical traditions and exigencies of a people, he countered:

> . . . Italians would say (as they do) with at least as good appearance of reason that the main cause of its having been kept a 'geographical expression' is that it has always been made the catspaw of foreign powers (chiefly France and Austria) whose dynastic interests have led them to treat it on the convenient principle of divide et impera and that as long as it continues being divided it will have no guarantee against being subject, either directly or indirectly, to foreign dictation."·"

Ignaz von Döllinger, mentor and close friend, led Acton to alter his view on the necessity of the temporal power. In a lecture, delivered in Munich in 1861, Döllinger argued that the temporal power was in no way essential to the integrity of the Church and that its loss, which he regarded as inevitable, should not be interpreted as a harbinger of the dissolution of Catholicism. Attacked in the ultramontane press and quoted out of context in the secular press, he tried to clarify his views in a volume on the subject.44 He urged the pope to flee his hostile homeland, recommending southern Germany as an ideal place for a temporary papal residence, and envisioned the day when the Italian

»John D. Acton.'The Roman Question," The Rambler, IV (January, I860), 140.
"Henry N. Oxenham to John D.Acton [partial letter], 1861, CUL Add 8119 CO/514.
"Henry N. Oxenham to John D.Acton, December 21, 1861, CUL Add 81 19 CO/390.
41Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, November 29, 1861, CUL 8119 CO/383.
42Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, November 26, 1861, CUL Add 8119 CO/382.
«Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, November 29, 1861, CUL Add 8119 CO/383.
"Kirche und Kirchen, Papstthum und Kirchenstaat, Historische-Politische Betrachtungen (Munich, 1861).

people, tiring of the revolution, would welcome him back to a new domain, this time guaranteed by international law. Acton's review of the book, published in The Rambler in January, 1861, echoed and defended Döllinger's views.

In his own review of the book, published in The Edinburgh Review, Oxenham criticized Döllinger's assessment of the Italian unification movement. The Italian parliament "is much more like the English House of Commons than the French Assembly with which he is mentally comparing it." Döllinger failed to understand the intensity of national sentiment among the Italian people and the "peculiar aptitude of the country for passing from a geographic expression into a compact and well organized state."[45] The weakest point in Döllinger's book was his contention that the eventual restoration of the pope to the temporal power was a necessary safeguard to his independence and integrity:

> [Döllinger's arguments were] so slender and unconvincing, and he has supplied so many cogent reasons for thinking it unnecessary, if not undesirable, that it is difficult for his readers not to believe that his cautious reticence on that part of the question … is due to ecclesiastical etiquette rather than any strong conviction.[46]

Oxenham found implausible Döllinger's optimistic prediction that a future papal domain would be governed by laymen rather than clerics and would be devoid of the many abuses of the current administration. The aspiration for a united Italy, justifiable on moral as well as historical grounds, was incompatible with the existence of the Papal States. The only enlightened policy for the Church was to shed the temporal power freely and to accommodate herself to the political realities of modern Italy. The Roman Question should be submitted to a congress of Catholic powers which could guarantee the independence and dignity of the Holy See by placing it "on fixed and permanent bases secured against the constant fluctuations of sentiment in the Italian Parliament," perhaps by ceding to the Church the portion of Rome which lay on the right bank of the Tiber and endowing it with the status of a free city "similar to Frankfort on the Main or Washington."[47]

45 Henry N. Oxenham, "Döllinger on the Temporal Power," The Edinburgh Review, 116 (July, 1862), 273.

46 Ibid., p. 263.

47 Ibid., p. 281.

Catholic Education

Along with the temporal power, Catholic education was perhaps the subject that most concerned English Catholics in the mid-Victorian era. The abolition of religious tests, which began at Oxford in 1854, presented the hierarchy with a dilemma: "Should the English Catholics . . . throw in their lot with the national universities and face all the rocks and shoals of English university life as it then was, or should they create a university of their own in which specifically Catholic learning and culture might arise as a rock of salvation amid the all engulfing tide of liberalism and skepticism."48 Many of the laity favored the former alternative, as was evident when one hundred of them, representing old Catholics and converts, signed a petition in 1864 advising that ecclesiastical authorities would do well not to forbid Catholic attendance at the national universities.

Nevertheless, the Holy See had recently condemned mixed education in the case of Queen's College in Ireland and the hierarchy loathed the Oxford of the notorious Essays and Reviews, published in I860. The ultramontanes feared that the national universities would turn Catholic youth into "minimalist" or "liberal" Catholics, as Manning suggested when he wrote that he was "not anxious to have the rising Catholic youth brought under those influences which dazzle and unman their elders."49

The ideal of a Catholic university, however, fired the imaginations of liberals as well as conservatives: Acton believed that such an institution was the key to the intellectual regeneration of Catholic England. He tried to interest Newman in founding a university, offering him land as well as the use of his library; and when Newman proved wary, he turned to Peter Le Page Renouf. He lent strong support to Newman's school at Edgbaston in the hope that it would create "supply and demand" for a university. But Newman and Renouf favored a less ambitious scheme: the erection of a Catholic college or hall at Oxford.

Oxenham was acutely interested in the university question. "I neither think a Catholic university desirable or possible," he wrote to Acton.50 Nor did he sympathize with the objections to Oxford and Cambridge. It

"The English Catholics, 1850-1950, ed. George A. Beck (London, 1950), p. 287.

«Henry E. Manning,"The Work and Wants of the Catholic Church," The Dublin Review, 53 Ouly, 1863), 154.

"Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, April 5, 1862, CUL Add 8119 CO/408.

was "wholly impractical" to forbid Catholics to go to the national universities when they had none of their own; if there were dangers at Oxford, they would be best overcome by sending Catholics there in great numbers.[51] When the bishops pronounced against the idea of a Catholic hall at Oxford, he wrote: "for reasons very different from their's I am not sorry."[52] Integrating Catholics into English life and culture, as well as raising their intellectual standards, was, for Oxenham, a principal reason for sending Catholics to the universities. Segregating them in a Catholic hall would defeat this purpose.

None of the plans to send Catholics to Oxford succeeded. Henry Manning became archbishop of Westminster in 1865, and for the next thirty years the official position on the university problem was the promotion of a Catholic university. Oxenham's ideas were vindicated in 1895, however, when Catholics were officially allowed to attend the existing schools and a Catholic mission was established to provide for their religious needs.

It was Oxenham's ideas on seminary education that made him notorious in Catholic England. His letter to The Rambler, signed X. Y. Z. and entitled "Catholic Education," touched off a storm of controversy which raged for several months. The tone of the letter was moderate: its author merely wanted to raise a few questions "without professing to have exhausted their bearings, or to have met, in the brief compass of one letter, all the difficulties they may involve."[53] Oxenham made three points about seminary education.

In the first place he questioned the ideal of a separate training for the clergy from boyhood. In point of fact, English seminarians were educated with lay students in private schools because the Roman Catholic Church was too small and too poor to erect the diocesan seminaries envisioned by the Council of Trent. But this was considered an undesirable accommodation to unfavorable circumstances. Moreover, clerical and lay students were usually segregated from one another. Oxenham preferred to extend and improve upon the system of tatermingling lay and clerical students. The clerical student had much to gain from working with lay students preparing for other professions, at least during the early stages of his education, when such association would broaden his intellectual and cultural horizons, and render his future mission more effective by providing him with important social contacts and ac-

5,Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton.August 13, 1861, CUL Add 8119 CO/378.
52Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, October 20, 1863, CUL Add 8119 CO/444.
55X. Y. Z. [Henry N. Oxenham], "Catholic Education," The Rambler, III (July, 1860), 248.

quainting him with the needs and interests of the people to whom he would one day preach the gospel. The mixture of lay and clerical students was, Oxenham believed, "the main secret of the great moral and social influence of the Anglican clergy."[54]

A second requirement of an adequate clerical education was a thorough grounding in the classics of ancient and modern literature. If the importance of a liberal education as a foundation for any professional training was indisputable, and Oxenham referred doubters to Newman's University Lectures, such an education was even more essential as a preparation for the study of theology, "which bore so close an interdependence on other branches of knowledge."The lack of a sound liberal education for the Catholic clergy was reflected in the deplorable state of preacliing which too frequently failed "to impress the intellect or touch the heart." The Protestant minister, on the other hand, who has but a "mutilated creed" to work with, was often able to command "at least the respectful attention of an ordinary congregation." What the Catholic priest needed in addition to the inherent power of his creed was the fruits of a liberal education, which for Oxenham included "intellectual refinement,""power of varied illustration," and "mastery of language and thought."[55]

Finally, Oxenham called for a new approach to discipline in Catholic seminaries. He compared the "principle of police,"characteristic of continental schools and to some extent of English Catholic schools, with the "principle of confidence," rapidly becoming the accepted system in EngUsh public schools.[56] The principle of police consisted of a close surveillance of students, a multiplication of rules, and a deadening routine which failed to distinguish between the varieties of personalities among the students. Although intended to promote a spirit of holiness and asceticism, such a system often produced malformed characters and emotional invalids. "It does little for eliciting the manly virtues; it helps deaden the sense of responsibility; it checks rather than fosters the development of character."[57] Worse still, the police principle "tends to crush the affections as the price of preserving vocation." Instead of fostering the diverse abilities and sensibilities of individual students, it forces all to conform to an undiscriminating routine and turns out "statuesque models of frigid excellence." The student who cannot or will

*Ibid, p. 249.

"Ibid., p. 250.

*Ibid., p. 251.

57X. Y. Z. [Henry N. Oxenham], "Catholic Education," The Rambler, W (November, 1860), 114.

not conform, often the "noblest, the tenderest, the bravest natures," it rejects.

By the "principle of confidence" Oxenham had in mind Thomas Arnold's approach to discipline at Rugby. As Oxenham understood it, Arnold's approach encouraged personal responsibility and provided a minimum of surveillance. It appealed to what was best in the student, and presumed that "the measure of trust will always in the long run be the measure of trustworthiness." It sought to evoke moral respect for legitimate authority rather than impose blind obedience to arbitrary rules. Above all, it carefully discriminated between the different personalities of the students and treated each as a unique individual. Recalling the scholastic dictum gratia se accommodât naturae, Oxenham argued that seminaries ought to develop the "natural affections" as the basis for supernatural holiness.58

Oxenham's public letters to The Rambler did not specify how the changes he desired in seminary education might be brought about. He hinted in his first letter that Newman's school in Birmingham would provide clerical students with an excellent general education. In a private letter to Acton he offered a sweeping and radical plan: "such clergy as I have in mind could well receive their civil education at the public schools with the others and their university education at Oxford and Cambridge."59 After completing their education at the national universities, they could then receive their theological training at an ecclesiastical institution. "Such clergy as I have in mind" would be drawn from the "upper classes": priests capable of ministering to their social equals who, Oxenham assumed, would become more prominent in the Church as the stream of conversions continued. Moreover, a clergy of this caliber was indispensable if the Roman Catholic Church was to play an active and effective role in English affairs. Young men drawn from families of high social standing would bring "character, independence, and enlightened zeal" to the Church and would be less likely to fall prey to "that evil caste spirit" to which the clergy seemed prone.60

To the obvious objection that, conversions notwithstanding, the majority of EngUsh CathoUcs were from the lower classes and would be best tended to by priests drawn from the same classes, Oxenham

58X. Y. Z. [Henry N. Oxenham], "Catholic Education," The Rambler, III Ouly, I860), 251, 252.

"Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, April 8, 1862, CUL Add 8119 CO/409.

60IbId.

repUed that "men who are raised by ordination above their social standing are likely to buUy those who are officiaUy their inferiors and to cringe . . . [before] their superiors—bishops and other potentates.""It is notorious," he continued, "that the AngUcan clergy (drawn from the upper classes) are far more looked up to and trusted by the poor than the dissenting ministers (drawn largely from the lower classes)." French priests provided the best example of what might be expected from a clergy drawn exclusively from the lower classes:

> You have in France the pattern of a clergy drawn from the lower order. I will allow for argument's sake that they are very pious. But they are certainly ignorant, wrong headed, narrow, bigoted, and have little influence with the educated classes. And the circumstance which is on record that over 300 suspended or retired priests are now driving cabs in Paris—to say nothing of other kindred employments ... is a scandal to religion.61

A month after Oxenham's first letter appeared in The Rambler Acton wrote to Simpson: "Also a letter from Newman of which he wants the authorship kept secret, against XYZ. A cleverish and amusing but most unjust and abominably malicious performance."62 Newman's letter, appearing in The Rambler in September, I860, sharply rebuked X. Y Z. on two grounds: first, a lay writer should not discuss in a lay journal subject matter which is the proper preserve of ecclesiastical authority; second, he had no right to question a procedure which was founded on a decree of an ecumenical councU. Newman then proceeded to devastate X. Y. Z. point by point, using bracketed glosses after citations from his letter to "bring out what I conceive to be their inconsistency in the mouth of a CathoUc."63

Newman signed his letter "H. O."—Oxenham's initials. Perhaps misconstruing this bizarre coincidence as a taunt from an old antagonist—WilUam George Ward, who taught theology at St. Edmund's—Oxenham replied with biting sarcasm in the next issue: H. O.'s letter was an attack on his person rather than a commentary on his views; it appealed not to the judgment of its readers but to their prejudices. To the objection that the CouncU of Trent had legislated in the matter of seminaries, he repUed that disciplinary decisions, even when acts of an ecumenical councU, are variable and have frequently been changed. Nowhere in England were the Tridentine regulations in fuU force whether with re-

61Ibid.

62John D. Acton to Richard Simpson, August 16, I860, in Correspondence, II, 85.

63?. O. [John Henry Newman], "Seminaries of the Church," The Rambler, III (September, I860), 399.

spect to separate training or the curriculum to be carried out in a seminary. "The CouncU of Trent, as is sufficiently obvious, was legislating for Catholic countries in the sixteenth century, under circumstances totaUy different as can weU be imagined from those of Protestant England in the nineteenth century."

As for the right of a layman to discuss the question of ecclesiastical training, Oxenham countered that the quality of the priest was a paramount concern of the Catholic laity. Citing the sensus ftdelium as one of the preliminaries of even dogmatic definitions, he argued that "surely in matters, not of faith but of practice, and depending largely on observation of simply human phenomena, our ecclesiastical rulers would desire to be conversant with the sentiments of the faithful as an important item among data on which their judgments would ultimately be informed."64 His argument was taken, almost verbatim, from Newman's On Consulting the Laity in Matters of Doctrine," published in The Rambler in July, 1859.

Acton reveled in Oxenham's response to Newman. Writing to Simpson from Munich, he exclaimed: "XYZ is really a treasure of knowledge, temper, and sense. I hope we shall get him to write often in the article department. His treatment of Newman is exquisite, quoting him against himself so often I cannot believe he does not know who H. O. is; but I fear Newman would be alarmed if his secret is divulged."65 But Oxenham did not know who H. O. was and discovered his true identity in a cruel manner: Ward read a letter from Newman, outlining his views on seminary education, to the students at St. Edmund's.66 The revelation was shocking, and even though Ward published a long indictment of his opinions in the next issue of The Rambler, the normally combative Oxenham withdrew from the controversy and apologized to Newman through WethereU.

Oxenham's withdrawal from the field did not end the controversy. "What I care for most," Acton wrote to Simpson,"is that Newman's view of the CouncU of Trent should not go unreproved in a letter which, whoever writes it, is to be the most authoritative document of the con-

64X. Y. Z. [Henry N. Oxenham], "Catholic Education," The Rambler, IV (November, I860), 100-101.

"John D.Acton to Richard Simpson, November 28, I860, in Correspondence, 11,91.

66Jolm Henry Newman to William G. Ward, November 8, I860, in The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, Vol. XLX, ed. Charles S. Dessain (London, 1969), pp. 416-418.

troversy."[67] Contrary to Newman, he maintained that seminary education was not a question reserved for ecclesiastical authority but "social and interesting to all alike, requiring ventUation. . . . Everything secret degenerates, even the administration of justice; nothing is safe that does not show how it can bear discussion and publicity." Newman's argument from Trent was a "dangerous error." The decree he quoted "does not limit the range of studies" nor does it "settle anything about lay or Church students." The Tridentine decrees on this matter were a "historical phenomenon, a change with regard to the past and changeable in the future."With Oxenham he agreed that:

> What is most wanted is a high standard of education in the clergy, without which we can neither have, except in rare cases, good preachers or men of taste or masters of style, or up to the knowledge, the ignorance, or the errors of the day. They will have neither sympathy nor equality with the laity.[68]

Such a clergy could only be formed by the "artes liberales." Like Oxenham, Acton pointed to the French clergy as an example of what could be expected of a system that emphasized "asceticism without knowledge":

> The example of France is conclusive. No clergy is more zealous, more ascetical, than the better sort of French priests. St. Sulpice educated them for that, not for learning. So they are shut off from the lay world, they influence only the women, and instead of influencing society through the women help to disorganize by separating men and women. Our wives, says Michelet, have not been educated in the same faith as ourselves, hence decline of marriage in France. When the French clergy has a great man to show—Gratry, Ravignon, Lacordaire—his social influence is immense.[69]

One curious feature of the debate was the absence of any mention of the English bishops, who had in their Synod of 1859 clearly stated that "neither age nor changing circumstances could be used as arguments for abolishing the decree of Trent on seminaries."At the same time they justified the mixed system on practical grounds and even found some virtue in it: by providing future priests with the rudiments of the physical sciences and mathematics, it prepared them to meet opponents of religion on their own ground.[70] Thus there was a certain ambiguity in

[67] John D. Acton to Richard Simpson, January 23, 1861, in Correspondence, II, 114. The letter by S.A. B. S., which appeared in the March, 1861, issue of The Rambler, reflects the language and concepts of Acton's private letter to Simpson.

[68] Ibid., p. 115.

[69] Ibid.

[70] P Doyle, "The Education and Training of Roman Catholic Priests in Nineteenth Century England," /o«rna/ of Ecclesiastical History, 35 (April, 1984), 210-211.

the bishops' Statements on clerical education. But their fear of what they viewed as the corrupting influences of their own age took precedence over any mclination to reform clerical education.[71] Oxenham's thinking was actuaUy much more in tune with the Anghcan Church he had left: he wanted priests "who are not merely in the age, like fossüs, but of the age (and so) able to influence it."[72]

If the bishops were ambiguous on the subject of clerical education, Newman was puzzling. Exulting in the knowledge that Newman was "H. O.,"Ward nevertheless felt constrained to point out that "they wUl not beUeve, nor wiU the students [at St. Edmund's CoUege] that you can possibly be H. O. . . . the whole weight of your authority here teUs on that [Oxenham's] side."[73] Newman obUged Ward with a clarifying and signed letter in which he opined "that, the uneducated among the laity being many, and the refined, accompUshed, and largeminded being the few, the notion is preposterous that the clerus universus should be trained on the model of the few, and not so as to meet the capacities and characteristics of the many."[74] Oxenham was not, of course, offering a model for the "clerus universus" but for converts like himself; but did Newman reaUy intend that clerical education on any level should not strive for the ideals he articulated so masterfully in the Dublin lectures? Oxenham, in fact, faithfully reflected Newman's earlier views, not least "the class exclusiveness which ran like a thread throughout the Dublin Discourses."[75]

Although an admirer of Newman, Oxenham seemed destined to feud with the great man, and their differences flared up once again late in 1861. After leaving St. Edmund's, Oxenham secured a position as master at Newman's school in Edgbaston. He was appointed by the headmaster, Nicholas DarneU, apparently with a strong reference from Acton, but without Newman's knowledge.[76] A row broke out between Oxenham and Mrs. Wooton, the school matron and close friend of New-

71 Ibid., p. 214. The relationship of the mixed colleges to the Tridentine decrees had important administrative implications over which the bishops disputed: see Richard J. Schiefen, "'Anglo-Gallicanism' in Nineteenth-Century England," Catholic Historical Review, LXIII (January> 1977), 35-36, and Edward Norman, op. cit., pp. 134-135.

72 M. A. Crowther, Church Embattled: Religious Controversy in Mid-Victorian England (Newton Abbot, 1970), pp. 239-240.

73 The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, XLX, 416.

74 Tbld. p. 417.

75 McClelland, op. cit., p. 105.

76 See Meriol Trevor, Newman: Light in Winter (London, 1962), p. 235, and Altholz, op.cit, p. 161.

man's, over issues of discipline. When DarneU supported Oxenham, the matron appealed to Newman, and the issue quickly mushroomed into a struggle over school policy. Newman stood firm; DarneU, Oxenham, and other like-minded masters resigned.

The Syllabus of Errors and the First Vatican Council

In the aftermath of the Edgbaston crisis, Acton mused: "What will become of Ofxenham] for whom there is no reconcUiation?"[77] He soon answered his own query by suggesting that Oxenham go to Munich to study under DöUinger. Oxenham arrived in Munich in April, 1863, remaining untU the end of 1864, during which time he mastered German and studied patristic texts and the development of early Christian doctrine.[78] He formed a close relationship with DöUinger, whom he venerated "with a childlike reverence."[79]

Oxenham was eager to pubUsh an article on the development of Christian doctrine in the Home and Foreign Review, the quarterly that succeeded The Rambler. Wetherell distrusted him on the subject,[80] however, and the article never appeared, but eventuaUy formed the introduction to his The Catholic Doctrine ofAtonement, written in Germany and published in London in 1865. The book was welcomed in many quarters. The Guardian, the Anglican weekly, haUed it for its "learning and reverence," although it found the introduction on the development of doctrine Utile more than an "eloquently expressed . . . exhibition of Dr. Newman's idea."[81] The Union Review, on the other hand, commended the introductory essay as a "luminous account of the progress of doctrinal formation . . . which distinguishes so carefuUy the divine and the human elements in the process."[82]

While Oxenham's book was applauded in the AngUcan, Protestant, and even "rationalist" press, it 'was harshly condemned by the Dublin Review, the only Roman Catholic journal stUl in the field after the termination of The Home and Foreign Review. The Dublin Review objected strenuously to a casual comment in Oxenham's book to the

77 John D. Acton to Richard Simpson, March ?21, 1862, in Correspondence, II, 274.

78 Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, April 12, 1863, and December 1, 1864, CUL Add 8119 (7)/436, 458.

79 Rowland Blennerhassett to John D. Acton, June 16, 1864, CUL Add 8119 (7)/539.

80 Thomas Wetherell to John D. Acton [?], 1863, CUL Add 8119 (7).

81 The Guardian, August 23, 1865, p. 872.

82 Union Review, III (luty-September, 1865), 428.

effect that the Lord's Prayer, rather than an innovation by Jesus, was "already in use among the Jews."[83] After a lengthy refutation of this interpretation, the reviewer, whom Oxenham assumed to be Ward, then editor of the journal, concluded: "After this exposure, it wUl be impossible for reasonable readers to accept any one statement of Mr. Oxenham's, simply on his authority. . . ."[84] He also complained about Oxenham's "inteUectual poverty" and "pretentiousness of tone,—a claim of superior enlightenment and exceptional impartiaUty, which no one can help observing; and at which no right minded person, when he does observe it, can help being disgusted."[85]

As it turned out Oxenham's reference to the Lord's prayer was taken from a passage in Möhler's Symbolism which was cited at the bottom of the page. When Oxenham pointed this out in letters to the Tablet and the Dublin Review, Ward retracted his inference that Oxenham was not to be trusted on his own authority, but refused to apologize for it, and elaborated his complaints about Oxenham and his book. He interpreted Oxenham's view that the AristoteUan phUosophy undergirding scholastic theology "may have since become obsolete" to be in contradiction with the Syllabus of Errors.[86] For Ward, the SyUabus represented the infaUible voice of the pope and Oxenham's aUeged dissent put him beyond the pale. Oxenham defended himself ably against this and other charges;[87] but Oxenham and Ward in debate were, as Acton once observed, like a chariot against a battle ship: they could never engage one another.[88] Their dispute presaged the final battle between liberals and ultramontanes over papal infallibility.

The late summer and early faU of 1863 saw the crescendo of liberal CathoUcism with the convocation of two important congresses. In Malines Montalembert deUvered two resounding speeches on "a free church in a free state" and "Uberty of conscience," and in Munich DöUinger addressed a group of Catholic theologians on the state of

[83] Dublin Review, IX Quly, 1865), 265.

[84] Wd., p. 268.

[85] Ibid, p. 269.

[86] The Syllabus of Errors, published by the Holy See in 1864, condemned the proposition that "the method and principles by which the ancient scholastics cultivated theology are not suitable to the necessities of our times" (par. 13), Dublin Review, LVl (1865), 513-529.

[87] His letters to the Dublin Review and the Tablet formed the basis for a pamphlet, Dishonest Criticism, published in 1865.

[88] "John D. Acton to John Henry Newman, February 20, 1861, in The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, XLX, 466-467.

CathoUc theology. He predicted that German scholarship would revitalize CathoUc thought, and pleaded for inteUectual freedom, decrying the use of authority to correct the errors of scholarship. Acton jubUantly haUed Montalembert's address as "the most perfect production we yet possess of the matured genius of the great French orator," and Döllinger's as "the dawn of a new era."89 The Vatican disagreed. The pope privately rebuked Montalembert and implicitly repudiated DöUinger in a brief to the Archbishop of Munich which reasserted the authority of the Roman congregations and the scholastic schools.90

The Munich Brief stunned Acton. "There is nothing new in the sentiments of the rescript," he wrote Simpson, "but the open aggressive declaration and the wiU to enforce obedience are in reality new."91 He concluded that repudiation of Döllinger was in effect repudiation of the principles upon which The Home and Foreign Review existed, and, to Oxenham's dismay, terminated the journal with the issue of April, 1864.92

The Munich Brief was but a prelude to a determined assault on the principles of liberal Catholicism. The encycUcal Quanta Cura with its accompanying SyUabus of Errors, issued December 8, 1864, censured virtuaUy every conviction cherished by Uberal CathoUcs. The final condemned proposition might serve as the epitaph for liberal CathoUcism: "The Roman Pontiff can, and ought to reconcUe himself to, and come to terms with progress, modernism, and modern civilization." The impact of the Syllabus determined the attitude which many Uberals would adopt toward the Vatican CouncU and the doctrine of papal infaUibUity. As Acton observed of DöUinger: "The syUabus caused the opposition. Inf[aUibility], with a Uttle precaution, DföUinger] himself would have had no very clear objection to. But it took, beforehand, an extreme shape."93 Thus, when the pope announced his intention to summon an ecumenical councU, infaUibility became the burning issue, as the ultramontane press launched a drive to have the doctrine defined as Catholic dogma, and against which the liberal Catholics made, as it were, their last stand.

"The Home and Foreign Review, III (October, 1863), 729.

xTuas Libenter, published December 21, 1863, and promulgated in Germany March 5, 1864.

91John D. Acton to Richard Simpson, March 8, 1864, in Correspondence, III, 185.

92Oxenham disapproved of the decision and reported that Döllinger did as well. Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, April 6, 1864, CUL Add 81 19 (7)/453.

93MacDougall, op. «f., p. 109.

DöUinger's and Acton's campaign against infaUibiUty is notorious;[94] less weU known is the coUaboration of Oxenham in this effort. He translated The Pope and the Council, DöUinger's attack on the doctrine of infaUibUity, and the Letters from Rome on the Council by "Quirinus," originaUy pubhshed in the Allgemeine Zeitung, by DöUinger and associates. At the same time, he wrote a regular column on the Vatican CouncU for the Saturday Review, which he hoped would provide the EngUsh public with a "variety of catholic opinion" other than ultramontane.[95]

Oxenham's opposition to the proceedings of the Vatican Council were rooted in his conciliarist ecclesiology. He subscribed unequivocaUy to the dictum laid down at Constance, and later rejected by the papacy, that an ecumenical council constitutes the highest authority within the Church. Doctrinal authority was not a prerogative of the pope alone, nor even of the bishops "per se," but of the whole Church. A doctrine could only bind the Christian conscience, therefore, when it was freely promulgated by a lawfuUy convened council and when it was universaUy received by the Church.[96] From this principle he derived two reasons for questioning the vaUdity of the Vatican Council: it was not free because the rules of procedure, laid down in the BuU Multíplices, restricted the power of the bishops, and the Curia's officials employed the power of a "despotic state" to cajole and threaten the minority bishops; and it was unrepresentative because a disproportionate number of bishops came from Italy and other Latin countries and reflected but one school of thought within the Church.[97]

At the commencement of the Council Oxenham was confident that the minority bishops would succeed in blocking the definition of infalUbiUty. "It is difficult to suppose," he wrote to Acton, "that the dogma wiU be passed against 200 or so of the most learned and influential bishops."[98] He grew impatient with what he regarded as the timidity and indecisiveness of the minority bishops and was thunderstruck when they left Rome in July, 1870, rather than cast their "non-placets" in the presence of the pope. Nevertheless, he clung to the Ulusion that the minority bishops would refuse to promulgate the new dogma in their dioceses, urging them to "maintain a respectful but resolute policy of

[94] See especially Victor Conzemius, "Lord Acton and the First Vatican Council," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XX (October, 1969), 247-294.

[95] Saturday Review, XXVII (June 19, 1869), 799.

[96] Ibid., XXVII (May 1, 1869), 575, and XXVIII (October 2, 1869), 438.

[97] Ibid. (December 25, 1869), 823, and Guly 3, 1869), 11.

[98] "Henry N. Oxenham to John D. Acton, January 11,[?] CUL Add 8119 (7)/468.

passive resistance to what they avowedly regard as the encroachments of the Curia and its sham CouncU."99

When aU opposition faUed, he flirted with the Old CathoUc movement, but in the end refused to drift out of the Church. He rebuked the Swiss contingent of Old Cathohcs for rejecting Roman primacy, reminding them that it rested on "divine appointment."100 But he remained uncompromising in his opposition to the dogma of infallibiUty, assisting Gladstone in his attack on the Vatican decrees in 1874 and rejecting Newman's concUiating interpretation of infaUibUity as "arbitrary."101

Perhaps the best piece Oxenham wrote for The Rambler was a review of the controversial Essays and Reviews.102 He was on personal terms with many of the authors, aU but one of whom were Oxford men, and he approached their work with sensitivity, commending them for their honesty and seriousness of purpose, but seeing in their work the beginning of the end of Protestantism, because they undermined the authority of the Bible. What is striking about Oxenham's essay is the supreme confidence in his Church and its ability to absorb aU that is vaUd in modern science and criticism. In an age of "the breaking up of old beUefs, social, political, and religious ... an age of universal scepticism," he beUeved that thinking Christians would foUow his own Odyssey: for "either the Bible is a venerable coUection of inspired fables, or the Word of God is spoken today from the Vatican."103

That faith, so confidently asserted at the beginning of the decade, would be sorely tried at its end but never broken, and before his death in 1888 Oxenham would find relative peace with his co-religionists. When he pubUshed his second major work, Catholic Eschatology and Universalism, in 1876, not even the Dublin Review demurred. His final publications were coUections of pieces he had written for the Saturday Review, and many of these reflect a meUowing of his attitudes.

Lacking the intellect of a Newman or the erudition of an Acton, Oxenham was clearly a man of the second tier, but nevertheless an impor-

99 Saturday Review, XXVIII (May 28, 1870), 700.

100 Ibid., XXXVII (Tune 6, 1874), 714.

101 Ibid. (November, 1874), 661. On Oxenham's collaboration with Gladstone see Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton, eds. J. N. Figgis and R.V Laurence (London, 1917), p. 149. and Altholz, op.cit. p. 247.

102 "The Neo-Protestantism of Oxford," The Rambler, TV (March, 1861), 287-314. Josef Altholz, in Anatomy of a Controversy: The Debate over Essays and Reviews, 1860-1864 (Brookfield, Vermont, 1994), p. 71, calls it "one of the ablest articles" on the subject.

103 Ibid., p. 314.

tant player in the religious history of mid-Victorian England. He was to the liberal Catholics what Ward was to the ultramontanes: so firm in his convictions and so blunt in his expression of them as to serve as a goad to those who shared his beUefs and a lightning rod to those who opposed them. It was his fate to be a man out of season, but for that we can only admire him as he anticipated many of the trends of our own century. His ideas on the temporal power of the papacy anticipated the ultimate solution to that problem and his thinking on seminary education has in many respects been incorporated into current practice.

THE SPANISH CHURCH AND THE SECOND REPUBLIC AND CIVIL WAR, 1931-1939

A Bibliographical Essay

José M. Sánchez*

In the last five years, the study of the 1930's Spanish Church has been greatly enriched by two significant events: first, the completion of the twenty-year pubUcation project of Cardinal Francesc Vidal i Barraquer's papers, a truly monumental undertaking; and second, the publication of Gonzalo Redondo's detailed history of the Spanish Church during the 1930's. These events provide an opportunity to survey some of the significant documentary literature and important secondary works on the history of the Spanish Church during the most turbulent period in its modern history.

With the great outpouring of studies foUowing the liberalization of Franco's regime in the early 1970's, and then again foUowing his death in 1975, and finally, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil War in the 1980's, there is now a vast bibliography on the subject, and only a few of the more important publications can be mentioned in this short essay. Few, if any, of these works have been reviewed in Enghsh-language journals.

The most extensive survey published is Gonzalo Redondo's two-volume work, Historia de la Iglesia en España 1931-1939 (Madrid: Rialp, 1993). This massive oeuvre (both volumes total 1229 pages) takes in all of the latest research and is a mine of bibliographical information. The first volume covers the years of the RepubUc from 1931 to 1936 and concentrates on the poUtical division among Catholics, especiaUy among the members of the hierarchy, that was so frustrating to the Holy See. Redondo's approach is fairly objective and very thorough (although as a partisan of Opus Dei, he works in some trivial detail on that organization's founder). He is clear in delineating the weaknesses of the clergy in the early twentieth century. He accurately places the Spanish struggle in the context of the crisis of modernization in which the Church became the poUtical footbaU used by both the anticlerical repubUcans to vent their hatred of the Restoration Monarchy and by the traditionalists who came to use the Church as a focal point for all of their objections to modernization. Redondo also has a good study of the various Catholic and Catholic-inspired poUtical

*Mr. Sánchez is professor of history in Saint Louis University.

movements, from CathoUc Action through GU Robles' CEDA (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas) to the Uberal Catholics who were trying to change Spanish society through such pubUcations as Cruz y Raya. Throughout there is exceptional inteUectual history, including background chapters on the papacy in the modern world and the growth of secularism.

Redondo's second volume deals with the CivU War from 1936 through 1939. The stress in this volume is upon relations with the Vatican, and the various problems—the Basque controversy, the problem of the hierarchy's relations with the NationaUsts (including the nomination of bishops), and the continuing division within the Church—are seen in that context. The Vatican's positions are weU documented, and Redondo uses the sources effectively. A constant theme throughout is the Vatican's fear of Nazi influence in Spain as a result of German aid to Franco. Redondo has drawn aU of the sources together to present a clear view of negotiations between the Vatican and both warring factions. His work is the most significant survey to have been pubUshed on the general topic.

Among other general surveys of the wartime years, the Benedictine historian Hilari Raguer's La espada y la cruz (La Iglesia 1936-1939) (Barcelona: Bruguera, 1977) is stUl useful; it was the first survey to chaUenge the traditionalist view, and Raguer, an outspoken partisan of the progressive faction of the clergy, did not hesitate to condemn the traditionaUsts. A more recent survey is the study based on a close reading of diocesan buUetins and the pubUshed Uterature by the Jesuit historian Alfonso Alvarez Bolado.1 Alvarez Bolado's work is a successful analysis of the mentalidad of the participants—chiefly the episcopate—during the war that led to the formation of Franco's nationalcathoUc state. Ramón Salas Larrazábal has a fine short interpretation in an otherwise uneven series of essays from a symposium,2 and there is a lengthy bibUography by José M. Margenat Peralta3 and a more recent one by Raguer covering the decade foUowing Franco's death,4 with a useful list of archival holdings.

Of surveys and documents of more particular problems, on the anticlerical fury that turned so many Catholics against the RepubUcan cause, the best study is stUl the first, Antonio Montero Moreno's Historia de la persecución religiosa en España, 1936-1939 (Madrid: BAC, 1961). Altíiough not completely free from the conspiracy theory that the anticlerical attack was engineered by Bolsheviks and Masons, Montero's work stands as the most complete summary of

¡Para ganar la guerra, para ganar la paz (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 1995). Originally published as a series of articles in Miscelánea Comillas, this volume has an additional 200-page bibliography of articles from diocesan bulletins.

2"El factor católico y la guerra civil," La Iglesia Católica y la guerra civil española (cincuenta años después) (Madrid: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1990), pp. 145-162.

'"La Església en la guerra civil de España: boletín bibliográfico "Miscelánea Comillas, 44 (1986), 523-555.

¦'"L'Església i la guerra civil: Bibliografía recent (1975-1985)," Revista Catalana de Teología, XI (1986), 119-252.

the war's clerical bloodletting. It includes a Ust of aU die clergy kiUed and detaüs the facts of each one's assassination, along with statistics on the churches destroyed. Although later scholars have chaUenged some of Montero's detaüs, aU agree that it is an indispensable work. The pubUcation of Montero's work also marked the beginning of a debate over whether the clergy had been kUled as martyrs for the faith or as poUtical and class enemies. Aldiough many of the assassinated clerics' causes had been submitted to Rome for canonization even before the war ended in 1939, Pope Paul VI recognized the dangers inherent in denoting aU as martyrs and he ordered a moratorium on processing the procedures. Pope John Paul II began beatifications in 1987.

The other major study of the anticlerical fury is that of Vicente Cárcel Ortí's survey of the persecution, less dense than Montero's work but more recent and more interpretive, with good comments on the historiographical problems involved.5 There are numerous local and congregational studies, and Cárcel Ortí notes that there is a nine-volume unpubUshed coUection of documents on the assassinated clergy by Joaquín Donato, of which there are copies in Rome and Madrid.6

On the subject of the Holy See and the Spanish war, the best work to date is Antonio Marquina Barrio's La diplomacia vaticana y la España de Franco (1936-1945) (Madrid: CSIC, 1983),7 which deals mainly with the Franco regime's attempts to negotiate a concordat, and which contains many interesting insights into the Holy See's and the Spanish clergy's poUtics during the war. An enduring theme in this study is the Vatican's fear of Nazi influence in Spain, both as a result of German aid during the war and later in the World War II alUance. Marquina's work contains 150 documents, chiefly from the Spanish Embassy to the Holy See, but the Vatican archives were not open to the author. Raguer, an indefatigable student of the general topic of the Church and the war, has a short survey of the Holy See's relations with the RepubUcan government.8

Among the laymen, José María GU Robles has written his memoirs, No fué posible la paz (Barcelona: Ariel, 1968),9 but there is no good biography of the CathoUc political leader. Nor is there one of the most influential Catholic layman, Angel Herrera Oria, leader of Acción CatóUca and the grey eminence of the prewar CathoUc poUtical movement.10 Herrera Oria's lay organization, the

^La persecución religiosa en España durante la Segunda República (1931-1939) (Madrid: Rialp, 1990).

6Prueba documental de la persecution religiosa en España, 1931-1939.

7See my review ante, LXXII (October, 1986), 657.

8"El vaticano y la guerra civil española (1936-1939)" Cristianesimo nella Storia, III (April, 1982), 137-209.

9On Gil Robles' political party, see the critical and detailed two-volume work by José Montero,!« CEDA.el catolicismo social y político en la II República (Madrid: Revista del Trabajo, 1977).

, '"Although there is much material in José María García Escudero, El pensamiento de Angel Herrera. Antología política y social (Madrid: BAC, 1987).

ACN de P (Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas), so influential in directing the moderate CathoUc eUte, is the subject of an exhaustive two-volume study by José Manuel Ordovas and Mercedes Montero." Of Catholic Republican politicians during the war, Manuel de Irujo has written a three-volume work on his tenure as Minister of Justice in the RepubUcan government.12 These volumes contain more than 600 documents, many photocopied from the originals; included are numerous letters which deal with such issues as the attempts to reopen churches within RepubUcan Spain, relations with the Vatican, and attempts to help imprisoned priests. This is a valuable source on CathoUcs in the Republic.

On the Basque controversy, the first substantial work to challenge the traditionaUst view was written by a Basque, Juan de Iturralde.13 His chief concern was to iUuminate and defend the strongly CathoUc Basque provinces' support for the Republican cause during the war, and in particular, in the first volume, to document the controversy between Cardinal Isidro Goma, the Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain (Franco's chief clerical supporter until die end of the war), and Bishop Mateo Múgica of Vitoria, who refused to sign the Bishops' CoUective Letter of 1937 which justified the clergy's support for the Nationalist uprising. Iturralde pubUshed for the first time some of Gomá's private correspondence (which had been seized in RepubUcan-held Toledo when the war began).14 A memoir by the Basque priest, Alberto de Onaindia, sheds much Ught on the Basque controversy and detaUs his activities both in the Basque controversy and later, in RepubUcan Spain during the war." The best study of the Basque problem is Fernando de Meer Lecha-Marzo, El Partido Nationalista Vasco ante la guerra de España (1936-1937) (Pamplona: EUNSA, 1992), which is soUdly based on the most recent secondary studies and on archival research. Meer accurately pinpoints the three motivations of the Basque movement—loyalty to a Basque separatist state, loyalty to the Faith, and loyalty to a democratic repubUc—and he interweaves his narrative along these Unes.

As for the hierarchy, Spain's three cardinals—Vidal, Goma, and Segura—had the greatest influence. On Goma, many documents were published in the laudatory biography by his secretary, Anastasio Granados,16 which work included

"José Manuel Ordovas, Historia de la Asociación Católica Nacional de Propagandistas: De la Dictadura a la Segunda República, 1923-1936; and Mercedes Montero, La construcción del Estado Confesional, 1936-1945 (Pamplona: EUNSA, 1993).

"Memorias: un vasco en el ministerio de justitia, Vols. II and III (Buenos Aires: Vasca Ekin, 1978, 1979).

"El catolicismo y la cruzada de Franco (Vienne and Toulouse: Egui-Indarra, 1955, I960, 1965).

"The validity of Iturralde's sources on Goma is not entirely clear. See the discussion in Redondo, op. cit., l, 239-240.

"Hombre de paz en la guerra: capítulos de mi vida (Buenos Aires: Vasca Ekin, 1973).

'6El cardenal Goma, primado de España (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1971).

some of the Primate's correspondence as weU as excerpts from his diary. This labor of love was complemented by María Luisa Rodríguez Aisa's El cardenal Goma y la guerra de España: aspectos de la gestión pública del primado, 1936-1939 (Madrid: CSIC, 1981). Both of these works concentrate on the war years, as Gomá's prewar archives had been destroyed by the RepubUcans. Rodriguez Aisa's work is particularly useful; it is based on seventy-six documents, chiefly correspondence related to the Basque problem and also to Gomá's position as the Holy See's confidential representative to the Nationalist government until Ildebrando Antoniutti was named Vatican chargé in 1937.[17] Ramón Garriga has written a hostUe biography of Cardinal Pedro Segura, who was expeUed from his Toledo see in 1931 and returned as Archbishop of SeviUe in 1937.[18] There is an interesting collection of letters between Goma and Segura in the Muñoz Pierats Archives; these are unpubUshed, but Redondo has used them extensively and pubUshed portions in his survey.

There are biographies of most of the thirteen assassinated bishops (aU designed for reading by the Holy See's Congregation for the Causes of Saints). A useful clerical memoir is by the later Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Vicente Enrique y Tarancón, who describes his views as a young priest in NationaUst Spain.[19] HUari Raguer has written a fine biography of Salvador Rial, Cardinal Vidal's vicar-general during his exUe.[20]

Clearly the most significant documentary coUection yet to appear is the pubUcation of the correspondence, memoranda, and pastoral letters from 1931 to 1936 of the Cardinal Archbishop of Tarragona, Francesc Vidal i Barraquer. Vidal was the senior Spanish cardinal, and after the expulsion of Cardinal Segura in 1931 at the advent of the laic and anticlerical RepubUc, he became the leader of the Spanish Church. When the war broke out in July, 1936, he was forced into exUe in Italy. He refused to sign the 1937 Spanish Bishops' CoUective Letter justifying their support for the Nationalist uprising. For this, Franco refused to aUow him to return to his see when the war ended in 1939, and Vidal died, stiU in exUe in 1943.

Fortunately, the Catalan separatist government made every effort to preserve his archives, and after the war Vidal's relatives and coUeagues coUected the documents. In 1971, Miquel Batllori and Victor Manuel Arbeloa began publishing the documents under the title oiArxiu Vidal i Barraquer: Església i estât du-

"Rodríguez Aisa was given a privileged look, for Gomá's archives were open only to her, a point raised in criticism by Hilari Raguer in his review, "El cardenal Goma y la guerra de España," erfror, CXI (April, 1982), 43-81.

'"El cardenal Segura y el nacional-catolicismo (Barcelona: Planeta, 1977). Garriga had no access to Segura's archives.

"Recuerdos de mi juventud (Barcelona: Grijalbo, 1984).

"Salvador Rial, vicari del cardenal de la pau (Barcelona: Abadía de Montserrat, 1993).

rant la Segona República Espanyola 1931-1936 (Montserrat: Monestir de Montserrat, 1971-1991).[21] The overaU work was pubUshed over the next twenty years in nine bound tomes confusingly labeled as four volumes, each volume having three or four parts. Each part has a long descriptive introduction, a useful table of contents Usting each document separately with a brief description of its contents, and each volume has an index and bibliography. The number of documents totals 1,332, along with twenty-two long appendices; the entire work is nearly 4,000 pages, with substantial annotations, cross references, and bibUographical footnotes throughout, aU in aU a superb work of editing. Most of the documents are in Spanish, but there are some in ItaUan, Catalan, and a few in Latin. The introductions to each part are in both Spanish and Catalan, but the descriptive footnotes are in Catalan.

Vidal carried on an extensive correspondence. In these volumes there are letters to and from the Holy See (principaUy the Cardinal Secretary of State, Eugenio PacelU), the Nuncio to Madrid, Federico Tedeschini, aU of the Spanish bishops, the superiors of reUgious orders, the leaders of ecclesiastical and reUgious institutions such as Acción CatóUca, and finaUy poUtical leaders and functionaries of the Spanish and Catalan governments. The editors state that they left out correspondence of an entirely personal nature (although some of the letters to the President of the Republic, Niceto Alcalá Zamora, are purely personal letters of condolence over the deaths of relatives).

Volume I (pubUshed in 1971), consisting of two bound tomes, is in three parts, covering the months from the proclamation of the Republic on April 14, 1931, to the end of the Constituent Cortes debates on the Church on October 30, 1931. It covers the expulsion of Cardmal Segura and the church burnings of early May, the formation of a Catholic poUtical party to protect the Church's interests, concerns over anticlerical legislation, and the coming problem of the end of state-financed clerical salaries. Already the division among Catholics was evident, and Cardmal Segura's expulsion polarized CathoUcs into two groups: Segura and the intransigent monarchists, opposed to any compromise with the anticlerical RepubUcans; and on the other side, Vidal, the nuncio Tedeschini, and the lay leader of Acción CatóUca, Herrera Oria, all advocates of seeking a path of conciliation to avoid more anticlericaUsm. Vidal summarized many of these problems in letters to PacelU and the Pope.

Volume II (published in 1975), consisting of two bound tomes, is in three parts, covering the events from October 30, 1931, to April 13, 1932, the first anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic. Vidal had become the president of the Spanish Bishops' Conference with the expulsion of Segura, and his main concern was to find some way to pay clerical salaries after the end of the state's subvention. He estabUshed a central coUection agency for the wealthier dioce-

21 See my review of the first volume ante, LXI (April, 1975), 320-321. Vidal's first biographer, Ramón Muntanyola, used some of the documents in his Vidal i Barraquer, el cardenal de Iapau (Barcelona: Estela, 1971).

ses to contribute to the support of the poorer sees, generaUy in Andalusia. The otiier major concern at this time was die law ordering the dissolution of the Jesuits and the nationaUzation of their property.22 There were also concerns over taxation of church buUdings, the secularization of cemeteries, and the laws allowing civU marriage and divorce.

Volume III, consisting of two bound tomes (Parts 1 and 2 pubUshed in 1977; Parts 3 and 4 pubUshed in 1981), covers the period from April 14, 1932, to October 9, 1933· This volume includes Vidal's visit to Rome and consultations with PacelU and Pope Pius XI, chiefly about clerical fiscal problems and the Law of ReUgious Confessions and Congregations which was passed to implement the constitutional reUgious provisions. The Law's main effect was to be felt in education because the regular clergy were forbidden to teach (although the law was not implemented for another three years).

Volume IV, consisting of three bound volumes (Parts 1 and 2 pubUshed in 1986, Part 3 in 1990, and Part 4 in 1991), covers the period from October 10, 1933, die eve of the elections that returned a center-right coaUtion to the Cortes, to July 5, 1936, two weeks before the outbreak of the CivU War. Up to the elections of February, 1936, when the Popular Front came to power, Vidal's chief concern was a continuation of the central coUecting agency for clerical salaries (although the problem was lessened when die new, moderate Cortes legislated pensions for the clergy on die grounds diat they had been civU servants), and more importantly die negotiation of a modus vivendi between the government and die Holy See. Leandro Pita Romero's nomination as ambassador to the Holy See was accepted by the Vatican, but negotiations broke down over the Vatican's insistence that the anticlerical constitution be revised before an agreement could be concluded, especiaUy after the instabUity of the Spanish situation was revealed by the abortive leftist uprising of October, 1934. There were concerns about the continuing division among Catholics, as revealed in die pubUcation of a Ubelous book about Nuncio Tedeschini clearly supported by Segura and the intransigents. There was also concern about the leadership of Acción Católica as its lay organizer Ángel Herrera Oria planned to leave for Fribourg to enter the seminary. FinaUy, at the end of 1935, both Goma and Tedeschini were elevated to the CoUege of Cardinals. This created two problems for Vidal: Tedeschini was to be recaUed to Rome and a new nuncio sent to Madrid, a difficult transition at this critical time; and Goma now demanded leadership of the Spanish bishops in view of his elevation. The question was sent to Rome for resolution; the Pope chose Goma, but the question became academic shortly thereafter when the war broke out. During the period from the election of the Popular Front in February to the outbreak of the war in July, 1936, there are interesting commentaries in the correspondence on the outbreak of anticlerical

22See die informative article on die Jesuit properties by Enrique Lull Martí,"Los jesuítas ante la incautación de sus colegios por la II República: La alternativa de las academias," Miscelánea Comillas, 52 (1994), 139-163.

violence in the destruction of churches and instances of petty anticlericalism Ln the local municipalities. One gets a sense of die impending doom for the clergy.

These volumes are a source of great richness in understanding the Spanish Church m its moment of crisis. Vidal clearly emerges as what his biographer caUs a Second Vatican CouncU cleric before his time. More than diat, he was a perceptive and cosmopolitan leader. Unfortunately, there was Uttle he could do between clerical intransigents on the one hand, who had the ear of the Pope, and the extreme anticlericals on the other, who frequently needed "injections of anticlericalism" (GU Robles' words) to maintain their governing coaUtions. No one in the future can write a credible study of any aspect of Church-State relations in Spain in the 1930's or of the problems within the Spanish Church during that period without consulting this magisterial work.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

The Week of Salvation: History and Traditions of Holy Week. By James Monti. (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor Pubhshing Division. 1993. Pp. 447. $19.95.)

This is a very useful history of the Holy Week services of the Catholic Church down to and including the present rites. It is mainly concerned with the Roman liturgy, but also covers the Byzantine and other eastern rites, and the non-Roman western rites used in such places as Milan, Lyons, and Toledo. It also includes descriptions of popular devotions in various countries.

Until the recent reform of the Roman liturgy, the popular devotions of Holy Week were probably more important than the liturgical services. Of course, people had to go to Mass on Palm Sunday in order to obtain the blessed palm, but for many the Mass was only a means toward the end: getting that palm. During the Sacred Triduum (which used to mean Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, but not Easter Sunday), the liturgy was celebrated early in the morning, and was attended only by the more devout. The really Interesting things happened later in the day.

On Holy Thursday the reserved sacrament was enshrined in a repository in one of the side chapels, and there was a certain competition among the churches to create the most splendid shrine. This reviewer remembers, as a child, being taken in the family car on a tour of all the churches in town. Mr. Monti seems to think that this was a custom only in Latin countries, but he is not as old as I am.

On Good Friday, of course, everyone went to the Tre Ore, the three hours from noon to three o'clock. Again the churches competed with one another in hiring the most popular preachers, who preached on the seven last words of Christ. Many of us deserted our parish churches to fight our way into St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York to hear the great Bishop Sheen.

On Holy Saturday the Easter Vigil was over and done with by nine o'clock in the morning. The sacristan and his helpers could then get to work decorating the church for Easter Sunday. Meanwhile people came to the church to fill their

bottles with the Easter water. In some parishes (mainly PoUsh, I think) the priests went from house to house for the blessing with the Easter water. This custom seems to be overlooked in the chapter on Holy Saturday.

In the Byzantine rite, on the other hand, the popular devotions are, generally speaking, incorporated into the official liturgy of Holy Week. It is very helpful to have these eastern rites included in the chapters on the days of Holy Week. They take us back to the oldest of all Holy Week services: the ceremonies of the church in Jerusalem in the fourth century, as described by the pilgrim Egeria.

In the churches of medieval Europe, there was a good deal of variety even in the matter of liturgical colors. On Palm Sunday Rome used violet, Paris used black, other French dioceses used red, and Seville and Toledo used green. On Good Friday black was the color in Rome and Spain and some dioceses in France, while red was the color in other parts of France and in Germany and England.

During Lent the sanctuary was hidden behind the Lenten veil. In some places it survived into modern times, since it was still in use in Seville in 1894, and in Sicily in 1908. In most places, however, it was replaced by the custom of covering the statues and crucifixes with purple veils during the fortnight before Easter, known as Passiontide. This custom is still permitted, but we are not told whether it is still observed in some countries.

The Tenebrae service, Matins and Lauds of the Divine Office, was celebrated with great solemnity on the evenings of Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday in Holy Week. A candelabrum, known as the hearse, with fifteen candles, stood in the sanctuary, and after each psalm one of the candles was extinguished. A modified form of this service, taken from the new Liturgy of the Hours, is celebrated in some churches on the morning of Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday.

Naturally, the most important part of the book is devoted to the history of the Easter Vigil, originally celebrated on the night of Holy Saturday, then pushed back to Holy Saturday morning, and recently restored to its proper time. The twelve readings from the Old Testament were reduced to four in 1951, and increased to seven in 1970. There is a good commentary on these readings. They are also compared to the Old Testament readings in the services of Jerusalem and Constantinople.

As a result of the recent reforms of the Roman rite, the liturgical services for Holy Week have gained an importance that they have not had in centuries. This book clearly traces the evolution of those rites.

Richard M. Nardone

Seton Hall University

Columbus, Confrontation, Christianity: The European-American Encounter Revisited. Edited with introductions by Timothy J. O'Keefe. (Madison, Wisconsin: Forbes MLU Press. 1994. Pp. viü, 248. Paperback.)

This volume gathers together papers presented at the Santa Clara University Columbus Quincentennial Institute held in the autumn of 1992. As Timothy J. O'Keefe explains in his balanced and perspicacious editor's introduction, the intention was both to provide "a wide variety of approaches and interpretations" and to understand "Columbus, the Spanish conquerors, and the indigenous peoples of the Americas, and aU historical personaUties and events, within the context of their own times." Given the contentious atmosphere during the Columbus Quincentenary, these were worthy scholarly goals and, though a bit uneven in quaUty, these essays largely Uve up to the editor's ideals.

Everyone now recognizes that, as John Paul II told a Mayan audience in the Yucatán at the time of the anniversary: "The shadow of sin was cast over America, too, m the destruction of many of your artistic and cultural creations, and in the violence to which you were often subject." The other large question, however, is what to make of the immensely complex and uneven mixing of the indigenous and European cultures that continues to this day. Given the lack of consensus and confidence in the developed world about its own moral and cultural status, the Encounter often became a kind of Rorschach blot onto which various contemporary concerns were projected, greatly distorting both the European and indigenous record.

The two opening sections, "Europe and the Encounter" and "The Americas and the Encounter," try to establish some soUd historical fact over against mere polemical assertions. In one essay, Thomas Turley usefuUy re-examines the use of large characterizations such as "medieval" and "Renaissance" to arrive at a more detaUed picture of the world Columbus and the early explorers came from, and how, as individuals, they reflected it or differed from it. The section on Native America makes a case in feminist, ecological, and mere human terms for the value of our indigenous peoples but, unfortunately, contains no serious critique of native shortcomings. This is a serious lacuna that reflects a contemporary inteUectual problem: native cultures, like aU human cultures, were a mix of good and bad, virtue and vice. Human sacrifice, cannibalism, perpetual tribal warfare, and low material culture are only the most conspicuous of the darker parts of that history. Serious reflection on the static nature of some native cultures, tending toward ossification, and ecological and human rights abuses in native systems would better clarify what has been gained and lost in native cultures over the past five hundred years.

Such truth telling need not merely dismiss, as often occurred m the past, people deemed inferior to European culture. In fact, it would show far more respect for indigenous peoples to deal with diem as we do widi European peoples, understanding them in their own contexts, but seeking to evaluate specific practices as weU.

TeUing the missionary history is perhaps the most dtfficult part of this subject, because die intervening years have made us aware of the cultural imperiaUsm that often accompanied evangeUzation. We beUeve that we have a more nuanced approach to inculturation of the Gospel than did previous ages. Sensitivity, however, has often been paid for with a loss of zeal. The Spanish missionaries to the Americas in the first centuries displayed a heroism and energy—alongside their blind spots—rare in missionary activity today. David. J. Weber and Iris H. W Engstrand in separate essays provide particularly weU balanced accounts of mission activities in North America, noting the successes, faUures, flaws, and genuine virtues of the remarkably smaU numbers of Franciscans largely responsible for that work.

This volume closes with some wishful thinking on the part of Robert McAfee Brown that the example of the Encounter may provide us with some new principles of evangelization for the future. Better as a cautionary tale for historians are the historiographical essays by Bishop Pierre DuMaine and Frederick P. Bowser, and brief representative views from 1892 and 1992, that point to the need for humility and patient effort Ui the unending approximation to historical truth.

Robert Royal

Ethics and Public Policy Center
Washington, D.C.

Jacques Maritain and the Jews. Edited by Robert Royal. (American Maritain Association. Distributed by University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana. 1994. Pp. vüi, 286. $15.95 paperback.)

This book brings together papers read at the 1991 meeting of the American Maritain Association at Georgetown University, edited and masterfully introduced by Robert Royal. It is an extraordinary coUection of papers.

The reputation of Jacques Maritain is emerging from any sUght dimming of it that occurred after his death in 1973. There are two international societies devoted to his thought; there are national associations in Canada and the United States, in Latin America and in Europe. A magnificent fifteen-volume edition of the writings of Jacques and Raissa Maritain has just been completed and a twenty-volume EngUsh edition of his work has begun to appear from the Jacques Maritain Center at the University of Notre Dame. It seems safe to say that Maritain wUl exercise even more influence in die future than he has Ui the past.

That he is not the object of a cult of personality with fans gushing uncriticaUy over his work is mantfest in this volume. One of the admitted glories of Maritain was his serious and thoughtful consideration of the "mystery of Israel." Contributors to this volume show us that Maritain, from the time he was French

Ambassador to the Holy See immediately after World War II, urged the Church to condemn anti-Semitism. The Second Vatican Council's eventual condemnation of anti-Semitism vindicated this effort.

Maritain advisedly spoke of the "mystery" of Israel—he was not, of course, referring to the state of Israel. Like everyone else who has given the matter any prolonged and serious thought, he finds the history of the Jewish people ultimately unintelligible on any natural grounds. Father James Schall V'The Mystery of the Mystery of Israel" is the best short account of this work of Maritain's I have seen. But it must be complemented by William Bush's essay on Bloy and Maritain. The fact that Bush sees Maritain as a Modernist makes clear that even radical criticisms of Maritain are put forward in this volume, although they are not universally accepted.

Royal has grouped the essays into three parts. In the first part, Bernard Doering, Raymond Dennehy, Schall, Rabbi Leon Klenicki, John Hellman, Vittorio Possenti, and Michael Novak discuss the thought of Maritain. It is, of course, impossible to review such a collection, but each of these essays deserves a close analysis. Their merits are many, their interpretations are often at odds but—and this remark covers essays in the other parts as well—the quality of scholarship and liveliness of thought is unusually high. Part Two contains essays dealing with friends of Maritain, and here, along with Bush, are to be found Ralph Nelson, Judith Suther, Astrid O'Brien, Robert Royal, Desmond Fitzgerald, and Peter Redpath. Part Three contains three memoirs, one by Donald Gallagher, and others by Monsignor John Oesterreicher and Ramon Sugranyes de Franch. In an appendix are found a poem by Leo R. Ward and Charles O'Donnell's select bibliography on Maritain's writings on Jews, Christians, and Anti-Semitism.

It might seem that Maritain's views on the Jews, however important, are, in the larger scheme of his writing, a negligible factor. Among the merits of this book is that it enables us to see that this issue, with its moral, political, and ultimately theological dimensions, leads inexorably to the heart of Maritain's Thomism. This is not to say that his metaphysical and moral positions stand or fall on the basis of this appUcation of them. Only that his treatment of anti-Semitism is unintelligible apart from the wider context of his thought.

This book is a rich treasure and a credit to the American Maritain Association.

Ralph McInerny

University of Notre Dame

Ancient

The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art. By Paul Corby Finney. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxvüi, 319. $45.00.)

Paul Corby Finney is a professor of Roman imperial and early church history Ln the University of Missouri at St. Louis. From gymnasium studies in Germany in the late 1950's and a doctoral program at Harvard in the early 1970's up through a university career in the mid 1990's, he has had an intense interest in the earUest Uterary attitudes toward and the oldest material remains of early Christian art. This tome is a detaUed statement of his findings and a chaUenge to the traditional interpretive framework on early third century lamp decorations and catacomb paintings.

Dr. Finney starts by reviewing how eighth-century Byzantine iconoclasts, sixteenth-century Protestant reformers, and modern German scholars from Adolf von Harnack to Theodor Klauser have buUt up an interpretation of "primitive Christianity" as "a religion simultaneously hostile to pictures in theory (iconophobic) and opposed to their use in practice (aniconic)" (p. 10). He points out how this interpretation seemed to be buttressed on the one hand by the Uterary attacks of second- and third-century Christian apologists on pagan art, and on the other hand by the lack of a distinctive Christian art before the year 200. This traditional interpretation presented the appearance of catacomb paintings thereafter as a faU from primitive spirituaUsm to crass materiaUsm forced on the educated clergy by the uneducated laity. The author spends the rest of his book analyzing early Christian apologetic attacks on pagan art and early Christian motifs on Roman lamps and in catacomb paintings to chaUenge this scenario.

Finney's analysis of the Christian literary attack on pagan art attempts to prove that the apologists were not opposed to art per se, but were using this genre of Uterature as "a clever ploy" (p. 47) to win over the phUosophicaUy inclined poUtical eUte of the Roman world to sympathy for the Christian cause. By attacking the excesses of pagan art, the apologists were showing that it was not the Christians, but the crass devotees of the pagan gods who were reaUy guUty of atiieism, superstition, and sexual misconduct.

The author posits that "the reasons for the nonappearance of Christian art before 200 have nothing to do with principled aversion to art, with otherworldUness or with antimateriaUsm. The truth is simple and mundane: Christians lacked land and capital. Art required both. As soon as they acquired land and capital, Christians began to experiment with their own distinctive forms of art" (p. 108). Although admitting that Christians had inherited through Judaism and a strand of HeUenism the beUef that God was invisible, Dr. Finney shows that the early Christians were not averse to portraying the human agents or the typological works of their Deity in art. As soon as they had the material resources for doing this, they began to make their presence felt through a process

of "selective adaptation" within traditional forms of Greco-Roman art (pp. 109ff). The author follows this process through the adaptation of terra-cotta lamps to Christian purposes, showing how Christian demand created a market for lamps decorated with "good shepherd" motifs in the Annius and other central Italian workshops from the late second century forward. In even more detaü, he relates how Roman Christians obtained possession of the CalUstus catacomb south of Rome Ln the early third century, and then coaxed the officina managers and workers who decorated these funerary chambers with ceUing and waU paintings to use "symbol-specific images" appropriate to Christian tastes (pp. 197ff). As these were chthonic places commemorating death, the images employed were usuaUy of a "salvational or soteriological" nature, such as Isaac spared from the knife, Jonah saved from the fish, Lazarus raised from the dead, and the good shepherd saving his lost sheep, Ui order to give hope of the Christian God's saving power to the relatives of the interred Christian dead. In short, "the waU and ceiling images are semeia, signs or tokens of divine intervention. They served as reminders of God's saving action on behatf of certain representative figures within Israelite and early Christian myth. But these tekнteria leave undisclosed and hidden the true eidos of divinity" (p. 281).

Professor Finney makes broad and sweeping claims Ui his attempts to reinterpret the origins of early Christian art, but offers evidence from a very narrow material focus and a very limited chronological framework (lamps and catacomb paintings m and around Rome.ca. 180-230). He makes no reference to L. Michael White's Building God's House in the Roman World: Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews, and Christians (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), which has much to say about the above-ground material remains of third-century Christians. However, the evidence Finney presents is thoroughly analyzed and abundandy Ulustrated. Read in conjunction with White's book, it offers valuable information on the emergence of early Christian art and material culture in the pre-Constantinian period. Scholars of early Christian history and art wUl want it in their libraries.

Charles M. Odahl

Boise State University, Idaho

Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture. By Patricia Cox MUler. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xU, 273. $39.50.)

In the Passio Sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis, the dreamer Perpetua says that she awakened from a dream in which she received cheese to eat; "stiU eating something unknown to me but sweet/conmanducans adhuc dulce nescio quid." How are we to understand diis remark? How does the oneiric world of abstract imagining, a world of shape but no substance, a world unlike die conscious world, give rise to her beUef that Ui her present awakened, conscious

state she retained Ui her mouth the taste of a sweet food given to her by a grey-haired male figure Ui her dream? Perpetua's reflection is crucial to the thesis of MUler's book as it presents Ui microcosm much of the argument. MUler contends that for die late-antique citizen, dreams are a discourse, an "ancient semiotics," which provide a representation of meaning not possible m a narrative more indebted say to causal logic. Rightly critical of the rigid dualism of certain modern theorists who stigmatized dreams and divination of antiquity as flights from reason, MUler imaginatively explains late antique dreams as "imaginai category [ies] " capable of representing intangibles, recording the play between primordial antagonists, like IUe and death, Ulustrating conscious and unconscious states, and as a permeable membrane between time and space. It is the expressed aim of this volume to show how dreams are significant vehicles for the construction of meaning in late antiquity.

The book is divided into two parts and consists of an introduction and nine chapters. Part I is a general inquiry into the social function of dreams, theories of dreams, and an explanation of those systems designed to classify dreams; part II is a series of essays which present her reading of autobiographical dreams.

Since space does not aUow a consideration of the innumerable points and selections MUler considers, I shall summarize her major points. Chapter 1 is a reading of the representation of dreams between Homer and Porphyry. Homer's dream state is adjacent to the land of the dead, and shares some of its metaphors. Porphyry's language describing the soul and dreams is a further conflation of these metaphoric lexicons. Chapter 2 is a survey of dream theories, like Cicero's, who foUow the AristoteUan position diat dreams are the result of psycho-physiological interaction, to middle positions like that of Gregory of Nyssa, to the theories of Plutarch and Apuleius who viewed dreams as demoniac, relational, and of TertuUian and Synesius who seek to theologize dreams from a Stoic and Neoplatonist perspective. The difficulty and the real interest Ui decoding the opaque language of these dreams is discussed in Chapter 3- Dream visions, like that of Jacob's ladder, aUowed for the construction of interpretative systems which themselves, as is the case with PhUo, became aUegorical mediators leading to ever increased arenas of inteUectual activity. Dream theory was not relegated to a textual arena only; radier such hermeneutic investigation became a type of dream therapy. Chapter 4 discusses the Asclepian cult, and shows that the dreams attendant on the god Asclepius direct the dreams away from the illness toward cure, from the present to the future.

Part II of the book is aptly entitled "The Dreamers." Here in five studies Professor MUler discusses significant dream[er]s: Hermas and the Shepherd, Perpetua, Aristedes' Sacred Tales, Jerome, and Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa. To do justice to the scale of her discussion, I shaU summarize four and focus on die longest, diat concerning the Carthaginian Roman Perpetua. In "Hermas and the Shepherd" Hermas' struggle offers the community an alternative to ethical UteraUsm and additionaUy provides them widi a means of addressing practical problems. MUler, whUe agreeing with most commentators on

the "brokenness" of the Aristidean ego, makes the interesting point that it is Aristides' very hypochondria that is a rebelUous declaration of his setf-identity Ui a society which preached bodUy moderation. His "Sacred Tales" represent an attempt then to retain the privUege of intimacy lost to the rigors of pubUc life. The discussion of Jerome's dream of flageUation in his celebrated letter to Eustochium is read as a means of confronting the dissonance of the ascetics' ideal of the body widi its attendant duaUsm of the body as vessel of disgust and a means of personal transformation. Thus Jerome's dream of being beaten is a textual therapy designed to constrain desUe and thereby moves him closer to a newly healed seU. Gregory of Nazianzen's and Gregory of Nyssa's dreams are viewed as the effort, or perhaps more correctly, the desire, of ascetics to fashion a language able to recover a human being untransformed by physicaUty that is stUl in its divine image.

In her longest and most ambitious reading, that concerning the martyr Perpetua, Professor MUler reads this narrative as a woman's memoir and not as a self-consciously constructed system dependent on Christian, scriptural or pagan apologetics. She reads the dreams "counter mimeticaUy" as expressions of setf-identity and deepened self-consciousness. I applaud her efforts Ui this regard and have myself argued this very point at length (see my Sacred Biography, pp. 185-230 ff.) about the Limitations of monoUthic readings. My excitement at the prospect of seeing an unprogrammatic reading of die text •was short Uved, since Miller's treatment of that deepened self-consciousness is chiefly a mediated appropriation of Lacan's idea that patriarchy's ownership of language whoUy constrains female response. With glances to Kristeva and Irigaray, MUler reads the four dreams as a generaUzed trope on the evUs of patriarchy.

Such a reading is instructive; it would be naive to assume that an Indictment of patriarchy is not an aspect of these dreams. The problem with this reading is it is reductive; everything is made to fit the demands of the program. One system of aUegorizing is substituted for another, and thus the prospect for reconstructing the complex psychological contours of this historic female character is diminished.

Her effort to recover the "deepened self-consciousness" of Perpetua is limited by her selection of too few foci from the Carthaginian Christian community TertuUian's misogyny and place within die orthodox community of the first decade of the third century is weU known. The situation amongst the Christian groups was more complex, far more heterogeneous than depicted here (see Rives, 1995), orthodoxy not nearly so monoUthicjTertulUan's was possibly a competing voice, and the stUl strong Montanist community (Perpetua perhaps a foUower) was not nearly so constrained by patriarchy. Yet MUler reads Perpetua's dreams chiefly as accounts of a woman under the control of an antagonistic, dominant orthodoxy whose visions are a record of an unconscious effort to Uberate herself from this life-threatening patriarchy. Each of her dreams is so troped.

Let me Ulustrate with the dream of Dinocrates. The two dreams of the young chUd-brother Dinocrates are read as tropes symboUcally representing the cancer of maleness which has consumed him, separated him from his sister, and await the healing female principle. MUler, it appears, constructs this reading from an a priori concerning the status of subordinated females Ur patriarchy—theU imaginai representations of individuals are perforce male. Borrowing Von Franz's Jungian reading, Dinocrates' cancer is a disease (spiritual also?) which wastes from within. Miller emphasizes that the cancerous wound is on bis face (itaUcized Ui her discussion) and then concludes: "… what is cancerous, from the perspective of the dream, is this male persona that is 'brother' to Perpetua." Aside from some displacement in logic in this conclusion, a reader may stUl have other questions. Are we meant to believe that his facial illness functions univocaUy as a metaphor (which may not have been cancer; see OLD, cancer, cri;), representative of a suffocating system and that the entirety of the dream is a trope about the malevolence of patriarchy? If so, what is it that demands such a denotative conclusion and what has happened to the polyvalence of oneUic language? One is drawn ineluctably to conclude that it is the chUd's gender joined metonymicaUy to this disease that is the authority for MUler's conclusion. The chUd's gender is, therefore, a trope for evU, and die cancer with which he suffers is its sign that Ui turn limits Perpetua's freedom. Her efforts to free him from his disease is a vehicle for her exorcising the cancer of patriarchy which also afflicts her. An ingenious reading to be sure, but one which selectively avoids a host of critical points made by the dreamer in this dream.

MUler's reading focuses exclusively on the chUd's sex and his illness. There is, however, much more in the narrative. MUler gives Uttle or no consideration to crucial points made by Perpetua (and I take these points Ui the order Ui which they appear in her dream)—that she cared deeply for her brother Dinocrates, that his memory caused her sadness, that she was determined to help him through prayer and tears, and that he was stUl a child being but seven when he died. Anotiier crucial anecdote diat MUler never mentions (although from the frame of the dream, it is a motif compUcitous in the composition of the dream of her brother) is that Perpetua's own infant, a boy (it is worth mentioning), was forcibly removed from her immediately before this dream of the lost brother Dinocrates. Indeed, it is Ui the very Une after she reports the painful loss of her chUd that she mentions the name of the chUd-brother Dinocrates taken from her by death, and it is this vocaUzed memory that precipitates the dream.

A more nuanced reading would incorporate such powerful detaUs. For example, would we not expect that the enormous grief attendant on the immediate loss of one's chUd might precipitate and conflate with the memory of a long-lost loved brother-chüd, a memory also suppressed by its grief? Surely such a detaU must be included in a reading, because it is the last conscious thought the dreamer mentions before her dream, and thus it complicates and makes thick the texture of the narrative. It is difficult to read the dream of Dinocrates as univocaUy as MUler does, If we superimpose on this dream the memory of the recently lost infant son; that is, if we join Perpetua's present grief for her lost

chUd with the phantasm of her brother. Reading it from this perspective, we have two polyvalent images, her lost baby and her long-missed dead brotiier. The dream of the dead brother Dinocrates has to be read through the prism of a lost, but stUl Uving child, much Ui the manner Ui which MUler uses die figure of Perpetua's father to gloss dream number one.

If this is a genuine autobiographical memoU (though I think such phrases are genericaUy anachronistic Ui late antique rhetoric), we should resist reading the dreams with a powerful a priori seeking for some coherent consistent thesis throughout. We must aUow for the play of self-contradiction, paradox, aUegory, and lexical polyvalence, and not conflate the "I" of this narrative with contemporary ideas of the individual. It is die particularity of these absolutely crucial detaUs, die syntax of the Latinity, the tone of voice, die contradiction, and aporia that we lose when we construct such a totaUzmg hermeneutic system.

Lest it appear as I close that I believe this not an important book, let me dispel that impression at once. I find much of the volume compelling, Professor MUler's readings often persuasive and lucidly written. I do not, however, find the discussion Ui the chapter on the Passio Perpetuae, though it is thought-provoking, equal to other discussions in this volume. However, we are indebted to Professor MUler's learning for showing how these autobiographical dreams can be the rich repositories for personal and cultural phenomenon of late antique men and women, and for her InteUigent insight into the dream world of late antiquity. I shaU certainly return to this book often and strongly recommend it.

Thomas J. Heffernan

University of Tennessee

Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism. By Jaroslav Pelikan. [Giffbrd Lectures at Aberdeen, 1992-1993] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 368. $42.50 cloth; $17.00 paperback.)

This book seeks an understanding of the natural theology and classical background of the Cappadocian Fathers (BasU of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa). The author adds a fourth person to this triad Ui die person of Macrina, whose role as an interlocutor Ui Nyssa's writings is taken as proof of actual input by this exceptionaUy weU-educated woman (p. 108). The title beUes the fact that the book's primary focus is on these figures. Pelikan is preoccupied with the Cappadocians' use of apophatic method Ui theology f. 92), that is, the analysis of the idea of God through his negative attributes. In Linguistic terms, this meant negation by use of the alpha privative Ui Greek words like "formless," "impalpable," "invisible," inasmuch as "aU language about the divine is inadequate" (p. 44). Put anotiier way, it is a system of first determining terminologicaUy what God is not: everything from his impassibUity to the view that He is "One who is truly above aU names" (p. 213). This is the reverse of kat-

aphasis or "affirmation of divine attributes," a characteristic, for example, of Greek myth. But apophasis is in essence a negative epistemology that controls metaphor and analogy, and eliminates myth with its corollary, the need for allegorical interpretation.

Pelikan's analysis takes the "Hellenism" of the Cappadocians as its starting point. For him this cultural category is bound up primarily with the Greek philosophical tradition, although the Greek Hellënismos was in the fourth century generally conceded to have a broader scope, embracing everything from pagan temple ritual to the pre-philosophical content of the paideia (the primary texts of Greek education in grammar and rhetoric like the Homeric poems, the tragedians, historians, etc.}. It is unlikely that the Cappadocians' anthropology (as opposed to theology) can have failed to have been shaped by this (so for example Pelikan's discussion of the term arete, "exceUence"). But the reader should be aware that the discussion stresses the philosophical background of the three men and Macrina.

The body of the work is not, thankfully, a neat essay with an a priori thesis and all loose ends tied together. Rather it is an empirical analysis based on a thorough reading of the Cappadocian corpus with extensive quotations. As such the book makes few concessions to the reader. A synthetic reading of these texts has long been a desideratum, and so Pelikan's handling of the subject is most useful to scholars seeking a new understanding of the origins of the Christian Sophistic and the acculturation of the new religion to the Greek paideia.

It is hardly possible to summarize Pelikan's treatment of the subject, but a précis of some points will hopefully clarify the possibilities available to the reader. Thus, a carefully worked-out argument in favor of monotheism pervades the Cappadocians' works f?. 77ff.), a telling comment on the cultural fact that the establishment of a Christian empire was far from being a foregone conclusion in the later fourth century. Indeed, by treating this dimension of the subject, Pelikan has given full expression to the arguments being pressed in the schools of Alexandria even in the late fifth century on behalf of Christian monotheism, as we learn from the pen of Zachariah of Mytilene, who with the philoponoi made regular use of the Cappadocians' natural theology in debates with the pagan sophists. The student of late Hellenic reUgion will discover many subjects in Pelikan's work that preoccupied Christian polemicists in the fourth and fifth centuries: dream interpretation (p. 63), Euhemerism (p. 78), Christian hexaemeron works in contrast to the vogue for Plato's Timaeus f?. 95f.), tychê and chance (p. 100), rejection of astrology (pp. 156f., etc.), daemons and their apokatastasis (pp. 324ff.), baptism of catechumens (pp. 299f), and so forth. Ln essence, we have the models of argumentation used by Christian catechists everywhere in the Greek East against Hellenic theology and philosophy. It should not be difficult to project the fruits of Pelikan's work on the Cappadocians into the cultural and social context of the eastern Mediterranean towns: Christian Platonism (as opposed to mere Platonism, p. 20) could expose

the "evil skill of the Aristotelian syllogism" and at the same time make use of lines from Homer's Odyssey in the epigraph of a letter (p. 17). If the cosmological myth of Plato's Timaeus was influential, knowledge of its argument is practically presupposed by the Cappadocians; but literary myth in Greek poetry was deemed unreformable and not a suitable vehicle for expressing theological ideas.

There is one caution that bears notice. It might occur to the reader that the thought of the individual members of the triad (or tetrad, with Macrina) differed inasmuch as each of them possessed an individual approach; but Pelikan mixes their statements as though something like a unified system of "Cappadocian thought" existed. While admitting that discussion and correspondence along with Platonism and the paideia gave them a common outlook, one is at times inclined to hope that the author would point out differences of approach among them. Admittedly this was not the object of Pelikan's analysis. This said, the importance of his book is patent. It has provided a firm foundation for the study of the cultural synthesis of Christianity and the Greek paideia in the post-Cappadocian period.

Frank R. Trombley

University of Wales College of Cardiff

In Hora Mortis: Évolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles dans l'Occident latin. By Eric Rebillard. [Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 283.] (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome. 1994. Pp. xvi, 269)

This book studies the attitudes toward the fear of death and the fear of judgment at the turn of the fifth century. It sets out to document a significant and radical change in the Western Christian attitude toward the fear of death and judgment. A careful reading of this study may not seem obvious within a time when things like death, sin, and penance are rarely addressed in the mainstream of Christian life or conversation. Yet, the process of discovering the rich transformations of another age may well open the way to the positive, forward-looking aspects of those themes for present-day Christian life and thought. In any case, this finely crafted book is worth the time and effort.

In continuity with their predecessors, preachers such as Zeno of Verona and Ambrose of Milan spoke of death as a good; fear of death was a sign of a bad conscience (cf. 19); faith was said to destroy the fear of death (p. 25). In the context of a Stoic philosophy or at a time when there is a need to affirm the value of Christian martyrdom, the view that death is a good to be desired and the fear of death is a sign of guilt may be understandable. However, by the beginning of the fifth century, figures such as Augustine, Peter Chrysologus, and Leo the Great thought of the fear of death as a normal, acceptable human and Christian experience, not a sign of a bad conscience. Rebillard provides a clear, detailed, and valuable analysis of sermons, burial inscriptions, and other related material

from that time, tiius documenting a changed pastoral approach toward death at the beginning of die fifth century.

A significant aspect of his analysis centers on the impact of die Pelagian controversy on diis multifaceted aspect of Christian experience. Holding that the fear of death is not a fundamental part of human nature, Augustine used the common fact of fear to say diat deatii is a punishment for original sin (pp. 63-65). He thus made a conscious break widi the heroic ideal of the mastery of self, the keystone of which was the acceptance of death without fear (p. 119). It was the Pelagian controversy which led Augustine to crystaUize some previously held aspects of his thought on the effects of original sin (p. 84). As widi other fifth-century writers, his acceptance of die fact diat one cannot be without sin aUows him to emphasize daUy penance and focus, not on fear of death or of judgment, but on the hope of salvation (pp. 144-145, 165-166).

RebUard's study of the fear of judgment is simUar to that of the fear of death, showing how fear came to be a sign of a clear, radier tíian a bad conscience (pp. 148 and 225) and how penance itself came to be redefined in terms that touched aU Christians rather than just the serious sinner (pp. 162 f.). Ambrose's role in that process seems to have been sUghted (pp. 143-144, 162-163). Although the language of 'daUy penance' may not be present Ui Ambrose, and although Ambrose continued to emphasize die 'structure' of formal penance, his position on the deeds of mercy suggests that Ambrose's pastoral efforts did have the ordinary Christian Ui mind (see AUan Fitzgerald, Conversion through Penance [New York: E. MeUen Press, 1988], pp. 220-229). At die same time, RebUard's position that Augustine was die first one to make penance truly the center of a spirituaUty guiding daily Christian Uving (p. 164) is certainly accurate.

Augustine's reflections on death, judgment, original sin, and penance did not re-emphasize a guUt-producing emphasis on a person's past. One should thus be careful not to assume that age and the Pelagian controversy 'caused' Augustine to become progressively more pessimistic. Rather, seen Ui the discussion of Matthew 26:38-39, die sorrow of Christ Ui the Garden, Augustine's forward-looking approach to death and judgment aUowed him to redefine the meaning of conversion Ui terms of salvation f?. 70-82, 146-147). Even late in Ufe he saw death as a reason to beUeve Ui Uving, rather than having to 'use' a future Ufe as a way to overcome the fear of death (pp. 66-70).

RebUard's focus is on preaching about death and the pastoral approach adopted toward it. It remains to be seen whetiier a consensus can be found for the whole Augustinian corpus in Ught of the fresh perspective that this study opens (cf. for example, p. 51, n. 1). Clearly, however, this book is Ui line with the significant work aheady done on the change Ui 'climate' at the beginning of die fifth century, documenting diat change in relation to death and judgment (cf. pp. 121-124). RebiUard affirms his role as historian whose agenda is not to decide about the theological merit of what may or may not be "authentiquement chrétien" f. 28). It is thus a bit out-of-character to end the book with the deci-

sion that there was enough diversity in the thought and practice of that time to suggest a focus on "des christianismes dans 1'histoUe" f. 232), rather than simply to aUow historical diversity to stand on its own merits.

Acknowledging that there was no existing ritual for the dying, the author rightly connects communion to the dying and penance in extremis, affirming here too the positive development diat was taking place at that time f. 122). Viaticum as a kind of reconciUation for the dying did not need to be a formal ritual for it to be a significant aspect of the transition which placed more and more emphasis on die need of the Christian than on the canonical aspects of Christian penance. Care for the dying provided one more occasion to emphasize the demands of Christian mercy.

Allan Fitzgerald, O.S.A.

Villanova University

Vitale e Agrícola: Il culto dei protomartiri di Bologna attraverso i secoli nel XVl centenario della traslazione. Edited by Gina FasoU. (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna. 1993. Pp. vüi, 267. LUe 80,000.)

This remarkable misceUaneous work is the last contribution of the late Gina FasoU to her field of medieval studies and religious studies on Bologna. The occasion of the sixteenth centenary of the inventio and translatio of the reUcs of the only two Bolognese martyrs, VitaUs and Agrícola, has prompted a range of individual papers that make the present volume the latest up-dated work on the matter. The matter is, principaUy, hagiographie: the cult of the martyrs, and the history of the finding of their bodies in a Jewish cemetery of the fourth century. This subject matter had been the exposition of pertinent articles in the Bibliotheca Sanctorum: "Vitale e Agrícola" by G. D. Gordini and "Vitale, Valeria ed Ursicino" by G. Lucchesi (Vol. XII, respectively, coU. 1225-1228 and 1229-1231). AU the writings of the volume are of some special value. Yet, for the capital matter, which rests on hagiography and hagiographie Uterary sources, three contributions deserve particular mention: P Serra Zanetti's phüologico-historical evaluation of the outstanding written witness of St. Ambrose: "Ambrogio, Esortazione allaVerginità 1-10: una proposta di lettura" (pp. 3-20); Alba Maria OrseUi's "Vitale e Agrícola: modeUi di santità per la Chiesa bolognese" (pp. 21-25) and Giampaolo Ropa's "Momenti e questioni del culto tardoantico e médiévale dei martUi Vitale e Agrícola" (pp. 27-46). It is known that the only real source of the inventio is Ambrose's Exhortado Virginitatis edited in the years 393-394. The facts, however, witnessed by the Saint, with the bishop of Bologna (Eusebius, or rather Eustatius), go back to the year 392. Ambrose brought relics of the Bolognese martyrs to Florence for the consecration of the basilica of St. Lawrence, and then took some back home In Milan. Ambrose's text is indeed his sermon for the consecration Ui which he mentions the reUcs of St. Agrícola, who had

been crucified. Relics of St. Vitaks, the servant of Agrícola, must have been taken to Milan. These relics are precisely relevant for the cult of the same martyr in Ravenna and Rome. St. Vitalis of Ravenna, to whom the famous most beautiful basilica is dedicated, as independent military officer of Milan (not of Bologna), is evidently a forged personality, created by the Ravennate sixth-century legend falsely attributed to Ambrose (BHL, I, p. 524, n. 3514). This Passio S. Vitalis and Passio SS. Gervasii et Protasii claiming to be a Milanese text makes Ravenna independent from Bologna. But at the beginning, in the fifth century, the Ravennate original cult of the Bolognese martyr must have been brought from Milan to Ravenna by the Imperial court; Honorius, GaUa Placidia, St. Peter Chrysologus. Pope Innocent I (401-417) had been exiled in Ravenna for a long period (Kelly, Popes, pp. 37-38); back in Rome he dedicated to the Saints of Milan-Ravenna (Gervasius, Protasius, and Vitalis) the Titulus Vestinae (LP, Duchesne, I, 220-224; R. Krautheimer, Corpus, IV, 299-316, [Citta del Vaticano 1976]). This information must be added to the present volume which ties itself exclusively to the Bologna-Florence-Milan relationship. Somewhere a supplement is needed.

Giovanni Montanari

Archives of the Archdiocese of Ravenna-Cervia

Medieval

The Cathedral: The Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction. By Alain Erlande-Brandenburg. Translated by Martin Thorn. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 378; 161 black-and-white illustrations. $89.95.)

This is the translation of a book simply titled La cathédrale, pubkshed in 1989; a more accurate subtitle would have been "The Development of Urban Episcopal Buildings in France from the Fourth through the Fifteenth Centuries." The introduction traces the creation of a "mythical" cathedral in some writings and architectural practice of the nineteenth century, to which the author opposes his own account of the cathedral's "real nature." The mythical cathedral is Gothic, a majesticaUy unitary structure that symbohzed the coUaborative endeavor of an idealized society, "French unity" according to VioUet-le-Duc (p. 11); the real cathedral is a complex of functionaUy interdependent buildings which originated in the Roman cities of late antiquity, when it comprised one or two basUicas, a baptistery, the bishop's residence, and a hospice. Its origin conditioned the Gothic outcome; thus to know this real cathedral "we must consider it in a long-term perspective, beginning with . . . the establishment of episcopal sees in the ancient cities . . . scrutinis[ing] each of the great periods which followed, emphasizing whatever was original in its particular contribution" (p. 26). Accordingly, the book is organized at first in chronologicaUy successive

chapters: "the bishop in the city" (late antiquity), "the Imperial dream" (Carolingian reforms), "the Gregorian reform," and then, foUowing "Gothic construction," in topical chapters treating "men, finance and administration," the internal functional divisions of the cathedral proper, the palace, canons' quarters, and the "hôtel-Dieu." BrutaUy reduced, the thesis is that the cathedral was a major urban agglomeration, a city within the city, whose configuration was Ui continual revision to accommodate changing functions and personnel. Thus canons' cloisters and schools were added under the Carolingians; Ui the eleventh and twelfth centuries baptisteries and second basUicas were altered or suppressed whUe die remaining basilica was enormously enlarged, the bishop's domus became a stone "palace," and the canons' quarters also were aggrandized. In the Gothic phase the cathedral proper was again rebuUt on a gigantic scale; the bishop's palace and the canonry were made concomitantly grander and more luxurious, and were often fortified; and the hospitals also were enlarged and sometimes relocated. The simultaneous expansion of aU components of the cathedral complex sometimes brought them—and theU constituencies—into conflict, and the complex as a whole increasingly encroached upon the town. While the designs of some cathedrals might accommodate existing municipal features—streets, defensive waUs, private housing—over time cathedrals were space-aggressive, and tended rather to engulf or suppress them.

The original French pubUcation was reviewed by Francis Salet, to whom the book is also dedicated, in the Bulletin monumental (CL-CLI [1992], 186-188). Salet praised it for providing a synthetic overview of a topic that had previously been studied piecemeal, consequently for opening up "perspectives that we wUl never again be able to ignore." This praise is weU deserved. For the specialist, however, there are also limitations: no footnotes, which means that none of the fascinating detaU about individual sites can be verified or further investigated; and a rudimentary (six-page) bibliography of works almost exclusively in French. Given the topic, the linguistic restriction might seem justifiable, but it probably also accounts for significant errors Ui the description of non-French buildings (e.g., the Roman catiiedral of St. John Lateran, p. 43, and its ConstantUiian baptistery, pp. 52-53). The translation perpetuates these problems (nothing in the 1989 text has been changed or updated) and adds more. A bizarre editorial policy on proper names turned most of them into linguistic hash, including simple solecisms and anachronisms ("pontus MUvius," "Pépin le Bref") and more compUcated polyglot misnomers ("Saint Benedetto of Norcia," "Heinrich the Fowler," "Saint-Guy Ui Praga"). More seriously, the translator was plainly unfamUiar with architectural terminology, and unaware of the appearance of the countless buUdings that are described. As a result there are many mistranslations, some of which are only awkward or ?ef?e??^: "baptismal cistern" (cuve baptismale) for "font," "chapel of ease" (annexe) for "annex," "combined statue and column" (statue-colonne) for "column-statue"; others, however, compromise descriptions to the point of incomprehensibiUty (e.g., p. 53, the Lateran baptistery; pp. 81-83, Cologne cathedral). Especially puzzling is the

repeated rendition of au ("adjoining" or often "behind") as "in" or "on," to produce such nonsensical locations as "the domus ... in die chevet'^. 77) and "a cloister within the chevet" (p. 138).

The French original of La cathédrale, described by Salet as "dense" and "serious," is a modestly produced volume that could be purchased in 1990 for about $35.00 (195 francs). The Cambridge version is a lavish tome on glossy paper that costs two-and-a-half times more. It is far too expensive to assign to students, and scholar/teachers wUl prefer to stick with the more understandable French. Nice looking at it is, then, it is not clear to me for whom this translation is intended.

Dale Kinney

Bryn Mawr College

Law and Liturgy in the Latin Church, 5th-12th Centuries. By Roger E. Reynolds. [Variorum CoUected Studies Series, CS 457.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate PubUshUig Company. 1994. Pp. xü, 318. $89.95.)

Canon law coUections are arguably the single most important source for the thought and activity of western Christian society over a mUennium of its history, containing not only legal texts, but much else reflecting Christian norms of behavior, beUef, and practice. Liturgical commentaries are found Ui canon law coUections because inttrçteXaxioa quickly came to be added to legislation on the Uturgy. The theme of the essays coUected here is that the study of the Uturgy Ui the Middle Ages was carried out largely in the domain of canon law.

Roger Reynolds, distinguished historian of the Uturgy and of canon law, is recognized UiternationaUy for his pioneer work Ui identifying and exploiting the contents of myriad unpubUshed canonical coUections from the fifth through the twelfth centuries Ui his pursuit of Uturgical commentaries. In this smaU selection of his prodigious writing over the past quarter-century, Reynolds exposes the interest of canon law coUections for both speciaUsts and non-speciaUsts. Some samples: in "Unity and Diversity Ui Carolingian Canon Law CoUections: The Case of the 'CoUectio Hibernensis' and its Derivatives" he shows that the Irish "CoUectio Hibernensis" did not disappear with die Carolingian Reform and the effort to encourage Roman models, but flourished in areas of Charlemagne's domains with long Celtic traditions, and even close to Rome, in central and southern Italy. In "Canon Law CoUections in Early Ninth-century Salzburg," Reynolds' vast knowledge of "para-canonical" texts—patristic and early medieval texts that were incorporated into canon law coUections—helps one to see how canonical collections functioned as Uving guides for the clergy, changing theU contents to meet the clergy's needs. In "Pseudonymous Litúrgica Ui Early Medieval Canon Law CoUections," the author makes the unexpected remark that canon law coUections are one of the richest sources of fanciful Utur-

gical commentaries, and that these owe their popularity and diffusion to incorporation in canon law collections. In "Rites of Separation and Reconcikation in the Early Middle Ages" he beautifuUy illustrates the historical and Uturgical context of excommunications, anathemas, clamors, clerical degradation, interdicts, and exorcisms. In "Liturgical Scholarship at the Time of the Investiture Controversy: Past Research and Future Opportunities" Reynolds Usts some of the surprisingly many StUl unedited liturgical commentaries from this critical era of new interest in law and liturgy.

Eleven of the essays contain first editions of texts, ranging from a fragment of the Greek liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in Beneventan script (Essay XhT) to a commentary on the meaning of Septuagésima in a Catalan codex (Essay XV), Peace and Truce of God formulae from southern Italy (Essay XI), and embeUishments of a pseudo-correspondence between Pope Damasus I and Jerome on the Mass (Essay XII). The volume concludes with an index of manuscripts cited, making accessible the lode of manuscript information Reynolds invariably includes in his articles, unattainable elsewhere.

Susan A. Keefe

Duke University

Cultural Interplay in the Eighth Century: The Trier Gospels and the Making of a Scriptorium at Echternach. By Nancy Netzer. [Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 3·] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 258. $64.95.)

The Trier Gospels (Trier, Cathedral Treasury, Ms. 61) are fascinating but little known. Their obscurity stems in part from their location, a Ubrary off the beaten track of most students of insular manuscripts. But the primary reason for the exclusion of the Trier Gospels from the scholarly canon is their distinguishing artistic characteristic, the unusual juxtaposition and combination of Mediterranean and insular forms. Unappealing to eyes schooled on modernist purity, Trier 61 looks much better in the post-modernist era of bricolage. Given the manuscript's undeserved obscurity, we must be grateful to Nancy Netzer for her exceptionaUy thorough and generously LUustrated study.

Although codicology became weU known to art historians only when Délaissé preached its appUcation to late medieval Uluminated manuscripts, its primary lesson, that medieval books should be studied as a whole, has long been known to historians of the early Middle Ages forced to eke every bit of information from meager sources. But Netzer's book goes far beyond the already high levels established for such inquiry. Separate chapters of Cultural Interplay study Trier 6Ts text, physical construction, script, and decoration (this last including initials, canon tables, and six fuU-page miniatures). Remarkably, Netzer appears equaUy at home in art history, paleography, textual criticism, and the study of the physical book.

Because of her complete command of aU the relevant tools, Netzer provides the best answer we are likely to have to certain basic questions: where were the Trier Gospels made, when, and by whom? The answers are Echternach, c. 720-740, and by two men, both apparently artist-scribes. One of these, Thomas, is known by name from two inscriptions in the book; the second remains anonymous. Thomas was trained in an insular tradition closely related to that of the Lindisfarne scriptorium; the other scribe's schooling was continental and "Merovingian." The manuscript produced by these two artist-scribes of different backgrounds was made more complex by a third factor: Thomas's use of an artistic model with a strong Mediterranean character as the chief source for his miniatures. This amalgam, the "cultural interplay" of the book's title, makes the Trier Gospels unique and fascinating.

Although Netzer's knowledge of the manuscript itself is unparaUeled, her attempts to put the book into a context are frustratUigly weak. Netzer presents the Trier Gospels as the product of WiUibrord's interest in tilings Roman exercised at a continental monastery. But, as she recognizes, this context is insufficiently nuanced since the same conditions (mutatis mutandis) existed at other insular foundations on the continent and even at Wearmouth-Jarrow and Lindisfarne. Netzer's further explanation for the unique appearance of the Trier Gospels is breathtakingly simple: it's a bad manuscript. According to her account, the scribe-artists, unable to deal with either then· classical or their insular models, feU between two stools. Here's a typical passage describing decorated initials painted by the first scribe: "Once again, Thomas chooses a simpler and less successful solution, revealing his limited abUity to comprehend and replicate the beauty and logic of his model" (p. 48). As long ago as the turn of the nineteenth century, Riegl argued for a non-evaluative art history which would not measure a work against historicaUy inappropriate standards, but rather understand it on its own terms. Riegl's work was crucial in legitimizing the study of medieval art, previously stigmatized as unclassical; so it is sad and Uonic that Netzer has not learned his lesson. The evaluative language which fiUs Netzer's book is not only outmoded; it explains nothing. Given an environment that produced manuscripts ranging in appearance from the Codex Amiatinus to the Echternach Gospels, how can a historian be so sure the Trier Gospels' synthesis of insular and Mediterranean forms was a faUure?

SUnUarly outmoded and historicaUy suspect is Netzer's reference to an artist's "native repertoUe" (cf. the passage where she caUs the Mediterranean style "aUen" to Thomas). In this century the clearly false equation of an artist's style with his birthplace and parentage has not only bedevUed scholarship (e.g., Ui Netzer's own field, the debate on the EngUsh or Irish origin of the Books of Durrow and KeUs) but has a deeply sinister history (e.g., the Nazi dismissal of Jewish art as "degenerate").

In short, Netzer's book is curiously archaicizing: it reads like art-historical scholarship of the 1950's and 1960's, U not earUer. This certainly has a positive side: Netzer is more scrupulous in her attention to detaU than are many con-

temporary scholars. Likewise welcome is her straightforward presentation of aU the relevant information about Trier 61 ; the book fills a large lacuna Ui scholarship. But the archaism also means that crucial contemporary questions about how culturaUy-diverse audiences (such as that at eighth-century Echternach) understand visual signs are not weU discussed because Netzer lacks a sophisticated theory about cultural interplay against which to measure her historical evidence. Likewise absent from Cultural Interplay is the methodological sophistication and setf-awareness typical of die new art history. Thanks, however, to her careful presentation of the Trier Gospels as a physical object, Netzer's book wUl be indispensable to those who choose to tackle the more difficult problems raised by this fascinating manuscript.

William J. DmeoLD

Reed College

Pilger, Mirakel und Alltag. Formen des Verhaltens im skandinavischen Mittelalter (12.-15- Jahrhundert). By Christian Krötzl. [Studia Histórica, 46.] (Helsinki: Suomen HistoriaUinen Seura. 1994. Pp. 393· Paperback.)

Recent years have witnessed a flourishing of research into medieval popular piety, largely based on a reading of contemporary coUections of saints' Uves and miracles. Christian Krötzl's current monograph is a well-focussed example of the genre and may be taken as a model to others of the method to be employed by those undertaking regional studies of popular piety. AU of the issues reflected in fifteen Scandinavian miracle coUections from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries are dealt with in a systematic way, beginning with a detaUed survey of the sources, the current state of research, the notion of miracle, and the legal status of the pilgrim, and continuing with an analytical breakdown of miracle genres and the constituent elements of the miracle.

After noting the contemporary narratives of Scandinavian pilgrims to such European-wide pUgrimage sites as Santiago, Rome, Aachen, WUsnack, and Jerusalem, he focuses on cults devoted to fourteen local saints from King Knut of Denmark to Catherine ofVadstena, along widi the cult of the miracle-working statue of the Descent from the Cross found in Stockholm, taking note of the increased appearance of thanksgiving pUgrimages and of the performance of miracles at some distance from the site of the relics. Krötzl has also made an effort to locate persons of Scandinavian origin reported Ui other miracle coUections and pUgrimage narratives, and foreigners (most of north German background) at Scandinavian sites.

Because of theU relatively late date, these Scandinavian miracles were reported under the stringent notarial rules laid down in canon and Roman law, thus ensuring considerable reliabiUty as a source for everyday life and the social history of northern Europe in the central and later Middle Ages. The growing integration of this region Into European Christendom, accompanied by a change

of focus from Norway and Denmark to Sweden, are evident. The apparent popularity of pUgrimage within this circle may perhaps be explained by its use as a trade route and as a form of secular punishment, not merely in fulfillment of a religious vow. In many ways, this work proves the close conformity of Scandinavian popular reUgion to that found in other areas, although the wider use of lots in determining which cult would be more effective, the stress on the DevU as a cause of difficulties, or the detaUed descriptions of possession and exorcism may be perhaps regarded as pecuUarly Scandinavian.

Krötzl's work is particularly rich in the citation of relevant sources, which enables the reader to confirm the author's observations, and with graphs, which provide clear visuaUzation of the quantitative data, without being intrusive. Its systematic structure permits easy use as a reference source.

Michael Goodich

University ofHaifa

Religion paysanne et religion urbaine en Toscane (c. 1250-c. 1450). By Charles M. De la Roncière. [Variorum CoUected Studies Series, CS 458.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1994. Pp. ?, 319. $95.00.)

The nine essays collected in this volume represent Charles de la Roncière's contributions over the past twenty or so years to the field of religious history. A social and economic historian, de la Roncière uses mostly notarial records to discover the contours of the religion lived by monks, friars, merchants, vUlagers, and rural folk, in thirteenth-, fourteenth-, and fifteenth-century Tuscany. The specific problems he studies are: the place of confraternities in the reUgious framework of Florence and contado; the influence of the Franciscans in the Florentine countryside; the pastoral orientation of the clergy; the role of folklore in rural reUgious practice; and the faith of the merchant. In each study de la Roncière explores the intersection of the institutional church and popular mentaUties.

Two essays in particular merit further discussion as they are Ulustrative of de la Roncière's methodology and of the range of his questions. The first, "L'Influence des Franciscains dans le campagne de Florence au XFV" siècle (1280-1360)"(essay II,originaUy published in 1975), examines the depth and duration of Franciscan influence in the Florentine countryside over two generations. Analyzing naming practices and testamentary bequests, he finds that older generations included the friars only in their wiUs, and thereby acknowledged the friars, yet without having to incorporate them into their daUy Uves. Younger generations, by contrast, did just that, as they opted to name their own children after Francis and other mendicants. These differences, suggests de la Roncière, are symptomatic of differing postures toward the rural church. Restive within an old and inflexible ecclesiastical framework, the young accepted the newer

orders readUy into their Uves, whereas their parents and grandparents continued to endorse more heavUy the old organizations in which they themselves had been raised. This is one explanation. But now, given the findings of subsequent studies on the friars in central and northern Italy, we can and should wonder what other social and poUtical factors might also have contributed to this disparity. StiU more important for de la Roncière, though, is that these generational differences contributed to what he sees as the late and relatively weak influence of the Franciscans. To account for this impression, de la Roncière looks to larger structures such as the economy and the envUonment. He also turns to the friars themselves, for whUe they ventured into the suburbs of Florence, according to him, they rarely settled, or even visited the more sparsely populated countryside beyond.

In a later piece from 1988, "Aspects de la ReUgiosité Populate en Toscane" (essay Vf), de la Roncière frees himself of the institutional setting. Here he focuses instead on the reUgion of the countryside, and he turns to a wide range of sources such as sermons, wUls, folklore, rappresentazioni, and inquisitors' records to discover the nature of that reUgion. Evaluating his findings not simply against the norms of the Church, he concludes that the Church and its brand of Christianity did indeed penetrate the countryside, albeit Ui a limited way. For the Uved religion of rural people was shaped by the needs of a largely illiterate community, and thus, it was rooted less Ui the Church's Uturgy and morality than Ui objects and images used to communicate with the divine. This point and its Implications for the Church beg further analysis. WhUe showing the range of reUgious practices among rural folk, de la Roncière also charts differing reactions to those practices among ecclesiastics. And might not these reactions—sometimes disapproving, other times tolerant—suggest that the "Church" and its Christianity was Ui fact not so static as he implies, but was flexible and accepting of local variation?

As much for the questions they raise (and have raised since thetf pubUcation) as for their conclusions, these and the other essays Ui this volume wUl prove valuable to historians of religion, of die Italian church, of rural economy, and of the famUy (although the absence of footnotes in a few essays wUl frustrate some). Together, they reveal the elastic and evolving nature of reUgion and reUgious practice in late medieval Italy; they nuance the relationship between rural and urban reUgion, a relationship that is too often ß?^f^ contrasted; and finaUy, they Invite us to foUow de la Roncière into the archives of rural Italy—a lead we have been slow to pursue in spite of the fruit that such work obviously bears.

Euzabeth P Rothrauff

Stanford University

Olivi and Franciscan Poverty: The Origins of the Usus Pauper Controversy. By David Burr. [Middle Ages Series.] (PhUadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1989. Pp. xii,211. $39.95.)

When Olivi and Franciscan Poverty was pubUshed six years ago, it was not as widely reviewed as it might have been. The book's full importance has become apparent with the appearance of Burr's next book, Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom. Together they constitute one of the most sophisticated studies of Peter Olivi's thought yet produced, and offer considerable insight into the very complex theological debates Ui which OUvi participated—debates that were to have a critical effect on the fourteenth-century church.

Most treatments of the controversy over usus pauper have foUowed Franz Ehrle in working backward from the debate at the CouncU of Vienne (1310-1312) toward the origins of the idea in the late thirteenth century. Burr finds a fresh perspective by working forward from the 1270's and by concentrating on the period Ui which OUvi was involved, 1279-1299- After a very perceptive chapter on the state of the order Ui the 1270's, he argues that usus pauper was not an issue before 1279, but quickly became one when OUvi developed it as a response to Dominican attacks on Franciscan notions of apostoUc poverty. Moreover, Burr contends, the focus of the conflict over usus pauper within the Franciscan order was not the idea of "poor use" itsetf, but OUvi's insistence that the Franciscan vow of poverty required members of the order to limit their use of goods only to those things absolutely necessary to theU mission. OUvi's Franciscan critics were fearful that this kind of vow would engender constant anxiety Ui the order, impede spUitual progress, and undo some delicate provisions of Pope Nicholas Ill's decree Exiit, which favored the Franciscans. They considered Olivi's idea a dangerous blunder that would play into the hands of the order's enemies. On the one hand, they argued, the absoluteness of OUvi's vow would leave friars constantly on the brink of famine; on the other, its indeterminacy would render friars incapable of deciding the precise point at which the vow was violated, even though violation was a mortal sin. As much as Olivi's opponents worried about the lack of specific objects in his version of the vow and the dangers of its widespread violation by the order, Olivi himself delighted Ui the spiritual adventure such a vow offered. In this sense, Burr suggests, OUvi was closer to the spirit of the early Franciscans than his opponents.

If Olivi and his critics were dramatically divided on the theory of poor use, they were fairly close when it came to practice. OUvi's opponents were no laxists, but beUeved that friars should sensibly restrict their use of goods. And Olivi had an essentially simUar point of view. This was the reason he was so unsympathetic to the ItaUan zealots who sought to escape the control of theU superiors during the reign of Celestine V The zealots were pressing for immediate changes in the order's observance of poverty; OUvi was basicaUy satisfied with contemporary observance, although he foresaw future decline.

Burr is particularly good at delineating the differences among the several rigorist factions loosely joined by aUegiance to usus pauper. These groups had ex-

isted before usus pauper became an issue, and tiieir ???efGe?^a??ß varied a good deal. The Sptfituals were hardly a party untU serious persecution forged theU unity after Olivi's death Ui 1298. SimUarly, the Conventuals were created by the resistance of the SpUituals to the leadership's attempts to regularize the order's practice of poverty. They, too, coalesced only in the decade before the CouncU ofVienne.

Olivi and Franciscan Poverty ends with a brief treatment of OUvi's apocalyptic views, providing a link with Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom. Both books are essential reading for anyone interested in the history of Franciscan poverty and late medieval reUgious thought.

Thomas Turley

Santa Clara University

The Baltic Crusade. By WUUam L. Urban. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center. 1994. Pp. v, 366.)

In the two decades since the first edition of The Baltic Crusade first appeared (DeKalb: Northern IUinois University Press, 1975) study of the eastern Baltic lands has undergone significant development. Professor Urban, one of the most active American scholars in the area of medieval Baltic studies, has produced a second edition that reflects some of the changes that have taken place. Urban sees this volume as providing an introduction to the Baltic Crusades "for Industrious students and lay readers."

The strength of the book is the discussion of the conflicting interests of the various parties involved in the crusade. Danish and German rulers struggled with the pagans and with each other to dominate the region. ReUgious orders quarreled with bishops and with each other to dominate the church that was being established. Merchants from various cities, seeing profits to be made Ui the east, fought with fellow Christians who Interfered with theU pursuit of profit. The crusade was not an homogeneous movement, moving efficiently to control the lands of the eastern Baltic. It was a quarreling, inconsistent movement whose constituent members had a series of conflicting goals and interests. As Urban points out, this enabled indigenous rulers to play one Christian group off against another Ui order to preserve their independence.

One way m which this edition dtffers from its predecessor is that Urban has taken note of the work that has been done on the frontiers of Europe during the Middle Ages and the relationship of medieval expansion, in this case the crusades, to the post-1492 expansion of Europe overseas. He places the Baltic Crusade in the framework created by Robert Bartlett's The Medieval Frontier (Princeton, 1993) and J. R. S. PhUips's The Expansion ofMedieval Europe (Oxford, 1988). The Baltic Crusade no longer appears as an isolated phenomenon or as part of some eternal conflict between Teuton and Slav. This crusade is now

understood in the broad context of religious, economic, and territorial expansion that has characterized European history from the tenth century to the present. Indeed, Urban points out in the final chapter, the problems that the German crusaders faced in the Baltic lands were simUar to those that Columbus and the Spanish were to face in the New World two centuries later.

One unfortunate drawback of this new edition is that while there are more maps than in the original version, they are smaUer and more difficult to read. On the other hand, this edition has added fifteen plates Ulustrating castles and other aspects of the crusade.

Although Urban has answered some of the criticisms of the first edition and has given more space to some issues not fully covered previously, this volume is not a complete revision of the earUer edition in the Ught of current research. Those interested in the Baltic crusades wUl stiU have to use Eric Christiansen's The Northern Crusades [London, 1980]. Furthermore, as the title of S. G. Rowell's Lithuania Ascending (Cambridge, England, 1994) suggests, future research wiU emphasize the role of the indigenous peoples of the Baltic lands and wUl place less emphasis on the crusaders.

James Muldoon

Rutgers University, Camden

Creative Women in Medieval and Early Modern Italy: A Religious and Artistic Renaissance. Edited by E. Ann Matter and John Coakley. (PhUadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 356. $36.95.)

The fourteen essays gathered in this volume had their origin in a conference of 1991. They are grouped into three sections: in the first they deal with "Women's ReUgious Expression" in the late Middle Ages; in the second they examine the same subject in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while in the third their focus shifts to "Women's Artistic Expression." AU address the fundamental issue of how to discover and understand the creativity of women in periods which offered them Uttle, if any, public scope for its expression. The authors do not coUectively espouse a revisionist approach to the role of intellectuaUy or artisticaUy gifted Italian women. Rather, the strength of the essays lies in their often imaginative and subtle analysis as they examine how women were able to carve out areas in which to make distinctive cultural contributions.

A useful introduction sets the main issues into a larger framework by reference to the debate between Rudolph BeU and Caroline Walker Bynum about the meaning of fasting for medieval women. Like these scholars who dealt with the same phenomenon but gave it different un^pretations, the authors of the essays look at Italian women between 1300 and 1700 and see a variety of meanings in their words, writings, musical activity, or plays. Because the reUgious

sphere offered women the most opportunities for using their creativity, the majority of essays deals with aspects of women's religious Uves.

One of the general conclusions is diat late medieval ItaUan women were sociaUy less circumscribed than theU counterparts Ln the early modern period. Among the former were Catherine of Siena, who had community support, or women who exercised moral authority over male clerics, especiaUy theU biographers who were wiUing to express reverence and admiration for their subjects. Yet one of the problems, touched upon repeatedly Ui the essays, is that we often hear women's voices only through the words and works of male writers. One of the most interesting pieces in the volume not only attempts to decipher such works, but argues that sometimes the roles were reversed, and that women taught male reUgious by giving them a "sentimental education" in distinctively female forms of reUgiosity.

The essays on the early modern period are rich and complex. They include one on noble women as patrons of Jesuit institutions, whose role was subsequently downplayed by the order, or one comparing would-be female saints with more successful women artists. This essay probes the difficult link between women's self-definition and the manner in which they were perceived by society. GeneraUy, women had more space for self-expression Ui monasteries. But an essay on the early Ursulines warns the reader to take account of other possibiUties open to women, like being "virgins at home," thus neither nuns nor wives.

In the tiUrd section we find some new and ß?f?ß?^ material. In the convent, women were playwrights, composers, or actresses, often showing remarkable originality. One Florentine nun, the playwright Maria Clemente Ruoti, was elected as the first female member of an academy. In MUan, nuns who were musicians were in touch with the latest musical styles, and eventuaUy were actively encouraged by Archbishop Federigo Borromeo, who unlike his saintly predecessor and relative Carlo, had sympathy for gifted women Ui the cloister.

This volume includes many valuable insights into the condition of unusual and inteUigent women whose range of choices was extremely narrow by our standards, yet who managed to make theU mark and carve out a niche for themselves. One can read these essays from a variety of perspectives; they are interdisciplinary and maintain high standards of scholarship. Together, they give eloquent testimony of women's creativity which has been so frequently ignored Ui the past.

Eusabeth G. Gleason

University of San Francisco

Early Modern European

Legati e govematori dello Stato Pontificio (1550-1809). Edited by Christoph Weber. [PubbUcazioni degU Archivi di Stato, Sussidi 7.] (Rome: Ministero per i Beni CulturaU e AmbientaU, Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici. 1994. Pp. 989.)

This volume represents a useful reference work and suggests interesting research avenues in the history of the early modern Church and of early modern Italian society. The volume consists of a chronology and prosopography of provincial and local clerical administrators Ui the Papal State from the mid-sixteenth century to the Napoleonic age. The work includes an introduction, lengthy descriptions of sources and bibUography, the chronology arranged by sixty cities and towns, and a prosopography including biographical and famUy information about 2,308 administrators. The famUy information adds data about another 3,420 individuals.

Christoph Weber collected this information from archival series Ui the Vatican, Roman, and provincial archives, as weU as from a variety of previous compUations, the works of local erudites, printed annuaries, and genealogical coUections and treatises. WhUe the chronology is as complete as these sources permit, in the prosopography Weber offers selections from the huge amounts of avaUable information. In particular he chose to provide limited information of better-known individuals, those for Instance who ascended to Important bishoprics or the cardinalate, to the advantage of the middle level of papal administrators, whose careers spanned local government and the Curia offices and who represented the "backbone" (p. 31) of the Papal State. Weber also by and large excluded lay administrators from his research.

This volume is, then, a useful and important reference tool for the history of the early modern Papal State. Weber also suggests, Ui his introduction and through the organization of his work, possible uses and ???efGe?^?????ß of this material. FUst, the progressive weakening of the many special administrations and arrangenrents ?Geße?? Ui various parts of ??e ß?3?e, and the waning of nepotism by the late ße?e??ee??? century, show the ?G?eeßßeß of centraUzation and stataUzation that transformed papal administration, similarly to what happened in other early modern states. ??Ge??eG, Wèb8r's focus, in his prosopography, on the famUy context of the Uves and eßGeeGß ??e documents, points to the crucial role of the early modern bureaucracy as a link between state and society. The papal administrators came in fact often from local nobiUties and patriciates, and from a "civU" group trained in the law. The p?e??eGß of this pow8r e^e, monopolizing local administration and constituting a "bonding ground" (p. 26) for the Italian episcopate, helped the development of state power and control, but they also ensured the resistance and survival of traditional local aristocracies and eUtes into the ninetÎ8nth century. Weber's collected data, then, usefuUy add

to debates on die bureaucratic state, on the relationship between center and periphery, and on early modern ItaUan eUtes.

Tommaso Astarita

Georgetown University

Cajetan et Luther en 1518: Édition, traduction et commentaire des opuscules d'Augsbourg de Cajetan. Edited by Charles Morerod, O.P. 2 vols. [Cahiers Oecuméniques, 26.] (Fribourg: Editions Universitäres. 1994. Pp. iv, 423, xvü; iv, 425-676. Fr. s. 95. paperback.)

The meeting at Augsburg between Luther and Tommaso de Vio has long been recognized as one of the decisive moments of Reformation history. The Dominican theologian, better known as Cajetan, was arguably the most profound Thomist of his generation. Luther, not yet under ecclesiastical censure, could explain and defend his theological views without the polemical rhetoric that would characterize his later work. Luther had a sufficientiy mature theological program for Cajetan later to declare that the Wittenberg Augustinian was creating an entirely new church. This is an important observation from a member of the Thomist tradition. The question of the relation of Luther to Thomistic theology was forcefully posed by Otto-Hermann Pesch Ui 1967, and recent studies have continued to explore subtleties and dtfficulties. Cajetan himself Ui the meanwhUe has been the subject of investigations by Jared Wicks and Barbara HaUensleben, among others, and as a result has acquUed a more prominent place in the canon of controversial theologians. Although several dogmatic treatises have been published Ui the Leonine edition of Thomas, only a few of Cajetan's anti-Reformation writings are avaUable Ui modern editions. The present edition of the Augsburg Opuscula is the first edition of any of Cajetan's controversial works to appear since 1925.

The heart of Father Morerod's work is a careful transcription of the first edition of 1523 with significant variants from the other seven editions that appeared in the sixteenth century. Abbreviations have been expanded, though spelling and capitaUzation have not been altered. The result is a readable text which retains the flavor of the original edition. The commentary, conveniently placed beneath the text, provides bibUcal citations and references to texts cited by Cajetan. Particularly helpful are the quotations from Luther's Resolutiones, which help the reader understand precisely the points and terms Ui question. The Limitations of space posed by the position of the commentary preclude lengthy explanatory notes, but nothing essential has been ignored. A clear translation runs paraUel to the text and is a valuable aid to understanding Cajetan's often intricate Latin.

Text, translation, and commentary are supplemented by two extraordinarily learned studies, one an historical introduction and the other an analysis of the

theological dispute and Cajetan's role in it. In the course of tracing the paths that led to the encounter and the detaUs of the meeting itsetf, Morerod reveals the extent to which political as weU as ecclesiastical concerns stood behind the Dominican's legation to the Diet. Just as carefuUy, Morerod provides a sensitive analysis of Luther's own progress to Augsburg, which presents in detaU the main points of the Resolutions on Indulgences, the Sermon on Penance, and the Sermon on Excommunication. Although Morerod makes Uttle use of recent Luther scholarship in the historical introduction, he knows Luther's own texts thoroughly.

Morerod's knowledge of Luther and of modern Luther scholarship is fully in evidence in the theological analysis that makes up the bulk of the second volume. With admirable clarity Morerod organizes his exposition around the three central points of the debate: indulgences and purgatory, the efficacy of the sacrament of penance, and excommunication. WhUe impressively knowledgeable about the history of these doctrines, Morerod does not sacrifice clarity in order to display his erudition. He provides, instead, reUable guidance through the problems which precipitated the Reformation.

Two distracting features caU for attention. Both the historical and theological introductions are broken up by numbered topical headings, which delay and bewUder the reader more than they help. Not even the most organized reader can make sense of a section number like "V2.4.4.2.3.1," and many of these segments could have benefited from further exploration. In the translation as well, Morerod seems overly eager to display the precision of his working habits, for he sets brackets around aU words not expUcit in the Latin text. Thus one finds, for example, "Et [l'Eglise romaine enseigne aussi] que [c'est] par mode de suffrage [que le Siège apostolique] fait parvenir l'indulgence condédée pour remettre les peines des âmes [qui sont] au purgatoire . . ."(p. 293). Readers who know Latin wiU recognize the ??ef??a????ß; those who do not wUl not benefit from being told what is expUcit and what implicit in the Latin text.

Morerod's edition of Cajetan's Opuscula is a model of learning and editorial care, and a substantial contribution to our understanding of the beginnings of the Reformation and of Cajetan's thought. It should stimulate study and encourage editions of other texts.

Ralph Keen

University ofIowa

The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation ofReform. Edited by Ole Peter Grell. (NewYork: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 218. $54.95.)

This slim volume consists of six essays, two on Denmark/Norway from 1520 to c. 1660, two on Sweden/Finland from 1520 to the centenary of Gustav Vasa's

election Ui 1621, one on the CathoUc Church Ui sixteenth-century Scandinavia, and one on faith, superstition, and witchcraft during the Scandinavian Reformation. The editor has provided a brief introduction. The text also includes one map and an index. Unfortunately, there is no bibUography; whUe relevant secondary sources are Usted Ui the notes, recent work is most definitely underrepresented.

It is difficult to understand why this volume was pubUshed and who should be considered its intended audience. The four essays on the kingdoms of Denmark/Norway and Sweden/Finland, whUe soUd for the most part, are on the handbook level and, although more detaUed in their presentation of events and personaUties, dupUcate coverage of the Scandinavian Reformation avaUable Ui English in two other coUections pubUshed by Cambridge in paperback, and therefore more suitable for classroom use.1 Nor, in terms of the period and area covered, do they add significantly to the overview of the Reformation Ui Scandinavia and the Baltic contributed by N. K. Andersen to Volume II of the New Cambridge Modern History.2 And for bibUography, the entry on Scandinavia Ui Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research is far more extensive.5 Moreover, even when considered as introductions to tiieU subject, these essays faU short, especiaUy because they frequently faU—perhaps because of space constraints—to define key terms and concepts, especiaUy theological ones. "Christian humanism," for example, is a term that recurs often Ln the coUection, yet is never explained adequately enough to provide clarity for undergraduates or discussed widi sufficient subtlety to satisfy more advanced scholars. Indeed, the treatment of theology in general in these essays gives the impression that the authors either don't know much about it (which cannot be the case) or simply don't care—or think theU readers won't. For example, we are told on page 26 that die evangeUcal preachers in Denmark differed from Luther in that they believed that "the Bible offered directions for the spiritual, as weU as the material domain." On page 120, we learn that Archbishop Laurentius Petri opposed the crypto-Calvinist theology of the Eucharist tolerated by the Swedish king Erik XIV during the 1560's. In explaining Petri's attempt to suppress such ideas, the author notes that the archbishop was influenced not only by southern German Lutheranism, but also by PhlUppism, a gloss on his conduct desperately in need of further explanation since PhUippists were frequently accused by orthodox Lutherans of crypto-Calvinism Ui the matter of the Eucharist. But the ultimate

1 The Early Reformation in Europe, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Cambridge, 1992); The Reformation in National Context, edd. Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikulas Teich (Cambridge, 1994). Ole Peter Grell, the editor of the book under review, is the author of the articles on Scandinavia in both these collections.

2 N. K. Andersen,"The Reformation in Scandinavia and die Baltic," in The Reformation 1520-1559 (Volume II of The New Cambridge Modem History) (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 134-160.

3 Trygve R. Skarsten, "Scandinavia," in Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research, ed. William S. Maltby (St. Louis, 1992), pp. 215-235.

theological gaffe occurs on page 68, where we are told that "many Swedish and Finnish theologians of the period . . . moved graduaUy from traditional PhUippism towards a mUd, Melanchthonian orthodoxy." Again, the beginning student is left wondering what aU this means, whUe the more advanced scholar, aware that the term "phiUppism" is derived from Philip Melanchthon and identified with his deviations from Luther, is left in an even more profound state of bewUderment. I should add that the statement I have quoted constitutes an exceptionaUy egregious solecism, given the centraUty of Melanchthon Ui Reformation thought m Scandinavia.

But there are far more serious objections to be made. Nowhere, for instance, are we acquainted with the central questions that Scandinavians themselves have asked about the Reformation, or told how the present coUection of essays addresses them. (Trygve Skarsten's essay Ui Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research provides a brief overview of Scandinavian approaches.) This faUure to familiarize readers with traditional issues Ui the Scandinavian historiography is particularly unfortunate Ui the case of Sweden, where at present nationaUst conceptions of the Reformation as a part of Swedish "Uberation" are being seriously caUed into question by important new work such as that of Kurt Johannesson.4 Unfortunately, vestiges of the nationaUst view continue to appear In the present volume, and especiaUy in the essay on "The Early Reformation in Sweden and Finland," where Gustav Vasa's attempt to dimmish the power of the Church Ui Sweden is linked Ui what we would caU whiggish fashion to "the national struggle for freedom" (p. 46). IncidentaUy, a better acquaintance with Johannesson's work, which focuses on the LnteUectual and cultural worlds of the last Catholic archbishops of Sweden, would have Unproved the essay on "The CathoUc Church and Its Leadership." Here, the author informs us at the outset that he intends to "provide a reassessment" of the old Church; unfortunately, this claim is beUed by the essay as a whole, which merely redraws the tired old picture of a Church governed by short-sighted and self-centered prelates, scarred by abuses, and ripe for reform.

What should a volume like this do? In addition to famiUarizing an international readership with the questions Scandinavians have asked and are asking about theU own history, it ought to attempt to remove Scandinavia from its position on the margins of scholarship by evaluating the impact of Scandinavian evidence on current approaches to the historiography of the Reformation m general. (Only the final article Ui the present coUection makes an attempt to relate Scandinavian evidence—Ui this case about witchcraft—to current debates in the field.) Widi handbooks like those mentioned above widely available, it is not necessary to cover so much old ground. My ideal coUection of essays on the Scandinavian Reformation would include an introductory chapter on historiography, examples of recent and innovative work representing a variety of ap-

4 Kurt Johannesson, The Renaissance of the Goths in Sixteenth-Century Sweden: Johannes and Olaus Magnus as Politicians and Historians, tr. and ed. James Larson (Berkeley, California, 1991).

proaches and placing Scandinavian developments Ui a larger European context, and an extensive bibUography that would not omit older, classic studies. Unfortunately, the volume under review does not fit the bUl.

Susan Rosa

The University of Chicago

German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520-1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty. By Jeffrey Chipps Smith. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 524. $65.00.)

This book offers the reader a vast amount of information concerning the production of sculpture in Germany during the sixteenth century. It may be regarded both as an introduction to the subject and as a reference work, one which can be consulted, say, to determine 'what sculptor was responsible for the execution of a particular monument, or to answer more complex questions as to the types of subject matter favored by a certain patron. There is an encyclopedic quaUty to the work, for the author has set himself the task of synthesizing what art historians have so far had to say about the material he treats. This is no mean achievement, since the literature to date is almost exclusively in German. The result is a useful compendium, a source book to which one can turn for succinct accounts of the sculpture produced Ui a large geographical area over a period of almost a century.

It is perhaps because of the scope of this work, as weU as Smith's talent for synthesis, that one does not find new and chaUengUig interpretations either of individual sculptures or about the way in which this medium intersected with the cultural Ufe of the period. Whatever gestures are made toward a broader understanding of the work, its significance for its social context, tend to take place Ui the opening chapters. The first chapter, for example, contains a very useful account of the devotional status and function of sculpture in the years leading up to the Reformation. Smith goes over the weU-known theological arguments which were used either to support or criticize the reUgious use of images, as weU as a history of iconoclasm. However, he also points to other forms of cultural signification affecting the production and use of sculpture. He provides a very useful and original account of the competition that took place between different cities when, Ui the closing years of the fifteenth century, they decided to outdo each other by buUding larger and more imposing monuments to theU patron saints. In Chapter 3, he deploys the useful heuristic tool of contrasting the dtfferent fates of sculptors working Ui CathoUc and Lutheran areas of Germany. Among the interesting conclusions is the fact that sculptors often worked for both sides of the dogmatic schism and even traveled to dtfferent parts of the country, working for Catholic and Lutheran patrons alike. In otiier words, the sculptors' own religious convictions, which are often documented, do not seem to have interfered with their professional careers.

Smith's concern, however, Ues principaUy in the task of recording what sculpture was made and who made it. This means that the text often reads as a Ust of fects in which one commission foUows another. Such is the strain placed on the narrative structure that it often stumbles under the burden. The interpretive framework is not strong enough to handle the amount of material it is made to bear. In this, it tends to substitute empirical information for interpretation as a way of ensuring the "transparency" and accessibUity of the historical record. The facts, it is imphed, are just there and can speak for themselves without too much intervention on the part of the historian. Smith, however, has interesting points to make along the way. He brings out quite effectively the archaizing and nostalgic quaUty of some of the sculpture commissioned to replace works destroyed during the iconoclasms of the 1520's, describing it as an attempt to claim a continuity between CathoUc present and past, a continuity that had only temporarily been broken by the events of the Reformation.

Rather than incorporate aU forms of sculpture into his historical narrative, he has treated variously sculptural genres separately, as if they had histories of their own. There are chapters on epitaphs and simple tombs, on commemorative series and complex tombs, on fountains, on the relation of certain monuments to architecture, on smaU coUectible sculpture, etc. This proves very distracting. Just when one thinks that one has grasped the character of a particular patron, or the taste of a particular historical moment, one must rethink one's impression in the light of new information which might have been more usefully integrated with that which one had already been given. The formal genres according to which Smith's narrative is organized reveal the basic assumptions underlying his approach. This is to be a book about sculpture and those who make it, a book that makes both works and their authors more important than the social and cultural transactions in which they may once have been engaged. Over and again Smith informs us that the works he includes have been chosen for their "quaUty" without defining what "we" are supposed to understand by that word. Does he mean what the period regarded as quaUtatively superior or what we mean when we compare historical works -with the biases and prejudices of our own times? His conclusion impUes that one of the features of the sculpture of this period is its innovation, and indeed he expressly focuses on works that manifest this characteristic. For example, he writes:"My focus below wiU be upon highly innovative memorials rather than such workman-like monuments" (p. 128). Yet he is aware that innovation was not as highly regarded in the sixteenth century as it has been in the twentieth.

Despite these criticisms, which mainly concern the book's methodological assumptions, this is an important contribution to the study of German culture in the sixteenth century, one which wUl afford other scholars the material for future work in this field.

Keith Moxey

Columbia University
Barnard College

Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basel. By Lee Palmer Wandel. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 205. $39.95.)

Do actions speak louder than words, or at least as loudly as words? Are symbols and rituals a key to understanding the Reformation? This is what Lee Wandel attempts to prove Ui this imaginative study of the ritual revolution effected by Protestants Ui three key cities. Viewing iconoclasm from below, from the perspective of the Image breakers, Wandel adds texture to an already weU-known history. By analyzing the way in which iconoclasts "spoke" through thetf destructive acts, Wandel brings us closer to understanding the poUtical and social dimensions of lay participation Ui the Reformation during the turbulent 1520's. Wandel is correct in arguing that previous studies of iconoclasm m these cities have focused attention on the ideology of the eUtes—mostly ecclesiastic—and have neglected the "meaning" that the destruction of sacred objects may have had for the laity. Wandel's judicious use of sources has enabled her to make a twofold contribution to our understanding of iconoclastic acts: (1) she has shifted the focus of the narrative to include new voices as principal characters (though this is not evenly achieved in each of the three chapters); (2) she has reconfigured the analytical framework of iconoclastic study, placing a greater emphasis on specific, locaUzed socio-poUtical contexts. This shift in focus is the book's greatest strength.

Another strong point Ui Voracious Idols is the way Ln which Wandel attempts to come to terms with the hermeneutics of "idolatry" on both the theological and the socioeconomic levels. Wandel brings us much closer to understanding why iconoclasts assigned so radicaUy different a value on reUgious artwork, and why they could no longer see it as sacred. The key seems to be not only a change in epistemology brought about by a renewed interest Ui scriptural purity, but also a heightened awareness of the social dimensions of Christian faith and piety, and a new understanding of die meaning of Christian charity.

This is sound scholarship, based on fresh archival research and wide reading m secondary scholarship. It is elegantly written, weU argued, and richly documented. Nonetheless, as Wandel herself admits, these three case studies offer only a partial answer to the question of why iconoclasts acted as they did. Why did the images have to go? Why was culture redefined so quickly and radicaUy in these and other places? Even more puzzling, why did iconoclasm succeed in some places and not in others? Throughout, Wandel's insights raise perhaps as many questions as are answered. Would it be possible to argue, for instance, that iconoclasm depended on a certain level of socio-economic development: that in order for the images to be viewed as "voracious" (as devourers of funds that could otherwise be used to aid the needy), there would first have to exist some kind of market system in which the material cost of the image could somehow be perceived as having a useful material ??f?ße? Or, would it be possible to argue that at some basic level, dtfferent localities and social groups developed thetf own sense of the sacred? Why, for instance, did the bread-bakers and

smiths in Basel support the old piety whUe other guilds caUed for its aboUtion? Questions such as these await further exploration.

As she did in her previous study, Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich (Cambridge, 1990), Lee Wandel has once anew focused on the role symbols play in the creation and transformation of culture. More spectfi-caUy, she has again called attention to the centrality of symbol and ritual in the unfolding of the Reformation. Sixteenth-century Protestants and CathoUcs knew that iconoclasm was not simply a byproduct of the Reformation, or a violent spasm, but its very essence. With this book, Lee Wandel has brought us one step closer to recovering this once-lost perspective.

Carlos M. N. Eire

University of Virginia

William Tyndale: A Biography. By David DanieU. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 429. $30.00.)

When David DanieU's biography appeared as part of the WUUam Tyndale Quincentenary celebrations (1494-1536), I wondered what else could be said about the first translator of the New Testament and Pentateuch from Greek and Hebrew into EngUsh. I had been disappointed by C. H. WUUams' 1969 biography, and then wished that the pubUshers had simply reprinted J. F. Mozley's 1937 biography, which they did Ui 1971. Although DanieU is not a professional historian, he is a Shakespeare scholar and the editor of modern-spelling versions of Tyndale's New Testament (1989) and Old Testament (1992). He thus brings a broad and deep knowledge of Renaissance EngUsh to bear on Tyndale's clear and vivid prose.

In my opinion, the best parts of this biography are the chapters which analyze Tyndale's bibUcal translations. Studying the table of contents and prologue to the aborted Cologne edition of 1525, DanieU notes their resemblance to Luther's New Testament of 1522 (p. 110). His chapter on Tyndale's Pentateuch explains the general principle of the three-consonant form of most Hebrew words (pp. 300 ff.) but also examines specific passages as translated Ui the Vulgate, WycltfA and B, Tyndale, and the King James Version (pp. 285-286). Ui Gen. 3:4, "Then said the serpent unto the woman: tush ye shaU not die," DanieU tries to gage the exact tone of the coUoquial "Tush" by measuring it against "Tush" in Hamlet, The Taming of the Shrew, and Much Ado About Nothing (pp. 407-408, n. 3). DanieU praises the dtfectness of Tyndale's translation of 2 Samuel 22, "the aUens . . . shaU tremble for fear," by contrasting it with a modern version, " 'foreigners wUl be disheartened' as if they can't find luggage troUeys at Heathrow" (p. 342). Although DanieU gives a chapter each to Tyndale's first theological book, Wicked Mammon, and his major poUtical treatise, Obedience of a Christian Man, he skims over the other exegetical and polemical writings. Critical

editions of aU of these wUl be published by the CathoUc University of America Press as the Independent Works of WiUiam Tyndale.

DanieU is weU aware of the work of the revisionist historians J.J. Scarisbrick, Christopher Haigh, and Eamon Duffy, who defend the character of the medieval church and claim that the Reformation was forced upon the EngUsh people from above (p. 398, n. 29). DanieU answers Duffy at some length (pp. 398-399, n. 36), opposing bibUcal Protestantism to folk CathoUcism. Unlike Duffy, I would mourn the loss to EngUsh Christianity, not so much of saints and sacramentals, but of the centraUty of the Mass and the unity of Christendom. In other passages DanieU takes a miUtant Protestant position, "Repentance and beUef come from reading, which brings salvation. This is sound New Testament doctrine: boU that book down, and this is what you get" (p. 148). Unlike DanieU, I would assert the primacy of the Two Great Commandments for the Gospels and, for Paul, the union of beUevers in Christ.

WhUe the student of the Bible and church history wUl find much to learn and enjoy in DanieU's biography of Tyndale, the CathoUc reader wUl be pained by his chapter on SU Thomas More, first on More's account, then on DanieU's. Besides More's rightful image as a merry friend, loving father, honest judge, and faithful martyr, we must also acknowledge More's roles as a writer of gross or tedious polemic and as a hunter of heretics. Although reUgious toleration was practiced Ui the Utopia of 1516, More was ultimately responsible for die execution of five heretics (Complete Works of Sir Thomas More, Vol. 9, see nn. to 88/4, 93/38, 93/39, 94/2) during his two and a half years as ChanceUor (October, 1529, to May, 1532). So far was More from being ashamed of this severity that he boasted in his epitaph that "he was a source of trouble to thieves, murderers, and heretics," Ep. 2831, to Erasmus, Chelsea, Gune? 1533) (Selected Letters, tr. EUzabeth Frances Rogers [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961], p. 181).

In his Apology (CWM 9, l 17-l 19), More denies the lesser charge of using torture to question suspected heretics, "And of aU that ever came Ui my hand for heresy, as help me God, saving as I said the sure keeping of them … : else had never any of them any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a fiUip of the forehead" (CWM 9, l 18/33-37, spelling modernized, emphasis added). Doubting More's word under oath, DanieU rather beUeves John Foxe's account thirty-odd years after the event (p. 402, n. 29). I share DanieU's horror at More's "fanatical, even frenzied, loathing [for heretics]," but in answer to his query "about die quaUties normaUy expected in a saint of the CathoUc Church" (p. 185), I beUeve that More would not have been canonized had he died a natural death in 1533. He showed heroic virtue, forgiveness of his enemies and love of God above aU else, at his trial and execution in 1535. To be fair, DanieU praises More's "noble Dialogue of Comfort" f. 263), written Ui the Tower.

I wtfl mention one other instance where DanieU questions More's integrity. In his Answer to a Poisoned Book, More adds a critical phrase to Paul's account

of the institution of the Eucharist (1 Cor. 11:23), "For I have received that thing of our Lord by tradition without writing, the which I have also deUvered unto you" (p. 275 quoting CWM 11, 127/19-21, spelling modernized, emphasis added). Since most of Paul's Epistles, including 1 Corinthians, were written before the Gospels, Paul must have learned about the Lord's Supper from oral tradition. Thus More was not corrupting the text but drawing out the inference from scripture.

In spite of my reservations about DanieU's views on Thomas More, I commend his book for its cogent and enthusiastic analysis of Tyndale's EngUsh translations from the Greek and Hebrew Testaments. I hope that Yale University Press wUl soon pubUsh a paperback edition to give a wider readership to David DanieU's biography, already recognized as a classic.

Anne M. O'Donnell, S.N.D.

The Catholic University ofAmerica

"Una Città infetta": La Repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento. By Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi. [Studi e testi per la storia religiosa del Cinquecento, 5.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1994. Pp. xvi, 414. Lire 95,000 paperback.)

In the middle decades of the sixteenth century, few ItaUan cities attracted more attention from the Roman Inquisition than Lucca, denounced Ui 1550 by Cardinal Giovan Pietro Caraffa, head of the Inquisition and the future Paul IV, as one of the most "Infected" cities of the peninsula. Covering the period 1525-1577, this book is an intriguing study of the pro-Reformation movement which penetrated into the patriciate of the Tuscan repubUc and involved an intricate network of relationships with merchants plying theU trade in Lyon, Geneva, and ??^?ef.

Adorni-Braccesi begins with an overview of the government of Lucca, noting many paraUels to that of Nuremberg in southern Germany. NominaUy under the Holy Roman Empire, Lucca was controlled by a merchant oUgarchy led by a councU of nine caUed the "Anziani." The patriciate was jealous of its independence Ui aU matters, including religious affairs, and emphasized the civic virtues of "pietas, concordia, et libertas." Civic pride and Independence, when combined with the decline of the moral authority of the CathoUc Church, the prevalence of heterodox preaching on grace and free wUl, and the existence of strong commercial ties with France, Switzerland, and Germany, made Lucca a hotbed for the growth of reUgious dissent.

In the 1520's, 1530's, and early 1540's reUgious innovation took place against the backdrop of anticlericaUsm, Erasmian humanism, and the heterodox ideas of Juan de Valdés. The humanist Ortensio Lando, the Capuchin preacher Bernardino Ochino, -who visited Lucca Ui 1538, and the Canon Regular Pietro

Martire VermigU, who spent two years as prior of the convent of San Frediano, were key figures in this early phase of development, which ended with the flight ofVermigU to the north, shortly after the reorganization of the Inquisition at Rome in 1541-42.

It was between 1545 and 1555, however, that reUgious dissent reached its height at Lucca. Adorni-Braccesi notes the formation of "authentic circles of dissent" and argues that a reformed "church" existed in the city. Its tendencies were Calvinist, manifest especially in a symboUc ???efp^???? of the Eucharist, an appeal to select members of the city's leading families, and a predUection for Geneva as a place of refuge. Adorni-Braccesi uses the trial for treason of the patrician Pietro FatineUi (1543), the unreaUstic schemes of the gonfalonier Francesco Burlemachi (1546), the heterodox teaching of the teacher Aonio Paleario, and the heresy trials of the soldier Rinaldino da Verona and the spinner Francesco Baroncini to throw Ught on the ideas of this church and on its methods of proselytizing.

The final section of the book examines the resistance of the repubUc to the estabUshment of the Roman Inquisition in its territory. AU overtures on behatf of the Inquisition were deflected by professions of loyalty to Rome, appeals to leave matters of faith in the hands of the Archbishop of Lucca, and the establishment in May, 1545, of a lay magistracy, the "Offlzio sopra reltgione" to supervise reUgious matters. Despite the intrigues of Paul FV and his nephew Cardinal Carlo Caraffe, the interference of Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici of Florence, and the pleas of a new breed of ecclesiastics imbued with the spirit of the CouncU of Trent, Lucca managed to ward off the "abhorred" Inquisition past the end of the century.

Adorni-Braccesi's study is a good mixture of narrative and analysis and makes excellent use of material from the ecclesiastical and state archives of Lucca, combining these with up-to-date scholarship on the development of heresy in Italy. A number of points might have been presented more clearly. For example, how does the author reconcile the statement that in the period 1545 to 1555 fervor for religious innovation was almost unbridled thanks to the protection accorded by the patriciate f?. 286-287), with the fact that in 1549 the same patriciate took steps to marginalize and ultimately ban a number of its own members who were involved in the movement f?. 272-273)? On the whole, however, this is a fascinating and chaUenging book, a "must" for historians of reUgious reform in sixteenth-century Italy.

Thomas Deutscher

St. Thomas More College
University of Saskatchewan

Protestant Politics: Jacob Sturm (1489-1553) and the German Reformation. By Thomas A. Brady, Jr. [Studies in German Histories.] (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press. 1995. Pp. xix, 449. $65.00.)

In delineating the career of Strasbourg's greatest poUtical leader of the Reformation era, Jacob Sturm, Thomas Brady also offers the reader the finest detaUed narrative of the poUtical history of the early German Reformation that is avaUable in any language. Beginning as a local magistrate jacob Sturm was propeUed onto the Imperial stage by the Reformation movement and the confessional parties that it engendered. Sturm became the leading city poUtician in the Schmalkald League, the partner of Landgraf PhiUp of Hesse, and he spent the best years of his Ufe representing the south German cities Ui imperial affairs. He experienced Ultimately the great poUtical events of his generation: the Peasants' War of 1524-25, the Imperial Diets of the 1520's, '30's, and '40's, the formation of the Schmalkald League, the Protestant defeat Ui the Schmalkald War, the Interim and its aftermath. Although he beUeved that laws could not change beUefs, as a good "MarsigUan" he suppressed reUgious dissenters in Strasbourg whUe tacitiy encouraging diversity of opinion in the Strasbourg Latin school. Both Marbach and Jean Sturm, ferocious opponents of each other, could plausibly claim his legacy. His greatest achievement, according to Brady, came when he almost single-handedly charted Strasbourg's recovery from the Interim and the threat of clerically led revolution within his Alsatian city. His story is the story of the politics of first-generation German Protestantism on both the imperial and the local level.

Brady places his poUtical narrative m a larger framework. Playing off the nUieteenth-century preoccupation with German nationaUsm and faUed opportunities to buUd a nation-state, Brady contrasts the faUures of the Protestant project on the imperial level with its success in various local contexts. In general, he shows how the Emptfe's medieval heritage of particularism and locaUsm allowed Protestantism to flourish and take roots while at the same time limited its abUity to become an enduring unified national force. The structure of the Holy Roman EmpUe bears heavier responsibUity for the fate of German Protestantism than does the aUegedly deficient or conservative nature of EvangeUcal theology whether Luther's, Bucer's, or ZwingU's.

This is a poUtical biography that transcends the genre.

Mark U. Edwards, Jr.

St. Olaf College

Martin Bucer: Reforming Church and Community. Edited by D. F. Wright. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 195. $59 95.)

Scholars have long recognized the important place held by the church Ui Martin Bucer's theology. This coUection of essays, pubUshed to commemorate

the 500th anniversary of the Strasbourg reformer's birth, is an exceUent introduction in EngUsh to Bucer's ecclesiology and to the related issues of the ministry, church and state, and the sacraments, both in general and individuaUy.

Most of the thirteen scholars who contributed to this volume have been or are presently involved in producing the critical edition of Bucer's works. Their essays reflect their thorough famUiarity with Bucer's thought and represent the best of recent research on the Strasbourg reformer. Because the essays focus on the theme of church and community, the volume has an internal coherence that is often lacking in such coUections. Moreover, many of the essays complement one another in their treatment of a given topic. For instance, both Peter Matheson and CorneUs Augustijn deal with Bucer's relations with the CathoUc Church. Matheson argues that despite Bucer's harsh criticism of the Old Church, his hope that the CathoUc Church could be reformed from within led him to become involved in the reUgious coUoquies of 1540-41. Augustijn takes up the idea of reforming the Catholic Church from within in his analysis of Bucer's ecclesiology at the time of the reUgious coUoquies. There is a simUar pairing of topics in BasU HaU's description of Bucer's last years in England and in Gerald Hobbes's discussion of the influence that Bucer's Psalms commentary had on the earUest translations of the Psalms into EngUsh. The evolution and elaboration of Bucer's own ideas on the church, the ministry, and the sacraments is the subject of Peter Stephen's comparison of Bucer's two Ephesians commentaries, written in 1527 and 1550-51. Irena Backus looks at simUar changes that occur on these issues in the three editions of Bucer's commentary on the Gospel of John pubUshed between 1528 and 1536. Lan Hazlett and David Wright use two different works which Bucer pubUshed in 1534 directed against the Munster Anabaptists to describe the reformer's positions on the Eucharist and on infant baptism respectively. WhUe Martin Greschat describes the theological undefinnings of Bucer's statements on the relation between church and civU community, Jean Rott describes the actual performance of Strasbourg's church wardens, laymen appointed by the magistrate to oversee the exercise of church discipline. Both Gottfried Hammann and James Kittelson discuss the "Christian feUowships" estabhshed by Bucer during his last years in Strasbourg. FinaUy, WUlem van't Spijker analyzes Bucer's influence on Calvin's view of the church and community.

The contributors show considerable agreement in their treatment of Bucer's theology, and the overaU effect of the essays is to underline certain themes such as the normative significance of the early church and the ??f??« e nature of the church as a community of the faithful. Most of them also emphasize the overaU consistency of Bucer's ecclesiology, with the single exception of Kittelson, who rejects Hammann's view that the motivation behind the creation of the "Christian feUowships" was chiefly theological and argues instead that the feUowships were instituted out of practical pastoral necessity.

By approaching the topic from different angles, this coUection of essays offers insights into Bucer's ecclesiology as a whole. As such it is a valuable contri-

bution to the growing body of work on Bucer, and it should help make the Strasbourg reformer's views better known to the EngUsh-speaking world.

Amy Nelson Burnett

University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation. In Honor of John C OUn on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday. Edited by Richard L. DeMolen. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 290; 12 illustrations. $30.00.)

This Festschrifl in honor of John OUn provides a soUd coUection of basic information on reUgious congregations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both the weU-known orders (like the Society of Jesus and the Ursulines) and the lesser-known (Like the Piarists and the Visitation sisters) are covered. Although little new historical ground is broken, there are suggestions for future research and exceUent bibUographies that help qualify this volume as a substantial contribution to the history of early-modern CathoUcism.

As in most volumes of coUected essays, those presented here are not uniform in quaUty. EUsabeth Gleason's contribution on the Capuchins is itseU uneven. At times, her analysis disintegrates into pious reteUing of secondary sources, whUe elsewhere she renders questionable negative judgments about the group. She asserts that the initial Capuchin rules leave modern readers "wondering whether their purpose was to virtuaUy prevent … a cheerful life," but she also says that a "fruitful tension between action and contemplation shaped each friar's existence," and all in a rather short span of pages (41-45). Other essays are far better, such as those by John O'MaUey on the Jesuits and by Paul Grendler on the Piarists. These give developed information on the apostolates chosen by the two orders, their unique contribution to that denning feature of post-Tridentine mentaUty: the desire to do something—anything—at the service of God through others.

Better stiU are the essays of Patrick DonneUy on the Oratorians, Wendy Wright on the Visitation sisters, Richard DeMolen on the Barnabites, and Charmarie BlaisdeU on the Ursulines. These contain flashes of creative reconsideration of the era. DonneUy shows that PhUip Neri might have faUen into disfavor with infamously repressive popes like Paul IV and Pius V—he was, after aU, a cleric whose delight in practical jokes those moraUzers disdained was equaUy infamous—but their actions faUed to end his pranks. Wright finds a humanist-inspired spirituaUty and real innovation in the Italian female communities whose late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history she studied. DeMolen and BlaisdeU provide evidence to suggest that although the original spiritual and apostoUc ideals of groups Like the three Barnabite congregations and the Ursulines were compromised by the implementation of Tridentine enclosure

rules, local clerics and the famUies of nuns viewed cloister and regularized common dress just as necessary as the councU fathers did. When one considers BlaisdeU's indication that Angela Merici and her hand-picked successor, Lucrezia Lodrone, boldly violated the more representative elements in their original rule, even the actions of Carlo Borromeo to bring the group under control in MUan appear as something other than merely repressive subjugation.

OveraU, the coUection properly reiterates the central themes of Olin's academic endeavors. Those who sat in his Bronx lecture haUs, in addition to reading his scholarship, wUl immediately recaU his interest Ui the great, stiU on-going debate over "CathoUc" or "Counter" Reformation and his insistence that humanism stood as the common background of both. They wUl also recaU his conviction that the new religious orders of the era demonstrate the innovative, vibrant nature of CathoUc, early-modern culture long after the point when many would rather describe it as repressive or disciplinarian. For them, perhaps the most enjoyable part of this volume wUl be the dedication by his student and coUeague, Roger Wines. Persons like myself, lucky enough to remain in contact with John now as he has passed his eightieth birthday, find him today just as Wines did in 1954: generous, enthusiastic, encouraging, truly humble. This volume is a fitting tribute to a great teacher, a fine scholar, and an even finer man.

William V Hudon

Bloomsburg University

Ignatius ofLoyola: The Pilgrim Saint. By José Ignacio TeUechea Idígoras. Translated, edited, and with a preface by Cornelius Michael Buckley, SJ. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1994. Pp.xxvUi,628. $12.95 paperback.)

The present work is more than a biography; it is a very personal and intimate portrait of the author's patron samt. TeUechea is a Renaissance historian, and whUe the book is historicaUy and thoroughly accurate, it also reveals evidence of hero-worship. The author has read widely Ui the area of Ignatiana and is famiUar with the saint's lettets,Autobiography, Spiritual Exercises, and Diary, as weU as the writings of the early Jesuits (e.g., Polanco, Favre, Xavier, and Nadal), and the many historical documents relating to Ignatius published Ui the Monumenta Histórica Societatis Iesu series. The author has, in addition, cuUed countless biographical detaüs from the lengthy depositions made by witnesses at the time of Ignatius' beatification. This vast amount of material he has mastered and over die years has so often reflected and meditated upon it that it has become part of him. Thus he admits (p. xix) that the reader wUl find nothing original In his pages; rather, his contribution is the manner in which he sees and feels Ignatius f. xx). He hopes the reader wUl see and feel him in the same way.

The author intends his book to be factuaUy thorough and complete (because of his use of the sources), but presents Ignatius' Ufe in popular form. TeUechea

eschews aU footnotes. The book is leisurely written and reflective, given to conjectures and surmises, often repetitious and sometimes yields to psychologizing, but always interesting and engaging. Many a time this reader would have liked to know the source of the author's quotations; some were famUiar because they derive from Ignatius' writings, but what about diose from Unamuno, Hermann Hesse, Eric Fromm, Paul Claudel, etc.? References are given within the text to most quotations from Cervantes' Don Quixote, to whom the author frequently compares Ignatius. Since he is an historian, TeUechea admirably places Ignatius amid the events of his time, e.g., his ancestry and the description of the customs and terrain of Ignatius' and the author's native Basque region, the conflict in Navarre and the siege of Pamplona, the war between Spain and France, and the influence of the alumbrados and Erasmus in Spain.

The book is a smooth and exceUent translation from the Spanish of the author's second (1987) edition. (A thtfd edition appeared Ui 1990.) The translator is also credited as editor. The editing in this case was not in abridging the text but in expanding it: first names are given where the original has only surnames, and phrases are added throughout to identify individuals and to render the author's meaning in a clearer manner. One change especiaUy gave me pause: the translator says that "it is certain" (p. 83) that Ignatius witnessed the ceremony of Charles I taking his oath of office, while the Spanish has "con toda probabUidad" (p. 71).

Of the EngUsh biographies of Ignatius pubUshed within the last decade, this is unquestionably the best.

Joseph N. Tylenda, SJ.

Woodstock Theological Center Library
Georgetown University

From Ignatius Loyola to John of the Cross: Spirituality and Literature in Sixteenth-Century Spain. By Terence O'ReUly. [CoUected Studies Series, CS 484.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate PubUshing Co. 1995. Pp. x, 271. $82.50.)

Nine of the fifteen pieces In this coUection deal with Ignatius of Loyola. Of those nine, two deal expUcitly with Ignatius's attitude toward Erasmus, which has perplexed scholars for decades, and in a number of the other pieces in the book Erasmus returns as a firm point of reference. As O'ReUly correctly observes about the story that Ignatius disliked Erasmus's Enchiridion, ". . . although of minor importance in itself, it raises issues which affect the whole interpretation of Ignatius' Ufe" (II, 303)· O'Reiüy's treatment of it manifests his profound knowledge of so-caUed Spanish Erasmianism and his grasp of where Ignatius fits Ui relationship to it and to other currents of spirituaUty in Spain at

the time. His conclusions are judicious, an important contribution toward revising the older view of the UreconcUabUity of these immensely influential contributors to the western tradition of spirituaUty.

Two of the articles deal with Ignatius's relationship to Melchor Cano, the great Dominican theologian weU known for his antipathy toward the new Society ofJesus. One of them is a transcription of a manuscript in the British Library of Cano's "censure" of the Society, intended for the eyes of the equaUy antagonistic Pope Paul IV Although the existence of this text has been known for some time, its pubUcation by O'ReUly makes it readUy avaUable, giving us firsthand Cano's negative reactions not only to the Society but even to Ignatius himself, whom he met in Rome Ui the early 1540's. Cano's assessment of Ignatius provides a dramatic contrast to the way the early Jesuits assessed him. (This transcription is the only piece Ui the volume not previously pubUshed by O'ReUly elsewhere.) In his "Melchor Cano and the SpirituaUty of St. Ignatius Loyola," the author shows how dtfferent were die assumptions of these two loyal CathoUcs in that stressful era.

Four articles specificaUy treat the Spiritual Exercises, with particular attention to thetf relationship to the Exercitatorio de la Vida Spiritual of Abbot Garcia de Cisneros. WhUe O'ReUly cannot prove specific dependencies, he correctly indicates broad paraUels between the two works diat would be difficult to explain apart from the influence of the Exercitatorio upon Ignatius.

In summary, O'ReUly's studies of Ignatius contribute toward a major reassessment of him by confronting us with further evidence of how limited is the degree in which he can be considered a "Counter-Reformation saint," as he has been so consistently depicted for centuries. The strength of O'ReUly's approach is the special sensitivity that he brings to the issues as an historian of Spanish Uterature rather than as a social or church historian.

This sensitivity is perhaps aU the more evident in the remaining six articles, especiaUy in the fascinating "Courtly Love and Mysticism in Spanish Poetry of the Golden Age," but also m the three devoted exclusively to John of the Cross. In the latter, O'ReUly explores with great effectiveness die impact of die tradition of mystical interpretation of the Song of Songs on Samt John's poetry. I highly recommend this volume, for in graceful prose it provides perspectives on major figures and issues nowhere else avaUable in English between the covers of a single volume.

John W. O'Malley, SJ.

Weston fesuit School of Theology

Right Thinking and Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome. By Frederick J. McGinness. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 337.)

Professor McGinness has made a major contribution to our understanding of preaching Ln Rome during the Counter-Reformation and Tridentine spirituality more generaUy. In this beautifuUy written book, McGinness demonstrates with clarity and conciseness the dramatic changes that occurred in preaching by the mid-sixteenth century and iUustrates how profoundly this affected the image of the pope and the city of Rome. Rome itsetf, which had become a negative symbol to Protestants, now stood for reUgious rebirth and regeneration. The role of preaching was fundamental to this reconceptuaUzation, and positively shaped the directions and representations of the Church and papacy as it emerged into the modern 'world.

Right Thinking is a study of oratory in the papal court at Rome, not social history or popular culture, for these subjects have been examined elsewhere. This was a wise choice, for McGinness is able to show very clearly how what was preached on high was integral to the re-creation of the Church. In the immediate post-Reformation period, the goals were to repair the damage done to the Church by Protestant attacks. The later objectives and achievements were far more grand—the setting in place of a new and more splendid Church Triumphant. Rhetoric and eloquence, foUowing the Renaissance tradition in which these skiUs had been exalted in the service of civic virtue, were now used to promote "right thinking" in reUgious matters.

The preachers and writers who glorified the new Rome insisted they were not innovating; rather, they were returning to the classical and Christian past in search of edifying and inspiring models suitable for conveying the highest truths of the Roman CathoUc faith. Preaching coram papa meant foUowing a set of rules that covered length farevity was now considered a great virtue), tone, gestures, and of course, content. Preachers who had in medieval times been content to concentrate on teaching (docere) increasingly turned their talents to the other main components of good preaching—to move (moveré) and to deUght (delectare). This naturaUy affected content. "In the first era . . . sermons preached before the popes document a mentalité that gives definition and specificity to the label 'Counter-Reformation' and shapes a seU-consciously Roman CathoUc identity for the faithful; in the second era, they adopt a direction that centers far more on celebration and sacred mystery" (p. 92). Ln the latter, the era of "right thinking," the good CathoUc was called upon to respond affectively "… in a loving surrender of the wiU … to the Church in her teachings, traditions, and governance" (p. 113). The concern for order so frequently trumpeted after the sixteenth century is a central aspect of the new plan for the Church. The war cries of the early sixteenth century now give way to caUs for obedience and conformity. In the process, the pope is transformed from an embattled leader of the Roman Church to the "Uving image of divinity"—almost godlike in his embodiment of reUgious truth. From this it was a short step to the celebration of Rome not for the glories of its pagan past but as the ideal image

of". . . the one, cathoUc, apostolic, and above aU, holy center of the Church and the world" (p. 167).

Right Thinking is a major contribution to our understanding of reUgious history in the post-Reformation period; precisely because of the manner in which preaching about the Church, papacy, and city was done, the words and deeds at the court of Peter resounded throughout the Christian world and changed the way CathoUcs beUeved and practiced.

Larissa Taylor

Colby College

Konfession und internationales System. Die Außenpolitik Hessen-Kassels im konfessionellen Zeitalter. By Holger Thomas Graf. [QueUen und Forschungen zur hessischen Geschichte, 94.] (Darmstadt and Marburg: Selbstverlag der Hessischen Historischen Kommission Darmstadt und der Historischen Kommission für Hessen. 1993. Pp. xii, 422.)

Hessen-Kassel c. 1555-c. 1648, in particular under landgraves William IV, Maurice, and WilUam V, serves as a case study of territorial foreign poUcy under confessional conditions. The author of this Ph.D. thesis combines E. O. Czempiel's and S. C. Flanagan's theories of poUtical systems with the concept of confessionaUzation as developed by Heinz Schilling, the director of his thesis, and by this reviewer quite successfully into a new set of analytical tools. Dynastic policy and traditional regional options compete with confessional affUiation and the interest of the developing territorial state, which not quite unexpectedly turns out to be the winner in the end. The landgraves started from a mediating position in the Protestant camp, a poUcy to be continued after the partition of the country by William IV of Hessen-Kassel, whereas first Hessen-Marburg and then Hessen-Darmstadt under the influence of Wuerttemberg joined the ranks of Lutheran orthodoxy. The consequences were first the breakdown of the common Protestant church of aU Hessian territories, next the conversion of Maurice of Kassel to Calvinism in 1605. This led to a severe conflict between the branches of the dynasty. Therefore, Darmstadt remained loyal to the emperor, whereas Kassel in contrast became involved with the aggressive pokey of the Palatinate and so-called international Calvinism. Maurice's academy at Kassel and his court became a true center of migrating inteUectuals and professional poUticians of the reformed confession, as is demonstrated by a prosopographical appendix. The former ??f?ß Cnristianum of Europe became regrouped as a system of confessional alliances inside and outside the Empire. But confessional aUiances proved unstable and transitory; especially in the case of France very early on was the preponderance of reason of state evident. Because of Maurice's confessional poUcy reformed Hessen-Kassel had no choice but to enter into aUiances with Lutheran Sweden and Catholic France. But this proved the way of success. In the end Hessen-Kassel was on the side of the win-

ners of the Thirty Years' War. Graf's learned study explores aU this Ui detaU from archival sources, but his book is nevertheless weU organized and his arguments are convincing. Systems tiieories, however, Ui contrast to the rather useful confessionaUzation paradigm provide Uttle more than labels and categories for chapter headlines.

Wolfgang Reinhard

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität
Freiburg im Breisgau

Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva. By Robert Kingdon. [Harvard Historical Studies, l 18.] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 214. $29.95 hardback; $14.95 paperback.)

This volume presents a fascinating series of case studies on Calvinistic Geneva's attitudes toward marital disorder drawn from one of the most important and (hitherto) neglected sources on Early Modern social control—Geneva's Consistorial minutes. The book is an indispensable entry into these records. However, as Kingdon admits, he has "not reaUy attempt[ed] to offer any extended or sophisticated analysis" of the Consistory's work.

The first case (Ameaux v. Jacon) presents both a marriage's coUapse and the possibUity of a wife's emotional and mental breakdown after repeated psychological and feG?^?ß) physical abuse. The next case pits Calvin's brother, Antoine, against his wife, Anne Le Fert. Here, Kingdon teases out the compUcated entangling of Genevan politics and Calvin's (vindictive?) determination to rid his household of his sister-in-law. The final case, unlike the others, resulted in the state-enforced reconcUiation of the couple (Bietrix-Maisonneuve). These cases present many interesting, recurring features: no clear proof of infideUty (save that of "unstable" Jacon); possible physical and psychological abuse; apparent official disinterest Ln abuse; poUtical interference; personal and social status; prohibitions against male-female contact outside the famUy structure; assumptions that such contact impUed sexual misconduct; class prejudice; torture; remarriage (even by the "guUty" party).

One then sees the darkest side of Genevan attitudes: death for adultery. Five cases foUow in rapid succession. Two foreigners, Anne Le Moine (pleading marital abuse) and her lover, Antoine Cossonex, are executed. Jacques Levepveux, a foreign money-lender, used his business to coerce women into sex; he alone was punished. Bernardine Neyrod, a local, was executed though only one lover was beaten. Marie BUiot (foreign) was executed for prostitution interpreted as adultery (or bigamy) as was Louise Maistre. Maistre's eleven lovers were also prosecuted—ten received Ught sentences, one (politicaUy prominent) paramour was acquitted. Kingdon notes the misogynistic aspects and touches upon the (too) frequent recourse to torture. For example, Germain Collodon,

Geneva's premier legal advisor in these cases, routinely presumed guUt and repeatedly advocated torture.

Kingdon closes with a final case (Caracciolo v. Carafa) and an analysis of Beza's theoretical treatment of adultery, desertion, divorce, and remarriage. Caracciolo sought a divorce for "reUgious desertion"—an important aspect of Beza's treatise. Apart from its wonderful anecdotal value, Caracciolo's case highlights (with Beza) the breadth of the Protestant re-interpretation of marital matters. This fundamental departure from previous Christian tradition and its subsequent Impact is made clear. It is perhaps Protestant and contemporary values which aUow the pragmatic sophistry of this change to pass largely unscathed.

These case studies are of obvious interest to students of Genevan, Calvinist, and Reformation history. However, there is also much here to interest students of gender issues, social control, and urban history. The value of the consistorial records for aU these areas is readUy apparent. One awaits with anticipation both the (expected) pubUcation of the records' transcription and theU detaUed study as a whole.

WnxiAM G. Naphy

University ofAberdeen

Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition. Edited by Raymond A. Mentzer. [Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, Vol. XXXIL] (KirksvUle, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc. 1994. Pp. ix, 206. $35.00.)

Mentzer, who teaches at Montana State University, has for a couple of decades been one of our best sources for the inner working of the French Huguenot churches. Central to French Reformed diought and practice was Calvin's famous "third use of die Law," as the guide and norm for the Christian Ufe. Luther concentrated on the first two uses—driving the sinner to God's grace by realization that the Law was Impossible to fulfiU, and as the principle of order in the hands of the state. This meant that the Calvinists sought stronger means to edify and bring to maturity the simple and boisterous Christians who came into the Reformed churches, and that means was primarily the church Consistory or (Ui Scotland) the kirk Session. These consistories were ordinarily a mixed body of lay and clergy, usuaUy made up of the pastors of an area together with elders, often elected by the people, but sometimes (as in Calvin's Geneva) selected from among their own number by the city councU.

The study consists of six essays, each based on archival study of consistories hard at work reforming people's morals in the sixteenth century. Heinz Schilling and his students have been working the materials at Emden Ui East Friesland and the Dutch city of Groningen for a decade now, and he uses that

material weU in showing how church discipline contributed to the transformation of the institution of marriage in early modern Europe. Philippe Chareyre looks at the great difficulties the consistory at Nîmes in France encountered in order to strengthen famUy ties and pacify congregations who were restive when ancient traditions were disturbed even if they had chosen to be Reformed, and thus to avoid festivities associated with local saints. The editor himself looks at the use of excommunication in ten French churches (including Nîmes), especiaUy "major excommunication," which not only denied persons Holy Communion, but also cut them off from Christian society. Michael Graham draws on voluminous research from his dissertation based on kirk session records in Scotland, and finds that when the Reformed church there was weak at its origins, local kirk sessions spent most of their time with sexual sins. Only later, when the kirk was established, could sessions move on to neighborly disputes, breach of the Sabbath, superstitious practices, and the like. Geoffrey Parker, studying the kirk session at St. Andrews, argues that the discipline reaUy worked and evidences of society's agreement with the Reformed discipline are found very soon.

The most enjoyable piece is Robert M. Kingdon's narration and analysis of "The First Calvinist Divorce," with the outrageous and probably insane Benoîte Ameaux arguing that she could have sex with any other Christian and even expressing a wish to bed Calvin himself! Kingdon says Calvin even had to have her arrested in order to remove her from his house, where (she said) she had gone for pastoral help. This bizarre case casts a long shadow as the Protestants reaUzed that allowing divorce meant serious reflection on what laws should be written and enforced in this arena.

Anyone who wants to learn more about the progress of the Reformed branch of the Reformation in its early decades wiU find this book weU worth reading. Several other pertinent volumes on Calvin or later Calvinism have recently reached print as weU, including I. John Hesselink's study of Calvin's Concept of the Law (Allison Park, Pennsylvania: Pickwick, 1992); Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1610: A Collection of Documents, ed. Alastair Duke, GilUan Lewis, and Andrew Pettegree (New York: Manchester University Press, 1992); and Later Calvinism: International Perspectives, ed. W Fred Graham (KirksviUe: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 1993).

W. Fred Graham

Michigan State University

7/ processo inquisitoriale del Cardinal Giovanni Morone. Edizione Critica. Volume VI: Appendice II: Summarium processus originalis; Documenti. Edited by Massimo Ftfpo and Dario Marcatto. (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporánea. 1995. Pp. 459. Lire 70.000 paperback.)

This is the sixth volume in the pubUcation of the records concerning the heresy trial of Cardinal Giovanni Morone, papal diplomat and bishop of Modem. It wUl be recaUed that Morone was arrested and tried for heresy by the Inquisition in Rome during the pontificate of Paul IV (Carafa), 1555-1559. After Carafa's death, Pius IV (1 559- l 565) released Morone from prison, restored him to his dignities, and made him one of the three papal legates at the concluding sessions of the CouncU of Trent. This volume deals with what happened after Pius rV's death Ln late December, 1565.

The editors begin with a one-hundred-page narrative. Morone entered the conclave of December, 1565-January, 1566 with the support of Carlo Borromeo, the approval of PhUip II, and twenty-nine votes, five short of election. But the lingering suspicion of heresy, fanned by Cardinal Michèle GhisUeri, Paul IV's inquisitor, defeated his candidacy. After a long conclave, the cardinals settled on GhisUeri, a ß?fG?ße choice. In the view of Firpo and Marcatto, Pius V set about recreating the regime of Paul IV Although this is an exaggeration, Pius V did rehabiUtate some of the Carafa, and he pursued heretics vigorously.

The bulk of the narrative is devoted to documenting that, under Pius V the Roman Inquisition assiduously sought evidence against Morone Ui the expectation that a new trial against him might be launched. Accused heretics Ui Rome and elsewhere were questioned about Morone. The corridors buzzed with the news that the pope intended to rearrest him. In the winter of 1569-70 the Roman Inquisition asked a group of eleven canon and civU jurisconsults and theologians at Bologna about the views of Morone. The Inquisition sent them a copy of Morone's Apologia, but lacking the cardinal's name, written on the eve of his arrest Ui 1557, and asked the jurisconsults and theologians whether it contained heretical statements. The answers were inconclusive. The majority of the jurists and theologians found heretical and suspect material in the Apologia,but others did not.

This probably concluded the attempt to gather evidence against Morone. Pius V never arrested him. Ftfpo and Marcatto speculate that the pope desisted because a new trial might be seen as discrediting the CouncU of Trent. How could one cite Trent as the authority for Catholic renewal if one of its leaders was accused of heresy? Morone eventually died an apparently holy death in l 580.

The most important document (250 pages long) Ui this volume is a Summarium processus originalis, a series of summaries and excerpts deemed relevant to the investigation of Morone from interrogations of various individuals between 1557 and 1570. Firpo and Marcatto published in Volume II a copy of this Summarium which omitted names (substituting "N"). The original Ui-

eludes names and marginaUa; it permits the editors to clarify some points and to make or correct identifications. Next foUow four short new documents (47 pp.): a Ust of the books and writings taken from Morone and then restored to IUm (1559); a Ust of the writings that the inquisitors sought from Morone (1559); an anonymous theological opinion on the trial of Morone (1559); and a summary of accusations of aUeged heresy against Vittoria Colonna, Marcantonio Flaminio, Alvise PriuU, Pietro Carnesecchi, and Reginald Pole (ca. 1570). The Summarium and the other documents come from the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. This is an encouraging sign, but far short of unrestricted scholarly access to the whole archives. The poUcy of denying access continues to be foolish and damaging to the reputation of the Vatican.

One can only praise Firpo and Marcatto for this latest volume in an admirable series. The narrative and the documents are carefully presented and copiously annotated. WhUe the reviewer cannot check the transcription, he would be very sufrised to find any mistakes. AU students of sixteenth-century Italian religious history are indebted to Ftfpo and Marcatto for these important volumes.

Paul F. Grendler

University of Toronto

The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720. By Marc R. Forster. (Ithaca, New York: CorneU University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 273. $37.50.)

Through no fault of the publisher or this journal, this review is egregiously late, for which the reviewer apologizes.

There are two common ways of writing an important book. One is to explore a neglected but important topic; another is to comment intelUgently on the Uterature concerning a well-known but important topic. In his first book, Marc Forster here tries to do some of each, but succeeds better at the first than at the second. He has examined carefuUy the history of the bishopric of Speyer over a period of almost two hundred years, an important topic on which it has been hard to obtain information even Ui German, and on which the only EngUsh-language guidance has been the 1978 study of the bishopric of Speyer by Lawrence Duggan, a medievaUst examination of the governance of the Hochstift down to 1552. Refreshingly, Forster sets his sights on more than the question of governance and has important things to say about local reUgion, popular piety, and the growth of what he calls "CathoUc consciousness" in the decades 1650-1720. He has combed monastic and cathedral chapter records, visitation reports, fiscal documents, city and territorial (secular) council protocols, and the plentiful records of the Jesuits for the diocese of Speyer.

Such a wide search for records of CathoUc life enables Forster to comment inteUigently on why the bishopric was so slow to embrace the reforms of the

CouncU of Trent. Basically Forster argues that the bishop, his chapter, and, indeed, the whole church in the bishopric of Speyer were so structuraUy enmeshed Ui the status quo that they could not and would not reform themselves. But another crucial reason was the highly splintered territorial status of the bishopric and of the diocese itself. Within the boundaries of the diocese lay territories belonging to six major principaUties and four imperial cities, to say nothing of lesser fragments. Even more difficult for the bishop was the fact that his own secular prUicipaUty was a congeries of particles on both sides of die Rhine. And so the question of reform was constantly at odds not only with the forces of stagnation and inertia within the bishopric but also with the conflicting loyalties of parishes, cities, and territories (especiaUy die Electoral Palatinate), which had gone over heavüy to the Lutheran, and later to the Reformed (Calvinist) movements. Forster chooses to concentrate most of his attention on the problems within the bishopric, and by taking an unusuaUy long view, he can show that serious changes Ui popular piety and practice came only Ui the relatively neglected decades after the Thirty Years' War, when the ordinary people of the Catholic middle Rhine began to adopt processions, pUgrimages, and an intensified cult of the Eucharist with an enthusiasm unknown Ui the sixteenth century. AU of this is innovative and inteUigent.

Somewhat less successfully, Forster tries to connect his conclusions with the evolving literature on confessionalization in Germany, that body of scholarship which has shown how Catholic and Protestant state churches tried to mobUize religion to build increasingly centralized and moraUy autocratic regimes. Forster is right to claim that smaU territories, like the bishopric of Speyer, did not follow the example of some of the larger states; but I doubt that proponents of the "acculturation thesis" will feel that their conclusions are much modified by Forster's discoveries. In part this difficulty may rest on a falsely sharp dichotomy between "Counter-Reformation piety" (which emphasized "frequent confession and communion, individual prayer, and austere setf-discipline") on the one hand, and a more rural, community-oriented piety (with a focus on "weekly reUgious services, the Mass, processions, and local pilgrimages"). If these reaUy were two competing styles of Catholicism as opposed to mainly complementary options, we wUl need more careful argumentation to make the case. It is, however, to Forster's credit that he has raised his eyes from the welter of local detail to the horizon, on which such large questions trouble the generalist.

Aside from this initial framing problem, Forster's book is very good indeed. He has taken on a big subject, Catholic reform, and dredged through hitherto unknown records to try to see what that reform might mean on the local and territorial level. His chosen time frame is so ambitiously long that his conclusions, especiaUy about the growth of Catholic consciousness after 1700, should set an entirely fresh agenda for historians of the Church Ui Germany.

H. C. Erik Midelfort

University of Virginia

Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae, Tomus G?: Vincentius Lauro (1572-1578), Volumen I (25 VII 1572-30 LX 1574). Edited by Miroslaus Korolko and Henricus Damianus Wojtyska, CP. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae. 1994.Pp.xlvUi,448.)

I reviewed for this journal (LXXVII [July, 1991], 516, and LXXXL [April, 1995], 270-271) the first volume of this series, which presented an overview of the whole series, and the volume covering the years 1552-1557. The current volume covers the nunciature of Vincenzo Lauro to Poland during the pontificate of Gregory XIIL (L572-L585). This first volume devoted to Lauro's nunciature covers the period July 25, 1572 (when he was designated PoUsh nuncio), to September 30, 1574; Lauro did not actuaUy arrive in Krakow until January, 1574.

The main part of the volume presents 163 documents; 123 of the documents are in ItaUan, and the other forty are in Latin. A series of appendices prints twenty-five more documents, eleven in Latin, thirteen in ItaUan, and one Ln French, which Ulustrate Lauro's nunciature. Both sets of documents are arranged chronoIogicaUy; aU are prefaced by a Latin summary, and there are copious explanatory footnotes in Latin. Indeed, in some cases we find the Latin summary without the actual document, usuaUy where the document is basicaUy a copy of a letter aheady printed here but sent to a different recipient. By far the largest group of documents in the main coUection are letters between Lauro and Tolomeo GaIUo, Cardinal Secretary of State for Gregory XIII: forty-six letters of GaLUo to Lauro and fifty-four of Lauro to Gallio. Twelve of the items in the appendices were written by or sent to GaUio.

The introduction traces Lauro's career. Lauro (1523-1592) was born in Calabria and studied at Naples and Padua before serving in the households of several cardinals in Rome and France. Appointed bishop of Mondovi in Piedmont in 1566, he served as nuncio to Scotland and later to Savoy. He was named nuncio to Poland the same month QuIy, 1572) that King Sigismund II died without heir. The PoUsh nobUity elected Henry ofValois their king over a Hapsburg candidate. At Paris Henry took an oath to uphold the reUgious Uberties of both Catholic and Protestant nobles. Lauro labored hard but in vain, first in France, then in Poland, to get the king to retract that oath. Henry was in Poland only four months when his brother Charles LX died on May 30, L574; Henry sUpped out of Poland and hastened home to become King of France. When he refused to return to Poland, the nobility declared the throne vacant and began the protracted election which brought Stephan Bathory of Transylvania to the Polish throne in 1575. Lauro and the papacy favored first a Valois and then a Hapsburg candidate. This volume ends shortly before Bathory took over the kingdom, but Lauro's role in the disputed election undermined his relations with the new king. Although his was not a happy or successful nunciature, he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat and worked in the Curia until his death.

Wojtyska, who has pubUshed four previous volumes in this series, here takes on a younger co-editor. Like the other volumes in this series, this is a model of

sturdy scholarship. Libraries which have coUections in PoUsh or church history should purchase this and the other volumes in this monumental series.

John Patrick Donnelly, SJ.

Marquette University

Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546-1610. By Francis Edwards, SJ. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 1995. Pp. xvü, 411. $42.95.)

For many years now there have been caUs for someone to complete a scholarly edition of the letters of Robert Persons (or Parsons). The first volume of his correspondence down to 1588 edited by Leo Hicks, SJ., for the CathoUc Record Society (Volume 39) appeared in 1942. Now more than fifty years later we have this fuU-length biography based on his letters.

One has the impression that it was written some time ago. Only a third of the "more often used printed sources" were pubUshed since World War II. But then since the retirement of Father Hicks in 1964 there has not been that much written on Persons. In his preface the author acknowledges the help received from his predecessors at the Jesuit archives in Farm Street, London: J. H. PoUen, Leo Hicks, BasU Fitzgibbon as weU as PhUip Caraman, Alfred Loomie, both Jesuits, and Penelope Renold. It seems that Miss Renold gathered and transcribed a good deal of Persons' later correspondence.

There are four general aspects of Persons' life. First, under the authority of the Jesuit general he directed the Jesuit effort to evangeUze England from 1580, when he first went under cover to England with his Jesuit companions, Edmund Campion and Brother Ralph Emerson, until his death thirty years later. In the second place, he advised the Jesuit general and a succession of Popes and curial officials on CathoUc poUcy in England. Third, he worked to raise money and supply manpower for the EngUsh seminaries in exUe in Douay-Rheims, Rome, and Spain. Fourth, he wrote books of popular theological controversy plus one spiritual classic, The Christian Directory, which was kept in print down to the last century.

Edwards foUows the story chronologicaUy, and for the first eighty pages it flows smoothly. But then as he treats the poUtical impUcations of the first three aspects of Persons' work, the story gets bumpy and at times confusing. To his credit the author frankly admits that poUtics and reUgion were inextricably intertwined in most of European history in the sixteenth century. There is simply no way to deny that Jesuit activity in the first century of their existence had strong political overtones. They were, after aU, bound by a special vow to serve the Pope, and the Popes were important poUtical players in the world at that time. However, there are simply too many names and incidents for aU but the most erudite reader to sort out the strands of the plots and counter-plots that

were a feature of the EngUsh history of those days. Persons the man and the priest gets lost in the clutter. His important work Ui manning and helping finance the seminaries comes out clearly, but his work as a writer—and he was one of the best EngUsh stylists of his day—is slighted.

One would have preferred to see a clearer picture of Persons' character and personaUty. There do exist some published efforts along this line, especiaUy those focusing in on the last dozen years of his life, which he spent mostly as rector of the EngUsh CoUege, Rome. The reader rarely gets a hint 'why Persons inspires so much devotion on the one hand and so much enmity on the other. He enjoyed the complete confidence of Claudio Aquaviva, one of the greatest Jesuit generals. PhUip II of Spain trusted and revered him. He was a close collaborator of WiUiam Cardinal Allen and was highly regarded by his Jesuit brethren on the English mission. Nevertheless, there is every indication that almost aU Protestants and a good number of EngUsh Catholics opposed his policies and revUed his person.

Nevertheless, this biography is a good first step. Edwards has addressed the most difficult and puzzling side of his subject. It wUl be easier for future biographers to fiU Ui the blanks, especiaUy if they have access to a good edition of aU of Persons' letters.

This is a book that students of Jesuit history, English history, and the Reformation wUl have to read. I would recommend that they do so surrounded by reference books. It wUl repay thetf effort.

Thomas H. Clancy, SJ.

Jesuit Archives, New Orleans

Giambologna, Narrator of the Catholic Reformation. By Mary Weitzel Gibbons. [California Studies in the History of Art, XXXIIL] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 262; 13 colorplates, 81 black and white figures. $50.00.)

Mary Gibbons successfully challenges the generaUy held view that Giambologna was not interested in subject matter. She demonstrates that the style he invented for the bronze reUefs of Christ's Passion in the Grimani Chapel in Genoa was his response to the newly voiced requtfements of the CathoUc Reformation that art be legible and comprehensible to the worshiper. She thus removes these works from the context of late maniera court art and places them firmly in the avant-garde of Baroque reUgious art.

The chapel, commissioned Ui 1579 by Luca Grimani, a prominent Genoese who would later serve as doge, has been neglected because it was destroyed when the church of San Francesco di Castelletto was suppressed under

Napoleon and Giambologna's bronzes transferred to the university. The author reconstructs the Grimani sepulcral chapel with the aid of the artist's contemporary Salviati Chapel Ln San Marco Ui Florence, which she caU his "most important extant architectural and sculptural complex" (p. 27), and other precedents where painting and sculpture were combined.

She associates die rare pairing of a series of Virtues with a Passion cycle to the CatiioUc Reformation's focus on good works and the new catechism of 1566 that joined these two elements (p. 57). Passion cycles took on new prominence with the post-Tridentine emphasis on the Eucharist as first among the sacraments, insistence upon the real presence Ui the consecrated host, and the desirabUity of frequent communion for the faithful. The Passion story reminded the worshiper that Christ's sacrifice was made for humankind's redemption, as celebrated m the Eucharist. The prominence of PUate in Giambologna's cycle is linked to the dUemma of choosing between poUtical expediency and personal conscience, faced by the patron Grimani as a prominent member of the Genoese government.

The final chapter, "Giambologna's Narrative Method," contains the essential argument. The artist's technique in the bronze reliefs is shown to be an adaptation of the multiview technique for which he is famous in his statues Ui the round, like the Rape of the Sabines. By means of a series of photographs of the reUefs shot from three angles, subtle variations In the narrative are revealed. The spectator's eye is kept Ui constant motion, rendering the narrative dynamic and serving to involve the worshiper. Giambologna's reUefs are contrasted witii those of his mid-century predecessors in Florence, Benvenuto Cellini, Pierino da Vinci, and Vincenzo Danti, to show how he has moved away from the absorption in style and ornament of the maniera to focus upon the narrative. Comparison with his own reUef on the base of the Rape of the Sabines, which is almost contemporary with the Grimani reUefs, suggests that Giambologna adjusted his style to sacred or secular setting.

The oft-reiterated characterization of Giambologna—that he worked without attention to subject—based on a sixteenth-century anecdote about the Rape of the Sabines, pleased those scholars who saw in Mannerism a formal interest exercised at the expense of subject matter. This view became particularly popular in the 1960's, but we can now see that it mirrored the formalism of Abstract Expression. Gibbons' Ge???efGe?3????, which ßeeß the sculptor as pioneering ?ee??-niques to involve the spectator, gives us a rich new vein to mine. UntU the appearance of John Shearman's "Only Connect . . ." (Princeton, 1992) we would have regarded this as an anticipation of Baroque style; we can now view it as part of a continuing Renaissance concern.

Marcia B. Hau

Temple University

A Defense of Galileo, the Mathematician from Florence. By Thomas CampaneUa, O.E Translated with an introduction and notes by Richard J. BlackweU. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1994. Pp. xü, 157. $27.95.)

This translation of Tommaso CampaneUa's Apologia pro Galileo, mathematico florentino (Frankfurt, 1622), whose fuU subtitle reads ubi disquiritur, utrum ratio philosophandi, quant Galileus célébrât, faveat sacris scripturis, an adversetur, is the latest volume in Richard J. BlackweU's long Ust of contributions on GaUleo and the science-reUgion controversy. It is a most welcome addition, offering an introduction based on scrupulous research into the document and its background, a reader-friendly translation of the Latin text, extensive notes that wUl satisfy the most demanding scholar, and a comprehensive bibUography. One cannot faU to be impressed by the picture BlackweU paints of this unfortunate Dominican, like GaUleo much persecuted and yet faithful to his Order and the Church to the end, whose genius and erudition were totaUy unappreciated by those he most wanted to help.

CampaneUa's is the last important treatise relating to the "GaUleo Affair" to be made avaflable in accurate EngUsh translation and with full scholarly apparatus. (A notoriously unreUable EngUsh translation was pubUshed by Grant McCoUey in 1937, and two ItaUan translations have appeared since then, one by Luigi Firpoin 1968, the other by Salvatore Femiano in 1971.) In his history of that "affair" Maurice Finocchiaro gave us in English the essential Latin and Italian texts (The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), and George Coyne, S.J., has supplemented these with his translation of Annibale FantoU's Galileo: For Copernicanism and for the Church (Vatican Observatory PubUcations/Notre Dame Press, L994), which presents in EngUsh large amounts of correspondence and other documents perforce left out of Finocchiaro's work. What BlackweU now contributes is more than the defense of GaUleo made by the famous renegade Dominican priest. He brings to Ught a prescient and quite unexpected plea for LnteUectual freedom offered from within the Church at the height of the GalUeo controversy, which, had it been heeded, would have saved the Church from "enormous embarrassment" in the centuries to come (p. 30).

CampaneUa's defense is actuaUy a theological treatise soUcited from him by Cardinal Boniface Caetani (1567-1617), ostensibly to aid the Church in deciding whether the philosophical view advocated by GaUleo was in agreement with, or opposed to, Sacred Scripture. It is composed of five chapters, the first chapter giving detaUed arguments against GaUleo's heUocentrism and the second, counter-arguments in favor of it. The third chapter then sets out a series of assumptions, what CampaneUa caUs "hypotheses," which serve to define, for him, the characteristics one should have to be a competent judge of the issue. In light of these, the fourth chapter evaluates and answers each of the arguments presented in the first chapter, and in the fifth chapter does the same for those offered in the second. With hindsight we can now see that the advice

CampaneUa insinuates in his third chapter was capable of heading off, at its very inception, the long controversy over science and Scripture that was provoked by GaUleo's advocacy of Copernicanism over the then-prevailing AristoteUan-Ptolemaic world view.

William A. Wallace, O.E

The Catholic University of America

The Burdens of Sister Margaret. By Craig Harline. (New York: Doubleday. 1994. Pp. xx, 359. $24.00.)

This book teUs a wonderfuUy rich story. Margaret Smulders seems to have been a woman who persisted where others might have acquiesced—she was not liked by her peers among the Franciscan Grey Sisters of Leuven—and her determination to maintain an honorable place in her convent, despite charges that she had been possessed by the devU, yielded in the end the kind of documentation that means a rare opportunity for the historian who can recognize it. When Harline draws inferences about matters the parties were reluctant to discuss directly—for example, that Sister Margaret's problems with the confessor assigned to her convent began with his making sexual advances to her—the argument carries conviction. He is also a shrewd observer of the personal detaUs which the authors of memoranda may convey about themselves without meaning to, and which may influence how the documents should be read, such as factional aUegiances among the sisters (mostly not in Margaret's favor), or the record-keeping habits of clerical visitors. FinaUy, as a scholar who has made himseU at home among the earnest, rather dour reforming prelates of the Counter-Reformation era in the Spanish Netherlands, he is also able to display the workings of an ecclesiastical bureaucracy that investigated events reported at the convent with painstaking care, without quite being able to determine what it was reacting to. AU in all, Harline brings us as close as we are likely to get to the lives and thoughts of women reUgious in the first half of the seventeenth century.

One might object that the book does Uttle to relate this intriguing story to larger historiographie issues. For example, the fact that Margaret's travaUs led her to take up the cause of reform in her convent might have been the occasion for discussing what the reform of reUgious orders meant m this period, but Harline forgoes the opportunity. In general, one finds nothing here of that sense for microhistory—for how a simple narrative can iUumine complex themes—of which Harline has elsewhere written persuasively. But such criticism would in my view be misplaced, for two reasons. First, there reaUy is no such thing as a simple narrative, a proposition weU estabUshed by this account of Sister Marget's fight to stay in her convent. Secondly, and perhaps more to the point, there is the question of audience. WhUe professional historians write almost exclusively for each other, the bookstores are fuU of books about history, mostly by authors who do not bring to their subjects the critical judgment formed by a ca-

reer in scholarship. To find a book like The Burdens of Sister Margaret, giving the literate reader a Uvely and criticaUy sound sense of what it meant to live in the reUgious world of the seventeenth century, is an occasion for rejoicing.

James D. Tracy

University of Minnesota

Music & Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII. By Frederick Hammond. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 309. $40.00.)

Attention given by historians to the opening of die first pubUc opera house in Venice Ui 1637 and the subsequent hegemony of Venetian opera has tended to relegate Roman opera of the period to the status of an "interlude" between that of Venice and the early monodic settings of pastoral plays by the Florentines who (sincerely but erroneously) thought they were imitating ancient Greek tragedy. To the reader seeking a thorough-going treatment of Rome's contributions to this complex genre Frederick Hammond's book is a welcome and erudite addition.

But the work is much more than a treatment of opera in Rome, as the title clearly indicates. Hammond has mined the extensive resources not only of the Vatican but also of various state archives and has fashioned a narrative that is at once dense with meticulously documented factual information yet manages to be stylishly written.

Early on, Hammond raises the question as to "why . . . seventeenth-century ItaUan writings on music seem so uninformative." Despite the fact that the Pope himself, Urban VIII (Maffei Barberini), and other powerful members of the famUy together employed every major composer of Rome at this time, there is an incredible poverty of description regarding the most ephemeral aspect of theatrical entertainment—the music—much of which has not survived. Conversely, the libretti are weU preserved, and detaUed descriptions of various feste and theatrical entertainment emphasize the visual spectacle—the amazing machines and elaborate Ughting devices at which the ItaUans exceUed. The work is rich Ui exuberant eyewitness descriptions documented with detaüs gleaned from household roUs of the various Barberini brothers and nephews, the inventories of the guardaroba, and financial records.

The book is not just about spectacles, however. Among its many merits is the attention given to the sacred and Uturgical works of such composers as Mazzochi, Marazzoli, and Landi, who are generaUy identified as composers of opera. Even more Importantly, the work clarifies the often compUcated lines of demarcation between papal household, state functions, secular entertainment, and the role of the papacy as cultural patron.

Within a weU-conceived conceptual framework Hammond creates a vivid representation of the cultural life of Baroque Rome, and provides essential information regarding the source and administration of the Barberini famUy's revenues. Members of the dynasty are nicely differentiated Ui the short biographies of each, and a good genealogical chart aUows the reader to disentangle the confusion resulting from the frequently repeated Christian names of the clan, aU of which is necessary to understand the later rivatfies among the papal nephews.

The chapters dealing specificaUy with opera offer a comprehensive and clearly articulated discussion of practical aspects of theatrical production: the responsibUities of the corago, definition of rehearsal time, description of performance spaces, and the binding tradition of operatic conventions of die period.

This is a volume that can be read from cover to cover or easüy consulted like a reference work. The abundant footnotes, extensive bibliography, and comprehensive appendix alone are weU worth the price of the book and offer much grist for future research. The organization suffers somewhat from the occasional repetition of materials in dtfferent parts of the book, and one might wish that it were as rich in musical examples as it is in photographs. Perhaps that very imbalance between the visual and the musical only underscores the author's early contention that the spectacle received the Uon's share of attention. But these are smaU criticisms far outweighed by Hammond's masterful handling of an impressive amount of information. Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome is a fine achievement, a significant and authoritative contribution to the history of music.

CyrillaBarr

The Catholic University ofAmerica

Late Modern European

"A Nation ofBeggars"? Priests, People, and Politics in Famine Ireland, 1846-1852. By Donal A. Kerr. (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 370. $65.00.)

This sequel to the author's Peel, Priests and Politics: Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846, might alternatively have been entitled Russell, Priests and Politics. It is essentiaUy a study of the Irish hierarchy's politics during the administration of Lord John RusseU. For Kerr, RusseU is a tragic figure who looked upon his accession to the premiership in 1846 as an opportunity to make the Irish equal citizens within the United Kingdom through a well-thought-out strategy which included a generous-minded plan to endow the CathoUc Church without the usual demand for a government role in episcopal appointments. This initiative could

hardly have come at a worse juncture in the whole history of the Anglo-Irish relationship.

The empirical core of the work is a careful reconstruction from correspondence in ecclesiastical archives of the process by which the victory of the ultranationaUst Archbishop MacHale of Tuam over the concUiatory Archbishop Murray of Dublin was consummated in the appointment of the ultramontane Paul CuUen first as Archbishop of Armagh and then as successor to Murray upon the latter's death in 1852. It is hard to imagine anything RusseU might have done to avert this outcome, which by itseU would have been fatal to his hopes. Perhaps more central to Kerr's evaluation of RusseU are two developments in which RusseU's agency is more clearly at stake: the Famine and the "papal aggression" controversy.

In his treatment of the Famine, Kerr goes beyond his usual analysis of high ecclesiastical poUtics to examine at length the attitudes and behavior of ordinary parish clergy during the calamity. It is not hard to see how the experiences he recounts—especiaUy certain British attempts to blame priests for crimes committed against landlords—would have soured the clergy on concUiation as they poisoned popular opinion for generations. Interestingly, however, Kerr does not blame RusseU, whose aversion to state intervention is often seen as contributing to the scale of the catastrophe. He regards "Black '47" as probably beyond the power of any government to avert, and in his assessment of RusseU's motives he places a good deal of weight on a passage from one of his letters:

> It is quite true that landlords in England would not like to be shot like hares and partridges. But neither does any landlord in England turn out fifty persons at once, and burn their houses over their heads, giving them no provision for the future. The murders are atrocious, so are the ejectments, (p. 93)

Kerr is much more wüling to find in RusseU's actions in the "papal aggression" controversy the tragic flaw which doomed his generous intentions toward Ireland. His decision to place more weight on RusseU's low-church reUgious cornmitments than on his laissez-feire economic ideology wiU strike some Irish historians as curious. It results, however, in what is likely to be the most even-handed assessment of RusseU's Irish policy to appear during the current sesquicentennial Famine observances.

David W Miller

Carnegie Mellon University

Popular Anti-Catholicism in Mid-Victorian England. By D. G. Paz. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 332. $42.50.)

Some historians of the EngUsh Reformation are of the opinion that anti-CathoUcism was more deeply entrenched in EngUsh society by the end of the

sixteenth century than devotion to Protestantism. Equally, a new generation of historians working on the eighteentii century have shown that anti-CathoUcism was aUve and weU even Ui the age of EnUghtenment. It is the argument of this book that anti-CathoUcism remained a powerful cultural force Ui EngUsh society at least until 1875 when it began to shift to the margins. What distinguishes this treatment of Victorian anti-CathoUcism from most others is the author's conviction that anti-CathoUcism was not only ubiquitous and vulgar, but was also deeply embedded within the local, regional, and national cultures of nineteenth-century England. It cannot be reduced to historical memory, nor to anti-Irish sentiment, nor even to Protestant prurience, but rather served a multitude of dtfferent functions for dtfferent social groups Ui dtfferent parts of England. In short, it was so embedded Ui the cultural values of the EngUsh, diat its manifestations were as diverse as nmeteentii-century society itself.

In order to do justice to such diversity, Paz makes a vaUant attempt to penetrate to the heart of manifold local cultures by using documentary, Uterary, and nonverbal evidence. Thus bonfires, revels, and riots take thetf place alongside the weU-documented voluntary societies and die cadres of hard evangeUcal clerics. Anti-CathoUcism, it seems, stretched from the tea rooms of die House of Commons to the drunken brawls of low-brow urban Ufe and from the heart of the EstabUshed Church to Protestant sectarian firebrands. It is nevertheless one of the main arguments of Paz's book that the existence of a national EstabUshed Church and the denominational self-consciousness of its dissenting rivals helped prevent the kind of pan-Protestant anti-CatiioUc unity which emerged in nineteenth-century Canada.

This book is richly textured and not amenable to easy categorization. In the midst of its dense argumentation readers wUl find valuable discussions of the nature of anti-Irish prejudice (more cultural than racist), of the impact of Anglo-CathoUcism (which aUegedly spread to the parishes earUer than many suppose), and of the way Ui which Nonconformist denominations used anti-Catholicism as an instrument of reUgious and poUtical control within thetf own ranks. But the overwhelming impression is of a multi-faceted prejudice which was pressed into service in a bewUdering variety of social contexts. In that sense, Paz's conclusions match those of early modern Irish historians who have found that anti-CathoUcism is one of the most luxuriant and eclectic of cultural forces and cannot be reduced to one particular paradigm. Indeed, its power and longevity are partly owing to its flexibiUty and adaptabUity.

Perhaps the least convincing part of this book is the concluding assumption that anti-CathoUcism moved quietly to the margins of British Ufe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is true that the vulgarity of EngUsh anti-CathoUcism became less evident and that EngUsh society outside Liverpool could offer Utile to rival die reUgious conflicts of late nineteenth-century Ulster, but anti-CathoUcism did not simply disappear from the EngUsh cultural landscape. Indeed, die manifold and discreet forms Ui which it survived are now deserving of

the same kind of thorough treatment as Paz has suppUed for its mid-Victorian zenith.

David Hempton

The Queen's University ofBelfast

Critics on Trial:An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis. By Marvin R. O'ConneU. (Washington, D.C.: The CathoUc University of America Press. 1994. Pp. xüi, 394. $59.95.)

Years of treading through the historiographical minefield of Roman CathoUc Modernism have left me doubting the possibUity of a satisfactory, comprehensive single-volume history. Marvin R. O'ConneU's Impressive book almost has convinced me otherwise. Critics on Trial reads like a novel with a host of weU-defined characters, both heroes and viUains, aU of whom become vibrantly aUve.

O'ConneU states that he intends only to teU "the story of the Modernists rather than to analyze the phenomenon caUed CathoUc Modernism" (p. xü). The reviewer must accept the author's disclaimer and guard against the temptation to criticize a book he did not intend to write. But whUe O'ConneU strives to be objective and dispassionate, evincing considerable sympathy for the Modernist protagonists and unsparing of thetf ecclesiastical tormenters, we are left with a somewhat traditional ????fGe?????? of the meanings of Catholic Modernism. Part of the difficulty stems from the total reUance on printed sources—Ui itself hardly a fault when attempting to write a narrative synthesis. But experts on the specific theological, phUosophical, historical, and ecclesiastical aspects of Modernism wUl be quick to point out errors of fact and questionable interpretations. Some of this wUl be mere ?3f?^, but it is a more serious matter when O'ConneU ignores the judgments of the best contemporary scholars.

Where O'Connell sees "a mendacious irony Ui Loisy Including himself among the theologians, for his whole purpose was to drive a wedge between theology and history" (p. 127), most scholars would argue quite the opposite, that, however many his faults, Loisy was trying to remove a wedge implanted over the centuries by the Church's ahistorical dogmatists. O'ConneU repeats a number of old saws, citing less than credible secondary sources to substantiate the assertion that as early as 1886 "Loisy was convinced that 'he suffered under Pontius PUate' was the sole article of the Cadiolic creed he could accept as fact" (p. 2 16). The wrenching of quotable Unes from thetf context often prejudices thetf meaning, such as Loisy's statement Ui L'Evangile et l'Eglise, "'Jesus preached the kingdom, and, behold, it is the church that has come'" (p. 248).

If only for dramatic effect, O'ConneU accepts Loisy's recoUection that his initial meeting with Friedrich von Hügel may have signaled the beginning of the movement later caUed Modernism. Yet, whtfe aUowing that von Hügel "would provide . . . whatever fragUe unity or coherence possessed by the movement" (p. 42), and being weU acquainted with Lawrence F. Barmann's seminal work,

O'ConneU minimizes the significance of the baron's inteUectual contribution. Though thoroughly disproved by David G. Schultenover, O'ConneU ?efep^eß die canard that George TyrreU was "contemptuous or hostUe" toward die Summa Theologiae (p. 123). It is simply wrong to assert that the Modernists generaUy were "unable or unwilling to distinguish between good Scholasticism and bad, between the monumental acbievercient of Aquinas and the frequently trivial appUcations of it Ui the manuals written by his overly-zealous disciples" f. 344).

O'ConneU is on target Ui die social and poUtical context, that the church-state battle Ui France "served as the backdrop to the inteUectual crisis within CathoUcism" (p. 309). But many wUl contest the conclusion that "die aberrations shortly to be termed 'Modernist' by Pius X appeared to be—despite English and Italian outriders and German sympathizers—an overwhelmingly French phenomenon" f. 310). For ecclcsiastico-poUtical reasons, Pius X may have be8n concerned primarily with extinguishing the Modernist fire Ui France and Italy, but Pascendi struck at the universal Church. O'ConneU writes that "hardly anything like the phenomenon Pascendi caUed Modernism was to be found among German Catholics" (p. 356), but in fact only Rome's special poUtical relationship with Germany saved dozens of German Modernists (not merely sympathizers) from condemnation. (This is made clear in Otto Weiss's Der Modernismus in Deutschland: ein Beitrag zur Theologiegeschichte [1995], which appeared after Critics on Trial) And whUe England may have been "a special case" (p. 356), it is disingenuous to conclude that TyrreU's condemnation was "more by reason of his ItaUan rather than his EngUsh connections" (p. 358).

FUiaUy, it is perplexing that O'ConneU relegates to a footnote Gabriel Daly's convincing argument that the primary author of the doctrinal section of Pascendi was Joseph Lemius, and not Louis BUlot, SJ., and Monsignor Umberto Benigni. It is, nevertheless, perversely satisfying to learn from O'ConneU that even Cardinal Merry del Val disapproved of Benigni's secret and unseemly anti-Modernist terror campaign.

Critics on Trial is an impressive narrative which merits a wide readership. But it must be read carefuUy. Despite enormous erudition and penetrating insights, the book remains (1 hesitate to say only) an introduction for students seeking to understand the CathoUc Modernist Crisis.

John D. Root

Illinois Institute of Technology

Zeitgeschichte in Lebensbildern. Aus dem deutschen Katholizismus des 19. und 20, Jahrhunderts, Band 7. Edited by Jürgen Aretz, Rudolf Morsey, and Anton Rauscher. (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald Verlag. 1994. Pp. 314. DM 48,-.)

This is the seventh volume of a continuing series of biographical articles on prominent German CathoUcs of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The

coverage is broad, sometimes providing detaUed accounts of the careers and works of leaders and other dignitaries in the poUtical and ecclesiastical spheres, social theorists and activists, scholars, writers, and other German CathoUcs of some repute.

The seri8s has undoubted value for experts in the field of German CathoUc studies, though some articles wiU disappoint them. The pubUsher and the editors have been eager to make the series attractive to two quite different groups, speciaUsts and members of the German CathoUc community who are interested in the history of their church, its various institutions and its most distinguished members. The authors are undoubtedly, as the pubUsher teUs us, scholars or other writers of name recognition, but their articles are not footnoted. Nor are they on occasion as analytical and critical as the trained scholar might expect. In the past century or so Germany has undergone profound changes and dislocations Ln the course of which CathoUc leaders had to make decisions which were painful to them and their co-reUgionists. In this series the editors and some of the authors have apparently decided that the amount of discomfort that they should impose on their German Catholic readers should be kept at a modest level. This is evident in the articles on Ludwig Kaas, the leader of the German Center Party from 1928 to 1933, in the first volume and on Ernst Lieber, who had led that party from 1893 to L902, in the fourth volume of the series. The reader is not adequately informed on the reasons why Kaas persuaded his Reichstag coUeagues to approve Hitler's enabling act in March, L933, which made it possible for the Nazi leader later to dismantle the parUamentary system or why Lieber had pressured his Reichstag associates to bring about the passage of the naval bUls of L898 and 1900 which would ruin Germany's relations with Great Britain. In fairness to Ernst Lieber, however, it should be said that the Imperial Government had not informed him that the buUding of a big German navy could be a risky venture. Lieber saw the whole naval issue in a purely budgetary context.

StUl, it should be said that the first two volumes of the series of which Rudotf Morsey was the sole editor contain several substantial articles on prominent CathoUcs who were controversial in their own time or at a later point, some of them by Morsey himsetf. They include sketches of Cardinal Georg Kopp (d. 1914), the leader of the Prussian episcopal conference for many years who had feuded with the German Center Party and sometimes with his own coUeagues, and Cardinal Adotf Bertram (d. 1945), the chairman of the national bishops' group m the Nazi years, who convinced his episcopal associates that they should not directly attack the Hitler regime for its violations of the Concordat of 1933 and human rights. The articles on Matthias Erzberger, the CathoUc democrat who was assassinated by a young rightist Ui 1921, and Joseph Wirth, who tried to don Erzberger's mantle and who held the chanceUor's office in the years L92L-L923, are on a high level. It is interesting to note that the author of the article on Wirth, Thomas Knapp, is an American. I am in partial disagreement, however, with Rudolf Morsey over the reason or reasons for President Hindenburg's dismissal of Heinrich Brüning from the chanceUorship in 1932,

which Morsey attributes to the backstairs intrigues of reactionary agrarian friends of the elderly president. Some of Hindenburg's advisers were very unhappy over the unpopularity of Bruning's severe deflationary course which made that chanceUor dependent on the passive support of the Social Democrats, who were hated by the Hindenburg inner circle.

In my estimation the seventh volume is one of the best in the series of which it is a part. It contains articles on two idealists who became victims of the criminal Nazi regime, Fritz GerUtz, a courageous Bavarian editor, and Max Metzger, the priest leader of the CathoUc peace movement. There are others on Cardinal Joseph Frings, one of the leading movers at the Second Vatican CouncU, and on two scholars of considerable international repute, Karl Rahner, the theologian, and Hubert Jedin, the church historian. Scholars interested in recent German poUtical history wUl find it worthwhUe to read the articles on the checkered careers of the gifted Bavarian parUamentarian, Franz Xaver Strauss, who held several high cabinet posts but never achieved his life's goal, the West German chanceUorship, and Kurt Kiesinger, like Matthias Erzberger, a Württemberger, who served for a few years Ui the late 1960's as chanceUor but whose poUtical career seemed to go into a decline afterwards.

One cannot help after exarnining some of the volumes in this series but be impressed by the amount of attention which German CathoUcs have devoted to the social question. It is highly fitting, therefore, that the last article of this seventh volume is a splendid tribute by Anton Rauscher to Oswald von NeU-Breuning, SJ., the prominent priest social theorist and activist, who died a few years ago at the age of one hundred and one and who had been active tUl shortly before his death. He had been highly respected and even liked in both labor and business circles in West Germany and had been the recipient of honors from his government and many universities. Only he could have said that "we [social reformers] aU stand on the shoulders of Karl Marx" without corning under fire from business representatives and that "the employer is sometimes Ui the right" without hearing angry protests from labor's side. His was a long Ufe of impressive usefulness.

John Zeender

The Catholic University ofAmerica

Les Carnets du Cardinal Baudrillart (1914-1918). Texte présenté, étabU et annoté par Paul Christophe. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 1994. Pp. 1047. 210FF.)

Paul Christophe notes that the direct coUaboration of Cardinal BaudriUart (1859-L942) with the Germans during World War II (à la Maréchal Pétain) has cast this important figure m French and church history in a bad Ught. Hence, his low profile from the perspective of historians.

Alfred BaudriUart, from a French famUy engaged in politics, Uterary and scientific endeavors, experienced the War of 1870, foUowed a priestly vocation, and studied under some of the most briUiant French inteUectuals before embarking on a teaching career. In 1883, he began to work at the Institut catholique in Paris, received a doctorate in 1890, and entered the Oratoire as a novice. Ordained a priest in 1893, he took the chair of modern history at the Institut the foUowing year. He became the director in 1907, a position he held throughout the war.

In these memoirs BaudriUart comments on World War I as "a mirror of the moral chaos of France." He reveals his private ambitions: to be the superior general of the Oratoire; to be a member of the Académie française (cherished even as a chtfd); to be a bishop—and then his constant self-reminder that he should not be wishing for these material goals. This complex personaUty offers fascinating observations on his travels to Rome and visits with the Pope (he disliked the papal ambivalence on the war) and with Gasparri, to Spain ("a country of utter chaos"), and to the front Unes Ui Alsace.

The American reader wUl be most interested in his travelogue on the United States, which culminates Ui a meeting with President WUson. The future cardinal expresses the fear that this American Protestant president may have taken the moral authority in the world away from the Pope. BaudriUart expresses a GalUc sense of superiority vis-à-vis the "ignorant American clergy and the rude and unpolished hierarchy." His uncharitable descriptions, particularly of Archbishop Mundelein Ui Chicago, are rather startling. However, he is touched by the kindness of the American people and the strong support for France. This commentary alone would be deserving of an in-depth study.

Throughout the journals BaudriUart is unafraid to show strong anti-German feelings. He is not "poUticaUy correct" Ui writing about women, Jews, and people of color. However, his deep understanding of international poUtics, from the impending Russian revolution to the conquest of Jerusalem, reveals an avid scholar and observer.

It is interesting to note that, with die exception of his visitations to hospitals and the soldiers at the front, there are few occasions where the memoirs would reveal BaudriUart as a priest. Little spirituaUty shines through these memoirs, which suggests that their ??f?ße was "history." It is clear that he was deeply committed to his self-imposed wartime task: to be an instrument of propaganda for French culture and the CathoUc Church. That goal never left his mind or his actions. Throughout these memoirs BaudriUart shows that he is a man of stamina, of deep inteUectual curiosity, and of extraordinarily complex poUtical relationships. His memoirs are not only readable, they call for more study.

Marc A. vanderHeyden

Marist College
Poughkeepsie, New York

Dietrich von Hildebrand. Memoiren und Aufsätze gegen den Nationalsozialismus, 1933-1938. Edited by Ernst Wenisch. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe A: Quellen, Band 43.] (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald-Verlag. 1994. Pp. 34*, 391. 88.00 DM.)

Ernst Wenisch has creatively edited the memoirs and essays of the Catholic philosopher, Dietrich von Hildebrand, who in 1933 emigrated from Munich to Austria in order to oppose through "Der christliche Ständestaat" the Nazi ideology of collectivism and racism. Hildebrand's memoirs are particularly valuable to scholars interested in explicating the role of the academic bystander, who intellectually opposed the Nazi Revolution. In his published essays, Hildebrand posited an anthropology rooted in the person as an image of God. He recognized the complexity of modern civilization and asserted that a merely reductionistic, i.e., totalitarian, political theory could not deal with the layered dimensions of any historical reality, to develop its full potentials.

Not surprisingly, Hildebrand reacted to racial anti-Semitism, but he still carried the baggage of centuries of religious bias. His comments help to illustrate how the consciences of so many normal Germans could be religiously softened so that they did not feel impelled to condemn vigorously the vituperative Nazi racial anti-Semitism. What he failed to realize was that religious anti-Semitism had prepared the way for the racial hatred directed toward the Jews. In 1937, for example, he delivered a lecture, "Die Juden und das christliche Abendland" in Vienna, which dealt with the anti-Semitism that was powering Nazi ideology. In the lecture he divided Jews from the Christian West immediately in the title and so gave support to the traditional accusation that Christian morality was distinct from Jewish. Additionally, Hildebrand accepted the notion that the Old Testament was an essential part of the Christian religion. In the context of hindsight, such a position has historically meant that Judaism has been perceived as not having its own integrity. Referring to Israel as the "prodigal son" and to the complex of ideas that God and humanity were no longer connected in Jerusalem, but now in Rome, can be seen as supersessionism at its worst. Racial anti-Semitism, however, was simultaneously also countered in this essay by an insistence that using blood as the basis for identity undermined the spiritual essence of men and women as persons. He was a typical Christian anti-Semite.

By stressing an adherence to the normative Christian state as described by Catholic political theorists, Hildebrand automatically introduced a principle of exclusion. He was not principally focusing on marginalizing the Jewish people, however, but rather on overcoming the bourgeois Liberalism, which the Catholic Church had assaulted since the French Revolution in favor of a more salubrious ??f?p??e and organic model, which would not be identical to the Nordic racism that he described as alien to German history.

This collection of memoirs and essays is an excellent resource for scholars trying to understand the subtle dynamics of Nazism. Hitler succeeded in part, these memoirs tell us, because the bystanders, who could have stopped him,

did not comprehend the power of a modern state powered by an aggressive ideology and controUed by a man obsessed with furthering his racist and nationaUst agenda, which was shared, at least partiaUy, by the majority of the citizenry. HUdebrand's life and reflective essays can mustíate for us what happens when phUosophers and theologians do not adopt a critical stance to thetf own churches and states.

Donald J. Dietrich

Boston College

American

St.Mary's ofNatchez: The History ofa Southern Catholic Congregation, 1716-1988. Volume 1: The History;Volume 2: Signs ofParish Life. By Charles E. Nolan. (Natchez, Mississippi: St. Mary's CathoUc Church. 1992. Pp. xxxvi, 402; x, 403-732. $39-95 the set.)

In the faU of 1986, the parish councU of St. Mary's of Natchez asked Dr. Charles E. Nolan, archivist of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and author of the South Central section of the 1987 Notre Dame Study of CathoUc Parish Life, to write a history of St. Mary's from 1888 to 1988. Early Ui 1992, St. Mary's CathoUc Church pubUshed his work in two volumes. With Ulustrations, bibUography, a fifty-one-page index, and eighty-one pages of notes, die final product is huge.

St. Mary's of Natchez is, of course, an atypical Southern CathoUc congregation, for its story is long and varied and includes die centennial in 1888 (thus the terminal dates proposed in 1986) of the erection of the parish of San Salvador del Mundo by Louisiana's Spanish governor, Estaban Miro. Part 3, "Historical Overview (1888-1988)" surveys the period foreseen Ui that proposal. The reactions of the community to the World Wars, the Depression, the integration crisis (during which local church leadership was heroic), and Vatican CouncU II are interpreted. During this century Natchez had to accept the loss of preeminence Ui Mississippi effected by the railroad's replacement of the steamboat. Natchez, die proud city on the bluffs, was smpassed by upstart Jackson, the raUhead. Ln 1948 Bishop Richard D. Gerow sorrowfully moved to Jackson, and Ui 1977 Jackson became the see city and St. Mary's was no longer a cathedral.

What marks St. Mary's ofNatchez as a significant contribution was the determination of Dr. Nolan and his coUaborators to work from a post-Vatican CouncU II understanding of the Church. Theirs was to be a comprehensive history of a parish community, not an account of the brick and mortar achievements of a series of pastors. The thesis ofJay Dolan's Notre Dame Study of the parish as "the hinge on which the reUgious world" of American CathoUcs turns was central to the work. There is a feeling that tiie team enjoyed thetf task,

made feasible by computer technology; however, the suspicion lingers that word-processors and computer disks contributed to the length, thus tempting the reader to skim rather than to read. The goal of writing for two distinct sets of readers, "St. Mary's parishioners and the wider scholarly community" (p. xxi), an almost impossible mission, certainly inflated the text. Nonetheless, scholars wiU use the extended notes, especiaUy those of the colonial and antebeUum sections, and parishioners the masterful index, initiated by parishioner Robert Shumway.

Ln his mtroduction, Nolan expresses the hope that St. Mary's in Natchez will serve as "a base line for comparison—a CathoUc parish against which to measure and evaluate other reUgious congregations." Perhaps. But it is a rare American parish community which can evoke memories comparable to an early French fort destroyed Ui the 1729 massacre with shattering consequences for the lower Mississippi VaUey; to a late eighteenth-century Spanish mission staffed by Irish missionaries; a nineteenth-century American frontier diocese and mother of Mississippi CathoUcism thanks to such benefactors as the Lyons Society of the Propagation of the Faith and a Natchez free person of color, FeUcite Pomet Girodeau (1790-L862); and finaUy a twentieth-century experience as a former see with a Gothic Revival church in a river city renowned for its romantic antebeUum plantation glory.

Earl F. NnmAus

Xavier University ofLouisiana

They Came to Teach: The Story of Sisters Who Taught in Parochial Schools and Their Contribution to Elementary Education in Minnesota. By AnnabeUe Raiche, CSJ., and Ann Marie Biermaier, O.S.B. (St. Cloud, Minnesota: North Star Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 271. $1995 paperback.)

Perhaps the most impressive feature of this volume is the amount of material it encompasses. The finished work represents six years of research and writing by a core group of twenty sisters. The book they have produced is predominantly a reference work, and it fulfiUs that role weU. (Any researcher who has approached the archival holdings of many reUgious communities wUl have great respect for the immense amount of work involved Ln gathering the accurate and comprehensive data included here.)

Nine Minnesota-based reUgious communities, as weU as numerous orders whose members are or have been missioned Ui Minnesota schools, have cooperated in the task of tracing and documenting the role of sisters Ui the parochial school system of the state. They Came to Teach covers the years 1851 (the date of the inception of the CathoUc elementary schools) to 1950 (their peak year, foUowed by decline) to 1990 (the approximate time of the transfer of leadership from the reUgious orders to the laity). The book—a coffee table-sized volume—provides Usts of Minnesota CathoUc elementary schools, names

of the sisters who taught in these schools throughout the years, a good bibUography, and a brief index.

CompUers of the book achieve a neat mix of factual data and anecdotal history. They Came to Teach includes one entire section devoted to "Profiles": sketches of representative sisters whose careers Ulustrate the broad range of activities in which religious communities were engaged. Written Ui large letters over every page are two words: dedication and sacrifice. Statistics do not always capture the spirit which empowered these reUgious teachers, but thetf individual stories and the abundant photographs which accompany them do.

The book itself is organized chronologicaUy, but its forward movement is broken by the expansion of specific topics. The result is some inevitable repetition. Nevertheless, The Came to Teach is fun to leaf through, valuable to research, and—for many CathoUcs—nostalgic to peruse.

Sister Mary Richard Boo, O.S.B.

College of St. Scholastica
Duluth, Minnesota

Cosmos in the Chaos: Philip Schaff's Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century American Religion. By Stephen R. Graham. (Grand Rapids: WiUiam B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 1995. Pp. xxv, 266. $22.00 paperback.)

The 1880's was a banner decade for the founding of scholarly societies. The Society of BibUcal Literature saw the Ught of day in 1880, the American Historical Association a few years later in 1884, and the American Society of Church History Ui yet four more years, 1888. Americans had been busy making history; perhaps it was now time to contemplate history. Pragmatic America was being puUed and tugged toward historical awareness. One American, no native he but naturaUzed, was a member of all tiiree of these societies, and one of them was founded Ui his own study Ui New York City (the SBL) whUe another was his own creation (the ASCH). I refer, of course, to PhUip Schaff, who in his own words gives his personal thumb-naU sketch—"a Swiss by birth, a German by education, and an American by choice." Since the centennial celebration of the ASCH at least four books have appeared honoring the name of and exploring the mind of PhUip Schaff. Stephen Graham's exceUent volume is the most recent of these Festschriften. It takes its place alongside the other volumes about Schaff as the most complete exploration of his views and vision of nineteenth-century American reUgion.

Everything of importance Ln the field of reUgious studies in the nineteenth century is reflected in the Ufe and career of PhUip Schaff. He was the epitome of the American Christian scholar as weU as a prophet of ecumenicity. Schaff strongly hoped that the unfinished Reformation would be completed in an age of "evangelical cathoUcism" Ui the United States, his own vision of an ecumeni-

cal movement. In this book Graham gives special attention to such themes as reUgious freedom, church and state, and the American nation. He deftly traces Schaffs thoughts on these topics Ui a way that informs our own understanding of these contemporary reUgious issues. Graham carefuUy explores the full Americanization of Schaff and his growing accommodation to America's dominant evangeUcal Protestantism Ui the context of his ecumenical dreams. Graham also shows that to more than the twentieth-century ecumenical movement, his life was prelude. His major dream was, however, of post-Protestant, post-Catholic, and post-American universal cosmos—a worthy dream of which to remind oneself as weU as others. Graham's title is appropriate—cosmos in the chaos and, I would add, beyond the chaos.

One of Schaffs students wrote Ui his private class notebook, "I came to know what Ufe and history mean." Graham's presentation of Schaff has certainly captured the meaning of this student's remark. What reUgious Ufe and history meant to Schaff Ui the United States comes alive in this book. Graham presents Schaffs ideaUsm, historic awareness, hope, sensitivity to humankind and nature, and dream of world unity. In Philip Schaffs last pubUc speech in late 1893 he urged brave visions and acts: "Before the reunion of Christendom can be accompUshed, we must expect providential events, new Pentecosts, new reformations—as great as any that have gone on before. The twentieth century has marvelous smprises in store for the church and the world" (The Reunion of Christendom).

In this present world of whiners and hard-nosed realists, we can thank God for some dreamers and their brave visions. Stephen Graham has done unique service Ui bringing together this presentation of PhUip Schaffs dream of cosmos for America.

George H. Shrtver

Georgia Southern University, Statesboro

Canadian

Pro-Choice vs. Pro-Life: Abortion and the Courts in Canada. By F. L. Morton. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1992. Pp. 371. $19-95 paperback.)

This highly readable book is largely an examination of the cross-dueling poUtical careers of two controversial Canadians. Throughout the 1970's and '80's Henry Morgentaler was Canada's leading apostle of abortion freedom, and Joseph Borowski the nation's foremost proponent of fetal rights. Jewish, agnostic, and fearless, Morgentaler first burst upon die national scene Ui the early 1970's when he defied Canada's newly reformed abortion law by opening several elective abortion clinics in the Montreal area. Enacted by die House of Commons Ui 1969, the new law authorized that abortions could be performed

for broadly therapeutic reasons in accredited hospitals after approval by a therapeutic abortion committee. WhUe generaUy permissive in its appUcation, the 1969 law by no means provided aU Canadian women equal and unencumbered access to abortion, and Morgentaler was determined to do everything possible to force its repeal.

Borowski, a working-class CathoUc and long-time labor activist, was just as passionately opposed to the 1969 legislation but for quite different reasons. In his view, the law was entirety too lenient: it afforded Uttle more than nommai protection for fetal Ufe, and it was a glaring affront to the reUgious convictions of miUions of Canadians. Borowski registered his opposition by undergoing a lengthy hunger strike; he withheld his federal income taxes as protest against the pubUc funding of abortions, and, as was also the case with Morgentaler, he paid the price of his convictions with several stmts in prison.

In the end, the battle between Morgentaler and Borowski over abortion was played out on virgin constitutional territory. On AprU l6, l982, a new Charter of Rights and Freedoms was adopted by ParUament as part of Canada's Constitution Act. Although the charter was sUent on the question of fetal rights, Borowski beUeved that it stül provided ammunition for an assault upon Canada's abortion law, and Ui 1983 he attempted to persuade a Saskatchewan court that the 1969 law, with its provisions for legal abortion, was at odds with the charter's declaration that "everyone has the right to Ufe."Although a parade of scientific witnesses—including Sir WilUam LUey and Jérôme Lejeune—testified on Borowski's behatf, the court finaUy rejected his charter chaUenge and upheld the vaUdity of the 1969 law.

Several years later, Morgentaler brought his own charter chaUenge before the Supreme Court of Canada—and with strikingly dtfferent results. In a stunning judgment handed down on January 28, 1988, the Supreme Court struck down the 1969 law, ruling that the restraints it imposed upon women's access to abortion violated the charter's guarantee of a right to "Ufe, Uberty, and the security of the person." By one dramatic judicial stroke, therefore, abortion was taken out of the criminal code, and Morgentaler's long crusade for reproductive freedom was legaUy vindicated.

F. L. Morton performs a valuable service in charting the complex legal Odysseys of both Morgentaler and Borowski, but this is only part of his concern here. It is of immense consequence, according to Morton, that the fete of the 1969 abortion law was decided in court rather than in ParUament. With the advent of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the Canadian judiciary has attained a level of influence over pubUc Ufe which rivals—and perhaps even exceeds—that of the federal legislature. And Morton, for one, is not at aU convinced that this is a good thing. For starters, he raises the specter of judicial imperiaUsm. It is bad enough, Morton says, that the courts can now override Acts of ParUament (such as the Supreme Court did with the federal abortion law), but this is only the haU of it. In the brave new world of the charter, what is to prevent the

courts from actuaUy dictating pubUc poUcy? WUl the Supreme Court, like its American counterpart, take an expressly activist turn and re-configure the Canadian poUtical landscape with newfound rights and freedoms?

And furthermore, suggests Morton, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms seems to have brought Canada one perilous step closer to fuU Americanization. Can Canadians now expect interest groups of every imaginable ideological stripe to pursue then· goals through Utigation rather than legislation? And with their own Supreme Court now thoroughly poUticized, can they expect to be treated—whenever a vacancy occurs—to the sort of unhinged lunacy that attended the recent nominations of Robert Bork and Clarence Thomas to the American court?

These are enormously important questions, and F. L. Morton is thus far only one of a handful of Canadian scholars to give them the attention they deserve. His discussion is shaf and provocative, and, Ui the spirit of George Grant and other prominent Canadian cultural conservatives, he counsels against too ready an embracement of distinctly American solutions to unsettling social and ethical problems. His book would be a valuable addition to any course concerned with the complex ???ef^ of religion, poUtics, and ideology Ui the contemporary world.

Michael W. Cuneo

Fordham University

Latin American

Historia de la Arquidiócesis de Bogotá: Su itinerario evangelizador, 1564-1993- By Luis Carlos Mantüla R., O.F.M. (Bogotá: Pubhcación de la Arquidiócesis de Bogotá. 1994. Pp. xx, 353.)

This study considers several themes in tracing the evolution of the Bogotá Archdiocese over the last four hundred years. Father Mantilla's earUer scholarship includes monographs describing Franciscan missionary activities Ui the colonial territories of modern-day Colombia. His more general survey emphasizes changing as weU as persistent ecclesiastical issues from the sixteenth century to the present. WhUe quoting extensively from unpubUshed materials in Colombian, Spanish, and the Vatican archives, he draws his narrative largely from secondary sources. He has reUed especiaUy on the volumUious writings of the late Colombian church historian, Monsignor José Restrepo Posada. As Mantüla explains, the Bogotá upheaval in AprU, 1948, which destroyed much of the archbishop's archives, has served to make Restrepo Posada's pubUcations, such as his monumental Arquidiócesis de Bogotá: datos y biográficos de sus prelates, essential for research on Colombian ecclesiastical development.

Delineating obstacles to Christianization during the first century of Spanish settlement Ui the vast expanses of what would become Colombia, MantUla summarizes various problems confronting the early Bogotá prelates. These included common impediments to evangeUzation throughout the Andes, such as linguistic barriers, the persistence of indigenous rituals and social customs, and the emergence of syncretism. The bad example of many early missionaries and colonists, poor preaching, which MantUla suggests was not appropriately addressed until after Vatican CouncU II, and the Spanish mistreatment of the vanquished natives further slowed the growth of Christianity. He contends that jurisdictional disputes between church and civU authorities, especiaUy during the eighteenth century, contributed not only to disciplinary decline among the clergy but to many problems the hierarchy would face foUowing independence.

In summarizing nineteenth-century trends, MantUla provides no significant analysis of the frequently troubled relations between the Bogotá archbishops and poUtical leaders in the new nation. He attributes the church reform laws of the mid-nineteenth century, which preceded those in most other Latin American nations by at least a decade, almost entirely to the baneful influences of foreign ideologies. The embattled archbishops, Manuel José Mosquera and Antonio Herrán, are presented as persecuted victims of impious and raging anticlerics. He adds nothing to die ???efGe??????? of the church conflicts beyond what appears Ui Juan Pablo Restrepo's 1885 comprelrensive but polemical La Iglesia y el estate en Colombia. The eventual efforts of President Rafael Nunez Ui normaUzing church-state relations are not even mentioned.

???e discussion of twentieth-century social questions is Ukewis8 superficial. MantUla focuses more on the catechetical concerns of archbishops than their responses to social inequaUty. His emphasis of communist manipulations during the 1948 Bogotá tumult, which brought new attacks on the Church, serves to nünimize popular sociopolitical factors Ui the disorders. WhUe detailing archdiocesan preparations for the papal visits of Paul VI and John Paul II in 1968 and 1986 respectively, he ignores the role of Bogotá archbishops Ui the Medellin and other conferences of Latin American prelates. The absence of analysis lessens the significance of MantiUa's study as a contribution to the historiography of the Colombian Catholic Church.

Joseph A. Gagliano

Loyola University of Chicago

African

A History of Christianity in Africa: From Antiquity to the Present. By EUzabeth Isichei. (Grand Rapids: WiUiam B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.; LawrencevUle, New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc. 1995. Pp. xü, 420. $ 19.95 paper.)

There has been a need for a comprehensive Introduction to the history of African Christianity ever since that continent emerged from its colonial condition to consist of a body of self-governing poUtical communities. Such a history has now been produced by Professor Isichei Ui this weU-researched volume, which has managed to cover the intended extent of both place and time in a way which is both eminently readable and most convincing.

The author demonstrates how Africa played an important role in the Mediterranean church of patristic tunes and how a connection with that era has survived in the continuing history of the monophysite Churches of Egypt and Ethiopia. The Christian tradition in most of sub-Saharan Africa, however, began a thousand years after patristic times with die advent of Portuguese imperiaUst involvement Ui the southern Western and Eastern coastal areas of the continent, and continued with other European (mainly French and British) missionary initiatives which at first accompanied and then superseded the trade Ui African slaves. The author does not gloss over the involvement of Christian clergy and laymen, Capuchins for example and pious Protestant merchants, Ui the early slave trade. It seems that the acquisition and selling of baptized slaves did not meet as much ecclesiastical censure as the temptation to seU them to purchasers from rival denominations. In what she terms "a distant forerunner of black liberation theology" Professor Isichei quotes the seventeenth-century petition to Rome by Lourenço da SUva, a black CathoUc layman, which resulted at that time in a series ofVatican propositions which would have made the slave trade "unworkable" but which were not put into practice because of the perceived commercial "need."

The great movement for converting sub-Saharan Africans to Christianity came once the slave trade declined Ui the nineteenth century, and Professor Isichei gives equal weight to Protestant and to Roman CathoUc initiatives Ui this e??efG?ße. Although no longer encumbered by slavery, these activities were stUl part of European imperialist designs, and the mission of converting Africans to Christ was Ui some places compUcated by the presence of European settlers whose spiritual needs would compete with diose of the natives. Professor Isichei treats separately and equally of Western, Southern, and Eastern Africa Ui this history. She points out that Ui many cases foreign missionaries did not remain long enough to learn African languages adequately and that, even where they did, most of the conversion activity was Ui fact performed by Africans themselves.

The problem of how to Christianize without Europeanizing was raised frequently as the African missions progressed. In many cases a solution was attempted by the creation of a separate African church community. The fissiparous nature of Protestantism was certainly more sympathetic to such developments, and Professor Isichei describes the many instances of such independent congregations Ui aU parts of Africa over the years, but she also points to the twentieth-century examples of separatist movements from CathoUcism. This becomes a Uvely issue in Professor Isichei's final chapter, where she examines the current situation of the estabUshed Christian churches with regard to wealtii, to women, to local politics, and to the claims of traditional African phUosophies. Altogether Professor Isichei has produced not simply a fascinating account of rival churches Ui Africa but a convincing history of African Christianity.

Brian Garvey

University of Leeds

Asian

A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742. By Andrew C. Ross. (MaryknoU, New York: Orbis Books. 1994. Pp. xvü, 216. $34.95.)

Based principaUy on selected EngUsh-language secondary Uterature, this attempt at a "synoptic history" offers some insights about the Jesuit mission in Japan and China from the time of St. Francis Xavier to the 1742 papal buU Ex quo singulari condemning the Chinese Rites. Andrew Ross, a senior lecturer on the history of missions at the University of Edinburgh, opens with the premise that "many scholars," including Nigel Cameron and Joseph Needham, have so focused on Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) that diey have not asked how he ever came "to be in China at aU." Ross emphasizes diat it was Alessandro VaUgnano (1539-1606) who shaped developments in Japan "within certain limits" set by those who were there after Xavier had founded die mission Ui 1549. He adds that widi the same vision of developing an indigenous Church, VaUgnano initiated die China mission whUe Ricci, "the perfect instrument," carried out and developed the program.

The opening chapter on Japan and China before the Iberian expansion is followed by separate chapters on Xavier and on VaUgnano. Ross holds as "certain" that Xavier planned a Jesuit mission to Japan to be'Outwith [sic] the bounds of the Padroado." Such a view faUs to recognize that Ui June, 1549, Xavier was indebted to the Portuguese as he asked the king of Portugal to repay the Portuguese merchant who had provided for the passage of Xavier and his companions and had bought the gifts that Xavier was to present to the emperor of Japan. The two chapters on the Japan mission until the mid-seventeendi cen-

tury benefited from the research of Georg Schurhammer, Josef F. Schutte, and die recent volume by J. F. Moran.

The book's second half centers on China with two chapters on Ricci, one on Johann Adam SchaU von BeU and Ferdinand Verbiest, then one on the pope, the Bourbon kings, and the Kangxi emperor, and a conclusion. Throughout these pages on China Ross contends that it was "ultimately the Church's denial of the vaUdity of the way of VaUgnano and Ricci that led to [the emperor] Kangxi and China's rejection of Christianity." Why VaUgnano is included in diis quotation is unclear since the sources cited did not examine aU of Valignano's extant correspondence about China. More tiian a dozen simUar scholarly problems cannot be discussed in this review. But any reader wUl be puzzled by footnotes that at times lack fuU book citations which are not clarified in the bibUography and also by a number of Japanese given names cited as surnames Ui the index.

Ross indicates that individual Italian Jesuits formed by their Ignatian training "created the vision that shaped the Christian century in Japan and die Confucianist Christianity" of Ricci. But then he adds, "To say that the vision was betrayed is perhaps too harsh." This raises questions about die book's title and ultimately about who betrayed whom, that is, whether the Jesuits betrayed the Church or vice versa. In fact, the Jesuits had not abandoned tiietf missionary poUcy. Yet the Church did not condemn the entire "way" of Ricci, but certain practices that he claimed were perhaps not superstitious. Closer attention to such subtle argumentation would have greatly improved this study.

JohnW.Witek,SJ.

Georgetown University

The Forgotten Christians ofHangzhou. By D. E. MungeUo. (Honolulu: University of HawaU Press. 1994. Pp. xU, 248. $36.00 cloth.)

This book is about the Christian community of Hangzhou, from the early seventeenth to the early eighteenth centuries. The story begins Ui the spring of 161 l with the arrival of three Jesuits in that city of over one mlUion inhabitants, located at the southern end of the Grand Canal; it ends Ui the early 1730's with the expulsion of the Jesuit priest Ui residence, the conversion of the main church into a temple to the Goddess of the SaUors.and the persecution and disappearance of the Christian community. The Confucian scholar Zhang Xingyao (1633-1715+), baptized in 1678, is the central figure of the work; the Jesuit Fathers Martino Martini (1614-1661) and Prospero Intorcetta (1625-1696) are the two other main characters.

The book is based on six writings by Zhang Xingyao, aU but one in manuscript form, found Ui archives and Ubraries in Shanghai, Paris, and Rome. Through careful analysis of these manuscripts, MungeUo chaUenges studies like that of French Sinologist Jacques Gernet, who describes differences between

Christianity and Chinese culture as unbridgeable. MungeUo shows, on the contrary, that the Christian message had reached a significant degree of inculturation, at least Ln parts of late seventeenth-century China. He argues that western scholars have concentrated on Ricci in Beijing and on eminent convert scholar-officials such as Xu Guangqi; they have paid Uttle attention to regional pockets of Christian activity where literati of lesser fame carried forward the attempts of Ricci and Xu at reconcUing Christianity and Confucianism. Hangzhou was such a place, and Zhang's writings reflect the deeper level of Uiculturation which took place within the Christian community there.

The most thorough presentation of this process of "Sinifying Christianity," as MungeUo caUs it, is a piece by Zhang entitled "An Examination of the SimUarities and Dtfferences between the Heavenly Teaching (Christianity) and the Literati Teaching (Confucianism)." This work aimed at convincing Confucian scholars that Christian teachings did not deny but rather fuUUled the truths of the ancient Chinese tradition.

To recapture the experience of the Christians in Hangzhou, MungeUo uses two different forms of writing. The result is an unusual but effective and engaging presentation of the materials. The core of each chapter is composed of a carefully footnoted discussion of sources and analysis of documents. The second form of writing, based on some historical kernel of fact, involves imaginative, yet highly plausible, reconstructions of the thoughts of the three main figures in this work. These elaborations, set as preludes and postludes to each chapter, are clearly identifiable by the use of a different print type. What further enhances these preludes and postludes is the inclusion of poems by Zhang that in feet aUows the Chinese scholar to speak for himseU. These poems formed part of a coUection of thirty-eight eulogies Ui manuscript form that MungeUo refers to in the footnoted section. They were inscriptions that Zhang composed to accompany and elucidate the sixteen paintings of Christian themes that adorned the main church of Hangzhou.

This fascinating, easy-to-read book is a remarkable addition to the list of works already written or edited by MungeUo on the early Jesuit era in China. It adds a new dimension to our understanding of the process of Uiculturation of Christianity that is stUl taking place today in China and many non-Western cultures.

Jean-Paul Wiest

Center for Mission Research and Study at Maryknoll

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The American Catholic Historical Association's Spring Meeting

The University of St. Thomas, Houston, hosted the spring meeting of the American CathoUc Historical Association on March 22 and 23, 1996. The program committee consisted of Richard J. Schiefen, C.S.B. (Chair), Virginia Bernhard, Irving A. Kelter, and Joseph M. McFadden, aU of the University of St. Thomas, and L. T ElUs, University of Texas at Austin (retired). Approximately one hundred and forty participated in the conference, including seventy-three who read papers or served as chairs and/or commentators at the various sessions. They represented fifty-one institutions. Many arrived a day early and attended on March 2 1 the B. K. Smith Lecture in History, an annual event at the University of St. Thomas. This year's lecturer was PhUip Gleason, Professor of History Ui the University of Notre Dame and past President of the American CathoUc Historical Association, who spoke on "Recovering the CathoUc Voice in American History."

Four sessions convened on Friday, March 22, at 10:00 a.m. Bede Lackner served as chair and commentator for "Early Cistercians on the Church," with papers by John R. Sommerfeldt,"Salnt Bernard of Clairvaux and Church Reform"; Paul Lockey, "Blessed Guerric of Igny on the Church"; and Daniel LaCorte, "Aetfed of Rievaulx on the Church." President Joseph McFadden of the University of St. Thomas chaired a session at which Kevin Dwyer, O.S.A., spoke on "Augustinian Bank FaUure in Lawrence, Massachusetts." The commentator was Samuel Thomas. A panel on "The Church and ChaUenge of War and Revolution" was chaired by Caroline CastUlo Crlrnm. Papers included "The Revolution in the Mexican Revolt: The Role of the CathoUc Church in the Mexican Revolution," by Christopher Ohan, and "Sisters of Mercy during the CivU War," by Sister M. PauUnus Oakes, R.S.M. The audience served as commentator. MeUssa Hovsepian chaired a session on "Family and Gender Ui Modern American Church History." LesUe Liedel spoke on "Nineteenth-Century Women ReUgious and the Tenure of Church Property Ui the Cleveland Diocese." Katiiryn A. Johnson's paper was entitled "'The old tyrant can't get away with it': Conflict between the FamUy Life Bureau and the Christian Family Movement, 1948-1962"; and a paper by Timothy D. UhI was entitled "Subservient Sisters: A Foucaultian Analysis of Historical Scholarship." Margaret Susan Thompson provided the commentary.

FoUowing lunch there were sessions from 2:00 to 3:30 and 3:45 to 5:15. During the first period there were four sessions. "Adventures in Texas CathoUc Bi-

ography" was chaired by James Talmadge Moore and included papers by FeUx D. Atfnárez, Jr., "Carlos Eduardo Castañeda: Pre-eminent Cadiolic Historian"; Roy R. Barkley, "Biography and the CathoUc Handbook of Texas"; and Patrick Foley, "Jean-Marie OdUi, CM.: First Bishop of Galveston." Thomas J. Jodziewicz was commentator. A session on "Labor, LiberaUsm, and Rerum novarum. A Comparison of Papal Impact Ui Germany and Spam," was chaired by John C. GaUagher, CS.B., -who also served as commentator. Douglas Cremer spoke on "Working Class Integration and Rerum novarum: The CathoUc Workers' Movement In Germany, 1891-1907," and David Ortizjr., on "Defenders of Tradition or die Nation's Moral Compass? The Catholic Press In Spam, 1885-1902."Richard Jackson was chair for a session on "The Catholic Reformation," and Irving Kelter served as commentator. WiUiam Schrader read a paper on "The Triumph of Reform-CathoUcism Ui the Cathedral Chapter of Osnabrück, 1585-1623"; Thomas Worcester, SJ., spoke on "Canadian 'Savages' and the CathoUc Reformation Ui France," and Martin V. Flemming on "Letters to the King: Fray Toribio de Motolinía's Defense of the Franciscan Mission to New Spain, 1523-1555." The fourth session was "Communicatmg CathoUcism through the Mass Media." Kathleen L. RUey spoke on "Pioneer of the Electronic Gospel: Bishop Fulton Sheen as American CathoUc Apologist and Media Spokesman," and Anne Klejment read a paper entitled "CathoUc Unity and the Origins of the CathoUc Digest." Robin WUUamson and Thomas R. Greene served as chair and commentator respectively.

There were three sessions during the second part of the afternoon. Steven AveUa served as chair and commentator for a session entitled "Workers for the Harvest Field: Developments Ui Depression Era American CathoUc Rural Life." The papers were "CathoUc Trajectories in AUen Tate's Southern Agrarianism," by Peter A. Huff, and "Fertile Land and Fertile Souls: The Missionary Gaze of the National CathoUc Rural Life Conference," by Jeffrey D. Marlett. Janusz Ihnatowicz was chair for a session entitled "In the Shadow of Monte Cassino and Benevento: Liturgical Practice in the South Adriatic Ui the Middle Ages." Papers included "Liturgical Monuments in the Beneventan Script," by Roger E. Reynolds; "The Influence of Southern Italy on the Liturgy of the Dalmatian Churches," by Richard F. Gyug; and "Monastic Remembrances of the Dead: The Necrologies of South Italy," by Charles Hilken, ES.C. David Ntfenberg served as commentator. Lee WUUames chaired a session devoted to "Teaching the Problems of the Church's CoUaboration with Oppressive Regimes." The panel consisted of José M. Sánchez, "Franco's Spain"; Donald Dietrich, "Hitler's Germany"; and James Felak, "Tiso's Slovakia." CocktaUs and banquet were at the Wyndham-Warwick Hotel, during which Marvin R. O'ConneU provided the dinner address entitled "My Romance with CUo."

On Saturday morning at 9:00 a.m. there were four sessions. Bernard Bonario chaired and commented on "Representations of the Sacred," which included two papers: "Reliquiis sanctorum undecim milium virginum.The Corporate Identity of the 11,000 Virgins Ui the Presentations of Their ReUcs and ReUquaries," by Scott B. Montgomery, and "ReUgious AUegory in the Art of New Spain," by

James Clifton. Grace Donovan, S.U.S.C., chaired and commented on "Social Reformers in the Nineteenth-Century American Church." The two papers were "John Lancaster Spalding: Advocate of Women's Issues," by C Walker GoUar, and "Combatting Whiskey's Work: CathoUc Temperance Ui the United States Ui the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," by Deirdre Moloney. A session devoted to "The German Church and Politics, Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," was chaired by Tom Crow. Hannah Decker commented on the papers, "The Revival of Catholicism: Jesuit-Phobia and State Security in Post-1848 Germany" by Michael Gross, and "Not AU CathoUcs Are die Same: The German Center Party's Attitudes toward France and Poland" by Martin R. Menke. A session on "John Henry Newman" included two papers, "The Grammar's Feminine Connection: Newman's Women Correspondents on the Reasonableness of Faith," by Edward J. Enright, O.S.A., and "Newman, Culture, and England," by James Patrick. Richard J. Schiefen, CS.B., was chair and commentator.

At 10:45 a.m. there were also four sessions. Virginia Bernhard chaired one on "Becoming an American Catholic." The papers included, "American CathoUc Apologetical Dissonance in the Early RepubUc: Fr. John Thayer and Bishop John Carroll" by Thomas W Jodziewicz, and "Slavery as a Factor in AntebeUum Anti-CathoUcism: Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1834, and Charleston, South Carolina, 1835," by Christopher Stokes; and "Separate, But More Than Equal: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Architecture, 1890-1948," by Matthew E. GaUegos. The commentator was PhUip Gleason. Christine Taylor chaired a session on "Research Strategies for Catholic Records," with two papers, "As for the Irish, They are Inescapable—Approaches to Using Sacramental Records Ui the Archdiocese of Boston," by Robert Johnson-LaUy, and "The CathoUc Archives of Texas and the Recovery of Texas History," by Kinga Perzynska. The commentator was Steven M. AveUa. A session on "WiUiam Palmer and Ivan Gagarin, SJ.: Catholic Unionism Ui Nineteenth-Century Europe," included papers on Palmer by Ronald Lee and on Gagarin by Jeffrey Beshoner. Marvin O'ConneU was chair and commentator. There was a panel discussion, "Toward a History of Vatican II," chaired by Joseph A. Komonchak and composed of Gerald Fogarty, SJ., Alberto MeUoni, and Robert Nelson.

FoUowing an outdoor barbecue, there were three sessions at 2:00 p.m. "Freemasonry and the Knights of Columbus in Mexico" included papers by Paul Rich and GuUermo De Los Reyes. The chair was Gustavo A. Wensjoe, with comment by the audience. "PoUtics and the American Church in the Twentieth Century," included "A Conservative Voice for Black CathoUcs: The Case of James Martin GUUs, C.S.P," by Richard Gribble, and "Reflections on Two Landmark Elections for American Catholics: 1928 and I960," by WiUiam B. Prendergast. The chair and commentator was W. King Mott. Janice Gordon-Kelter chaired a session on "Early Modern European Science and ReUgion," with three papers: "Pierre de Lancre's Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons and Images of the Witches' Sabbath," by Elspeth Whitney; "Joannes Kepler and the Eucharistie Controversies of His Age," by SheUa Rabin, and "Delving into the Mysteries of

Scripture: Paolo Foscarini, O.Carm., and the BibUcal Defense of Copernicanism," by Irving Kelter. Comment was by the audience.

The conference was officiaUy ended with Mass at 4:00 p.m., celebrated by Bishop Joseph A. Fiorenza of Galveston-Houston.

Richard J. Schiefen, C.S.B.
Chair, Program Committee

University of St. Thomas

The Catholic Record Society

The annual meeting of the CathoUc Record Society took place at Plater College, Oxford, from July 29 to August 1, 1996. There were about ninety history enthusiasts present including four Americans, of whom Caroline Hibbard of the University of Illinois at Urbana was the best known.

They heard George Vaughan of the British Museum Development Trust deliver an iUustrated lecture on two eighteenth-century Catholic coUectors of Roman art, Charles Townley and Henry BlundeU. Don Sniegowski of the University of Notre Dame talked about an atypical Victorian CathoUc convert, PhiUppa Meadows. Dom Geoffrey Scott, O.S.B., described the Ufe of an eccentric Benedictine Cisalpine, Cuthbert Wilkes. Lucy Wooding harked back to the sixteenth century with her discussion of the controversy between the AngUcan John JeweU and the CathoUc Thomas Harding Ui the 1560's. She saw it as an effort on both sides to define church in a satisfactory manner. The final conferences were by Victoria James of Merton CoUege, Oxford, on EngUsh CathoUc emblem books and by Ian Ker on HUaire BeUoc as a CathoUc controversialist.

There were Ui aU three major presentations on the nineteenth century, two on the eighteenth, and one each on the seventeenth and sixteenth. There appeared to be a special emphasis on the visual arts in this conference. As usual the liveUest sessions were those Ui the evenings devoted to short reports and queries from researchers.

Thomas H. Clancy, SJ.

Jesuit Archives, New Orleans

Conferences, Congresses, Meetings, Seminars, and Colloquia

At the meeting of the Canadian Society of Church History that was held on May 27, 1996, during the Congress of the Canadian Learned Societies at Brock University, St. Catherine's, Ontario, W Barry Smith of D'YouviUe CoUege, Buffalo, read a paper entitled "Issues of Church Governance from a Cross-Border Perspective: The Case of Lay Trusteeism Ln Mid-Nineteenth-Century Buffalo, New York."

At the congress of the International Commission for Comparative Church History that was held at the Catholic University of Lublin on September 2-6, 1996, on the theme "Christianity in East Central Europe and Its Relations with

the West and the East," the following American scholars were to deliver papers: Gunar Freibergs of Los Angeles VaUey CoUege, Van Nuys, "A PoUsh Friar and His Geography of Europe: The Introduction to an Unknown Book about the Tartars"; Giles Constable of the Institute for Advanced Study, "Monastery in the West and in the East"; Jaroslav Pelensky of the University of Iowa, "Christianity Ln Muscovy Ui the Fifteenth Century"; Andrzej Kaminski of Georgetown University, "PoUtical and State Systems in Europe and the Situation of Churches (with Emphasis on East Central Europe)"; James B. Collins of Georgetown University, "The PoUtical Role of the Episcopacy in Seventeenth-Century France"; David Zdenek of Washington, "The Roman Archbishop and the Utraquist Consistory in Bohemia: An Odd Partnership in the 1560s";Ihor Sevcenko of Harvard University, "The Rebirth of the Rus' Faith"; Barbara Skinner of Washington, "Catherine IFs Initial Reaction to the Belorussian Uniates in the Russian Partition of Poland"; EUeen L. Groth of Florida State University, "PoUtical Activism and the Contest for 'True Religion' in Early Victorian Britain"; Konrad Sadkowski of the University of Northern Iowa, "The Changing Status of CathoUcism as a Component of Polish National Identity Ui the Lublin Region, 1864-1939";James Shedel of Georgetown University,"Religion, PubUc Morality, and the Rechtsstaat in the Habsburg Dominions"; Neal Pease of the University of Wisconsin at MUwaukee, "Poland between the East and the West Ui the Twentieth Century: The View from the Vatican"; and Jan Nowak-Jezioranski of Washington, "The Church in the PoUsh People's Republic in the Light of Radio Free Europe Programmes."

The eleventh annual conference on the History of Bay Area Catholicism wUl take place on November 23, 1996, at the University of San Francisco. The theme wiU be the history of Catholic Charities. Anyone who wishes to participate should notify the archivist of the Archdiocese of San Francisco Jeffrey M. Burns, at 320 Middlefield Road, Menlo Park, California 94025; telephone: 415-328-6502.

One of the spring seminars at the Folger Institute is entitled "Altered States: Sacred Kingship Ui the Renaissance and Reformation," which wUl be held on Friday afternoons from January 31 to April 18, 1997. It wiU be conducted by Richard C McCoy, professor of EngUsh in Queens CoUege and the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. Contemporary debates on sacramental theology and standard and revisionist histories of England's various reformations wUl be surveyed to trace what one historian has caUed"the migration of the holy" from church to state. The final deadline for appUcations is January 3. AppUcations should be submitted to the Folger Institute at the Folger Shakespeare Library, 201 East Capitol Street, S.E., Washington, D.C 20003-1094; telephone: 202-544-4600.

The theme of the twenty-fourth annual Sewanee Mediaeval Colloquium wiU be "Death, Sickness, and Health in Mediaeval Society and Culture."The dates wiU be April 4 and 5, 1997, and the principal lecturers wUl be Barbara Harvey of SomervUle CoUege, Oxford, and Mark Jordan of the University of Notre Dame. Anyone who wishes to present a paper (limited to twenty minutes) should submit two copies of an abstract of it and two copies of a brief curriculum vitae

by November 1, 1996, to the Sewanee Mediaeval CoUoquium, The University of the South, 735 University Avenue, Sewanee, Tennessee 37383-1000; telephone: 615-598-1531.

The International Society for the Comparative Study of CivUizations wiU devote its twenty-sixth annual meeting to the interdisciplinary theme "CivUizations and ReUgion: What Is Thetf Relationship?" It wUl be held at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, on May 8-10, 1997. Papers, panels, round tables, and workshops on the civUizational significance or historical dimension of reUgious people, places, products (such as sacred texts and popular beliefs, art, music, and architecture, war and peace, revolution and quiescence), and activities (such as missions and crusades) are solicited. Proposals and abstracts should be submitted by November 15, 1996, to the program chairman, EUen Z. Berg, 4862 Reservoir Road, N.W, Washington, D.C 20007; telephone: 202-337-3256.

The Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups at EUzabethtown CoUege is soUciting papers for a conference entitled "Anabaptists in Conversation: Mennonites and Brethren Interactions with Theologies In the Twentieth Century," which wUl be held on June 19-21, 1997. Questions and proposals of papers should be addressed to the director of the conference, Theron F. Schlabach, in care of the Young Center at Elizabethtown CoUege, EUzabethtown, Pennsylvania 17022-2298; telephone: 717-361-1443; e-mail: youngctr@acad, etown. edu. Proposals must be received by December 1, 1996.

The Society of Confraternity Studies wUl sponsor sessions at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference Ui Atlanta, Georgia, on October 23-25, 1997. Special sessions dealing with (1) reUgious orders and confraternities, (2) confraternities as patrons of the arts, and (3) open topics are being planned. Anyone who wishes to present a paper on any of these topics or on any other aspect of Mediterranean and North European confraternities from 1450 to 1650 should submit a proposal by March 15, 1997, to Nicholas ?efß?^ at Luther CoUege, University of Regina, Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 0Rl, Canada; telephone: 306-585-5444; fax: 306-585-5267; e-maü: Terpstra@max.cc.uregina.ca.

Beatifications

In Paderborn on June 23 Pope John Paul II declared blessed two German priests who were victims of Nazi persecution. Bernhard Lichtenberg (1875-1943), provost of St. Hedwig's Cathedral Ui Berlin, having pubUcly opposed the Nazi policies, was arrested by the Gestapo in 1942 and imprisoned for treason and "misuse of his official position"; since his presence in the City was considered to be a threat to the regime, he was ordered to be transferred to the concentration camp at Dachau, but being already seriously Ul, he died in a cattle car en route. In his homUy the Holy Father recalled that Provost Lichtenberg prayed every day during the intercessions at vespers "for the oppressed non-Aryan Christians, for the persecuted Jews, and for prisoners in the concentration camps." He added: "On the basis of his clear principles Bernhard Lichten-

berg spoke and acted independently and fearlessly. Nevertheless, he was almost overcome with joy and happiness when his Bishop, Konrad von Preysing, upon his last prison visit at die end of September, 1943, relayed to him a message from my predecessor, Pius XII, in which he expressed his deepest sympathy and paternal appreciation. Whoever is not hampered by cheap polemics knows fuU well what Pius XII thought about the Nazi regime and how much he did to help the countless people who were persecuted by that regime."The other new beatus, Karl Leisner (1915-1945), was active among CathoUc youth groups in his native Diocese of Münster, where he was ordained a deacon by Bishop Clemens August von Galen Ui 1939. Interned for having criticized Hitier, in 1941 he was sent to the concentration camp at Dachau; there on Gaudete Sunday, December 17, 1944, he was secretly ordained a priest by a French bishop, Gabriel Piquet, who had been admitted to the camp with the help of local reUgious authorities. Although he was Uberated from the camp on May 4, 1945, he was suffering from tuberculosis and died in a sanitarium at Planegg (near Munich) three months later.

Quadricentennial

On July 6, 1996, Pope John Paul II presided at a Moleben in the Gregorian Chapel of St. Peter's BasUica to mark the fourth centenary of the Union of Brest. In his homüy the Holy Father said that although the "Union of Brest concerned only one specific geographical area" and "did not lead to full unity with the Christian East as a whole, it nonetheless revealed … a precise reaUty, that is, the Holy Spirit was working in men, arousing Ui them a healthy restlessness about the division and spurring them to seek the ways of unity. We cannot deny that this deep desire inspired aU those who, 400 years ago, became the architects of the Union of Brest." On the next day, Sunday, he celebrated the Divine Liturgy according to the Ukrainian-Byzantine Rite Ui the same basiUca along with Ukrainian bishops, recalling in his homüy that in that very place on December 23, 1595, "the representatives of the Metropolitan of Kiev met Clement VIII, Bishop of Rome. . . . [and] they expressed that Eastern Church's desire for union with Rome."

Historical Society

At the annual meeting of the Texas CathoUc Historical Society, which was held in Austin on March 1, 1996, Roy Barkley became president, and James T. Moore became vice-president. The Reverend Paul J. FoLk, C.S.C, Award was conferred on Timothy Matovina, author of Tejano Religion and Ethnicity: San Antonio, 1821-1860, and the Carlos Eduardo Castañeda Award on Kinga Perzynska, archivist at the Texas Catholic Archives, for her service to the Society. The editor of the Society's journal, Patrick Foley, reported that its name had been changed; it is now caUed Catholic Southwest: A Journal of History and Culture.

Publications

Prophecy in the Middle Ages is the theme of the issue of Cristianesimo nella storia for June, 1996 (Volume XVII, Number 2). The articles are as foUows: Gian Luca Potestà and Roberto Rusconi,"Lo statuto deUa profezia nel Medioevo" f?. 243-250); Bernard McGUm, "Prophetic Power in Early Medieval Christianity" (pp. 251-269); Christel Meier,"Ildegarde di Bingen. Profezia ed esistenza letteraria" (pp. 271-303); Gian Luca Potestà, "Progresso deUa conoscenza teológica e critica del profetismo in Gioacchino da Fiore" f?. 305-334); Giuseppe Laras, "La dottrina di MaUnonide suUa profezia" f?. 335-347); Alessandro Ghisalberti, "U lessico deUa profezia in s. Tommaso d'Aquino" (pp. 349-368); David Burr, "OUvi on Prophecy" (pp. 369-391); and Anna Morisi Guerra,"Il süenzio di Dio e la voce deU'antfna. Da Enrico di Langenstein a Gerson" (pp. 393-413).

Emmanuel Schelstrate is the subject of five articles Ui the volume (LXVl) of the Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome—Bulletin van het Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome for 1996, as foUows: Marie JuUette Marinus, "Emmanuel Schelstrate et Anvers" (pp. 37-5 1); Herman H. Schwedt,"Emmanuel Schelstrate (tl692) neUa Roma dei santi e dei Ubertini" (pp. 53-80); Toon Van Houdt,"'With Due Reverence to the Truth, the Faith, and the Holy See'—Philology and Apologetics Ui the Historical Works of Emmanuel Schelstrate" f?. 81 -99); Adriano Garuti,"U Patriarcato Romano nel pensiero di Emmanuel Schelstrate" (pp. 101-129); and Bart de Groof, "Emmanuel Schelstrate, Historian and Letterato: Some (Roman) Research Prospects" (pp. 131-140).

AU the articles in the volume of the Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte for 1994 (94) are devoted to the theme "Pietism in Württemberg," as foUows: Eberhard Gutekunst, "Die Pietistenreskript von 1743" (pp. 9-26); Joachim Trautwein, "Der Pietismus zwischen Revolution und Kooperation (1800-1820)" (pp. 27-46); Eberhard Zwmk and Joachim Trautwein, "Geistiiche Gedichte und Gesänge für die nach Osten eUenden Zioniden, 1817" f?. 47-90); Berthold Leibinger, "Pietismus undArbeit"(pp. 91-106); Christel Köhle-Hezinger,"Frauen Un Pietismus" (pp. 107-121);Rolf Scheffbuch,"Sixt Carl Kapff: GeistUches Ringen um die Gemeinschaft von Pietisten und Nichtpietisten Ui der württembergischen Kirche" (pp. 122-148); Konrad Gottschick, "Christian Märklin (1807-1849) und der Pietismus. Vom Idealismus zum Pessimismus" (pp. 148-178); Eckhart Schultz-Berg, "Jugendleben zwischen Gottesfurcht und Wirklichkeit. Erziehung und Sozialisation Un pietistischen Dorf" (pp. 179-194); and Hermann Ehmer," Bengel Ui Russland. EUi Beitrag zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Johann Albrechts Bengels Geschichtstheologie" (pp. 195-198).

A "special issue" of The Chesterton Review (Volume XXII, Numbers 1 and 2 [February and May, 1996] commemorates Father Vincent McNabb, O.P.,"a key member of the Chesterton circle," as Ian Boyd, CS.B., characterizes him in the introduction. Among the essays pubUshed here are G. K. Chesterton's own piece on McNabb (pp. 5-7), two pieces by McNabb himself, viz., "On Playthings" (pp. 21-23) and "The Passion To-day" (pp. 25-29), and the foUowing ar-

tides: Dermot Quinn, Malcolm McMahon, O.P, Paul Kikoudis,Thomas Storck, and John MueUer,"The Relevance of Father Vincent McNabb, OF' (pp. 31-43); Bede BaUey, O.P, "Father Vincent McNabb, Dominican" (pp. 45-55); Conrad Pépier, O.P, "Memories of Father McNabb's Day" (pp. 57-61); David Albert Jones, O.P., "The Disuse of Reason" (pp. 63-71); Adrian Cunningham, "Primary Things: Land, Work, and Sign" (pp. 73-87); Bryan KeatUig,"The CathoUc Land Movement m England" (pp. 89-99); Hugh Walters, "Was Father Vincent McNabb a Dangerous Crank?" f?. 101-111); Owen Dudley Edwards, "The Irishness of Vincent McNabb" (pp. l 13-123); and Bede BaUey, O.P, "Father McNabb and Rome" (pp. 125-137). The fascicle is beautifully Ulustrated with two photographs of Father McNabb and forty of places in England, Ireland, France, Spain, and Rome associated with his life or with the history of the Order of Preachers.

Commemorating the sesquicentennial of the founding of the Archdiocese of Portland Ui Oregon (originaUy established in Oregon City), the Oregon Historical Quarterly has pubUshed a "special issue" entitled "CathoUc Missionizing in the West" (Volume 97, Number l [Spring, 1996]). FoUowing the editor's introduction, three articles are presented: CorneUus M. Buckley,"Overland with Optimism: The Jesuit Missionary Party of 1841 " f?. 8-25); Elizabeth L. White,"Worlds in ColUsion:Jesuit Missionaries and SaUsh Indians on the Columbia Plateau, 1841-1850" f?. 26-45); and Thomas M. Rochford, "Father Nicolas Point: Missionary and Artist" (pp. 46-69). A fourth component is a "CoUections" essay by Kris A. White and Janice St. Laurent under the title "Mysterious Journey: The CathoUc Ladder of 1840" (pp. 70-88). Numerous iUustrations embelUsh the fascicle.

The theme of the spring issue of U.S. Catholic Historian (Volume 14, Number 2),"Parishes and Peoples: Religious and Social Meanings, Part One," is articulated by five contributors, following a brief introduction by Jay Dolan, "The Local Church" (pp. 1-3):T. WiUiam Bolts, S.M.,"In Search of the People of God:Writing Parish History" (pp. 5-12);Joseph H. Lackner,S.M.,"The Foundation of St. Ann's Parish, 1866-1870: The African-American Experience Ui Cincinnati" (pp. 13-36); Thomas W Spalding, C.F.X., "German Parishes East and West" (pp. 37-52); EUen Skerrett, "Chicago's Irish and 'Brick and Mortar' CathoUcism: A Reappraisal" f?. 53-71); and Michael J. McNaUy, "Presence and Persistence: Catholicism among Latins Ui Tampa's Ybor City, 1885-1985" (pp. 73-91).

The historical responses of Baptist missionaries to changes Ui foreign countries are studied in a series of articles appearing in the issue of American Baptist Quarterly for June, 1996 (Volume XV, Number 2). Among them are "A Personal Perspective: Thirty Years after the End of die Western Missionary Era Ui Myanmar," by Eh Wah (pp. 97-102); "Historical Reflections on the Changing Context Ui North East India," by Frederick S. Downs (pp. 103-1 19);"The Struggle to Speak: The Christian Church in a Time of Historic Change in Hong Kong," by Raymond Fung and Keith Tennis (pp. 120- 134); "Mission in a Changing Europe,"by Knud Wümpelmann (pp. 146- 157); "Reflections on Ministry and Mission among Baptists after the FaU of Communism Ui Central and Eastern Europe," by Harry L. Moore (pp. 158-174); and "A Case History of a New Cre-

ation: The Birth of the Baptist Seminary of Moscow," by Charles H. Stuart (pp. 175-186).

Personal Notices

Robert E. Carbonneau, CP, formerly the associate program coordinator of the United States CathoUc China Bureau at Seton Hall University, has been commissioned by the Province of the Holy Cross of the Passionists (Chicago) to do research on the life of the late Barnabas Mary Ahern, CP (1915-1995), the distinguished bibUcal scholar and member of that province, and to write his biography. Since Father Barnabas Mary did not leave many private papers behind, it wUl be necessary that those who knew him, especiaUy those who Uved or worked with him, communicate their memories or documents to the designated biographer. Father Carbonneau has requested that such persons write to him in care of the Passionist Community at the Catholic Theological Union, 5401 South CorneU Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60615, or telephone him at 312-324-2704.

James Hennesey, SJ., has left the rectorship of the Jesuit Community at Samt Peter's CoUege in Jersey City and has gone to the Jesuit Residence at LeMoyne CoUege in Syracuse, where he is teaching the novices Ui the adjacent Saint Andrew HaU.

John Monfasani of the State University of New York at Albany has been appointed executive director of the Renaissance Society of America by its Executive Board.

Obituary

Coburn V Graves, an important contributor to our understanding of the Cistercian Order during the Middle Ages, passed away at his home in Portland, Mame, on AprU 27, 1996, at the age of seventy-one. He was born Ui Everett, Massachusetts, and served Ui the United States Army Ui World War II, earning the Purple Heart and the Bronze Star. He graduated from Boston University in 1947 and received the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago in 1949 and 1955 respectively. His doctoral dissertation,"The Economic Activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England," was pubUshed in the Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis Ui 1957. After teaching for a brief time at Florida State University, Dr. Graves joined the Department of History Ui Kent State University, where he remained untU his retirement m 1992, except for the academic year 1966-67, which he spent at the University of Mame at Orono. He received an Alumni Award for Distinguished Teachers in 1972 and was chairman of his department from 1982 to 1992. In addition to publishing numerous articles, he was instrumental in the pubUcation of The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality by Louis Lekai, which has become one of the most important volumes ever written on the Order. His most enduring legacy must be said to be the thousands of students who attended his courses on the history of medieval Europe. He was a superior

teacher who willingly shared his knowledge and love of the past and a demanding mentor. He is survived by his wife of forty-six years, Marie, five chUdren, and two grandchUdren. He was a member of the American CathoUc Historical Association from 1969 to 1988.

John A. Nichols

Slippery Rock University

Correction

In the review of A History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Steubenville, Ohio, Volume I: The Mussio Years (1945-1977) by Francis F. Brown, which was pubUshed ante, LXXXl Quly, 1995), 469-470, the price is incorrect, because it was so given by the publisher. The author has requested that the price of the second printing be pubUcized as $27.50, plus $2.50 for handling and mailing.

Association News

The president of the American CathoUc Historical Association, WiUiam J. CaUahan of the University of Toronto, with the concurrence of the first vice-president (president-elect), Uta-Renate Blumenthal of the CathoUc University of America, has appointed Arthur L. Fisher of Seattle University chairman of the Committee on Program for the seventy-eighth annual meeting, which wUl be held Ui Seattle on January 9-11, 1998. Proposals for papers or (preferably) complete sessions should be submitted by January 9, 1997; they should be accompanied by a brief synopsis of the envisioned contents and sent to Professor Fisher as Dean of Matteo Ricci CoUege, Seattle University, Seattle, Washington 98122; telephone 206-296-5405.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

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