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REGALISM, LIBERALISM, AND GENERAL FRANCO

BY

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On July 15, 1976, the marqués de Mondejar, head of the royal household, arrived secretly at the Vatican where he was received immediately by Pope Paul VI. The marqués carried a letter from King Juan Carlos, instaUed as head of state foUowing Francisco Franco's death the preceding November. The monarch informed the pope that he would refrain from exercising the patronage rights over episcopal appointments granted the Spanish state under the concordat of 1953.[1] The royal decision broke a diplomatic logjam that had developed since 1970 between the Franco regime and the papacy over the drafting of a new concordat. On July 28, the first government of the monarchy and the papacy reached a formal agreement (acuerdo) in which the Spanish state renounced its ecclesiastical patronage rights, whUe the Church abandoned certain juridical privileges contained in the concordat of 1953.[2] The 1976 agreement combined with the separation of church and state established in the democratic constitution of 1978 ended the confessional identification of church and state that in one way or another had existed for centuries except for the period of the Second Republic (1931-1939).[3]

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[1]Tomás García Berberena, "Nombramiento de obispos," in C. Corral and L. de Echevarría (eds.), Los acuerdos entre la Iglesia y España (Madrid, 1980), p. 133.

[2]"Acuerdo entre la Santa Sede y el Estado Español de 28 de julio de 1976," ibid., pp. 778-781.

[3]The constitution declared that "no confession will have a state character." Juan Maria Laboa, Iglesia y religión en las constituciones españolas (Madrid, 1981), p. 100.

The efforts of Spanish governments to control ecclesiastical patronage and finances took different institutional forms depending on the poUtical organization of the state at any given moment. During the eighteenth century, the absolute monarchy of the Bourbons pushed the Crown's historic claims to control the Church's temporal administration to new heights through the movement known as regaUsm, an aggressively promoted poUcy of state intervention in ecclesiastical affairs.4 The concordat of 1753, wrested from a weak papacy, granted the Crown the right of universal patronage over virtuaUy aU ecclesiastical benefices, a right previously shared in tense relationship with the Holy See. During the reign of Charles III (1759-1788), regaUsm reached its ftiUest stage of development.5 In 1767, the king expeUed the Jesuits from his dominions Ui spite of the Order's historic importance in the Hispanic world. For aU practical purposes, the Crown appointed the bishops and appropriated a significant proportion of ecclesiastical revenues. King Charles III, who was esteemed for his personal piety, founded seminaries and regulated the affairs of the reUgious orders and the secular clergy, guided by the regaUst theory that the monarch derived his authority from God and was responsible, therefore, for the spiritual wen-being of his subjects, both clerical and lay.

Napoleon's invasion of Spam beginning in 1807 initiated a period of upheaval that ended the absolute monarchy of the Old Regime. Between 1810 and 1813, the kingdom's first parUamentary assembly met Ui the city of Cádiz, the only area of peninsular Spam free of French domination. The liberal Cortes of Cádiz carried out a poUtical revolution which limited royal authority and dismantled the institutions of the Bourbon monarchy. Liberal deputies broke new poUtical ground, but they foUowed an ecclesiastical poUcy inspired by the regaUsm of the past. The union of Throne and Altar was recast into an alliance of Constitution and Altar. The 1812 constitution declared unequivocaUy that the reUgion of the nation "is and wUl be perpetuaUy the CathoUc, Apos-

Teófanes Egido has argued in a recent state-of-the-question essay on eighteenth-century regalism that it was not confined to jurisdictional and diplomatic issues but reached "every corner" of the "sacralized existence" of Old Regime society. Royal bureaucrats felt no scruples about using "fear, the police, and espionage" to keep the clergy in line. "El regalismo," in Emilio La Parra López and Jesús Pradells, /g/esta, sociedad y Estado en España, Francia e Italia (ss. XVIII al XX) (Alicante, 1991), pp. 21 1, 216.

'During the reign of Charles III, regalism experienced "such a formidable impulse that it can be said that it occupied the first place … in the preoccupations of the enlightened minority" who dominated the state bureaucracy. Antonio Luis Cortés Peña, La política religiosa de Carlos III (Granada, 1989), p. 25.

toUc, Roman, the only true reUgion."6 But the constitution also asserted that the kingdom would protect reUgion through "wise and just laws." This apparently innocent phrase meant, as conservative deputies realized, that the new Uberal state intended to continue the regalist tradition of maintaining control over ecclesiastical affairs.7 In fact, the changes imposed on the Church by the Cortes of Cádiz were modest, save for the suppression of the Inquisition. But the rudiments of more far-reaching reforms surfaced in parUamentary debate. Liberals wished to rationaUze the Church's sprawling organization of dioceses and parishes. They beUeved that the number of clergy should be reduced in accord with the kingdom's pastoral needs. Further, they insisted on retaining the state's historic rights over episcopal appointments.

Liberalism did not achieve a final triumph over absolute monarchy until 1834. It would maintain its dominance, save for the brief period of the First Republic (1873-1874), until General Miguel Primo de Rivera overthrew the constitutional regime in 1923- The history of Uberal Spain was turbulent, a reflection of the often intense divisions among the Uberal parties of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Given the commitment of aU the Uberal factions to the regaUst tradition whether in moderate or extreme versions, the question of the Church's place within the new state was central to liberal poUtics. During the first phase of Uberal rule, between 1835 and 1843, an extreme Uberal regalism emerged in full force. The Church saw the male reUgious orders suppressed and their extensive landed property sold at public auction to reduce the national debt. The property of the secular clergy suffered the same fate beginning in 1841. The tithe, bedrock of church finances for centuries, was aboUshed in favor of a system of clerical salaries paid by the government, while ecclesiastical opposition was broken through the arrest or exUe of bishops and priests who resisted official poUcy. But even as the authorities dismantled a centuries-old ecclesiastical infrastructure, the state remained officiaUy Catholic. Indeed, the author of the legislation suppressing the regular clergy, Prime Minister Juan Alvarez Mendizábal, was a practicing CathoUc, as was the regent between 1840 and 1843, General Baldomero Espartero, who attempted an extreme administrative reorganization of the Church that would have dra-

6Laboa, op c#., p. 17.

7EmUiO La Parra López, El primer liberalismo español y la Iglesia: las Cortes de Cádiz (Alicante, 1985), p. 39- The liberal deputies understood that the religious clauses of the constitution "guaranteed the reformist policy of regalism." "The announced protection of religion with 'wise and just laws' is the key: the State promised to safeguard religion, but by adjusting it to the new [political] order." Ibid., pp. 45-46.

maticaUy diminished the number of dioceses and parishes, whUe reducing the influence of the pope over the Spanish Church to the purely ceremonial.8

The radical phase of Uberal regaUsm ended Ui 1843 when more conservative Uberals gathered in the Moderate party took power foUownig a revolution against Espartero, who was identified with the other great party of mid-nineteenth-century Spam, the Progressives. The Moderates by no means renounced regalism. They had no intention of abandoning either the state's episcopal appointment rights or restoring sold ecclesiastical property. They also remained committed to the rationaUzing of the Church's diocesan and parochial organization. But the Moderates beUeved that the aggressive regalism of the Progressives had gone too far and had contributed to the refusai of Popes Gregory XVI (1831-1846) and Pius LX (1846-1878) to recognize Queen Isabel II as the country's legitimate sovereign. The Moderates also saw the Church as a potential aUy in their efforts to create an oUgarchic poUtical system opposed to the vaguely popuUst character of the Progressive regime.

As a result, the Moderate governments in power since 1843 believed it opportune and necessary to open negotiations with the Holy See for a new concordat to replace the powerfuUy regalist, although unobserved, concordat of 1753. The negotiations proved long and difficult, but they finally produced the concordat of 1851, the fundamental document governing civü-ecclesiastical relations until the proclamation of the Second RepubUc in 1931, save for the revolutionary period 1868-1874.9 The concordat represented a compromise between the tempered regaUsm of the Moderates and the Church.10 It reaffirmed the confessionahty of the state in Article 1, which declared that CathoUcism "to the exclusion of any other cult continues being the only religion of the Spanish nation."11 The papacy accepted the sales of ecclesiastical

"William J. Callahan, Church, Politics and Society in Spain, 1750-1874 (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 158-177.

'Nancy Rosenblatt has discussed the general significance of the 1851 concordat. "The Concordat of 1851 and Its Relation to Moderate Liberalism in Spain" Iberian Studies, no. 1(1978), pp. 30-39.

"The concordat signified for the Church "recognition of the facts consumated by the religious reforms of the liberal revolution. The Church remained integrated in the new regime." The Moderate state regularized its relations with the Holy See, while the Church saw the concordat as "a worthy solution, the only one possible, since it could not think of returning to the Old Regime." Manual Revuelta González, "La confesionalidad del estado en España," in Iglesia, sociedad y Estado en Francia, España e Italia, p. 382.

"Federico Suárez, "Génesis del Concordato de 1851," Ius Canonicum, III (1963), 233-234.

property already carried out, endorsed the principle of parochial and diocesan reorganization, and confirmed the state's episcopal patronage rights, whUe the state accepted financial responsibiUty for supporting the secular clergy and authorized a limited reintroduction of the male reUgious orders.

The combination of concessions to the Church with regaUst restraints central to the concordat developed most fully during the period of the Restoration (1874-1923). The architect of the Uberal constitutional monarchy restored after the revolution of 1868 and the brief period of the First RepubUc, Prime Minister Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, wished to win clerical support for the restored Bourbon dynasty and the Uberal poUtical system, particularly in view of the danger posed by the CarUst movement that had risen in armed revolt against Uberal governments during the 1830's and early 1870's. But Cánovas recognized that he could not afford to aUenate partisans of the 1869 constitution, which had recognized reUgious Uberty for the first time m the nation's history. The regime's stabihty depended, he beUeved, on the creation of a broad consensus accepted by the principal Uberal factions gathered in his own Liberal Conservative party and the Liberal party of Práxedes Sagasta. Cánovas pursued an ecclesiastical poUcy, more or less foUowed by Sagasta and Liberal party governments, based on limited concessions to the Church within a regaUst framework.12 On the one hand, Cánovas refused to re-establish the special legal code (fuero) that before the revolution of 1868 aUowed clergy accused of criminal offenses to be tried in special ecclesiastical courts. He felt no scruples about censoring the confessional press when it attacked his poUcies. He insisted on a rationaUzation of the Church's parish and diocesan organization, and he shamelessly used the state's patronage rights to appoint bishops who were loyal to the reigning dynasty to the Vatican's intense irritation.13 On the other, he re-estabUshed the 1851 concordat and saw to it that

lzUpon taking office for the first time in 1881, Sagasta emphasized that he did not intend to introduce radical changes in the government's ecclesiastical policy. Cristóbal Robles Muñoz, Insurrección o legalidad: los católicos y la Restauración (Madrid, 1988), p. 279.

"The procedures used in episcopal appointments have been described in detail by José Manuel Cuenca Toribio, Sociología de una élite de poder de España e Hispanoamérica contemporáneas: la jerarquía eclesiástica, 1789-1965 (Córdoba, 1976), pp. 262-271. Cánovas filled thirty-nine episcopal vacancies between 1875 and 1879. María F.Núñez Muñoz, La Iglesia y la Restauración, 1875-1881 (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1976), pp. 94, 110, 142-144. An anonymous representation sent to the papal nuncio in 1880 argued that the Church must make every effort to reduce royal patronage over episcopal appointments to prevent the government from "using the powerful means, which

the constitution of 1876 recognized CathoUcism as the reUgion of the state, although to placate supporters of reUgious Uberty, he inserted a clause aUowing private observance by members of other churches. FinaUy, Canovas renounced a fundamental tenet of Uberal poUcy since the 1830's by aUowing the virtuaUy unlimited reintroduction of the reUgious orders.

The Restoration ecclesiastical settlement became a source of míense controversy after the turn of the century when segments of the Liberal party, alarmed by the massive growth of the reUgious orders, attempted to control their expansion through the legislative device of a law of associations.[14] These efforts came to little in the end as the essential terms of the arrangements elaborated during the 1870's survived until the constitutional regime's overthrow by Primo de Rivera. The dictatorship (1923-1930) made concessions to the Church, especiaUy Ui the field of education and the control of pubUc moraUty, but the general proved as adept a regalist as any Uberal prime minister. This was particularly true of his efforts to use the state's patronage rights to exclude native Catalans from appointment to the dioceses of Catalonia, thereby reversing the practice of successive Restoration governments. The general was implacably opposed to the movement seeking autonomy for Catalonia and regarded the Catalan clergy as separatist. Because the government wished to combat separatism, he informed the primate of the Spanish church, Cardmal Enrique Reig of Toledo, in 1926, it intended to appoint bishops for Catalonia who would not compromise "the unity of Spain."[15] For a regime that saw the "dangers of Catalanism on aU sides,"

the exercise of the Real Patronato provides, to increase the number of its supporters." "Sobre cumplimiento del Concordato de 1851," in E Díaz de Cerio and M. E Nunez (eds.), Instrucciones secretas a los nuncios de España en el siglo XLX, 1847-1907 (Rome, 1989), p. 251. The Vatican disliked the political motivation behind certain appointments, but the best that it could do was to engage in wheeling and dealing with the civil authorities, hoping to secure the nomination of some candidates it wanted, while accepting others that it did not. Antonio Vico,"Informe sobre el episcopado y los cabildos de España," 1890, in Vicente Cárcel Ortí, León XIIIy los católicos españoles (Pamplona, 1988), pp. 222, 236.

14In I860, male religious numbered only 1,683. By 1900, their ranks had expanded to 12,142, while female religious increased from 18,819 to 42,296. The decision of Cánovas in the late 1870's to allow the more or less free establishment of religious communities initiated this massive expansion. The battle over legislative projects of Liberal party governments to limit the growth of the religious orders has been described in detail by José Andrés-Gallego, La política religiosa en España, 1889-1913 (Madrid, 1975), chapters 5-9.

"Quoted in Vicente Cárcel Ortí, "Iglesia y Estado durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera, 1923-1930," Revista Española de Derecho Canónico, XXV (1988), no. 124, pp. 234-235.

even the appointment of so conservative and scarcely separatist a figure as the archdeacon of Tarragona, Isidro Goma y Tomás, later archbishop of Toledo during the CivU War, was judged unacceptable. The general also pressured Francesc Vidal i Barraquer, archbishop of Tarragona, to accept a transfer to either Zaragoza or Burgos as a means of removing a prelate who had dared to defend his clergy against the regime's separatist accusations. Although as deeply conservative as any bishop of the Spanish Church, Vidal i Barraquer expressed his resentment at official attempts to manipulate the Catalan clergy into its "hispanicizing or decatalanizing work."16

The proclamation of the Second RepubUc in 1931 dramaticaUy altered the pattern of civU-ecclesiastical relations prevailing since the mid-nineteenth century. The 1931 constitution separated church and state for the first time in the nation's history and ordered the elimination of the appropriation for clerical salaries estabUshed under the terms of the 1851 concordat. The Second RepubUc did not attempt to imitate, however, the intention of the First, which during its brief history planned to separate church and state on the basis of the formula of a "free church in a free state," meaning that the Church would be allowed to function like any other civU association within Spanish society subject only to general legislation governing such bodies. The RepubUc's poUticians remained as committed to a regaUst approach to civil-ecclesiastical relations as any regime before them. They had no intention of aUowing the Church to operate free of official restraints in spite of the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, head of the provisional government between April and June, 1931, and first president of the RepubUc, was a practicing Catholic, a former member of the Liberal party and minister of the constitutional monarchy. Although in the spring of 1931 he urged his cabinet coUeagues to seek a "friendly, gradual, correct [and] decent separation of church and state," he argued that the government must retain the right to enact "braking legislation" over ecclesiastical affairs. Indeed, he justified his position by appealing to the historic precedent estabUshed by eighteenth-century regalists and nineteenth-century hberals.17

To use the term "republican regaUsm" may seem a contradiction in terms. In fact, the ecclesiastical poUcy of the RepubUc between 1931 and 1933 represented an extreme version of the regaUst poUcies pur-

16Ibid., p. 235; quoted in Ramón Muntanyola, Vidal y Barraquer: el cardenal de la paz (Barcelona, 1974), p. 178.

17Niceto Alcalá-Zamora, Los defectos de la constitución de 1931 (Madrid, 1981), p. 113.

sued by earlier Uberal governments. The RepubUc imitated King Charles III and the Uberal governments of 1820, 1836, 1854, and 1868 by suppressing the Jesuits. Its most controversial piece of legislation affecting the Church, the 1933 Law on Religious Confessions and Congregations, which severely restricted the activities of the reUgious orders, was modeled on simnar legislation proposed by a Liberal party government m 1906.[18] The 1933 law made clear that the Church would not be aUowed to function as an ordinary cMl association subject only to the common law. "Religious freedom and liberty of conscience," the legislation declared, were "limited to the purely reUgious" and "by motives concerning the security of the state and pubUc order."[19] Although Ui 1931 the RepubUc had renounced any claim to exercise the state's ecclesiastical patronage rights, the law gave the authorities the right to veto any church appointment judged dangerous to pubUc security. The Law on Religious Confessions and Congregations saw the historic regaUsm of the Spanish state in full flood. The motives behind it were not very different from those that had inspired nineteenth-century UberaUsm to maintain controls over the Church as a means of protection against the danger of Carlism. Throughout the 1933 law, there ran a simnar preoccupation with defending the regime based on the assumption that the Church must be kept from aiding and abetting the RepubUc's enemies.

The defeat of the republican-sociaUst coaUtion that had governed since 1931 in the November, 1933, elections provided the Church with an uneasy breathing space which ended abruptly with the election of the Popular Front government Ui February, 1936. It quickly returned to an aggressive ecclesiastical poUcy. After months of conspiratorial activity, the generals rose in revolt against the RepubUc on July 18. The rising won the support of bishops and clergy who "sacraUzed" the CivU War into a religious crusade directed toward saving reUgion from revolutionary assault. The identification of the Church with the Franco regime produced the phenomenon known as National CathoUcism, which held sway until it began to erode during the 1960's in the years foUowmg the Second Vatican CouncU.

"Cardinal Francesc Vidal i Barraquer predicted in 1931 that when the already announced project for a law regulating the religious orders was realized it would resemble the law of associations proposed by the Liberal government of General López Domínguez in 1906. Vidal i Barraquer to Cardinal Pacelli, papal secretary of state, October 16, 1931, in M. Battlori and V M. Arbeloa (eds.), Arxiu Vidal i Barraquer: Església y Estât durant la Segona República Espanyola, 1931-1936 (4 vols.; Montserrat, 1971-1991), vol. l.part 3, pp. 398-399.

""Preámbulo del proyecto del Gobierno," ibid. ,vol. 3, part 3, pp. 1026- 1027.

That the Church obtained substantial advantages from the Franco regime is beyond dispute. The state again became confessional. It gave the Church virtual control over primary and secondary education, re-established the official subsidy for clerical salaries, provided generous loans to rebuUd ecclesiastical buUdings destroyed in the repubUcan zone during the CivU War, and used its authority to enforce CathoUc moral standards. But recent research has shown that civü-ecclesiastical relations, especiaUy between 1936 and 1942, were still haunted by the regaUst ghosts of the past.

During the initial stages of the CivU War, the hierarchy lacked a clear idea of the mihtary's plans for the country. Although the cardinal primate, Isidro Goma y Tomás, supported the rising of the generals, he worried about the Church's place m a regime that had begun without a weU-defined program. Given the differences among the right-wing groups supporting the rebelUon, the cardinal beüeved that serious problems would arise when the moment came to decide the precise form of the regime and its relations with the Church. Gomá's early apprehension was not misplaced. The miUtary's initial proclamation said nothing about defending church and reUgion. The statement of one of the conspiracy's leaders, General Emilio Mola, on July 19, "we beUeve that the church ought to be separated from the state for the good of both institutions," troubled a hierarchy intent upon re-estabUsbing official confessionaUty.20 Even Francisco Franco, named head of the government on September 29, caused consternation Ui a radio address on October 1, when he declared: "the state, without being confessional, wfll seek agreement with the church." This apparent commitment to an aconfessional regime, as weU as Franco's warning that he would not permit clerical interference in "the direction of the specific affairs of the state," deeply upset Cardmal Goma, who immediately protested to the general.21

As the months passed, the cardinal's preoccupation lessened. He came to admire Franco's personal piety and concluded that the general "wfll be a great coUaborator Ui the Church's work from the lofty position that he occupies."22 The Church expected the regime to abrogate

20Quoted in Guy Hermet, Les catholiques dans l'Espagne franquiste (2 vols.; Paris, 1981),II,41.

21Quoted in Antonio Marquina Barrio, La diplomacia vaticana y la España, 1936-1945 (Madrid, 1983), p. 47. The general quickly explained to Goma, however, that he had not intended to question the desirability of re-establishing a confessional state.

""Informe acerca del levantamiento … en julio de 1936," in María Luisa Rodríguez

republican ecclesiastical legislation and restore the privUeges enjoyed by the Church prior to the RepubUc but with an important condition, the end of the state's episcopal patronage rights. This position was supported by the Vatican. It had always disliked what it regarded as a privilege, not a right, and believed Ui any event that the privUege was extinguished in 1931 when the Republic renounced any claim to nominate bishops. Franco restored a confessional state. But defining its precise character m the Ught of the hierarchy's and the Vatican's expectations was another matter. In spite of assurances given by Franco to Goma Ui December, 1936, that the regime would provide the Church with "maximum guarantees with respect to its Uberty … in the exercise of its functions," the new government looked to the regaUst past for its model of civU-ecclesiastical relations, particularly to the 1851 concordat.23

The Vatican and Cardinal Goma seriously underestimated the regalism of Franco and his ministers.24 The regime insisted that it should enjoy aU the powers conceded by the papacy to every government before it save those of the First and Second RepubUcs. Officials cited precedents dating back to the 1753 concordat, which represented the most sweeping triumph of regalism over the Holy See ever achieved in the long history of Spanish civU-ecclesiastical relations.25 This effort to restore the state's patronage rights reflected the regime's intention to defend its jurisdictional claims, but its motives were also eminently practical. The government was determined to exclude from episcopal office candidates suspect because of separatist opinions or views judged incompatible with the values of NationaUst Spain. In 1937, the regime first bared its teeth on the issue. Pius XI, foUowing the precedent of free papal appointment estabUshed during the Republic, named a Vincentian priest, Carmelo BaUester, bishop of León without consulting the authorities. BaUester was neither a separatist nor particularly objec-

Aisa, El Cardenal Goma y la guerra de España: aspectos de la gestión pública del Primado, 1936-1939 (Madrid, 1981), p. 375; quoted ibid.,p. 33.

""Escrito del Cardenal Goma al Cardenal Pacelli, Secretario de Estado, conteniendo los puntos aprobados en su primera entrevista oficial con el General Franco," January 1, 1937, in Rodríguez Aisa, op. cit., ?. 402. The government's position was that with respect to civil-ecclesiastical relations the situation existing prior to the proclamation of the Republic in April, 1931, prevailed including the restoration of the 1851 concordat which recognized the historic patronage rights of the state. Gonzalo Redondo, Historia de la Iglesia de España, 1931-1939 (2 vols.; Madrid, 1993), II, 508.

24Marquina Barrio, op. cit., p. 60.

*Ibid.,p.&7.

tionable for his political views. By aU accounts, he possessed estimable personal quaUties and administrative talent besides enjoying the friendship of Cardmal Goma.26 But the regime saw the appointment as a provocation and protested vehemently to the Vatican. Thereafter, it refused to accept papal nominations Ui a prolonged diplomatic battle that prevented any new bishops from being appointed until 1942. The government felt no scruples about using its poUtical and financial muscle to pressure the Vatican on the patronage issue. In 1938, the Spanish ambassador to the Vatican argued that the cabinet should refrain from making further concessions to the Church untU negotiations for a new concordat cordkming the state's patronage rights were concluded. He urged the government to use financial support of the clergy as a bargaming lever to force the papacy's hand. The regime foUowed this strategy, a "carrot and stick" approach that yielded nothing to the regaUst tactics of the past.27

Ecclesiastical frustration with the government's footdragging on the patronage issue was also connected to clerical apprehensions about the regime's ideological foundations. Franco never intended to create a totaUtarian state on the fascist model, but he was shrewd enough to reaUze that his hold on power depended on his abiUty to deal with the factious hosts of the Spanish right. He cleverly buUt what has been caUed"his peculiar little system" by juggling the often competing interests of monarchists, Carlists, and the quasi-fascist Falange, which became the regime's only party.28 From the war's earUest days, Cardmal Goma viewed the emergence of the Falange with a mixture of acceptance and suspicion. The party appeared committed to the "restoration of the Spain of the CathoUc Kings," but there was the danger of a possible "deviation" Ui an antireUgious direction.29 As the regime's fascist rhetoric resounded more loudly, the hierarchy's fears deepened. The bishops saw a decree of 1938 creating a single syndicate of university students under the Falange as a direct threat to Catholic student associations. Episcopal concern deepened upon the publication m 1937 of Pius XI's encycUcal condemning the principles of Nazism.

*Ibid., pp. 67-73.

^Ibid., pp. 90-92. The regime did not formally annul what the Church saw as the single most offensive piece of republican legislation, the 1933 Law of Religious Confessions and Congregations, until November 21, 1939, because it wished to use derogation as a bargaining tool to pressure the Vatican into accepting restoration of the 1851 concordat. Redondo, op. cit., II, 569.

""Stanley G.Payne, The Franco Regime, 1936-1975 (Madison, 1987), p. 192.

'"Rodríguez Aisa, op. cit., pp. 28, 33.

Cardinal Goma repeatedly expressed his reservations about the Falange m private. But it was the redoubtable archbishop of SevUle, Pedro Segura, who first pubUcly chaUenged the apparent drift of the regime toward a fascist model. A resolute clerical conservative and monarchist who was forced to resign his position as archbishop of Toledo in 1931 after praising the recently deposed King Alfonso XIII, Segura returned to Spam after the outbreak of the CivU War to direct the SeviUe archdiocese. He had once thrown the gauntlet down before the RepubUc. He was prepared to do the same before the NationaUst regime. In 1938, he provoked its anger by prohibiting the saying of Mass at a Falange demonstration on the grounds that such a service would be a "profanation."[50] Segura's clashes with government and party officials were more than the picturesque jousts of a clerical eccentric. The regime's 1938 decision to proceed with a reorganization of associational activity along corporatist Unes threatened the existence of a network of CathoUc groups, such as labor unions, agrarian syndicates, student and professional associations that had been developing for decades. In a pastoral letter of January, 1938, Segura pubUcly criticized the suppression of CathoUc associations already underway Ui Seville. Eleven bishops pubUshed his statement Ui their diocesan buUetins, while the archbishop of Santiago defended the right of Catholic organizations to exist because "the state can never make a good CathoUc."[31]

Cardinal Goma was no less disUlusioned by the regime's corporatist poUcy. In 1939, he dared to teU Franco that the government was annulling "an unquestionable right of the Church" with measures unequaUed even "in the harshest times of the RepubUc."[32] The cardinal's disenchantment deepened foUowmg the CivU War's end Ui 1939. The suppression of Catholic associations, especiaUy among university students, and the regime's continuing intransigence on the patronage issue nearly reduced him to despair. In the agenda for the meeting of the country's archbishops in 1939, the cardmal expressed a deep sense of injury that many of the Church's demands were still unsatisfied. In return for placing "aU its weight Ui the service of the National Movement," the Church found that its generosity toward the regime had evoked "the meanness of the government Ui different forms." As a result, "we find ourselves in a difficult moment in the Ufe of the Spanish Church; an in-

[30]Ramón Garriga, El Cardenal Segura y el Nacional-Catolicismo (Barcelona, 1977), p. 260.

"Quoted in Alfonso Alvarez Bollado, "Guerra civil y universo religioso," Miscelánea Comillas, XLVIII (1990), 68-69.

"Quoted in Marquina Barrio, op. cit., p. 205.

vasion of the forces of the civU power threaten us." Goma hoped that civU-ecclesiastical tensions would not lead to "open persecution of the Church," but he expressed the fear that the regime desired a "gagged" church designed to serve the interests of the state.33 In his first pastoral letter after the war, Goma pubUcly criticized the idea of a state with absolute authority over society. This diplomaticaUy worded defense of the Church's right to freedom of action caused the regime to do what no repubUcan government had ever attempted. The Ministry of Interior (Gobernación) imposed a "total and rigorous" ban on publication of the document. A deeply offended Goma wrote directly to Franco only to receive a further dressing down. The pastoral letter, said the general, "filled many Spaniards with unease" because of "the doubts that it has sown m various of its passages."34 Franco recounted the immense benefits the regime had bestowed on the Church, strongly implying that the hierarchy was not suitably grateful for the advantages bestowed on the Church.

In spite of the image of religious and poUtical unity projected to the pubUc by church and state, relations continued to be tense behind the scenes. In 1939, the regime removed one obstacle to smoother relations by agreeing to restore the government appropriation for clerical salaries. But the impasse between Madrid and the Vatican continued. Pope Pius XII (1939-1958), aware of the suppression of CathoUc labor, agricultural, and student associations, was Ui no hurry to conclude a new concordat that would restore that state's ecclesiastical patronage rights. Prolonged and difficult negotiations finaUy produced a limited agreement (convenio) in 1941. Franco did not obtain the fuU concordat that he wanted, but the agreement re-estabUshed a modified version of ecclesiastical patronage.35 The government agreed in turn that it would not act unUateraUy on so-caUed "mixed" questions affecting civil-ecclesiastical relations without the prior consent of the Holy See. From its perspective, the Vatican limited its compromise with the regime by avoiding the total endorsement that a concordat UnpUed.36 Pius XII remained uneasy about Spam's poUtical organization and the government's pro-German poUcy

"Quoted ibid., p. 219.

"TWd., p. 205.

"The agreement provided that the papal nuncio in Madrid and representatives of the government should prepare a list of six candidates for presentation to the pope who would select three. This list would then be forwarded to Franco for the final selection.

56JoSe Manuel Cuenca Toribio, Relaciones Iglesia-Estado en la España contemporánea, 1833-1985 (Madrid, 1985), p. 97.

Official propaganda haUed the 1941 agreement as a brilliant example of church-state harmony. But no new bishops were appointed untU November, 1942, for two reasons. First, the Vatican objected to the government's insistence that aU bishops should take an oath of loyalty. The regime did not invent this idea. Here too it imitated the example of nineteenth-century liberal regaüsts. Indeed, the revolutionary government in power m 1870 imposed just such a requirement on bishops and clergy.[37] The papacy disliked the idea then; it was no more enthusiastic in 1940. It objected to the requirement on principle and even more to the wording devised by the regime, although in the end it accepted a compromise formula.[38] The hierarchy stayed out of the battle save for the ever trenchant Cardmal Segura, who told a British diplomat that "the episcopal oath was nothing but flagrant Galhcanism and a disgraceful humUiation for the Church.[39] Second, the regime delayed making new episcopal appointments, while a search for candidates sympathetic to the Falange was carried out.[40]

CivU-ecclesiastical conflicts between 1936 and 1942 show that whUe Franco was committed to a confessional state, he had no intention of allowing either the hierarchy or the Vatican to interfere "too much" in the construction of his "New" Spain.[41] To be sure, the Nationalists identified religion and state more thoroughly than any government since the days of absolute monarchy. On balance, the Church saw its fortunes improve substantiaUy, but as so often Ui the past, it found itself dependent on a government whose view of civU-ecclesiastical relations contained strong regaUst residues.

After 1945, church-state relations became smoother, in part because Franco began to water down the fascist tinges characteristic of the regime m its early history as a means of winning a measure of international respectabUity in postwar Europe.[42] The general still hoped to conclude a concordat with a reluctant papacy aware of the disfavor with which the Nationalist government was regarded in western Europe.

"The hierarchy and the clergy objected vigorously to the government's decision to exact a loyalty oath, although in the end a face-saving compromise was reached with Pius LX. The strident controversy over the oath has been discussed by Vicente Cárcel Ortí, Iglesia y revolución en España, 1868-1874 (Pamplona, 1979), pp. 412-437.

"Marquina Barrio, op. cit., pp. 297-305.

"Quoted in Michael E. Williams, St.Alban's CoUege, Valladolid (London and New York, 1986), p. 225.

"Marquina Barrio, op. cit., pp. 292-293.

"Ibid.,p.60.

42The definitive study of civil-ecclesiastical relations during the late 1940's and 1950's is Javier Tusell, Franco y los católicos: la política interior española entre 1945 y 1957

Negotiations were finaUy opened in 1950. They proved long and difficult. The Vatican was determined to reopen the patronage issue and free the Church from the restrictions on CathoUc associational activity stiU maintained by the regime.

The cabinet was far from agreed on the strategy that it wished to follow. Some members favored concessions in the area of patronage, although the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, Fernando Maria CastieUa, took a tough line on this and another issue dear to the hierarchy and the Vatican, securing a greater degree of autonomy for the Catholic Action movement similar to that enjoyed by its ItaUan counterpart. Franco remained a good regaUst. He adamantly opposed the sUghtest concession on patronage. Indeed, he remarked that aUowing the papacy to appoint bishops was like permitting the pope to name provincial governors. In the end, the Vatican abandoned its hopes with respect to patronage and reconfirmed the 1941 agreement.44

The concordat of 1953 marked the high point of the National Catholicism that had emerged from the CivU War. Its underlying premises were shattered during the foUowing decade after the Second Vatican CouncU as an unprecedented wave of effervescence and unrest swept through the ranks of the Spanish clergy. Clerical support for regional movements in Catalonia and the Basque Provinces, the participation of priests m demonstrations against social injustice, their support for the separation of church and state, and even discreet criticism from some bishops seriously eroded the regime's confidence m the Church as a bulwark of the existing political order. Even Franco began to consider the unthinkable. Ln 1968, Pope Paul VI wrote to the general requesting the end of the state's patronage rights. Franco had no intention of yielding without extracting substantial concessions. The government's proposals for a new concordat showed that the regime expected little from a church now regarded as either !independable or hostile. The initial draft discussed Ui the cabinet caUed for the state to renounce its patronage rights in return for the end of financial subsidies for the Church, the elimination of obUgatory religious instruction in pubUc schools, and the exemption from compulsory miUtary service conceded to the clergy.

(Madrid, 1984). Conflicts did not entirely disappear during this period. There were periodic battles between the hierarchy and the Falange over education and the activities of Catholic "apostolic" workers' associations operating within the Catholic Action organization.

AiIbid.,p.247.

"Ibid., p. 266.

Nothing came of these and later negotiations, largely because neither the hierarchy nor the Vatican wished to deal with "a power in bankruptcy."[45] Tension between the Church and the regime deepened during the early 1970's to the point that by the time of Franco's death Ui 1975, the vast majority of bishops and priests were ready to embrace the movement toward democracy already weU developed among large segments of the population. The changes in civU-ecclesiastical relations embodied in the agreement of 1976 and the constitution of 1978 finaUy ended the long tradition of regaUst intervention in church affairs. It is one of the ironies of modern Spanish history that General Franco was the last head of state to represent the regaUsm associated with absolute monarchy and nineteenth-century liberaUsm in the realm of ecclesiastical poUcy. In the end, even he recognized that regaUsm had at last run its course.

"Cuenca Toribio, Relaciones Iglesia-Estado, p. 127'.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF PIERRE DAILLYS CONCILIARISM

BY

Christopher M. Belutto*

The theologian and church statesman Pierre d'Ailly (1350-1420) has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, as befits one of the foremost fathers of the Council of Constance (1414-1418). The prominent role d'Ailly played as a conciliarist at Constance has, however, overshadowed the earlier development of his conciliar thought. This tendency is reflected in modern studies of d'Ailly which have correspondingly overlooked the important early stages of his career.1 D'Ailly's initial service to the University of Paris, the French crown, and the Avignon papacy strongly influenced the evolution of his conciliarism. He seems to have embraced the via concilH in three steps from the time he received his master's degree in theology in 1381 to his opposition in 1395 and 1396 to France's attempts to withdraw spiritual and financial obedience from the Avignon papacy.2 He appears at first to have been an enthusiastic supporter of conciliar principles, as seen in his Epístola Diäboli Leviathan and the actions he took as rector of

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'The definitive studies of d'Ailly focus on his later career. These include a study in political theory by Francis Oakley, The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly. The Voluntarist Tradition (New Haven, 1964); a biographical interpretation by Bernard Guenée, Between Church and State, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1991), pp. 102-258; and an older account by Louis Salembier, Le Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly (Tourcoing, 1932). An exception to this pattern is offered by Douglass Taber, who treats d'AUly's early career from about 1380 through 1394. See "The Theologian and the Schism: A Study of the Political Thought of Jean Gerson (1363-1429)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1985), pp. 105-155.

The withdrawal of obedience, discussed for several years, was first implemented from 1398 to 1403. From late 1396 through May, 1403, d'Ailly largely withdrew himself from this debate since the forces for withdrawal were too overwhelming.

the Collège de Navarre and university chancellor. Second, dismayed by contentious debates among representatives of university, papacy, and crown at the Councils of Paris about the via cessionis, d'Ailly's backing of the via concilii grew cautious. The obstinacy of all involved appears to have moderated his enthusiasm for a full-scale conciliar resolution and moved an older, more circumspect d'Ailly to a third step: an oligarchic conciliarism, more properly characteristic of his ecclesiology, that assigned a mediatory role to the College of Cardinals. Especially illustrative of the latter two steps are his three cedulae of 1395 and 1396 which have not been analyzed in detail though they indicate in important ways how his conciliarism developed.3

The Context

The development of d'Ailly's conciliar views cannot be understood apart from the intertwined relations among the Church, crown, and university he served during the Great Schism." D'Ailly began the arts curriculum at the Collège de Navarre about 1364 and advanced through theology. He came to royal and papal attention in 1379 when he was delegated by the university to advise Charles V (1364-1380) of its support for a general council to resolve the schism. D'Ailly received the master's degree and license in theology in 1381, but his rising career stalled when Charles VI (1380-1422) banned university discussion of the schism. D'Ailly retreated to his Noyon canonry, returning in 1384 as rector of the Collège de Navarre. By 1389, he was royal chaplain. That year, perhaps to curry the king's support and d'Ailly's friendship, Avignon's Clement VII (1378-1394) nominated d'Ailly as Paris chancellor. In late 1394, after the election of Benedict XIII (1394-1417) as Clement's successor, Charles sent d'Ailly and others to convey greetings to Benedict, who was quick to see in d'Ailly a man he preferred as friend rather than as foe. D'Ailly resigned as chancellor when Benedict named him bishop of Puy in 1395; two years later, he was made bishop of Cambrai and, in 1411, cardinal.

'Cedulae, the medieval equivalent of modern-day position papers or memoranda, were initial statements of the argument a proponent would follow in a particular debate.

4The present narrative of the Great Schism follows Noël Valois, La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident (4 vols.; Paris, 1896-1902), and Augustin Fliehe and Victor Martin (eàs.),Histoire de l'Église depuis les originesjusqu'à nosjours,Vol. 14:L'Église au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliare (1378-1449), by E.Delaruelle.É.-R.LaBande, and Paul Ourliac (Paris, 1962). For the details of d'Ailly's career which follow, see Guenée, op. cit., pp. 112-176; Oakley, op. cit., pp. 9-14; and Salembier, op. cit.,pp. 53-112.

D'Ailly's career was marked by contentious attempts to resolve the schism. There had been Valois support for the Avignon popes since the schism's beginning in 1378 until 1392.5 When the schism wore on, however, the French royal family did not wish to be labeled as schismatic. As the dukes of Berry and Burgundy won control over the unstable Charles VI, they began to move toward a unified papacy about 1392. The University of Paris, meanwhile, did not formally accept Clement as pope until 1383-6 Despite the royal ban on debating the schism, dissent continued. In 1394, written opinions were gathered, revealing that the university community supported three courses of action to resolve the schism: a general council (via concilit), negotiation (via compromissi), and abdication (via cessionis). These options were delineated in the famous letter of June 6, 1394, to Charles.7 The parallel efforts of crown and university to resolve the schism merged during the Councils of Paris, beginning in 1395.8 These gatherings brought together royal and papal representatives along with French clerics and academics, especially from Paris.

D'Ailly used the Councils of Paris to present comprehensively his views concerning the resolution of the schism. Within the context just outlined, he had formulated—at first forcefully, then more cautiously and moderately—aspects of the conciliar program he would advocate after 1403.9 Themes which emerge in this conciliar evolution are his desire for a negotiated settlement, disdain for obstinacy among the com-

'Changes in Valois strategy are recounted by Howard Kaminsky Simon de Cramaud and the Great Schism (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1983), pp. 25-65.

Tor context, see Osmund Lewry,"Corporate Life in the University of Paris, 1249-1418, and the Ending of Schism'fournal ofEcclesiastical History, 40 (1989), 511 -523; and Alan E. Bernstein, "Magisterium and License: Corporate Autonomy Against Papal Authority in the Medieval University of Paris," Viator, 9 (1978), 291-307. The narrative here follows R. N. Swanson, Universities, Academics and the Great Schism (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 22-44.

The text is printed in H. Denifle and A. Châtelain (eds.), Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis (4 vols.;Paris, 1889-1897),III, 617-624.

The Councils of Paris have been the focus of uneven study. Part of the difficulty of these meetings resides in their lack of uniformity. Historians even differ as to their numbering. It is not always clear in the narratives provided by Valois and Delaruelle, for instance, when a meeting was a formal council. For a full discussion, see Hélène MiUet,"Du conseil au concile (1395-1408). Recherche sur la nature des assemblées du clergé en France pendant le Grand Schisme d'Occident,"/0"»-««' des savants, 1985, pp. 137-159.

9A long authoritative work, the Tractatus de materia concilii generalis (1403), is edited by Oakley, op. cit. ,pp. 244-342. For a concise statement from 1409, see the translation by Oakley, "The Propositiones utiles of Pierre d'Ailly: An Epitome of Conciliar Theory," Church History, 29 (I960), 398-403.

peting parties, fears of lasting schism, pleas for peace, an underlying respect for corporate activity in which the members of a body exercise a substantial function in decisions relating to their affairs, and the role of the College of Cardinals.

D'Ailly's Initial Step: The Enthusiastic Conciliarist

The first step of d'Ailly's conciliar evolution may be seen throughout the three academic exercises associated with reception of the master's degree in theology which he offered in 1381.[10] Even though the king opposed discussion of the schism at Paris, d'Ailly gathered together the various viae for resolving the schism which were being discussed: the use of force, a general council, negotiated compromise, and voluntary abdication with a new election.[11] D'Ailly did not take a stand on these viae nor were they original to him, but bis codification was normative for debates about the schism for a quarter-century.[12] D'Ailly shortly began to make his own opinions known more strongly.

Soon after this disputatio, royal pressure against Parisian debate about the schism increased and d'Ailly made his tactical retreat to his Noyon canonry for three years. There he developed his ideas about the schism in his Epístola Diaboli Leviathan, a brief work written about 1381 in the clever style of a demonic agent's instructions to worldly prelates on how to propagate the schism and thereby extend the devil's grasp on the Church.[13] The letter, written with a sarcastic bite, notes

[10] "The master's degree in theology was conferred after the candidate, at the completion of twelve years of study, successfully took part in three exercises: the vesperiae, a disputation offered during a particular evening, an áulica delivered the following morning in the bishop's presence, and a resumpta, or lecture, given on the first day that classes resumed in the next term. These exercises entailed presenting a position on a matter of the candidate's choosing, participating in a defense of that position against questions offered by older masters acting as examiners, and resolving any points left undetermined. See P Glorieux, "L'enseignement au Moyen Âge. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, au XIIIe siècle," Archives d'histoire doctrinales et littéraire du Moyen Age, 35 (1968), 141-147.

[11] "The text is in Louis Ellíes Dupin (ed.),fohannis Gersonii . . . Opera omnia (4 vols.; Antwerp, 1706), I, 646-662. A discussion of the via facti is provided by R. N. Swanson, "The Way of Action: Pierre d'Ailly and the Military Solution to the Great Schism," Studies in Church History, 20 (1983), 191-200.

[12] "Swanson, Universities, pp. 46-49.

[13] "The text may be found in P.Tschackert.itefer vonAilli (Gotha, 1877), Appendix V, pp.

three solutions: a general council of the Church, a negotiated settlement among the rival camps, and the abdication of both popes. These would be the ways formally presented by the University of Paris in its letter of June 6, 1394, to the French crown.

After reviewing the models of unity that characterized the Apostolic Church, the demonic agent in the Epístola Diaboli Leviathan goes on to disdain the "rats," presumably academics at Paris, who seek a resolution of the schism." Leviathan urges his prelates to keep the schism alive and fight the forces for union, appealing to their desire for glory:

> . . . [L]et your heart be made as hard as stone so that, filled with all savageness and brutality, you may rather prefer to see the entire world perish than consent to yield your glory to another and permit your fame or distinction to be sullied in anything or allow your pride and pomp to undergo the slightest diminution.15

Twisting scripture, Leviathan sardonically commends prelates who prolong the schism.16

Modern scholars have debated the influence of the Epístola Diaboli Leviathan,11 but it is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it marks the first time that d'Ailly took a strong stand in support of the conciliar resolution of the schism, albeit anonymously. The letter indicates clearly that, at least privately, d'Ailly at this very early moment in his career saw conciliar principles as an effective means to resolve the schism. A general council would depose both rival popes, he writes,

15-21 The standard translation from this text is by Irving W Raymond,"D'Ailly's Epístola Diaboli Leviathan," Church History, 22 (1953), 181-191.

"Raymond, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

"Ibid., p. 189.

"¦Leviathan, recalling his revolt against God in heaven, counsels his ministers:". . . [B]e imitators of me, for I have given you an example, so that just as I myself have done, so shall you also do" (Jn. 13:15). Raymond, op. cit.,p. 189.

"Swanson says the work's impact was almost nil, dismissing the treatise as "no more than an emotional outburst with no proper place in the conciliarist debates," Universities, p. 65. Bernstein senses d'Ailly's passion, believing that the letter "illustrates the righteousness he always attributed to his own convictions," Pierre d'Ailly and the Blanchard Affair (Leiden, 1978), pp. 67-68. Salembier uses the letter to place d'Ailly at the front lines of the battle against the schism from almost the very beginning of the rival papacies: Le Grand Schisme d'Occident, 3d. ed. (Paris, 1902), pp. 91-94. Guenée, who chastises d'Ailly for his absence from Paris during this time, nevertheless notes the force of this document: op. cit., pp. 123-124.

> and the choice [for a new, unified pope] will fall on a suitable person who does not covet the honor but is chosen by God as Aaron was; in which case the people will return to the one and only sanctuary, Jerusalem, which is the city of unity and peace.18

Second, the tone of the letter indicates the personal exasperation d'Ailly felt toward those who prevented a resolution, a frustration he dared not reveal in public for fear of alienating himself from the powers he hoped to influence to end the schism.

D'Ailly moved closer to a conciliar solution within a few years of his return to Paris after the Noyon retreat. He found himself in the middle of an exercise in delegated corporate authority that would later become an important part of the conciliar program. In 1385 and 1386, d'Ailly led university opposition against Clement's hand-picked chancellor, Jean Blanchard." In a pair of addresses he delivered at the Collège de Navarre in February, 1386, d'Ailly charged that Blanchard exceeded his authority and university regulations in collecting fees for the granting of teaching licenses. To make his case, d'Ailly argued that the university was a corporation of members that had the authority to challenge the actions of its deputed head, the chancellor.20 D'Ailly did not go on to apply this principle, directly or analogously, to a general council of the Church and the pope, but he was clearly manifesting a fundamental aspect of the conciliar program. This principle was that the members of a corporatio had the power to oppose, and even depose, its head which ruled not by his own authority but only as an authorized functionary dependent on the whole corporatio.21 Blanchard was replaced as chancellor in 1386, but his successor continued his abuses. Under strong Parisian pressure, Clement nominated d'Ailly as chancellor in 138922

Although he owed his position to Clement's influence and royal favor, d'Ailly continued to challenge the Avignon pope and the crown

"Raymond, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

"The definitive study is provided by Bernstein, Pierre d'Ailly, especially pp. 150-176.

20Bernstein included critical editions of these texts in Pierre d'Ailly:'Radix Omnium Malorum est Cupiditas," pp. 197-236,and"Super Omnia Vincit Veritas" pp. 237-298. According to Bernstein, the archetypical statement of this corporation theory is in "Super Omnia," p. 281, line 26-p. 282, line 15.

"Ibid., pp. 169-171 and 180-183. The authority of the members of a corporatio and the implications for conciliarism are discussed by Brian Tierney, Foundations of the Conciliar Theory (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 106-131.

"Bernstein, Pierre d'Ailly, pp. 79-80.

while moving closer to a conciliar resolution. In 1392, d'Ailly allowed his protégé Jean Gerson (1363-1429) to discuss, in the exercises for Gerson's master's degree in theology, the abdication of papal spiritual authority and thereby to break the royal ban on university discussion of the schism. Furthermore, in 1393, when Clement summoned d'Ailly and other academics to his court to discuss the statements by some Parisian scholars that stubborn popes blocking union could be stripped of their titles, d'Ailly and the rest simply refused to go. In 1394, when the university increased its public calls for a resolution of the schism, d'Ailly as chancellor led the vanguard. He was apparently behind the idea to solicit the written opinions of the university community in the winter of 1394.23 A box placed in the university precinct for those concerned to offer their opinions on the schism and ways to resolve it was filled with about 10,000 ballots. D'Ailly was then one of the academics who incorporated the responses into the letter of June 6, 1394, to Charles.24

The Second Step: A More Cautious Conciliarist

About this time, d'Ailly took a second, more cautious step in the development of his conciliar thought. Though a university leader, he maintained his independence when the university and French crown took a more radical, less conciliatory turn in late 1394. Parisian scholars and the Valois family began vociferously to support the idea that the only way to end the schism was to force papal abdication by a withdrawal of spiritual obedience and finances.25 Reacting against this position, d'Ailly advocated a more cautious and nuanced program, thereby incurring the wrath of his colleagues. The agenda d'Ailly proposed is clearly seen in his prima cédula, delivered around the time of the initial Council of Paris (February 2-18, 1395) and his secunda et tertia cedulae, drawn up around the time of the next Council of Paris (August 16-September 15, 1396).26 The prima cédula is a basic statement of his position. Brief

2Taber, op. ctf., pp. 125-129, 134, 154.

"Swanson, Universities, pp. 82-89-

"Delaruelle, op. cit. ,p. 84. For this change, see also Swanson, Universities, pp. 90-134, and Kaminsky, op. cit., pp. 108-243.

26For the texts of these three cedulae, see Franz Ehrle, Martin de Alpartils Chronica actitatorum temporibus domini Benedicti XIII, vol. 12 (Paderborn, 1906), pp. 471-474, 476-480, 482-489. The cedulae are reproduced in facsimile in Gilbert Ouy (ed.), Le recueil épistolaire autographe de Pierre d'Ailly et les notes d'Italie de Jean de Montreuil (Amsterdam, 1966), 334'-336r, 339?-341?, and 336'-338v, respectively.

and general, the cédula stipulates that the French king should play an important role in resolving the schism, but he should not force the Avignon pope's hand, as the dukes of Berry and Burgundy were trying to do. The secunda cédula does not add new ideas to the prima cédula, although it does spell out in a bit more detail how the withdrawal of obedience increasingly supported by the crown and the university would accomplish not peace but increased tension. The tertia cédula, the longest, is a rigidly organized argument for the negotiated settlement abandoned by Parisian scholars and the Valois family.

D'Ailly's caution in the cedulae was disparaged by his academic colleagues who were becoming less compromising toward Benedict. This led to a break between d'Ailly and the university community by the fall of 139527 On February 1, 1395, the day before the first Council of Paris began, d'Ailly preached in support of the Parisian scholars' originally preferred method of voluntary abdication.28 But his remarks soon after in the prima cédula that the via cessionis should be only one of three viae considered by Benedict earned him the animosity of many at the University of Paris, who felt that d'Ailly had abandoned their growing support of a forced abdication to his own interests. These feelings grew when Benedict, apparently in gratitude, named d'Ailly bishop of Puy in April, 1395, just six weeks after the council adjourned. In reaction, the University's Arts Faculty later that year censured d'Ailly and prohibited him from participating in their assemblies which debated the unity of the Church.29 D'Ailly, however, maintained his independent efforts to end the schism by keeping all options open.

One of his goals was to advise the French king how best to participate in the resolution of the schism. D'Ailly states that Charles should exhort Benedict to abdicate on his own for the good of the Church, but the king should not force the pope to do so.30 The king should also beware not to become entangled in the question of favoritism toward the Avignon papacy, according to d'Ailly, lest:

27Taber,op.czT.,p.201.

28M. L. Bellaguet, Chronique du religieux de St. Denys (Paris, 1839-1852), II, 224-225.

"Swanson, Universities, p. 104; Valois, op. cit., III, 170-171;Taber,qp.c«r.,pp. 196-199.

Though d'Ailly owed some of his prestige to the crown, it must be noted that here he was not simply following the Valois desire to force papal abdication, by withdrawal of obedience if necessary. Ehrle, op. cit., p. 472:". . . quod non apparet pro nunc expediens, quod dominus papa exhortetur seu moneatur per regem ad viam cessionis simpliciter.

Ubi est advertendum, quod differenciam facio dicere, quod expediret, quod dominus papa se offerret voluntarle et caritative ad viam cessionis pro bono pacis ecclesie; et dicere, quod expédiât consulere régi, quod papam exhortetur ad viam predictam."

> … it may be said not only by adversaries, but even by other princes and kings of our part, that, when the king had a pope of his nation and the Gallican tongue [Clement VII, the Frenchman Robert de Geneva], he did not exhort him to ceding the papacy, but now, when he has a pope of a foreign kingdom [Benedict XIII, the Aragonese Pedro de Luna], he exhorts him to this, so that he might have another of his own kingdom; this suspicion can become an impediment against the good of the Church . . .31

Nor, counseled d'Ailly, should Charles act as obstinately as some prelates had, for in so doing he could be accused with them of prolonging the schism. The French king was advised not to impose his views on other kings or princes, because this would serve only to tie the question of schism up with national rivalries. Charles should work privately and quietly toward union, refraining from insisting on his own agenda.32

A central theme throughout all three of d'Ailly's cedulae is peaceful negotiation. For him, peace was a necessary prerequisite for coming up with a resolution that would be recognized by all sides as lasting, legal, and binding.33 D'Ailly, in the midst of a long, complex discussion of particulars about resolution, pauses to remind himself and his audience that they must resolve to work toward agreement.34 Even here, each competing camp will argue that its plan is better than the other's.35 D'Ailly had a great fear that animosity, already strong, would only be exacerbated by competition and threats, further dividing the Church and

"Ehrle, op. cit. ,pp. 472-473:". . . diceretur non solum ab adversaries, sed eciam ab aliis regibus et principibus partis nostre, quod, quando rex habebat papam de genere suo et lingua gallicana, non exhortabatur eum ad cedendum papatui, sed nunc, quando habet papam de regno alieno, ad hoc eum exhortatur, ut alium de regno suo habere valeat; et ista suspicio posset esse occasio impediendi bonum pacis. . . ." See also the secunda cédula in Ehrle, p. 477: "Item forte dicerent iamque dixerunt aliqui eciam benivoli regis et regni: cur contra Benedictum fieret talis novitas, que facta non fuit contra dementem; et hoc ascriberent, licet falso, affectioni patrie vel persone, quod esset novo scismati non mediocrem occasionem prestare."

"This theme is repeated throughout the secunda cédula: Ehrle, op. cit., pp. 476-478.

"Ibid., p. 480: "Eciam huiusmodi approbatio esset medium concordandi papam et regem, cardinales et prelates in prosecucione huius negocii, que concordia, quam necessaria sit in proposito, satis manifestum est."

HIbid., p. 486:". . . tamen in tam diversa et adversa oppinionum varietate, Deo inspirante, habemus nunc novam quamdam unionem, qua scilicet omnes tam partes contendentes quam principes et prelati utriusque obediencie et partis neutre unanimiter volunt intendere ad cedacionem dicti schismatis et ecclesie unitatem."

"Ibid., p. 485:"Patet, quia, si verus papa et eius collegium eligant unam viam, et pars ex adverso contendens eligat aliam et obstínate seu proterve velint persistere, nullus eos potent cogère resilire, qui quelibet pars cum suis adherentibus dicet, quod via sua est bona et melior quam altera. . . ."

prolonging the schism.36 Abdication, in particular, should be negotiated amicably and done freely, else a charge may be made that the action was taken in metu, as the cardinals in Anagni claimed in 1378 concerning their election of Urban VI as pope months before,37 and the abdication may be declared null and void.38 Despite d'Ailly's warnings in the prima cédula against a forced abdication, a withdrawal of obedience intended to produce this result was supported by the crown and the University of Paris. This move was approved by a vote of 87-22 at the February, 1395, Council of Paris, but the action became a dead letter almost immediately when Benedict refused to abdicate.3'

After the February, 1395, vote and into the next year, resentment among French academics and clerics toward Benedict grew. Still, d'Ailly, although clearly disappointed with Benedict's refusal, frequently mentioned in the secunda et tertia cedulae delivered in the summer of 1396 that stubbornness must be avoided by all sides. He surely saw that the tide toward another vote for a withdrawal of obedience to force abdication was soon to become strong enough to win compliance. This threatened subtraction of obedience boded ill for d'Ailly. Writing in the summer of 1396, he warned the French clergy that unless it discussed matters with the pope,

> . . . there is to be fear of a new schism between the Roman and Gallican Church, and between the kingdom of France and certain other kingdoms, even of this obedience, and above all of the confirmation of obstinacy on the adverse part in this schism. Indeed it is to be feared, that the pope [Benedict], reasonably provoked and irritated by this new kind of action, will transfer his seat elsewhere, and that from this many other inconveniences will follow, which for now I omit to write.™

While the three cedulae demonstrate d'Ailly's typically moderate, measured style in form and content, this passage indicates that he is not

"Bernstein notes that division arose at the University of Paris in the 1380's when Blanchard was forced onto the community as its chancellor. This time of discord must have exercised some influence on d'Ailly's attitude toward the dissension caused by the schism (Pierre d'Ailly, pp. 45-53).

37A comprehensive chronicle of these events is provided by Walter Ulimann, The Origins of the Great Schism (London, 1948).

»Ehrle, op. eft., pp. 471 , 477.

"Delaruelle, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

*Ehrle, op. cit., p. 479: ". . . timendum est de novo scismate inter Romanam et Gallicanam ecclesiam, et inter regnum Francie et alique alia regna, eciam huius obediencie, et insuper de connrmacione obstinacionis partis adverse in suo scismate. Timendum eciam, ne papa, huiusmodo novitate permotus et racionabiliter irritatus, sedem suam alibi transférât, et quod inde multa alia inconveniencia sequantur, que scribere pro nunc omitto."

without his moments of frustration and irritation. Several times he discusses with distress the persistence of the schism and indicates his greatest fear: prolonged schism.41 Midway through the tertia cédula, in the most exhortatory passage of the three cedulae under consideration, d'Ailly issues a call to action to the contending parties. He chastises them for bringing ruin to the Church by obstinately persisting in the schism and harming the unity of the Church. Making reference to unnamed notorious schismatics, d'Ailly further charges that they support secular power against church authority and that their actions should be brought to light by legal proceedings so that their reluctance to restore peace and unity to the Church may not be hidden.42 He issued vague, ominous threats, warning that efforts against union would promote disorder. Additionally, d'Ailly noted that God would be angered, especially by popes tainted with the scandal of schism, and that if one side opposed a way to peace supported by the other, notoriety fell upon the party opposing that via.4i

The Third Step: The Oligarchic Conciliarist

D'Ailly now took a third step in his conciliar evolution, arriving by way of his characteristic moderation to an oligarchic conciliarism. Near the end of the tertia cédula, he declares that the Church should seriously consider how a conclave of cardinals might be required to choose a unified pope before it turned to the last resort of a subtraction of obedience.44 His treatment of the matter is noteworthy since the relationship of the pope to his cardinals, and of the cardinals to the Church, would become an important point in his later advocacy of a limited conciliar theory of ecclesiastical government that ascribed to the College of Cardinals a mediatory role.45

4,See, for instance, Ehrle, op. cit., p. 485: "… et sic erit periculum evidens perpetuandi scisma."

aIbid., p. 486:". . . si obstinate persistèrent in scismate et culpabiliter négligèrent seu contempnerent prosequucionem unitatis ecclesie; et tunc quando hoc esset darum et notorium, non deberet queri vel expectari eorum concordia vel consensus, ymo ipsis spretis et repulsis tanquam notorie scismaticis, auxiliante brachio seculari. . . ."

"7&id.,pp.479,472,489.

"Ibid., pp. 487-488.

45D'Ailly treated the subject of the cardinals several times in his career. See Oakley, Political Thought, pp. l 18-129 and 346-347; and Louis B. Pascoe, S.J., "Theological Dimensions of Pierre d'Ailly's Teaching on the Papal Plenitude of Power," Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum,\\ (1979), 357-366.

D'Ailly devoted almost all of the tertia cédula to the subject of the cardinals. He laid out their role in resolving the schism first by reviewing the circumstances in which they elect the pope. They hold this right by virtue of the Church, or a general council, and canon law.[46] Then he carefully reviewed the four ways by which the cardinals' right to elect a pope may be abrogated: if all the cardinals are physically unable to come together because of exile, if they are heretics, if they refuse to elect (a situation which causes schism because the Church must have a pastor), or if the right to elect is withdrawn by the Church or a general council.[47]

The question of a college's legitimacy raised a series of complications. If a schismatic or invalidly elected pope appoints his own college of cardinals, this collège may not then elect his successor because it does not have that legal authority. Doubtful cardinals, in other words, participate in an invalid election of an illegal pope, who further clouds matters by naming more cardinals.[48] This conclusion enmeshed the via cessionis in deeper difficulties. Abdication, even by both popes, did not necessarily represent an easy solution for the Church for three reasons. First, the chances of rival colleges of cardinals agreeing to persuade their popes to abdicate simultaneously were slim. Second, the right to elect a unified successor did not fall clearly on the shoulders of universally recognized electors. Third, years of rivalry would almost surely preclude unity in choosing a candidate acceptable to both colleges of cardinals, even if they could agree on a body of electors.[49]

By 1396, the terminal date of this study, d'Ailly must have been confounded. His support for a general council, developed to a great extent,

"D'Ailly must be referring here to the several decrees which granted the cardinals the leading, and then exclusive, right to elect popes. Nicholas II (1059-1061) issued In nomine Domini in 1059, which formalized the cardinals' right to elect a pope. See Georg H. Pertz et al. (eds.), Monumenta Germaniae Histórica (Hanover, 1826--), Leges, IV, 1:538-541. Canon 1, Licet de evitanda, of the Third Lateran Council (1179) made this decree more specific. The council stipulated that when two-thirds of the college agreed on a candidate, this majority constituted the sanior pars of the college and the candidate could be made pope validly. The incorporation of this canon in Gregory IX's Decretales can be found in X.I.6.6. in Emil Friedberg (ed.), Corpus iuris canonici (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1879-1881), II, 51.

"Ehrle, op. cit., pp. 482-483.

wIbid.,p. 484:". . . dubitati cardinales per suam electionem non possum dare indubitatum ius pape noviter eligendo, seu de novo faceré indubitatum papam. Patet clare, quia si dubitatur de potestate eligentium, per consequens dubitabitur de potestate per eos electi."

49Ibld., pp. 484-485.

was not wholehearted. He was by this year of the opinion that it remained to a general council of the Church to resolve the schism by electing a unified papacy,50 but one searches in vain throughout his cedulae for an unqualified or enthusiastic endorsement of a council. More often, the way of a general council is one in a series of options.51 He had, for instance, mentioned a general council in the prima cédula of 1395 more as secondary option than primary goal:

> . . . [A]lthough the way of a general council may be seen by some as conforming more to common laws, nevertheless this is a more difficult and longer course to follow; therefore at the present time it is not to be counseled as more expedient. It is not nevertheless to be rejected.52

It must be noted that even his call for a council did not represent a desire for a general meeting of the universal Church. He sought instead a limited gathering of those behind Avignon, a meeting which would have the force of a general council,53 or separate meetings of the Avignon and Roman obediences.54 It is almost as if d'Ailly wished the other two viae proposed by the University of Paris, negotiation and abdication, could have been accomplished. He had disproven the efficacy of these viae himself, however, by pragmatic consideration of the circumstances at work at that time. Negotiation was blocked by the obstinacy of Benedict and political considerations. Fears of the animosity a voluntary or forced abdication would cause, not to mention the complexity of a subsequent election by rival colleges of cardinals, prevented that

KIbid., p. 484:"Ex quo evidenter sequitur, quod sola via cessionis utriusque de papatu contendentis non esset simpliciter et per se sufficiens medium terminacionis presentís scismatis. Patet, quia ipsa sola posita, adhuc remanet ecclesia acephala, id est sine papa, et remanet maxima difficultas de provisione seu electione futura. Quod manifeste patet, quia si diceretur, sicut ab aliquibus dictum est, quod ad cardinales non pertineret huiusmodi electio propter aliquem de casibus predictis seu aliam culpam suam, tunc constat, quod sic dicendo caderemus in abissum immensarum difncultatum, que non possent terminari nisi per concilium generale."

"See, for just one example, ibid., p. 486: "... possent et deberent prelati ecclesie ad dictam cedacionem scismatis et novam electionem summi pontificis per concilium generale seu aliam viam racionabilem procederé."

KIbid., p. 472:". . . [L]icet via concilii generalis videretur aliquibus iuri communi conformior, tamen ipsa est difficilior et ad prosequendum prolixior; ideo pro nunc non est consulenda tanquam expediencior. Non est tamen reprobanda."

"Ibid. ,p. 480:". . . dominus papa exhortetur per regem et prelates regni sui de convocando omnium prelatorum huius obedience commune concilium, quod secundum aliquos haberet vim concilii generalis."

wIbid., p. 485:". . . quod valde expediens esset laborare, et adhuc expediencius fuisset cicius laborasse, quod dicte partes contendentes convenirent localiter pro tractando, ut scilicet consentirent mentaliter in viam aliquam mutuam pro dicto scismate terminando."

route from being pursued. This pattern of emerging support for a general council would continue for more than a decade, until events led to the unfortunate result of a third pope being elected at Pisa in 1409. This must have been a grave disappointment for d'Ailly since his Propositiones utiles had been written to the cardinals just before Pisa to encourage their leading role in resolving the schism.[55]

Conclusions

From the documentary evidence, it seems clear that d'Ailly's personal circumstances and modus procedendi had contributed significantly to the incremental development of his conciliar thought as it stood in 1396. D'Ailly frequently had found himself ensnared in a precarious situation. Owing his positions and prestige to the University of Paris, French crown, and Avignon papacy, D'Ailly stood on constantly shifting ground. The crown had changed its position with regard to Avignon, moving from support to opposition, and the university community, never fully behind Avignon, became more strident in its opposition to Clement and Benedict. D'Ailly had been forced to respond quickly and carefully. His frequent maneuvering and characteristic caution and moderation have made him a wise, honorable hero in the eyes of older biographers, such as Louis Salembier,[56] but an ambitious opportunist according to the more recent evaluations of Bernard Guenée and Howard Kaminsky.[57] It must be asked whether these opposing views comprehensively assess d'Ailly.

An interpretation midway between these poles seems to be in order by way of two observations. First, while it is true that d'Ailly seems to have acted at times to keep himself in favor with one sphere of influence or another, he was not alone in carefully reading the signs of the times and responding accordingly. Anyone seeking to resolve the schism while mamtaining positions of favor in royal, papal, and aca-

[5]The text, found in F. Martène and V Durand, Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum. . . amplissima collectio (Paris, 1733), VII, 909-911, is translated by Oakley, "Propositiones utiles:

[^]Salembier, a canon from the area which d'Ailly served as bishop, offers an uncritical, almost fawning biography in Le Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly. In marked contrast, a more discerning analysis may be found throughout Oakley, Political Thought.

["]Guenée, op. cit. ,passim; Kaminsky, op. cit. ,p. 126, n. 55.

demie circles was subject to a series of tactics that could be interpreted either as self-interest or pragmatic strategy.58 The University of Paris, long recognized as the parens scientiarum of Christendom, was the scene of fierce competition among leading theologians and lawyers fighting for favor and power in the papal and royal courts.59 To a considerable extent mixed motives characterized the discussions about the resolution of schism, as academics acted out of both faith and personal expedience to ensure a unified Church and an influential career.60 Maneuvering, in other words, was a necessity that should not preclude an honest desire to see the schism resolved.

Second, acting in the same manner as his colleagues does not excuse the self-interest d'Ailly admittedly exhibited, but reading d'Ailly's strategy as nothing other than personal expedience does not fully appreciate the discretion at the core of his modus procedendi. D'Ailly always sought to incorporate all of the affected parties—including himself—in an even-handed debate about resolving the schism; he wanted to avoid the rancor and alienation that would only prolong the split. As chancellor, for instance, he advocated a broad participation of the university community in the resolution of the schism. When the crown and university took a more severe approach that risked an estranged relationship with Avignon, d'Ailly sought a via media. To d'Ailly, the 1398-1403 withdrawal of obedience must have represented five years of wasted opportunities for resolution, especially since the Church in 1403 stood basically where it had stood in 1398, with the notable difference that the Avignon papacy had grown even more stubborn and angered. D'Ailly's concern for keeping himself in the mainstream of mediation from 1381 through 1396 was, therefore, a wise strategy.

Moreover, the examples recounted in this study of his frequent willingness, first, to challenge the university, crown, and Avignon patrons who had advanced his career and, second, to go so far as to risk their censure undermine the suggestion that d'Ailly's support was simply purchased by his latest sponsor. Specifically, his breaking of the royal

"See Simon de Cramaud's social and political climbing in Howard Kaminsky, "The Early Career of Simon de Cramaud," Speculum, 49 (1974), 499-534.

The most famous reference was in the letter sent by Gregory LX (1227-1241) to the University of Paris in August, 1231. The text is in Denifle and Châtelain, Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, I, 137-139.

"Swanson points out that untangling the roles played by academics is often difficult: "... [W]ith the increasing employment of university members on government business it is often impossible to differentiate between royal and university attitudes or envoys" (Universities, p. 93).

prohibition against discussion of the schism at Paris, his refusal to support Clement and Benedict unreservedly, and his rift with a stiff-necked university community bear testimony to d'Ailly's conviction to remain his own man as much as was reasonable, prudent, and possible throughout this complex, volatile period. D'Ailly's movement toward a general council as the most viable forum for resolving the schism, therefore, was strongly influenced by political circumstance and his moderate personality. D'Ailly was more a pragmatist than a theoretician when it came to church politics. He embraced the conciliar program in part because of his own fragile, often contradictory position as royal, papal, and university client. Perhaps no other man of his age found himself so tested by the challenge of serving so many masters. This portrait of d'Ailly's development does not detract from his role as a leading conciliarist at Constance. It does indicate, however, that d'Ailly's support for the conciliar program evolved carefully, even tentatively, in the first two decades of the Great Schism.

AFTERVATICAN COUNCIL ?: THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS AND THE "SYLLABUS" FROM ROME, 1966-1968

Samuel J. Thomas*

For much of the world, the work of the Catholic bishops and periti (experts) at the Second Vatican CouncU (1962-1965) coUectively signaled the end of a four-hundred-year-old siege mentality, the beginnings of a positive engagement with modernity, and a generaUy more tolerant, open, and collégial church. In fact, it has become a truism that the CouncU Fathers generated documents strongly affirming Pope John XXIITs caU for church renewal (aggiornamentd).

Yet, less than a year after the Council's final session, a Vatican initiative occurred that seemed at odds with the Church's new pubUc image. At the very least, the intervention was a sign of Rome's growing concern over the nature, pace, and extent of renewal, and of its resolve to tighten the reins and exercise more direct control. This episode began when Alfredo Cardmal Ottaviani (1890- 1988), the conservative prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF), sent a secret circular letter dated July 24, 1966, to the heads of aU CathoUc episcopal conferences.1 He reminded the world's bishops that they must carefuUy monitor Church renewal so that errors in the interpreta-

*The author, who is a professor of history in Michigan State University, wishes to express his thanks to the Reverend George Michalek, Archivist and Vice Chancellor, Diocese of Lansing, for organizing the Bishop Alexander Zaleski collection, opening it to historians, and for his generous and professional co-operation during the time spent researching the topic of this essay. Sincere appreciation is also extended to Professors Patrick Carey of Marquette University and Philip Gleason of the University of Notre Dame for their very helpful comments and advice on an earlier version of this essay. The author, of course, takes sole responsibility for any changes or errors made in the final draft.

1A copy of the letter, "Cum Oecumenicum," and related documents are in the Archives of the Diocese of Lansing (hereafter ADL) among the papers of Alexander Zaleski, Bishop of Lansing (1965-1975). See Zaleski Collection (hereafter ZC),"NCCB Committee on Doctrine, Bishops' Response to Cardinal Ottaviani's Letter, 1966," ADL. For more biographical information on Zaleski, see note 19 infra.

tion of the CouncU's decrees could be prevented or stopped. The Sacred Congregation, Ui its role as the Vatican's official guardian of the faith, would provide the oversight and guidelines for achieving those ends.2 Ottaviani's letter was a significant expression of a concerted effort by the Vatican to ensure orthodoxy in the heady atmosphere of freedom and change that characterized the immediate aftermath of the CouncU.3

How did America's CathoUc bishops respond Ui that "heady atmosphere"? In order to answer this question, a more focused inquiry wUl be necessary, one that probes the bishops' self-image after the CouncU: more precisely, how soon and how earnestly did they act on the CouncU's rather resounding declarations of their coUegial relation to the Holy See and to one another? One answer has already been given by Father Gerald Fogarty toward the end of his cogent analysis of the relations between The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965. After criticizing the bishops' relatively minimal involvement in the Council's reconsideration of the doctrine of coUegiaUty, Fogarty added this assessment of their behavior "in the years after the councU": "Only graduaUy . . . did the . . . bishops begin to see what their prede-

2In October, 1965, during the final session of the Council, Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation which was then still called the Holy Office, answered an Italian journalist's inquiry about the changes which would occur in the Council's wake:"I am an old policeman guarding the gold reserves. Do you think I would do my duty if I started to sell out, if I left my post, if I just winked at these things? … If you tell an old policeman that the laws are going to change, he will realize that he is an old policeman, and he will do everything possible to prevent them from changing. If the laws change anyway, God will surely give him strength to defend the new treasure, in which he believes. Once the new laws have become the Church's treasure, an enrichment of her gold reserves, then there is still only one principle: loyalty in the Church's service. But this service means loyalty to her laws, like a blind man. Like the blind man that I am." Quoted in Mario von Galli, The Council and the Future (New York, 1966), p. 187. Ottaviani's attitude notwithstanding, evidence of a changing American church abounded. In June, 1966, America published the first installment of its survey of diocesan postconciliar programs. The scene depicted was one of wide-ranging reform and reorganization, both cosmetic and substantive. "America's Survey of Diocesan Post-Conciliar Programs," America, 114 (June 11, 1966), 825-830.

'Both before and after Ottaviani sent his letter, Pope Paul VI issued several cautions to a variety of audiences concerning the dangers of misinterpreting the conciliar decrees. Some of these admonitions will be discussed later in this essay. Also, see Robert C. Doty, "Pontiff Cautions Priests on Doubt: Warns Again that Council's Acts are Misinterpreted," New York Times, September 10, 1966, p. 32. Doty noted that this papal address to a group of Italian priests was but the latest in a series of "calls to caution," and that Ottaviani's letter to the bishops and religious superiors focused on "similar problems."

cessors had seen: that true loyalty to the Holy See might mean a respectful representation based on pastoral experience."4

It has not been possible, untU recently, to begin a systematic examination of Fogarty's hypothesis regarding the bishops' postconcUiar behavior, primarily because of the inaccessibUity of pertinent archival collections dealing with Vatican-American hierarchical relations after 1965. In the late 1980's and early 1990's, however, in an act of unusual openness and courage, valuable archival materials among the papers of Alexander Zaleski, Bishop of Lansing (1965-1975), were opened to scholarly inquiry. The foUowing study, based largely on those materials, argues for a modification of Fogarty's assessment: It shows that in an early and significant case of postconcUiar Roman intervention, that is, the letter from Ottaviani, the American hierarchy displayed a willingness to test the strength of its authority and the persuasiveness of its coUective "pastoral experience." More specificaUy, the thesis of this essay is that the American bishops' reply to Ottaviani's letter, and the leadership that 'was exercised in co-ordinating that reply, not only sustained a spirit of unity with the Holy See and incorporated a cautiously optimistic attitude toward renewal, but also exemplified the more participatory mode of episcopal coUegiaUty that had emerged from the Second Vatican CouncU.5

4Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965 ("Päpste und Papsttum," Vol. 21 [Stuttgart, 1982]), pp. 399-400. It is worth noting that his last two chapters examine the bishops' (and council peritus John Courtney Murray's) role in the Council's eventual adoption of "The Declaration on Religious Liberty." Fogarty recalls Murray's prediction that the Declaration would eventuate in a "great argument . . . on the theological meaning of Christian freedom . . . within the Church" ... as well as "within the world" (p. 401). The astuteness of that prediction is attested to in the context of the episode discussed in this essay.

'The authoritative sources on episcopal collegiality are the relevant sections of "The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church," paragraphs 22, 23, pp. 374-376, and paragraphs 1-4 of "The Explanatory Note" published as an appendix, pp. 424-426; and "The Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops in the Church," paragraphs 1-6, pp. 564-566, in Austin Flannery, O.P (ed.), Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and PostconcUiar Documents, revised edition ("Vatican Collection," Vol. I [Grand Rapids, 1988]). A few key statements from the former include: "Together with their head, the Supreme Pontiff, and never apart from him, they [the bishops] have supreme and full authority over the universal Church." "This college ... is the expression of the multifariousness and universality of the People of God. . . ." "This same collegiate power can be exercised in union with the pope by the bishops while living in different parts of the world, provided the head of the college summon them to collegiate action, or at least approve or freely admit the corporate action of the unassembled bishops, so that a truly collegiate act may result" (paragraphs 22 and 23). The American bishops' commentary on collegiality may be found in their first wholly doctrinal pastoral, "The Church in Our Day," in Hugh J. Nolan (ed.), Pastoral Letters of the

To place this episode in a broader context, and more clearly to delineate the mUieu within which the American Catholic Church was beginning to take on its postconcUiar stripes, it is important to recognize at the outset that both the letter and the bishops' reply occurred at a time when numerous Vatican instructions, decrees, and pubUshed addresses on church reform, authority, and dissent were directed toward a variety of national and international audiences. Those documents coUectively framed the period ecclesiologicaUy. That is, they gave a clearer picture of Rome's understanding both of those "structures by which the Church is constituted and those by which it is ordered."6 And not insignificantly, they also underscored the tension that existed between Rome and the hierarchy on one hand, and between the hierarchy and the theologians on the other.

One of the most important documents was Pope Paul VTs motu proprio, Integrae Servandae (December 7, 1965). Here, the Pontiff announced plans to reform the Curia, beginning with the transformation of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office (before 1908, the Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition) into the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. The congregation (which for so long had used fear and an iron hand to maintain orthodoxy) was to be transformed. Its task of "safeguarding doctrine of faith and morals" would hereafter be accompUshed chiefly through "promoting sound

United States Catholic Bishops, Vol. Ill: 1962-1974 (Washington D.C., 1983), pp. 136-150.See too, von Galli,qp.cft.,pp. 170-195.

6 Were space constraints not a consideration, this essay would have included a brief examination of the national context within which this episode in American Catholic history occurred. For now, it will have to suffice to recall that the tensions and divisions within the Church were not unlike those in the nation (and much of the free world) in the late 1960's: a challenging of long-held notions of loyalty, dissent, and authority, and their implications for the resolution of questions and conflicts related not only to ecclesiology, but to war, race, gender, sexuality, abortion, the economy, education, and ecology. The Church in turn influenced the dialogue on these issues and in the process took on a more independent American identity. This transformation can be corroborated in part by a casual glance at the kinds of articles listed in The Catholic Periodical Index, those related to the American Catholic Church in the indexes of the New York Times, Time, Newsweek, and the diversity of issues involving both the institutional church and its membership as noted in the National Catholic Reporter, Commonweal, and the National Catholic Register covering the years 1966-1968 and beyond. Brother Thomas Spalding, in his acclaimed work The Premier See:A History of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 1978-1989 (Baltimore, 1989), p. 470, aptly described what the American Catholic Church was experiencing in the 1960's as "institutional disintegration, an almost precipitate dismantling of the ghetto church." The definition of ecclesiology quoted above is from the pastoral of the U.S. bishops,"The Church in Our Day" (January 21, 1967), in Nolan, op. cit. ,p. 117.

doctrine." In the Pope's opinion, the world was now a place "in which the faithful will foUow the lead of the Church more fully and lovingly if they see the reason for laws and definitions." Condemnations would be issued only after due process, that is, consultation with the local ordinary and an opportunity for the defendant to defend himself. With this decree, the concUiar principles of coUegiaUty and subsidiarity had been invoked and interlaced with the "modern" notion of due process.7

Aggiornamento continued in June, 1966, with the aboUtion (technicaUy by discontinuing publication) of the Index of Forbidden Books. Then Ui late July, Ui what may have been partly an attempt at damage control after the Index had been discontinued, Cardmal Ottaviani sent his circular letter (the subject of this study) to the world's bishops. His letter was foUowed Ui October by a papal address, Lihentissimo Sane Animo, to the International Congress on the Theology of Vatican II. Pope Paul VI stressed that theology held "a sort of midway position" between the faith of the Church and the Church's magisterium. Theologians were to help the magisterium "weld the Christian community into a unified concert of thought and action. . . ." AUowing for reasonable differences of opinion, theology would contribute to making "the magisterium . . . the enduring Ught and guiding norm of the Church—not above God's word, of course, but serving it." This would be done, he said, by examining the ways people Uved their faith, "in order to bring them into harmony with the word of God and the doctrinal heritage" of the Church. It would also be accompUshed by asking theologians to "propose resolutions to questions which arise when this faith is compared with actual Ufe, with history and with human inquiry"8

Four months later, in February, 1967, Ottaviani issued an "Instruction" to the world's episcopal conferences urging those which still lacked a committee on doctrine to form one as soon as possible. He then muted his tone of coUegiaUty with a chord of ultramontanism, calling for bishops to inform CDF of any serious doctrinal errors (along with "suggested" remedies). To fiU the gap left by the aboUtion of the Index, the prefect asked the bishops "to send in particular those pubUshed works which they foresee wUl have a notable influence, either good or bad, regarding CathoUc doctrine, along with accompanying pertinent opinions."9

7For a translation by Austin Vaughan of Integrae Servandae (December 7, 1965), see The Pope Speaks, 11 (1966), 13-16.

"The official CDF statement virtually abolishing the Index may be found in "Index of Forbidden Books," The Catholic Mind (October, 1966), p. 4. An English translation of Libentissimo Sane Animo, by John Drury is in The Pope Speaks, 11 (1966), pp. 348-355.

'Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani,"Instructio" (February 3, 1967), 2 pp. ,ZC, NCCB Committee

By summer's end, August, 1967, themes of renewal and reform were joined to reaffirmations of the importance of hierarchy and papal supremacy in the apostolic constitution, Regimini Ecclesiae Universae, outlining the reorganization of the Curia to be implemented January 1, 1968. Emphasizing that the "renewal with which the Church is concerned must not be thought of as a repudiation of the present Ufe of the Church . . . ," the Pope seemed to invoke the spirit of the First Vatican CouncU as he emphasized the necessity of keeping the Curia's "basic structure and its relationship with the Roman Pontiff as the organic instrument that he uses in exercising the supreme power he holds over the universal Church . . . according to Christ's institution of it."10

Three more documents will conclude this overview of the ecclesiological context for the years 1966-1968. Two of them were addresses by the Pope to a plenary assembly of the first worldwide Synod of Bishops held in Rome during the faU of 1967. In the first, he emphasized once again the need to safeguard the faith "through the present post-concUiar period," particularly Ui light of "the enormous dangers connected with the irreUgious outlook of this present era, and to those insidious dangers cropping up within the Church itself." The Synod, he hoped, would help "strengthen the faith," especiaUy of theologians whose task it was to "assist Ui promoting the sacred sciences and Ui maintaining the inviolable content of Catholic doctrine Ui aU its clarity and richness."" In his second address to the body, Pope Paul reaffirmed the limits of episcopal power by tactfuUy but paternaUy reminding the bishops that, coUegiaUty notwithstanding, they had been "summoned" to Rome in a "consultative" mode. Only "in certain instances," he conceded, "We shaU give deUberative force to your decisions."12

The final document was a July, 1968, "Instruction" from Franjo Cardinal Seper (Ottaviani's successor foUowing the latter's resignation Ui January, 1968) to the heads of aU episcopal conferences. Written as a sequel to his predecessor's "Instruction" of February, 1967,it focused on the functions of the various episcopal committees on doctrine. Specifi-

on Doctrine, General Correspondence, November, 1966-April, 1967, ADL. Quotations are from an English translation made for this author by Professor John Rauk, Department of Romance and Classical Languages, Michigan State University, East Lansing.

l0Pope Paul VI, Regimini Ecclesiae Universae (August 15, 1967), translated by Austin Vaughan in The Pope Speaks, 12 (1967), 393-420.

""Faith and Charity in Action" (September 29, 1967), English translation by John Drury in The Pope Speaks, 12 (1967), 377-383.

""Several Roles for the Synod" (September 30, 1967), English translation by John Drury in The Pope Speaks, 12 (1967), 383-389.

caUy Seper counseled the nurturing of "mutual relations m a spirit of coUaboration with theologians. . . ." And, Ui what sounded as though he was describing a tree-branch relationship with the various episcopal committees on doctrine, the prefect supported the "principle of subsidiarity" Ui cases not exceeding the territorial boundaries of a particular conference. But then he seemed to hedge his support when he caUed for yearly reports of the committees' activities, including their opinions of doctrinal tendencies and areas where CDF should intervene.13

One way to view the above documents coUectively is as juxtapositions (Ui some instances, entanglements) of pre- and postconcUiar mindsets or emphases: i.e., papal supremacy and coUegiaUty; hierarchy and community; ultramontanism and subsidiarity; the expectation of absolute public theological assent to the magisterium and greater toleration of theological pluraUsm; continuity and renewal; fiat and persuasion; absolute conformity to the way faith is taught and an experiential approach to the way it is Uved; syUabus and analysis; fear of modernity and dialogue with it; precipitate censure and due process.14

Ottaviani's circular of July 24, 1966, entangled a number of those mindsets, but would be read by the American CathoUc hierarchy as largely a continuation of the preconciUar mode. Addressed to the "Ven-

"Seper to Dearden, July 10, 1968, 2 pp., ZC, "General Correspondence, April-August 1968," ADL. Quotations from the English translation by Professor John Rauk, Michigan State University.

14Three examples among many which tried to join continuity with renewal in the American Church were: first, the U.S. bishops' pastoral, "The Church in Our Day" (November, 1967), printed in Nolan, op. cit., pp. 98-154. This first wholly doctrinal pastoral by the American bishops, an interpretation of Vatican Council II's "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church," was a candid, optimistic, and fairly open-minded statement on the problems and challenges facing the American Church. A second example was the famous "Land O'Lakes" statement prepared by a group of leading (chiefly North American) Catholic educators (under the chairmanship of the president of the University of Notre Dame, Theodore Hesburgh) in July, 1967. Its most quoted part: "... the Catholic university must have true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself." See "The Catholic University of Today," Jimence, 117 (August 13, 1967), 154-156. Bishop Zaleski described the statement as "somewhat ambiguous" and cited the need for a "clear statement" of the relationship between the magisterium and "academic freedom." "Report: Bishops' Committee on Doctrine, April-August, 1967," ZC, "NCCB Committee on Doctrine, General Correspondence, April-November, 1967," ADL (copy). In his own diocese, in the meantime, and the third example, Zaleski had launched an ambitious, progressive, and lauded five-year plan of renewal for priests, religious, and laity. See Clarence E. Rhodes, "The Lansing Renewal Program," America, 117 (August 26, 1967), 202-203.

érable Heads of the Episcopal Conferences," his letter reached the American bishops through channels determined characteristically by rank and traditional protocol: Egidio Vagnozzi, the ApostoUc Delegate (and friend of Ottaviani), received it first, followed by Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York and ranking cardmal member of the Administrative Board of the National CathoUc Welfare Conference (NCWC). Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington and chairman of the same Administrative Board, was the next recipient. O'Boyle, in turn, released the letter to the nation's bishops early Ui August, 1966, noting that a consideration of its contents would be an agenda item at the forthcoming (November 14-18, 1966) meeting of the Conference.15

The three-page letter began by stressing the duty of the "whole people of God" to implement the decrees of the CouncU, and the bishops' "right and duty" to direct the renewal m order to ensure that the CouncU's decrees were correctly interpreted. Ottaviani then expressed his Congregation's grief at hearing of many "strange and audacious opinions appearing here and there" that "seem … to affect dogma itself and the foundations of the faith."

His introduction prefaced, without attribution, a list of errors which, in their vagueness and generaUty, were reminiscent of several proscribed in Lamentabili Sane Exitu, the 1907 decree against Modernism issued by order of Pope Pius X through the Holy Office. Ottaviani's syUabus of sorts (which was how many bishops, without labeling it as such, later responded to it in their correspondence) included ten propositions aUegmg inappropriate scriptural exegesis and dogmatic theology, faUacies concerning the magisterium and the definition of truth, a "creeping . . . Christological humanism," denial of the Real Presence and the primary sacrificial nature of the Mass, exaggerated emphasis on the social purpose of Penance, a minimaUst approach to the doctrine of original sin, "situation ethics" especiaUy in sexual moraUty, and "irenicism and indifferentism" in ecumenical activity. The prefect then exhorted individual bishops to "endeavor to arrest … or prevent" the errors, to discuss them "in episcopal conferences . . . and duly report their opinions to the Holy See . . . before . . . Christmas." FinaUy, he asked the bishops and aU with whom they might share the letter "to

"O'Boyle to Zaleski, August 5, 1966, ZC, "Ottaviani's Letter," ADL. Vagnozzi's friendship with Ottaviani and his self-perception as a guardian of orthodoxy are briefly discussed by Gerald E Fogarty, S.J., "The Holy See, Apostolic Delegates, and the Question of Church-State Relations in the United States," U.S. Catholic Historian, 12 (Spring, 1994), 87-89.

maintain strict secrecy" ("sub stricto secreto") for "obvious reasons of prudence."16

Within several weeks after Ottaviani sent his secret letter, it was leaked to an independent CathoUc daUy Ui Bologna, Italy, and then to papers in Europe and America. By early faU 1966, the editors of the Vatican's Acta Apostolicae Sedis decided to publish it in its entirety to minimize misrepresentations aUegedly made by various newspapers that had printed only excerpts. In October, 1966, the National Catholic Reporter reported those developments and, m the same article, included a somewhat loosely edited version of the CDF letter.17

A month later, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB), the successor organization to the National CathoUc Welfare Conference (NCWC), held its first meeting. Under the leadership of its newly elected president, John Dearden (1907-1988), Archbishop of Detroit, the body voted to entrust its Committee on Doctrine (hereafter CoD, one of twenty-four ecclesiastical service committees OriginaUy estabUshed by the NCCB) with the responsibUity of composing a reply to Ottaviani. SpecificaUy, the committee was charged with drafting a letter and presenting it at the Conference's April, 1967, meeting. The draft would be used as the documentary basis of an official reply to Rome.18

l6Cum Oecumenicum, quoted in National Catholic Reporter, October 19, 1966, p. 7; and from the translation of the original Latin in "Letter from the S. Congregation Pro Doctrina Fidei: on strange and audacious opinions," Christ to the World: International Review of Apostolic Experiences, English Edition, XII (1967), 65-67, which is included as Appendix I at the end of this essay. As reported by John Cogley, Ottaviani sent a similar letter to all religious superiors: "Ottaviani Lists Doctrine Abuses: Tells Bishops that Ten Errors Arose After Council," New York Times, September 20, 1966, p. 18. Several of the American bishops who later responded to Ottaviani's letter reacted to or commented on specific alleged errors, some referring to them point by point, others commenting on specific "numbers,""propositions,""points," or "abuses." Even those who summarily denied the presence of the errors in their dioceses often used the phrase "no deviation" as a way of defending their orthodoxy.

""Vatican publishes contents of Ottaviani letter on abuses," National Catholic Reporter, October 19, 1966, p. 7.

"'The reorganization of the NCWC actually resulted in the creation of two legally distinct bodies under virtually the same episcopal leadership: the NCCB, an ecclesial body concerned with ecclesiastical affairs, and its national secretariat, the United States Catholic Conference (USCC), charged with co-ordinating civil matters affecting American Catholics. For details of the reorganization, see: ZC, "Minutes, Annual Meeting, NCCB, November 14-18, 1966"; and, "Annual Meeting of the Bishops of the United States," in ZC, Agenda, National Meeting, NCCB, November 14-18, 1966, ADL. For the motion to refer the Ottaviani letter to the CoD, see ZC,"Minutes, Annual Meeting. . . ," pp. 31-32, ADL.

For an in depth study of the NCCB/USCC see Thomas J. Reese, S.J.,4 Flock of Shepherds.The National Conference of Catholic Bishops (Kansas City, Missouri, 1992). While

Early in December, 1966, notwithstanding the Christmas deadline set by Ottaviani (which reportedly was met by most episcopal conferences), the CoD's first chairman, Bishop Zaleski, wrote to his feUow bishops.19 He asked each of them to report to the committee "any deviations m the right interpretation of the documents of Vatican II," along with any "new teachings" judged "contrary to the CathoUc faith." The tone of Zaleski's letter, despite the potentiaUy volatUe nature of the request, seemed in accord with the spirit of coUegiaUty and with his committee's officiaUy stated function: to evaluate "specific questions and problems" as weU as the methods of dealing with them. As later evidence revealed, Zaleski never saw his committee's role as "inquisitorial," or "to inhibit, m any sense, theological discussion."20 But for now, Zaleski and his CoD were m the awkward position of having to carry out a somewhat investigatory task while trying very hard to be as coUegial in tone as possible.21

Reese's historical analysis is limited, he provides, among many other fine features, very helpful biographical sketches of the conference presidents, a detailed look at the structure of the conference, changes in its rules, and its evolving (some might argue devolving) relationship with Rome.

"Alexander M. Zaleski (1906-1975) was born in New York, ordained in Louvain in 1931, earned a licentiate's degree in Sacred Scripture from the Pontifical Biblical Institute in 1935, and taught Scripture, church history, and the history of philosophy in the Polish-American seminary at Orchard Lake, Michigan, until 1937. Consecrated a bishop in 1950, he served as auxiliary to the Archbishop of Detroit, Edward Cardinal Mooney, until 1964; coadjutor to the Bishop of Lansing, 1964-1965, and then bishop until his death in 1975. His election as chairman of the Committee on Doctrine was no doubt influenced by Mooney's successor, John Dearden. In fact, Dearden's tenure as NCCB president (1966-1971) was just a year longer than Zaleski's tenure as CoD chairman. See Felecian A. Foy (ed.), 1990 Catholic Almanac (Huntington, Indiana, 1989), p. 483; and, Zaleski to Franjo Cardinal Seper, ZC, "Report on the Establishment and Functioning of the Bishops' Committee on Doctrine of the Episcopal Conference of Bishops of the U.S.A.," August 28, 1969, 2 pp., ADL (copy). No archival and only one published source, Archbishop Pierre Veuillot, was found claiming that most episcopal conferences did respond to Ottaviani before the Christmas deadline. See "The Church and the World," The Tablet, 220 (December 24, 1966), p. 1455.

20Form letter from Zaleski to individual bishops, December 5, 1966,ZC,"Ottaviani's Letter 1966," ADL (copies). For a retrospective disclaimer of his committee's inquisitorial role, see "Committee on Doctrine Report, 1967," ZC,"NCCB Committee on Doctrine, General Correspondence, November, 1966-April, 1967," ADL (copy). In the same document, the names of the original members of the Committee on Doctrine are listed. In addition to Zaleski (who chaired the committee through 1970), they were John Wright (1909-1979), Bishop of Pittsburgh; Timothy Manning (1909-1989), Auxiliary of Los Angeles; John Fearns (1897-1977), Auxiliary of New York; and Thomas Riley (1900-1977), Auxiliary of Boston. For the official statement of the CoD's purpose, see "Annual Meeting," p. 29, ZC, Agenda,National Meeting, NCCB, November 14-18, 1966,ADL.

21In the autumn of 1967, Zaleski answered a query regarding the character of the CoD

Between December, 1966, and the end of February, 1967, Zaleski received responses from sixty-three of the one hundred fifty chanceries in the United States. In five instances, two bishops sent letters from the same chancery, for a total of sixty-eight responses. Ranked hierarchicaUy, the total included letters from eleven archbishops, forty diocesan bishops, one coadjutor, twelve auxinaries, two episcopal apostoUc administrators, and two chancellors. The last two wrote on behalf of their ordinaries. Among the twelve auxiUaries, one co-signed a letter with his archbishop, and another declared that he was not speaking for his diocese. The remaining ten respondents neither affirmed nor denied that they were writing on behalf of their dioceses. In 1966, there were thirty archbishops and 217 bishops in the American church, which meant that more than seventy percent of the hierarchy (including Zaleski, for reasons not mentioned Ui his correspondence) faUed to respond to the inquiry.22

Zaleski did not send a reminder to those who did not respond to his first letter, and the archives contained no evidence that he or Dearden was concerned by the large number of non-respondents. Simple inertia may explain some of this number, whUe tüne constraints and a fear of opening the proverbial can of worms may explain others. Then too, many of the non-responding bishops may have felt very strongly that Ottaviani's letter infringed on their episcopal authority. The archives yielded no direct evidence for this conclusion, but its probabUity may be inferred in part from the nature of the responses that were received by Zaleski.

from one of the theologians selected as a liaison between the Catholic Theological Society of America (CTSA) and the NCCB. The committee, Zaleski explained, was "in no sense an investigation body in the sense of an inquisition," but "a service committee to the Bishops in the area of doctrine, in order to determine what teaching is in accordance with Catholic faith, what is contrary to it, and what constitutes free matter." Zaleski to Rev. Carl Peter, October 3, 1967, ZC, "NCCB Committee on Doctrine, CTSA Correspondence," ADL (copy).

"Three additional responses, including two unexceptional episcopal letters, were received in early to mid-March, 1967, by which time the Committee on Doctrine's reply to Ottaviani was already in draft form. The first was from Timothy Manning, Auxiliary of Los Angeles (and another member of Zaleski's committee), apparently writing at the request of his archbishop, Cardinal Mclntyre; the second was from Joseph P Hurley, Archbishop of St. Augustine. The third (unsolicited) was a critical analysis of the Ottaviani letter by the Reverend Paul McKeever, president of the Catholic Theological Society of America. All pertinent correspondence to and from Zaleski are in three folders: ZC,"NCCB Committee on Doctrine, Bishops' Response to Cardinal Ottaviani's Letter, 1966," a second folder with the same title, dated 1967, and third, "Cardinal Ottaviani Letter Correspondence, 1966-1968," ADL. For an official count of the hierarchy, see the tables at the end of The Official Catholic Directory (New York, 1966).

Those responses, which eventuaUy would form the documentary basis of the reply to Ottaviani, included a mixture of pre- and postconcUiar thought patterns. There was nothing unusual or surprising about this. What was interesting was the extent of diversity and individuaUty in the responses. About two dozen of them could be described as thoughtfuUy composed, although only about half of those gave evidence of having been written after consultation with diocesan priests and theologians (several of whose comments were enclosed with the letters). Within this group of two dozen, most of the remarks were generaUy cautious and conservative, but some were surprisingly progressive and, by 1966 standards, even bold.

On the very cautious and conservative side, there was the handwritten letter from James Cardmal Mclntyre (1886-1979), Archbishop of Los Angeles, who "hesitated to dictate" a reply (no doubt for fear of breaching secrecy, although one of his auxUiaries, Timothy Manning, later sent a typed reply m which he stated that there was "no basic cause for concern … on the ten points" Usted Ui Ottaviani's letter). Mclntyre caUed the "Catholic press" a "serious source of scandal," lamented the "profuse reporting of extreme viewpoints in the NCWC News sheets," and blamed Uturgical "extravagances" on "visiting priests . . . especially reUgious who have come to give retreats … to nuns."

Second, and in a moderately progressive position, were the remarks of Lawrence Cardinal Shehan (1898-1984), Archbishop of Baltimore, who attributed any abuses to "popularizers" of theological works and warned that any Vatican intervention would only serve to provoke the old anti-CathoUc charges of "censorship" and "repression." He then cited his concurrence with one of his theologian-consultants who had charged that Ottaviani's letter placed theological scholarship under a cloud and Ui fact was not sufficiently deferential to Vatican CouncU IFs "Constitution on Divine Revelation."

One of the more outspoken letters came from Ernest J. Pruneau (1909-1989), Bishop of Manchester (New Hampshire). The "crisis of faith" among the younger generation was due, he said, not to the spread of heretical teachings but rather to "poor sermons and methods of religious education," bad example by parents and teachers, "secularism" and humanism, "uncertainty and confusion Ui" the field of "ethics and moral theology, and just plain uninspiring leadership m the Church. . . . The young of today . . . seek not wisdom so much as action; not dogma so much as meaningful, relevant poUcy. They understand sacrifice, mor-

tification, humiUty, self-effacement, but they cannot perceive such qualities m the actions of many old men [bishops and the Curia?] who refuse to give up the reins of authority in these days when stress is put upon young leadership Ui . . . almost every field of human endeavor."[23]

These were just a noteworthy few of the diverse and individuaUstic stances taken by a number of American bishops who, as a group, have been often characterized (and caricatured) as marching in lockstep to the beat of then: Roman drummer. About the only thing the sixty-eight statements came close to having Ui common was that nearly seventy percent of all the respondents reported that they were not aware of any, or at least any serious, deviations Ui the implementation of the decrees of Vatican CouncU II in their respective dioceses. Also, several bishops preferred to describe the situation in their dioceses or (more often) Ui the Church nationaUy as one of"confusion,""uncertainty,""sensationahstic," "Unbalanced," and "exaggerated emphasis" rather than as heterodox or a crisis of faith.[24]

Where deviations or excesses were perceived, either Ui the Church nationaUy or in specific dioceses, the contributing factors most frequently cited were Uberal CathoUc papers and periodicals inaccurately reporting the latest theological speculations and being read uncriticaUy by inadequately trained or untrained laity, clergy, and reUgious. A number of respondents also hinted that the diminished respect for the Church's Magisterium was due to the lack of clear and definitive statements (particularly on the issue of contraception) to the whole church from that most important agent of the Magisterium, Pope Paul VI.[25]

"Mclntyre to Zaleski, December 10, 1966; Manning to Zaleski, March 7, 1967; Shehan to Zaleski, January 9, 1967; Pruneau to Zaleski, December 13, 1966, in ZC,"NCCB Committee on Doctrine, Bishops' Response to Cardinal Ottaviani's Letter, 1966," ADL; and "Cardinal Ottaviani Letter Correspondence, 1966-1968," ADL. The most unusual letter on file was a five-page Latin memorandum from William T. McCarty, C.SS.R. (1889-1972), Bishop of Rapid City (South Dakota), addressed and sent directly to Ottaviani and in copy to Zaleski. Ingratiating in style, McCarty (assisted by a theologian at the Catholic University of America, Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R.) acknowledged his "total agreement" with the spirit of Ottaviani's concerns. And while he asserted the orthodoxy of the vast majority of American Catholics, he ran through a litany of errors by a minority "who speak more forcefully and frequently than others." Such "pernicious errors," he concluded, "cannot be adequately suppressed except by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff." McCarty to Zaleski, and McCarty to Ottaviani (copy), December 17, 1966, ZC, "Ottaviani's Letter 1966," ADL. A copy of the Latin original to Ottaviani was translated for this author by Michael Smith of Lansing, Michigan.

24ZC,"Ottaviani's Letter, 1966," same, 1967, and "Letter Correspondence, 1966-68,"ADL.

»Ibid.

Whether they cited deviations or not, few of the respondents expressed any positive sentiment over the issuance of Ottaviani's circular. Several bishops criticized its vagueness. In a letter that accompanied the reply of John Carberry Bishop of Columbus,Charles Essman, chanceUor of the diocese, complained that the errors cited could be used to condemn both heresy and imprudent remarks. Another critic, Edward Fitzgerald, Bishop of Winona (Minnesota), candidly declared his "hope that never again wUl we promote or encourage the pubUcation of a syllabus of errors similar to that issued after the First Vatican CouncU" [by Pius X in 1907]. FinaUy, the principle of subsidiarity was invoked directly and indirectly Ui the remarks of many bishops who beUeved that the American hierarchy could and should handle its own dioceses' problems. The vast majority of the bishops, then, were not enthusiastic over CDF's approach to postconcUiar problems. Their stance would be articulated more expUcitly in the formal reply that soon would be sent to Ottaviani.26 Clearly, there were rumblings going on in a number of mitered American minds in 1966-1967, and not aU of them intoned Romanità.

Late in February, 1967, a telephone caU from Archbishop Dearden changed Zaleski's plan to report the results of his inquiry at the forthcoming AprU meeting of the NCCB. Dearden told Zaleski that Ottaviani wanted an answer to his letter at once, not in the spring. Since a reply from the NCCB had not yet been drafted, Dearden had been told by Egidio Vagnozzi that Ottaviani requested "at once the repUes of the Ordinaries of New York [Francis Cardinal Spellman, 1889-1967], St. Louis [Joseph Cardinal Ritter, 1892-1967], Detroit [Archbishop John Dearden, 1907-1988], PhUadelphia [John Cardinal Krol, 1912-1996, retired 1988], Chicago [John P. Cody, 1907-1982)], and Pittsburgh [John J. Wright, 1909- 1979], and those of the Rectors of the CathoUc University of America [Bishop WilUam J. McDonald, 1904-1989, resigned rectorship 1967] and the University of Notre Dame [Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, 1917-present, retired 1987]."27

26Carberry to Zaleski, February 17, 1967; Essman to Carberry, November 7, 1966; Fitzgerald to Zaleski, December 7, 1966, ZC, "Letter Correspondence, 1966-68,"ADL. The individualistic stances of many of the respondents would seem to challenge, if only exceptionally, what Gerald Fogarty called the Vatican "policy of Romanization of the hierarchy" which intensified after the Americanist controversy of the 1890's. At the same time, the more progressive responses would seem to support David O'Brien's comment,"Many [of the bishops] were personally transformed by the [Second Vatican] Council, returning different men, determined to build a more community-oriented, open and mission-centered church." Fogarty, Vatican and American Hierarchy, p. 18; and, David O'Brien, Public Catholicism (New York, 1989), p. 235.

27Vagnozzi to Dearden, February 24, 1967. Zaleski to Dearden, March 3, 1967 (copy),

One might surmise that Ottaviani was hoping to stack the cards to receive a confirmation of his suspicions (despite the somewhat puzzling omission from his list of such important archdioceses as Los Angeles under Mclntyre or Washington under O'Boyle). If so, he would have been disappointed Ui the results. Of the eight men whose views he solicited, SpeUman (one of whose auxiUaries, John Fearns, was a member of Zaleski's Committee), Ritter, Krol, and McDonald (who was shortly to wrestle with a moral theologian, Charles Curran, over the latter's allegedly suspect teachings on human sexuaUty) were among those who had never responded to Zaleski's letter. And Father Hesburgh had not been asked for a response (Hesburgh's national stature and his impending role as leader of the summer conference at Land O'Lakes, Wisconsin, on the subject of academic freedom in the CathoUc university may have prompted Ottaviani to include him on the Ust of eight).28

Dearden, through his chanceUor, Monsignor Arthur L. Valade, did reply to Zaleski's inquiry, but not in a way that would have pleased Ottaviani. Valade consulted several "knowledgeable" individuals in the archdiocese and discerned that there was no "real [that is, serious] deviation" from the teachings of Vatican CouncU II. He specificaUy cited (attached) letters from two consultants to support his conclusion, letters which took a developmental approach to teachings related to contraception, the liturgy, ecumenism, and moral decision making. And both consultants implied that the Pope's delay Ui issuing clear statements on these and related issues, especiaUy the issue of contraception, was partly to blame for muddying the waters of CathoUc belief and practice.29

The response of the Archdiocese of Chicago to Zaleski came not from Cody (despite his earUer written pledge to do so), but from his auxiUary and vicar-general, Cletus O'DonneU. He too consulted several experts who were nearly unanimous in supporting his critical appraisal of Ottaviani's letter:

> It seemed to me that this particular questionnaire was prepared with a spirit of indifference to the clarifications of Vatican II and to the advances

mentioned the late February telephone call and included a preliminary summary of the responses Zaleski had received to date, ZC,"Letter Correspondence, 1966-1968," ADL.

^Dearden to Vagnozzi, February 28, 1967, ibid, (copy)

Malade to Zaleski, February 2, 1967, ibid. Included with Valade's letter are letters from Monsignor Francis X. Canfield, rector of the archdiocesan seminary, and Monsignor William Sherzer, secretary of the seminary and chairman of Dearden's liturgical commission.

> of present theological study. Moreover, it can leave the reader temporarily confused because of inexactness and lack of precision in the statement of the question and the overtones connoted. It would be my considered judgement that Bishops of an Episcopal Conference such as ours could not use these propositions as outlined by Cardinal Ottaviani.30

Only John Wright of Pittsburgh, a member of Zaleski's Committee on Doctrine, offered a response (an oblique one at that) which would have reinforced Ottaviani's suspicions. SpecificaUy, Wright suggested that Zaleski appoint experts to study the moral and doctrinal issues (related to those mentioned by Ottaviani) that were raised Ui an article pubUshed in Cross Currents during the faU of 1966. Penned by Francis Simons, the Dutch-born Bishop of Indore, India, the article advocated a utilitarian or consensus approach to ethical questions. A theologian at Georgetown University, Germain Grisez, who had brought the article to Wright's attention, critiqued it and urged Wright to bring it to the attention of the NCCB. Wright did so, and Zaleski subsequently asked both the members of his committee and the CathoUc Theological Society of America to provide feedback that could be a basis for discussion at the planning session for the next NCCB meeting.31

Of the eight repUes requested by Ottaviani, then, only three were avaUable, and just one of them (Wright's) contained anything even resembling what the prefect probably expected. Moreover, the nature of each of the three may be read as further evidence of the diverse and Uidividua Ustic stances taken by members of the American hierarchy and, UnpUcitly at least, as additional indications of the bishops' preference to handle such matters themselves. At any rate, none of the three repUes was sent to Ottaviani.

Instead, Zaleski and Dearden agreed that their answer to Ottaviani would be based on the sixty-eight responses that were already in hand, and that a draft could be ready in two weeks. Dearden transmitted the detaUs of the plan to Vagnozzi, a plan which he justified to the Delegate with the curious and (deUberately?) inaccurate explanation that of the eight replies requested by Ottaviani, only he (through his chanceUor) had ever responded to Zaleski's inquiry. MeanwhUe, Zaleski put his committee to work. By mid-March, the CoD maUed a thrice revised draft to Dearden, who made some minor changes and sent the finished copy addressed to Ottaviani through Vagnozzi's office.32

30Cody to Zaleski, December 7, 1966; O'Donnell to Zaleski, January 30, 1967, ibid.
31Wright to Zaleski, December 9, 1966, ibid.
32Dearden to Vagnozzi, February 28, 1967 (copy); Zaleski to Dearden, March 3, 1967

Zaleski later reported that the reply to Ottaviani had been weU received Ui Rome. Its official reception may, indeed, have been discreet, but the letter could not have been completely satisfactory to the CDF. First, it had been sent, not as a consensus of the NCCB, but as a committee report (the reason for this, Zaleski later complained, was "the urgency of the matter, recently communicated to us [from Ottaviani] "). In addition, Dearden had not compUed with Ottaviani's request for the written repUes of eight specific American CathoUc leaders. Instead, Ottaviani received a letter that was essentiaUy a distillation, with several incisive comments but without attribution, of the sixty-eight responses received by Zaleski. The nature of the reply must surely have raised the prefect's ire.33

MaUed over Dearden s signature, the contents of the seven-page reply to Ottaviani accurately reflected the basic hopes and concerns of the bishops who had answered Zaleski's inquiry: theologians were to be encouraged "to continue their studies Ui order to deepen our understanding of the Faith"; the existence in the United States of some "confusion, unrest and uncertainty" about the Magisterium was admitted, but the presence of"overt heresy" was denied; those who refused to implement the decrees of Vatican CouncU II were given as much responsibUity for the Church's problems as those who were "using the CouncU to promote their own pet ideas"; the importance of distinguishing between doctrine and discipline was emphasized; so too was the need for "clear teaching" on marital morals, the Redemption, how CathoUcs witness their faith, "the precise role of theologians as touched upon in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church," the development of dogma as distinct from then· exposition of dogma to the Faithful, and finaUy, on how an "Ecumenical Council" relates "to the Magisterium."34

Four of the letter's remaining five pages summarized and commented on the bishops' responses to Ottaviani's Ust of ten errors. Reflecting on each point, the CoD reported no awareness of any "organized tendencies" toward "Sola Scriptura," support for the studies being made of the "historical contexts" bebind "dogmatic formulations," and an acknowl-

(copy); and Dearden to Zaleski, March 10, 1967. Dearden to Ottaviani, March 17, 1967, includes the final draft (copy), ibid. All four drafts are in the archives.

"Dearden to Ottaviani, March 17, 1967, includes the "Memorandum of the Committee on Doctrine in Response to the Letter 'Cum Oecumenicum' of His Eminence Cardinal Ottaviani, Dated July 24, 1966."ZC,"Letter Correspondence, 1966-1968,"ADL (copy). In the same folder, see Thomas J. Riley to Zaleski, January 19, 1968, for a citation on the letter's reception in Rome.

M"Memorandum . . . ,"pp. 1-2, ZC,"Letter Correspondence, 1966-68,"ADL.

edgment of concern over the crisis of confidence Ui the Magisterium. But in a telling comment that could be read as an expression of the bishops' heightened awareness of their coUegial role m the teaching mission of the Church, the Committee added: "For some tune people have been conditioned to accept with equal theological qualification every statement of those responsible in the area of ordinary magisterium as having absolutely the same binding force. We feel that there is room for enUghtenment on this subject." The letter then went on to "note attenuations m discussing" especiaUy questions of sexual morality; it denied any awareness of Christological humanism in the Church, admitted to "unbalanced presentations" on the Real Presence, acknowledged a decline in a "sense of sin" and the need for more balanced studies on Penance as reconcUiation with both God and Church, expressed the difficulty of understanding the consequences of "just what the CouncU of Trent actuaUy and precisely defined regarding the doctrine of original sin," and agreed that ecumenical activity needed careful monitoring so as not to proceed rashly.[35]

In closing, the CoD acknowledged the bishops' "grave responsibiUty to present to the people of God . . . pure and undefiled teaching ..." reaffirmed the hierarchy's unity with and loyalty to the Pope, noted that efforts were underway to improve seminary training, and caUed for "competent theologians to speak out" and displace the "popularizers" and "sensationalists." Then, in contrast with Ottaviani's tone of fear and foreboding, the CoD expressed its edification at the progress made in the priests' and peoples' understanding "of the teachings of Vatican II" and confidently asserted that any problems could be handled locaUy by individual bishops or by the national conference "in consultation with competent scholars.' Even more significantly, the last twelve lines of the letter may be interpreted as a criticism, both of the vague, negative character and preconcUiar (i.e., non-coUegial) tone of Ottaviani's letter and of the indecisiveness of Pope Paul VI:

> On those subjects on which the Holy See wUl feel it necessary to give guidelines, we trust it wUl be done in the Ught of the insights of the Council and with its pastoral voice. It is of great importance that authoritative norms of orthodoxy be stated in precise and unambiguous terms. American bishops, consistent with their historic adherence to the leadership of the Holy See, earnestly and respectfully urge, in order to foster better understanding by their people, that on certain questions of discipline and doctrine, when deterioration seems to be setting in and where no voice in the

»Ibid., pp. 3-6.

> Church can substitute for the voice of Peter, the Sovereign Pontiff speak with maximum clarity.36

Archbishop Dearden's letter accompanying the CoD's reply to Ottaviani reviewed its evolution and how circumstances had prevented it from getting the "specific endorsement" of the NCCB. He added, however, "that it is a faithful reflection of the situation." Then, in a gesture of openness that was a hallmark of his tenure Ui the NCCB and Ui Detroit, the archbishop expressed his intention to present it to aU the bishops at their April, 1967, meeting. "During our meeting . . . ,"he explained,". . . I shall invite them, m the event that there is any dissent or qualification . . . , to feel free to write to Your Eminence and [each] express his mind accordingly." Dearden foUowed through and what OriginaUy had been written and sent as a CoD reply was subsequently endorsed by the "entire" Conference, that is, most likely without open dissent.37

The NCCB's ex post facto endorsement obviously demonstrated the hierarchy's realization that it needed to support Zaleski and Dearden and express unity as a conference. And, given the substance of the reply, with its accentuation of the bishops' preference for subsidiarity, displeasure with Ottaviani's approach, and disappointment Ui the quaUty of Pope Paul VTs leadership, the endorsement would also seem to sup-

*Ibid., pp. 6-7. In fall, 1968, the theologian Karl Rahner, in "Theology and the Magisterium after the Council," Theology Digest, Sesquicentennial Issue (February, 1968), pp. 4-16, provided a cogent and finely nuanced analysis of Ottaviani's letter.He characterized it as "a general warning" and as suffering from a "vagueness which is in some ways unavoidable," due to the uncertain and confusing "intellectual situation," yet is still "not very helpful" (p. 8). Praising the letter's "post-conciliar" exhortation that the bishops should root out errors and"not just send reports to Rome,"Rahner also noted that while"the dangers and tendencies indicated in the letter" did exist, the letter did not show sufficient awareness of the complexity of contemporary theological expression:"it is not easy as it once was to oppose a real or presumed error with a positive new statement that is immune from every ambiguity" (pp. 10, 8).

"Dearden to Ottaviani, March 17, 1967, ZC, "Letter Correspondence, 1966-68," ADL (copy). The conference minutes noted that Bishop Zaleski read aloud the CoD reply to Ottaviani. Following his reading, and unlike the minutes covering other conference issues and reports, there was no mention of any discussion. Instead, the minutes recorded that "Bishop [John] Russell [of Richmond] moved that the memorandum as prepared be given the endorsement of the body of bishops as expressive of the mind of the entire Conference. Seconded by Bishop [John] Dougherty [Auxiliary of Newark and president of Seton Hall University], the motion passed." ZC,Minutes of the Second General Meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the United States Catholic Conference, April 11-13, 1967,p. 21,ADL. See too Bishop Thomas J. Riley (Auxiliary of Boston) to Zaleski, January 19, 1968, ZC,"Letter. . . ,"ADL, for mention of the letter's endorsement by the "entire" NCCB. The nature of the minutes and the use of the word "entire" in both sources strongly suggest, if not unanimity, at least a lack of open dissent.

port an earUer inference, namely, that the reason why many of the bishops never responded to Zaleski's inquiry was that they read Ottaviani's letter as an infringement of their episcopal authority.

With the CoD's task brought to an apparently harmonious completion, Zaleski and his committee could now turn their energies to the numerous other doctrinal issues that required attention, or so they thought.38 Instead, the secretive way Ui which the reply to Ottaviani had been handled threatened to undermine efforts being made at that time by Dearden, Zaleski, and other bishops to estabUsh a stable and coUaborative relationship between the American hierarchy and American CathoUc theologians. The Ottaviani letter and especiaUy the CoDs reply to it lingered uitermittently for nearly a year in the correspondence of Zaleski, Dearden, and two successive presidents of the CathoUc Theological Society of America (CTSA).39

The CTSA wanted a copy of the bishops' letter, but given the CDF insistence on secrecy, some maneuvering by Zaleski and Dearden was necessary Ui order to circumvent without strictly violating the spirit of confidentiaUty. InitiaUy, Zaleski had tried to reassure the CTSA president, the Reverend Paul McKeever (who had sent Zaleski an unsolicited and critical analysis of Ottaviani's letter), that the CTSA's reservations and misgivings were much the same as those noted in the CoD's reply. McKeever was not reassured, however, especiaUy after the pubUcation of the repUes of the French and Dutch bishops (the former with Ottaviani's permission). There was now added pressure on the American bishops to breach its secrecy, and there were at least two requests from the CTSA to Zaleski for a copy. The result, no doubt more satisfactory to the hierarchy than to the theologians, was an agreement reached in February, 1968, by the NCCB Administrative Board to present a written summary of the reply to the officers of the CTSA and to discuss it with them.40

"The CoD was involved in examining numerous issues; among them were liturgical changes, confessional practices, celibacy and various other disciplinary practices, contraception, hospital ethics, religious textbooks, and Catholic pentecostals. There are several folders in the ZC collection detailing the committee's work under Zaleski. See too, folders in ZC,"NCCB Committee on Doctrine, General Correspondence," for 1966 and 1967,ADL.

"The correspondence between Zaleski and the CTSA are in ZC, "Committee on Doctrine, CTSA Correspondence, 1966-1968," ADL.

"Ibid. See especially, McKeever to Zaleski, March 15, 1967; Zaleski to McKeever, March 21, 1967 (copy); McKeever to Zaleski, May 7, 1967; and Zaleski to McKeever, May 10, 1967 (copy). The agreement to present a summary of the reply to Ottaviani is noted by Zaleski in his "Report of the Committee on Doctrine, Nov. '67-Apr. '68," p. 2, in ZC, "Theological Committee, NCCB, 1966-1968," ADL.A copy of the three-page summary presented to the CTSA officers is in ZC, "Cardinal Ottaviani . . . Correspondence, 1966-1968," undated,

It is understandable that the theologians wanted concrete assurance that the CoD letter to Ottaviani did not contain evidence that they were mistrusted or under suspicion. Timely assurance was particularly urgent because back Ui June, 1967, the CTSA and Zaleski had agreed to estabUsh a permanent Uaison staffed by a group of the organization's theologians who would assist the CoD in its service to the hierarchy. The bishops obviously reaUzed that their chances of forming and sustaining a positive working relationship with the nation's leading Catholic theologians required some gesture of trust from the hierarchy. That the conflict was mitigated and the Uaison agreement salvaged was certainly due Ui considerable measure to Dearden's and Zaleski's influence in the NCCB.41

There is also a broader significance to the tension underlying the bishops' negotiations with the theologians, and especiaUy to the resolve with which the NCCB leaders acted to aUeviate their predicament. The solution engineered by Dearden and Zaleski may be taken as a coroUary to the important status that the bishops gave to the principle of subsidiarity and to their coUegial role, a role that they knew would necessitate considerable reUance on the expertise of their country's best CathoUc theologians.

ADL. It should also be noted that Zaleski polled his CoD (which now included the bishops of Erie, John E Whealon, and Brownsville, Humberto S. Medeiros) on whether the letter should be released to the CTSA: four members said yes, two gave qualified approval, and one said no. Zaleski's January 16, 1968, letters to the CoD and the replies are in ZC, "Committee on Doctrine, 1966-1968,CTSA Correspondence," ADL. Reference to the publication of the French bishops' reply to Ottaviani's letter is noted in "French Bishops Reply Published in FuU," The Tablet, 221 (February 11, 1967), 164. The December 24, 1966, issue of The Tablet (Vol. 220, p. 1455) had published a pre-permission summary.

"The process of developing a formal working relationship between the hierarchy and the CTSA is summarized in the "Agenda Report, Documentation for the General Meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and United States Catholic Conference, November 13-17, 1967, Washington, D.C.," pp. 30-32, in ZC, "Agenda, NCCB National Meeting, Nov. 13-Nov. 17, 1967," and in even more detail in "Report of the Bishops' Committee on Doctrine, April, 1967, to August, 1967," pp. 1-4, in ZC, "NCCB Committee on Doctrine General Correspondence, Apr.-Nov., 1967," ADL. Internationally, efforts began in 1967 to institutionalize collaboration between the hierarchy and the theologians. The result, implemented in 1969, was the International Theological Commission, composed of thirty theologians (including two from the United States) selected on the basis of nominations by various national bishops' conferences and chaired by the prefect of CDF. Both nationally and internationally, the goal was to re-establish the close working relationships between bishops and theologians ("a rapprochement of scholarly reflection and pastoral responsibility") that had often characterized the meetings of Vatican Council II. See Michael Sharkey (ed.), International Theological Commission, Texts and Documents, 1969-1985 (San Francisco, 1989), pp. vii-x.

The years that have passed since the Ottaviani affair have not been a smooth continuum in the evolution of American church leadership, and the abUities of the American bishops have not always been commensurate to the problems or opportunities that have arisen. A thorough assessment of the hierarchy during those years and a more complete study of its relations with Rome during the years covered in this essay must, of course, await further scholarly scrutiny and continuing access to périment archival materials. Whatever spectrum of success and faUure may eventuaUy emerge, the bishops' handling of the episode described here should be marked a success. Evidence in the archives of the Diocese of Lansing presents a strong case for the conclusion that, overaU, the bishops' response to a potentiaUy volatUe Roman intervention was carried out in unity with the Holy See, Ui the spirit of aggiornamento that sparked and sustained Vatican CouncU II, and Ui accord with the enhanced appreciation of coUegiaUty that emanated from it. As such, it should be accounted a memorable moment both in the history of the American CathoUc episcopate and Ui the leadership of John Dearden and Alexander Zaleski.[42]

APPENDIX

Letter from the Sacred Congregation Pro Doctrina Fidei on "strange and audacious opinions"

Editor's Introduction

Confidential letter to the Episcopal Conferences

On July 24, 1966, the Sacred Congregation Pro Doctrina Fidei sent the presidents of the episcopal conferences a very important letter "in connection with growing abuses in the interpretation of the doctrine of the CouncU and with regards also to strange and audacious opinions that are appearing here and there, which are greatly disturbing the minds of many faithful. . . . We are referring to

"Although Zaleski ended his tenure as chairman of the CoD at the end of 1970, as late as 1973 the president of the CTSA gave the Lansing bishop much of the credit for what was then described as a "closer and more open cooperation between bishops and theologians." John Wright, S.J., to Zaleski, March 26, 1973, ZC, "NCCB Nominating Committee," ADL.

many affirmations which, going beyond the limits of mere opinion or hypothesis, seem to be directed against dogma itself and the foundations of faith." So, the letter says, "it is advisable to quote some of these errors, as an example."

The letter was a confidential one, but as a result of indiscretions, it was published in part by certain newspapers. For this reason it appeared in the Acta Apostolicae Sedis on October 5, 1966. As wrong interpretations of the teachings of the CouncU have a negative repercussion on the evangeUzation of the world, we think it useful to reproduce this letter here.1

Duty of the People of God

Since the Second Ecumenical Vatican CouncU, which has just reached its successful conclusion, has promulgated very wise documents, both in matters of doctrine and of discipline, to effectively promote the Ufe of the Church, the grave duty is incumbent on the whole people of God to apply itsetf with aU its might to bringing about the realization of all that which under the influence of the Holy Spirit, was solemnly proposed and decreed in this vast assembly of bishops under the precedence of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Responsibility of the Hierarchy

To the Hierarchy belong the right and the duty of watching over the movement of renewal begun by the Council, of directing and promoting it in such a way that the documents and decrees of this CouncU be correctly interpreted and brought into effect, with the most careful regard for their proper signification and spirit. This doctrine, in fact, must be protected by the bishops who, under Peter as head, have the duty to teach with authority. Numerous pastors have already undertaken, praiseworthüy to explain the doctrine of the Council in the right way.

Misinterpretation

However, it is to be regretted that alarming news has come from various quarters on the subject of growing abuses in the interpretation of the CouncU's doctrine and with strange and audacious opinions appearing here and there

1In publishing the Latin text of this letter, the Acta A.S. prefaces it with the following note: "We have been authorized to publish the present letter to make known its authentic meaning for while because of its very nature it demands great discretion, certain daily newspapers have not hesitated to publish certain parts of it, but without respecting the true character of the document. Because of this, certain doubts were expressed on the content of the letter and on the purpose of the Holy See."

greatly upsetting the minds of many faithful. One must praise studies and efforts made for a deeper knowledge of the truth, care being taken to distinguish between what is a matter of faith and what is of opinion; but from documents examined by the S. Congregation it foUows that numerous judgments, going beyond the limits of mere opinion or hypothesis, seem in some manner to affect dogma itself and the foundations of the faith.

Some Errors

It is useful to point out by the way of example some of these judgments and errors such as they are known from the reports of scholars and pubUshed writings.

1. In the first place it concerns sacred Revelation. There are some people, in fact, who have recourse to Holy Scripture, whUe deUberately leaving tradition on one side; they reduce the extent and the force of biblical inspiration and inerrancy and they do not have a correct notion of the value of the historical texts.

2. As regards the doctrine of the faith, dogmatic formulae are said to be subject to historical evolution that even their objective meaning is subject to change.

3. The ordinary magisterium of the Church, especially that of the Roman Pontiff, is sometimes neglected or disdained to the extent of relegating it to the field of mere opinion.

4. Some hardly recognize absolute, firm, and unchangeable objective truth; they subject everything to a certain relativism, advancing as a reason that aU truth must necessarily foUow the rhythm of the evolution of conscience and history.

5. Even the adorable Person of Our Lord Jesus Christ is attacked when, in rethinking Christology concepts occur on his nature and His person that are hard to reconcile with the dogmatic definitions. A certain Christological humanism is creeping in, which reduces Christ to the simple condition of a man who had Uttle by Uttle acquired the consciousness of His divine filiation. His virginal conception, His miracles, even His resurrection are granted in words, but are actuaUy reduced to the purely natural order.

6. Likewise, in the theological study of the Sacraments, certain elements are either ignored or else not sufficiently considered, especiaUy where the Most Holy Eucharist is concerned. With regard to the real presence of Christ under the species of bread and wine, there are certain people who, in their dissertations, favor an exaggerated symboUsm, as if the bread and the wine were not changed by transubstantiation into the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, but were simply subject to a certain change of signification. There are some, too,

who on the subject of the Mass stress more than is right the idea of meal (agape), to the detriment of the idea of sacrifice.

7. Certain people prefer to explain the Sacrament of penance as a means of reconciUation with the Church, without expressing sufficiently the reconcUiation with God HimseU Who is offended. They also claim that, for the celebration of this sacrament, the personal confession of suis is not necessary; they are content to set forth the social function of reconciUation with the Church.

8. There are also those who minimize the doctrine of the CouncU of Trent on original sin or comment on it in such a way that Adam's original fault and the transmission of his sin are at least obscured.

9. No less serious errors are spread in the field of moral theology. In fact, many people dare to reject the objective reason of morality; others do not accept natural law and affirm the legitimacy of what they caU situation ethics. Pernicious opinions are spread about moraUty and responsibiUty in the matter of sex and marriage.

10. To all that, a note must be added on ecumenism. The ApostoUc See assuredly approves those who, in the spirit of the conciliar decree on ecumenism, take initiatives to encourage charity with our separated brothers and draw them to the unity of the Church. But the ApostoUc See deplores that there are persons who interpret the concUiar decree in their own way, advocate an ecumenical action that offends the truth regarding the unity of the faith and of the Church; Ui this way encouragement is given to a dangerous Uenicism and indtferentism, which is completely foreign to the spirit of the Council.

Arrest These Errors and Dangers

These errors and these dangers, which are scattered here and there, are collected in the form of a brief synthesis in this letter to Ordinaries so that each one, by reason of his function and of his office, may endeavor to arrest them or prevent them. This sacred Congregation urgently asks the same Ordinaries, gathered in Episcopal conferences, to deal with these matters and duly report their opinions to the Holy See in an opportune manner before the feast of Christmas this year. Ordinaries and those to whom they think it is their duty to communicate the contents of this letter are asked to maintain strict secrecy, since pubUcation is forbidden by obvious reasons of prudence. Rome, July 24th, 1966.

A. Cardinal Ottaviani

'Source: Christ to the World: International Review of Apostolic Experiences, XII (1967), 65-67.

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

Report of the Committee on Program

Ralph William Franklin of General Theological Seminary and Mary Elizabeth Brown of Marymount Manhattan College made up the Committee on Program for the 1997 meeting chaired by Jo Ann Kay McNamara. The committee sent out calls for papers through the Association's journal and on the Internet via various discussion lists used by the respective members. In addition, we each pursued personal contacts and enjoyed the very energetic assistance of William Callahan, the President of the Association.

In our calls for papers, we explicitly encouraged the submission of single paper proposals as well as completed panels on the principle that many members are not sufficiently well integrated into scholarly networks to enter into a complete panel without our assistance. This procedure also gave us the opportunity to fashion panels at our own initiative that otherwise might not have emerged. Three panels were created in this manner with the committee supplying chairs and commentators.

We were able to put together a program of nine panels ranging broadly in interest from female mystics in the Middle Ages to New York archbishops. Presenters came from every area of the United States, Canada, and Israel. A particular high point was a panel in honor of the life and work of Louis Pascoe, SJ., a long-time member and officer of the Association.

All the sessions were held in the New York Hilton Hotel. There were a few minor changes in some of the panels, but all went off smoothly.

January 3, morning: "Moving the Boundaries: Studying Religious Women in the Cultures of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe." Chairman: Michael Goodich, University of Haifa. F. Thomas Luongo, University of Notre Dame: "Family Conflicts and Political Networks; Catherine of Siena and Her Disciples in the War of the Eight Saints" (Since Dr. Luongo was ill, his paper was read by Carol Lansing.); Elizabeth A. Lehfeldt, Cleveland State University: "A Place in the Temporal World: The Response of Convents to Lay and Ecclesiastical Challenges in Sixteenth-Century Spain"; Katherine L. French, State University of New York—New Paltz: "Where, oh Where, Have the Lay Women Gone? Gendering Parochial Involvement in Late Medieval England." Commentator: Carol L. Lansing, Univer-

sity of California at Santa Barbara. The panel attracted more than fifty people, some standing in the doorway throughout the session.

January 3, afternoon: "Medieval Reform and Renewal: Papers in Honor of Louis B. Pascoe, SJ." Chairman: Lawrence F. Hundersmarck, Pace University. Christopher M. Bellitto, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, Yonkers, New York: "Nicholas de Clamange: Reformatio Personalis as the Foundation of Church Reform during the Great Schism"; Elizabeth Lowe, Fordham University: "Hervaeus Natalis: Evangelical Models and the Reform of the Dominican Order"; Thomas Giangreco, Iona College: "Cola di Rienzo and the Renewal of the City of Rome: Art, Politics, and the Revolution of 1347." Commentator: Thomas M. Izbicki, Johns Hopkins University. The session was enhanced by a brief speech of appreciation by Father Pascoe. About thirty-five persons attended.

January 3, afternoon: "In That 'Umble House': The 1894-1896 Holy Family Sisters Journal of Sister Bernard Deggs." Chairman: Mary Grace Krieger, Maryknoll Mission Archives. Charles E. Nolan, Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and Notre Dame Seminary: "Introduction to the Deggs Journal and the Louisiana CathoUc History Perspective"; Virginia Meacham Gould, De Kalb College: "The Southern Women's Studies Perspective"; Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., St. Meinrad Seminary CoUege: "Portrait of a Foundress: Henriette DeLilIe"; Sylvia Thibodaux, Holy FamUy Sisters: "The Holy FamUy Sisters' Perspective." This session attracted about twenty-five people to a very close and detailed subject.

January 4, morning: "Female Voices in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Italian Religious Literature." Chairman: Anne Jacobson Schutte, University of Virginia. Karen Scott, DePaul University: "Imagery of Conversion and Political Action: Catherine of Siena in Early Modern Italian Religious Writing"; WUliam V Hudon, Bloomsburg University: "The Voice of Camilla Battista da Varano in Early-Modern Italian Devotional Literature"; Armando Maggi, University of Pennsylvania: "Stories and Histories in the Visions of Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi." Commentator: Anne Jacobson Schutte. This session, unfortunately, had to compete with two sessions of the American Historical Association on comparable topics (one devoted to the work of Caroline Bynum). Eighteen persons attended. The substitution of a paper by Karen Scott for Darlene Pryds was announced in our printed program but occurred too late to be included in our section of the American Historical Association's program booklet.

January 4, morning: "New York Archbishops in a Changing World." Chairman: Thomas J. SheUey, Fordham University. David J. O'Brien, College of the Holy Cross: "John Hughes and the Formation of the Ante-BeUum American CathoUc Church"; Robert Emmett Curran, SJ., Georgetown University: "Michael Corrigan and New York CathoUcism in the GUded Age"; Gerald P Fogarty, SJ., University of Virginia: "Francis Cardinal Spellman as a World Figure: His Wartime Trip to Rome, 1943" Commentator: Robert Wister, Seton Hall University. The audience at this session numbered forty and overflowed into the corridor; the discussion was highly stimulating.

January 4, midday: The Presidential Luncheon was held in the elegant Petit Trianon and was attended by fifty persons. The first vice-president of the Association, Uta-Renate Blumenthal of the Catholic University of America, presided, and the second vice-president, Francis J. Weber of the Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, gave the invocation. The president, WiUiam J. CaUahan, delivered his paper, "Regalism, Liberalism, and General Franco." Both winners of the book prizes were present, and each made a brief response to the presentation.

January 4, afternoon: "Catholicism and Hospital Care in the United States: Ideology and Practice, 1850-1930." Chairman: Kathryn Walterscheid, St. Louis College of Pharmacy (taking the place of Helen Czosnyka, who was unable to be present). Kathleen Joyce, Duke University: "Staff Appointments: Catholic Hospitals and the PoUtics of CathoUc PrivUege"; Bernadette McCauley Hunter College, City University of NewYork:"Conflicting Legacies? The Gendered Origins of Roman CathoUc Involvement in Health Care in Nineteenth-Century New York City"; EUzabeth Müiiken, Seton HaU University: "'Depending upon Divine Providence': The EstabUshment of St. Joseph's Hospital and the Sisters of St. Joseph, Elmira, New York, 1908-1932." Commentator: Margaret Humphreys, Duke University. Twenty-two persons were in attendance.

January 4, afternoon: "The PhUosophical Roots of Ecumenism before Vatican CouncU II." Chairman: John A. Nichols, Slippery Rock University. James P. Jurich, S.J., Xavier Jesuit Community, New York: "Victor de Buck's Espousal of Ecumenism at the First Vatican CouncU"; John R. Griffin, University of Southern Colorado: "Cardinal Newman and the 'PhUosophy of Byron'"; W Barry Smith, D'Youville CoUege, "American Catholic Philosophy Confronts the Age of Modernism: WiUiam Turner, Bishop of Buffalo, as Philosophical Historian." Commentator: R. William Franklin, General Theological Seminary. Twenty-seven persons attended. The discussion was very exciting, and Dr. Franklin feels that this subject (which was created from single papers) warrants more attention in future.

January 5, early morning: Mass for the living and deceased members of the Association. The principal celebrant and homUist was Reverend Monsignor Francis J. Weber, second vice-president of the Association. About fifty persons participated.

January 5, morning: "Toward a New History of Penance." Chairman: R. Emmet McLaughlin, VUlanova University. AbigaU Anne Firey ViUanova University: "Sin and Crime: Distinguishing in the Dark"; Karen T. Wagner, University of Toronto: "Cum aliquis venerit ad sacerdotem: Liturgy and the Development of Penance in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries"; Joseph Goering, University of Toronto: "What Happened at the Fourth Lateran Council?" Commentator: R. Emmet McLaughlin. Despite the early hour, this panel was a blockbuster. Forty-five people attended, and after three exceptionally exciting papers, they could hardly be evicted from the room in time for the final session.

January 5, late morning: "Nineteenth-Century CathoUc Patronage and State Funding: ReUgious Women Ln Service-provider Partnerships." Chairman: Regina Bechtle, CoUege of Mount Saint Vincent. Jessica Sheetz, Marquette University: "Catholic Progress in London: A PubUc-Private Partnership, the Poor Law Guardians, and CathoUc Religious Congregations"; Florence Deacon, Cardinal Stritch College: "School Choice Is Nothing New: Church-State Educational Partnerships in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest"; Grace Donovan, Stonehill College: "Holy Union Sisters: Exile from France or Expansion of Ministry?" Commentator-Judith Metz, Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati. This panel attracted fifteen people.

The Sunday morning schedule—two panels starting at half past eight and at eleven o'clock—is a big improvement over the American Historical Association's previous scheduling of panels in the afternoon. I think more people stay to the end this way. They were very cooperative in scheduling the unusuaUy large number of panels we offered this year. It would be helpful, however, if next year's committee could achieve a better Uaison with the chair of the American Historical Association's Committee on Program than I was able to do. I talked to Margaret Strobel once in an effort to get a jouit session, but the contact was not renewed, and I did not get a chance to co-ordinate our order of offerings with hers. The conflict between our panel and the Bynum panel might have been avoided. I would advise the next chair to try to co-ordinate better than I did.

Jo Ann McNamara, Chair
Hunter CoUege of the City University of New York

Report of the Committee on Nominations

In this election 401 ballots were cast. The results are as foUows:

For First Vice-President (and President Ui the foUowing year):

David J. O'Brien, CoUege of the Holy Cross 284
Stafford Poole, CM., Vincentian Heritage 117

For Second Vice-President:

Grace E. Donovan, S.U.S.C, Stonehill College 199
Jo Ann McNamara, Hunter CoUege of the City University of New York . . . 184

For the Executive CouncU (three-year term, 1997, 1998, 1999):

Section I:

Constance Hoffman Berman, University of Iowa 256
Sharon K. Elkins, Wellesley CoUege 114

Section II:

Frederic J. Baumgartner, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg 130
Alan J. Reinerman, Boston CoUege 255

For the Committee on Nominations (three-year term, 1997, 1998, 1999):

Robert Emmett Curran, SJ., Georgetown University 231
Thomas J. Shelley, Fordham University 164

COMMITTFE ON NOMINATIONS

Thomas R. Greene, Chairman
Villanova University

Maureen C. Miller
HamUton CoUege

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

Report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize

The John Gilmary Shea Prize for 1996 is awarded to Dr. John T. McGreevy, Dunwalke Associate Professor of American History in Harvard University, for his book, Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth Century Urban North, which was pubUshed by the University of Chicago Press late in 1995. This work is considered by the committee of judges to be the best of the twenty-three books on the history of the CathoUc Church broadly understood which were entered in the competition this year.

Although "CathoUc racism" is an oxymoron, it often has been and is a reaUty. It is easy to condemn it, easier stiU to explain it away as simply one aspect of a broader conflict between "whites" and "blacks." McGreevy's Parish Boundaries does not stop with such facUe dismissals. "A guiding principle of this study," McGreevy writes,"has been to understand CathoUc racism, not simply to catalogue it." What emerges from his research is a story of tragic conflicts between often weU-intentioned ideals and strategies, struggles between communities for which no whining solutions could be found.

This research presumes that Catholic parishes were not part of some homogeneous American culture: even in the twentieth century, most of their members were stUl within two generations of immigration. Churching and organizing immigrants was perhaps the major challenge faced by the Church. Tremendous energy and resources were invested in the creation of national parishes, ethnic enclaves that used Old World and New World traditions to ere-

ate elaborate inner-city churches, a whole range of tight, exclusive neighborhood institutions, and, ultimately, community identities.

African-American immigrants from the South were perplexed by these structures. Attempts to create parishes for them had some success. Yet many increasingly saw such ethnic parishes as tantamount to segregation, as a hypocritical betrayal of the universal principles of the Church. Tensions became overwhelming after World War II, when African-American immigration on a massive scale transformed the inner cities and overwhelmed older ethnic communities. Dedicated CathoUcs, African-American and European-American, responded sometimes heroicaUy, sometimes bitterly.

Yet the European ethnic CathoUc communities that yielded, not always with good grace, to new demographic reaUties, may not have labored in vain. What remains of their CathoUc school systems, stUl animated by the tight sense of community that created them, offers hope to new generations of students; study of the old blue-coUar immigrant communities suggests that the anomie of inner-city Ufe may not be insurmountable.

McGreevy has written a very fine book on a complex and extremely Important topic. He made extensive use not only of profuse secondary scholarship but also of archival material from across the country. Not least impressive is the wide variety of photographic evidence incorporated into the text. In a study that gives pride of place to local housing and neighborhood issues, it is no smaU achievement to maintain clear organization and a good narrative Une. There is humor and understatement, sympathy for all, great sensitivity and sophistication. Of the many exceUent books presented this year for the John Gilmary Shea Prize, Parish Boundaries is the most outstanding.

Frederic J. Baumgartner
Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University, Blacksburg

John Howe, Chairman
Texas Tech University, Lubbock

Mary J. Oates, CSJ.
Regis CoUege, Weston, Massachusetts

Report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize

Century by century, preachers have articulated the goals of the CathoUc Church. And so they did in the Counter-Reformation. Combining classical rhetoric with "right thinking," numerous preachers at the papal court expressed the reUgious goals and worldview of a triumphant church in the late sixteenth century. In his book, Right Thinking: Sacred Oratory in Counter-Reformation Rome, published by Princeton University Press in 1995, Frederick J. McGinness

tells this story with insight, learning, and unusually thorough documentation. We are pleased to award the 1996 Howard R. Marraro Prize to Frederick J. McGinness of Mount Holyoke CoUege.

Alexander Grab
University of Maine

Paul F. Grendler, Chairman
University of Toronto

Alice Keukian
Brandeis University

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

Those who attended last year's meeting Ln Atlanta will not soon forget it not merely because of the exceUence of many of the papers and discussions but also because some of us spent three more days in that city or at its airport than we had planned, since the severe snowstorm necessitated the closing of many airports to the north. This year we have returned to New York for the first time since we held our seventy-first annual meeting here in Christmas week of 1990 at the Sheraton Centre Hotel and Towers. Our Committee on Program is presenting nine sessions, three more than the usual number, in the hope of serving inteUectual nourishment for almost every taste. I wish to thank specificaUy the chairman of the committee, Professor Jo Ann McNamara, not only for bringing together such a broad variety of mature and younger scholars but also for furnishing me in ample time aU the data that I needed for the printing of our program in the preliminary section of the American Historical Association's booklet (for which, incidentally, we were charged $635) and in our own folder.

Last March (22 and 23) we held our spring meeting at the University of St. Thomas in Houston. Since the chairman of the organizing committee, the Reverend Richard J. Schiefen, C.S.B., has published a fuU report on it in the October issue of the Catholic Historical Review, the only thing left for me to do is to repeat our sincere thanks to him, the other members of the committee, and the administration of the university for their outstanding hospitaUty.

In spite of these highly creditable activities, in which some non-members participated and are participating, the Association has declined in size during 1996. Beginning with the losses, we must report that eighty-four former members have failed to pay their annual dues, ten have resigned, and fifteen have died. These numbers may be compared with the sixty-five who lapsed, fourteen who resigned, and seven who died in 1995. The combined losses for the year just ended, therefore, i.e., 109, exceed by twenty-five those incurred in the preceding year.

Among the deceased we mourn some eminent and ancient members:

Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, Archbishop of Chicago, a member since 1966
Judge Genevieve Blatt, of Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, formerly of Harrisburg, retired from the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania, a member since 1984
The Most Reverend Joseph B. Brunini, retired Bishop of Jackson (originaUy of Natchez-Jackson from 1967 to 1977), a member since 1976
The Most Reverend WiUiam G. Connare, retired Bishop of Greensburg (who died in 1995), a member since I960
Sister Marie Leonore FeU, of Yonkers, New York, professor emérita of the CoUege of Mount Saint Vincent, a member since 1941 and a member of the Executive CouncU in 1943-1945
Mr. Daniel J. Kane of Cincinnati, Ohio, a member only since 1995
Cardinal John Krol, retired Archbishop of PhUadelphia, a Ufe member since 1964
Professor Stephan Kuttner, emeritus of the University of California at Berkeley, a member since 1947 and president in 1958
The Reverend Lee J. Laige of the Archdiocese of Detroit (who died in 1993), a member since 1927 and a life member since 1932
Dr. Dorothy Mulvey of DeForest, Wisconsin, a member since I968
Dr. Egidio Papa, retired from the Rochester Institute of Technology, a member since 1969
Dr. Joseph J. Peden of Yorktown Heights, New York, a member since I960
Professor Timothy J. Sarbaugh of Gonzaga University, a member since 1985
Professor H. Kenneth Snipes, Jr., of Manhattan CoUege (who died in 1995), a member since 1987
Reverend Monsignor Vincent Arthur Yzermans of the Diocese of St. Cloud, a member since 1966

May their souls and the souls of aU the departed members of the American Catholic Historical Association through the mercy of God rest in peace.

These losses, regrettably, have not been compensated for by our gains. We have enroUed seventy new members, and five others who had let their membership lapse for a year or more renewed it. Subtracting the seventy-five added to the rolls from the 109 removed, we are left with a net loss of thirty-four, and subtracting that from the 1,146 members reported a year ago, we can now claim only 1,112. Obviously, a new effort to increase the membership should be made in this new year.

For the first time in many years no one has become a life member in 1996, whUe two life members have died. Hence, there are now fifty-six individuals and the fourteen undying institutions that comprise the seventy Ufe members. Fifteen of the new members are students; there are now seventy-one student members, five fewer than in 1995, and thirty-five retired members, three more than in 1995.

Taking up our financial situation next, I should point out that in the past year we began to pay twenty-eight instead of twenty-four doUars for each member's

subscription to the Catholic Historical Review. Consequently, we have lost three dollars on each student and retired member (for both of whom the fee is twenty-five dollars per annum) and have had only seven doUars left out of the thirty-five doUars that the 936 ordinary members pay. Our expenses ($53,318) have exceeded our revenues from membership fees and several minor sources ($42,721) by nearly $10,600. This operational deficit has been suppUed by the income from our investments, of which $2,450 should be transferred anyway for the Ufe members (at thirty-five dollars each). Still we may ask ourselves whether it is proper to use more than eight thousand doUars of our investment income merely to cover our ordinary operating expenses.

Our investments, of course, have increased in value in the past year. The net value of our portfolio held in street name by Alex. Brown & Sons (excluding the John Tracy Ellis Memorial Fund) as of December 5, 1996, was $394,210.38, including $3,35927 in the Cash Reserve Fund, $387,466.63 in stocks, and $3,384.48 in equity funds. This constitutes an increase over the net value of our portfolio posted at the end of 1995, when it was $312,716.1 1. In addition, we have several holdings apart from our portfoUo with Alex. Brown & Sons, the current value of which is as foUows:

Columbia First Bank: certificates of deposit
(December 15, 1996) 5,030.22
(October 12 1996) 2,419.59
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund: 3,309732 shares at
$9.52 per share (November 29) 31,508.65
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 3,336.601 shares at
$10.34 per share (November 29) 34,500.45
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 466.51 l shares at
$10.34 per share (November 30) 4,823.72
Vanguard High Yield Bond PortfoUo: 847.767 shares at
$7.84 per share (November 30) 6,646.49
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund: 1,159125 shares at
$9.34 per share (September 25) 10,826.23
Washington Mutual Investors Fund:
5,690.852 shares (less 132 shares held by Alex. Brown)
at $2392 per share (September 23) 132,967.74
To these should be added the portfolio held
by Alex. Brown & Sons 387.466.63
Hence, the Association's total invested assets were valued at 616,18972

This figure represents an increase of $108,645.84 over 1995. The growth is due partly to the reinvestment of the income from the Washington Mutual Investors Fund, the first two GNMA portfolios Usted above, and the Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund, but mainly to the appreciation of some of our stocks and shares in the mutual funds.

The Committee on Investments, which had been depleted by the death of Professor Alexander Woroniak and the departure of Mr. Richard Morris from the

CathoUc University of America, has been reconstituted with two other members of the Department of Economics and Business, namely, Dr. Jamshed Y. Uppal and Dr. Reza Saidi, both associate professors. I deeply appreciate the interest they have shown and the advice they have given. With the help of our broker, Mr. E. Bruce WheUhan of Alex. Brown & Sons, we intend to restructure our portfolio with a view to greater diversification.

As editor of the Catholic Historical Review I am pleased to call your attention to the length of the volume (LXXXII) published in 1996. It is 110 pages longer than the preceding volume, consisting of 782 pages numbered in Arabic numerals and fifty-six in Roman numerals. Our ordinary budget aUows for 608 pages plus the preliminary matter, title page, and index. That we were able to add 174 pages was due to the generosity of supporters who contributed $7,653 for this purpose, besides the balance carried over from 1995. We now begin the new volume with nearly $2,000 available for expansion. I am grateful to each of the contributors.*

"Mr. Maurice Adelman, Jr., Miss Charlotte Ames, Dr. R. Scott Appleby, Professor Walter L. Arnstein, Reverend WiUam A. Au, Dr. John J. Augenstein, Reverend Robert C. Ayers, Reverend Francis Azzopardi, O.EM.Cap., Professor William S. Babcock, Ms. Carla Bang, Professor Harry L. Bennett, Mr. Clifford J. Berschneider, Professor Thomas E. Bird, Professor Maxwell Bloomfield, Ms. Susanne Böhr-Hirte, Reverend Monsignor Myles M. Bourke, Professor Henry W. Bowden, Professor Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Professor Robert Brentano, Sister Mary Briant, Commander Michael O. Brown, CHC USN, Dr. David H. Burton, Professor Caroline W Bynum, Professor Joseph F. Byrnes, Professor William J. CaUahan, Reverend Robert Carbonneau, CR, Reverend Daniel E. Carter, Mr. Aloysius Clarke, Professor Robert H. Connery, Reverend Austin Cooper, O.M.I., Professor Jay Corrin, Reverend Robert Croken, S.J., Mr. Timothy P. Cross, Mr. L. Chris Curry, Miss Judythe B. Deutsch, Professor Thomas Deutscher, Mr. R. A. Dowd, Reverend Monsignor Thomas M. Duffy, Reverend Monsignor Walter J. Edyvean.Mr. Edward V Egan, Brother Patrick EUis.ES.C, Reverend Edward J. Enright, O.S.A., Reverend Dr. John Whitney Evans, Sister Janice Farnham, R.J.M., Reverend Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J., Dr. MicheUe M. Fontaine, Reverend Monsignor John T. Foudy, Professor John B. Freed, Right Reverend Professor Astrik L. Gabriel, Mr. Richard C. Garvey, Most Reverend Peter L. Gerety, Reverend Paul E. Gins, O.S.M., Professor Elisabeth G. Gleason, Professor Philip Gleason, Reverend Leopold G. Glueckert, O.Carm., Alexander W. Gotta, MD., Dr. Philip A. Grantjr., Professor Walter D. Gray, Reverend Peter N. Graziano, Ms. June-Ann Greeley, Professor Paul E Grendler, Professor Hanns Gross, Dr. Richard E Gyug, Most Reverend Daniel A. Hart, Professor Francis X. Hartigan, Professor Martin J. Havran, Reverend Lawrence R. Hennessey, ST., Reverend Bennett D. HiU, O.S.B., Reverend Monsignor John V Horgan, Reverend Joseph G. Hubbert, CM., Reverend John Jay Hughes, Reverend Monsignor Richard A. Hughes, Reverend Leon M. Hutton, Dr. Cathy J. Itnyre, Professor James J. John, Dr. Karen Jolly, Dr. Christopher Kauffman, Reverend John P. Kavanaugh, Reverend Leonard J. Kempski, Mr. Michael J. Kennedy, Mr. David A. Kingma, Professor Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, Professor Peter J. Kountz, Reverend Robert Krieg, C.S.C, Reverend Raymond J. Kupke, Reverend Professor Louis M. La Favia, Reverend Monsignor Andrew P Landi, Dr. Charles E Lasher, Mrs. Joan M. Lenardon, Most Reverend Oscar H. Lipscomb, Mr. Richard A. LoiseUe, Reverend Ambrose Macaulay, Dr. EUen A. Macek, Mr. Walter H. Maloney, Jr., Dr. Raymond J. Maras, Dr. Dennis D. Martin, Professor Lawrence J. McCaffrey, Reverend John R. McCarthy, Sister Mary Frances McDonald, O.P, Reverend Thomas C McGonigle, O.P.,

In our eighty-second volume we have pubUshed thirteen articles (including the presidential address read at the last annual meeting), one bibUographical essay, two review articles, and reviews of 223 other books, besides the reports from the Association's last annual meeting and the other regular sections. In 1995 only 166 books were reviewed at least briefly. While I thank aU the authors of articles and book reviewers, I give double thanks to those authors who have procured the four cover Ulustrations free of charge.

Fifty manuscripts have been submitted in the past year, nine more than in 1995. Six of them were sent together, being papers read at the Symposium on the History of Christianity in China held at Hong Kong in the first week of October. The distribution by fields and the tentative or final disposition of these manuscripts are shown in the foUowing table:

	Accepted	Conditionally accepted	Rejected	Pending	Withdrawn	Total
General and Miscellaneous						2
Ancient and Medieval						10
Early modern European						6
Late modern European						9
American						13
Canadian						1
Latin American						1
Asian and Pacific						8
Total		13	25			50

Sister Mary Nona McGreal, OP, Professor John T McGreevy, Dr. Mary M. McLaughlin, Reverend Robert O. McMain, Professor Jo Ann Kay McNamara, Reverend Robert E McNamara, Dr. David C MiUer, Professor Samuel J. T. Miller, Reverend Wilson D. Miscamble, C.S.C, Professor John C Moore, Professor James Muldoon, Reverend Monsignor Robert R. Mulligan, Reverend Francis J. Murphy, Reverend Benedict Neenan, O.S.B., Dr. Michael C Neri, Dr. Louis J. Nigro, Professor Thomas E Noble, Honorable John T. Noonanjr., Professor Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Professor Francis Oakley, Professor David J. O'Brien, Professor Maurice R. O'Connell, Reverend Fergus O'Donoghue, S.J., Most Reverend Gerald O'Keefe, Most Reverend Joseph T. O'Keefe, Professor Glenn Olsen, Mr. John R. Page, Mrs. Marie E. Palmer-Kamprath, Reverend Louis J. Pascoe, SJ., Dr. and Mrs. Robert E. Paul, Professor Neal Pease, Reverend Dr. John E Piperjr., Reverend Charles W. Polzer, SJ., Professor James M. PoweU, Dr. Robert E. Quigley, Mr. John F. Quinn, Professor Alan J. Reinerman, Reverend James W Reites, S.J., Mrs. Margherita Repetto-Alaia, Reverend John Kevin Ring, Professor John F.

The fields in which we have most notably failed to attract sufficient articles are Canadian and Latin American history.

It is not only a duty but also a pleasure each year to thank the four advisory editors and the numerous but anonymous referees. I also thank Dr. Lawrence H. Feldman for his thoroughness, accuracy, and speed in compUing once again the general index.

According to the official statement of ownership prepared by the business manager, Gordon A. Conner, which wiU be published in the January issue, the paid circulation of the Review as of September 26, 1996, was 1,890; this figure reflects the decline in membership, while the direct subscriptions, held mostíy by libraries and other institutions, remain largely stable. In addition, 169 copies were sent out free of charge each quarter, mostly in exchange for other journals. The total distribution was 2,059 for each issue during the preceding twelve months on the average.

The second half of this year was a difficult time in the executive office of the Association and the editorial office of the Review, because our trusted and esteemed secretary, Miss Maryann Urbanski, underwent surgery in August and could not return to work for more than five weeks, and then for several more weeks she could not remain for a full day. In her absence I engaged some temporary and part-time help, but some tasks were unavoidably neglected, such as acknowledging contributions for the expansion of the journal. I express my gratitude to Miss Urbanski for doing the best that her physical condition permitted in this first semester. I also wish to note the valuable service rendered by our work-study undergraduate assistants, Miss Christina Mary Sinck (who graduated in May) and Mr. Joseph Smith (who began in September).

Looking ahead, we expect another weU organized and weU attended spring meeting, which wiU take place at the University ofVirginia at Charlottesville on April 4 and 5, under the direction of our past president, Father Gerald P Fogarty, SJ. Then next January for the first time we wiU meet in Seattle, where we hope the weather wiU be more clement than it has been in recent weeks. The chair-

Roche, Professor John D. Root, Professor Francis J. Ryan, Dr. James D. Ryan, Professor José M. Sanchez, Reverend Monsignor Robert J. Samo, Dr. Daniel L. Schlafly, Dr. John F. Schwaller, Reverend Monsignor Francis R. Seymour, Dr. William D. Sharpe, Professor Hiroaki Shiozaki, Dr. Albert Shumate, Reverend Joachim Smet, O.Carm., Professor John R. Sommerfeldt, Mr. George T Spera, Professor James M. Stayer, Ms. Elizabeth M. Streitz, Dr. Stephen J. Sweeny, Professor Leonard Swidler, Reverend Charles J. T. Talar, Mr. Daniel E Tanzone, Professor Leslie W. Tentler, Professor Samuel J. Thomas, Reverend Dr. Thomas W. Tifft, Dr. John B. Tomaro, Professor James D. Tracy, Professor Thomas P Turley, Reverend Edward R. Udovic, CM., Professor Nicholas Varga, Reverend Jeffrey von Arx, S.J., Captain Andrew J. Walsh, Professor Morimichi Watanabe, Reverend Monsignor Edward V Wetterer, Reverend Arthur Wheeler, C.S.C, Dr. Joseph M. White, Professor Joseph L. Wieczynski, Dr. Alexandra Wilhelmsen, Reverend Norbert G. WbU, Dr. Richard J. Wolff, Reverend WiUiam Wolkovich-Valkavicius, Dr. Eric J. Yonke, Reverend Dr. Martin A. Zielinski.

man of the Committee on Program, Dean Arthur L. Fisher of Seattle University, is still receiving proposals of sessions or papers. FinaUy, for the spring of 1998 the Executive CouncU has accepted the gracious invitation of Marian CoUege in Indianapolis. Our meeting wiU be a part of the celebration of the centenary of the transfer of the episcopal see that was erected at Vincennes in 1834 to Indianapolis in 1898; it was raised to metropolitan rank in 1944. The Executive CouncU would welcome invitations from other coUeges or universities for spring meetings in subsequent years.

As we approach the end of the second Christian miUennium, let us strive to heighten the interest of our non-historian contemporaries in the history of Christianity and be prepared to respond to the questions that this mUestone is bound to provoke.

Robert Trisco
Secretary and Treasurer

Financial Statement

Fund Statement (as of December 15, 1996)

Cash:		
Balance as of December 15, 1995	6,021.19	
Increase (Decrease): see Exhibit A	(10,596.30)	
Transfer from investment income	15.300.00	
Balance as of December 15, 1996		10,724.89
Investments: see Exhibit B		276.502.38
Total Fund Resources		287,227.27

Statement of Revenue and Expenses (Exhibit A)
(for the period December 15, 1995, through December 15, 1996)

Revenue:			
Membership fees (annual)		39,632.00	
Annual meeting, 1995/96		2,014.00	
Rental of mailing list		150.00	
Endowment Fund		339-33	
Dividends (cash)		581.10	
MisceUaneous		5JK)	42,721.43
Expenses:			
Office Expenses:			
Secretary	12,462.88		
Telephone	30.75		
Supplies, printing	734.18		
Postage	3.472.11	16,69992	
Catholic Historical Review			
Subscriptions		31,150.00	
Annual meeting, 1995/96		2,777.46	
Annual meeting, 1996/97		1,681.00	

John Gilmary Shea Prize	500.00	
Bank charges	105.90	
Discount on checks	21.00	
Dues to CIHEC	38.25	
MisceUaneous	344.20	53.317.73
Operational surplus—Net gain (loss)		(10,596.30)
Investments (Exhibit B)		
General Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 1995		216,740.05
Income from investments (dividends and interest):		
Abbott Laboratories	744.00	
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	(145.88)	(paid SF I)
American Electric Power Company	480.00	
DTE Energy Co	201.88	
Edison International	1,200.00	
First American Financial Corp	53.46	
General Electric Company	2,944.00	
ITT Hartford Group.lnc	240.00	
ITT Industries, Inc	90.00	
Johnson & Johnson	1,176.00	
Montana Power Company	480.00	
Rayonier, Inc	56.00	
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund, Inc	2,091.60	
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio	2,335.24	
Vanguard High Yield Corp. PortfoUo	581.10	
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund	742.89	
Van Kampen American Capital Bond Fund	1,540.00	
Washington Mutual Investors Fund	3.421.26	18,23155
Capital gains:		
Washington Mutual Investors Fund	5.750.72	5.750.72
Total		23,982.27
Less dividends received as revenue (Exhibit A)		(581.10)
Total income from investments		23,401.17
Less transfer to cash		(15,300.00)
Balance as of December 15, 1996		224,841.82
Special Fund I—Howard R. Marraro Prize		
Balance as of December 15, 1995:		
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	.6,363.17	
Central & Southwest	.7.966.47	14,329.64
Investment income:		
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	.306.70	
Central & Southwest	.696.00	1,002.70
Prize and luncheon		(550.001
Balance as of December 15, 1996		14,782.34
Special Fund II—Anne M. WolfFund		
Balance as of December 15, 1995:		
Columbia First Bank CDs		7,502.33
Investment income		355.12
Balance as of December 15, 1996		7,857.45

Special Fund III—Expansion of the CHR		
Balance as of December 15, 1995		679.79
Contributions		7,65300
Expense		(6.469.441
Balance as of December 15, 1996		1,863.35
Special Fund TV—Endowment		
Balance as of December 15, 1995		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		4,542.50
Investment income		339.33
Transferred to Exhibit A		(339.33)
Balance as of December 15, 1995		4,542.50
Special Fund V-J. T. Ellis Memorial Fund		
Balance as of December 15, 1995		19,712.40
Contributions		2,470.00
Investment income		
Signet Money Market Account	350.76	
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	2.83	
Central & Southwest	87.00	440.59
Bank's external service charges		(8.07)
Balance as of December 15, 1996		22,614.92
Total investments		276,502.38

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REWIRING THE CIRCUIT: CAMPIS REFORMATION

Review Article

by

Dermot Fenlon

Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy: Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular. By Simon Ditchfield. [Cambridge Studies in ItaUan History and Culture.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 397. $79.95.)

Here is a book which throws singular new light on the CathoUc Reformation and the cult of the saints in early modern Italy. FoUowing in the wake of scholars like John d' Amico and Charles Stinger, Ditchfield examines the widespread concern of humanists like Raffaele Maffei, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the "many and various detaUs in saints' lives and other commentaries which are to be considered apocryphal." This concern was met Ui the work of Cardinal Quiñones for the reform of the breviary. In the Quiñones breviary, Scripture, hymnody, and hagiography were combined in a way that was designed to supply a minimal basis of priestly formation. The principles underlying its conception were adopted by Cardinal Carafa and the Theatines, and passed in a straight Une into the reforms of the Council of Trent. Maffei's plea for what Ditchfield caUs "a textuaUy chaste liturgy" thus found fruition in the papal bull Quod a Nobis of 1568. Part One of Ditchfield's book explores the reception of this decree in the locaUties.

Between Rome and the Italian dioceses there immediately developed a process of feedback and arbitration, as bishops like Paleotti and Valier found themselves under pressure to retain local saints and traditions. How much, if anything, might be conserved of local liturgies which lacked the two-hundred-year test appUed by Quod a Nobis? First Cardinal SMeto, then, after 1588 the newly estabUshed Congregation of Rites, undertook the reconsideration of local traditions. Thus the creation of the Congregation should be seen, according to Ditchfield, as "a papal response to the demands of a frequently embattled episcopate" rather than "an interfering watchdog intent on imposing a . . . standardizing poUcy that did not take local needs and priorities into account." Standardization occurred, but Ditchfield prefers the expression 'regularization.' Just as in the study of secular government "simpUstic views of absolute monar-

chy have long since been abandoned," so should they be in matters of ecclesiastical government. "Things were no different in the religious sphere." Ditchfield appUes this insight to a reconsideration of the theses about Rome and the local churches advanced by scholars like Prodi and Alberigo in the past forty years. The result is a compelling new assessment verified by Ditchfield's discovery in the Ubrary of the Roman Oratory, of the complete documentation surrounding the revision of the Piacenzan Breviary of 1598. The ensuing story affords a striking insight into the workings of local Uturgical reform at close quarters. Here we have a unique case study of the CathoUc Reform in a seventeenth-century Barchester.

Pietro Maria Campi (1569-1649), a canon of Piacenza Cathedral, undertook the revision of the local breviary at the request of his bishop. Campi's text, and the bishop's endorsement of it in 1598, were questioned by the Canon Theologian of the Cathedral, Daniele Garatola. Garatola was the official responsible for priestly spiritual formation in the diocese. His was the task of ensuring that the clergy were suitably equipped for preaching and theological instruction. Garatola's objections to Campi's revised breviary were essentiaUy those of Raffaele Maffei and Carafa at the beginning of the century: "many and various detaUs . . . to be considered apocryphal." Garatola objected to Campi's account of Piacenza's patron saint, S. Antonino. Piacenza's supposed possession of the body of S. Giustina lacked documentary substance. There were other objections. Should such material, he asked,"be preached to the People or inserted between the offices of canonical hours by the bishop?" The essential issue, for Garatola, was that such material should not be "reformed" locaUy,"for this is simply prohibited by Pius Vs injunction at the front of the Roman Breviary."

Campi's breviary, in Garatola's estimate, marked a regression from the Tridentine reform. To ensure a breviary that would be a worthy basis of priestly formation, it was necessary to have recourse to Rome. Rome had begun that reform; only Rome could 'save' it.

The matter was referred to the Congregation of Rites. The documentation was then sifted at the Roman Oratory, and a revised set of readings suppUed and in 1610 approved by the Congregation. Why the Roman Oratory? As Ditchfield remarks, the historical work of Oratorians like Antonio Gallonio and the brothers Antonio and Francesco Bozio, together with that of Baronio, can now be seen in connection with the work of the Congregation of Rites. It was the Oratorians who supplied the requisite criteria for the verification and revision of local liturgies, rewriting, if needs be, the Uves of the saints for inclusion in the breviary. Their criteria were chronology, adequate documentation or, failing that (which was often) continuity of cult. BeUarmine at the Holy Office, Baronio at the Oratory, and the Congregation of Rites supervised, in minute detail, the final versions. Their concern was not with "purely historical criteria."They were not intent on excluding whatever was not historicaUy verifiable. To attempt that, as BeUarmine recognized, would be to empty the breviary and the Roman Martyrology. What they wanted was the elimination of whatever was unten-

able. (The cult of St. Denis at Paris and St. James at ComposteUa were recognized as untenable but deemed poUticaUy and pastoraUy untouchable.) The final criterion was, therefore, continuity of cult. Thus the breviary graduaUy attained a standard of liturgical decorum which, centuries later, as Ditchfield recalls, was to impress John Henry Newman, who found its contents "so unexciting, grave and simple." Newman was discovering the Liturgical Reformation of the sixteenth century. If Ditchfield's achievement were to have accompUshed no more than this we should be significantly m his debt. But there is more.

Campi is remembered in Italian historiography as the author of a series of Lives of the Saints of Piacenza. They began to appear in 1603. They were the direct result of his work on the breviary. He spent the last years of his Ufe trying to get the Piacenzan Pope Gregory X canonized. He failed. Thereafter he devoted himseU to completing his history of the local church. The work appeared posthumously in three volumes (1651-52). Parts two and three of Ditchfield's book uncover a fresh context in which such work assumes new meaning.

Girolamo Tiraboschi, writing toward the end of the eighteenth century, remarked upon Campi's "very learned" contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of Piacenza, "fiul of authentic and previously unpubUshed documents." At the same time, he thought "an author of more rigorous critical skiUs would have been able to distinguish the true from the false and to have drawn the conclusions therefrom." Ditchfield notes how Tiraboschi put his finger on "a feature of seventeenth century local history that has continued to provoke comment down to our own century," namely, "an impressive erudition" not matched by "a correspondingly acute critical spirit." Tiraboschi recognized that Campi's work belonged to a genre of studi sacri which, as he noted, began as a small stream around the middle of the sixteenth century and developed into a mighty river in the course of the seventeenth century—saints lives, local histories, regional histories which, allowing for the attention which they have gained from scholars so acute as Sergio Bertelli, have nevertheless continued to be an occasion of mud perplexity. Ditchfield has now found the Uturgical context that generated and explains that literature. Not only that; he demonstrates how such material provided the foundation of what must henceforward be regarded as a vast collaborative enterprise:—Ferdinando UgheUi's Italia Sacra, which appeared in nine volumes at Rome between 1644 and 1662 and was subsequently revised and expanded in the ten-volume Venetian edition of 1717-1722. UgheUi's narrative account of some 320 mainland Italian dioceses, arranged according to episcopal succession, has long been recognized as the first comprehensive historical account of the ItaUan peninsula. UgheUi's work has 'foundational' value for modern historical enquiry. But whereas 'modern' perspectives have tended to see it as a 'beginning,' Ditchfield has found the long traU of local and provincial histories which leads to its remote origins in the implementation of the CouncU of Trent. It was a traU with many false signposts which UghelU had presumably to remove en route. Among these, as Garatola had insisted, was found the documentation underlying Campi's Life of S. Antonino.

Yet within a year of the Congregation's negative judgment on this source, it reappeared in Campi's published Life of 1603. It remained, unrevised, in Campi's History of Piacenza. Someone, possibly Giovanni Battista Agucchi, Campi's patron, supplied him with a Ust of Rules for arriving at historical truth. These were, in effect, the criteria informing the historical work of the Oratorians and the Congregation of Rites. They involved due attention to chronology, and to the distinction of primary and secondary sources. Campi seems, at least intermittently, to have taken the hint. His final work, the History of Piacenza, foUowed the chronological form adopted by Baronio for the Annales Ecclesiastici. He matured to the point of being able to use comparative sources and notarial records to establish for the first time the Piacenzan episcopate of S. Folco (1210).

Campi's oeuvre was typical of the newTridentinegewre of hagiography—the provision of a local 'school of sanctity' for people who need look no further than their own city for exemplars of holy Uving. There was St. Cortado, "The Aristocratic Hermit" for those in search of models of aristocratic sanctity. There was S. Franca, "The WeU Born Nun." S. Raimondo was "The Lady Helper of the Urban Poor." There was Margarita Antoniazzi, who died in 1565, a poor girl, a visionary, and the foundress of a local community of nuns. Her Life by Campi was in Ditchfield's words, "the least personal and most formulaic" of Campi's entire output. Yet what seems formulaic to later generations may strike fire in the hearts of those disposed to see the ways of God in humble forms. We must needs tread carefully in such matters. We are, however, entitled to ask how many, like Garatola, were dismayed by Campi's cavaUer confidence in documents which tended to support his causes? The answer is, surely, those most qualified to judge. Campi's long struggle to get Gregory X canonized foundered, among other obstacles, on his appeal to documentation deemed "non degna di fede" by the Congregation. Too late, he appealed to continuity of cult. But Gregory's beatification had to await the eighteenth century.

True, Rome was unwilling by this time to overload the Calendar of Saints. But the flood of local Vitae was now swoUen by an accumulating tide of local histories. Why?

Once again, because of the long-term effect of Tridentine legislation: not, this time, the bull Quod a Nobis, but Carlo Borromeo's third Diocesan Synod of 1574, requiring bishops to supply from their archives a credible Ust of their predecessors, reaching back, as far as possible, to earUest Christian times. Here Ditchfield discovers the remote origins of UgheUi's Italia Sacra—a series of local histories amalgamated into regional histories—Sicilia Sacra, Napoli Sacra, aU in due course finding their way into a peninsular ecclesiastical historiography. This long process constituted, in Ditchfield's words, a "quiet revolution in historical method" anticipating by a century Arnaldo MomigUano's detection of the same process in the classical antiquarians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—enlisting for the first time non-Uterary sources, and distinguishing primary from secondary material. In the long road leading to

UgheUi, as Ditchfield continuaUy emphasizes, such novel methods subserved a liturgical purpose. We are not dealing with the Hoch Kultur of the Erdightenment. We are not witnessing the emergence of "modern historical consciousness" (although Meinecke's definition of that might seem to leave a lot to be desired; the phüological unearthing of the "ancient constitutions" stiU seems the better candidate). The episcopal archivists, the "local Baronios" as Ditchfield describes them, were motivated, rather, by a very Borromean determination that bishops everywhere should document their local privUeges against lay encroachment, and reinvigorate the grace of apostoUc succession by enhancing their historical awareness of its continuity. That was the purpose of UgheUi's Italia Sacra. It was the long-term result of S. Carlo's 1574 legislation, and it is associated also with the work of Baronio and S. FUippo Neri.

Ditchfield's pages on the rediscovery of the catacombs—Roma Sottoterrena, a world of "hidden treasures," of martyrs' reücs long neglected—underline the importance of S. FUippo as the instigator of a new epoch of historical studies and of Christian anthropology, issuing in an enthusiastic series of underground explorations, aU intent on awakening and developing a profound sense of identity with the early Church. The saints were the athletae Christi (a Pauline, not a Ciceronian reference). Ditchfield quotes Peter Brown's "characteristically vital metaphor" Ulustrating for modern minds St. Ambrose's earUer initiative in orchestrating the cults of SS. Gervasio and Protasio:

> His initiative had been firm and in many ways unusual: he had been prepared both to move bodies and to link them decisively to the altar of a new church [S. Ambrogio], he was like an electrician who rewires an antiquated wiring system; more power could pass through stronger, better insulated wires toward the bishop as leader of the community.

The metaphor is apt. Through the work of priests like Antonio Gallonio, the chUdren of the Roman aristocracy learned to know and venerate the virgins and martyrs of the early Church. That sense of identity rediscovered, of continuity regained, was effected locally by the translation of reUcs from the catacombs, and the development of new underground explorations and triumphal processions in cities like Rome, MUan, and Piacenza. It had nothing to do with disinterested scientific enquiry. It was, above aU, popular. People wanted to be in the procession when the saints, as Ditchfield puts it Ui one of his inimitable subheadings (designed as though for a silent movie), went "marching in." And they stayed in, shaping Uturgical attitudes (as Ditchfield so convincingly indicates following the observation of historians like Delhaye) for centuries to come. PhUip Neri would have approved of that. As Ditchfield observes in his introduction, "scholars of early modern CathoUcism ignore at their peril the . . . performance of liturgy … as a basis for a reformed priesthood," and, we may add, a reformed Catholicism.

But are we to believe, as Ditchfield would have us beUeve, foUowing a recent suggestion, that Baronio invented the story of PhUip's prodding him, initiaUy

against his wiU, into persevering in the study of church history? Surely not. Baronio was the soul of candor, incapable of invention. Philip prompted the work. The resultant wave of enthusiasm for Christian origins is sufficient explanation, and Ditchfield is to be congratulated for establishing the place of Borromeo and the Roman Oratory in that great undertaking. From it was to emerge that stream swelling into a flood which Tiraboschi was to recognize as without precedent in any other century or country, and whose course is now given a secure historical explanation for the first time.

When in 1742 Benedict XTV instituted a Chair of Liturgy in Rome, he also instituted a Chair of History. Ditchfield's book is designed to "rehabilitate that insight." It triumphantly succeeds. In that story, Pietro Maria Campi, one of UgheUi's correspondents, holds a distinctive place, now rendered fully and magnificently intelUgible. For Campi "every brick of a Piacentine Church, every reUc in its reUquaries, every etymology of its names, was redolent of a holy meaning. To linger on the description or explication of such possessions was therefore not empty rhetorical verbosity but a form of prayer." One could say the same of Ditchfield's Liturgy—a work which constitutes a major contribution to Italian historiography and, for this reviewer at least, a transforming experience.

The Oratory, Birmingham

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

A History of Christianity. By Owen Chadwick. (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1995. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1995. Pp. 304. $35.00.)

Sir Owen Chadwick is a former Regius Professor of Modern History in Cambridge University and the author of several highly acclaimed books. The present book has won the praises of Jaroslav Pelikan, the respected Sterling Professor of History in Yale University, who has reviewed it for the History Book Club. This reviewer has been reluctant to put himsetf at odds with two such distinguished members of the scholarly community, but has been compeUed to find this book seriously flawed. The author is obviously not addressing himseU to feUow-historians or anyone else with a professional interest in the subject. There is no annotation, little use of primary sources, and only a very brief bibUography No scholar should be faulted for addressing the general reading pubUc, but, unfortunately, the needs of the general reader are not met very weU either.

Any attempt to present the history of Christianity Ui ca. 150 pages of text—about one hatf of the space provided by the book's 304 pages is taken up by photographs—is fraught with many difficulties. The book meets the chaUenge weU in that it is weU organized, weU balanced, and free of bias. But it is, of course, not a very complete account, as one can readUy see from the index. Given the ambitious scope of the book and the severely limited space, it is not surprising that many important aspects or events are mentioned only Ui passing rather than considered in depth.

Many readers wUl be offended by the condescendingly simplistic, inappropriately coUoquial, and annoyingly careless style of the book. We find sentences such as these: "The bishops liked government to shut the mouths of the minorities on the committees" (p. 64) or "They [the bishops] were also more powerful because the people gave them more and more money and land" (p. 94). We read about a "hubbub of faiths" (p. 20), people "going Christian" (p. 61), men who wanted "to get away from the rat-race" (p. 72), other men "big in the church" (p. 90), laws "in a mess" (p. 111), and Luther being "deep in the Bible" (p. 202). Grammatical errors abound: there are run-on sentences, would-be sentences without verbs, and dangling phrases.

Errors of substance, too, can be found. In the discussion of the Donation of Constantine the dependency of that forged document on the Actus S. Silvestri

is not acknowledged; furthermore, it is mysteriously identified as "a document … in the legal texts of France" and erroneously assigned to the first haU of the ninth century rather than to the second haU of the eighth century (p. 58). The question whether or not Athanasius wrote the Life of St. Antony has long been laid to rest; it is therefore quite inappropriate to question Athanasius' authorship (p. 64).

Geography receives only rninimum attention; there are only two maps, one showing the spread of Christianity Ui the tlurd century (p. 40), and the other showing the distribution of reUgions in Europe in 1570 (p. 203)· Chronology, too, is given insufficient attention; the Chronology at the end of the book (pp. 286-293) is only a partial compensation for this weakness.

The numerous illustrations—they are not numbered—, many in color, have been selected with care and are of high quality. Unfortunately, readers wUl be disturbed even in theU enjoyment of these beautiful illustrations by the captions, which often partake of the same weaknesses as the text.

In general, then, this book is a disappointment. Chadwick has underestimated the intelUgence and educational level of those who might be interested in his subject.Those who may be looking for a book simUar in purpose and scope but more substantial and more pleasing in style should turn to The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity, edited by John McManners (Oxford University Press, 1990), to which, incidentaUy Chadwick has contributed a very fine chapter.

Hans A. Pohlsander

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Asceticism. Edited by Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxiii, 638. $125.00.)

This monumental collection of essays adds new weight to the evidence for a surprisingly vigorous and growing interest in reUgious asceticism. Our age in western culture, and particularly Ui North America, has seemed quite tone-deaf to the ascetic. Yet these essays suggest not only a new and serious inteUectuaI curiosity about ascetic phenomena in other times and places, but even the emergence of individuals and smaU groups in diverse corners of our own society whose quest for focus and renewal of life is leading them to explore various traditions of disciplined practice.

This is not to say that, as scholars or lay people, we know quite what to think about asceticism. The participants in the international conference that produced these papers, held at Union Theological Seminary in New York City in April, 1993, did not attempt to agree on a definition of the term.The papers also reveal considerable diversity not only in the specific subject matter described but in method and approach and even in fundamental attitude toward ascetic practice. KaUistos Ware, in the opening address, cites two Russian Orthodox

thinkers who celebrate respectively asceticism's power to Uberate the human person and to produce "a beautiful personaUty" By contrast, Bruce Malina, adopting a determinedly "modern" and "scientific" viewpoint, sees only "setf-shrinkage.'The reactions of readers may osculate between these poles of horror at the ascetic and fascination with it. Yet the obvious depth of knowledge and the extraordinary ability of the contributors to convey their knowledge wiU lead most readers to new appreciation for the power of the ascetic impulse as well as to vastly increased understanding of the variety of its expressions.

The plan of the book generaUy foUows that of the conference. After a foreword by John Hick, an introduction by the editors, and two "General Challenges and Reconsiderations" by KaUistos Ware and Edith Wyschogrod, twenty-four short essays are presented in groups of three, each threesome followed by a response. Elizabeth A. Clark then attempts the daunting task of responding to aU of these in six pages. The papers are sorted under four headings: Origins and Meanings of Asceticism, Hermeneutics of Asceticism, Aesthetics of Asceticism, and PoUtics of Asceticism. Most of them could as easUy have been put into one or sometimes two of the other categories, but that fact merely Ulustrates the interesting cross-currents that are at work. Even so, there are six additional contributions that were apparently not deemed quite to fit any of these topics. These appear as "Ascética Miscellanea" in an appendix, which also records the closing panel discussion on "Practices and Meanings of Asceticism in Contemporary ReUgious life and Culture."

This is obviously not a book to be read straight through. Yet it is an easy book to read, not merely enticing because of exotic descriptions and narratives, though those are not lacking, but deeply engaging because of the quality of thought as its authors wrestle with the best way of understanding and learning from phenomena that they know intimately and care about. It is, of course, impossible to summarize. EUzabeth Clark's response (pp. 505-512) is the closest thing to a summary one could hope for, and not a bad place to begin reading.

Wimbush and Valantasis are to be commended for a remarkable accompUshment, both in staging a conference of such rich diversity and high quaUty and for making its results avaUable in a handsomely edited book.

Wayne A. Meeks

Yale University

Studies on the History of the Church of Cyprus: 4th-20th Centuries. By Benedict Englezakis. Edited by Silouan and Misael Ioannou; translated by Norman RusseU. (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate PubUshing Company. 1995. Pp. xvi, 487. $100.00.)

This volume collects twenty essays, critical editions, and lectures of the learned Cypriot Archimandrite, historian, and bibUcal scholar Benedict Engleza-

kis, who died in 1992. The original audiences for these pieces, arranged here chronologicaUy, were quite varied. Disparate parts of the book wiU prove useful and informative to scholars and lay readers.

Five chapters present overviews of important moments and extended periods in Cypriot church history. The fourth-century origins of Cyprus's autocephaUc archbishopric owe much to the charismatic and powerful figure of Epiphanius of Salamis. A broad outline of the Church's development in the Byzantine period (330-1191) illustrates a particular sensitivity to the diverse social, poUtical, and economic forces which shaped not only the hierarchy but Cypriot Christianity itsetf. Treatment of the survival of Orthodoxy under the Roman CathoUc Franks draws attention to the cross-purposes of Lusignan poUtical and ecclesiastical leaders and the resulting oppression of the indigenous population. Accounts of the Church both in the Late Ottoman period (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) and under British rule (1878-1955), while somewhat more partisan, flesh out a fascinating story otherwise unavailable in EngUsh. Those with a general interest in Cypriot history wiU find that these chapters benefit from sound historical research and methodology. One wishes Englezakis had Uved to flesh out a complete history of the Church of Cyprus.

Much of the book is devoted to Englezakis's significant work on St. Neophytos the Recluse (1134-c. 1220), perhaps the most important Cypriot source for the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In addition to pubUshing editions of texts key to understanding the conquest of Cyprus by Richard Lionheart in 1191 and its aftermath, this book's most important scholarly contribution is a lengthy essay that employs the works of Neophytos to Uluminate Cypriot reaction to both the Latin Church and the Frankish state. WhUe the saint regarded Catholics as misguided on various points of practice, his opposition to them was not grounded in theological disputes over the Filioque. In these early years of the Third Crusade, native Cypriots apparently did not regard the church of the invaders as hopelessly schismatic, likely because contemporary Byzantine "high" theological writings were unavaUable on the island. Neophytos viewed the Frankish political regime in theodicean terms, however, as a tyranny permitted by God to punish the Orthodox for their sins. In this way, Neophytos prefigures Byzantine responses to the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople in 1204. Englezakis offers an important contribution to our understanding of the interaction between Latins and Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean during the Crusades.

Additional writings on the Cypriot Church's involvement in the events of 1821 and the appointment of a Cypriot to the Orthodox see of Antioch at the end of the nineteenth century wUl interest the student of modern Cyprus, but do not give sufficient context for readers not already familiar with the broader outlines of the period. Englezakis here as elsewhere in the volume shows a talent for an insightful debunking of ideas about the inevitabiUty of the course of

Cypriot history and an eye for reading lessons about Cyprus's current situation out of the past.

Derek Krueger

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A History of Canterbury Cathedral. Edited by Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay, and Margaret Sparks. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xxxii, 602. $39.95.)

A Christian church has existed in the Roman town of Canterbury, later capital of the Jutish kingdom of Kent in southeast England, since the fourth century, but the recorded history of Canterbury as an episcopal see began in 597 with the arrival of the monk-missionary Augustine and King Ethelbert of Kent's grant to him of Christ Church. The present cathedral serves as the spiritual center of the English Church and of the world-wide AngUcan communion. Constructed ca. 1070-1080 under Archbishop Lanfranc, rebuUt after a disastrous fire in 1174, and continually expanded and remodeUed between 1379 and 1503, the magnificent late-Gothic building has attracted the attention of several architectural historians, most recently Francis Woodman, The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral (1982; reviewed ante, LXX [January, 1984], 149-150).

The book under review purports to study the cathedral "as a community of people" (p. v). In fact, the twelve authors of the various articles comprising the volume apply a very traditional ecclesiological understanding and identify "church" with administrators: the priors of the monastic community of Christ Church, and the deans and canons who governed the cathedral. If some attention is perforce given to the cathedral as a pilgrimage center, the most efficacious prayerhouse in England, this work does not explore the beUefs and attitudes of "the sUent majority," what historians have long called popular religion. Seven chapters treat the history of the cathedral from 602 to 1994; the remaining five chapters discuss its archives and library; Uturgy and music; medieval and post-Reformation monuments; and the cathedral school.

From the days of Augustine to March 20, 1540, when the community was dissolved in an atmosphere of "squalid pathos," the Benedictine monks of Christ Church constituted the cathedral staff. Since the monks carried out a Uturgy which since the days of Lanfranc, if not Dunstan, had been elaborate and exhausting, conducted a school, and provided hospitaUty for thousands of visitors, the judgment of one scholar that "normal monastic concerns of performing the Uturgy, overseeing the revenues, and criticizing the archbishop" (p. 56) seems harsh and refuted by the evidence. Very close ties with the monarchy—long the community's greatest political asset, proved ultimately, under Henry VIII, its greatest weakness. The shrine of the martyred Archbishop Thomas Becket drew a steady stream of distinguished visitors: Louis VII in 1179, setting the French

monarchy's seal of approval on the cult; King John II of France in 1360; Aeneas Silvius (later Pope Pius II) in 1436; and Emperor Charles V, whom Henry VIII entertained at Canterbury during the Pentecost season in 1520—these, in addition to the tens of thousands of noble and ordinary visitors.

In 1541, Canterbury became a secular, i.e., non-monastic foundation. Since the Protestant Reformation attributed salvation to faith alone and denied the value of good works, including art, what purpose should the cathedral serve? It took more than a century of upheavals and destruction for this issue to be resolved. In the Restoration atmosphere that stressed stabiUty and the re-establishment of the world that had been lost, ParUament determined that a dean and twelve canons or prebendaries had responsibUity for the fabric, the daUy worship, and hospitality. The authors evaluate the interests and contributions of aU the deans since 1661.

In synthesizing recent revisionist research, this volume makes at least three significant contributions to an understanding of the AngUcan Church between the ancien régime and the twentieth century. First, in the eighteenth century the church worked to create stabiUty and order, and, reflecting public opinion, fought CathoUc Emancipation and what the church perceived as the destructive influence of UberaUsm. Secondly, the Tractarian movement did not so much react against enlightenment thought as it drew upon eighteenth-century Anglican ideas. Thirdly, the clergy developed for the first time into a professional group, set apart by education, interests, status, and close marriage connections. And, as in the days of Becket and Wolsey, so in those of Tait and Temple, the cathedral clergy and the higher ranks of the Anglican hierarchy in general, were not an aristocratic caste, but open to talents.

Although the long sections on nineteenth-century ecclesiastical poUtics, with amusing detaU on eccentric prelates and clerical promotions, seem to transport the reader back to the cozy world of TroUope's Barchester Towers; although so secularized had EngUsh lUe become by 1920 that the author of the section can seriously raise the question, "What did prayer and aspiration have to do with Canterbury Cathedral?"; and although we learn that more than two rnilUon tourists flock to the cathedral annuaUy in the 1990's, bringing to the city £8.5 milUons in revenue, no attempt is made to respond to the charge that scarcely 5% of the English people regularly attend church services and that the church itseU has become a splendid anachronism focused on the past; still, the serious student of many facets of church Ufe and culture, not least of post-Vatican CouncU II ecumenism, wUl want to consult this beautifuUy iUustrated book. It is written with an appropriate dignity and becoming elegance.

Bennett Hill, O.S.B.

Georgetown University

The Catechism Yesterday and Today: The Evolution of a Genre. By Berard L. Marthaler, O.F.M. Conv. (CoUegevUle, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press. 1995. Pp. 176. $15.95.)

The pubUcation of the Catechism of the Catholic Church has generated widespread interest in and has occasioned the plurification of books, articles, commentaries, and studies on the catechism and catechisms.

Every age has its catechism. However, for the first 1200 years the Church had no catechism as we know it today. "Catechism" meant catechesis; that is, the content of Christian teaching, handed down orally and calling for a response of faith. It demanded a conversion, a turning over of one's Ufe and love to God. It was a lifelong process centered around the Uturgy, the celebration of the seasons and feasts of the church year and memorized prayers such as the Creed, the Our Father, and the Ten Commandments, and emphasizing the virtues of faith, hope, and charity.

GraduaUy by the end of the Middle Ages and especiaUy after the Reformation and after the invention of printing the Catechism came to mean a book, a short, concise, accurate summary of the central truths of faith—smaU catechisms for the instruction of chUdren and the uneducated and large ones for pastors and preachers.

Father Berard Marthaler, the Warren-Blanding professor of reUgion in the CathoUc University of America and editor of Living Light, has provided us a clear study of catechisms used throughout the Ufe of the Church, an exceUent history of the development of this genre, dividing the work into fifteen short chapters from its first use as a tool for catechesis in the Middle Ages. He discusses Reformation catechisms, the Catechism of the CouncU of Trent, catechisms of the Counter-Reformation, English, Irish, Latin American, and American catechisms prior to Vatican Council II, the Dutch, German, and French catechisms, after Vatican Council II, the Catechetical DUectory and finaUy The Catechism of the Catholic Church.

Father Marthaler has devoted a Ufetime to the study and teaching of reUgious education. This pubUcation is a distillation of years of research on the history of catechisms.

It is fascinating how often in history the same issues keep coming up. Catechisms were seen as guardians of orthodoxy, a means of keeping the Christian faithful on the straight and narrow path to salvation, and even used for political purposes. Another frequent theme was the desirability of unUormity and a common language and at the same time the need to keep the distinction between those teachings that are revealed by God and those that are theological opinions or appUcations of those teachings.

One smaU point: I would have liked to see something in the study about that special American type of catechism—the graded textbook series which is al-

most universaUy used in Catholic schools and religious education programs for the instruction of chüdren and youth.

Marthaler stresses the monumental importance of the Catechism of the CouncU ofTrent, which together with the Roman Missal did much to shape the spirit and language and the theology of theTridentine Church. Perhaps today's renewal of the Uturgy and the new Catechism of the Catholic Church wiU have a simüar effect on the postconcUiar era.

Father Marthaler's book is in every way a helpful and readable analysis of the "evolution of a genre."

Most Reverend Raymond A. Lucker
Bishop ofNew Ulm

America Pontificia, III. Documentipontifia nelTArchivio Segreto Vaticano riguardanti l'evangelizzazione dell'America: 1592-1644. Edited by Josef Metzler, with the coUaboration of Giuseppina RoselU. [CoUectanea Archivi Vaticani, 38; Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e Documenti, 5.] (Vatican City: Librería Editrice Vaticana. 1995. Pp. 861.)

The first two volumes of this series, America Pontificia, embracing the years 1493-1592, contain a valuable coUection of papal documents relating to the evangelization of the New World. Drawn from the Secret Vatican Archive, they are pubUshed in their Latin original and were reviewed by Stafford Poole, CM., ante, LXXVIII (October, 1992), 601-606 (see also LXXLX [July 19931,602-603). This third volume, embracing the years 1592-1644, is structured dtfferently however, as it comprises summaries in ItaUan of 1409 documents that are of lesser value, as a survey wiU show. Only those of special importance are left in their Latin original.The fonts which this volume touches are likewise found in the Secret Vatican Archive and are representative of the various registers of bulls (the Vatican and Lateran Registers) in that Archive. Other documentation is drawn from the Archive of the Camera Apostólica and the Consistorial Archive concerning the appointment of archbishops and bishops, the erection of dioceses, and other pertinent activities.

As the Church moved into the seventeenth century, papal interest in the evangelization of America moved forward despite the theological and political problems that plagued Europe during that period. Weighty American issues stemmed from the patronato and padroado systems enjoyed by the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns and, in lesser degree, from tensions among the missionaries themselves concerning popular piety, new schools, seminaries, universities, and the progress and problems of reUgious IUe. The Papacy, however, always looked upon the American Church as an integral part of the universal Church and not just as an appendage.

To demonstrate Rome's concern about the overseas Church, the editor reviews some of the problems that the four popes under consideration encountered, namely, Clement VIII (1592-1605), Paul V (1605-1621), Gregory XV (1621-1623), and Urban VIII (1623-1644), the reign of Leo XI (April 1-27, 1605) having been too short for comment. Clement VHTs thorniest obstacle was the opposition of the Iberian monarchs who guarded the evangelization of their New World domains against interference from the Holy See by virtue of the patronage that had been granted their predecessors by previous popes. Like Pius V and Gregory XIII before him, he futUely endeavored to set up the Roman Office of the Propagation of the Faith, aspiring thereby to separate, Ui this complex problem, the Church's evangeUzation program from the Crowns' political policies. His efforts came to naught, but missionary activity, thanks to the reUgious orders, made advances.

Under Paul V evangelization proceeded apace, the CarmeUtes and the Capuchins, together with other Orders, doing outstanding work. Two CarmeUtes were appointed superintendents of the missions by Paul, a substitute for the long-desired Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Noteworthy was the PontUf's vigilance over bishops, religious, and secular clergy in the New World regarding their performance of duty and his condemnation of abuses among the secular clergy and bishops who, assigned to New World missions, faUed to assume their obügations at the time and place designated. Also noteworthy was his forbidding of ecclesiastics, under pain of excommunication, to engage Ui business. The matter of the alternativa also reared its head at this time, a divisive problem among the Spanish Franciscans, Doininicans, Augustinians, and Mercedarians and their Creole counterparts regarding the election to office of superiors of their convents and monasteries in the NewWorld. The solution was the alternation of European and American superiors in the higher offices of the Orders involved, but the issue remained acute throughout the seventeenth century, playing no smaU part in increasing Creole identity and a spirit of regionalism. The initiative leading to the evangeUzation of French Canada also had its origin in the early reign of Paul V, culminating years later in the erection of the diocese of Quebec in 1674 among other developments.

The reign of Gregory XV is particularly noted for the establishment of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622, so long desired by the papacy. Notable in this operation was Cardinal Francesco IngoU, the Congregation's first general secretary, who is likewise hailed for his interest in forming a native clergy and for the valuable information he gathered about the Church's world-wide missionary activities.

Urban VIII, like his predecessor, Paul III, condemned the enslavement of Indians under pain of excommunication, but the practice continued in many places under various pretexts. He also established the CoUegio Urbano in Rome for the training of native clergy, including native Indians, insisted on the strict observance of the rule in the New World convents of women, and also approved legislation regarding the election of New World abbesses for a triennium only. like

his predecessors, he also promoted the development of New World educational institutions. In terminating his introduction, the editor pays thoughtful tribute to the lay people of the Americas for the part they played in the evangelization process, a topic worthy of further research. Three appendices and an index of incipits (opening words), places, and topics likewise add to the worth of this volume.

FinaUy our heartiest congratulations to the editor, Father Josef Metzler, O.M.I., and his collaborator, Giuseppina RoselU, for their scholarly contribution which, together with the companion volumes, belongs in every research library.

Charles E. Ronan, SJ.
John D. Baggarly, SJ.

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Church and State in the Modern Age. A Documentary History. Edited by J. J. Maclear. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 510. $65.00.)

This is a rich selection of documents, with succinct commentaries, ranging from the 1682 GaUican Articles, the 1789 English Toleration Act and the 1721 religious regulations of Peter the Great to recent matufestos from Latin American Catholic bishops and items arising out of the dissolution of East-bloc Communism. Excerpts are given from the 1773 brief destroying the Society of Jesus and the 1814 buU restoring that same order worldwide. There is documentation on English America beginning in Virginia Ui 1606. The flawed Maryland Act of Toleration of 1649 is there, coupled with commentary that early Maryland settlers were "primarily Protestant," but without noting the preponderant political, economic, and social role of the Catholic minority in the early period when reUgious toleration was broader than that allowed by the 1649 act. Major documents from other English American colonies are included, as are various laws stemming from France's revolution. The European postrevolutionary experience is amply represented, with items from France, Italy the German states, Sweden, Switzerland, and Britain. Conflict of the new Italy and the Papacy is represented by documents from the time of the Roman RepubUc, Vatican Council I, and the victory at the Porta Pia. Prince Bismarck's Kulturkampf against the Catholic Church and the more or less contemporary French school laws are recorded, and there are excerpts from four of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical letters. There is an ample section on reUgious effects of the Russian Revolution and subsequent Soviet developments, and key documentation is provided on the interrelationship of church people and the Nazi and Fascist regimes. Church-state cases in the United States since 1940, most of them dealing with reUgion and education, religion and racial poUcy in the Union of South Africa, the Catholic Medellin and Puebla conferences in Latin America, and the breakup in eastern Europe round out the documents. The ¦whole is a carefuUy constructed and weU

organized compUation. It fits very well a course in the history of the modern re-Ugious bodies and their relationship to the state. A problem is the price. The kind of course that can best utUize the material is bound to be a somewhat esoteric elective of the kind I taught before retirement. I'd love to have had it avaUable. The students might have had other thoughts.

James Hennesey

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Paolo VIeIa collegialità episcopate: Colloquio Internazionale di Studio, Brescia 25-26-27 setiembre 1992. [PubbUcazioni deU'Istituto Paolo VI, 15.] (Brescia: Istituto Paolo VI; Rome: Edizioni Studium. 1995. Pp. xvi, 389. Lire 70,000 paperback.)

After devoting several international coUoquia to Pope Paul VTs activity before and during the Second Vatican CouncU, the Istituto Paolo VI has begun to sponsor research and coUoquia on his work after the close of the CouncU. This work presents the papers and discussions that were presented at the coUoquium held in Brescia in 1992. Like earUer volumes in the series, this one is carefully edited and handsomely produced.

Eight major papers are devoted to Paul VTs concept of coUegiaUty his motu proprio "Sollicitudo omnium Ecctesiarum" on papal representatives, the development of the CoUege of Cardinals, his ideas of and participation in the Synod of Bishops, and his views of episcopal conferences. Conspicuously absent is any consideration of the impUcations for the question of coUegiaUty of the controversy provoked, including among some bishops and episcopal conferences, by the issuance of Humanae vitae. These essays dtffer more greatly in scholarly quaUty than those in earlier volumes, in part perhaps because several of them were written not by scholars but by curial and other participants Ui postconcUiar events from which some of them found it dtfficult to achieve any critical distance. On the other hand, the problem may lie, first, in the notorious dUficulties of that strange genre, "contemporary history" and, second, in the fact that the theme of the meeting included issues that remain highly disputed not only theoreticaUy but also practicaUy

Thirteen shorter written interventions are also included, some on the same topics, some on other specific questions. The volume also includes accounts of the oral discussions that foUowed the major papers. The reader wUl not wish to ignore these reports since they often introduce material, perspectives, and criticisms that not only Ulustrate how the meeting was truly a coUoquium but also contribute to the clarification and development of the discussions.

One of the interpretative frameworks often involved in the course of the meeting was the distinction between "effective" and "affective" coUegiaUty, a distinction whose vaUdity and whose basis Ui the thought of the CouncU and of

Pope Paul VI, several people, including the reviewer, questioned. But the discussion provoked a quip from Roger Aubert: From the perspective of scholarship, he said, the coUoquium was more successful affectively than effectively! That said, this volume remains an important reference for students of the postconcUiar Church.

Joseph A. Komonchak

The Catholic University of America

Church and Society in the Modern Age. By AU Tergel. Translated by Craig McKay. [Acta Universitatis UpsaUensis: Uppsala Studies in Social Ethics, Vol. 17.] (Uppsala University Press; distributed by Almqvist & WikseU International, Stockholm. 1995. Pp. 275.)

This work condenses into one volume Ui EngUsh the gist of the author's four previous volumes in Swedish (dated 1981, 1983, 1987, and 1991). The subject is the history of social Christianity, both Protestant and CathoUc, from the Industrial Revolution to the mid-1980's—more specificaUy Christian social thought or ethics, rather than the practical social movements that have developed under the aegis of the churches. The central issue is seen to be social justice, predominantly in economic terms, and hence in particular the assessments given and the attitudes assumed by social Catholics and Protestants Ui regard to the two dominant economic systems during this period, capitalism and sociaUsm.

One can wonder U this smgle-minded approach best serves the cause of historical understanding, especially since the author admits that "the choice between capitaUsm and Socialism or their intermediate forms became steadUy less relevant for the Churches" (p. 268; cf. already pp. 60, 134). These alternatives had been, all the same, prominent enough previously. Confronting them led repeatedly to the quest for a "third way" for a modern political economy; just as regularly it gave rise to the notion that it was not the churches' mission to design an economic system, but to point to possibüities of greater justice to be achieved in actual circumstances, pragmaticaUy.

For what readership is this book intended? It lacks aU documentation, referring the reader instead to the four preceding monographs, two of which do not even seem to have been acquired by any Ubrary in the United States. It could perhaps serve as a quick overview of modern social thought in the Christian churches. There is admittedly no other single work that synthesizes its whole territory.[1] It is generaUy reüable in its assertions,[2] in its judgments fair and even-handed. However, the novice, for whom such an undocumented overview

[1]Within the range of the WCC, one can now have recourse to Ans van der Bent, Commitment to God's World: A Concise Critical Survey of Ecumenical Social Thought (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1995).

[2]But Pope Leo XIII could accept strikes in certain circumstances^ace p. 75.

might be intended, would probably not be well served by the excessively curtaUed treatment of any particular school of Christian response described here. Thus, for nineteenth-century CathoUcs, "Uberalism," not capitaUsm, was the social ideology to be opposed. Another example: private property, not further qualified, is most often taken as the key distinguishing feature between capitalism and sociaUsm, in a rather simplistic procedure.

Certain generaUzations emerge by dint of repetition, e.g., some characteristic differences between CathoUc and Protestant social ethics as well as some common characteristics. The two stories are related in paraUel and brought together in two chapters about the inteUectuaI exchange which finaUy took place between the World CouncU of Churches and the Roman CathoUc communion for two decades after Vatican Council II. Liberation and Third-World theology gets its due here as weU as in the separate chapters devoted to postconcUiar Roman CathoUcism and to the World CouncU of Churches. No reflection on the demise of "reaUy existing" Soviet sociaUsm is attempted, beyond the note that "the Churches are faced with a new economic ideological situation" (p. 272).

Paul Misner

Marquette University

Ancient

A Concise History of the Early Church. By Norbert Brox. Translated by John Bowden. (New York: Continuum Publishing Company. 1995. Pp. viii, 184. $18.95.)

This lucid and exceUently translated survey of the Early Church spans from its beginning to the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.). The author, Norbert Brox, professor of early church history and patrology in the University of Regensburg, says in his preface that he hopes to strike a balance between an easy-to-foUow survey and a sufficiently detaUed account. He has achieved this balance remarkably well in his eight compact and very readable chapters. They range from the earUest form of Christianity within Judaism to the missionary expansion on through to the major developments before and after Constantine. Brox's chapters on church Ufe and organization (TV) and on the first four Ecumenical CouncUs (VIIi) are particularly insightful. Other chapters deal with conflicts, heresies and schisms, theological orientations, and the Uterature of the Early Church. He includes a bibUography with each chapter, a "for further reading" section at the end, and an index of names and subjects.

Brox gives a very reaUstic picture of Constantine. He shows him not so much as a pagan ruler who is converted from the worship of idols to the Christian God, but rather as a head of state practicing the cult of Sol Invictus (the victorious sun god) who, by a spectacular shift of his own, changes that cult by identifying it with Christianity. "For him, the God of the Christians was identical with the god whom he himseU worshipped" (p. 48). Adroit at reading the signs of the

times,"Constantine saw Christianity through Roman eyes as a cult reUgion (only later did he come to understand the significance of the creed in Christianity) with recognizable structures (a hierarchical organization, an ideal unity throughout the empire, universaUsm, a capacity to establish itsetf in history) which was admirably suited to contribute to the task of the state" (p. 49).

Brox's description of the trinitarian controversies and the whole ethos created in the East by the condemnation of Arius' subordinationism is as clear and carefuUy nuanced as one could ever expect. He is truly a master in echoing the tenor of those times.

In discussing the fifth-century christological controversies, Brox gives a very fair treatment of Nestorius, pointing out that modern scholarship has been able to show "that he did not advocate the heresy imputed to him, i.e., the division or spUtting of Christ into two natures. He was orthodox—even according to the criteria of his own time. Others certainly put forward a Nestorian christology, but Nestorius was no 'Nestorian'" (p. 166).

A nice feature of readabiUty is the author's decision to document only where necessary and then directly within the text itseU, thereby avoiding the multiple footnotes we so often find in comparable texts.The book is clearly a high-level student reader and surely wUl be cherished as such by students, especiaUy in a paperback edition. There are a few typos that could be corrected in the next printing (viz., pp. 95, 97, 164).

Ray R. Nou

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Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop. By AUen Brent. [Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, formerly Philosophia Patrum.Texts and Studies of Early Christian LUe and Language, Volume XXXI.] (Leiden: E. J. BrUl. 1995. Pp. xiv, 61 l; 24 plates. $ 143.00.)

Hippolytus of Rome is one of the most elusive figures in the first three centuries of Christian history. A presbyter in Rome in the early third century and the last Christian writer from Rome to write in Greek, Hippolytus became the leader, it is reported by later ecclesiastical writers, of a "schismatic" community. He was also a major thinker who wrote on many topics, bibUcal exegesis (the first commentary on the book of Daniel), against heresy, on the date of Easter, and on chronology, and he is considered the author of an early and important church order, the Apostolic Tradition. His writings, however, have come down to us in fragmentary form. Further, a statue discovered in Rome in 1551 with a Ust of his writings and a paschal calendar is widely thought to be a statue of Hippolytus.

In this large and diffuse book, Brent AUen attempts to sort out the archaeological and Uterary information concerning Hippolytus and to set forth a historical interpretation of the "schism" that divided the Roman Church in the early third century. Because of the nature of the sources and the vast scholarly Uterature on the archaeological data, the argument is often dense and highly technical, and many of the points discussed at great length wiU be of interest only to specialized readers. But Brent does have a thesis, and it has to do, as the subtitle suggests, with the development of the monarchical episcopate and the organization of the Church in Rome in the third century. FoUowing the suggestion of Peter Lampe in his study of the early Roman Church, Brent attempts to show that the monarchical episcopate was late in developing in the city of Rome. Lampe was concerned chiefly with the second century, but AUen argues that even in the third century, i.e., in Hippolytus' time, the Roman Church was composed of several different communities simUar to phUosophical schools and that it is within this social setting that Hippolytus is best understood. Put simply, the city of Rome did not have a single "bishop" in the early third century. The statue is a "corporate icon" of the community that supported Hippolytus.

Brent is weU aware of the complexity of the issues surrounding Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the third century, and an invaluable feature of the book is the careful discussion of the scholarly Uterature. He is cognizant of conflicting opinions on many of the points he discusses and the arguments against his interpretation. One of the most important counter-arguments is that the ApostoUc Tradition, the Roman church order associated with the name of Hippolytus, makes a clear distinction between the office of presbyter and bishop. The final long chapter of the book analyzes in detaU the Uterary, historical, and theological problems within the ApostoUc Tradition. Much of the analysis is illuminating and convincing, but the argument requires that at each stage of the discussion the reader accept AUen's dissection and reconstruction of the bits and pieces that comprise the edifice as a whole. There are too many uncertainties to provide sure historical footing. Yet, Brent does make one look at the make-up of the Church of Rome in the early third century with new eyes. This is a learned and provocative work, an extraordinary mine of information, and an indispensable bibUographical resource for aU future study of Hippolytus.

Robert L. Wilken

University of Virginia

Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflicts. By Daniel H. WLUiams. [Oxford Early Christian Studies.] (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xU, 258. $59.00.)

WiUiams' book contributes one good piece to the redrawn map of the "Arian controversy." Arianism is tisuaUy—and rightly—seen as a primarily eastern phenomenon; but WiUiams sketches one distinctively western manifestation of it,

properly caUed Homoianism. Further, whUe any IUe of Ambrose of Milan mentions that he succeeded the "Arian" bishop Auxentius in 374, and in 386 kept Justina, the Arianizing mother of Valentinian, from taking over a basUica in MUan for her cause, WUUams shows that Ambrose's engagement with the Homoians involved far more than these two moments.

Western Arianism, from 360 on, is "Homoianism," which designates a set of beliefs accepted by the Synod of Ariminum in 360 and enshrined in a creed promulgated at Constantinople Ui 360, according to which the Son is "like the Father, who begot him, according to the Scriptures," a phrase that was meant to replace the troublesome homoousion of the Creed of Nicaea. A coda to the creed aboUshed the word ousia and forbade the use of hypostasis in regard to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. "The Son is like the Father" was to be the phrase accepted by aU.

WUUams undertakes to restudy the events in northern Italy from 360, when the Homoian creed was enacted, to 387, when the discovery of the reUcs of Gervasius and Protasius (386) and the invasion of Italy by Magnus Maximus (387) effectively put an end to Homoianism in the West. WUUams treats his topic in a historical narrative. He begins with the CouncU of Ariminum, and then considers HUary of Poitiers and Eusebius of VercelU, early defenders of Nicaea. Most of the book is dedicated to a study of Ambrose and his efforts to fight back Homoianism and spread Nicene Catholicism. WUUams deals with Ambrose's election and his early years as bishop, his work De fide, and the important CouncU of Aquileia (381). He also shows that Homoianism did not disappear from Italy Ui 381, but perdured for another six years or so. As is the current style, Ambrose's halo is tarnished a bit and the heretics' horns are somewhat duUed. WUUams' interest is history rather than theology. Perhaps there is not a great deal of theology to talk about; but the theologian might wish that WUUams had dealt a little more with the question of the Homoians' thought and its inner coherence. As a study of precisely western events in the later-fourth century, WUUams' book takes these events out of the shadow of Greek and eastern theologians and conflicts, and shows them for what they were—not world-shaking events, but an important local conflict that involved several emperors and St. Ambrose of Milan, and contributed to the distinctive shape of western theology and poUtics.

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Golden Mouth: The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop. By J. N. D. KeUy. (Ithaca, New York: CorneU University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 310. $47.50.)

After writing an exceUent biography of Jerome, J. N. D. KeUy the distinguished Oxford scholar of early Christian history and doctrine, has turned to the East

and performed a simUar service for John Chrysostom. With the possible exception of Chrysostom Baur, whose masterful study of John was written in German and translated poorly into EngUsh, no other author has delved so deeply into the Ufe and work of this complex, influential, and tragic figure of the fourth century and produced such a far-ranging but precise, soUdly researched, and eminently readable account.

The three words attached to John's name in the title sum up the three main periods of his IUe. After chUdhood and early education John Uved for six years outside his native Antioch in Syria, first as a monk, and then as a hermit in the neighboring mountains. When his health faUed, he returned to Antioch and was incorporated into its clergy. During twelve years as a skUled and popular preacher he became an influential figure in the city. He was then brought to Constantinople, where as bishop he played a leading role in the Ufe of both the Christian Church and the recently Christianized Roman Empire, as these two entities struggled to exist on their own and Ui an increasingly complex interrelationship.

John Uved during a critical period of Christian history. Arianism -was condemned at synods in Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381), but Uved on both within the Empire and outside, among the Goths and other so-caUed barbarian tribes, supported intermittently by emperors and imperial officials. At Antioch there was a lengthy schism, stemming from a dispute about episcopal succession, and there was further turmoU within orthodox circles as bishops sought to consolidate local power and to widen the influence of their episcopal sees.

Chrysostom was involved in these developments, from his preaching at Antioch when the city feared it would be punished byTheodosius I for an insurrection, through his fluctuating relationship with the imperial family, especiaUy the empress Eudoxia, at Constantinople, and ending with his confrontation with TheophUus, bishop of Alexandria, that resulted in his deposition, exUe, and death.

KeUy's analysis of the writings of Chrysostom and contemporary historians enables him to draw sympathetic, but objective conclusions about John's fate. His story had a tragic ending, but he was not simply a victim brought down by his enemies. He always retained an ascetic bent, and this characteristic underlay the vigor with which he attacked persons and activities he perceived as evil. He expressed deep concern for social justice, but his unyielding sense of right sometimes led him to speak and judge very harshly individuals and groups. He is described as a popuUst preacher and bishop, loved by his people, but he was often opposed by those whose Ufestyle he attacked or in whose affairs he meddled, including his own clergy, government officials, the imperial famUy and bishops from other countries. TheophUus may indeed have acted iUegaUy but KeUy shows that John did intervene in jurisdictions outside his own and strove to spread the influence of Constantinople into areas of the East which deeply resented such interference. Chrysostom emerges as a sympathetic and tragic figure of great integrity, whose human failings contributed and perhaps led to

his downfall. This book is not just valuable as biography, for, unlike his predecessors, KeUy has used a careful analysis of many of John's writings and sermons to present new insights and to confirm detaUs of Chrysostom's Ufe previously considered doubtful; his comments and summaries stimulate one to turn to the originals. Those who are interested in Chrysostom or in this historical period must read this book.

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Medieval

Women and the Religious Life in Premodern Europe. By Patricia Ranft. (New York: Saint Martin's Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 159. $39.95.)

A hundred years ago, Lina Eckenstein pubUshed Women under Monasticism, 500-1500 (Cambridge University Press, 1896), which has remained the only avaUable survey of medieval women's reUgious lUe in the Middle Ages in Engush. Patricia Ranft has now attempted a similar feat, adding two centuries on either end to her survey but reducing its content to a slender 150-page volume, emphasizing repeatedly that this is a "selective" history. She announces a triple purpose: (1)"to provide an accessible survey of the major events and places, interpretations and persons responsible for the various types of religious societies women have formed in the past"; (2) to make avaUable the results of focused research in specific branches of the subject; (3) to remedy the deficit in women's reUgious history relative to that of men.

Eight chapters in roughly chronological order are subdivided into brief essays of one to five pages. The principle of selection is not always clear: capsule biographies dominate some chapters; others are geographicaUy distributed; some feature varieties of reUgious Ufe. To Ulustrate, Chapter 4,"The Fruits of the Monastic Revival," is subdivided into "New Orders" and "Other Options." "New Orders" is further subdivided into Fontevrault, the Order of the Paraclete, Prémontré, GUbertines, Cistercians; "Other Options" consists of unlabeled paragraphs on the miUtary orders, HUdegard of Bingen, and EUsabeth of Schönau. Chapter 5, "The Appeal of the Vita Apostólica',' is subdivided into Unorthodox and Orthodox groups. The former contains a single subtitle, "Cathars and Waldensians," whUe the latter includes The Poor Ladies: Second Order of St. Francis, Dominicans, Béguines, Helfta, and Other Orthodox Groups (two paragraphs on hospital communities and penitents).

The book appears to have been written at breakneck speed, as though to meet an unyielding deadline. Its extreme brevity eliminates any pretense at making up the deficit with men's history: the standard surveys of the monastic movement or of individual orders normally contain more information about reUgious women than can be found Ui this book. SimUarly the episodic nature of

the presentation disaUows any attempt to come to grip with the arguments of modern scholars, which embrace a broader range of categories. The idiosyncratic apportionment of references between notes and bibUography obscures their value in compUing a good Ust for future reading.There remains Ranft's initial aim of providing an accessible survey. Brevity and haste unfortunately lead to confusion, such as attributing the "new orders" of the twelfth century to the decision to mstitutionaUze eremitic groups that flourished principaUy m England.There also appears to be basic confusion between apostoUc and contemplative religion which ultimately produces the conclusion (p. 65): "Francis' disciples drew the best of aU practices, virtues and ideals from the movement into an institutional form of Ufe that was but the logical culmination of the monastic reform movement begun at Cluny."This is, alas, the sort of statement that will inevitably draw out students' highlighters and appear on their final examinations.

Jo Ann Kay McNamara

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How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe. By Thomas CahiU. (New York: Nan A.Talese/Doubleday. 1995. Pp. x, 246. $22.95.)

Why has this book been so popular? Why have readers been buying this book rather than more scholarly and more accurate histories of early medieval Ireland? Mr. CahiU purposely distances his legend of the Irish past from more serious works which, he purports, focus on one historical period or another rather than the transition between periods, and which tend to leave out aU that is "Celtic and CathoUc" (p. 6).

CahUl's purpose is to explain how Patrick saved the Irish and the Irish then saved classical culture. According to Cahill, catastrophe came with the faU of Rome, when convulsive waves of barbarians (always "matted" to CahiU) sweUed against the Roman frontiers much as non-Americans push our southwestern borders today f. 16). It is an essentiaUy Gibbon-esque view of the shift to the Middle Ages, as CahUl himself proudly admits, with aU the decay of poUte culture and good living that the paradigm LmpUes.We completely lost the complex world of Augustine, a vibrant inteUect inspired by "the riotous blood of his homeland" (p. 56), northern Africa. (Augustine, by the way, drew heavUy on St. Paul, here referred to as a "wiry bald-headed Jew")

The waves of matted barbarians would have extinguished learning, except that in a remote outpost of Europe, unholy Ireland, a vaUant and semi-Uterate figure brought the love of letters and the Christian god. CahiU uses the possibly eighth-century epic, Táin Bo Cuailnge (copied in the twelfth century) to expUcate the way of Ufe found by Patrick when he arrived in Ireland: constant

warfare, unbridled sexuaUty, insensate drunkenness, shapeshifting battle goddesses, headhunting and human sacrifice aU ran rampant. These were the customs of the wUd, brave Celts, who had dominated Europe before the Romans and had spread, according to Mr. CahiU, as far afield as New Hampshire (to, presumably, the Stonehenge of America, one of my favorite spurious Celtic sites). Patrick, himself only barely Roman in this book, persuaded the Celts to give up their human sacrifices for the sacrifice of the one god's son which, according to CahiU, was easy for the British missionary in simpático with his new people. In fact, the Irish were so ready to convert that they also gave up slaves and warfare. (I am afraid CahiU has some explaining to do about the medieval Irish annals with their constant references to warfare, and the Irish legal tracts, which mention quite a lot of slaves.) And they readUy took up the monastic and Latin learning—they even learned Greek—gobbling up every manuscript that came their way and copying it for others.

EventuaUy, the Irish tooktheir bounty of Christian learning back to the Continent in a great effort to reconvert the barbarian (stUl matted) masses. They brought along everything that made their brand of Christianity unique and dynamic, including personal confession, prominent holy women, and a love of nature. Most important, though, they became "Europe's pubUsher" (p. 183), returning to new Ubraries the books lost to heathen looting and burning. We would have no Latin Uterature, and no vernacular Uterature, either, if it were not for the Irish.

The conformist, humorless EngUsh might have thrown a spanner in the works at Whitby, but it was the Vikings who destroyed the great Irish pubUshing venture, ending their role of European cultural leadership. Never mind—according to CahiU, the indomitably chipper spirit of the Irish endured throughout Norman invasions. Tudor plantations, penal times, and famine to re-emerge in Yeats and Joyce. And we can learn from the lesson of the Irish monks: for, as Irish saints once saved Europe when the Romans had let it faU to the barbarians, so America and the West wiU soon need protection from the rest of the world expanding furiously on its borders, pushing rudely on its civiUzed frontiers. History has always been divided into Romans and CathoUcs, according to CahiU, and it is the latter who wiU save us from our modern matted masses.

This is a rousing, colorful, passionate story, which is probably why it has sold so many copies. I cannot begin here to list aU the misread texts, over-simplified historical constructs, and biases of this book, but can only kindly suggest that it is not meant to be history, but hagiography. It is, pure and simple, a traditional legend of saints.

Lisa M. Bitel

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Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen. Edited by M. J. Franklin and Christopher Harper-Bill. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion. Volume VII.] (Rochester, New York The Boydell Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 310. $71.00.)

This volume is a most appropriate tribute to its honorée, presenting sixteen essays ranging from the Anglo-Saxon period to the sixteenth century, all of which pertain to the history of the Church in England and focus particularly on the record sources from which that history has been written. Christopher Harper-Bill suggests that Owen's "balance of universal and local concerns, as well as her indefatigable energy" mirror that of the subject of his essay, John of Oxford (p. 83). One assumes that he refers to John's hard work as a diplomat, judicial officer, and bishop in the late twelfth century, rather than the perjury and duplicity which may have attended his activity in the Becket controversies.

The range and scope of the essays is impressive, and indicative of Owen's contributions over her career, itself well documented by Arthur Owen in the bibliography of her works. Some pieces, such as Pamela Taylor's heavily detailed discussion of the complexities of establishing Anglo-Saxon estate patterns, and Sandra Raban's treatment of the 1279 hundred rolls, find themselves at the perimeters of Owen's work. C. N. L. Brooke's history of the English Episcopal Acta, and his emphasis on the importance of diplomatic in this project are, however, right at the heart of Owen's endeavors. Three contributions stand out, even in such a strong collection as this. Harper-Bill's study is a marvelous example of biography that is much more than biography, expansive in its content and a model of the use of the genre to understand the people who filled the posts that make up much of administrative history Martin Brett's contribution, reflecting Owen's work in canon law, advances the thesis that local interest in canon law, rather than its imposition from without, accounts for much of its growth in the century before Gratian. F. Donald Logan presents a finding unique in English records: addresses and sermons in the canon law faculty at Cambridge. This is perhaps the real gem of the book. Yet there is so much in the remaining pieces. Ralph Houlbrooke, too, presents a new find, a Norwich manuscript that opens up Bishop Nykke's 1532 visitation of his diocese (the last before the break with Rome), and P. N. R. Zutshi has discovered two new collective indulgences directed to English beneficiaries. Episcopal officers are the object of two essays: Brian Kemp assesses how archdeacons knew which churches were within their purview, and suggests the existence of twelfth-century scrutinia; David M. Smith concentrates upon the emergence of the 'official,' demonstrating that the use of the term in the Twelfth and thirteenth centuries is, to say the least, ambiguous. Local studies are also present, in Mark Bailey's treatment of the account rolls of an Ely manor, R. N. Swanson's case study of the effect of the establishment of chapels within long-established parish boundaries, and M. J. Franklin's discussion of the effect of episcopal acta on Northampton monastic houses (unfortunately encumbered by distracting emboldening for emphasis or reference). Criminous clerks are the object of two essays: A. K. McHardy offers a view of the processes of managing such persons,

and R. L. Storey analyzes the relationship between anticlericaUsm and the maUcious indictment of clergy. Rosalind HUl offers a brief narrative on Bishop Sutton's estabUshment of a chantry.

The volume is handsome, weU bound and printed, but the too-frequent typographical errors tarnish the whole sUghtly and demonstrate a laxity Ui editorial vigUance that contrasts with the quaUty of the contributions themselves. It is unfortunate to find in Harper-BUl's very fine essay that Celestine II responded to the appeal of the 'minks' of Norwich (p. 100). The coUection is prefaced by three brief and informative reflections on Dorothy Owen's career and contributions at Lincoln, Lambeth, and Cambridge. These, together with the essays and bibUography, constitute for the current academic community a fitting tribute to a respected archivist, scholar, and teacher, and for the new student an informative introduction to a Uvely area of research.

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The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume II: C. 700-c. 900. Edited by Rosamond McKitterick. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxxi, 1082. $95.00.)

Constituting the middle one of three volumes that wUl eventuaUy replace Volumes II and III of the "old" CMH (published Ui 1913 and 1922), this massive work represents the efforts of twenty-seven currently active scholars with academic attachments Ui ten dUferent countries (six from the United States). In her prefatory remarks Rosamond McKitterick, the editor of the volume, makes it clear that the work is intended to be "new" not only in chronological terms but also conceptuaUy, methodologicaUy and substantively. This aspect of "newness" wUl result from the distinctive features of the work: an interdisciplinary approach, a pan-European rather than nationaUst perspective, a reconfigured approach to the poUtical dimension of the human enterprise, and an emphasis on social and cultural history. A proper review should assess how weU these objectives are realized, but the space avaUable here precludes such a pursuit. Only a brief description of the volume's organization and content is possible, intended to serve as an invitation to readers.

Part I (14 chapters; 380 pages) is devoted to "PoUtical Developments." After an opening chapter discussing the problems surrounding the sources and new approaches to their decoding, this segment of the book presents summaries of poUtical activities in the major "states" of eighth- and ninth-century Europe: the British Isles (including separate sections on England, Ireland-Scotiand-Wales, and England and the Continent); the Frankish kingdom (three chapters); Scandinavia; the Balkan Slavs and Bulgars; the Muslims Ui SicUy, south Italy, and Spain; Christian Spam and the Basques; Lombard and Carolingian Italy; and Byzantine

Italy Interspersed are chapters on the Vikings in Francia and England, on the Carolingianymes imperii, and on Byzantium and the West.

WhUe the diversity of approaches to poUtical affairs taken by the authors of these chapters may confuse the average reader seeking the "new" way of understanding the poUtical order, these chapters provide a reliable, readable picture of what happened to all of Europe's poUtical entities between 700 and 900. Offsetting this bounty is a troublesome lack of cohesion. Readers wiU find themselves asking whether there was a center around which political developments in the eighth and ninth centuries gravitated and, U so, where and/or what it was. Perhaps there was none, but that admission raises a question about treating the two centuries from 700 to 900 as a discrete historical era. Some traditionalists may insist that a more coherent picture of Europe's poUtical development during this period would have emerged had the discussion been organized in a fashion that aUowed readers to move outward from a Frankish "center" to the "peripheral" political entities whose histories are told so thoroughly. Perhaps such an approach could have been given new dimensions by bringing to bear on political history told this way the new conceptual and methodological approaches that Uluminate the way power was utilized and how it affected people. One suspects that the main barrier to such an approach was a predetermination to avoid "the emphasis of the old history … on the creation and maintenance of imperial domination" (p. xviii).The avoidance of that "preoccupation with empire" (p. xviii) very likely also led to what this reviewer considers to be a serious flaw in the treatment of political developments: the decision to treat Frankish history after 814 in terms of developments in the kingdoms Ui the West on one hand and in the East and Middle kingdoms on the other. Not only does this organizational pattern relegate poor Louis the Pious to a position even less notable than the one from which he has only recently been rescued, but it also mutes, even distorts, a dynamic dimension of Frankish poUtical development that played a crucial role in shaping political affairs throughout the ninth century, that is, the effort to sustain a"Frankish"political presence embodied Ui a unitary state ruled by a single dynasty.

Part II (6 chapters; 175 pages) deals with "Government and Institutions." One chapter reviews the concept of kingship, the bases of political authority, and the techniques of exercising power.Two chapters are devoted to economic history, one addressing the general features of the economic system, and the second, money and coinage. Three chapters seek to delineate the social order approached from three perspectives: the social order and its bonding forces treated in general terms; the aristocracy; and an innovative in-depth look at four dUferent rural communities (in Catalonia, Brittany, the Rhineland, and northern Italy) in search of simUarities and dUferences marking the social order of the period. Perhaps many readers will find these chapters the most stimulating in the volume, chiefly because of the abUity of their authors to apply fruitfully concepts and methodological approaches derived from the broad realm of contemporary social history.

Part III (4 chapters; 115 pages) is devoted to "Church and Society," a theme addressed in terms of four topics: the papacy; the organization, law, and liturgy of the Western Church; monasticism; and reUgion and lay society. In general, the treatment of these topics is well informed and clear. The discussions of Carolingian monasticism and lay religion highlight new approaches to those topics central to Carolingian religious history that deserve more scholarly attention. However, some readers may find the overaU treatment of the Church disappointing. Whether by design or not, the space aUocated to this general theme seems inadequate in the Ught of the role played by the Church and reUgion in the eighth- and ninth-century world. This constraint is especiaUy true in the chapter devoted to the ecclesiastical organization, law, and liturgy, where the reader is provided excellent descriptions of these vital facets of institutional Ufe but Uttle sense of how the Church actually operated as a decisive force in society.

Part IV (6 chapters; 163 pages) surveys "Culture and Intellectual Developments." A preliminary chapter seeks to estabUsh the eighth-century foundations of cultural renewal. Then foUow chapters on linguistic developments in the early Middle Ages, education and Uterary culture, theology, book production, and art and architecture (supported by thirty-six weU chosen plates). WhUe the treatments of these themes do not always interconnect to create a holistic grasp of the cultural activity, each provides ample evidence to disabuse readers of stereotypes about the deadly uruformity, unimaginative imitativeness, and substantive poverty of early medieval thought and expression. Rather these studies, all of them given shape by their authors' awareness of new approaches to cultural history, highlight the creative and diverse ways in which educational, inteUectuaI, reUgious, and artistic traditions were adapted to fit a new historical situation, a cultural feat which played a major role in determining the inteUectuaI and artistic future of Europe.

A massive bibliography (172 pages), one part devoted to a general Ust of primary source materials for the entire period and another to secondary works relevant to each chapter, provides an invaluable adjunct to the volume. Although one might raise an eyebrow about the discrepancies in the number of secondary works Usted for each chapter (for instance, one page for the chapter entitled "Frankish Gaul to 814" compared to twenty-two pages for the chapter on "Slavs and Bulgars"), the bibUographies of secondary works seem to be current and judiciously selected. The volume has a good selection of maps and a useful set of genealogical tables for the ruling dynasties of the poUtical entities treated.

There are facets of the work about which any reviewer might carp. There are questions of scale (does book production deserve the same amount of space as papal history from 700 to 900 or Frankish history from 700 to 814?). There are topics that could have been enriched by an effort to interrelate the treatments afforded them more effectively (for instance, were there connections between newly emerging linguistic patterns, literary and theological production, and lay

reUgiosity?). There appears to have been a constant temptation on the part of authors, not always resisted, to abandon a European focus in favor of a Frankish focus. But these all pale beside the greater accompUshment of this volume. It succeeds in making clear how much is known about the period 700 to 900 and provides innumerable clues as to what stUl needs to be discovered. Professor McKitterick and her coUaborators have created a fitting monument to one of the great scholarly accompUshments that have occurred since the pubUcation three quarters of a century ago of the original volumes of the CMH dealing with the early Middle Ages, namely, the successful effort to Uluminate and thus eliminate the last Dark Age.

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Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint Riquier. The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert. By Susan A. Rabe. [Middle Ages Series.] (PhUadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 220. $36.95.)

At Easter in 800 Charlemagne and his court attended the dedication of the Abbey of Saint-Riquier, one of the best-documented of major Carolingian buUdings. The abbot, AngUbert, was responsible for the rebuUding, and he left an account of the buUdings and their liturgical use. Two seventeenth-century engravings reproduce a lost late eleventh-century drawing of Saint-Riquier, showing the three churches dedicated to Richarius, Benedict, and Mary. The main church had three great towers at each end and eleven major altars. Dr. Rabe's study sees the buUding as a reflection of Carolingian theological debate, in which "symboUsm based on the number three was present everywhere." She provides superb translations of some of AngUbert's poems and accounts of his involvement in the debates on Adoptionism and image worship to sustain her argument, which is an important exploration of how Carolingian architecture was viewed by its creators.

I am not clear how Dr. Rabe selects her evidence for AngUbert's thought, or his patronage. She discusses the theology of the poem De Conversione Saxonum, but I am not persuaded by her arguments for attributing it to AngUbert rather than to Paulinus of Aquileia, as D. SchaUer has proposed. AngUbert's prefatory poem for a presentation copy of the De Doctrina Christiana is carefuUy analyzed, but its Trinitarian symboUsm relates to its summary of Augustine's thought and need not represent AngUbert's thought. Other poems by AngUbert about Charlemagne's court, which show his command of different genres and his reading of Ovid, are not mentioned here. Dr. Rabe has found paraUels for her sense of the symbolism of Saint-Riquier, but she teUs us more about Alcuin's theological disputes, which provide the context for that symboUsm, than about Alcuin's expUcit criticisms of AngUbert. Could AngUbert's love of the theater also have affected his architectural program?

The library of Saint-Riquier is lost, but we have a CaroUngian catalogue. The U-brary owned Alcuin on the Trinity, and Alcuin was AngUbert's friend, but there is no discussion of Alcuin's Trinitarian symboUsm. A magnificent Gospel book feG???ß given by Charlemagne) now in AbbevUle and a Psalter (B.N. Lat. 13159) were made during AngUbert's abbacy, but neither is mentioned here. Yet the Gospel Book has important Trinitarian symboUsm Ui its initials.

Dr. Rabe reproduces plans of the basiUca and the church of the Virgin from the 1959-1989 excavations of Dr. Honoré Bernard, but there is no mention of his 1993 Paris thesis "St-Riquier Archéologie et Historiographie." We should be told if this was unavailable, or if Bernard and Rabe disagree about the reconstruction of the abbey. Here again Dr. Rabe leaves her readers regretting that she was not able to write a fuUer study of such an important monument. Bernard has found porphyry and serpentine columns, which may be reused materials reflecting the influence of buUdings we know too Uttle about. The discovery of an atrium at the west end of the church, caUed "paradisus" in AngUbert's description, also suggests such imitation. But what is the symboUsm of "paradisus"? Where so much is lost, the exploration of CaroUngian architectural symboUsm requires speculation. This is a brave attempt at exploration, but whether AngUbert's "visual and sensory mimetic structure" was the "consistent symbolic vision" suggested here may be beyond what we can now know.

David Ganz

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The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion. By Jessica A. Coope. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 113. $25.00.)

When Visigothlc Spain fell to Muslim invaders in 711, the Iberian Christian population found itself absorbed into the Islamic empire as a subject community. Though protected from forced conversion, the Andalusian Christians were expected to maintain a low profile religiously, sociaUy, and poUticaUy in the newly and incompletely Islamized al-Andalus. Over the course of the eighth and early ninth centuries, the numbers of Muslims in Spain increased due primarily to immigration but also as a result of increased conversion. During the same period, al-Andalus benefited greatly from its economic and cultural ties with the Muslim "heartland" in the eastern Mediterranean. In the face of the increasing numbers of Muslims and the growing strength and self-consciousness of Muslim culture in Spain, many Christians found themselves happUy participating in Andalusian society in ways that seemed, from the perspective of some other Christians, to be compromising their cultural-reUgious identity as Latin-Christians. The most famous historical result of these circumstances was the socaUed "Cordobán Martyrs' Movement" of the 850's, when forty-eight Christians from Ui and around the capital city of Cordoba were executed either for denouncing Islam in pubUc or—in the case of products of mixed marriages—for

refusing to renounce their Christianity and embrace Islam. VirtuaUy eveiythmg that we know about the victims of these executions comes from the apologetic treatises andpassiones that were written on behalf of the martyrs by Eulogius and Paul Alvarus, who Uved in Cordoba at the time. Both wrote in response to the lack of enthusiasm that the martyrs' actions eUcited from the more assimilated Christians of Cordoba.

Coope's book is by no means the first to treat the subject. The earUest and most complete overview—in the anglophonic scholarly world, anyway—was Edward P. Colbert's published dissertation, The Martyrs of Cordoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources (CathoUc University of America Press, 1962). More modern takes on the subject—which have insisted on scrutinizing the motives of Eulogius and Alvarus before assessing the meaning of the movement itself—began with James Waltz's article ("The Significance of the Voluntary Martyrs of Ninth-Century Cordoba," Muslim World, 60 [1970]) and continued with my own book (Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain [Cambridge, 1988]). Though Coope does not review the historiography of the subject in any detaU, it is clear from her work that she has, for the most part, read and benefited from the work of her predecessors. The end result is a balanced treatment of the avaUable evidence which attempts, first and foremost, to reconstruct the tensions within Andalusian society that could account not only for the radical actions of the martyrs but the virulence of their apologists' attacks on both Islam and the Christians who Uved in harmony with it. As such, Coope's weU-written and very readable book provides a useful overview of an important episode in the history of Christian-Muslim interaction. It does not, however, offer any new data nor does it break new ground in terms of its approach.

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Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe, \o\. I: Foundations. By R. W Southern. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: BlackweU. 1995. Pp. xxi, 330. $44.95.)

This book is the first of a projected three volumes that may weU prove to be the finest achievement of the most productive and perceptive of medievaUsts Ui England. Just as St. Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape revised and completed Southern's work on Anselm and the late eleventh century, so the first of these volumes further documents and synthesizes themes famUiar to readers of his eadier books, namely, his revised understanding of the emergence of schools of northern France and the place of Chartres and Paris, and his seminal notion of scholastic humanism that links the Platonism of the early twelfth century with the development of scholastic analysis, the recovery and assimUation of Aristotle, and the birth of the University of Paris. There is also much that is new here, not only in detaU but in his persuasive argument that the teaching of law

at Bologna (as distinct from the practice of law) began only around 1150, a generation later than the explosive expansion of the schools of phüosophy and theology at Paris. Southern's reinterpretation of Irnerius and Gratian as legal practitioners, commentators, and compUers whose work led to rather than grew out of the teaching of law wiU probably become the most important and controversial new insight in this book.

Southern's main thesis is that an educational revolution took place in the first haU of the twelfth century, buUt around a scholastic method of textual analysis and quaestiones, that not only influenced almost every level of European society but helped effect a unity of culture that had not previously existed. If, in the vision of Henri Pirenne, the Carolingian empire marked the First Europe, the unification of that geographical area (thus the second part of Southern's title) was forged only in the twelfth century through schools that were "international" in both students and masters, and by a common scholastic culture in arts, theology, and law. In Southern's view—and here his observations paraUel those of Jacques LeGoff in his work on medieval inteUectuals—scholastic culture was not allied with an elite court culture as was Italian humanism, but penetrated down to almost aU levels of society, and which created one unified culture for Europe from Italy to Scotland, from central Germany to Brittany. This may seem overstated when one considers the highly technical nature of the scholastic training in arts and theology that university-trained clerics received, which was far above the world of medieval peasants and even urban society. But inasmuch as the scholastic method of analysis, as applied to Roman and canon law, was used in law courts and was the way many in the clergy were trained to approach the Bible, sermons, and the care or souls, then there is hardly a community or social level in medieval society that was not touched by scholasticism.

Scholastic culture, according to Southern, ceased to serve the needs of society and even the academic enterprise in the early fourteenth century. That view, which many, including this reviewer, may find less convincing, will presumably be examined in detaU in the third volume of this work, whUe the second volume wUl give a more detaUed view of the lives of twelfth-century scholars. They wUl probably be worth the wait, which it is hoped wUl not be long. This first volume is a masterpiece of interpretation and writing that should be read by every serious medievalist.

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The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France. By Mary C. Mansfield. (Ithaca, New York: CorneU University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 343. $39.95.)

Mary Mansfield's The Humiliation of Sinners was completed as a doctoral dissertation at Berkeley in the spring of 1989· She died Ui an automobUe accident the foUowing August at the age of 29. Her dissertation dUector, Gerard Caspary and her father, Harvey Mansfield, prepared the manuscript for pubUcation, preserving it, they teU us, as she had left it. Thus the publication date of 1995 is for a manuscript finished in 1989. It is the work of a formidable scholar whose intensive research in a wide range of sources produced a bold reinterpretation of the history of medieval penance.

The book has two principal, interrelated goals. The first is to reject the thesis that medieval penance is the progenitor of the privacy, interiority and individualism that we believe are characteristic of modern western culture. That argument (waged throughout but most clearly summarized in the final chapter) is inevitably speculative, and although it produces important reflections on this problem, I found it beyond the reach of her evidence. The second goal is to "rehabiUtate" public penance by showing that historians have misunderstood its longevity and vitality between about 1000 and 1350. That project is founded on new, varied, and extremely interesting evidence.

The restoration of public penance to the prominence it enjoyed in medieval Ufe and values rests first of all on a critique of the reigning paradigm in the history of penance. In the first three chapters, "Penance and Privacy," "The FaUure of a Theology of Private Penance," and "The PubUcity of Private Penance," Mary Mansfield undermines that history by insisting that historians (foUowing CyrUle Vogel rather than the seventeenth-century Oratorian Jean Morin) have been misled by the clarity of distinctions drawn by scholastic theologians and canonists. Where historians have seen a neat progression from canonical, to tariffed, to private, sacramental, auricular confession, her reading of Lanfranc, Peter Comestor, Alan of IiUe, Robert of Flamborough, and Thomas of Chobham uncovers an awkward period of transition in which confusions—never successfully resolved—about public, private, and sacrament abound. Her examples of penitential practice that embarrass attempts to see in auricular confession a preserve of what we caU "privacy" are not unfamUiar and not without counter-arguments: the pubUc site of confession, the recourse to "reputation" to uncover sinners to be disciplined, sins reserved to higher ecclesiastical authorities, rigorous satisfactions specified by penitential canons that retained their prestige, restitution as a condition of absolution, and excommunications, especiaUy latae sententiae. Medieval society prized humiUation. "Behind aU the praise of contrition lurks a longing for pubUc humiUation," she asserts, and describes a "general phenomenon of hauling secret sinners into the Ught of day" (pp. 46, 124).

Chapter four defines the terms and explains the procedures of pubUc penance, with concrete examples of her thesis that pubUc penance was -widely

observed north of the Loire (unlike Italy and southern France). It punished ecclesiastical crimes such as clerical concubinage, violence against clerics, and destruction of church property, as weU as crimes shared with secular jurisdictions such as adultery, usury, and blasphemy. Once again, therefore, certain features of the received history of penance remain vaUd: "Solemn pubUc penance was for criminals, not saints" (p. 100); nor, one might add, for routine sinners.

The analysis of ecclesiastical seasons and theU ritual (particularly penitential) celebrations in chapter five, "CoUective Expiation, CoUective Rejoicing," discerns a "ritual logic" (p. 158) that prepares for an impressive textual history and analysis of seventy-five French pontificals from 1150 to 1350 in chapters six and seven. She plots pontifical genealogies, orders them in fifty-year periods, and submits them to a meticulous reading. Her argument for the reliability of her sources is persuasive. French scribes did not merely copy rites of public penance from earlier models, they constantly revised them. In short, they experimented and thereby chronicled dramatic changes from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. In the earUer period, the ritual was genuinely communal: the expulsion and reconciUation of "scapegoats" were joyously received as a purification of the community. But in the thirteenth century, the rite became mechanical, paraUeling the debasement of contrition when the 1215 obligation of confession turned penance into a legal and mechanical observance, "the simplest possible faith for a mass market" (p. 52). By the end of the thirteenth century, penitents ceased to enact the purification of the whole community. Lent began with ashes distributed not to penitents but to the whole congregation. She sees paraUels between these developments in penitential rites and religious drama: audience and performers are separated Ui both, in a move "'from aUegory to mimesis,' from rite to game to theater" (pp. 237-238).

If it became mechanical, why didn't it die like the ordeal? In general, medieval society favored humiUation because of its "lurking distrust of the secret world of the soul" (p. 247). More concretely, it answered the needs of populous cities, especiaUy from Paris northward. Chapter eight—"Penance in the Cities"—examines secular public penances in those urban settings imposed by bishops with seigneurial authority, the king of France, and communal governments; but she finds no evidence that authorities, penitents, and observers distinguished between a secular and an ecclesiastical and sacramental pubUc rite **f?.** 277-278). "CommunaUy imposed pUgrimages flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries" from northern France to the southern Netherlands (p. 283), where jurisdiction was unclear and class divisions were deep. Gt was also common Ui Alsace and Switzerland—areas outside of her purview.) Although the objects of correction continue to be important men, disturbers in some way of the peace of the city, she dismisses any suggestion that we deal here with idealistic peacemaking: "These towns were not communities, and public penances did not restore peace. Most often they underlined the defeat of one side, and they held up the victims to the contempt and perhaps the laughter of theU social inferiors" **f.** 266). Her purpose was not to indict the ecclesiastical estabUshment. She reminds us twice in the course of this study that ecclesiastical

humiUation and its secular imitations eschewed the mutilation and hanging that were part of secular justice. It destroyed "reputations," not "people" (pp. 127-128, 266). "It could seal a diplomatic compromise, punish an armed insurrection, end a famUy feud, embarrass an adulterer, or avenge the violation of a sanctuary." And it "thrives" on the ambiguity between pubUc and private "in urban poUtics as in contemporary Scholastic theology" (p. 287).

It is that connection, and the implications Mary Mansfield saw for the history of privacy and social control in the West, that constitute the boldest and most controversial conclusion of this book. We cannot know how the author would have revised it. We cannot know how she would have responded to the debates it would inevitably have inspired. But everyone interested in this indisputably central issue in our cultural history wiU profit from reading this scholarly and stimulating study.

Thomas Tentler

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Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power, 1200-1400. By Paul Binski. (New Haven: Yale University Press for the Paul MeUon Centre for Studies Ui British Art. 1995. Pp. viii, 241. $60.00.)

This is a most original and inteUigent book, but one somewhat marred by weaknesses of presentation. It is in part a conventional piece of architectural history, in which the author draws on arguments from the fabric and on documentary sources to provide a definitive account of Westminster Abbey's evolution and royal connections, from the abbey's new beginnings under Henry III to its last medieval flourish under Richard II. In its early days, its development owed almost everything to the king's patronage and preferences. But from Edward I's time royal interest declined, and Ui the fourteenth century monks and master masons were more often the guiding influence behind its continuing growth. Binski is mainly concerned with the first phase in the church's history, under Henry III and to a lesser extent Edward I, for it was then that it stood most clearly for what his subtitle caUs "the representation of power." To identify this theme is in itseU to do nothing new. Henry's church has long been seen as a kind of ideological statement, an advertisement for his kingship, a shrine for a dynastic saint, Edward the Confessor, and, as royal foundation, bravura display of wealth and splendor, and famUy mausoleum, a riposte to the Capetian cultivation of St. Denis, church and saint, though a riposte which paradoxicaUy borrowed the latest architectural fashions of northern France for the language of its answer. Binski's central achievement is both to enlarge on and to amend this view. He argues convincingly that in its function Henry's Westminster had no close paraUel in France and, in its architecture and art, was a more eclectic creation than has generaUy been supposed. Westminster itseU comprised a seat of government, royal residence, coronation church, and royal mausoleum: a con-

centration of roles which had no French counterpart. The models for the church were certainly in large part French; and here Binski restores Reims to its traditional place as exemplar, though with Louis LX's Sainte ChapeUe not far behind. But in its decoration and symboUsm it drew on a much wider range of influences, notably from the Rome of the Cosmati, whose mosaic work was continued under Edward Fs patronage. At the same time it was the shrine of a thoroughly insular saint, though Edward the Confessor's quaUties, transmuted by hagiographical developments of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries from kingly to chivalric virtues, were ones which belonged to European culture. Some of Binski's best pages are given to Edward's cult, for which his study has a value independent of the cult's architectural and artistic context.

The effect of Binski's work is to loosen Westminster from its French moorings and to present it as an altogether odder and more individual artefact, reflecting the outlook of kings who looked back to the EngUsh past and, in the case of Edward I, sideways to a British Imperium, as weU as overseas. Not all that he says is convincing. He sees the Cosmati work, for example, as charged with a royal ethic of respect for antiquity, imperial Rome, and (a very vague notion) the world outlook of popes and emperors; and here, as elsewhere, he perhaps unduly elevates ideology over taste in determining aesthetic choices. Nor does the art history always blend easUy with the overarching view of Westminster as an exercise in political theories. The compUcated study of the Westiriinster retable, for instance, looks to one who is not an art historian to be a self-contained piece of art history. More generaUy open to criticism is Binski's use of language. Long-winded, abstract, and often difficult to foUow, his work is interesting and clever enough to have deserved the kind hand of a more severe editor. Fortunately, the forebodings prompted by the preface, with its talk of "Local hermeneutics," "discursive practices," and "polysemous meaning," are rarely borne out by the text. But the author's complex ideas could nevertheless have been expressed more simply and lucidly, with more force and no loss of originaUty, to leave the reader stUl more grateful.

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The Song of the Cathar Wars. A History of the Albigensian Crusade. By WiUiam of Tudela and an Anonymous Successor. Translated and edited by Janet Shirley. (Brookfield, Vermont: Scolar Press, Ashgate Publishing Company. 1996. Pp. xiii, 210. $59-95.)

The Albigensian Crusade of the early thirteenth century witnessed the expansion of French power and the growth of papal influence. As with aU medieval crusades, the motives of the crusaders themselves were both religious and material: for the French crown and the Holy See it was fortunate that the French knights who led the crusading army against the Cathar heretics were

eager for their share of the free-for-aU land-grab that victory would bring; this transfer of ownership from Cathars to true sons of the Church was also necessary to faciUtate the power structures (poUtical control and Uiquisition) that could eradicate heresy.These two aspects—the temporal and the spiritual—are clearly reflected by the two authors of The Song of the Cathar Wars. The first, WUliam ofTudela (writing c. 1211-1213) supported the causes of both the papacy and the French crown: a loyal CathoUc, he recognized the need for external intervention to suppress the heretics. His anonymous successor (writing 1213-1219) held contrary views: whoUy opposed to political and military interference into the affairs of Occitania.he was nevertheless also a good CathoUc who simply wished that Count Raymond of Toulouse had stamped out the Cathar heresy by himseU.The Anonymous absolves Raymond of heretical leanings, and instead excoriates the crusade's leader, Simon de Montfort, as the vUlain of the piece.Another major difference is that whUe WilUam is a good writer, the Anonymous is a great one; Shirley is honest enough to make clear that this distinction is "aU but lost in translation."

As an historical document itseU, The Song is of great importance, not least because it offers an account from the losing side (proving that history is not always written by the victors). Furthermore, its two authors are more measured Ui their judgments than that other, at times extreme, contemporary historian of the crusade, Peter of Les Vaux de Cernay. Both are reUable: when they themselves are not eyewitnesses to events they use firsthand testimony; their record accords weU with other evidence, including charters. As so often with sources of this kind, many wiU deem its chief recommendation to be the reUgious and linguistic insights it so patently offers; but its greatest value is for its miUtary detaUs: despite Auguste Molinier's criticisms a century ago that The Song's war scenes are repetitive and monotonous, this is quite simply one of the best sources of medieval warfare one could hope for.

Although this edition of The Song wiU not replace Henri Gougaud's Occitan-French paraUel text of 1984, the aU-important fact that it is the first avaUable in English (and faithfuUy translated by Janet SlUrley) wUl ensure its great utUity to anglophonic scholars of this troubled period. It is highly recommended.

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Before Science: The Invention of the Friars' Natural Philosophy. By Roger French and Andrew Cunningham. (Brookfield, Vermont: Scolar Press, Ashgate PubUshing Company. 1996. Pp. x, 298.)

French and Cunningham argue in this book that there was no medieval science, but only medieval natural philosophy; and this natural phüosophy they assure us, was radically dUferent from what we now caU "science":". . . there was no scientific tradition (in the modern sense of the term 'scientific') of looking at

nature in the thirteenth century, only a reUgio-poUtical way of doing so" f. 273). What primarily differentiated medieval natural phUosophy from modern science, they argue, was reUgion; for the medieval investigation of nature was motivated and its conclusions shaped by reUgious interests.

As a reaction against the recent f?? now moribund) tendency to write the history of medieval "science" as though reUgion did not exist, this is a salutary conclusion. French and Cunningham do an exceUent job of demonstrating the reUgious motivation, and thus the handmaiden status, of medieval natural philosophy.They are interested especiaUy in the natural plulosophies developed by the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century: they connect the Christian Aristotelianism of the Dominicans closely and convincingly with the Church's campaign against the Cathar heresy, and they associate the Neoplatonizing AristoteUanism of the Franciscans (the AristoteUan foundations of which they somewhat beUigerently refuse to acknowledge) with the ideal of mystical contemplation emanating from pseudo-Dionysius.They also offer interesting and useful surveys of the idea of"nature" from antiquity through the thirteenth century, of education within the mendicant orders and its relationship to the universities, of the natural phUosophical Uterature (including encyclopedic works) produced by the mendicants, and more.

It should be clear, then, that this book has many merits. However, French and Cunningham frequently weaken theU case by oversimplification and overstatement, black-and-white dichotomies, and bold claims unsupported by textual evidence. They announce, for example, that Roger Bacon studied the multipUcation of species and related topics "because he was a Franciscan friar" (p. 238); that Albert the Great was motivated by a Dominican agenda to introduce mathematics into his AristoteUan natural phUosophy f. 180); that WUUam of Conches was motivated to study phUosophy for purely reUgious reasons f. 76); that Franciscans undertook the investigation of nature because of their devotion to pseudo-Dionysius f. 218). No textual support for any of these claims is provided; no uncertainty is expressed; no qualifications (mainly for reUgious reasons; partly because they were Dominicans or Franciscans or devoted to pseudo-Dionysius) are offered. French and Cunningham never acknowledge that we reaUy have very Uttle knowledge of what went on in the irUnds of individual medieval scholars and are on shaky ground, therefore, whenever we attempt to identify motivations.They frequently give the impression that phUosophical orientation was determined by membership in one of the mendicant orders; there seems to be no room in the story for individual dUference or multiple influences, despite the fact that most of the leading characters received their education, in whole or in part, before they joined the Dominican or Franciscan order.

The dichotomous, "black-and-white" character of the analysis traps French and Cunningham into what can only be described as a broad attack on continuity in the history of medieval science. The authors appear to push the extreme claim that thirteenth-century natural philosophy was unlike anything

that went before or came after—sufficiently different, at least, to demand a dtf-ferent name. Thus they claim that there was no natural philosophy before the invention of natural phUosophy in the thirteenth century f?. 6, 88). One must wonder what it is that Aristotle offered in his libri naturales, if not natural philosophy The branch of thirteenth-century natural phUosophy that French and Cunningham deal with most fully, and on which much of theU case for discontinuity rests, is "optics" or "perspectiva." BeUeving (erroneously) that the works of Euclid, Ptolemy, and Ibn al-Haytham were limited to the mathematical analysis of radiation, they discover radical discontinuity between thirteenth-century perspectiva and aU that went before (pp. 248, 250). They faU to understand that, although motivated by reUgious factors quite different from those present in their ancient Greek and medieval Islamic predecessors, the thirteenth-century perspectivists managed nonetheless to produce a comprehensive synthesis of the content of their predecessors' works (as they themselves repeatedly proclaimed). If this does not count as continuity, then nothing Ui the history of early science does.

These problems aside, French and Cunningham have made a powerful case for the religious motivation of natural phUosophy within the Dominican and Franciscan orders and within medieval culture more generaUy. I believe that a reading of the Uterary products of medieval natural phUosophy (including that of the mendicants) wUl discredit the suggestion that religion was the only motivating factor. But reUgion was there as an omnipresent element, an important player in the game of natural phUosophy, as it would remain untU weU into the nineteenth century.

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Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Franziskaner, Klarissen. Dominikaner und Augustiner-Eremiten im Mittelalter. By Ingo Ulpts. [Saxonia Franciscana: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinz, Band 6.] (Werl: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag. 1995. Pp. xiv, 556.)

Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Lüneburg. By Silke Logemann. [Saxonia Franciscana, Band 7] (Werl: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag. 1996. Pp. xü, 106. 8 black-and-white photographs.)

In response to Jacques Le Goff's 1968 charge in the Annales, both Ingo Ulpts and Silke Logemann attempt to place the mendicants in their urban context. They examine such issues as the foundation of the houses, the convents' topographic location, the social origins of the friars and nuns, relations with the princes, municipal authorities, the burghers, and the secular clergy, the use of the convent buUdings for pubUc ??f?ße», the Observant reform, and the dissolution of the convents during the Reformation. After the coUapse of the German

Democratic RepubUc, Ulpts obtained access to the relatively extensive late-medieval archives of Mecklenburg to write the first modern history of the mendicant orders in that German state. He ????f?p?eß many of these documents directíy in his text and pubUshes seventy-nine documents for the first time in an appendix. His monograph is divided into three major sections: the foundation of the eleven houses, a third of aU the reUgious foundations in the medieval duchy; the late-medieval accommodation -with urban society; and the Reformation.

Ulpts studies the foUowing houses (the dates in parentheses are the foundation dates): the Franciscans in Schwerin (around 1235-36); Rostock (around 1240); Parchim (around 1246); Wismar (1251-52); and Neubrandenburg (around 1260); the Dominicans in Rostock (1256); Röbel (around 1286); and Wismar (1292-93); the Clares in Ribnitz (1323-24); the Austin Friars in Sternberg (1500); and Franciscan Observants in Güstrow (1509). His findings do not change appreciably my dating of the expansion of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the thirteenth century, but as a local historian Ulpts is better able to place the foundations into their specific poUtical and social context, even where direct evidence is lacking.The friars arrived in Mecklenburg only a generation after its effective Christianization, and thus, as I had already pointed out about the East-Elbian lands in general, played a crucial role in the formation of the new Christian and German society. AU of the houses were princely foundations, and in varying degrees retained their ties to the ruling dynasty. For example, several non-regnant members of the family were buried in the church of the Wismar Franciscans.

The friars became an integral part of late-medieval urban society. Although Uttie is known about the social origins of the brothers in the thirteenth century, the majority of the friars after 1300 were natives of the city where the convent was located or came from the immediate vicinity. Not surprisingly, the Franciscans recruited more heavily among the artisan population than the Dominicans, many of whom came from Rat families. In exchange for the burghers' material support, the friars were expected, especiaUy after 1350, to help secure their benefactors' salvation.The result was a weakening of the orders' commitment to poverty since even individual Franciscans acquired personal incomes, though Ulpts emphasizes the modesty of the convents' endowments.The friars' accommodation with the world is reflected in the popular designation of the convents as monasteries and the brothers as monks. However, the friars avoided partisan involvements in internal urban conflicts and maintained generafly good relations with the secular clergy.

The Observant reform was imposed on the mendicants by the princes and municipal authorities as part of their policies of obtaining greater control of the Church. In the case of the Dominicans, the introduction of the Observants changed the composition of the priories because friars from the Netherlands replaced the natives. The Franciscans resisted reform until the sixteenth century, and the frustrated princes responded by establishing the Observant houses in Sternberg and Güstrow. The orders reacted differently to Luther: the

Augustinians like their confreres m Saxony quickly disbanded; the Dominicans became staunch opponents; whereas the Franciscans were divided in their loyalties. The dissolution of the individual houses took approximately thirty years because the regnant princes, the brothers Henry V and Albrecht VII, were ambivalent in their attitude toward the new teaching. Ribnitz survived longest because its last two abbesses who remained CathoUcs were the sister and daughter of Henry V. Ulpts has written an extremely detaUed study, and most readers who are not students of Mecklenburg history are advised just to read the introduction, the summaries of the individual sections, and the conclusion.

Logemann's monograph about the Franciscans is less satisfactory, in part because there is Uttle documentary evidence. She tries to make sense of the late-medieval legend that Duke Otto of Brunswick founded the house in 1235, but I faU to see how the friary, whose foundation she places around 1250, could have already been the site of a provincial chapter m 1230 (p. 17). More useful is her discussion of the friars' Ubrary, much of which survives, and the introduction of the Observant reform in 1489 by the Rat, with the backing of the duke and the bishop. Most of the Franciscans left Lüneburg in 1530 after the Rat ordered them to adhere to Luther, though three natives of the city remained Ui the convent buUding untU 1555.

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The Register of Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter, 1258-1280, Volume One. Edited and translated by O. F. Robinson. [The Canterbury and York Society, Volume LXXXII.] (Rochester, New YorkThe BoydeU Press. 1995. Pp. xlv, 161. $45.00;£25.00.)

Walter Bronescombe's episcopal register is the first in a remarkably complete series of medieval bishops' registers from Exeter. As one of the earUest in England, it deserves special scrutiny not only for what it teUs of a diocese in the mid-thirteenth century but for what it represents in the formative stages of episcopal registers. Late in the last century, the Exeter antiquarian, F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, edited this register, along with every subsequent Exeter register to 1419. As impressive an archival task as that was, the editions were often imprecise and, accordingly, less valuable to the researcher. To say that O. F. Robinson has provided a corrective to Hingeston-Randolph's work is to grant only partial credit. This is as fine an edition of a medieval register as one can hope to see. Each entry is meticulously transcribed with appropriate notes and cross-references; there is the added advantage of facing-page translations, opening the register to a larger reading audience. Although this present volume is but the first in a three-volume edition. Volume III promises transcriptions of documents pertinent to Bronescombe's administration of Exeter which, though not registered, were sewn into the manuscript at a later time. This latter volume also con-

tains three appendices and an index. In sum, the whole of the project is a complete presentation of the Bronescombe register and pertinent documents. The register runs chronologicaUy rather than topicaUy, the commonplace business of disposing ecclesiastical benefices standing alongside various other recorded activities such as letters and memoranda, the appointment of commissions and church dedications. WhUe there is a tendency in the earUer forms of registration to lose some records (here, dispensations, ordinations, and visitations), the advantage of the chronological form is an appreciation of the daUy press and variety of business involved in diocesan administration. This volume begins with Bronescombe's election and ends in 1263, barely a third of the way through his pontificate, but aUeady we gain considerable insight into the bishop's administrative and pastoral priorities, the events which occurred in his early years as ordinary, and something of the style with which he governed his diocese. This volume also contains a thorough introduction which places Bronescombe and his register in the larger historical context of thirteenth-century Exeter. Dr. Robinson's work is impressive and the result of many years' labor; it is a significant contribution to the ecclesiastical history of Exeter and the English thirteenth century.

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The Evangelical Rhetoric of Ramon Llull. Lay Learning and Piety in the Christian West around 1300. By Mark D. Johnston. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 274. $4995.)

Among Professor Mark D. Johnston's many earUer studies on Ramon LluU, one should cite particularly The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull (Oxford, 1987). The present work proposes "to examine the theories of eloquence expounded in [LluU's] works on rhetoric and preaching . . . understood Ui comparison to other extant texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." Johnston's command of recent scholarship on wide areas of medieval culture has enabled him to carry out this dUficult task.

After a brief introduction, we have a chapter on LluU's Art offinding truth. This is needed because in LluU rhetoric and preaching, as "arts of language," depend on the acceptance of his Art. Johnston's discussion of the several hundred model sermons that appear in dUferent LuUian coUections shows how closely they are linked to it.

Johnston shows that LluU interprets the world through his doctrine that all things participate in and resemble their Creator. He continually urges preachers to emphasize the importance of beauty, order, and propriety (the appropriate use of words) Ui order to convey this central lesson. LluU's basic concern with the evangelization of the only superficiaUy Christian world of his time is weU brought out by Johnston. The conclusion to the book studies the transmission

of LluU's different works on preaching and of his Rethorica nova of 1301 (edited by Johnston, Davis, California, 1994).

Employing the whole range of LluU's many works, whether in Latin or Catalan, Johnston shows how the LuUian system evolves, perhaps because of increasing contacts with scholastic learning. Among the many points made in the book one may cite the comparison (p. 15) between LluU's use of "spiritual aUegory" (moraUzation) and that practised by groups such as the Joachimists of southern France. Johnston's view (f. 127) that LluU's sermons would probably have satisfied the audience of leading ItaUan preachers of the day can be related to the evidence in LluU's contemporary Vita of his remarkable success in preaching the crusade in 1308 in Pisa and Genoa.

Given the hard work that has gone into this weU documented study, it may seem invidious to make three specific criticisms. One concerns the lack of direct study of LluU manuscripts as opposed to reliance on brief descriptions Ui modern editions of the Latin works. The statement (p. 181) that the Liber praedicationis contra Judaeos only survives Ui two late manuscripts—there are five and one is fifteenth century—is an indication here. The tendency to undervalue LluU's originaUty is more serious. Johnston speaks (f. 185) of the "overwhelmingly commonplace character of the doctrines expounded in the Great Art." There seems to be a confusion between LluU's sources, which may often be commonplace, and the unique use he made of them. Lastly, the statement (p. viii) that "for EngUsh-speaking audiences, scholarly knowledge of Ramon LluU would remain very limited indeed" but for Oxford pubUcations, cannot be taken seriously and is not really corrected by acknowledgments in later footnotes. One has only to think of Frances Yates, Robert Pring-MUl, and, far from least, of Anthony Bonner's invaluable two-volume Selected Works of Ramon Llull (Princeton, New Jersey, 1985). Without the work of these scholars our knowledge of LluU would be immeasurably poorer than it is.

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Violence and Miracle in the Fourteenth Century: Private Grief and Public Suffering. By Michael E. Goodich. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 220. $3995 clothbound; $14.95 paperback.)

Michael Goodich's latest book is a study of rescue miracles connected to 150 fourteenth-century saints' cults. Most of these stories come from canonization trials. Clement Vs canonization of Pope Celestine V in 1312 was the first to requUe the performance of miracles to prove saUithood. The disasters of the fourteenth century—war, famine, disease, economic depression—prompted Christians to ask the saints to intercede with God for reUef from pain, loss of property, and anxiety; thus Huizinga's paradigm of "waning" provides the historiographical foundations of Goodich's study. Catastrophes like the Black Death,

Hundred Years' War, and periodic crop faUures—as well as other, less notorious misfortunes—visited upon Christendom death and starvation, and also contributed to vUlage breakdown and troubled famiUes. Crime proliferated because of the confusion. Faith in the courts' impartiaUty broke down. In the midst of suffering, the saints protected their cUents from bands of mercenary soldiers, sickness, raging spouses, the hangman's noose, or the accidental death of chUdren. In return for such protection, suppliants commonly promised a pUgrimage to a reUc or an offering of candles. Through the intercessions of the saints, God consoled believers for whom peace, health, family, vUlage, and government had aU but vanished. He barred the way for marauding warriors, removed the scourge of disease, withered the arms of abusive husbands, and broke the chains of the jaUer and the rope of the executioner. What lords, courts, and law provided in earlier, more tranquU times, divine intervention provided in a more tumultuous era, hence the fourteenth-century proliferation of rescue stories.

Students of late medieval reUgious history wiU find the sources presented here useful and thought-provoking. Questions of interpretation and conceptuaUzation, however, remain. Recent works such as Eamon Duffy's The Stripping of the Altars revise Huizinga's interpretation of late medieval reUgion more than Goodich aUows. In summarizing the demographic contractions of the fourteenth century, Goodich relies on the Malthusian dilemma (p. 105), although the researches of David Herlihy question its usefulness in the study of medieval populations. Goodich attributes Catherine of Siena's mastery over nature (p. 106) to fears of storms and floods; yet such mastery had been beUeved about saints since Francis of Assist. At one point, Goodich seems to accept a divide between clerical and lay reUgious cultures, arguing that the learned sought to minimize divine intervention in daUy Ufe, but ordinary beUevers "remained attached to a more fluid view of the universe, in which God's merciful grace would respond to the vow and suppUcations of the faithful" (p. 55). In other comments, however, clergy and laity share a reUgious culture, since family happiness depends on God's blessing (p. 83), and aU estates within Christendom beg the intercessions of the saints (p. 146). FinaUy, Goodich says that penitential floggings were accepted in forms of reUgious expression (p. 48), despite episcopal efforts against the Flagellants. In sum, this book's interpretation faUs to persuade.

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The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish, c. 1400-1560. By Beat A. Kümin. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Brookneld. Vermont: Scolar Press. 1996. Pp. xiü, 362. $74.95.)

There has been a remarkable resurgence in recent years among EngUsh historians of studies of reUgion at the parochial level just before and during the Reformation. Seeking to escape the eariier concentration upon issues raised by

the hindsight of the Henrician and Elizabethan settlements and the rather partisan tone of those debates, and seeking also to avoid the fascination with Lollardy or proto-Protestantism, more recent writers have concentrated upon the vitaUty and continuity of popular reUgious practice during the period. Beat A. Kümin's study of the parish as a community seeks to add a further dimension to the new historiography by focusing attention upon the institution of the parish from a social and financial rather than a doctrinal perspective.

This richly detaUed and exhaustively documented study rests most importantly upon close analysis of churchwardens' accounts. To date 234 surviving sets of EngUsh accounts have been discovered (a helpful list is provided), most beginning in the mid- to later fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and whUe Kiimin draws upon them extensively, a set of ten parishes' records form the running analysis of trends throughout the book; these are from parishes ranging widely in location and type, from vUlages and market towns to wealthy urban places. The author's discussion of the nature and pitfaUs of this source may be the single most useful treatment avaUable, and the basic quantitative analysis provided is cautious.

Although the central Middle Ages had ¦witnessed the soUdification of parochial structure in England, the office of churchwarden developed only during the thirteenth century. The importance and range of churchwardens' duties expanded in tandem with the practice of pious bequests and donations, whose lay custodians they thus became. One of the most remarkable achievements of this book is to demonstrate the sheer scale of resources and expenditures that parishes came to command. Though parishes ranged from very rich to very poor, most seem to have achieved a peak of revenues around the 1520's, resulting Ui "the extraordinary spending spree at the close of the Middle Ages" (p. 198). The extent of parochial resources is aU the more striking when compared with secular taxation: in the sample of ten parishes, Kümin persuasively shows, the amount of money a parish paid for the typical late-medieval lay subsidy—itseU only an intermittent imposition—might represent only a fraction of the ordinary annual income of the parish f?. 188-193).

Lest it seem from the foregoing that this is a relentlessly financial study, it should be emphasized that the author engages throughout with current issues of late-medieval reUgious history: while admitting that sketching the linkages is dUficult, at every step inferences from parochial institutions to the quaUty of parochial Ufe are engaged, in some instances staking out some distinctive positions: for instance, that "parochial substructure"—chantries, gUds, subparochial chapels—"never fundamentally chaUenged" the vitality of the parish system (p. 179), or that (in line with much recent revisionism) despite increased lay involvement in the hiring of clergy this betokened no fundamental dissatisfaction. Indeed, the most important argument advanced here is that the later Middle Ages constituted a distinctive phase in the history of the EngUsh parish, one in which laity drawn broadly from the middling ranks of parish society (from which churchwardens mostly came), buoyed by a period of favorable

economic conditions that placed considerable resources at their disposal, did indeed form a "parish community" (p. 2), and were progressively more hemmed in by supervision from above after 1570. Another noteworthy virtue of this book is that the author includes extensive cross-referencing of the latest Uterature on simUar developments Ui the Continent, making this less parochial a study than such work sometimes is in England.

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Die Erforschung des Konstanzer Konzils (1414-1418) in den letzten 100 Jahren. By Ansgar Frenken. [Annuarium Historiae Concüiorum, 25. Jahrgang, Heft 1-2 (1993)] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöning. 1993.Pp. 512. DM 154,- paperback.)

Frenken undertook a formidable task: to present in a monograph a history and an analysis of the past century of research on the CouncU of Constance as well as an evaluation of the current state of research on this councU. Not aU readers may agree with some of his opinions, but there is a lot of fascinating history to be had and many leads for those who would want to go further in theU reading. He begins with the story of Heinrich Finke, who fathered modern research on Constance a century ago, the director of numerous dissertations of which thirty were on Constance. Finke's story was perhaps weU known to the German world but a good part was new to me, e.g., his struggles to achieve a university position as a professor of medieval history in the context where Prussian and Protestant domination saw a conflict between objective scholarship and CathoUc convictions.This dispute would recur in the American scene in this century. Once he had a position, Finke put out the prodigious Acta concilii Constanciensis and many other texts. Today scholars see a nineteenth-century mentaUty Ui his work in that he cared more about getting texts out than about analysis and critique of the texts as though they would speak of themselves. Certainly, he made medieval conciliar studies a new area and a 'school' evolved from his many students who continued in his line of research, perhaps a bit too uncriticaUy It is Uonic that at the end of his Ufe in 1937 after decades of research and strong patriotism, aU his papers were seized by the Gestapo right after his death and have vanished.

Frenken presents next a series of topics: research done on Constance in France and in Spain, the pecuUar interests of each group, and a number of key questions about the events connected with Constance. He looks at what happened before the councU, the disputes over who was the valid pope, the deposition dispute, and whether in each case there was a deposition or a resignation, and the theories and explanations of modern scholars. He shows that after Finke there was a hiatus Ui pubUcation until the event ofVatican CouncU II unleashed another flood of controversies and studies. One by one the critical is-

sues on Constance are reviewed: Causa fidei—Jean Petit, John Hus, the Teutonic Knights and Poland; Causa reformationis—was Constance a success in achieving unity but a faUure on the reform issue; Vatican CouncU II and the changing perspectives on Constance; Haec Sancta reveals a plethora of views and interpretations. Throughout the book the major researchers, their contributions and ideas appear: HaUer, Valois, Buisson, Ulimann, CovüTe, Boockmann, Bartos, Heimpel, Fink, Loserth. Vööght, Küng, Tierney, GUl, and Jedin to name but a few. Finaüy Frenken discusses the ongoing work of BrandmüUer and the other current scholars and the questions they are asking today.

This is a valuable overview and a compendious compUation of bibUography on Constance. It is where one can start or refresh one's memory. It is not an easy read but well worth the effort. The bibUography alone will ensure its reputation and the desire to keep it handy.

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Beyond the Written Word: Preaching and Theology in the Florence of Archbishop Antoninus 1427-1459- By Peter Francis Howard. [Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento: Quaderni di Rinascimento, YoI. XXVLTL] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki. 1995. Pp. xii, 300. Lire 60,000 paperback.)

Among Florentine contemporaries and historians of the Renaissance, Antonino Pierozzi stands apart as a major cleric who is widely admired. This new study by Peter Francis Howard suppUes soUd evidence for that admiration. Antoninus emerges as a pastor genuinely concerned about the needs of his flock and as a man of dialogue wUling to engage the broader culture of his day. The shaping force in his ministry was a commitment to excel in preaching. His theology stemmed from his activity in the pubUc squares of the city, not from engagement in the academic debates of the university.

Florence afforded a skilled preacher frequent occasions to proffer his message, and the Florentines considered Antoninus a skiUed practitioner of the art. In the second part of his monograph, Howard examines the "preaching mentality" of Antoninus, using a coUection of model sermons that he dates to 1427, or possibly 1432. Among classical rhetorical principles, three especiaUy seem to govern Antoninus's approach. First, he saw sermons fundamentaUy as a deUberative type of speech: they should persuade his Usteners to virtue and dissuade them from vice. Second, to enhance the effect of the sermon on the emotions, Antoninus incorporated epideictic sections of praise and blame. FinaUy, and most pervasively, Antoninus always preached with a strong sense of decorum: he adapted the form and content to his audience and their circumstances, and he shifted his theology from abstract concerns to the concrete issues facing members of Florentine society.

The importance of preaching is evident in Antoninus's subsequent Summa theologica. Written between 1440 and 1454, the work is a practical manual of pastoral theology whose concerns were dictated by the needs of Antoninus's flock. Despite disclaimers about his rudimentary education, Antoninus produced a Summa that is synthetic and original. The Summa looked to instruct feUow preachers and supply sound guidance on issues of relevance to their ministry. When citing previous authorities, Antoninus showed a consistent desire to dialogue with them. His major source was Thomas Aquinas, though I find the references to Gregory the Great most telling. Gregory could weU have given Antoninus his model for a ministry of preaching.

Given his preaching mentality and pastoral priorities for theology, Antoninus felt justified in claiming that "the doctrine of the church, when preached, is entirely civic and in accordance with moral phUosophy" **f.** 197). As a popular preacher, Antoninus chose to engage Ui a dialogue with the values promoted by humanists in their civic orations. Though formed in a scholastic culture, Antoninus was not a rigorist. He found common ground between the civic concerns of the humanists and the pastoral mission of the mendicants. They were united in theU dedication to pubUc speaking and to promoting the common good.

This is a very competent piece of research, and my questions are few. The discussion of the appropriateness of studying pagan authors (pp. 121-123) seems part of a long tradition of interpretation of Deuteronomy 21:10-13, the story of the gentUe slave girl who could be taken as a Hebrew wUe once her hair was shorn. I find the formulation on page 237 backwards: humanists valued rhetoric because it underpinned education and because it prepared students for a role in public lUe. Unlike Howard, I believe that the thematic sermon was a product of the AristoteUan culture of the universities. It is a creative rhetorical form, I grant, but one subordinated to the cardinal rules of Aristotelian logic: definition and division. That said, I return to my original observation. Howard has written a fine book on Antoninus because he has helped us to understand how this pastor put the needs of his flock first and entered into constructive dialogue with currents of contemporary culture beyond the bounds of his own theological training.

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Religion and Society in Spain, c. 1492. By John Edwards. [Variorum CoUected Studies Series: CS 520.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1996. Pp. x, 351. $97.95.)

This collection of eighteen studies by John Edwards, professor of history in the University of Birmingham (England), spans the past quarter-century and reflects his interests in the society of Isabelline Spain that began with and grew out of a study of Cordoba, subsequently pubUshed as Christian Cordoba: The

City and Its Region in the Later Middle Ages (1982). In this volume, except for three articles, the focus is upon conversos, Jews, and the Inquisition. Unlike much of the vast literature on the subject, most recently by Benjamin Netanyahu and Norman Roth, these studies do not advance a singular thesis to explain the rise of the Inquisition or the persecution of Jews and conversos. Instead, Edwards takes for granted the general narrative of events, which begins with the anti-Jewish rioting of 1391, and focuses his attention upon local histories, set in Cordoba, Teruel, Segovia, and Granada. Inquisition records, which Edwards stoutly defends as providing reliable information about human experiences, are the primary source for most of these studies.

If this coUection has a general theme, it is the immense difficulties of assimilation created by the large-scale conversions from Judaism to Christianity, first early in the fifteenth century and later as a consequence of the expulsion ordinance of 1492. He demonstrates the permeability of religious boundaries as New Christians maintained ties of famUy and custom with their former coreligionists whUe at the same time trying to disguise their Jewish past and integrate themselves into Christian society. The process of assimUation, despite the roadblocks posed by the Inquisition and by novel theories like limpieza de sangre, was dramatic and painful, but not a total failure. Religious decisions were not necessarily final, as seen by the effects of Jewish miUennial expectations upon conversos or by the numbers of Jewish exiles who returned as Christians to Spam after 1492. Religious heterodoxy, consequently, was a complicated phenomenon. It was less a matter of opposed theologies than one of residual Jewish (or Muslim) practice and a broader skepticism or impiety that could be found in many segments of society. The image of the Inquisition that emerges is also multi-dimensional—a mixture of religious zealotry, royal ambition, legal formalism, and at times petty vendettas. WhUe resistance to the Inquisition was difficult, nonetheless overzealous inquisitors like Diego Rodriguez Lucero of Cordoba would eventuaUy be removed. Turning to Granada, he argues that Catholic theories of conversion required political domination for their success because outward acquiescence and practice, not persuasion, were the ultimate goals of public policy. Interestingly, he beUeves that the so-called conflict between Archbishop Talavera and Cardinal Cisneros over the strategy of conversion was more apparent than real.

When venturing outside the realm of religion, Edwards stresses the power and influence of the aristocracy and of the urban oligarchy, and discusses their influence over the local economy, their relations with the Crown and the Inquisition, and ultimately their responsibility for the entire dynamic of development within the region. In a brief article on political theory, he argues that CastiUan society had come to accept a singular view of royal power that was unaffected by religion, class, or education.

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Early Modern European

Das "Ärgernis" der Reformation: Begriffsgeschichtlicher Zugang zu einer biblisch legitimierten politischen Ethik. By Beat Hodler. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz. AbteUung Religionsgeschichte, Band 158.] (Mainz: Verlag PhUipp von Zabern. 1995. Pp. vü, 208. DM 68.00.)

This is a revised doctoral dissertation directed by Peter BUckle at the University of Bern, Switzerland. It investigates the various uses of the term Ärgernis, ranging from Martin Luther's Anfechtung to the generic "scandal" (from the Greek "skandalon") or "discord" (from the Latin "discordia").

Part I analyzes the general uses of "scandal" as a bibUcal, sociological, and theological concept. Part II elaborates the phUological, poUtical, and theological meaning of Ärgernis in the Reformation, concentrating on Luther, non-Lutheran movements, especiaUy the "radical Reformation," and on church discipline as weU as polemics. Luther, for example, was viewed as scandal personified; and the most radical reformer of the sixteenth century, Thomas Müntzer, regarded the whole world as scandalous and thus in need of a radical redemption. Part III deals with expUcit teachings grounded Ui Ärgernis in Germany, France, and Italy. FinaUy, the use of the concept in the Reformation is compared with its use in the mainstream of medieval (Thomism) and some post-Reformation theologians extending to the eighteenth century.

The findings of this detaUed study point to three kinds of "scandal doctrines" in the Reformation: First, the phUological notion that something is changing for the worse (derived from the German arg); here reformers use the image of the bibUcal "stunning stone" (e.g., Rom. 9:32) as the hindrance to salvation, often linked with the image of the spider sucking only poison from a rose. Then, the ethical notion that many Roman Catholic requirements (e.g., fasting, indulgences) become a scandal for faith and morals. FinaUy, the theological notion that scandal is an inevitable offense of human sin before God; thus the emergence of scandal in the Christian life is a sure sign that one is on the way to salvation (e.g., Paul's view that the cross of Christ is a scandal, I Cor. 1:23).

This is a useful study because of its meticulous analysis of a widely used concept in the Reformation. Moreover, the extensive bibliography and an index of names and places enhance the value of this study. But the study faUs short in achieving what its subtitle promises: to provide an access to a poUtical ethic that is historically grounded and bibUcaUy legitimized. The extensive research itself shows how differentiated the use of Ärgernis is in the Reformation and how difficult it is to derive a "political ethic" from such use. This difficulty becomes apparent in the author's conclusion that the problem Ergernis [sic] is reflected in a whole series of teachings which describe the proper use of Christian freedom in the field of tension between "love of neighbour" and

faith." The study stiU needs to show how central a "poUtical ethic" is in this field of tension.

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Conflicting Visions of Reform: German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets, 1519-1530. By Miriam Usher Chrisman. [Studies in German Histories.] (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1996. Pp. xiü, 288. $60.00.)

More than 5,000 pamphlets were pubUshed in the Holy Roman Empire between 1519 and 1530; they have become avaUable, over the past two decades, in several microfiche and printed editions for historians of the Reformation. Close to half of aU pamphlets pubUshed represented the works of Martin Luther; many more were penned by lesser reformers and their detractors; and only 294 pamphlets clearly stemmed from lay provenance, as Chrisman's meticulous examination of the material reveals.

Focusing on this substantial sample of lay pamphlets (which constitutes nonetheless only 5.8% of aU Reformation pamphlets produced), Chrisman sets out to "first place the lay pamphlets in the social and intellectual context m which they were written, and second to demonstrate how the ideas of the Reformation were changed and adapted as they were transmitted to different ranks m the social hierarchy" (p. 14). She succeeds better in her first aim than her second. Using a formalistic analysis, Chrisman classifies her database by the pamphleteers' social estate, grouping them into five categories: knights, patricians, city secretaries and university graduates, minor civU servants and men with specialized skUls, and artisans. (The fact that fifty-four pamphlets of the 294 appeared anonymously poses an Uu^pretive problem for this formalistic analysis, a difficulty that Chrisman does not resolve.) With each category of pamphlets, Chrisman analyzes the rhetorical strategy, the citations, and the content Ui order to estabUsh clear conceptual distinctions between them. Several results of this laborious analysis are of great interest: direct quotations of Luther seldom show up in the pamphlets, and pamphlets written by artisans manifest the highest proportion of bibUcal references. Other conclusions seem more obvious: references to Roman and canon law come up most often in pamphlets composed by university-trained professionals, whUe noble and patrician authors paid greater attention to questions of Empire and Universal Church.

Chrisman is less successful in demonstrating how the Reformation message was transmitted and interpreted differently beyond stating that each social group assimUated the evangeUcal revolt according to its own social context and interests. This is a rather mechanical view of the interaction between ideas and social structure and reflects perhaps the rigid appUcation of a methodology of classification and formal analysis better suited to other topics, such as the author's earlier study of book production in Strasbourg (Lay Culture, Learned

Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480-1599 [New Haven, 1982]). Many of the styUstic and thematic dtfferences in the pamphlets, which Chrisman interprets by reference to social stratification, can also be explained by the contingent function of Reformation pamphlets: they represented propaganda, aimed to sway, inflame, and mobUize the reading public into action, whether it be the justification of Sickingen's revolt or the barely concealed caU to anticlerical riots. By privUeging a formalistic analysis over a more nuanced contextual analysis (which would necessitate the use of different kinds of sources), Conflicting Visions ofReform misses the exciting anarchy and possibilities that marked the early Reformation years.

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Theatine Spirituality: Selected Writings. Translated, edited and with an introduction and notes by WiUiam V Hudon. [The Classics ofWestern Spkituality] (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: PauUst Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 287. $22.95 paperback.)

Students of sixteenth-century spirituaUty wiU be grateful for this volume because it provides a fine introduction and EngUsh translation of the major writings of three members of the Theatine order in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The actual texts consist of the "Rule of Carafa" by Gian Pietro Carafa (1476-1559), who was later elected Pope Paul IV; the Letters of Gaetano daThiene (ca. 1480-1547), known as St. Cajetan after his canonization; and Lorenzo ScupoU's (1530-1610) augmented edition of Spiritual Combat (Il combattimento spirituale), which appeared shortly before his death. The translations are readable and the end notes are helpful.

The editor of these Theatine writings is WiUiam V Hudon, who is professor and chairman of the Department of History at Bloomsburg University in Pennsylvania. In 1992 he pubUshed a book on Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press), which received mixed reviews Ui The Sixteenth Century fournal. In addition to editing the above works by Carafa, Gaetano, and ScupoU, Hudon translated the ItaUan letters by Gaetano and the Italian text of Spiritual Combat by Scupoli into English. Professor Bernard McGinn, the editor-in-chief of the "Classics of Western SpirituaUty" series, translated into English the Latin rule of Carafa. Moreover, Hudon wrote both the introduction and the end notes that accompany these texts. In contrast to these contributions, I found the preface by GigUola Fragnito, professor of history in the University of Parma, which was translated by Hudon, to be seU-serving and misleading at times. Her comments on the influence of Sister Paola Antonia Negri (1508-1555) on the Barnabite order, which was founded by St. Antonio Maria Zacearía in 1534, are exaggerated when she observes:"she [Negri] wound up governing both the Barnabites and the Angeliche [i.e., Angelic Sisters of St. Paul] with indisputable authority for about fifteen years . . ." (p. xvi). The co-founder of the AngeUcs and principal

benefactor of the Barnabites was Ludovica ToreUi, the countess of GuastaUa, who is ignored by Fragnito. Moreover, her reference to "regular clerics" should be translated as "clerics regular" (cf. pp. xiii-xvii).

As I indicated in my opening remarks, I found the introduction by Hudon to be a fine contribution, though I feel that the section titled "General Background" (pp. 1-7) could have been reduced by haU of its length without sacrificing anything. In addition, Hudon spends several pages trying to make a case for the use of the term "Tridentine Reformation" in place of the older expression "Counter-Reformation" (pp. 7-17), but without persuading me. I prefer the use of the term "Catholic Reformation," since reform in the sixteenth century began with such Renaissance humanists as Sir Thomas More and Erasmus of Rotterdam before the beginning of the Protestant Reformation or as a result of the Council ofTrent (1545-1563). Clearly the best parts of the introduction are on "The Theatine Order" f?. 16-29), "Gaetano's SpirituaUty" (pp. 33-42), and "ScupoU's SpirituaUty" (pp. 48-62). I especiaUy liked Hudon's comparison ofTheatine spirituality with Jesuit praxis (pp. 264-271, notes 12, 37, 50, 58, and 74).

I would also like to point out a few defects:

(1)Hudon chides Ludwig von Pastor for referring to the Theatine Order as a "seminary" for bishops because they had not estabUshed any "seminary at aU in this period, not even an educational establishment for the formation and priestly training of their own members" (p. 28).What Hudon faUs to teU us, however, is that during the first few decades of the Order's existence nearly aU of their vocations came from the ranks of the clergy.Therefore, there was no need for seminaries of formation. It was not untU after the decrees ofTrent thatTheatines actively promoted seminaries.

(2)Hudon suggests that Carafa's "Rule" was composed about 1525-26 (pp. 23-24), but there is no internal evidence to recommend it. Indeed, I would be surprised U this text appeared before Gaetano's death in 1547 for the foUowing reasons. First of aU, the "Rule" prohibits "association and conversation with women, even very upright and holy ones" (p. 67), whereas Gaetano ministered to women during his Hfetime. Secondly, the "Rule" recognizes a hierarchy of ranks within the Theatine Order ("professed lay brothers or clerics or priests," p. 67) when such distinctions did not arise until later on Ui the Order's history.

(3)With regard to the arranging of the Letters of Gaetano da Thiene, Hudon places numbers 38 and 39 out of sequence and does not provide us with any justification.

(4)The text of the introduction could have been correlated better with the end notes. For example, Hudon could have given a cross reference to Paolo Giustiniani that appears Ui the notes on page 257 (n. 31) when he referred to Giustiniani for the first time on page 31.

In spite of these nugae, Professor Hudon is to be commended for a fine contribution to western spirituaUty during the Reformation.

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La Riforma protestante nell'Italia del Cinquecento. By Salvatore Caponetto. (Turin: Claudiana. 1992. Pp. 526. Lire 54,000.)

This welcome survey of a subject that justifiably has received increasing critical attention in both Europe and America is the culmination of a lifetime of research and writing. HappUy, by no means is it the final contribution from the distinguished scholar's prolific pen. It is hard to imagine a student of the Italian Reformation better prepared than Salvatore Caponetto, an emeritus professor of history in the University of Florence, to attempt its synthesis. Caponetto's career began auspiciously, in true David and GoUath fashion, when, as a neophyte in the field, his first modestly presented investigations on the influential booklet, the Beneficio di Cristo, compeUed that giant of ItaUan culture, Benedetto Croce, to retract in a printed letter to him a mistaken identification Croce had made previously concerning its author. Since that time, more than half a century ago, Caponetto's contributions have ranged over and shed light on multiple aspects of the ItaUan Reformation. He has produced fuU-length studies of such a key reformer as Aonio Paleario and edited one of his writings never pubUshed before; clarified the circumstances of the clandestine translations into the ItaUan vernacular of key works by northern reformers; investigated the progress of Reformation currents in his native SicUy and foUowed the fortunes of the leading proselytizers and converts to Geneva and other transalpine cities of refuge; discerned the appropriation of Lutheran and Erasmian concepts in the thought of such Uterary figures as Francesco Berni and Ludovico Castelvetro; and produced a massive critical edition of the Beneficio, in a splendid volume containing aU its sixteenth-century versions and translations.

A lifetime of research is skillfully woven into the fabric of Caponetto's La Riforma protestante. The. account begins with the Italian situation on the eve of the Reformation and the fertile ground into which Luther's message feU. Attention is paid to the spread of the new religious ideas through the book trade, the influence of Juan de Valdés, and the preaching activity of early Italian champions of the new ideas. The Beneficio, the most celebrated booklet of the Italian Reformation, comes in for its share of obUgatory attention. Various modern interpretations of this Uttle work, first pubUshed in 1543, have dubbed it, in turn, the quintessential expression ofValdesian spirituaUty, a weaving together of passages from the writings of northern reformers, and finaUy an expression of Benedictine-Pelagian spirituality.

Much emphasis is placed on the inroads made by Protestant currents in various ItaUan centers from the Véneto and the FriuU in the north to SicUy in the south.The successes of Calvinism, among the Waldensians in Piedmont, at the court of the French Duchess Renée at Ferrara, and in the RepubUc of Lucca, which witnessed a mass exodus of its leading famUies to Geneva, receive separate chapters. So extensive is the diffusion that Caponetto, appropriating an old term coined by Giorgio Spini, dubs the phenomenon "The Calvinism of the Mediterranean," stretching from Geneva and Lyons through Genoa to Naples and the martyred Waldensian colonies in Calabria and PugUa, to Sardinia and

SicUy. The great port city of Messina produced an entire "colony" of refugees to Geneva. Among them was the future translator into ItaUan of Calvin's Institutes.

My criticisms are for what has been left unsaid. The book is without an introduction which might have explained choices and omissions. The discussion focusing on the principal ItaUan reformers—and generaUy it is only the leading proselytizers and celebrated victims who receive the lion's share of attention—suffers from the lack of a considered discussion of their dUemma: whether to flee in the face of persecution or dissimulate their evangeUcal beUefs behind the outward practice of Catholic ceremonies, the latter derided by Calvin as "Nicodemism." Modern scholarship (which I do not see cited here) has devoted considerable attention to these latter-day foUowers of the BibUcal Nicodemus, much of it stimulated by (without necessarily agreeing with) Carlo Ginzburg's 1970 book, Il Nicodemismo, that suggested a cohesive inteUectual movement rather than a practical, expedient response to persecution.

Granted, as the title of the volume itself states, the Reformation in Italy is the subject. But to confine to a short chapter of twenty pages (moreover, one lacking the "Bibliographical Note" appended to all other chapters), in a book of over five hundred pages, the notable theological and cultural contributions of the Italian exUes in their northern and eastern European diaspora constitutes a notable omission. Long after any traces of the Reformation had been extinguished in the peninsula proper (with the Waldensian exception), the achievements of the ItaUan reUgious refugees in bringing to northern Europe the thought and literature, the theological, philological, scientific, technological, juridical, and economic advances of the ItaUan Renaissance continued to have an impact. Theologically speaking alone, one needs only to think of the contributions to Anglican Uturgy and polity made by Peter Martyr VermigU or to the Polish Minor Church by Fausto Sozzini, who helped to found a movement bearing his name, Socinianism, which would spread across the continent and traverse the ocean. It is the European-wide dimensions of the ItaUan Reformation, not only its heroic but ultimately faUed penetration in the peninsula alone, expertly delineated in Caponetto's volume, which gives significance to and explains the continuing strong appeal of this field of study. Within the limits that it has set for itseU, I« Riforma protestante is an exemplary introduction to a fascinating, stUl developing subject rewarding serious attention. The promised second edition and EngUsh translation (which wiU undoubtedly correct a number of minor slips, including some very doubtful identifications among the Ulustrations) are eagerly awaited.

JohnTedeschi

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Registres du Consistoire de Genève au temps de Calvin,Tome I (1542-1544). Edited by Thomas A. Lambert and Isabella M. Watt under the direction of Robert M. Kingdon, with assistance from Jeffrey R. Watt. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, No. CCCV] (Geneva: Droz. 1996. Pp. xU, 441 .)

Almost forty years ago, when I began studying the history of Calvin's Geneva, the most valuable scholarly tool of recent vintage was the critical edition of the oldest records of Geneva's Company of Pastors. Its joint editor was a young American, Robert Kingdon. This project, long since "naturaUzed" by Genevans, has now reached deeply into the seventeenth century. MeanwhUe, the indefatigable Kingdon has assembled an international team of assistants in order to launch another ambitious and equaUy desirable scholarly project; he is now supervising the critical edition of the first twenty registers of Calvin's famous disciplinary institution, the Genevan Consistory.

The history of this peculiar institution, as the lengthy preface to this edition demonstrates, has been bedeviled by two connected problems. The unusuaUy poor handwriting of its first secretary has created a situation whereby for over a century, scholars have studied its workings through a more legible but partial transcript made by a nineteenth-century Genevan, Frédéric-Auguste Cramer. However, Cramer's selections cover only about five percent of its operations, and he deUberately selected only its most spectacular cases. A truly random sample would have been less misleading in trying to grasp the achievements and Umitations of the first Protestant institution devoted to that essential desideratum of the Reformed or Calvinist tradition, ecclesiastical discipline .This edition permits us, for the first time, to comprehend its earUest workings.

What happened to the unsuspecting Genevans in 1542, when this institution's records begin with its tenth weekly session, can be expressed in terms of twentieth-century German scholarship. They believed they were getting something described by Walther Köhler's Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium, a new form of Protestant marriage court to replace the local episcopal court or Officialité. Indeed, the first ten cases heard by the new Genevan Consistory in February, 1542, au related in some way to marriages. But their new tribunal rapidly developed into something best defined by Ernst Zeeden's Entstehung der Konfessionen: a forum before which Genevan residents were hauled up and examined on their knowledge of Christian doctrine and the degree of their commitment to the "new law" of the Protestant Reformation. Protestant confessionaUsm first began to be enforced on February 23, 1542. A contractor and innkeeper named Jaques Emyn became the first Genevan to be questioned about "what words he used" with his guests."He answered," says the record—but it does not teU us what he said. We hear only the Consistory's orders to Emyn:"Sent back to learn his faith and beUef before he attends communion and that he repeat it here before he receives Communion. In three weeks. Didn't know his Credo, ? beUeve in God the Father,' or the Lord's prayer" (p. 8). The editors teU us that the Consistory had also added the requirement "that he buy a Bible and have it read," but crossed it out. Henceforth, almost everyone

who appeared before the Consistory, regardless of the specific accusation, was asked to demonstrate a sufficient knowledge of correct Christian doctrine, always Ui the vernacular.

The priorities of the new institution had emerged clearly by the end of 1542. During November and December (pp. 134-159), sixty-four people appeared before it. Only six of them were involved in matrimonial issues, whUe forty (two-thirds of them women) were examined about doctrine and/or church attendance. The remainder were admonished about such things as quarrelling (six), blasphemy, gambling, or immoral songs (six), fornication (three), superstitious charms (two), or disobedience to parents. Vestiges of Köhler's agenda remained, but Zeeden's had triumphed. Further volumes wiU trace the Consistory's subsequent evolution from a doctrinal tribunal to a morals tribunal.

William Monter

Northwestern University

Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620. By Karin Maag. [St Andrews Studies in Reformation History] (Brookfield, Vermont: Scolar Press, Ashgate PubUshing Co. 1995. Pp. x, 210.)

Back in 1900, Charles Borgeaud pubUshed a monumental history of Geneva's Academy of Calvin, in a meticulously detaUed and sumptuously produced foUo volume, the first of several in a general history of what was to become the University of Geneva. In this useful new book, Karin Maag has retold a part of Borgeaud's story, but sets it in a much larger context.

Her book begins with three sharply defined chronological chapters, recounting the history of the Geneva Academy, with special attention to its schola publica for advanced training on a professional level, from 1559 to 1572, from 1572 to 1586, and from 1586 to 1620. Much of this represents gleaning from Borgeaud's work, updated where necessary by use of the considerable volume of scholarly work on sixteenth-century Geneva in this century, checked in a number of places by consultation of unpubUshed manuscripts in the Geneva University library and State Archives.

Maag then presents four geographical chapters, connecting the Geneva Academy to Reformed communities in France, Zurich, Heidelberg, and Leiden. The chapter on France details the continuing importance of Geneva to the Reformed Churches in France as the most important single source of education for theU pastors. The other chapters compare the Geneva Academy to the Lectorium in Zurich and to the universities in Heidelberg and Leiden. The Zurich Lectorium was exclusively for the training of local pastors, and Zurich thus felt obUged to send many of its best students elsewhere to complete theU educa-

tion.The universities of Heidelberg and Leiden were autonomous institutions that granted degrees and that devoted as much energy to training lawyers, bureaucrats, and physicians, as to training ministers for Reformed (Calvinist) churches.There were significant exchanges of students and a few exchanges of professors among the four institutions.

Geneva made occasional attempts to expand its Academy into a fuU university, notably by adding advanced instruction on law. But this instruction was frequendy interrupted; the Academy never granted degrees, and it never gained independence from the local Company of Pastors and the city government. Its most important function remained the training of Reformed pastors, particularly for France but also for other parts of Europe, supplying them with not only necessary academic training but also with a degree of practical experience, aU in a tightly disciplined and thoroughly orthodox setting.

Maag has drawn upon correspondence among ecclesiastical authorities and by students to provide some striking detaUs about individuals working in these institutions. I found particularly fresh and interesting information gathered from unpublished letters returned to Zurich from students whom that city had sent elsewhere. Altogether this book makes an important contribution to our knowledge of higher education Ui Europe during the period of confessionalization.

Robert M. Kingdon

University ofWisconsin-Madison

A City in Conflict: Troyes during the French Wars ofReligion. By Penny Roberts. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. Distributed by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1996. Pp. xi, 228. $79.95.)

Penny Roberts has, in a series of articles pubUshed over the past half-dozen years, estabUshed herself as a leading authority on the Reformation and confessional strife at Troyes in the eastern French province of Champagne. She now weaves the rich materials into a major interpretative study. Her focus on Troyes, an important urban center, directs scholarly attention to a region whose Huguenot population has long been neglected. It also extends the range of provincial studies, which have increasingly informed our understanding of the Reformation experience at the local level. What, in short, were the geographic dimensions and broad social character of reUgious change throughout sixteenth-century France? In this sense, Roberts' contribution is timely and instructive.

The study opens with a concise overview of Champagne and the city of Troyes, and then moves directly to the formative years of the Protestant movement. Early scattered Lutheran activity gave way to a highly organized Reformed church by the 1550's. A series of Calvinist pastors secretly ministered to

a growing congregation. The faithful, though never a majority at Troyes, were extremely active and, in some instances, quite aggressive. Many came, predictably enough, from artisan ranks. The watershed for the Reformed Church of Troyes occurred in 1562 when armed conflict between Huguenots and CathoUcs erupted in and around the city as it did in many French towns. The tide soon turned against the Protestants and, over the next decade, their position deteriorated badly. The culmination took place in the autumn of 1572 as CathoUcs massacred the Huguenots in imitation of the August bloodbath at Paris. Afterwards, the municipal debate at Troyes was no longer between Protestant and CathoUc. Discussion now shifted to the rival claims of moderate and extreme Catholics. The ultra-Catholic League even dominated Troyes for a time. Altogether, the developments related by Roberts foUow the classic pattern of the Reformation in northern France: the gradual emergence of urban pockets of Protestantism, limited initial success, and ultimate failure in the face of resurgent CathoUcism.

The sources that Roberts brings in discussing these themes are among the book's greatest strengths. Her close reading and imaginative appUcation of fragmentary surviving archival materials as weU as two valuable pubUshed Mémoires, one by the Huguenot Nicolas Pithou, the other by the CathoUc priest Claude Haton, give the analysis a soUd foundation. The author's frequent comparison of the situation at Troyes with other French cities sets the context nicely and lends the study substantial texture. The book also counterbalances an enduring tendency to view the French Reformation largely from a Parisian perspective. On the other hand, the book's heavy emphasis upon the Huguenot experience tends to mask the dynamics of the CathoUc community. A more balanced approach would better aUow Roberts to explore the multifaceted nature of municipal discord at Reformation Troyes. This objection, however, goes to issues of focus rather than substance. In the end, Roberts has produced an excellent case study of a community caught amid the intensely fractious reUgious strife of the sixteenth century.

Raymond A. Mentzer

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Plague? Jesuit Accounts of Epidemic Disease in the Sixteenth Century. By A. Lynn Martin. (KirksviUe, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal PubUshers. 1996. Pp. xiv, 268. $35.00.)

With this volume, Professor Martin continues and extends his explorations into the early history of the Society of Jesus. He examines the voluminous correspondence between local superiors in their far-flung apostolates and the higher superiors, letters predominantly addressed to the General of the order in Rome, for indications of their experience dealing with the epidemic outbreaks of disease in the sixteenth century. The result is a unique, tf highly focused contribution to the history of the Society. Martin remains close to his sources and

thus provides a window on one aspect of the vicissitudes of the young Jesuit order in struggling to survive.This focus remains specificaUy aimed throughout and does not open up onto broader historical vistas, not even of the nascent Society itseU, let alone the impact of these dUficulties for the Church or for religious Ufe in Europe of the time. But the emphasis fiUs a vacuum in historical writing about the early Society—WiUiam V Bangert's (1986) otherwise comprehensive history pays Uttle or no attention to the plague issue.

Martin is appropriately cautious and skeptical about the nature of the epidemic manifestations. Diagnosis was far from accurate in the sixteenth century, and what was recurrently referred to as "plague" (pesté) might have been influenza, typhus, pneumonia, or whatever, not necessarily bubonic. The descriptions, we must remember, were offered by educated laymen, not trained medical observers, although even the doctors were not much better. However, the accounts do offer a vivid impression of what Ufe was like in those plague-torn times.

One aspect of the material that seems relatively unattended in Martin's discussion is the pervasive influence of Ignatius, founder of the order. Ignatius had had his own brushes with "plague," especiaUy during his pilgrim years, foUowing his conversion, when he made a special point of working with the sick in hospitals. TypicaUy he would spend the best part of the day begging for food and alms in the streets, and then carry his gains to distribute them to the poor patients in local hospitals—this was a pattern throughout the years in Alcalá, Salamanca, and especiaUy the years in Barcelona. His devotion to the sick carried over as an ideal to his followers, much in the spUit of setf-sacrifice and the desire of martyrdom so characteristic of the spirituaUty of the day.

Caring for the sick regardless of personal risk was a mark of great holiness, and reflected the desire to abandon oneseU totaUy to the wiU of God. Such was the spirit of the pUgrirn. But that spirit was to be tempered when the pilgrim became the head of a newly founded reUgious order with responsibUity for the wellbeing of members of that order. Ignatius died in 1556, so that much of the material Martin reports was stiU cast in the shadow of the Ignatian ideal. But even Ignatius had to modify his devotion to the sick as General. He distUled this more pragmatic view into his directives for care of health of his foUowers in his Constitutions. One paragraph is salient with respect to Martin's discussion of the tension between tending to the needs of plague victims and the need to escape the ravages of the diseases on the work of the Society. Ignatius wrote:

> Great care should be taken of the sick. Their illness should be reported to the infirmarían, and if he judges it to be of moment he should inform the superior and a physician should be caUed. . . . Moreover, although our vocation is to travel through the world and to Uve Ui any part of it whatsoever where there is hope of greater service to God and of help of souls, nevertheless, U it becomes apparent through experience that someone cannot bear the circumstances of some region and continues in bad health there, it

> wiU be the superior's part to consider whether the subject ought to be transferred to another place where he may have better bodUy health and be able to employ himseU more in the service of God our Lord. (Constitutions, 304)

It seems fair to say that the Jesuits dealt with confrontations with the plague in terms close to this directive, balancing the Ignatian ideal of devoted service of the sick with the prudent and pragmatic norms of the greater service of God. It was this tension that came into play in la guerra di San Carlo and the dispute with the great Carlo Borromeo over tending to the needs of plague victims. The Jesuit compromise was to appoint one or two men to work with the sick and transfer the rest to safer grounds. Needless to say, students of the early Society and its role in the sixteenth century wiU find much of interest in these pages.

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Johann Sturm on Education: The Reformation and Humanist Learning. Introduced and translated by Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia PubUshing House. 1995. Pp. 429.)

These are English translations of the most important Latin pedagogical works of the Strasbourg educator, Johann Sturm (1507-1589). Sturm was a distinguished member of the host of Christian humanists who reformed the education of young people in Northern Europe just as reUgious institutions were undergoing a general revolution. They hoped that a return ad fontes would renew language and thus Ufe. Sturm himseU was swept into the Swiss/Rhenish Reformation as his construal of that hope, and he was active both in theological dialogue and controversy and in diplomatic maneuvers (not represented in this coUection). His chief work, however, was to design and administer schools that would profoundly shape young men by immersion in classical language and Uterature, in order to give them the poUtical virtue, grace, balance, and purity of the ancients. The Gymnasium and Academy of Strasbourg were of his making, and his ideas helped shape the education of eUte boys throughout Europe, including (at least Sturm thought) Jesuit schools. Several of the texts translated here were widely read and potent.

These translations, however, are very uneven. Sturm wrote Latin with an elegance and nuance not reflected in these EngUsh texts. HappUy, several of his most important works are translated competently U inelegantly. The EngUsh title, "The Correct Opening of Elementary Schools of Letters," limps after Sturm's "De Uterarum ludis recte aperiendis," but it makes sense enough. Here Sturm offered a thoughtful, detaUed rationale for his curriculum, grade by grade. "Let the control of speech and of Ufe be joined together (p. 74)" His discussion

of teaching method—chiefly what not to do—was pungent (p. 92). The other most significant and influential texts offered here, "Lauingen School" and the "Classical Letters," fiU out and develop the ideas Sturm had worked out in "Correct Opening."The translation of the "Classical Letters" profits from Jean Rott's magisterial edition and French translation; Spitz andTinsley send their readers to Rott's apparatus. In the "Classical Letters" Sturm offers concrete advice to his teachers, carefuUy outlining curricular goals in the context of the overaU structure of the curriculum, making suggestions about suitable teaching techniques, and sorting through the appropriate works for students to be studying.

In some cases, however, these translations are a 'work stiU in progress. The very first text, "Advice on What Organization to Give to the Gymnasium in Strasbourg," contains some English sentences that require very careful reading if anything is to be gleaned from them. "Even though bringing sheep together is useful, it is almost necessary for men to compare themselves to the multitude and variety from which first, imitation is stimulated, and next, pleasure derived. For by that which many or aU praise, and by which men customarUy catch fire is the tedium of diverse studies removed." Such lapses, unfortunately, occur throughout the translations.

The authors offer introductory essays on Johann Sturm himself, on his "method of humanistic pedagogy," and a bibliographic essay at the end. There are some significant inconsistencies between them: on page 15, Sturm's "Classical Letters" elicit the judgment, "What a horror he must have been," but on page 360, "they are models of charm, tact, and good wiU." Sturm's method does not in fact emerge clearly from the introductory essay. This reviewer would have appreciated serious attention to the relation between Sturm's reforms and the major efforts made by Bucer and many others in catechetics. In sum, this book needed keen editing that it did not receive. Even so, the texts remain a useful introduction to the dominant pedagogy of the Northern Renaissance.

William S. Stafford

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Teresa ofAvila and the Politics ofSanctity. By GUUanT.W. Ahlgren. (Ithaca, New York: CorneU University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 188. $2995.)

The last twenty years have witnessed an explosion of scholarship on Teresa of AvUa. Works byTeófanes Egido,Tomás Alvarez, Rosa Rossi,J.Mary Luti, Alison Weber, Dominque de Courcelles, and Carole Slade, just to mention a few, have taken Teresian studies weU beyond the confines of uncritical hagiography and examined this fascinating writer, monastic reformer, mystic, and woman within the context of her times. In Teresa ofAvila and the Politics ofSanctity GUUan Ahlgren grapples with many of these same questions, trying to "situate

[Teresa's] works in their theological and ecclesiastical miUeu" (p. 1) and to understand her Ufe and sanctity within "the Counter-Reformation agenda" (p. 3).

In chapter 1 Ahlgren describes the weU-known history of repression of heterodoxy, censorship, and seU-censorship in sixteenth-century Spain, emphasizing the backlash against the Alumbrados, or "Enlightened Ones." She notes the paradox of a society that witnessed the "proUferation of mystical Uterature in an age that was not hospitable to it" (p. 8).

Chapter 2 examines how Teresa developed certain "textual survival strategies" (p. 66) when confronted with inquisitorial suspicion. Ahlgren provides English translations of excerpts from Teresa's beatification and canonization proceedings and other documents, making them accessible to non-speciaUsts. She continues Ui the next two chapters, attempting to show how Teresa "forge [d] a new definition of reUgious authority for women" (p. 68) and mounted a spirited "defense of women's right to mental prayer and spiritual authority" and of her "teachings on visions and mystical union" (p. 85).

In Chapter 5 Ahlgren offers a sustained analysis of the debates between male critics and supporters of Teresa occasioned by the pubUcation of her works in 1588, six years after her death. Again, non-hispanists wiU appreciate the translation of materials published by Enrique Llamas in 1972 and used frequentiy by speciaUsts.

In her final chapter and conclusion Ahlgren looks at some of the ways in which Teresa was constructed as a saint, and attempts to demonstrate "how narrow the parameters for women's sanctity were" (p. 165). Teresa's canonization, Ahlgren insists, came about only because a patriarchal church presented her as "exceptional," a "singularity," and a "soUtary figure," and effectively "separated her from other women" and "blocked other women's bid for autonomy and authority within the Roman Catholic Church" (p. 166). She claims that after Teresa "the esoteric authority of women became, abstractly and concretely, an impossible reaUty" (p. 168), yet acknowledges that Teresa "gave birth to a new generation of spiritual women, encouraging their literary expression of themselves and their world" f. 171). In fact, for more than a century after her 1622 canonization reUgious women and their male promoters in Catholic Europe and its American colonies would vaUdate their charismatic spirituaUty, their vocations as writers, and their apostolic activities precisely by using Teresa as a precedent. This suggests that "the Counter-Reformation agenda" teUs us as much about rhetoric and aspirations as it does about Uved religious experience, especiaUy at the local level.

Jodi Biunkoff

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Sexuality in the Confessional: A Sacrament Profaned. By Stephen Haliczer. [Studies in the History of SexuaUty] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. vU, 267. $49.95.)

The use of the confessional as an instrument of seduction, largely of female penitents, feU under the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition between 1530 and 1819. It investigated such cases with its customary efficiency down to the most intimate sexual detaUs. This fascinating study of the Inquisition's determined campaign against priests who violated the sanctity of the confessional is at one level an institutional study of the organization and procedures of the tribunal in solicitation cases. But it is also concerned with the sexual mores of clergy and laity foUowing the efforts of the CouncU of Trent to tighten Church control over morality. The author maintains that from the mid-sixteenth century increased attention was given to the abuse of the confessional as the relative tolerance of irregular sexual conduct among the clergy found in the medieval period gave way after Trent to stricter controls over clerical conduct. The post-concUiar Church also gave priority to defending the sanctity of the confessional at a time when the sacrament of penance was subject to withering criticism by Protestant reformers. The Council also exalted the sacrament's spiritual importance by stressing the need for more frequent confession and communion in contrast to the once-a-year obligation common in medieval Europe. The author argues that the disciplinary controls imposed on the clergy after Trent and the increased frequency of confession aggravated the soUcitation problem among priests no longer able to take advantage of the more lax arrangements of the past as far as sexual conduct was concerned.

The study is based on 223 detailed case histories drawn from several regional tribunals, although the author recognizes that these formed only a smaU part of the total number of accusations because of the loss of inquisitorial records. These micro-histories provide abundant examples of a wide range of sexual practices among accused confessors. The individual cases studied say a good deal about sexual attitudes within the increasingly puritanical moral world of post-Tridentine Catholicism. The sexual pathology of priests functioning within these more restrictive moral confines receives considerable attention. But for the ecclesiastical historian, the author's discussion of the organizational and sociological causes of the phenomenon of solicitation is of greater interest. The poor state of clerical education, at least untU the second half of the eighteenth century, the practical appeal of a priestly career for many lacking a reUgious vocation, and inadequate means of supervision within a clerical estabUshment of over one hundred thousand are properly considered as contributing factors. It is interesting that the largest number of accused came from the ranks of the mendicant orders, especiaUy the Franciscans, Ui which admission standards were notoriously loose weU into the eighteenth century. In contrast, the more selective Society of Jesus provided few cases for inquisitorial investigation.

This study offers a plausible and coherent explanation for the phenomenon of soUcitation. It provides an abundance of rich detaU about the state of the clergy and prevailing moral values for the period under study. But for the eccle-

siastical historian it also raises questions. It would be useful to know, tf only in approximate terms, how many accusations were made beyond the limited number of cases studied. Within the sprawling and, in some respects, disorganized organization of the Spanish Church in the early modern period, it was not surprising that cases of irregular sexual conduct occurred among the clergy. Although the author suggests that the problem was widespread, we do not have reUable statistical information for the kingdom as a whole to indicate how great or smaU the problem was in relation to the clergy's overall size. It also would be useful to have a greater sense of change from one period to another. Although solicitation accusations continued to be made through the eighteenth century, for example, there is evidence from the records of episcopal pastoral visits that the Spanish Church made substantial progress in improving the moral quality of the clergy after 1750. Even the mendicant orders, the largest source of solicitation accusations, underwent sporadic reforming efforts during the century.

The author's emphasis on the increased frequency of confession as one cause of the surge in soUcitation cases from the middle of the sixteenth century onward also raises questions. Although there is some evidence that the Church made headway in certain regions in its efforts to persuade the faithful to confess and receive communion more than once a year, there are no accurate figures for the kingdom as a whole to indicate whether the attempt to modify historic entrenched attitudes was as successful as the book maintains. The laments of pastoral experts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as weU as local studies by social anthropologists suggest that the historic practice of annual confession and communion in rural Spain, even in areas known for high levels of religious practice, persisted weU into the modern period. Indeed, as late as 1913 in one CastiUan vUage, the confessional appeared only during Lent, to be stored away after Easter for another year.

These reservations aside, this is a richly detaUed and informative study of a hitherto obscure aspect of the Spanish Church during the early modern period. Although the conclusions appear at times too sweeping given the limited number of cases involved, the author has developed a weU-argued thesis which makes an important contribution to our understanding of the problem of soUcitation in the early modern Spanish Church.

William J. Callahan

University of Toronto

Good Newes from Fraunce; French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England. By Lisa Ferraro Parmelee. (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press; BoydeU & Brewer, Inc. 1996. Pp. Lx, 204. $45.00.)

The influence of French poUtical writings on Stuart England has aheady been treated by J. M. H. Salmon, the author's mentor, in his The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought and more briefly by J. P. SomerviUe in his Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640. The author, whUe acknowledging the

help received from these two authors, concentrates on the influence of French thought on England during the last dozen years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

There were at least two things France and England had in common during these two years. The first was a succession problem. Who would succeed to the throne? The second was a reUgious problem. Each had an estabUshed church along with a sizable religious minority. This is a thorough study not only of the influence of French poUtical thought but also "the process by which that influence was effected."

This volume is weU organized. There is a good deal of useful material about printing and translation in England. And there is an extensive treatment of the calamity the French experienced and the EngUsh feared: civU war with reUgious overtones. Of course, it came to England a generation later in what one EngUsh historian has caUed "the last of the wars of religion."

One of the chief pro-League and revolutionary items on the origins of political power had an EngUsh source. It was De Justa Reipublicae in Reges Impíos et haereticos . . . Authoritate, published in Paris in 1590. It was signed G.G.R.A. There was another edition pubUshed in ?????ef in 1592 signed G. GuUielmus Rossaeus. The author is commonly thought to be WiUiam Rainold (Reynolds), an Oxford man and seminary priest trained at Douay's seminary-in-exUe. Many of his contemporaries thought that WiUiam Giffbrd, later archbishop of Rheims, had a hand in it. It was not a particularly original work, but it does elaborate on the traditional scholastic theories on popular sovereignty. The first edition had a chapter on tyrannicide which was dropped in the second.

What is not generaUy appreciated is that large portions of one of the most influential books on political theory in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, A Conference on the Next Succession to the Crowne of England (?????ef, 1594), borrowed heavUy in its first three chapters, which comprised the meat of its poUtical theory, from Rossaeus. The Conference is generaUy attributed to Robert Parsons, SJ., though there is UtUe reason to think that he was the sole or even the principal author.

In comparing religious minorities in England and France, the author seems to be much more tolerant of the Huguenots in France than she is of the CathoUcs in England. She dates the inauguration of the hard Une against CathoUcs in England from the promulgation of Pius Vs buU Regnans in Excelsis in 1570. But Regnans was understandably given little pubUcity in England, and the vast majority of contemporary CathoUcs never heard of it.

There is a good deal of hand-wringing elsewhere in this volume about how the efforts of Parsons and Cardinal AUen on the continent made conditions difficult for the CathoUcs in England, though AUen—if not Parsons—was revered by most Englishmen true to the old faith. Even the appeUants, the subject of the last chapter, dared not criticize him.

As for the anger aroused by the Conference, again there is Uttle evidence that many CathoUcs Ui England had any firsthand acquaintance with it. The EngUsh

government saw to that.The further editions pubUshed in 1648 (2), 1655, and 1681 were not published under Catholic auspices.

The bibUography has a very useful Ust of primary sources, printed books translated from the French and other items pertaining to poUtical controversy plus a wide range of secondary sources. I spotted one error: on p. 144 for Robert BlackweU read George BlackweU.

Thomas Clancy, SJ.

Jesuit Archives, New Orleans

John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility. By Dennis Flynn. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. ix, 245. $35.00.)

In this fascinating study, Dennis Flynn, professor of EngUsh in Bentley College, Waltham (Massachusetts), explores issues generally considered unimportant by Donne scholars, specificaUy the persistent Catholicism of Donne's family and the Elizabethan persecution of CathoUcs. Research into these areas, Flynn contends, wiU recover the "missing years" of Donne's youth and wiU effect a re-evaluation of Donne's Latin epigrams currently rejected as spurious by many scholars.

Donne's famUy had consistenüy resisted Tudor reUgious reforms. His maternal great-grandmother was Sir Thomas More's sister EUzabeth RasteU. One son, WUUam RasteU, was Thomas More's pubUsher.Two RasteUs, John and Edward, entered the Jesuits. A daughter, Joan, married John Heywood, an entertainer and poet who served at the Tudor courts. At least two of their sons, Jasper and EUis, entered the Society. When members of the RasteU and Heywood famiUes went into religious exüe, Donne's father protected and managed their estates through "some arcane legal maneuvers." The tactics employed by recusants to prevent confiscation deserve further study. UntU it appears, we can only observe with Flynn: "Wise as ßefe??ß, müd as doves, the Heywoods and Donne were thus able to make the most of a bad situation'^. 72).

In "Donne and the Ancient CathoUc NobiUty," Flynn examines relations between Donne's famUy and the ancient CathoUc houses of Percy, Earls of Northumberland, Howard, Earls of Arundel, and Stanley, Earls of Derby. The catalyst was the arrival of Jasper Heywood, 'who, with his coUeague WUUam Holt, entered England in 1581 atTynemouth with the connivance of Captain WUUam PuUen, the Earl of Northumberland's surrogate and later a secular priest. During his years of freedom, Heywood estabUshed contact with and received financial support from many CathoUc noble families whom he knew from his youth at court. Captured in December of 1583, Heywood was exUed in January of l 585. A day before his deportation, the Earl of Derby departed for Paris to invest King Henry III with the Order of the Garter. A young boy in his entourage was identified as "John Donnes" or'Jhon Downes." According to Flynn, this was the poet.

The "missing years" of Donne's youth were spent on the continent. From references in Jasper Mayne's translation of Donne's Latin epigrams, a translation pubUshed after the poet's death, Donne arguably was one of a group of English CathoUc boys who visited the Prince of Parma's encampment outside Antwef in May of l 585. Another was probably Donne's friend Henry Percy, later 9th Earl of Northumberland. Donne returned to England Ui late winter of l 587 with Henry Stanley, son of the Earl of Derby. Most likely the two traveled through Spain and Italy together during their two years on the continent.

I know not how literary scholars will react to Flynn's arguments for the authenticity of Donne's Latin epigrams and for Jasper Heywood's influence on his poetic style, but historians, and especiaUy those interested in recusancy, wUl learn much from Flynn's analysis of Heywood's activities among the leading CathoUc famiUes. The EngUsh Jesuit historian John Hungerford PoUen contended that Heywood's contribution has been undervalued. Because of his conflict with Robert Parsons, Heywood was deemed "out of step" with official poUcy and was exiled to Naples. Flynn has rehabUitated him.

Thomas M. McCoog, SJ.

Jesuit Provincial Archives, London

Missio Moscovítica: The Role of the Jesuits in the Westernization of Russia, 1582-1689. By Jan Joseph Santich, O.S.B. [American University Studies, Series LX, History, Vol. 178.] (New York: Peter Lang PubUshing, Inc. 1995. Pp. xi, 255. $41.95.)

In the late 1960's, Father Santich planned a dissertation without access to Soviet archives to determine whether there had been clandestine Jesuit missions to Russia. His thorough search of the Roman archives made it clear that there was none.

There were, however, pubUc missions which Santich describes Ui a detaUed narrative history, from the Jesuits' first arrival in Poland in 1555 to 1620, when the Russian autocracy recovered from the bitter civU war tangled with foreign invasions known as the Time of Troubles, and expeUed the Jesuits and aU other Western influences. Russians took the Jesuit efforts at conversion and the PoUsh mUitary-poUtical intervention in Russia to be inseparable parts of a single movement. That conclusion was correct, for the Jesuits' work and that of the PoUsh-Lithuanian state were inseparably linked. Westernization failed with the faUure of Poland to conquer. Santich concludes, however, that the Jesuits "caused a ß??f Muscovite reaction against [the West]. . . . and "quickened the efforts of the Muscovites to buUd up their own . . . capabiUties in order to keep Jesuits, CathoUcs, and Poles out of Muscovy." These quickened efforts Santich finds evidence for "an active, though indUect, role [of Jesuits] in the Westernization of Muscovy'^. 195).

The Muscovites' quickened efforts receive little attention. The narrative instead provides a richly documented account of the activities of Jesuits. The first of the book's five chapters is an extraordinarily rich description of both the Roman archives and the way Jesuits kept theU records. Almost anyone interested in any aspect of Jesuit history wiU find this chapter worth careful consultation. The foUowing chapters describe the Jesuits in Poland-Iithuania, the Possevino mission, the Time of Troubles (titled "The False Dmitri Episode"), and the expulsion of 1620 and its consequences. Each of these chapters demonstrates complete mastery of the secondary Uterature, the printed sources, and the Roman archives. AU are clearly, even engagingly, written and doubtless provide the best short discussion of their topics in EngUsh, particularly on the work of Possevino and Krizhanich. The bibUography is thorough and complete whUe the notes include learned discussions that provide much more than information on the sources.

Given the rich documentation on which this book is based, and the great learning with which it is presented, it may seem disappointing that the main questions answered do not advance understanding of the significance of the Jesuits' role in Russia very far. Nonetheless, this book provides thorough, accurate description of its topic and careful, learned presentation of the evidence, two important strengths that merit high praise.

James T Flynn

College of the Holy Cross

P. Matthäus Rader SJ. Volume I: 1595-1612. Bearbeitet von Helmut Zäh und SUvia Strodel; eingeleitet und herausgegeben von Alois Schmid. [Bayerische Gelehrten Korrespondenz.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1995. Pp. Lxix, 659.)

This volume is a ??ß?ef?e?e of scholarship. It inaugurates auspiciously the publication by the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften of a projected multi-volume series of the correspondence of early modern Bavarian scholars and savants, many of whom were Jesuits. The project was initiated by Richard van Dülmen, who in the mid-seventies first urged the pubUcation of the correspondence of the Munich Jesuits during the long reign of Duke and then Elector MaximUian I (1598-1651), and it must be seen as part of the long-range effort to redress the imbalance between the study and appreciation of North German Protestant culture and South German CathoUc culture which has borne fruit in recent years.

The first volumes of this series are devoted to the Jesuit Matthäus Rader, whom the editors consider to be "the most important representative of Late Humanism in Upper Germany" (f. xxix). Born in 1556 Ui Innichen Ui South Tyrol, Rader entered the Jesuits in 1581. He taught humanities and rhetoric at the Jesuit coUege in Augsburg from 1591 to 1612, when at the request of Duke Maxi-

mUian he was transferred to the coUege in Munich, where he died in 1634. A prolific author as weU as a teacher, Rader produced works of history and historiography, edited classical and Byzantine texts, and contributed several plays to the growing body of Jesuit drama. Political obstacles prevented the pubUcation of the three-volume court history of Bavaria, for the writing of which he was originaUy summoned to Munich. His most famous work was his Bavaria pia et sancta (4 vols., Munich, 1615-1627), perhaps "the most characteristic pubUcation of the Bavarian Baroque" (p. xxvi), which in turn stimulated similar volumes telling the story of the saints and blessed of other territories. Among his other earfer pubUcations were the Acta of the eighth ecumenical councU of Constantinople as weU as the Epigrams of Martial and works of Curtius Rufus.

Like many Jesuits, Rader participated in the epistolary culture of Late Humanism with an extensive, international correspondence, mostly with feUow Jesuits but with many others too. The current volume contains 309 of the roughly 2000 letters of his that have survived, nearly aU of them letters addressed to him since most of the letters he himself wrote have been lost. Most of this correspondence is found today in the Bavarian Hauptstaatsarchiv and Staatsbibliothek, and in the archives of the Upper German Province of the Society of Jesus, aU in Munich. Their content reveals much about the cultural and intellectual Ufe of the times as weU as about Ufe within the Society of Jesus. Striking is the mutual affection among the Jesuits that emerges from the letters, though this does not rule out disagreements and misunderstandings. Two of Rader's students were the dramatist Jacob Bidermann and the writer Jeremías Drexel, and both, stiU young men, figure prominently in the correspondence. Frequently the correspondents discuss manuscripts for plays, evaluate new books that have come on the market, or exchange views on scholarly issues.

The next volume in this series will comprise the complete correspondence of Rader with the Augsburg humanist and city official, Marcus Weiser, for which the letters of Rader to Welser also survive. Subsequent volumes wiU complete the correspondence of Rader, of which less survives for the later years. The editors have wisely chosen to publish the complete correspondence including those letters which have been pubUshed elsewhere, and to pubUsh the letters in their entirety without abbreviations. The letters are in the difficult Latin characteristic of late humanism. A brief summary in German precedes each letter. The copious notes, also in German, are a marvelous source of information and bibliography for early modern scholars. There is a helpful index for this ????p?e. For the last volume a general index is planned of aU Rader's correspondence as well as a bio-bibUography introducing the correspondents.

The editors of this volume deserve hearty congratulations as does the Bayerische Akademie der Wiss8nschaften for undertaking this valuable project at a time when most institutions have been forced to cut back because of sagging finances.

Robert Bireley, SJ.

Loyola University Chicago

The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605. By Antonia Fraser. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1996. Pp. xxxv, 347.Ä20.00.)

This is a handsome production, weU iUustrated and indexed, based on good sources, and presented Ui a prose at once elegant and readable, which we would expect by now from this author. It has been weU received by reviewers generaUy m England who usuaUy reveal Uttle knowledge about the plot except from what they read here. It is safe to prophesy that there wUl never be a last word on what Joel Hurstfield once described as a "non-event"; but it is to be regretted that one cannot recommend this as an outstanding milestone on the way. The book refers to a "no plot" faction, but no one denies a plot. The question remains, whose was it and of what kind? Fraser reteUs the traditional story of the plot as the concoction of a group of disaffected CathoUcs driven to desperation and despaU by persecution and seeing no other remedy. The dark hero of the piece was dashing Robert Catesby, whose zeal inflamed and led the rest to aU-time disaster for the Catholic cause. She foUows in essentials Mark NichoUs's thesis as expounded in Investigating Gunpowder Plot (1991) and also an unpublished manuscript by the late W. K. L. Webb, S.J.

It is extremely plausible that this was the way of it since we are aU too weU aware of the terrorist answer to seemingly insoluble poUtical problems in our own time. Nevertheless, closer inspection of the evidence, which is, admittedly, often unsatisfactory and incomplete, must confirm many in the view that the plot was Robert CecU's contrivance—one of quite a series which began with the Lopez plot of 1594, which no one takes seriously, and the Squire plot of 1598, aimed at the Jesuits, which nobody would take seriously U people knew anything about it. The Main and Bye plots were rather better contrived but stiU bear the falsifying imprint of the master. The gunpowder plot, "Cecil's holiday" as it was described by contemporaries, was the last and best stage-managed of them aU, so skillfuUy that it continues to deceive even those it was intended to destroy down to our day. It is the great outcrop sticking up in our English sands of time to hold back the sinister force of popish revisionism. CecU had two aims in mind: first to bring the papists into everlasting hatred; second to discredit those Catholics and their cause who, finding nothing worthwhUe for them to do Ui his England, tried to find employment and honor abroad fighting for the archdukes in Flanders. The oblique attack on the English regiment is an essential part of the story. The group which made its way to the last stand at Holbeach on November 8 was the remnant of a contingent intended for Flanders. Guy Fawkes, prototype of the faU-guy and the only professional soldier, was theU U-aison man. The operation was infiltrated by four men working for CecU, viz., Thomas Percy, the principal mole, with Robert Catesby as his main contact in the field, and WUUam Monteagle and Francis Tresham as assistants. Catesby, Tresham, and Monteagle had a death sentence hanging over them for their treasonable part in the Essex affair of 1600/1. They did as they were told to get off the hook. This alternative thesis is nowhere taken into account in Fraser's book. Admittedly, U it were, it would interrupt the flow of a good narrative.

Remaining evidence needs to be examined not only with a wide-angle lens, taking into account facts and sources which standard historians find embar-

rassing, but also with a microscope which takes into account handwriting. This is admittedly a minefield, but certain high probabüities, U not cast iron facts, emerge, notably that the Monteagle letter was written Ui CecU's own hand, who admitted it was in "a hand disguised." Letters Ui the Spanish papers Ui the Public Record Office, London, and at Hatfield make it clear that Tresham was aUowed to escape. His pious death in the Tower was a huge charade. Joan Cambridge, a leading graphologist, examined the hands involved in both cases and concluded there was at least a good probabiUty that they belonged to the gentlemen in question. These are only a couple of clues to another ???efGe?????? of the data.

There are important respects in which Fraser departs from the standard story; notably that there was no mine involved in the alleged operations under Parliament (pp. 110- 112). After the fire in 1834, no trace was found of any such tunnelling, and the whole story is on the face of it absurd. Fraser also exonerates the priests, including Father Henry Garnet, SJ. Coke, working for CecU, tried to make them the main organizers (Chap. xvi). When such standard items are shown to be false the rest of the tale begins to unravel.

Two excellent features of the book are the genealogical details given of recusant famiUes having a connection with plotters (p. xiii) and with much in the text. On the strength of this Cecil was able to harry many innocents after the plot. Fraser has much to say on the women involved that is of interest. An instructive plan also gives us the location of the recusant houses and how they lay on the "plotters'" sorry progress to Holbeach (p. xiv). There were never more than eighty: hardly enough to rouse a nation to revolution! There is also a good deal of incidental information which makes this book worth reading. We are told that "under EngUsh law today, Father Garnet would be still be obliged to disclose the information he had received in the confessional." However, while priests, doctors, and psychiatrists are aU so bound, "lawyers can claim privUege in not revealing information received from their cUents" (pp. 258-259, n.). This is a "must read" but to be read on the understanding it is not the whole truth.

Francis Edwards, S.J.
London

A Literary History of the English Jesuits: A Century of Books, 1615-1 714. By Thomas H. Clancy. (Bethesda, Maryland: CathoUc Scholars Press. 1996. Pp. x, 283. $69.95.)

This study buUds on the soUd foundations laid by Clancy in his English Catholic Books, 1641-1 700: A Bibliography (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1974; revised edition pubUshed in 1996 by Scolar Press in Aldershot, England). SimUar to Peter MUward's two volumes Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age and Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977 and 1978), Clancy traces predominant characteristics and themes through primary printed material. Readers may wish that certain works received greater attention. Clancy's decision to begin his ex-

amination in 1615 was not arbitrary: by that date not only had most prominent Elizabethan Jesuit authors passed from the scene—Robert SouthweU, Henry Garnet, Robert Parsons—but the issues had changed. The next generation of Jesuit theologians, arguably the most competent Ui the history of the mission, has not received proper recognition. This reviewer hopes that Clancy's presentation will encourage future scholars to explore the theological works of Jesuit theologians such as John Floyd and Matthew WUson.

Between 1615 and 1640, Jesuit writings were almost equaUy divided between spiritual and controversial works. Nearly 80% of the spiritual and devotional works, however, were translations or editions, whereas 85% of the controversial works were written by EngUsh Jesuits. Controversial theology was their strength—and a periodic source of trouble. In 1610 and 1614, French outrage during the battle over tyrannicide forced the Jesuit General Claudio Acquaviva to forbid any treatment of the nature and origin of poUtical authority without prior Roman approval. Later Pope Urban VIII issued the brief Britannia (I63I) to queU the storm surrounding the appointment of Richard Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, by forbidding under pain of excommunication any more books on church order and the nature of ecclesiastical government.

The EngUsh province was at its zenith in the late 1630's and early 1640's with nearly 200 members in England. FinanciaUy and numerically it declined throughout the second haU of the century, a decline reflected in the pubUcations of its members. Nearly 240 Catholic books were pubUshed between 1615 and 1640; EngUsh Jesuits wrote, translated, or edited approximately 100 ofthat total. The much longer period 1641-1684 saw the pubUcation of 130 books, and Jesuits were responsible for approximately thirty-nine. Because of the accession of the Catholic James II, there was a revival of Catholic pubUshing; eighty-three books appeared between 1685 and 1689, twenty-three of which were written by Jesuits. Unfortunately, Clancy did not provide statistics for his last segment: we do not know what percentage of CathoUc writings were produced by Jesuits between 1690 and 1714. Perhaps more important than the quantity was the type of literature; by the end of the century most Jesuit controversial works were directed at Jansenism instead of Protestantism. Does this aversion to controversial theology simply reflect changes in the reading habits of Catholics, or is it further evidence of CathoUcs' withdrawal into their manor houses? Or, indeed, is it simply a natural consequence of the restrictions imposed by ecclesiastical authorities?

A new pubUsher willing to produce works such as this is to be welcomed. One hopes that the careless appearance marked by marginal variations and an inabiUty to produce accents and dashes, and the absence of an index, are technical problems that wiU be resolved.

Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.

Jesuit Provincial Archives, London

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award

The American CathoUc Historical Association announces inauguration of its John Tracy ElUs Dissertation Award. The award, which carries a purse of $1,200, memorializes the scholarship and teaching of Monsignor John Tracy EUis (1905-1992). Its purpose is to assist a graduate student working on some aspect of the history of the CathoUc Church. It wUl be presented for the first time in 1998.

Eligibility. Those wishing to enter the competition for the award must be citizens or authorized residents (i.e., permanent residents or on student visas) of the United States or Canada and must be enroUed in a doctoral program at a recognized institution of higher education.

Procedures: AppUcants must submit the foUowing materials: (1) a statement from the chaUperson (or director of graduate studies) of the applicant's department certifying that he or she has completed aU degree requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation and has received departmental approval to undertake work on a dissertation topic dealing with some aspect of the history of the CathoUc Church; (Z) three copies of a statement written by the appUcant, not exceeding 1,000 words in length, describing the dissertation project and how the award would be employed to further its completion; and (3) two sealed letters of recommendation from scholars famiUar with the applicant's work, one of whom must be his or her dissertation director. These materials must be sent by September 30, 1997, to the Secretary, American CathoUc Historical Association, The CathoUc University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064. The first winner of the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award wiU be announced at the Association's annual meeting in Seattle, Washington, in January, 1998.

Association News

At its meeting held in New York on January 2, 1997, the Executive CouncU of the American CathoUc Historical Association resolved to accept with gratitude the invitation of Marian CoUege in Indianapolis, extended by its president, Daniel A. Felicetti, to hold the spring meeting there in 1998. The meeting wUl mark the centenary of the transfer of the episcopal see from Vincennes, where it was erected in 1834, to IndianapoUs. The Archbishop of IndianapoUs, the

Most Reverend Daniel M. Buechlein, O.S.B., wiU be the principal celebrant of the Mass at the close of the meeting. The dates will be March 27 and 28. The chairman of the planning committee wiU be James J. Divita of Marian CoUege; the other members wUl be two of his coUeagues in the Department of History, viz., WUUam J. Doherty and Sister Sue Bradshaw, O.S.E, C. Edward Balog, Academic Dean of Marian CoUege, the Reverend Jack W Porter, archivist/historian of the archdiocese, and Joseph M. White, associate editor of U.S. Catholic Historian. Proposals of papers or (preferably) sessions should be submitted to Professor Divita in care of the Department of History, Marian CoUege, 3200 Cold Spring Road, IndianapoUs, Indiana 46222-1997; telephone: 317-955-6228.

Meetings, Conferences, Congresses, and Lectures

A lecture series entitled "The American CathoUc Experience: New Historical Perspectives" was sponsored by the Department of History in the CathoUc University of America between January 29 and February 26. The speakers and thentopics are as foUows:John McGreevy of Harvard University, "Parish Boundaries: American CathoUcism and Twentieth-Century Race Relations"; James Fisher of St. Louis University, "The Second CathoUc President: Ngo Dinh Diem, John F. Kennedy, and the Vietnam Lobby, 1954-1963"; CoUeen McDanneU of the University of Utah, "Material Culture and American CathoUc History"; Maureen Fitzgerald of the University of Arizona, "The PoUtics of God and Charity: Irish CathoUc Nuns in Nineteenth-Century New York City"; and Patrick AUitt of Emory University,"CathoUc Converts: British and American InteUectuals Turn to Rome."

The annual meeting of the Texas CathoUc Historical Society was to be held in Austin on March 7. Patrick Foley, editor of Catholic Southwest:A Journal of History and Culture, was to read a paper entitled "Texas's First: The Diocese of Galveston" in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the erection of the episcopal see (now caUed Galveston-Houston), and James Vanderholt, editor of East Texas Catholic, was to read one on "The Diocese of Austin: Fifty Years." Lisa May, archivist of the Diocese of Galveston-Houston, was to present a sUde show on the two dioceses.

The Centro ItaUano di Studi suU'Alto Medioevo wiU present the forty-fifth international study week in Spoleto on April 3-9, 1997. The theme wiU be "Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra Tarda Antichità e Alto Medioevo." Among those reading papers wiU be Maria Giovanna Arcamone of the University of Pisa, "Il monachesimo"; Salvatore Pricocco of the University of Catania, "L'agiografia"; Sofia Boesch Gajano of the Third University of Rome, "Persistenze pagane e cristianizzazione"; Yves-Marie Duval of the University of Paris X-Nanterre, "Istituzioni ecclesiastiche"; Guglielmo CavaUo of the University of Rome "La Sapienza,""Modi e tramiti deUa comunicazione col sacro"; and Herbert Kessler of the Johns Hopkins University, "Morfologie artistiche: trasformazione deU'immagine."

The complete program of the international conference on "The World of Innocent III" (announced ante, LXXXI [October, 1995], 651), which will mark the eighth centenary of the election of Lotario dei Conti di Segni to the Chair of Peter in 1198 and which will take place at Hofstra University on May 1-3, 1997, is now available. The keynote address on the first afternoon will be delivered by Leonard Boyle, O.P., prefect of the Vatican Apostolic Library, under the title, "The Lateran Council: Before and After." At the conference banquet Edward Peters of the University of Pennsylvania will deliver an address entitled "Lotario dei Conti di Segni Becomes Pope Innocent III: The Man and the Pope." In addition there will be thirty-three papers arranged in thirteen panels. Copies of the program may be obtained from the director of the conference, John C. Moore, in care of the Department of History, 115 Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York 11550-1090; telephone: 516-463-5020; fax: 516463-4861; e-mail: HISJCM@VAXC.HOFSTRA.EDU.

The annual conference of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will be held, as usual, in conjuction with the Canadian Conference of Learned Societies—this year at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. Johns, on June 4-5. Papers will deal with the history of Catholicism or Catholics in Canada, especially in Atlantic Canada.

To mark the 450th anniversary of the beginning of John Knox's Protestant preaching career, which followed the assassination of Cardinal David Beaton, Chancellor of Scotland, and the occupation of the archiépiscopal castle at St. Andrews by a group of religious fanatics and political gangsters, the University of St. Andrews will sponsor an international conference from June 30 to July 3, 1997. Speaking on Knox's life, his political ideas, and his influence on the processes of Protestant reform in both Scotland and England will be J. H. Burns, emeritus of the University of London, Euan Cameron of the University of Newcastle, Patrick Collinson of the University of Cambridge, Jane Dawson of the University of Edinburgh, Carol Edington of the University of St. Andrews, James Kirk of the University of Glasgow, Michael Lynch of the University of Edinburgh, Roger Mason of the University of St. Andrews, and Jenny Wormald of St. Hilda's College, University of Oxford.

The fourteenth centenary of the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent will be commemorated at the Fourth International Medieval Congress, of which the special theme will be "Conversion." The congress will take place at the University of Leeds on July 14-17, 1997. Full information may be requested of the director of the International Medieval Institute, Axel E. W. Müller, at Parkinson 103, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JX England.

On September 25-27, 1997, the Archdiocese of Ottawa will sponsor an historical conference to commemorate the sesquicentennial of erection of the episcopal see. The conference will be co-sponsored by both the French and the English sections of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association. The papers will deal with the transformation of the archdiocese and its peoples since the 1940's. Sessions in both English and French will focus on such issues as church

government, the Marian Congress of 1947, the changing role of the laity, the suburbanization of the Church, Catholic schools, catechetical education, the diocesan synod, clerical formation, reUgious Ufe, bUingualism and multiculturalism in the Church, charismatic renewal, archdiocesan missions, and ecumenism. The conference wiU also include round-table discussions on the "polyglot Church," CathoUc post-secondary education, and Canadian CathoUc historiography. Further information may be obtained from Mark G. McGowan in care of the University of St. Michael's CoUege, 91 St. Mary's Street, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1J4, Canada.

The twenty-fourth Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies will take place on October 10 and 11,1 997, at Saint Louis University. Scholars are invited to present papers Ui such areas as codicology, paleography, papyrology, epigraphy, iUuminations, textual criticism, cataloguing formats, and computer appUcations. Papers are limited to twenty minutes. Those who wish to participate should submit an abstract of the proposed paper not exceeding 200 words in length. Inquiries concerning the conference should be addressed to the Conference Committee, Manuscripta, Pius XII Memorial Library, Saint Louis University, 3650 Lindell Boulevard, Samt Louis, Missouri 63108-3302; e-maU: ERMATCJ@SLU.EDU.

Material History of American Religion Project

Located at Columbia Theological Seminary in Decatur, Georgia, and supported by the LiUy Endowment, Inc., the Material History of American ReUgion Project is intended to focus on material objects and economic themes. It consists of nine scholars, among whom are CoUeen McDanneU of the University of Utah and Robert Orsi of Indiana University, and an advisory committee comprised of R. Scott Appleby of the University of Notre Dame, E. Brooks Holifield of Emory University, and Peter WiUiams of Miami University. The scholars wiU investigate various aspects of the material and economic history of American reUgion. Several senior scholars in the field wUl critique their work. A group of reUgious leaders representative of the diversity of American reUgious institutions wiU help to make the investigations responsive to the needs of their communities. The Project wiU disseminate the results of its research through several means. More information may be obtained directly from the Material History of American Religion Project, Columbia Theological Seminary #325, Post Office Box 520, Decatur, Georgia 30031; telephone: 404-687-4633; e-maU: reUgion@materialreUgion.org; www.materialreligion.org.

Prize

The American Historical Association's James Henry Breasted Prize, which is given on a four-year chronological cycle for the best book in English in any field

prior to A.D. 1000 and in 1996 was given for a book in European history, was awarded on January 3, 1997, in New York to WUUam Klingshirn of the Catholic University of America for his book Caesarius ofAries (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Library Grant

The Eden-Webster Library of St. Louis, Missouri, the joint Ubrary for Eden Theological Seminary and Webster University, has received from the Henry Luce Foundation a grant of $96,000 to fund the cataloguing of more than six thousand rare books, mainly the James I. Good CoUection. From 1907 to 1924 Good was Professor of Reformed Church History and Liturgies at Central Theological Seminary; he made fifty-two trans-Atlantic crossings to purchase books in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. His coUection became part of Eden Theological Seminary when the Seminary was merged with Central Theological Seminary in 1934. The books range in date from the early sixteenth century through 1924. The earUer volumes are important sources for the study of Reformation history, while those from the later sixteenth through the eighteenth century contain Reformed theology, including early covenant thinking and Reformed orthodoxy. Among the imprints from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are many pamphlets that Dr. Good had bound together by subject. The catalogue wUl become part of the OCLC. The Eden-Webster Library's online catalog is accessible both via direct access dial-in lines (314-963-6080) and via the mternet (http://Ubrary.websteruniv.edu).

Causes of Saints

On November 24, 1996, the Solemnity of Christ the King, in St. Peter's BasUica Pope John Paul II beatified three servants of God—two Austrian priests, martyrs of Nazi persecution, and a French lay woman who aided the poor and persecuted at the time of the French Revolution. One of the priests, Blessed Otto Neururer (1882-1940), came from a peasant famUy Ui the viUage of PUler Ui the Tirol. He studied at the minor and major seminaries in Brixen (Bressanone), and after his ordination he was a curate and teacher of reUgion in many places. Embracing the teaching of Rerum novarum, he joined the Christian Social Movement and thereby incurred the disfavor of his more conservative superiors. The difficulties that resulted caused Father Neurerer acute suffering but never affected his great priestly zeal. When the Nazis occupied the Tirol in 1938, they sensed a strong ideological resistance on the part of the inhabitants. Thousands of people were harassed, had their civU rights curtaUed, were subjected to interrogation by the Gestapo, and were thrown into prisons and concentration camps. Many priests were condemned to death or kUled. At that time Neurerer was pastor in Götzens, a viUage near Innsbruck. He advised a young

woman not to marry a divorced man who was leading a notoriously dissolute Ufe. She rejected the man, but he took revenge through his personal friend, the Gauleiter. Father Neurerer was arrested on the charge of "slander to the detriment of German marriage" and interned first in the concentration camp at Dachau and later in Buchenwald. He suffered atrocious tortures but stUl shared his meager food rations with prisoners who were even weaker than he. In the Buchenwald camp one of the prisoners asked him for baptism. Perhaps this man was a secret agent; although Neurerer suspected a trap, he could not in conscience refuse the request. Two days later he was transferred to the "bunker," the place of extreme punishment, where he was hung upside down untU he died on May 30, 1940. Neurerer was the first priest kiUed in a concentration camp. For this reason his mortal remains were taken to a private crematorium, which placed his ashes in an urn and sent it to Götzens. Having been verified as authentic through painstaking scientific investigations, the ashes are now placed under the altar of the parish church in that vUage.

The other Austrian priest, Blessed Jakob Gapp (1897- 1942), was also born in a Tirolian viUage, Wattens. He was caUed to miUtary service in May, 1915, and served on the Italian front, where he was wounded in 1916. On November 4, 1918, he was interned as a prisoner of war by the Italian Army; he was released the foUowing August. Thereupon he entered the Marianist novitiate in Greisinghof, Upper Austria, where he made his first vows in 1921. For the next four years he worked as a teacher and sacristan in the Marian Institute at Graz. He made his profession of perpetual vows in 1925 and then entered the International Marianist Seminary in Fribourg, Switzerland. He was ordained in 1930 and returned to Austria. Until 1938 he worked as a teacher, director of religious education, and chaplain in Marianist schools. During those years of severe unemployment he demonstrated his concern for the poor in manifold ways. By studying the German and Austrian bishops' statements and the papal encyclical Mit brennender Sorge, he formed a clear judgment about the incompatibUity of Nazism and the Christian faith. In his teaching and preaching he emphasized this truth fearlessly. When the German troops arrived in Austria after the Anschluss, he was obliged to leave Graz. EventuaUy his superiors sent him to his home town, since they saw in his anti-Nazi preaching a threat to the very existence of their institutions. He had been an assistant pastor in Breitenwang-Reutte for only two months when the Gestapo, at the end of October, 1938, forbade him to teach reUgion. In a sermon on December 1 !,nevertheless, he defended Pope Pius XI against the attacks of the Nazis and exhorted the faithful of the parish to read Catholic literature rather than Nazi propaganda. Afterwards Father Gapp was advised to leave the country. With the help of his religious superiors he escaped to Bordeaux, where he worked at the cradle of the Society of Mary as a chaplain and Ubrarian. In May, 1939, he went to Spain and served in the Marianist communities at San Sebastian, Cádiz, and Valencia. He was misunderstood in Spain because of his rejection of Nazism. The Gestapo had not lost sight of hull and sent from Berlin two persons pretending to be Jews, who told him of their fictitious experiences of flight from Nazi persecution. In Valencia

they asked him to instruct them in the CathoUc faith. After gaining his confidence, they invited him to take a trip and then abducted him across the border into German-occupied France. He was arrested on November 9, 1942, in Hendaye and taken to Berlin. OnJuIy 2, 1943, he was condemned to death. Any pardon or even the transfer of his remains to his relatives for simple burial was denied because he had "defended his conduct on expressly reUgious grounds." Hence, he might have been considered a martyr for the faith, and his funeral might have been used by the CathoUc population as an opportunity for a sUent demonstration in support of a man already judged a traitor who was pretending to die for his faith. On August 13, 1943, he was guUotined in the Plötzensee Prison, Berlin, and his remains were sent to the Anatomical-Biological Institute of the University of Berlin for research.

The French woman was Blessed Catherine Jarrige (1754-1836), who was the daughter of a tenant farmer in Doumis, situated in what is now the Diocese of Saint-Flour. At Mauriac Catinon, as she was caUed in the local dialect, entered the Third Order of St. Dorninic, becoming a menette (Uttle nun). The menettes had no community Ufe but Uved in their own homes, in her case a garrett that she shared with her sister. For sixty years she ministered to the poor, the sick, and orphans. She spent part of the day begging for alms from the weU-to-do families of Mauriac. In 1791 she became very concerned with the priests who refused to accept the CivU Constitution of the Clergy. When the persecution reached the region of Cantal in 1792, she found hiding places for the nonjuring clergy and brought them not only food and clothing but also vestments, hosts, and wine so that they could celebrate Mass. She even accompanied to the guUotine a nonjuring priest who had defended the sanctity of marriage. For the rest of the decade she devoted her charitable works to such priests. After the persecution ended, she helped to rebuUd the Church. Having been known as the "menette of the poor," she -was now caUed the "menette of the priests."

The cause ofVenerable Mother Theodore Guérin (1798-1856), who founded the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods in 1840, was advanced last November when a panel of medical consultants in Rome granted unanimous approval to documentation of the cure of a Sister of Providence, Mary Theodosia Mug (1860-1943), who had been suffering from cancer which suddenly disappeared in 1908. The Congregation for the Causes of Saints is expected to consider the request for Mother Theodore's beatification at a meeting in the spring.

Meeting with the cardinals and other officials of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on December 17, 1996, Pope John Paul II approved a decree attesting that Pierre Toussaint (1766-1853) had Uved a Ufe of heroic virtues worthy of imitation. This act terminates the investigations regarding the sanctity of the former slave who was born in Haiti and brought by his master to New York in 1787 and who with the money he was aUowed to save from working as a hairdresser bought his own freedom and that ofJuUette Noël, whom he married in 1811. He was renowned for his works of charity and his devotion to the Holy

Eucharist. His remains are entombed in the bishops' vault in Saint Patrick's Cathedral; he is the only lay person so honored. He may now be caUed "Venerable" but no pubUc veneration may be paid him until, if ever, he is beatified.

During his forthcoming visit to Paris for World Youth Day on August 21-24, 1997, Pope John Paul II wiU beatify Frédéric Ozanam (1813-1853), lawyer, historian, and Uterary scholar, professor at the Sorbonne, and founder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which grew out of the Conférence de Charité that he formed with feUow university students in Paris in 1833 to provide practical assistance to the poor. He was a significant figure in French CathoUc inteUectual life, a strenuous opponent of economic UberaUsm and all forms of sociaUsm, and a briUiant pioneer in CathoUc social doctrine. His cause for beatification was introduced in 1923· This wiU be the first such ceremony ever conducted in Paris.

American Catholicism and Gender

The Cushwa Center for the Study of American CathoUcism at the University of Notre Dame is sponsoring three initiatives regarding gender. (I) It will publish and make avaUable at nominal cost a coUection of syUabi and bibUographies for undergraduate and graduate courses that devote notable attention to the experiences of women or gender relations in American CathoUc history, the construction of Catholic memory about gender roles and relations, or expressions of gender in American Catholic Uterature, art, theology, and spirituaUty. Those who offer such courses are asked to send their syUabi and bibUographies to the Cushwa Center by May 1, 1997, along with comments about the courses, lists of assigned readings, and information about the instructor's research and teaching in the area. (2) The Cushwa Center wiU commission articles on gender roles and relations in American CathoUc history that wiU be pubUshed in a volume for use in advanced undergraduate and graduate courses. (3) The Cushwa Center wiU seek funding for a monograph series entitled "The History of CathoUc Women in Twentieth-Century America." It wiU hold a manuscript competition and wiU appoint an editorial board to select six works for pubUcation. Further information may be obtained from the director of the Cushwa Center, R. Scott Appleby, at 614 Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556-5629.

Publications

The fifteenth centenary of the conversion and baptism of Clovis has inspired the issue of the Mélanges de Science Religieuse for October-December, 1996 (Volume 53, Number 4). Under the heading "Christianisation en Gaule de Clovis à Charlemagne" the following articles are pubUshed: Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "La christianisation de la Gaule (VP-VIT siècles: Esquisse d'un bUan et orientation bibliographique" (pp. 5- 12); Bertrand Fauvarque, "Eschatologie, conversion

et mission à la fin de l'Empire Romain" (pp. 13-26); Jean Heuclin, "Le clergé mérovingien et carolingien, instrument de christianisation?" (pp. 27-42); Sabine Racinet, "Recherches archéologiques et textueUes sur les traces de la christianisation en Picardie" (pp. 43-60); and Eric VanneufviUe, "L'ÉgUse en Provence du Ve au VIP siècles" (pp. 61-81).

"Les églises doubles et les fairiilles d'égUses" is the theme of Volume 4 (1996) of Antiquité tardive. The introduction is by Noël Duval and Jean-Pierre CaiUet: "La recherche sur les égUses doubles depuis 1936: historique et problématique" (pp. 22-37). It is foUowed by an "Adas des plans d'égUses doubles" (pp. 39-50). Under the heading "La liturgie comme expUcation éventueUe: analyse des sources" there are three articles: Pierre-Marie Gy, "ÉgUses doubles et groupes d'égUses du point de vue de l'histoire de la Uturgie" (pp. 51-54); Paolo Piva, "La 'cattedrale doppia' e la storia deUa Uturgia" (pp. 55-60); and Gian Carlo Menis, "La Uturgia battesimale ad AquUeia nel complesso episcopale del IV secólo" (pp. 61-77). Under "Étude des monuments" are brief articles on double churches in Gaul, Italy, Alps, Istria, Balkans, the Near East, and Africa. FinaUy, five brief studies deal with medieval double churches in northern Italy, Provence, the British Isles, the Low Countries, and Spain.

A coUoquium on "Le Protestantisme dans les pays de l'Adour (1787-1905)" was held at Orthez on September 22-23, 1993, under the auspices of the Centre d'Etude du Protestantisme béarnais. The proceedings of the coUoquium have now been gathered by Suzanne Tucoo-Chala and published in the issue of the Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français for October, November, and December, 1996 (Volume 142). The foUowing communications are included: Michel Peronnet, "Protestantisme et Révolution: quelques réflexions" (pp. 519-531); Laurent Gambarotto, "Les axes majeurs du débat théologique interne au protestantisme français pendant le XLXe siècle" (pp. 533-546), André Encrevé, "Les Huguenots au XIXe siècle" (pp. 547-585); Thierry Issartel, "Entre protestantisme et francmaçonnerie: le pasteur Louis-Victor Gabriac (1759-1830)" (pp. 597-628); Pierre Hourmat, "Les rapports entre catholiques et protestants dans les Basses-Pyrénées de la Révolution a la Restauration" (pp. 629-651); Michèle Sacquin, "ReUgion d'Etat et Uberté des cultes: les affrontements interconfessionels à Nérac souls la Restauration" (pp. 653-670); and fifteen other brief papers.

The ninetieth volume (1966) of the Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte contains the foUowing articles: Urs Altermatt, "Säkularisierung der Kirchengeschichte—Notizen zur Biographie der ZSKG" (pp. 7-35); Alois Steiner, "Von der Gründung 1907 bis in die dreissiger Jahre" (pp. 37-51); Markus Reis, "Eduard Wymann (1870-1956)—Urner Staatsarchivar und Mitbegründer der Zeitschrift" (pp. 52-65); Werner Vogler, "von den dreissiger Jahren bis zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil" (pp. 67-82); Marco Jorio, "Oskar VaseUa (1904-1966)—ein bedeutender Reformationshistoriker" (pp. 83-99); Francis Python, "Un renouveUement des perspectives 1976-1995" (pp. 101-117); Frédéric Yerly, "Regard sur la production francophone" (pp. 119-154); Alberto

Lepori, "Cinquant'anni di una rivista centenaria: U Monitore della diócesi di Lugano (1897-1946)" (pp. 155-167); Fabrizio Panzera, "I contributi deUa Svizzera itaUana" (pp. 169-181); Catherine Bosshart-Pfluger, "Frauengeschichtsschreibung zwischen Tradition und Emanzipation?" (pp. 183-194); Urban Fink, "Apologetik durch Kirchengeschichte?" (pp. 195-21 1); and Peter Hersche,"Ein Streifzug durch die internationale kirchengeschichtUche Zeitschriftenlandschaft" (pp. 213-227).

The theme of the issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for faU, 1996 (Volume 14, Number 4), is "Theology and History: Essays in Honor ofJames Hennesey SJ." AU the contributors but one are his former students; aU wished in this way to pay tribute to him on his seventieth birthday (October 6, 1966). The contents are as foUows: Patricia Byrne, C.S.J., "Theology and History in the Work of James Hennesey, SJ." (pp. 1-23);Terrence Murphy,"ReUgion, Conflict and Consensus in the EngUsh-Speaking Colonies of British North America" (pp. 25-38); Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, "Charles G. Finney and EvangeUcal Anti-CathoUcism" (pp. 39-52); Margaret M. Reher, "Cardmal Dennis Dougherty and the IHM's: The Church as the Juridic/Mystical Body"' (pp. 53-62); Gerald R Fogarty, S.J.,"The Theology of Tradition in the American Church" (pp. 63-82); James M. O'Toole, "'The Final Jewel in Mary's Crown': American Responses to the Definition of the Assumption" (pp. 83-98); Patrick W Collins, "From Communication toward Communion: Gustave Weigel's Ecumenism and Thomas Merton's InterreUgious Dialogue" (pp. 99-124); Marie Ann Mayeski, "Theological Matchmaking: Connecting Theological Sources in the American Context" (pp. 125-139); WiUiam L. Portier (not a former student),"'Cathokcs in the Promised Land of the Saints': Cultural History and Its Irony" (pp. 141-154); and Clyde F. Crews,"A Church Polarized: Fault Lines in the History of American CathoUcism" (pp. 155-170).

A ten-page Ulustrated article by Erin Graffy de Garcia entitled "Santa Barbara's Signature BuUding: The Old Mission" occupies the major portion of the issue of La Gazeta del Archivo, the newsletter of the Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, for faU-winter, 1996.

A special issue of Ethnohistory (Volume 43, Number 4 [FaU, 1996]) is devoted to "Native American Women's Responses to Christianity." FoUowing an introduction by Michael Harkin and Sergei Kan (pp. 563-571) there are seven articles: Kathleen Bragdon, "Gender as a Social Category in Native Southern New England" (pp. 573-592); Diane M. Notarianni, "Making Mennonites: Hopi Gender Roles and Christian Transformations" (pp. 593-611); Sergei Kan, "Clan Mothers and Godmothers: TIingit Women and Russian Orthodox Christianity, 1840-1940" (pp. 613-641); Michael Harkin, "Engendering Discipline: Discourse and Counterdiscourse in the Methodist-HeUtsuk Dialogue" (pp. 643-661); Jo-Anne Fiske, "Pocahontas's Granddaughters: Spiritual Transition and Tradition of Carrier Women of British Columbia" (pp. 663-681); Pauline Turner Strong, "Feminist Theory and the 'Invasion of the Heart' m North America" (pp. 683-712); and Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Reading beyond the Missionaries, Dissect-

ing Responses" (pp. 713-719)· The conclusion is a comment by Clara Sue KidweU (pp. 721-725).

The Very Reverend James Walsh Richardson, CM. (1909-1996), who was Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission from 1968 to 1980, is the subject of the second issue of Vincentian Heritage for 1996 (Volume 17). It contains the foUowing articles after a Ust of biographical data: John Richardson, C.M., "Some Incidents in His Early life" (pp. 69-71); Robert P Maloney CM., "An Appreciation" (pp. 73-77); Richard McCuUen, CM., "An Appreciation" (pp. 79-82); Rafael Sainz, CM., "A Human Perspective" (pp. 83-85); WUUam W Sheldon, CM. ,"Remembering Father Richardson" (pp. 87-89); Hugh 0'DonneU,"Father Richardson and the Mission in Kenya" (pp. 91-93); and Miguel Pérez Flores, CM., "Father Richardson and the Daughters of Charity" (pp. 95-104). The fascicle is concluded with the transcript of an interview with Father Richardson conducted by José-Oriol Baylach, CM., in 1980 (pp. 105-116), and the address that he gave to the General Assembly of the Daughters of Charity on December 8, 1979 (pp. 117-123).

In March, 1992, the Centre for the Study of Religion in Canada sponsored a conference on the topic "Christianizing the Social Order: A Founding Vision of the United Church of Canada." Many of the papers presented on that occasion are published in a special issue of the Toronto Journal of Theology for faU, 1996 (Volume 12, Number 2). The contents are as foUows: John Webster Grant, "From Revelation to Revolution: Some Thoughts on the Background of the Social Gospel" (pp. 159-168); PhyUs D. Airhart, "Christianizing the Social Order and Founding Myths—Double Vision?" (pp. 169-178); Robert T. Handy, "Reflections on the Federal CouncU of Churches, the United Church of Canada and the Social Gospel in the 1930s" (pp. 179-188); Brian J. Fraser, "Christianizing the Social Order: T. B. KUpatrick's Theological Vision of the United Church of Canada" (pp. 189-200); Beth Profit, "Christianizing the Social Order: The Role of Women in the Social Gospel Fiction of NeUie McClung" (pp. 201-212); Ian M. Manson, "Re-Ugious Revival and Social Transformation: George Pidgeon and the United Church of Canada in the 1930's" (pp. 213-221); Mariana Valverde, "Moral Regulation and the Formation of Ethical Subjects" (pp. 223-226); Roger Hutchinson, "Christianizing the Social Order: A Three-Dimensional Task" (pp. 227-236); Ted Reeve, "Advocating for the Welfare State in Canada: Institutional Responses of the United Church of Canada in the Late 1930s" (pp. 237-249); Laurel Sefton MacDoweU, "United Church Support for CoUective Bargaining in the 1940s" (pp. 251-263); Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Margaret Wrong: Christian Literacy Worker and Africanist,' 1929-1948" (pp. 265-273); C Douglas Jay, "Missiological Implications of Christianizing the Social Order with Special Reference to the United Church of Canada" (pp. 275-284); and Pamela Dickey Young, "Theme and Variations: The Social Gospel in a New Key" (pp. 285-290).

Obituaries

Robert A. Graham, S.J. Journalist and historian of Vatican diplomacy, died Feh ruary 11, 1997, at Sacred Heart Jesuit Center in Los Gatos, California. His health had been failing since 1995 when he began experiencing blackouts caused by a blood condition that led to kidney faUure, uremia, coma, and death at age 84.

Father Graham was born March 11, 1912, in Sacramento, California. His father was a professional baseball player for the San Francisco Seals, a team he later managed. But the young Bob enjoyed the company of sports writers more than players. His journaUsm career started on the student newspaper at St. Ignatius High School in San Francisco. He entered the California Province of the Society of Jesus in 1929 and went through the normal course of studies and was ordained in 1941.

His Jesuit superiors wanted him to work with the famous Daniel A. Lord, S.J., but it soon became clear that Father Lord was a one-man show who was not interested m the help others thought he needed. During this period of uncertainty, Father Graham was grabbed by John LaFarge, S.J., the editor of America, the weekly pubUcation of Jesuits in the United States, and he began the writing career that was to occupy him the rest of his Ufe.

When he joined the America staff in 1943, the tide was turning in Europe, and he began to look toward the postwar world. He wrote about proposals for an international peace organization elaborated at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944. In 1945, he covered the San Francisco Conference on International Organization which produced the United Nations Charter, and in 1946 was in London for the First General Assembly of the United Nations. He also traveled in Europe, reporting back on postwar conditions.

In 1948, he enroUed in the Graduate Institute of International Studies of the University of Geneva, where he did his doctoral dissertation on papal diplomatic history. This work, revised and expanded, bore fruit in the pubUcation of Vatican Diplomacy by Princeton University Press in 1959, which in I960 won the John Gilmary Shea Prize of American CathoUc Historical Association. After completing his studies, he returned to America in 1952, continuing to write on international issues such as the United Nations, disarmament, and the situation of the Church in Eastern Europe. He was a member of the American CathoUc Historical Association from 1959 until his death.

Father Graham's scholarly interests led him to examine the role of the Holy See during World War II, a topic of Uttle pubUc interest until "The Deputy," the 1963 play by RoU0 Hochhuth criticizing Pius XII for aUegedly doing nothing to help the Jews during the war. Father Graham became and remained one of the pope's staunchest defenders. "The charges against Pope Pius XII were false, dishonest, and artificial," he argued. "It's quite unfair what has been done to him." From 1966 to 1981, he was one of four editors responsible for producing Actes et documents du Saint-Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, an eleven-volume coUection of 5,000 documents pubUshed by the Vatican Press.

Since Father Graham had the complete confidence of Vatican officials and since he was such a strong defender of Pius XII, some did not trust his views. But his knowledge of his specialty was encyclopedic. In any argument he could overwhelm opposition with names, dates, and other facts. Every time he thought his career as the semi-official defender of Pius XII had come to an end, some new controversy would arise, and he would find himself in front of the cameras and the press. "This is getting a little ridiculous ,"he confessed to the Jesuit pubUcation Company in 1990. "The pope died in 1958 and the war's been over for over 40 years." As late as November, 1996, an article of his made headlines around the world with its description of Vatican diplomatic efforts to find out about and protest the deportation and kUling of Jews.

Father Graham visited libraries and archives all over Europe coUecting documents on the role of the Vatican in the war. He even used the Freedom of Information Act to get documents on U.S. attempts to spy on the Vatican during the war. His room in Rome was pUed high with papers and press cUppings. His papers, through the good efforts of the archivist Thomas Marshall, SJ., are now in the archives of the California Province of the Society of Jesus.

But Bob was most at home in the Vatican Archives, where he was allowed to wander freely through documents that wUl not be released for decades. I once asked him what was the point in going through documents that he could not cite. He smiled and explained his secret methodology. He would discover the facts in the archives and then go find an old newspaper that had either guessed the truth or got it through a leak. He would then cite the newspaper as his source in a footnote.

A complete bibUography of Father Graham's extensive pubUcations does not yet exist. "I am an opinionated bastard," he told Company with a grin to explain his prodigious output. He worked at America for twenty-three years, and from Rome he wrote a monthly column for The Columbian, the Knights of Columbus magazine, for twenty-four years. He was also a regular contributor to La Civiltà Cattolica, a bi-monthly published by ItaUan Jesuits, whose articles are reviewed by the Vatican Secretariat of State. Besides writing about the Vatican during the war, he also wrote about the Vatican and Communism, about spies in the Vatican, and numerous other topics. One of his last publications was The Vatican and Communism during World War II (Ignatius Press, 1996). When he died, with David Alvarez he was completing a book on Nazi espionage against the Vatican.

In Rome Bob Uved frugaUy, trying to support himself with the money from his Columbian column, although the California province gladly sent him money whenever he needed it, especiaUy after he stopped publishing the column in 1992. He watched his lire, always taking the bus and never a taxi even toward the end when his shuffling steps tripped over the cobblestones of Rome. Although he Uved simply, he would happUy aUow a journalist with an expense account to take him out for dinner whUe he was interviewed. And inter-

viewed he was, by practicaUy every Vatican correspondent, visiting journalist, and scholar interested in learning about any aspect of the Vatican.

Toward the end, Bob had few regrets. He enjoyed the life he led. "I hate to think what kind of stick-in-the-mud I would have been if I hadn't gone to New York" to work at America, he told Company. One regret he expressed to me was his bad treatment of the Scripture scholar Raymond E. Brown, S.S., in his Columbian column, because although Bob was conservative, he was not by nature mean-spirited. He was good-humored, witty, gracious, and self-deprecating. During my nine months in Rome researching Inside the Vatican, I Uved with Bob at VUla Malta, where he had resided for years as the only non-ItaUan with the staff of ¿a Civiltà Cattolica. With his introduction,! was welcomed there by men who enjoyed his company. He was always kind and helpful to me, except when he would laughingly say that since I had followed in his footsteps from the California province to America, to studying the Vatican, I was destined to take his place in Rome. No one can take Bob's place.

Thomas J. Reese, SJ.

Woodstock Theological Center
Georgetown University

Robert Bryan Eno, S.S., professor of theology and church history in the CathoUc University of America, died on February 13, 1997, of a heart attack suffered in his study at Theological CoUege. He was born in Hartford, Connecticut, on November 12, 1936, and studied at St. Thomas Seminary in Bloomfield, Connecticut from 1954 to 1956. Then he attended the CathoUc University of America as a BasseUn Scholar, earning the B.A. and M.A. degrees in phUosophy in 1958 and 1959 respectively. From the same university he received an S.T.L. degree in 1963; he was ordained to the priesthood for the Archdiocese of Hartford on May 23, 1963. He became a member of the Society of St. Sulpice in 1965 and was awarded an S.T.D. degree by the Institut Catholique de Paris in 1969- He was appointed to the faculty of the School of Sacred Theology in the CathoUc University of America m 1970 as an assistant professor; he was promoted to the rank of associate professor in 1976 and to that of ordinary professor in 1989. When the Department of Church History was estabUshed within the new School of Religious Studies, he received a joint appointment in it and in the Department of Theology. He was chairman of the Department of Church History from 1980 to 1985 and again from September, 1989 to December, 1991. Father Eno's areas of speciaUzation were patristic theology and ancient church history. In addition to numerous articles he pubUshed the foUowing books: Teaching Authority in the Early Church (1984), The Rise of the Papacy (1990), and translations of St. Augustine's newly discovered Letters (1989) and of selected works of Fulgentius of Ruspe (in press). He served on the editorial boards for the series "Studies in Christian Antiquity" and "Fathers of the Church," both pubUshed by the CathoUc University of America Press; he was also American editor of the Bulletin de Saint-Sulpice. He held the Walter and Mary Tuohy Chair of In-

terreligious Studies at John CarroU University during the fall of 1987. Under the auspices of the Committee on Ecumenical and InterreUgious Affairs of the National Conference of CathoUc Bishops he was a member of the National Lutheran/Roman CathoUc Dialogue. He had been a member of the American CathoUc Historical Association since 1973 and advisory editor for ancient church history of the Catholic Historical Review since 1990. He was noted for his Uvely sense of humor. The homiUst at the funeral Mass celebrated in the crypt of the BasiUca of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, the Very Reverend Howard B. Bleichner, S.S., rector of Theological CoUege, remarked:"He always retained the phUosopher's eyes for the odd, canted corners of life where the edges never seem to meet. Yet his humor had not the faintest trace of an edge . . . [He] had truly wonderful idiosyncrasies. He was not only non-mechanical. He was anti-mechanical. He never learned to drive. He never learned to use a computer." For about twenty years he ate no meat except hamburgers. "He knew the exact date of birth, episcopal ordination and appointment of aU bishops in the United States and [the birth dates of] aU Sulpicians which he could recall with precision as if he were reading off a Ust constantly before his eyes." He was also renowned for his preaching at Theological College; his homilies, in which he "displayed a shrewd practicaUty, a fair but wintry estimate of human nature and gift for sound, practical advice," were erudite but never encumbered, almost always witty, and demonstrative of his deep reUgious sensitivity and piety. Father Bleichner caUed him "an old-style SupUcian" who had long since made his own the motto of an earUer generation of Sulpicians, "Gardez la résidence." After another funeral Mass held in Hartford, at which his old friend the Reverend Richard McBrien of the University of Notre Dame was the homiUst, Father Eno was interred in St. Mary's Cemetery in that city.

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