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THE BAUTAIN CIRCLE AND CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS IN MODERN FRANCE

BY

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Strasbourg in the 1820's was the site for the formation of a circle of religious seekers who gathered around the philosopher Louis-Eugène-Marie Bautain. This group, which included Jews as well as Catholics, encouraged for a time the Jewish members to practice their religion and serve their community, "to become good Jews" in the words of Bautain. Although the Jewish members, including Théodore Ratisbonne, the founder of the Congregation of Our Lady of Sion, ultimately were baptized and ordained as Catholic priests, the exchanges in the circle, as recorded in Bautain's Philosophie du christianisme *(1835), suggest the potential for a more tolerant attitude on the part of Catholics, one that respected the religious value of Judaism and the religious liberty of Jews.*

In the 1820's and 1830's the philosopher Louis-Eugène-Marie Bautain gained prominence in Strasbourg, and in the Catholic world more generally, as the result of his innovative and controversial efforts to reconcile faith and reason. Among scholars Bautain is less well known than other French religious thinkers from the period, such as Chateaubriand and Lammenais, but he has nonetheless attracted some attention. No less a figure than Cardinal Paul Poupard, the president of the Pontifical Council of Culture, wrote his doctoral dissertation on

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Bautain, a work published in 1961 that is still the essential starting point for any study of his life and ideas.[1] Most Newman scholars would probably quarrel with those who describe Bautain as "a French Newman," but this judgment suggests nonetheless the intellectual weight of Bautain.[2]

Bautain's ideas are a telling commentary on the state of Catholic theology in the nineteenth century, but they can also be used as the starting point for an inquiry into confessional boundaries and religious tolerance when these issues were being renegotiated in the wake of the French Revolution. By situating Bautain's ideas within the circle of passionate followers who surrounded him we can begin to see both the possibilities and limits newly available to individuals as they explored religious differences and identities.[3] I am particularly interested in the close friendship that formed between Bautain and a number of young Jewish men in Strasbourg during the 1820's, for although the Bautain circle resembles in many ways other small groups of religious seekers that sprang up throughout Europe in this period, it was also the basis for an exchange across religious boundaries that was unusual, if not unique. I do not want to over-dramatize the importance of this Jewish-Catholic dialogue, but it is a significant moment nonetheless, for it shows how far such religious conversations in the Romantic era could go, but also the limits that constrained and finally ended them.[4]

[1]Paul Poupard, *L'abbé Louis Bautain: Un essai de philosophie chrétienne au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1961). For a recent collection of papers on the theological and philosophical significance of Bautain, see Jean-Luc Hiebel and Luc Perrin (eds.), *Louis Bautain: L'abbé-philosophe de Strasbourg (1796-1867)* (Strasbourg, 1999). Older studies of Bautain include R. M. Horton, *The Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain* (New York, 1926), and E. De Regny, *L'abbé Bautain: sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1884). Gerald McCool, S.J., *Nineteenth-Century Scholasticism* (New York, 1989), pp. 46-54, places Bautain in the context of nineteenth-century Catholic philosophy

[2]Bernard Reardon, *Liberalism and Tradition: Aspects of Catholic Thought in Nineteenth-Century France* (New York, 1975), p. 116.

[3]I explore some of these themes in a Parisian context in Thomas Kselman, "Turbulent Souls in Modern France: Jewish Conversion and the Terquem Affair," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques*, 32 (2006), 83-104.

[4]Historians are only just beginning to explore the world of inter-confessional relations in the nineteenth century. See, for example, Abigail Green, "Rethinking Sir Moses Montefiore: Religion, Nationhood, and International Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, 110 (2005), 630-658. According to Green (p. 634), "The interplay between the different religions as subcultures, capable of deploying publicly shared language, symbols, and figures . . . remains to be explored." For a similar perspective emphasizing the importance of the history of relations between religious groups, see Helmut Walser Smith and Chris Clark, "The Fate of Nathan," in *Protestants,*

Let me begin, then, with the history of the formation of the circle in Strasbourg during the 1820's, which will provide a setting for a brief consideration of Bautain's major work, the *Philosophie du christianisme*, which was published in 1835. I will be looking at this text less for what it says about the relationship between faith and reason, than for what it says about the relationship between Catholics and Jews. I conclude by comparing Bautain and his friends with some other similar circles that flourished in Europe at the time, which will throw into sharper relief the nature of the religious experiments of the Strasbourg circle.

Strasbourg and Bautain

The essential context for the Bautain circle was the religiously diverse province of Alsace, and more particularly its capital of Strasbourg. Despite Louis XIV's efforts to encourage Catholic proselytism in the seventeenth century, after the region had been absorbed into France, Protestants constituted an important minority in Alsace. Religious life in Alsace was governed by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which guaranteed Protestants the right to public worship, which continued even after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. By the early nineteenth century Protestants, most of whom were Lutherans, made up approximately one-third of a population that was somewhere between five and six hundred thousand. Catholics made up most of the other two-thirds of the population, but Alsace was also home to about 25,000 Jews, at least half of the entire French Jewish population, and by far the largest single concentration in the country.[5] The city of Strasbourg mirrored the split between Catholics and Protestants in Alsace, but Jews were latecomers to the city, for they had not been free to live there until the emancipation decree of the French revolution in 1791. From that point on, the Jewish population of Strasbourg grew rapidly, from sixty-eight in 1784 to about 1,500 in 1810.[6] The vast majority of Alsatian Jews continued to live scattered

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Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800-1914, eds. Helmut Walser Smith and Chris Clark (New York, 2001), pp. 3-29. For France, Antoine Compagnon discusses a number of interesting cross-confessional exchanges in *Connaissez-vous Brunetière? Enquête sur un antidreyfusard et ses amis* (Paris, 1997). Pierre Pierrard, *Juifs et catholiques français: d'Edouard Drumont à Jacob Kaplan (1886-1994)* (Paris, 1997), does not consider the early or middle years of the nineteenth century, and focuses on anti-Semitism.

[5]Paul Leuillot, *L'Alsace au début du XIXe siècle*, Vol. III: *Religions et Culture* (Paris, 1960), pp. 157-158; Paula Hyman, *The Emancipation of the Jews of Alsace* (New Haven, 1991), p. 12.

[6]Leuillot, *L'Alsace au début*, vol. III, pp. 233-234.

throughout the countryside in over a hundred villages, where most of them survived at a subsistence level by engaging in petty commerce and money-lending.[7] The urban population included a small number of affluent Jews involved mostly in banking and commerce, a group that sought both assimilation into the French community, and social and moral progress for their fellow Jews, a program they identified with the concept of "regeneration."[8]

Relations between these three communities were tense, and after the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1815 Protestants were particularly nervous about proselytism. There was little open violence between Catholics and Protestants in Alsace, as there was in Nîmes in 1815, but rumors about the possibility of another St. Bartholomew Day massacre, with Catholics slaughtering Protestants as in 1572, continued to circulate in the early 1820's.[9] Relations between Christians and Jews were also tense, fueled by accusations of usury as well as traditional religious resentment. The mob attacks on Jews that spread throughout southern and central Germany in 1819, known as the Hep-Hep riots, did not reach Alsace, but their proximity and intensity made local officials extremely nervous, fearing a "deadly storm" in the words of one Justice of the Peace.[10]

Religious pluralism and confessional tension define the religious atmosphere Louis Bautain found when he arrived in Strasbourg in 1816. Bautain was a philosophical prodigy, a recent graduate of the École Normale, the prestigious institution created by the First Republic in 1794 to fill the university system of France with the brightest and

[7]Hyman, *Emancipation*, pp. 30-49.

[8]*Ibid*., pp. 124-125; for the concept of "regeneration" see Jay R. Berkovitz, *The Shaping of Jewish Identity in Nineteenth-Century France* (Detroit, 1989), pp. 128-149; Alyssa Sepinwall, *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism* (Berkeley, California, 2005), pp. 56-77; Michael Graetz, *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century France* (Stanford, 1996), pp. 70-78.

[9]Leuillot, *L'Alsace au début*, vol. III, pp. 175-176. For confessional relations in Nîmes and the surrounding area, see James Deming, *Religion and Identity in Modern France: The Modernization of the Protestant Community in Languedoc, 1815-1848* (Lanham Maryland, 1999); Gwynne Lewis, "The White Terror of 1815 in the Department of the Gard: Counter-Revolution, Continuity and the Individual," *Past and Present,* 58 (1973), 108-135.

[10]Leuillot, *L'Alsace au début*, vol. III, pp. 243-244; Amos Elon, *The Pity of It All: A Portrait of the German-Jewish Epoch, 1743-1933* (New York, 2002), pp. 101-104; David Vidal, *A People Apart: A Political History of the Jews in Europe, 1789-1939* (New York, 1999), pp. 212-215.

the best.[11] Only twenty years old at the time, Bautain was charged with teaching philosophy at the Collège Royale. Within a year he was also appointed to the faculty at the University of Strasbourg. In the period from 1816 to 1820 Bautain was a close associate of Victor Cousin, the foremost French philosopher of the day, who taught him at the École Normale. Cousin is associated with philosophical eclecticism, which sought to overcome fundamental arguments between empiricists and idealists by affirming the partial truths of these competing systems. This fluidity and indecisiveness have led to some severe judgments, such as Poupard's comment that Cousin "exercised over the ideas of his time an influence out of proportion with the mediocrity of his thought."[12]

Whatever the value of Poupard's critique of Cousin's philosophy, he is certainly right to notice its appeal. The young men of the École Normale, including Bautain, were drawn to Cousin because they saw him as the leader of a new generation which was defining itself in the aftermath of the revolutionary and Napoleonic upheavals. This Romantic "generation of 1820" was critical of the rationalism and materialism of the eighteenth century and self-consciously ambitious, hoping to rebuild the spiritual foundations of Europe.[13] For Cousin and Bautain this agenda was political and social as well as intellectual. Without a renewed philosophical synthesis that could reconcile opponents and define some basic truths that could draw universal acceptance, Europe was liable to fall again into catastrophic political and social disorder. It is difficult to overestimate the shadow cast by the revolutionary era over the Restoration, and one of its effects was to generate in young people (and some old ones as well) a desire for a new philosophy that would guide them in creating a new world on the ruins of the old.

[11]For Bautain's early years see Poupard, *L'abbé Louis Bautain* (1961), pp. 61-83; Felix Ponteil, "L'Affaire Bautain: La renaissance catholique à Strasbourg," *Revue Historique,* 154 (1930), 225-287, particulary 225-226.

[12]Poupard, *L'abbé Louis Bautain* (1961), p. 68. For Cousin's career and influence, see Alan Spitzer, *The Generation of 1820* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 71-96; Jan Goldstein, *The Post-Revolutionary Self: Politics and Psyche in France* (Cambridge, 2005); Jerrold Seigel, *The Idea of the Self: Thought and Experience in Western Thought since the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 2005), pp. 472-479.

[13]Spitzer, *The French Generation of 1820*; Paul Bénichou, *Le Temps des prophètes: Doctrines de l'âge romantique* (Paris, 1997); Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (New York, 2001); Frank Manuel, *The Prophets of Paris* (New York, 1965).

This youthful optimism tinged with arrogance helps define the character of Bautain when he arrived at Strasbourg in 1816. There he quickly became a celebrity, drawing crowds to his lectures, and courted by the local elite. A friend later described the youthful Bautain as possessing "distinguished features, worthy of being engraved on a medal, a piercing look full of power, with a remarkable character of resolve and will, something at once imposing and appealing, a vibrant voice, expressing all the accents of the soul, which he knew how to play like an exquisite instrument, he knew everything about how to take an audience and master it."[14]

At Strasbourg Bautain became the local spokesman for and symbol of the romantic generation that felt itself charged with the reconstruction of Europe. Bautain's sense of his power and position was enhanced by a visit to Germany in the summer of 1818, when he accompanied Cousin and met with Schelling and Hegel, who was apparently very impressed by the young French philosopher. Bautain was playing on a European as well as a local stage, and was well on his way to becoming a central figure in French philosophy. We get a sense of Bautain's convictions about the significance of the historical moment, and of his portentous style, in the speech he gave to the students and faculty of the University of Strasbourg at the opening ceremony of the school year in 1818: "[W]e live in a prophetic age. Everything is begun, nothing has yet been done; we are caught in the middle of the crisis. . . . Young men, get ready. . . . You must fulfill with glory the task assigned our generation, and . . . fulfill all our duties as men, as Frenchmen, and as citizens of the world."[15]

Bautain's speech, delivered when he was just twenty-two years old, reveals a young man full of ambition and confidence, a leader capable of capturing the public mood and shaping the opinions of those who mattered. But just a few months later, in March of 1819, Bautain was forced to suspend his teaching at the University, suffering from a physical collapse and severe depression. In later years he explained this breakdown as a religious crisis based on a realization that his confidence in reason was misplaced, and that his philosophical quest was doomed to fail. The doctors gave up on Bautain, who was in despair about his future and contemplating suicide when he traveled to Baden in 1820, for a water cure.[16]

[14]Poupard, *L'abbé Louis Bautain* (1961), pp. 84-85.

[15]*Ibid*., p. 82.

[16]For a selection of texts from Bautain in which he describes this crisis see Paul Poupard, *L'abbé Louis Bautain* (Paris, 1964), pp. 61-66.

At Baden Bautain met Mademoiselle Louise Humann, a single woman, fifty-four years old, who was known for both her piety and intelligence. Mlle Humann was from a distinguished Catholic family; one brother was the bishop of Mainz, another later served as Minister of Finances under Louis-Philippe.[17] At Baden Mlle Humann impressed Bautain with her knowledge of German idealism, which she discussed with her young friend. But Bautain was particularly struck by the calm certainty of her religious faith. Bautain had been born and raised as a Catholic, but his philosophical training under Cousin had led him to see Christianity as symbolizing an absolute truth that rational knowledge could grasp more clearly and directly. Mlle Humann apparently let Bautain speak at length of his own ideas, and then quietly responded, explaining her thoughts without arguing or debating with him. Mlle Humann was also a mystic, whose language was shot through with Neo-Platonism, and under her guidance Bautain developed a conviction that the search for truth had to start with the heart instead of the head, the characteristic Romantic choice of emotion over reason.[18] This basic insight was the starting point for the second stage of Bautain's career, when he converted back to the Catholicism of his youth, and developed his "philosophy of Christianity."

The Bautain Circle

Humann and Bautain were the first two links in the circle that gathered at Mlle Humann's home on All-Saints' Street in the 1820's and early 1830's. Although its origins are obscure, the circle can be observed operating in May, 1823, when Bautain began teaching a private course in moral philosophy at Mlle Humann's house for four students, two Jews, an Orthodox Christian, and an Irish Catholic.[19] The latter two, whose names

[17]Mme Paul Fliche, *Mlle Louise Humann (1766-1836)* (Paris, 1921); Poupard, *L'abbé Bautain* (1961), pp. 86-97; Dominique Gros, "Louis Bautain, Mlle Humann, et Théodore Ratisbonne," in *Louis Bautain: L'abbé-philosophe*, pp. 171-180.

[18]Poupard, *L'abbé Bautain* (1961), pp. 86-97.

[19]Théodore Ratisbonne, *Memoirs,* translated by Sister Marian Dolan (n.p., n.d.). I am grateful to Sister Mary Boys for providing me with this text, and others as well. The *Memoirs* provide some details about the circle, including the role of Mlle Humann, which were left out of Ratisbonne's autobiographical essay, "Adéodat," which was published in the Preface to Bautain's major work, *Philosophie du christianisme: Correspondance religieuse*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1835), pp. xxxi-lxii. His account also appeared in C.-F. Chevé, *Dictionnaire des conversions* (Paris, 1852), pp. 111-113. Bautain was teaching in private, having been suspended from the University because public officials suspected him of liberal sympathies. This accusation was perhaps justified, for although Bautain seems never to have involved himself directly in the partisan politics of his day,

are unknown, soon disappeared from the scene, but the Jewish members, Théodore Ratisbonne and Jules Lewel, were key figures in Bautain's entourage for the next fifteen years. Lewel had attended some of Bautain's lectures at the University in 1822, and it was through his invitation that Ratisbonne joined the circle.[20] Within a few months Ratisbonne drew in Isidore Goschler, a childhood friend who had taken Bautain's philosophy course at the Collège Royal.[21] All three were from the small and affluent Jewish milieu, and were law students at the University. Ratisbonne, Lewel, and Goschler had a great deal in common with Bautain, their "Master" as they called him. In their memoirs published as a Preface to Bautain's *Philosophie du christianisme* in 1835, they describe themselves as introspective young men inclined to philosophical reflection, struggling against spiritual despair, and prone to frequent bouts of tears. Over the next several years they studied with Bautain, and became attached as well to Mlle Humann, whom they described as "Mama." Others joined the circle over the years, including Henri de Bonnechose, later the Cardinal-Archbishop of Rouen, and Auguste Gratry, who reconstituted the Oratorians in France. All of these initiates, including the three Jewish members, were eventually ordained as Catholic priests, and were associated with the Congregation of Saint-Louis founded by Bautain. Bautain himself was ordained in 1828, and had a long, complicated, and distinguished career that led him to Paris, where he was a professor of moral philosophy at the Sorbonne and a vicar-general.[22]

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he acknowledged that even after his conversion he looked at the Bourbon Restoration as doomed to fail because it "was trying to re-establish the past, battling openly with the ideas and needs of the present, and with the aspirations and hopes for the future." See Poupard, *L'abbé Bautain* (1961), pp. 109-110. Théodore's younger brother, Alphonse, also converted to Catholicism, following a claimed apparition of the Virgin Mary in Rome in 1842. Subsequently the two brothers worked together in the Congregation of Our Lady of Sion, dedicated to the conversion of Jews. Following the Second Vatican Council the Congregation redefined its mission so that it is now devoted to fostering better relations between Catholics and Jews. See Mary C. Boys, "The Sisters of Sion: From a Conversionist Stance to a Dialogical Way of Life," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies,* 31 (1994), 27-48.

[20]Ratisbonne, "Adéodat," p. xxxix. For Lewel's autobiographical account of the Bautain circle, see "Julien," in Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, pp. xcvii-cxviii.

[21]Isidore Goschler, "Eudore," in Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, pp. lxiii-xcxvi. Goschler's account was reprinted in *Dictionnaire des conversions,* pp. 692-710. Lewel's narrative of his conversion can be found in Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, pp. xcxvii-cxviii, and *Dictionnaire des conversions*, pp. 856-867.

[22]Poupard, *L'abbé Bautain* (1961), pp. 112-120; Jacques-Olivier Boudon, "Louis Bautain, Vicaire général de Paris," in Hiebel and Perrin (eds.), *Louis Bautain, L'abbé philosophe*, pp. 171-180.

The Bautain circle was a seedbed for important figures in the history of the French church, but what interests me in particular are the friendships formed among Bautain, Ratisbonne, Lewel, and Goschler in the 1820's, which were a crucial context for the formulation of Bautain's ideas about the religious status of Judaism. Bautain's insistence, derived in part from Mlle Humann, that theology avoid argument and debate was a response to the pluralistic and sometimes conflicted religious environment of Strasbourg. Bautain vehemently opposed a theological style that claimed that Catholicism could be established on the basis of reason, based on his own profound disappointment with philosophical inquiry. As described by Bonnechose, in Bautain's method, "you will find no controversy, discussion, debate, arguments that cancel each other out, leaving you anxious and perplexed."[23] Instead, Bautain began with simple truths appropriate to his audience, winning their confidence without coercion or even persuasion. In the case of his Jewish disciples, Bautain apparently began with the Old Testament. According to Theodore Ratisbonne, from the time of their first meeting in 1823, he and his friends were struck by a teaching based "on the books that are sacred for the Jews. Starting from this ancient source, you found everything that has been believed and revered by the distinguished men of every century."[24]

Bautain also appealed to the social and moral aspirations of his students, who under his guidance threw themselves into an intense campaign of education and charity directed at their community.[25] Théodore Ratisbonne and Isidore Goschler became leaders in the Jewish community, teaching in the new school established by the Consistory, and directing the "Society for the Encouragement of Work," which placed Jewish children in apprenticeships, where they would learn trades that would wean them from the petty commerce and money-lending that provoked so much antagonism. Between 1823 and 1827 the Jewish members of the Bautain circle occupied a curious and unique position, for they had assumed leadership roles in the Jewish community at the same time as they were moving increasingly towards a full acceptance of Christianity. Ratisbonne described the process as

[23]Henri de Bonnechose, "Introduction," in Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, p. v. Bautain's explanation is found in his 1822 letter, published in Poupard, *L'abbé Bautain* (1964), pp. 69-76.

[24]Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, p. 6

[25]Thomas Kselman, "Social Reform and Religious Conversion in French Judaism," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History: Selected Papers of the 2000 Annual Meeting*, Vol. 28 (Boulder, Colorado, 2002), pp. 10-18.

one in which Christianity "entered the depths of my heart without my mind being aware of it."[26] For Goschler, the contrast between the public acceptance of Judaism and a private Christianity was exhilarating, generating "a feeling of independence and superiority that a Christian perhaps ought not to avow, but which sustained a young man floating still between the world and the Church."[27] By 1827, however, Ratisbonne, Goschler, and Lewel found themselves unable to continue the double life they had been leading, and all of them were baptized in the early months of 1827. Ratisbonne was baptized in secret by Mlle Humann, without even Bautain's knowledge, and at first struggled to keep his Catholic identity hidden. But the public address he delivered a few weeks later to the Society for the Encouragement of Work was harshly critical of the Jewish nation, which suffered from a degraded condition because "she had sinned against the Lord, killed her prophets, and turned away from the light that came to enlighten her."[28] Following this speech, suspicions grew, and by the end of the year, all three had publicly acknowledged their Catholicism.

The public abjuration of Ratisbonne, Goschler, and Lewel marked the end of a particular period in the history of the Bautain circle, which nonetheless continued to exist until the death of Mlle Humann in 1836. Over the next few years the circle assumed a prominent role as first of all Bautain and then his disciples embraced a religious vocation and became Catholic priests. For several years members of the circle were treated with great consideration by the local Bishop, Le Pappe de Trévern, who gave them control of the minor seminary of Strasbourg in 1830. In 1832 ten members of the circle, all of them now priests, including all of the Jewish participants, took a vow of union in the presence of Mlle Humann, which later became the basis for Bautain's Congregation of the priests of Saint Louis. Many of the local clergy, however, resented the rapidly growing influence of Bautain and his colleagues. The fact that their conversion had been mediated by an appeal to the heart rather than to reason made them theologically suspect, and there is evidence as well that some older clergy felt that the Jewish converts in particular could not be trusted. According to Ratisbonne, "many of my colleagues were unable to forgive me for my origins and the religion of my father, and yet these origins were those

[26]Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, p. xli.

[27]*Ibid.* p. lxix.

[28]*Assemblée générale des sociétaires tenue à l'Hotel de Ville, le mardi 12 juin 1827* (Strasbourg, 1827), p. 13.

of the Apostiles, the first disciples, and all of the early Church."[29] In 1834 Bishop Le Pappe de Trévern issued an official warning against the teachings of Bautain, and removed him and his followers from the seminary. Over the next few years they engaged in a long series of negotiations with church authorities, which led to a number of retractions. For someone who claimed not to like arguments, Bautain turned out to be quite an effective polemicist. For my purposes, the theological and ecclesiastical controversy of the 1830's is interesting because it yielded a document that casts considerable light on the relationships between Catholics and Jews in the Bautain circle.

Christians and Jews in the *Philosophie du christianisme*

Bautain's *Philosophie du christianisme*, published in 1835, was his most controversial and significant work, in which he laid out in two extensive volumes his ideas about the relationship between faith and reason. Poupard and others have probed the theological and philosophical meanings in this text, but scholars have generally avoided commenting on the form of this work, which was presented as a series of letters exchanged between Bautain and his three Jewish disciples, written in the 1820's, as they wavered between their Jewish and Christian identities. Moreover, scholars have almost entirely ignored the three lengthy memoirs by Ratisbonne, Goschler, and Lewel, published as a preface to the first volume of the "Philosophy." From my perspective, the form of Bautain's volume, which amounts to a dialogue between Catholics and Jews, deserves not only to be noticed but to be emphasized. The content in these exchanges is equally noteworthy, for Bautain and his Jewish correspondents present the relationship between Catholics and Jews in ways that suggest at times a more open-hearted and tolerant atmosphere than was typical of the period and of the subsequent history of these religious communities.

I have mentioned already that Bautain began his instruction with an affirmation of the value of the Old Testament. In doing so, he was working within an eighteenth-century tradition in which Catholic apologists defended Sacred Scripture, both the Old and New Testaments, against the mocking criticisms of Voltaire and other *philosophes*.[30] Much more surprising was Bautain's call on his Jewish disciples to

[29]Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, p. lix.

[30]Arthur Hertzberg, *The French Enlightenment and the Jews* (New York, 1968), pp. 252-258.

"become good Israelites, the truth will do the rest." Ratisbonne described this phrase as entering "like a shaft of fire in my soul, it pierced me like a sword."[31] According to Goschler, at the end of his first year in the circle, he approached Bautain, seeking religious guidance. "His advice [he wrote], appropriate to my state at the time, led me to observe the mosaic customs that I had completely neglected; not a pharisaic observation of the letter and the rituals of the Synagogue, but to a serious and frank practice of the law of justice, a principal of the law of love. I became . . . an object of surprise and edification for the Synagogue. I assisted with piety at its solemnities. . . I passed long hours in prayer, conversing in my heart with the God of my fathers, and calling to my aid the promised redeemer."[32]

As a result of Bautain's advice, then, three young Jewish men who had been religiously indifferent, and were pursuing spiritual enlightenment, took up Jewish religious practice, including an intense prayer life, as well as committing themselves wholeheartedly to the service of their community. As their studies continued, however, Ratisbonne and his friends were troubled by internal conflicts they faced, torn between their respect for the opinion of other young people, many of whom were irreligious, their sense of solidarity with their Jewish families and community, and their emerging Christian identity. "Would it be possible," Ratisbonne asks Bautain, "to be a Christian on the inside, a Jew in our family, and a deist on the outside, in the midst of society?"[33] Bautain's answer to this question, in the Second Letter of the "Philosophy," suggests both the extent and the limits of his openness to Jewish religious life. The "Master" unequivocally rejected any concession to a deistic public opinion:

> Oh my friends! Don't you know that between a true Israelite and a deist there is the same difference as between a civilized man and an ignorant and savage child? The god of the deist is . . . a being of reason, an abstraction, a spiritual idol, a chimera of the *philosophes* of our day! And that is what you would substitute for the God of Israel and Moses, a living God who created man in his image, who animated his spirit, who conserves him by his providence? . . . O my friends, believe me, reject a dissimulation that would degrade you, in your own eyes, and in the eyes of all men of virtue. . . . Hebrews by birth, know how to become yourselves with nobility before the pagans."[34]

[31]Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, p. 7.
[32]*Ibid*, p. lxviii.
[33]*Ibid.,* p. 9.
[34]Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, pp. 20-21.

Bautain's response is a fascinating text that boldly defends Jewish scripture and religious practice in an age when Christians elsewhere in Europe were mobilizing for a campaign of proselytism and conversion. In England the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, created in 1809, was enormously successful in gaining financial and moral support from influential evangelicals, such as William Wilberforce and Lord Shaftesbury, even while it failed miserably in its attempt at conversion.[35] The London group was the model for the Berlin Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews in 1822, which won the support of King Frederick William III, as well as a substantial number of Prussia's conservative elite.[36] In France the Charter under which the Catholic Bourbons governed the nation affirmed religious liberty, but also declared Catholicism the official religion. Leading conservative theorists, such as Joseph de Maistre defended the idea of a Christian state in which "there was no room for the Jew or Judaism."[37] In the Papal State Pius VII took the advice of the *zelanti* and reinstituted the Jewish ghetto in Rome.[38] Placed in this context, Bautain's appeal to his disciples to "become good Jews," and his encouragement in their religious and charitable participation in the Jewish community seems exceptionally tolerant.

Bautain, however, balanced his positive assessment with much harsher language in which he repeated many of the anti-Judaic arguments inherited from the Christian tradition. These ideas emerged in response to questions about the status of the Jews raised by Ratisbonne and Lewel, but once the door was open, Bautain argued forcefully for the supercessionist view which saw Christianity as the necessary fulfillment of Judaism.[39] Moreover, Bautain criticized both

[35]Todd Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England, 1714-1830* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1999), pp. 71-73; Barbara Tuchman, *Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour* (New York, 1984), pp. 183-189.

[36]Christopher Clark, "Missionary Politics: Protestant Missions to the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Prussia," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 38 (1993), 33-50; *idem, The Politics of Conversion: Missionary Protestantism and the Jews in Prussia, 1728-1941* (New York, 1995); *idem,* "The 'Christian' State and the 'Jewish Citizen' in Nineteenth-Century Prussia," in *Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in Germany*, pp. 67-93. For the conversionist impulse in Catholic Bavaria, see Jeanne Favret-Saada, *Le christianisme et ses juifs, 1800-2000* (Paris, 2004), pp. 63-87.

[37]Julie Kalman, "The Unyielding Wall: Jews and Catholics in Restoration and July Monarchy France," *French Historical Studies,* 26 (2003), 661-686, quote on 666.

[38]David Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York, 2001), pp. 31-37.

[39]For example: "Christianity is the development, the perfection of mosaic Judaism, just as a building rests on its base." Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, p. 42.

ancient and contemporary Jews for refusing to accept the Messiah, a failure due to the same pride that led them to reject their own prophets. But even as he pursued these and other traditional polemical themes, Bautain continued to urge his disciples to continue their work for the regeneration of their people. In the sixth letter of the "Philosophy" Bautain criticized the hypocrisy of the French, who claimed to have freed the Jews in their Revolution, but continued to treat them with disdain, and to prevent them from taking the place in society merited by their accomplishments.[40]

Confronted with what appeared to be a mixed message, Ratisbonne raised the question explicitly: Why, if Christianity was the perfected form of Judaism, did Bautain continue to advise him and his friends to "be good Israelites"? "Is it a lack of confidence in our capacity or our courage? Is it prudence in the face of worldly interests? Or is it perhaps through a wise foresight that you repeat this phrase, that you engage us in reading and studying our sacred books?"[41] In his response, Bautain defended his advice, claiming it was "the spontaneous expression of a lively and sincere desire to see you as virtuous men, living with decency in the world, practicing justice, loving God and your neighbor, since that is the essence of your law."[42] Bautain was convinced that his insistence that his Jewish disciples pursue the truth would lead them eventually to Christianity, but that any attempt to push them toward this position would be ineffective, and a violation of their religious liberty.

By the standard of his day, Bautain was perhaps tolerant, but I would characterize his position as a form of "tolerant intolerance." Amos Elon has described the early nineteenth century as a period when "tolerance was seeping through the cracks" in European society, a phrase that would seem to describe what was going on in the Bautain circle.[43] On the one hand, Bautain appears duplicitous; he seems at times to be teasing his disciples, calling on them to pursue the truth, which would necessarily culminate in Christianity, while holding them off, urging them to move slowly, and to keep working from within their Jewish community. His disciples appear disingenuous as well, preaching to and teaching their fellow Jews without acknowledging their secret and complicated attachment to Christianity. On the other hand,

[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 69-70.
[41] *Ibid.,* p. 28.
[42] *Ibid.,* p. 40.
[43] Elon, *The Pity of It All*, p. 65.

Bautain insisted on the possibility that an authentic moral and religious life could be pursued within the Jewish community, despite its obvious shortcomings. Ratisbonne captured the poignant situation that he and his friends faced as they struggled to reconcile their conflicting religious identities:

> The Jew today exists as a singular anomaly, as a family of pariahs in the middle of the Christian nations! I see this situation; I feel it with pain: I would give my life to pull my brothers out of it. . . and I am unable to live with them. . . . I wouldn't dare to separate myself from the ruins of Jerusalem, and I flee the Synagogue. . . ; I hold to my nation through the most tender ties of affection, and I am ashamed to belong to it. . . !"[44]

Ratisbonne's anguish about his Jewish identity was not unique, and was shared by many others who confronted the opportunities and limits faced by Jews in an age when legal emancipation, civil rights, and religious liberty were increasingly available, but imperfectly realized. Rahel Levin, the famous Jewish *salonnière* of Berlin, wrote that "it was disgusting to be a Jew," and eventually converted to Protestantsm. But on her deathbed she acknowledged that "the thing which all my life seemed to me the greatest shame, which was the misery and misfortune of my life—having been born a Jewess—this I should have on no account missed."[45] The emergence of such a sharply articulated self-consciousness was based on a series of contacts between gentiles and Jews that began in the late eighteenth century, and produced a new set of possibilities for Jewish participation in European culture. The Bautain circle was therefore not entirely unique, and can be compared in many ways with others that were forming in Europe in this period. But a brief examination of these other circles can also suggest some of its distinctive features.

Cross-Confessional Experiments in Restoration Europe

The group that formed around Moses Mendelssohn and Gotthold Lessing in Berlin in the 1750's is certainly the most famous example of friendly relations between Jews and Gentiles, occurring at a time when such contacts were "difficult and in some eyes unthinkable."[46]

[44]Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, pp. 8-9.

[45]Elon, *The Pity of It All*, pp. 80, 89.

[46]*Ibid.*, p. 35. For the German Jewish community in this period in general, see David Sorkin, *The Transformation of German Jewry, 1780-1840* (New York, 1987). Mendelssohn was the model for the title character in Lessing's famous play defending

Mendelssohn had been educated as a Talmudic scholar, but had also taught himself German, Latin, Greek, French, and English, and by the middle of the 1750's he had begun publishing a number of works that made him a major figure in the Enlightenment. His friendship with Lessing, a major literary figure in the eighteenth century, was based on conversations in which they shared their enthusiasm for the rationalist and cosmopolitan ideas of the Enlightenment. As Jacob Katz has noted, in Mendelssohn's Berlin circle, "Jews and non-Jews alike discovered that they could meet on common human ground, such a relationship involving no attempt to deny or obscure their different religious affiliations."[47] But Mendelssohn remained an observant Jew, and insisted that his religious belief and practice could be reconciled with his commitment to reason. Moreover, Menelssohn sought to avoid religious controversy, and proposed that one of Judaism's most appealing features was its tolerance, its refusal to take a conversionist posture in the face of religious differences. When the Swiss theologian Johann Lavater challenged Mendelssohn to convert, he responded with great reluctance, convinced that discussions of religious differences were damaging and fruitless. "My religion, my philosophy, and my position in society give me every reason to avoid religious controversies and to speak in my publications only of those truths that must be equally important to all religions."[48] Bautain avoided overt proselytism in the early meetings of his circle, but the conversations he had with Théodore Ratisbonne and the other Jewish members nonetheless engaged religious traditions and texts, and grappled with the religious differences that the Mendelssohn circle sought to avoid.

In the generation that followed Mendelssohn Jews and Christians continued to meet in Berlin, where salons hosted by wealthy and assimilated Jewish women became prominent in the social life of the Prussian capital. But here as well serious engagement with religious questions seems rare, as those who gathered were "concerned almost

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religious tolerance, *Nathan the Wise*, which was published in 1779. For a recent edition with a useful introduction discussing the relationship, see Gotthold Lessing, *Nathan the Wise,* translated, edited, and with an introduction by Ronald Schechter (New York, 2004).

[47]Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance: Studies in Jewish-Gentile Relations in Medieval and Modern Times* (New York, 1961), p. 169. For Mendelssohn, see Elon *The Pity of It All,* pp. 33-64; David Sorkin, *Moses Mendelssohn and the Religious Enlightenment* (Berkeley, California, 1996).

[48]Moses Mendelssohn, "Reply to Lavater," in Ritchie Robertson (ed.), *The German-Jewish Dialogue: An Anthology of Literary Texts, 1749-1993* (New York, 1999), pp. 36-45, quote from p. 40.

exclusively with promoting the arts and the Romantic cult of friendship."[49] Insofar as religious identity did become an issue, it was frequently resolved by an acceptance of a rationalistic Protestantism as the best expression of universal principles derived from natural religion. When the son of Moses Mendelssohn, Abraham, wrote to his daughter in 1820 in order to explain why he had raised her as a Christian, he admitted to agnosticism on the question of God's existence, but affirmed, "[T]here exists in me and in you and in all human beings an everlasting inclination towards all that is good, true, and right, and a conscience which warns and guides us when we go astray. I know it, I believe it, I live in this faith, and this is my religion."[50] Conversions in this milieu were common, but the historians who have studied the Jewish community of Berlin have concluded that most of these were the result of a practical desire for professional advancement (in the case of males) and for intermarriage (in the case of females).[51]

Jews and Christians also came together in intimate circles in Paris, where the Saint-Simonian movement provided a forum for exchanges across religious boundaries.[52] In fact, the association of a number of young and affluent Jews, Olinde Rodrigues, Emile and Isaac Péreire, and Léon Halévy, with Saint-Simon began in May, 1823, precisely when Ratisbonne and Lewel began meeting with Bautain at Mlle Humann's in Strasbourg. Henri de Bonnechose, one of the members of the Bautain circle, noticed the similarity in the two groups, for both were motivated by a "devotional tendency," a desire to discover a religious system that would be an integral part of a reformed social order.[53] But

[49]Elon, *The Pity of It All*, pp. 65-100, quote from p. 69.

[50]Abraham Mendelssohn, "Why I Have Raised You as a Christian," in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz (eds.), *The Jew in the Modern World*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1995), pp. 257-258.

[51]Deborah Hertz, "Seductive Conversion in Berlin, 1770-1809," in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World,,* ed. Todd Endelman (New York, 1987), pp. 48-82; Deborah Hertz, *Jewish High Society in Old Regime Berlin* (New Haven, 1988); Steven Lowenstein, *The Berlin Jewish Community, 1770-1830: Enlightenment, Family and Crisis* (New York, 1994); Jacob Katz, "Religion as a Uniting and Dividing Force in Modern Jewish History," in *The Role of Religion in Modern Jewish History*, ed. Jacob Katz (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1975), pp. 1-22; Elon, *The Pity of It All*, p. 85.

[52]Perrine Simon-Nahum, *La cité investie: La "Science de judaïsme" français et la République* (Paris, 1991), pp. 25-39.

[53]Bautain, *Philosophie du christianisme*, vol. I, p. xv. Michael Graetz, *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century France*, p. 113, emphasizes the innovative dimension of Saint-Simonianism, which provided "a framework of sociability within which Jews and Christians associated with each other . . . because sovereign individuals deciding their actions chose to do so."

the Saint-Simonians in the end rejected both Judaism and Christianity in favor of a sect organized around Prosper Enfantin that amounted to a new religion very far from anything being discussed in the Bautain circle.

Similarities can also be found that link the Bautain circle with groups that formed at the highest level of European society, most famously in the case of the Russian Tsar Alexander I. Castlereagh ridiculed the Holy Alliance Alexander sought in 1815 as a "piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense," and most historians would probably agree with this assessment, insofar as it had virtually no impact on the actions of European states.[54] But the religious spirit that informed the Tsar's diplomacy grew from a series of meetings that involved the Protestant revivalist Jung-Stilling, the mystic Julie de Krudener, and others. Roksandra Sturdza, the Empress Elisvata's maid of honor, served as the intermediary between the tsar, Jung-Stilling, and Krudener, after meeting them at Baden in the winter of 1814, the same city where Bautain and Humann became linked a few years later.[55] As with the Bautain circle, these meetings were marked by intense religious passion and a conviction that a form of mysticism could overcome the differences between Christians.[56] However impractical it was, the Holy Alliance represented a religious mood that also informed the Bautain circle: a desire for religious unity, mystical enthusiasm, and an apocalyptic sense of history. But the "mental world of the Holy Alliance," as described by Alexander Martin, remained a Christian enclave; it could accommodate Russian Orthodoxy, Protestantism, and Catholicism, but not Jews.[57]

[54]Paul Johnson, *The Birth of the Modern: World Society, 1815-1830* (New York, 1991), p. 112. For a more positive assessment of the Holy Alliance, see Paul Schroeder, *The Transformation of European Politics, 1763-1848* (New York, 1996), pp. 558-559.

[55]Mme de Krudener traveled through Alsace in 1816-1817, drawing crowds and making local officials nervous with her prophecies; Mlle Humann and Bautain would certainly have been familiar with her ideas and her work in the region.

[56]Jacques Fabry, *Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740-1817): Esotérisme chrétien et prophétisme apocalyptique* (Bern, 2003), pp. 109-110, 135-140; Alexander Martin, *Romantics, Reformers, Reactionaries: Russian Conservative Thought and Politics in the Reign of Alexander I* (DeKalb, Illinois, 1997), pp. 149-158.

[57]Martin, *Romantics*, pp. 143-168. In France confessional relations between Catholics and Protestants during this period took place in the "Société de la Morale chrétienne," founded in 1822, but no Jews seem to have participated in this group. See Ellen Astrid Koehler, "Modeling the Civic Nation in Early Nineteenth-Century France: Ecumenical Sociability and the Société de la Morale chrétienne." Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Society for French History, 2003.

Conclusion

The Bautain circle was part of a more general romantic religious revival that swept through Europe in the early nineteenth century, a response to spiritual dissatisfaction with Enlightenment rationalism, and to the political chaos brought on by the French Revolution. This revival included a number of exchanges across religious boundaries, perhaps reflecting the fact that Europe after the Congress of Vienna included multi-confessional states that made religious homogeneity within individual states an even more difficult, if not impossible goal. During this period the "Jewish question" became an explicit object of concern, as states struggled over the issue of emancipation, the granting of civil, political, and religious rights to Jews.

The Bautain circle fits into this larger historical context, representing one of many fascinating attempts to renegotiate the relationships between religious communities in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But it also merits attention as a distinctive moment in the history of religious toleration. Based on a mystic sense that transcends religious differences and a moral standard that emphasizes charitable service to others, the participants in the Bautain circle took a step, hesitant but real, toward a position that accepts religious pluralism and affirms the authentic religiosity of people of different faiths, including Jews. I accept the point of Perez Zagorin, who believes that peaceful coexistence between hostile religions can only emerge from such a position, "a genuine belief in and commitment to toleration as something inherently good and valuable."[58] Political expediency plays an important role in the history of toleration, as communities and their leaders sought ways to accommodate religious differences so as to avoid disorder in the public sphere. But absent a deeper commitment, practically negotiated arrangements are liable to break down, a point that can be made for sixteenth-century Germany, a number of contemporary trouble spots, such as the Middle East and the Balkans, and of course, for modern Europe, where the history of the relationship between Christians and Jews has been troubled and violent.

Bautain's call on the members of his circle to "become good Jews" was accompanied by a great deal of anti-Judaic baggage. But it nonetheless had an enormous emotional impact on the small group of Jews

[58]Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton, 2003), pp. 12-13.

who heard it. We know of this primarily through memoirs and correspondence published more than ten years after the circle met, a gap that makes me wonder about the atmosphere in Mlle Humann's house in 1823. What was it like at these early meetings of the Bautain circle? Was Bautain's Christianity, including his attitudes toward Jews, already fixed in the ways that it appears in the publication of 1835? Was his advice a kind of tactical maneuver, as it sometimes appears to be in the published correspondence, or was it a sincerely intended affirmation of Jewish life? The evidence doesn't allow us to make a clear judgment on this question, and perhaps it is better to avoid thinking in such polarized categories. Bautain's relationship with his Jewish friends was confused and ambivalent, but in the questions that these men posed to each other, and the answers they struggled with, we can nonetheless glimpse in the early nineteenth century new possibilities emerging for conversations across religious boundaries.

ARCHIEPISCOPAL INQUISITIONS IN THE MIDDLE RHINE: URBAN ANTICLERICALISM AND WALDENSIANISM IN LATE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MAINZ

By

Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane*

In the autumn of 1390, archiepiscopal inquisitors launched a sudden and unprecedented campaign against Waldensian heretics in the middle-Rhineland city of Mainz. By the end of 1393, at least thirty-nine men and women, both laity and clergy, had been burned at the stake in what would be one of the bloodiest and most complex inquisitions of late-medieval Germany. Based on analysis of hitherto overlooked or unknown source material, this article sets forth the context, course, and significance of the Mainz prosecutions, and challenges the standard interpretation that fourteenth-century Waldensianism was a rural phenomenon of little interest to German bishops.

In February of 1390, an unlikely new archbishop was elected to the see of Mainz. In the wake of papal schism, interdict, and violent anticlerical uprisings in the middle Rhineland, the unassuming scholastic of the Mainz cathedral chapter Conrad von Weinsberg was unanimously elected over a wealthy rival from the Nassau dynasty. Within months of his ascending the archiepiscopal throne, and despite a lack of wealth or family clout, Archbishop Conrad II effected a striking change in archiepiscopal focus. In dramatic contrast to his predecessor, whose primary goals had been dynastic territorial expansion and the promotion of family interests, the new archbishop set out to eradicate local heresy and anticlericalism. For the first time in the city's history, in September of 1390, inquisitors prosecuted a community of Waldensians in Mainz.[1] The group consisted of both men and women,

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[1]The city of Mainz had become a free city by the mid-thirteenth century, but as part of the archdiocese of Mainz, remained subject to the ecclesiastical authority

and is described in a chronicle source as having had their own house, called *Spiegelberg,* in which they met to share and practice their heresy. Within three years, at least thirty-nine men and women were burned at the stake for heresy, making this one of the bloodiest and most complex inquisitions of late-medieval Germany.[2]

Yet despite its significance, the story of the Mainz persecutions has never been told.[3] Based on analysis of hitherto unknown or overlooked sources, this article sets forth the context, course, and significance of the Mainz prosecutions, and concludes with a consideration

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of the archbishop. The ecclesiastical province of Mainz included the suffragan sees of Straßburg, Augsburg, Constance, Chur, Eichstätt, Halberstadt, Würzburg, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Speyer, Verdun, Worms and Bamberg. On the legal relationship between city and clergy in Mainz, see Dieter Demandt, *Stadtherrschaft und Stadtfreiheit im Spannungsfeld von Geistlichkeit und Bürgerschaft in Mainz, 11.–15. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1977).

[2]The documented burnings took place in the town of Bingen, approximately twenty-five miles down the Rhine from the city of Mainz. Belonging to the prince-archbishop of Mainz since the thirteenth century, Bingen was a small but strategically important toll and trade center for Mainz through the high and late Middle Ages. See Alois Gerlich (ed.), "Die Anfänge der Stadt Bingen" in *Mittelrhein und Hessen: Nachgelassene Studien von Heinrich Büttner* (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 51-60. Also Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger, *Kirche auf dem Weg: Das Bistum Mainz* (Strasbourg, 1991).

[3]The modern historiography of the Mainz inquisitions spans a century, but is nonetheless surprisingly thin. Herman Haupt led the way to discussion of late-medieval German Waldensianism in his "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sekte vom freien Geiste und des Beghardentums," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 7 (1885), 503-576 (here 574), and "Waldenserthum und Inquisition im Südöstlichen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* 1 (1889), 285-330, and 3 (1890), 337-411. The first overview of the heresy in Germany to mention Mainz was Henry Charles Lea's *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages,* vol. 2 (New York, 1888), pp. 396-400. Fifteen years later, Franz Falk published a cursory study of the inquisitions, but cited only chronicle and printed sources in his "Waldensertum in Mainz zu Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben,* 28 (1903), 263-265. Over seventy years thereafter, Gustav Hamman briefly discussed the inquisitions in his "Mittelalterliche Waldenser in Hessen: Nachrichten und Spuren," *Jahrbuch der hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung,* 27 (1976), 93-128, although he too was unaware of several crucial manuscript sources, and his account is not entirely reliable. In 1979, Richard Kieckhefer published his valuable *The Repression of Heresy in Medieval Germany* (Philadelphia, 1979), noting the Mainz proceedings in his discussion of anti-Waldensian measures in late fourteenth-century Germany. Malcolm Lambert's third edition of *Medieval Heresy* (Oxford, 2002) relies heavily upon Kieckhefer in its analysis of late-medieval Germany heresy, but makes no direct reference to the Mainz campaigns. Euan Cameron's important study *Waldenses: Rejection of Holy Church in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 2000) notes only that a campaign occurred in Mainz in 1390, with reference to a nineteenth-century printed source.

of three key arguments. First, the eruption of persecution in 1390 was in response to a specific set of local and regional pressures, spiritual anxieties, and civic tensions which had escalated during the previous decade, and pushed the problem of Waldensian anticlericalism to the forefront of the ecclesiastical agenda in Mainz. Second, the inquisitions in Mainz appear to have been initiated and orchestrated by archiepiscopal authorities, and thus problematize the standard interpretation that late fourteenth-century German bishops were unconcerned with the heresy.[4] The additional involvement in the Mainz prosecutions of a papal inquisitor, bishop, dean, altar chaplain, and faculty from the University of Heidelberg depicts a far more complex and diverse affiliation of inquisitorial authorities and motivations than occurred elsewhere in Germany at this time. And third, the long-standing presence of an urban community of Waldensians in the middle-Rhineland, one with links to others throughout western Germany, challenges conceptions of the heresy as a phenomenon limited to scattered and primarily rural populations in the northeast and south.

While scholars since the late nineteenth century have made occasional mention of the inquisitions, there has been no sustained analysis of the events or their significance. The story of the Waldensians in Mainz has long been obfuscated by a perceived lack of relevant sources, but a diverse array of materials does exist which, when pieced together, serve to clarify the course of the persecutions and their historical context. In sum, nine individual sources, ranging from inquisitorial and archiepiscopal documents to anti-heretical tracts and urban chronicles, bear witness to the presence and prosecution of middle-Rhineland Waldensians in the late fourteenth century.[5]

[4]See, for example, Lambert, *Medieval Heresy,* p. 177. In 1979, however, Richard Kieckhefer, *Repression,* pp. 55-57, noted that episcopal inquisitors proceeded against Waldensians not only in Mainz, but also Regensburg, Eichstätt, Bern and Freiburg. On the heresy and its persecution in Freiburg, see Kathrin Utz Tremp, "Der Freiburger Waldenserprozess von 1399 und seine Bernische Vorgeschichte," *Freiburger Geschichtstblätter,* 68 (1991), 57-85; and *Quellen zur Geschichte der Waldenser von Freiburg im Üchtland (1399-1439)*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geitesgeschichte des Mittelalters, Band 18 (Hannover, 2000).

[5]For a more sustained analysis of the authorship, transmission, and contents of the dossier of source evidence, see Jennifer Kolpacoff, "Papal Schism, Archiepiscopal Politics and Waldensian Persecution (1378-1396): The Ecclesio-political Landscape of Late Fourteenth-Century Mainz," Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University (2000), pp. 155-210 (henceforth cited as Kolpacoff, "Waldensian Persecution"). An abbreviated version is in Jennifer Kolpacoff, "Die Verfolgung von waldensischen Häretikern in Mainz (1390-1393)," *Mainzer Zeitschrift,* 98 (2003), 11-19.

The modern evidence trail began with Herman Haupt's discovery of a crucial manuscript in Mainz in 1885, although an error in the citation long obscured its actual location.[6] Haupt's manuscript, now identifiable as MS Stadtbibliothek Mainz I 151, contains two lists describing the errors of different groups of Waldensians, copied contemporaneously but in different hands. Among the most illuminating sources for the inquisitions between 1390 and 1393, the first error list begins with the heading "Articles of the Waldensian heretics in Mainz" and states that "in the year of Our Lord 1390 around the festival of St. Michael, these articles of heretics, namely Waldensians, were discovered." No names or details about the accused are provided, but seventeen standard heretical tenets are enumerated.[7] Although the date of the composition of the Mainz error list is uncertain, it seems to have been copied soon after the events described, which occurred on September 29, 1390.[8]

The second source from the Mainz manuscript (fol. 205r) describes "the articles of the heretics Falken and his companions, burned in Bingen in the year 1393."[9] Listing ten standard Waldensian tenets (including the denial of transubstantiation, Purgatory, prayers for the dead, and indulgences), the document states that the condemned were two laymen, Conrad Falken and Peter of Kirn, and a priest named Nicholas. It concludes with a brief account of the three unfortunate men's condemnation and execution on March 10th of that year.[10] The

[6]Haupt, "Beiträge," p. 509. The original manuscript number was 247, but it is incorrectly cited by Haupt as 24. The manuscript was later renumbered 151, and is catalogued in Gerhard List (ed.), *Die Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek Mainz,* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1998). Robert E. Lerner provides a thoughtful analysis of the manuscript in "New Evidence for the Condemnation of Meister Eckhart," *Speculum,* vol. 72, no. 2 (1997), 347-66.

[7] Transcriptions of the sources are in Kolpacoff, "Waldensian Persecution," pp. 283-302.

[8]Another copy of the list can be found in Vienna CVP 4217 (fol. 288v), which is differentiated only by minor spelling variations and the absence of a few scribal errors found in the Mainz document. Catalogued in *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum,* III-IV (Graz, 1965), pp. 204-206. An earlier description, which also provides the incipit and explicit, is in Michael Denis (ed.), *Codices manuscripti theologici bibliothecae palatinae Vindobonensis Latini aliarumque Occidentis linguarum,* vol. 1 (Vienna, 1793-1802), pp. 1286-1287.

[9]Haupt edited this document in *Der waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis und der Vorlutherischen deutschen Bibeldrucke gegen die Angriffe von Franz Jostes* (Würzburg, 1886), pp. 36-37.

[10]While Giovanni Gonnet and Amadeo Molnár mistakenly report that Nicholas' last name was Falken, this text clearly identifies him as Peter of Kirn's brother. Their source was Haupt's edited version of the document in *Ursprung*, p. 36. See Gonnet and Molnár, *Les Vaudois au Moyen Age* (Turin, 1974), pp. 167, 171 n. 207.

fate of Falken and his companions is also the subject of a third source, a copy of a trial record in MS Fritzlar Dombibliothek 4 (fol. 182v).[11] This short text reads "These are the articles of heretics who were burned in Bingen, namely Falken and his companions," and lists nine of the ten tenets reported in the Mainz error list. One is not a copy of the other, however, since the order and content of the tenets diverge considerably: for example, the Bingen trial record refers to the Waldensian belief that the pope is not able to canonize saints, a tenet that does not appear in the Mainz list. Yet both texts agree upon the outcome, since the trial record closes with the statement that the three men were condemned to the flames after refusing to abjure their heresy.

A protocol in the MS Landesbibliothek Darmstadt 430 (fols. 297v-298v) is our fourth source, one that contains valuable and overlooked documentation of inquisitorial activity in the late fourteenth-century middle Rhineland.[12] Reporting the examination of a layman called Henne Russeneyden from Ludersdorff (Leutesdorf bei Neuwied) in the archdiocese of Trier, the protocol not only describes inquisitorial proceedings which took place at the University of Heidelberg in 1392/1392, but also indicates that Henne was acquainted with Conrad Falken and Peter of Kirn who were being examined in Heidelberg simultaneously. According to the document, the panel of inquisitors included Nicholas Böckeler, the Dominican papal inquisitor for the ecclesiastical province of Mainz, and the University of Heidelberg theologian Conrad of Soltau and canon lawyer John de Noet.[13] As discussed in more detail below, the protocol tells of Henne Russeneyden's daring (yet unsuccessful) attempt to defend the three Waldensian brethren, and of his own eventual recantation, sentencing and lifelong incarceration.

The source material for Waldensian persecution in late fourteenth-century Mainz, however, is not limited to inquisitorial documentation. Indeed, the best-known source for the subject at hand is a local chron-

[11]Catalogued in Gerhard List (ed.), *Die Handschriften der Dombibliothek Fritzlar* (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 6-10.

[12]The manuscript is not yet included in the Darmstadt Landesbibliothek catalogue, but a typewritten description by H. Knaus (1958) is available from the library. On the manuscript, see Michael Tönsing, *Johannes Malkaw aus Preussen (ca. 1360-1416): Ein Kleriker im Spannungsfeld von Kanzel, Ketzerprozess und Kirchenspaltung* (Warendorf, 2004).

[13]Manuscript analysis suggests that the documents were copied roughly contemporaneously with the events described. Regarding the probability that John de Noet was its compiler and owner, see Kolpacoff, "Waldensian Persecution," pp. 178-184.

icle of Mainz, the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Latin *Chronicon Moguntinum,* most likely penned by a vicar of the Mainz cathedral chapter named Johannes Kungstein (d. 1404/5).[14] In a single paragraph, the chronicle (fifth in our list of relevant sources) recounts the discovery, examination, and punishment of an unidentified number of people adhering to eighteen heretical tenets.[15] Accused of denying sacerdotal powers, the value of prayers to the Virgin, and a list of other tenets which the chronicler wearily describes as "too long to tell," this group is clearly that whose beliefs are described in the Mainz error list of 1390.[16] Yet the chronicle offers some intriguing details not provided elsewhere, such as the Waldensian house *Spiegelberg* where they held their meetings, and the statement that "many were infected with the heresy in the city of Mainz and in surrounding areas." According to Kungstein, this group was examined by a panel of inquisitors, and while some of the accused fled, eighteen remained and had blue penitential crosses sewn to their clothing.[17]

This same community of Waldensians is referred to in another contemporary chronicle, the vernacular *Limburger Chronik.*[18] First compiled by the cleric and notary Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen (c. 1347-1420), the chronicle's contents span the decades between roughly 1336 and 1398. In a short account misdated to 1388/1389, the chronicler reports "[a]t this time a heresy was discovered in Mainz which had secretly been there for a hundred years or longer" and lists several standard Waldensian tenets.[19] Although the statement that the heresy had existed in Mainz for over a century is unique, the chronicle text other-

[14]On the chronicle's authorship, see Winfried Dotzauer, "Das Sogenannte Chronicon Moguntinum, eine Quelle zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte,* 25 (1973), 9-31. See also Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, "Der Vicar Johann Kungstein, ein Geschichtsschreiber des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung,* 13 (1892), 152-155.

[15]Karl Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum* (Hannover, 1885), p. 63.

[16]The Mainz chronicler mistakenly includes the account of Waldensian inquisitions with material dated to 1389 (rather than 1390).

[17]"In crastino Clementis iudicati sunt per inquisitorem heretice pravitatis et multos alios magistros et multos peritos Sacre Scripture, et imposite sunt eis cruces glauci coloris et assute in humeris, quas per multos dies portare iussi sunt; tumulati vero et defuncti exhumati sunt. Fuit numerus illorum in Maguncia qui remanserunt et penitenciam assumpserunt 18, exceptis aliis qui fugam dederunt, quorum multi adhuc latent." Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 63.

[18]Arthur Wyß (ed.), *Die Limburger Chronik des Tilemann Elhen von Wolfhagen*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters (Munich,1980), p. 81.

[19]*Ibid*.

wise reiterates the information contained in the manuscript materials discussed above.[20] In his capacity as local *Stadtschreiber,* Tilemann was interested in regional ecclesio-political developments, but his primary geographical focus was Limburg and the cities of lower Hesse; his relative distance from Mainz helps to account for the brief and summary tone of the entry regarding the persecutions.

In contrast, our seventh piece of evidence comes from the pen of a cleric who was not only interested, but actively involved, in the Mainz persecutions. A canon of St. Peter and altar chaplain of the Mainz cathedral, John Wasmod von Homburg was one of three men commissioned in 1392 by Archbishop Conrad to pursue local heretics. In 1398, he wrote the polemical *Tractatus contra hereticos Beckhardos, Lolhardos et Swesteriones,* in which he describes indisputably Waldensian tenets and asserts that similar errors were held by "heretics in Bingen condemned in the year of our lord 1392 and handed over to secular jurisdiction."[21] This portion of the text precedes a long tirade against beguines and beghards, however, and seems an almost casual aside drawn from his own experience, intended to underscore the long-standing threat of heresy in the region. Wasmod seems to be referring to past history: while the Waldensians represented a threat earlier in the decade, by the mid-1390s beguines and beghards had become the heresy *en vogue* in the middle-Rhineland.[22]

Early-modern histories of Mainz provide the final two pieces of evidence regarding the local prosecution of Waldensians. In 1604, the Jesuit scholar Nicholas Serarius (1558-1609) published the *Rerum Moguntiacarum libri quinque* which contains a one-page summary of the events of the reign of Conrad II von Weinsberg. In it, Serarius notes that Waldensianism had crept into Mainz and upon an unspecified date, thirty-six "disgraced citizens" were taken to Bingen and

[20] The contents and structure of the Limburg text do not indicate a directly derivative relationship between the chronicle entry and any of the other known sources. Analysis of the materials suggests that Tilemann saw an inquisitorial document which included a list of heretical tenets (such as the Mainz error list), and added to it his own observation about the community's existence for over a hundred years. See Kolpacoff, "Waldensian Persecution," pp. 193-99.

[21] A. Schmidt (ed.), "Tractatus contra hereticos beckhardos, Lulhardos et swestriones des Wasmud von Homburg," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte,* 14 (1962), 336-86, at 338.

[22] On beguines and beghards in Mainz, see Eva Gertrud Neumann, *Rheinisches Beginen- und Begardenwesen; ein Mainzer Beitrag zur religiösen Bewegung am Rhein* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1960).

burned.[23] The text is brief, unembellished by editorial comments or identification of sources, and inaccurate in its reporting of Conrad von Weinsberg's reign (given here as 1388-1395). Serarius' text alone states that the number of men and women executed in Bingen was thirty-six, and that they were citizens or "cives" or Mainz; it is unclear in the latter whether he meant that they lived in Mainz or that they were citizens in the technical sense. However, the adjectives "infames" suggests that they were people of some standing whose lapse into heretodoxy indeed constituted a local and personal disgrace.

A century after Serarius, another local scholar named Valentin Ferdinand Gudenus (1679-1758) provided our ninth and final piece of evidence: a copy of an inquisitorial commission issued by Archbishop Conrad in 1392. Gudenus published the commission in his *Codex Diplomaticus,* a collection of regional ecclesiastical and political documents.[24] Revealing Conrad's stern commitment to the extirpation of heresy in his lands, it commissions three men to cooperate with the papal inquisitor in prosecuting a group of heretics in the city and diocese of Mainz: Bishop Frederick of Toul (in the archdiocese of Trier),[25] the dean of the collegiate church of St. Stephan in Mainz Nicholas of Sauwelnheim, and, of course, John Wasmod.[26] Although the commission does not name the papal inquisitor, he must have been Nicholas Böckeler, who was appointed papal inquisitor for the ecclesiastical province of Mainz by the Dominican general on April 10, 1390.[27] Moreover, the document provides three particularly intriguing details, which will be addressed further below: first, that both clergy and laity

[23]"Irrepsit Moguntiam hisce temporibus Waldensium haeresis, adeo ut ea infames 36. cives Bingam abducti, & ibidem igne plexi sint," in: Nicolaus Serarius, *Moguntiacarum rerum ab initio usque ad Reverendissimum et Illustrissimum hodiernum Archiepiscopum ac Electorem D. Joannem Schwichardum,* vol. 1 (Mainz: Apud Bathasarum Lippium, 1604), p. 867.

[24]Valentin Ferdinand von Gudenus, *Codex diplomaticus anecdotorum res Moguntinas illustrantium,* 5 vols. (Göttingen, Frankfurt, and Leipzig, 1743-1768), vol. 3, pp. 598-600.

[25]The Augustinian Hermit and apostolic penitentiary Frederick von Mühlhausen was appointed bishop of Toul in January of 1391 by the Roman pope Boniface IX. Frederick was intended to replace the previous bishop, one Johann who supported the Avignonese pope Clement VII and had held the see since March of 1385. In March of 1399, however, Frederick was transferred to the titular see of Acre in Syria. Konrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* , 2nd ed. (Münster, 1913), I, pp. 68, 503 n.9, and 554.

[26]Gudenus, *Codex diplomaticus*, pp. 598-599; see below n. 62.

[27]On Böckeler's appointment, see Benedict Maria Reichert, "Zur Geschichte der deutschen Dominikaner am Ausgange des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte,* 14 (1900), 79-101, at 83.

were active in the heresy; second, that by 1392 it was spread throughout and beyond the city; and third, that some of the men and women were already imprisoned when Conrad wrote the commission.[28]

With Gudenus' eighteenth-century edition of the archbishop's inquisitorial commission there came an end to the publication or discovery of source materials pertaining to the Waldensian proceedings, until Herman Haupt's study in the late nineteenth century. Viewed in sum, these nine, largely overlooked pieces of evidence lock into place a foundation of information about a substantial urban Waldensian community in Mainz which came under sudden attack in 1390. However, even the best studies of late-medieval heresy and inquisitions in Germany have provided at most a cursory reference either to the existence of urban Rhineland Waldensians or their persecution in Mainz. In particular, scholarly emphasis upon rural Waldensians has tended to obscure the significance, size, and longevity of urban heretical communities in Germany, particularly in the Rhineland. The omission is striking, considering that Germany in the late fourteenth century has long been noted for a final wave of anti-Waldensian inquisitorial activity. As Richard Kieckhefer has put it, this was "one of the most important repressive endeavors of fourteenth-century Europe, and surely one of the most vigorous antiheretical campaigns of all medieval Germany."[29]

Yet scholars have categorized this eruption of anti-heretical activity as the near-exclusive work of three itinerant inquisitors, and concentrated on their persecutions in the rural regions of Pomerania and Brandenburg to the north, and Upper Austria to the south.[30] Although

[28]Gudenus, *Codex Diplomaticus,* vol. 3, pp. 598-600. The sources are unfortunately silent about the ratio of men and women among the community, and provide no names or further details about female Waldensians.

[29]Kieckhefer, *Repression,* p. 55.

[30]On the fourteenth-century inquisitorial campaigns in the German-speaking northeast and south, see Cameron, *Waldenses;* Kieckhefer, *Repression*; Dietrich Kurze, *Quellen zur Ketzergeschichte Brandenburg und Pommerns*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin 45, Quellenwerke 6 (Berlin and New York, 1975); Kurze, "Zur Ketzergeschichte der Mark Brandenburg und Pommerns vornehmlich im 14 Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands,* XVI-XVII (1968), 50-94; Herman Haupt, "Waldenserthum und Inquisition im südöstlichen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft,* 3 (1890), 337-411. On a treatise by inquisitor Peter Zwicker, see Peter Biller, "Les Vaudois dans les territoires de langue allemande vers la fin du xiv siècle: le regard d'un inquisiteur," *Heresis,* 13/14 (1998), 199-234. On the extensive fourteenth-century campaigns in Bohemia, see Alexander Patschovsky (ed.), *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur

the two most zealous inquisitors, Peter Zwicker and Martin of Amberg, began their famous series of campaigns in 1391 in Erfurt, no one has yet explored the relationship between the first sudden persecution in the urban middle-Rhineland in 1390 and the immediately ensuing chain of German campaigns through the end of the century. Thus the community in Mainz is referred to in even the finest recent study of the medieval Waldensians, along with other urban heretical groups, as "short-lived and somewhat isolated," and the general quality of the inquisitions in late fourteenth-century Germany as relatively "merciful and sympathetic."[31] While Euan Cameron is certainly correct to draw attention to the comparatively mild and conversion-centered approach of the itinerant inquisitors, the campaigns in Mainz were orchestrated by a different set of authorities and thus evade simple categorization as part of the wave of itinerant late fourteenth-century persecutions. Distinct in leadership, purpose, and consequence from the later and primarily rural campaigns, the Mainz campaigns took place at the hands of a variety of inquisitors operating in the urban realm and primarily under archiepiscopal jurisdiction. Most important, they concluded not with conversion but execution.

Interestingly, Cameron's chapter on Waldensianism in Germany before 1390 relates dramatic and relevant events in the region a century and a half earlier. During the early 1230's, the preacher Conrad of Marburg (c.1180-1233) became the first papal inquisitor appointed to Germany and conducted ferocious and undisciplined campaigns against accused heretics in the Rhineland. Archbishop of Mainz Sigfried III von Eppenstein tried unsuccessfully to rein him in, and, after Conrad's grisly murder shortly thereafter, pardoned many of those falsely accused of heresy. The new evidence from Mainz thus brings the subject neatly full-circle, in that by 1390 the situation had reversed itself, because truly heretical communities were by this time deeply rooted in the Rhineland, and the Archbishop of Mainz himself was spearheading the campaign. Now that the relevant sources have been collected and examined, the story that emerges proves a valuable contribution to our understanding of both late-medieval Waldensianism and persecution in Germany.

Waldensianism is a difficult heresy to categorize effectively, in large part due to its extensive geographical spread and chronological dura-

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Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters, 11 (Weimar, 1979). For a more general overview, see the classic G. Gonnet and A. Molnár, *Les Vaudois au Moyen Age* (Turin, 1974).

[31]Cameron, *Waldenses,* pp. 124-125.

tion. One of the best efforts to construct a framework is Lutz Kaelber's sociological study of the ideological underpinnings of medieval religion, in which he identifies three distinct stages in the history of the heresy's development between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.[32] Basing his analysis upon both spiritual and social conditions, Kaelber distinguishes between the following: early Waldensianism, a charismatic urban and Gospel-based movement which allowed the participation of female preachers; second, Waldensianism in Italy, France and the eastern parts of the German Empire after the 1240's and 1250's; and third, Austrian Waldensianism, which experienced less effective persecution than the others (despite its comparable rejection of orthodoxy), and was organized into egalitarian schools or "textual communities" through which the group's evangelical message radiated to members and supporters.[33]

Kaelber's analysis of the faith of thirteenth and fourteenth-century German Waldensians, however, focuses specifically upon material from the primarily rural eastern regions and does not consider evidence from the large and dynamic urban Waldensian communities in the Rhineland. Although his findings are accurate and important for the other regions, the study provides no hint that the heresy existed, much less prospered, in thickly-populated urban areas. The stringently prosecuted urban Mainz community with its *domus Spiegelberg* does not fall neatly into any of the three categories, and thus suggests the need for a more inclusive, nuanced, and representative model of medieval Waldensianism.

The historiographical novelty of the Mainz Waldensians brings us back to the question of the context and course of their persecution. Why did such fierce inquisitions suddenly occur during the first few years of the 1390's, and what happened? The late fourteenth century was a troubled time in Germany, and for the middle Rhineland in particular. By the beginning of 1390, the devastation of urban warfare, internecine feuds, anticlerical uprisings, and interdict had taken a profound toll on Mainz and the neighboring cities in the ecclesiastical province such as Worms and Speyer. Anticlerical tension had long been an element of the urban atmosphere, due largely to lay resentment of ecclesiastical privileges and exemptions.[34] This was particu-

[32]Lutz Kaelber, *Schools of Asceticism: Ideology and Organization in Medieval Religious Communities* (University Park, PA, 1998).

[33]*Ibid*, pp. 133ff.

[34]On clerical privileges and exemptions in Mainz, see Karl Hegel, "Verfassungsgeschichte der Stadt Mainz," in *Chroniken der mittelrheinischen Städte,* vol. 18 (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 124-134. See also Demandt, *Stadtherrschaft.*

larly the case in the Rhineland cities whose struggle for independence from ecclesiastical control during the thirteenth century had created lingering antagonism between the secular and ecclesiastical spheres.[35]

In 1382, hostilities escalated when the cities of Worms and Mainz demanded that the clergy relinquish its advantageous privilege in the lucrative wine trade; in response, the clergy formed defensive ecclesiastical unions and immediately placed the cities under interdict.[36] Violence soon erupted: during the summer of 1384, clerics in Worms were so abused that they abandoned the city and their possessions.[37] In Mainz, moreover, members of the now-organized urban leagues began to intimidate the clergy to the extent that none dared to perform divine services; and over the following year, a majority of the canons of Mainz abandoned the city.[38] The subsequent five years witnessed a complex tangling of urban anticlericalism, city leagues, and territorial politics, as local lords and bishops, the German emperor, and even the pope himself joined the fray.[39] Despite a fragile peace among lords, clergy, and city leagues in 1389, prospects were bleak: the papal schism continued unresolved, the weak king had failed to bolster his waning authority in Germany, and plague, famine, and storms struck the beleaguered Rhineland at the end of the year, hitting Mainz and Bingen with particular force.[40]

The election of Archbishop Conrad occurred in the midst of all these troubles. Yet how did a canon of the local cathedral chapter

[35] An anticlerical uprising in Mainz in the late 1320's, for example, had resulted in the near destruction of several cloisters. Friedrich Merzbacher, "Bischof und Stadt in der Mainzer Geschichte," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte,* 14 (1962), 31-43, at 38. See also Hegel, "Verfassungsgeschichte," p. 125; and Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 2.

[36] It is unclear exactly when the interdict was imposed. Hegel, "Verfassungsgeschichte," p. 127.

[37] "Cives Wormatienses maximam violenciam intulerunt clero et inter cetera mala absecarunt eis in curiis et dominibus eorum omnen structuram preeminentem super plateas et angulos platearum.Tunc clerus recessit a civitate, relinquens vanas omnes suas possessiones." Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 64.

[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 53-54.

[39] In early 1386, for example, a royal representative ordered the citizens of Worms to pay the exorbitant sum of 100,000 gold marks to the clergy. Heinrich Boos, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms: Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms,* vol. 2 (Berlin, 1886-1893), pp. 568-570. A few months later, Pope Urban VI ordered the archbishops of Trier and Cologne to impose an interdict on the city of Worms to protect the clergy there. Johann Schannat, *Historia Episcopatus Wormatiensis,* vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1734), p. 197.

[40] Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 63.

without money or family connections manage to win election at this difficult time as the Archbishop of Mainz—to become one of the seven imperial electors and most powerful men in the empire? The answer lies in an alliance with another elector, the count Palatine of the Rhine, and in an ecclesio-political relationship that bore implications for the history both of Mainz and of the Waldensians and their persecution. Although Archbishop Conrad's reign has been consistently neglected in the scholarship, his years in office provide an intriguing glimpse into the spectrum of ecclesio-political rule and anti-heretical activity in late-medieval Germany.[41]

An unusual candidate for the lofty see, Conrad von Weinsberg's origins and ambitions stood in stark contrast to those of his predecessor, Adolf von Nassau. An aggressive prince, former bishop of Speyer, and member of the wealthy Nassau dynasty, Adolf had since 1373 single-mindedly used the see for dynastic territorial aggrandizement and family interests. Adept at strategy and political manipulation, for example, Adolf had shrewdly leveraged the Great Schism to his advantage by temporarily aligning himself with the French papacy.[42] It helped him win the see of Mainz, but also earned him the enduring hostility of Roman supporters throughout the empire. A hallmark of his reign had been tension with the count Palatine of the Rhine, Rupert I (1356–1390), a member of the rival Wittelsbach dynasty and staunch supporter of the Roman obedience. As a result, feverish activity occurred at the Palatinate court in Heidelberg immediately upon Adolf's death on February 6, 1390. Even the death of Rupert I and the succession of his nephew, Rupert II (1390–1398), effected no change or delay in the archiepiscopal election. Before the archbishop was even in his grave, the Wittelsbachs were in contact with the Mainz cathedral chapter, trying to influence the outcome of the election.

[41]On Conrad's career, see Alois Gerlich, "Konrad von Weinsberg: Kurfürst des Reiches und Erzbischof von Mainz (1390-1396)," *Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz,* 8 (1958-60), 179-204. On the town of and region surrounding Weinsberg, see the brief but useful overview in Hermann Heimpel, *Drei Inquisitions-Verfahren aus dem Jahr 1425* (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 133-138.

[42]Fritz Vigener, "Kaiser Karl IV und der Mainzer Bistumsstreit (1373-1378)," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst,* Ergänzungsheft [Trier], 14 (1908), 18 ff. On Adolf's career, George Wilhelm Sante, "Gerlach Graf von Nassau, Erzbischof von Mainz 1346 bis 1371," *Nassauische Lebensbilder,* I (1940), 33-49. On the effect of the Great Schism in Mainz, see F. Bliemetzrieder, "Das abendländische Schisma in der Mainzer Erzdiözese," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung,* 30 (1909), 502-510.

Two opposing parties faced off within the chapter. A pro-Nassau faction strove to maintain the dynastic tradition that had largely defined Mainz ecclesio-politics for nearly a half century, and thus supported Adolf's brother, the canon John von Nassau.[43] But the Wittelsbachs proved victorious, for only five days after Adolf's burial, Conrad von Weinsberg received a contractual promise from the new count Palatine Rupert II that he would secure the scholastic's election as archbishop.[44] And indeed, on February 27, the twenty-eight canons of the cathedral chapter unanimously elected Conrad to the see of Mainz.[45]

The count Palatine's reasons for securing Conrad's election undoubtedly stemmed in part from the unresolved hostility between the Wittelsbach and Nassau families, but also from Rupert's need for a loyal supporter of the Roman obedience as head of the Mainz see. An aggressive rival to Rupert I among the circle of Rhineland electors, Adolf had for years been an unpredictable and unmanageable force for the Palatinate court in Heidelberg.[46] Conrad, on the other hand, must have appeared to Rupert II as the ideal Mainz elector. Of ministerial rather than princely origins, Conrad had been a canon in the cathedral since 1364, and its scholastic (a relatively minor office) since 1381. The Heidelberg court was correct in its estimation of Conrad, for the new archbishop was to remain a loyal ally of both Rupert II and the Roman obedience throughout the six years of his reign. Yet the interest of the Wittelsbach counts Palatine in Conrad von Weinsberg was not limited to papal and archiepiscopal politics. Most important is that the Wittelsbachs of the Palatine also held a deep commitment to lay orthodoxy, and therein lay one of the primary reasons that the family estab-

[43]The first Nassau archbishop, Gerlach von Nassau, was elected in 1346. John had been provost in Fritzlar and canon in Würzburg, and then received a benefice to the Mainz chapter in 1385. Michael Hollmann, *Das Mainzer Domkapitel im späten Mittelalter (1307-1476)* (Mainz, 1990), p. 418. On the split in the chapter, see also the brief chronicle reference in Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 64. John would be elected to the see after Conrad's death in 1396, as in Anton Brück, "Vorgeschichte und Erhebung des Mainzer Erzbischofs Johann II. von Nassau," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte,* 1 (1949), 65-88.

[44]A. Koch and J. Wille, *Regesten der Pfalzgrafen am Rhein*, vol. 1 (Innsbruck, 1894), p. 310, #5181.

[45]The readiness of the court in Heidelberg to guarantee the total costs of the diplomatic delegation to the Roman curia for Conrad's confirmation probably also influenced their sudden unanimity. The leader of the Mainz legation was the canon Dietmar of Walen, who later reported that he received 1,000 Gulden from Rupert II for the journey. Gerlich, "Konrad," p. 183.

[46]On Adolf's reign, see Friedrich Grünewald, *Die Reichspolitik Erzbischof Adolfs I. von Mainz unter König Wenzel (1379-1390),* (Darmstadt, 1924).

lished the University of Heidelberg—to erect a tribunal for antiheretical activity in order to "strengthen the holy Christian faith."[47] Thus both Conrad and the count Palatine shared an agenda of pro-Roman papal obedience, support for local orthodoxy, and the monitoring and repression of heresy in the region.

Archbishop Conrad's specifically orthodox ecclesiastical focus may well have been precipitated by the violent anticlericalism that ravaged Mainz and other middle-Rhineland cities during the 1380's, all of which he would have witnessed and endured while in the cathedral chapter. As above, the urban climate was so hostile to privileged clerics that many were forced to flee in order to protect themselves and their possessions. In 1384, moreover, the clerical author of the *Chronicon Moguntinum* not only tells us that the divine services ceased in Mainz for many years, but concludes with the damning observation that the citizens cared little—and even mocked the situation—because they were "swarming in heresy."[48]

While the sources provide little insight into the subject of the cessation of services and its implication for local spirituality, it is provocative that the hitherto ignored or only tacitly acknowledged Waldensian tenets regarding clerical corruption and the validity of lay ministry found their way into public discourse during these troubled years. The Waldensians in Mainz could have asked for no riper opportunity to gain sympathetic ears among their orthodox neighbors than during the anticlerical 1380's. Indeed, a contemporary source discussing the Austrian Waldensians noted their tendency to exploit local anticlericalism in order to attract people to the faith.[49] Once Waldensians had disclosed their beliefs to possible converts within the community, the secret of their identities and ideas would have been easily disseminated to other, perhaps less sympathetic, individuals. A watchful cleric such as Conrad von Weinsberg would have been able to learn much about local heterodoxy during these years.

Thus in February of 1390, Conrad was elected to the see of Mainz—and the inquisitions began within a matter of months. By late

[47]Rupert III would later claim that indeed the primary purpose of the university was to root out heresy. Gerhard Ritter, *Die Heidelberger Universität, ein Stück deutscher Geschichte* (Heidelberg, 1936), pp. 291 and 347-61. See also Kurt-Viktor Selge, "Heidelberger Ketzerprozesse in der Frühzeit der hussitischen Revolution," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* 82 (1971), 167-202.

[48]Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* pp. 54-56.

[49]Cameron, *Waldenses,* p. 109.

September, ecclesiastical authorities rounded up and interrogated a group of citizens suspected of the Waldensian heresy. Said to have held beliefs that "ranted entirely against the Catholic faith," the community of men and women is also described in a chronicle source as possessing a house called *Spiegelberg* in which members met to read and discuss Scripture and other Christian texts.[50] According to the sources, the authorities involved in this first round of persecutions included the Dominican papal inquisitor Nicholas Böckeler, and a panel of unidentified "masters and many experts in sacred Scripture." While the institutional affiliation of the theologians is not indicated, they may have come from one of the recently founded universities in Heidelberg (1385) or Cologne (1389). Given Böckeler's own mendicant status, he may also have turned for assistance either to the large Dominican *studium generale* in Cologne or to a member of the Dominican house in Mainz.[51]

On November 24, after approximately a month of examination, the inquisitors imposed blue penitential crosses upon the eighteen defendants who recanted. Authorities also exhumed and probably burned the bodies of dead citizens identified as Waldensians. Others among the accused either refused to recant or took flight.[52] Although the itineraries and destinations of those who fled cannot be determined exactly, the inquisition probably served to spread Waldensianism further throughout or beyond the region. Some certainly fled to Straßburg, where, although the papal inquisitor John Arnold had initiated halfhearted proceedings against Waldensians only a short time prior, another campaign in 1400 would uncover a robust heretical community.[53] Many of those examined during that campaign revealed that they came from neighboring towns and regions, including the city

[50]Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 63. "Habuerunt in Maguncia propriam domum dictam Spiegelberg, in qua habebant conventicula sua." For an argument that the house may have been associated with the patrician Spiegel family, see Hamman, "Mittelalterliche Waldenser," p. 101. On similar houses possessed by Waldensians in Straßburg, see Timotheus Wilhelm Röhrich, "Die Winkeler in Strassburg, sammt deren Verhöracten, um 1400," *Mittheilungen aus der Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche des Elsasse,* I-II (1855), 3-77, at 25.

[51]On Dominicans in Mainz, see Thomas Berger, *Die Bettelorden in der Erzdiözese Mainz und in den Diözesen Speyer und Worms im 13. Jahrhundert: Ausbreitung, Forderung, Funktion* (Mainz: Gesellschaft für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1994).

[52]Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 63. The fact that the sources do not provide the names or number of those initially examined may suggest that there were too many people to be easily listed. Waldensians were often arrested and brought to trial in groups of thirty or more, and sometimes in hundreds at a time. Kieckhefer, *Repression,* p. 57.

[53]Röhrich, "Winkeler in Strassburg," p. 66.

of Mainz, which suggests the operation of a vital heretical network which offered safe haven to persecuted sisters and brethren in and beyond the middle Rhineland.[54]

As many scholars have already cogently suggested, such regional links between both rural and urban Waldensian communities were likely maintained through the visits of itinerant "masters," as their preachers in Germany were called, who traveled extensively to minister to their hidden flock. Not only did Waldensian masters know where heretical communities were located and which individuals belonged to them, but they served as messengers between communities, bringing news and gossip as well as spiritual ministration from one region to another. Thus, even those Waldensians who never set foot beyond their town or village were likely to know where and how to find distant spiritual brethren. Because the heresy lent itself to this interweaving of otherwise hidden and independent communities, the conversion of even one member to Catholicism could prove damning to many.[55]

By the late fourteenth century, several Waldensian masters had converted to Catholicism, and some of the secrecy of the communities in Germany had begun to unravel.[56] Waldensians in the Thuringian city of Erfurt, for example, received an unpleasant surprise when their community suddenly attracted inquisitorial attention in 1391.[57] A master named Conrad had recently converted, and his subsequent attempts to win back his former Waldensian flock in Erfurt from their heresy were not well-received.[58] Converted masters were of course frequently targets of hostility from Waldensians who resented the danger in which the masters' "treachery" placed their own lives.[59]

[54]*Ibid*., 25.

[55]Many cases from the 1390's illustrate a fraying solidarity among German Waldensian communities, particularly in the northeast and south. See Kieckhefer, *Repression,* pp. 55-61 and Cameron, *Waldenses,* pp. 140-141.

[56]One of the most important sources for this subject is a list of twenty Waldensian masters, of which all but one had converted to Catholicism by the end of the century. Haupt, *Ursprung,* pp. 35f. See also Döllinger, *Beiträge,* II, p. 330. As noted by Kieckhefer (*Repression,* p. 59), another list of twelve masters also exists, although it is not clear whether these individuals were converts. See Döllinger, *Beiträge,* II, p.367; Godfried Edmund Friess, "Patarener, Begharden und Waldenser in Österreich während des Mittelalters," *Österreichische Vierteljahresschrift für katholische Theologie,* 11 (1872), 209-72. See also Haupt, "Waldenserthum," pp. 346f.

[57]The town of Erfurt belonged to the prince-archbishopric of Mainz.

[58]Döllinger, *Beiträge*, II, p. 330.

[59]Several converted Waldensian masters were threatened and at least four among the twelve cited above were reputedly murdered. Haupt, *Ursprung,* p. 35.

Conrad, whose years as a Waldensian had doubtless been spent in nearly constant travel and spiritual ministration, must have divulged the names and locations of other Waldensian communities as part of his confession and rehabilitation.

Following this trail of newly-obtained information, the itinerant inquisitors Peter Zwicker and Martin of Amberg arrived in Erfurt in 1391 and, after interrogating local Waldensians, elicited the necessary revocations and imposed penitential crosses upon each member of the community.[60] The fact that Waldensians were discovered in Erfurt again in 1400, however, as in Straßburg, demonstrates the extent to which inquisitorial measures such as pressured recantations and penance were ineffective against the profound and lingering spiritual appeal of the heresy.[61]

Meanwhile, antiheretical efforts in Mainz continued. In 1392, Archbishop Conrad took the initiative by issuing a commission calling for another campaign and designating three men as inquisitors: Bishop Frederick of Toul, the dean of the collegiate church of St. Stephan Nicholas of Sauwelnheim, and John Wasmod, an altar chaplain of the Mainz cathedral.[62] The Paris-educated Wasmod would play a particularly active role in local antiheretical measures during the 1390's, as discussed further below. In the text of his commission, the archbishop describes the heretical group as comprising both men and women, clergy and laity, and settled not only in the city of Mainz but throughout the diocese as well.[63] Especially intriguing is the archbishop's reference to some members of this group as being "held in chains," which suggests that the defendants had already been found recalcitrant, and

[60]Döllinger, *Beiträge,* II, p. 330. "[P]ostea tamen A.D. 1391 per D. Martinum de Amberg et fratrem Petrum Celestinum omnes in Erfordia sunt convicti et conversi, abjurati et cruce signati."

[61]Kieckhefer, *Repression,* p. 60.

[62]Wasmod is described in the archiepiscopal commission as the "plebano altaris sancte Crucis," Gudenus, *Codex diplomaticus,* vol. 3, p. 599. The office of *dompfarrer*, or cathedral pastor/minister, was connected to the Heilig-Kreuz side chapel in the eastern choir of the Mainz cathedral (*Eisenchor*). From the end of the fifteenth century, the benefice was assigned by the archbishop. See Anton Philipp Brück, "Die Mainzer Dompfarrer des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 12 (1960), 148-174. I would like to thank Dr. Wolfgang Dobras of the Stadtarchiv Mainz for his assistance on the subject.

[63]Gudenus, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 3, p. 599: "Ad nostrum quod dolenter referimus, pervenit auditum quod nonnulli utriusque sexus homines tam clerici quam laici per nostras civitatem et diocesem constituti."

were detained for further judicial inquiry or sentencing.[64] Some were likely among those arrested in 1390 who refused to abjure their heresy, or were penitent Waldensians who had relapsed during the intervening years.

The language of the commission indicates that these Waldensians were not likely to be released with penitential crosses as had occurred in 1390. In this document, the deputized inquisitors are authorized to arrest, incarcerate, interrogate, torture and punish suspects, and to hand them over to the secular arm for execution. The document concludes with a specific reference to heretical clergy, evidence that the archbishop was particularly concerned about the apparent lapse (or relapse) of local clerics into error.[65] And indeed, the escalating anti-heretical prosecutions conveyed in the commission came quickly to a head later in the same year (1392), when thirty-six unnamed Waldensian citizens who were either relapsed heretics or firm in their refusal to abjure were taken to the town of Bingen and burned at the stake.[66]

Yet the authorities in Mainz had not yet finished prosecuting local Waldensianism. At some point in late 1392 or early 1393, two laymen from Bingen named Peter of Kirn and Conrad Falken[67] were taken to Heidelberg where they were examined by Nicholas

[64]*Ibid*., p. 599: "detinentur in vinculis."

[65]*Ibid*., p. 599, "In super vobis Dno Episcopo predicto potestatem degradandi Clericos in heresi perdurantes, ac a quibuscunque ordinibus suis, iuris sollemnitatibus observatis, similiter committimus in his scriptis."The sources do not indicate how many of the accused were clergy.

[66]Since the middle of the fourteenth century, the archbishop of Mainz had a local residence at Schloss Ehrenfels, which after 1379 belonged to the Mainz cathedral chapter. Archbishop Conrad made documented visits to Bingen at least five times during the six years of his reign: July 7, 1390; November 30, 1391; February 14, 1392; April 30, 1393; and October 17, 1395. Walter Martini, *Der Lehnshof der Mainzer Erzbischöfe im späten Mittelalter, (*Ph.D. diss., Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, 1971), Appendix, xiii-xiv. On the Schloss, see Rudolf Engelhardt, *Burg Ehrenfels: Geschichte u. Chronik; Ausschnitt aus 6 Jahrhunderten d. Geschichte Bingens u. d. Rheingaues aus d. Sicht d. bedeutendsten Zollburg d. Mittelrheins* (Bingen am Rhein, 1971).

[67]MS Darmstadt Landesbibliothek, 430, fol. 297v. "Conradis Falken et Petri laicorum. . ." Although *laicus* was a Waldensian synonym for *dominus* or master, their names do not appear in any lists of known masters and it is highly unlikely that inquisitorial notaries would have adopted the terminology of the accused. Kirn is a small town located on the Nahe River, approximately 65 kilometers southwest of Mainz. A Peter of Kirn is named in a document listing men who had sworn to uphold the Public Peace imposed by the Emperor Wenceslaus in September of 1389. Julius Weizsäcker (ed.), *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter König Wenzel*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1867), pp. 185 and 194.

Böckeler and members of the university faculty.[68] A statement from the Bingen trial record informs us that Peter of Kirn had been brought to the heresy by his brother Nicholas, a priest and schoolteacher in Bingen, who was also arrested and interrogated at this time.[69] The faculty of the university had long welcomed the opportunity to aid regional antiheretical campaigns, and the inquisitor, canon lawyer, and theologian were in this case joined by two other masters in questioning the two Waldensians.[70] Böckeler's presence in Heidelberg may have been coincidental, since he was also involved in an inquisitorial tribunal against the Rhineland preacher and agitator, John Malkaw, that was simultaneously taking place at the university.[71]

Intriguingly, a fourth Waldensian then voluntarily walked into the hands of the inquisitors shortly after the arrest of the men from Bingen. A layman named Henne Russeneyden from the town of Ludersdorff (in the province of Trier) somehow heard of Conrad's and Peter's detention and went to Heidelberg to secure "their defense and liberation."[72] Like other Waldensians in late medieval Germany, Henne was certainly aware of, and in at least indirect contact with, heretical communities beyond his own. Promptly arrested and examined by the authorities, however, Henne eventually recanted his heresy. Although he avoided the death penalty in doing so, he nevertheless paid a severe price for both his heresy and bravado in coming to Heidelberg to assist his comrades: his possessions were confiscated and his offspring held unfit for ecclesiastical or public office for two generations; he was sentenced to spend the rest of his life in prison, fed only on bread and water; and affixed to the front and back of his clothing were a set of pale blue crosses.[73] In public atonement for his sins, he was also to be hauled out of prison on Sundays and feast days, forced to stand before the church, and thus to display his shameful crosses to all as a living

[68]The *terminus ad quem* is March of 1393, when they were burned in Bingen; the *terminus post quem* derives from the fact that the protocol of their comrade Henne's examination follows that for the trial of John Malkaw in 1392.

[69]MS Mainz Stadtbibliothek, I, 151, fol. 205r, "predictos articulos dixit se predictus de Kirn habere a fratre suo nomine Nycolau sacerdote docenti in Pingwia."

[70]MS Darmstadt Landesbibliothek, 430, fol. 297v.

[71]On Böckeler's role in the trial of John Malkaw, see Tönsing, *Johannes Malkaw aus Preussen.*

[72]MS Darmstadt Landesbibliothek, 430, fol. 297v. "Pro e(or)undem liberacione ac defensione cum effectu se interposuit et illius occasione detentus fuit."

[73]MS Darmstadt Landesbibliothek, 430, fol. 298v.

example of the consequences of heresy.[74] His comrades were less fortunate. On March 10 of the following year (1393), Conrad Falken and Nicholas and Peter of Kirn refused to abjure their heresy and were burned in Bingen.[75] With their deaths came a grim end to the persecution of Waldensians in Mainz.

Thus, in the years between 1390 and 1393, tribunals of archiepiscopal, papal, university, and local inquisitors handed over at least thirty-nine middle-Rhineland Waldensians to be executed for heresy. Many others accused had assumed penance after abjuring and an unknowable number either fled the persecution or successfully hid their beliefs from the authorities. Unfortunately for historians, the unembellished and cursory nature of the sources obscures the impact of the campaigns upon its witnesses and victims. Whether or not the existence of a local Waldensian community came as a surprise to other citizens, the public prosecution of so many certainly occupied local thoughts and concerns for weeks at a time. That the contemporary chronicle from Limburg (in the archdiocese of Trier) also describes the initial inquisition suggests that the events were newsworthy both in and beyond the archdiocese.[76]

Since the evidence at hand offers rich information about inquisitorial practice and procedure in Mainz, it is appropriate now to set forth some observations and conclusions about the leadership, organization, and motivation of the persecutions. As mentioned above, the vast majority of inquisitions during the infamous wave of late fourteenth-century anti-Waldensian campaigns occurred under the leadership of itinerant inquisitors—"traveling investigative judges, who usually took care to obtain episcopal sanction for their actions but were not specifically invited to carry out their work by local bishops."[77] In Mainz, however, the inquisitorial tribunals involved a diverse array of papal, archiepiscopal, local, and university authorities, and thus represent an intriguing variation from the typical itinerant campaigns of the period.

[74]*Ibid*. On the imposition of crosses and other forms of public penance as a vehicle for social control, see James Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc* (Ithaca, 1997), pp. 84-86.

[75]MS Fritzlar 4, fol. 182v.

[76]"Item in diser zit da wart zu Menze eyn ungelaube uffinbaret, der hatte heymelichen gewertet me dan hondert jar oder lenger." Wyß, *Limburger Chronik,* p. 81.

[77]Cameron, *Waldenses,* p. 139.

Who exactly was responsible for the sudden outburst of antiheretical activity in the fall of 1390? While the involvement of the Dominican papal inquisitor Nicholas Böckeler might suggest papal leadership, the evidence points elsewhere. For as Kieckhefer argues, "neither pope nor emperor seems to have shown any interest at all in the campaign against Waldensians."[78] In fact, no letters or documents exist to suggest that the papacy even aware of the Waldensian heresy in Germany. Papal attention was instead trained on the issue of "heretical" beguines and beghards for most of the century between the Councils of Vienne (1311–1312) and Constance (1414–1418).[79] The ongoing and often ambivalent campaign against beguines was revitalized in its last phase by Pope Boniface IX (1389-1404), particularly in the Rhineland. Thus while the papal inquisitor appointed for the province of Mainz participated in the prosecution of Waldensians, the campaigns were not directed by him nor was he operating on specific papal orders. As noted by Kieckhefer, Böckeler's primary interest during these years lay not with the extirpation of Waldensians, but in the trial of John Malkaw, a popular pro-Roman preacher and Rhineland agitator.[80] Given the fact that the archiepiscopal commission of 1392 reminds local inquisitors to cooperate with Böckeler (in keeping with the canons of the Council of Vienne), it is likely that the Dominican was summoned to Mainz in his official capacity rather than out of his own anti-Waldensian zeal.[81]

A closer look at the sources clearly indicates that the Mainz inquisitions of 1390-1393 were rooted in the agenda and initiative of Archbishop Conrad, whose election preceded the first inquisition by a matter of months. Not only does his commission of 1392 call for renewed persecution after the first round in 1390, thereby launching a campaign which identified *relapsed* heretics and thus led dozens of citizens to the stake, but his reign was also defined by a consistent cooperation with the antiheretical count Palatine and University of Heidelberg faculty. Scholastic in the Mainz cathedral chapter for decades before his election, he was certainly witness to the anticleri-

[78]Kieckhefer, *Repression,* p. 56.

[79]On the persecution of beguines in Germany during the fourteenth century, see Kieckhefer, *Repression,* pp. 19-51. The latest analysis of beguine status and prosecution is Elizabeth Makowski's illuminating study, *A Pernicious Sort of Woman: Quasi-Religious Women and Canon Lawyers in the Later Middle Ages* (Washington D.C., 2005).

[80]Kieckhefer, *Repression,* p. 60.

[81]Papal inquisitors had been required to work collaboratively with bishops since the Council of Vienne (1311-1312). See Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils,* 2 vols. (Washington, DC , 1990), vol. 1, pp. 380-382.

cal uprisings of the 1380s. Moreover, his actions during the first few years of his archiepiscopate indicate an abiding interest in local ecclesiastical matters which surpassed that of either his predecessor or his German archiepiscopal peers.

While his predecessor Adolf von Nassau had concerned himself little with such matters, Conrad became archbishop with the city's anticlerical tendencies fresh in his memory. Of the five known dates on which he was in the city during his first several years in office, three coincide with the first inquisitorial proceedings in the fall of 1390.[82] His fourth visit did not take place until June 16, 1392. In that year, he not only wrote an inquisitorial commission and held Waldensians captive in prison, as discussed below, but also provided an indulgence for participation in the city's first Corpus Christi procession.[83] While the celebration of Corpus Christi functioned on one level as an instructive performance of social hierarchy and spiritual order, such processional rituals also bore explosive potential for expressing urban conflict and tension.[84] The timing is compelling, that Conrad initiated such a potently symbolic and visible display of urban orthodoxy in the same year that thirty-six citizens were burned for heresy.

To reassert such order and hierarchy further, the new archbishop also made several specific attempts to safeguard his clergy's interests in the city and province. In November of 1393, he issued a letter that criticized nobles and other laypeople who seized the possessions of deceased clerics.[85] Endeavoring in the same year to preserve his diocesan clergy's spiritual ministries, he sternly warned the mendicant orders against hearing confessions and providing burial services.[86] After 1393,

[82]September 8, October 27 and November 15. Martini, *Lehnshof*, Appendix xiii. The first date given for a stop in Mainz is March 8, 1390.

[83]Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Würzburg, *Mainzer Bücher verschiedenen Inhalts*, vol. 19, fol. 78r.

[84]Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 260-265.

[85]Gudenus, *Codex diplomaticus,* vol. 3, pp. 600-601. "Adversus Nobiles, Laicosque alios, frustranea reddere conantes Testamenta Clericorum, dum ex morbo decumbentibus bona ipsorum mobilia palam auferunt." Urban VI had promulgated an edit in 1383 requiring that such goods be handed over to the Church.

[86]Gudenus, *Codex diplomaticus,* vol. 3, pp. 603-605. "Edictum Archipraesulis Conradi gravissimum, de arcendo FF. Praedicatores, Minores, Augustinianos & Carmelitas, ab excipiendis Christi fidelium confessionibus." Conrad herein refers to Boniface VIII's bull *Super cathedram* (1300), which was intended to determine the pastoral role of the mendicants within the Church, and upon which Conrad draws to criticize the friars in Mainz.

Conrad finally turned his attention primarily to territorial peacemaking, apparently satisfied that local religious problems had been adequately suppressed. Despite his efforts, however, the archbishop was apparently not perceived as a strong defender of the Church. At Conrad's death in 1396, the clerical Mainz chronicler described him as a "useless man" who failed to protect his own, a cutting observation for which the sources unfortunately provide little explanation.[87]

Yet Archbishop Conrad did not singlehandedly launch and direct the Waldensian inquisitions in Mainz, for, as mentioned above, a significant role in the inquisitions was also played by the canon and altar chaplain John Wasmod. Wasmod first appears on the antiheretical scene in the archbishop's commission of 1392, and may have participated in another inquisition in 1395.[88] In 1398, he published the polemical *Tractatus contra hereticos Beckhardos, Lolhardos et Swestriones,* in which he describes indisputably Waldensian tenets and asserts that similar errors were maintained by heretics handed over to secular jurisdiction in 1392.[89] In early 1399 Wasmod was matriculated as a master at the University of Heidelberg, and by the end of the year was rector of the prestigious institution.[90]

While we do not possess direct evidence demonstrating that Wasmod had taken the leading role in the examination and condemnation of the Waldensians burned in 1392 and 1393, as suggested by Herman Haupt,[91] the indirect evidence points strongly to Wasmod as a key participant in the events. In contrast to the two other men named in the archiepiscopal commission of 1392, he played a consistently active role in local anti-

[87]Hegel, *Chronicon Moguntinum,* p. 70. "Anno prenotato, videlicet 96, ipso die 11 Milium Virginum Conradus de Winßberg archiepiscopus Maguntinus in sua ecclesia est sepultus. Qui potuit comparari Saturno planete—nam illo regnante mundus vix est cupiens—: nempe ipso vivente semper totus clerus suus cum laicis multipliciter fuit excoriatus et ab armigeris continue oppressus, nec aliquam fecit ipsis resistenciam, id est, vilem seu debilem, homo inutilis!"

[88]Haupt, "Beiträge," 547, although he does not identify the "hitherto unpublished materials." They may have been related to a trial record from the examination of a Waldensian named Herman in Straßburg in 1400, which states that Herman had received penitential punishment from Nicholas Böckeler "five or six years" prior. See Röhrich, "Winkeler in Strassburg," p. 66.

[89]Schmidt, "Tractatus," p. 346. For an argument that Wasmod owned MS, I, 151, see Lerner, "New Evidence," pp. 354-355.

[90]Ritter, *Heidelberger Universität,* p. 305. Schwab, *Quatuor seculorum syllabus rectorum, qui in academia Heidelbergensi magistratum academicum gesserunt* (Heidelberg,, 1786), pp. 26 and 29.

[91]Haupt, "Beiträge," p. 547.

heretical activity during these years. Moreover, Wasmod's inclusion in the commission with the other *vicarii* is striking, since he held a significantly less prestigious office than his newly-appointed inquisitorial colleagues, the dean of St. Stephan in Mainz (the archbishop's *vicarius in spiritualibus*) and the bishop of Toul (Conrad's *vicarius in pontificialibus*). Furthermore, Wasmod's antiheretical polemic from 1398 demonstrates not only his familiarity with the proceedings but also a continued interest in heresy which suggests that he actively participated in the Waldensians' trial earlier in the decade.

The archbishop, who had spent so many years at the Mainz cathedral, must have known Wasmod before drafting the commission and had reason to think that he would prove useful. Indeed, the canon may have actively sought the role from Conrad. Without zealous itinerant inquisitors armed with information about heretics, the archbishop needed to have a "man on the ground" with access to the local religious grapevine; it is quite plausible that Wasmod served particularly in that capacity, perhaps even during the first sudden and swift campaign of 1390. His promotion to the rectorship of the University of Heidelberg in 1399 indicates that he had made a distinctly favorable impression upon the school's rigorously orthodox faculty. No known sources refer to other activities or scholarship through which Wasmod could have effected such an elevation of his status. In sum, although Böckeler, the Heidelberg faculty, the bishop of Toul, and the dean of St. Stephan were involved in the Mainz inquisitions, it was Archbishop Conrad and John Wasmod who displayed the most interest in, and who ultimately most benefited from, the campaigns.

But what exactly was the heresy of the Mainz Waldensians, and what do their tenets reveal about the context and catalyst of persecution? Malcolm Lambert has summed up the heart of Waldensianism as "a cutting away of what were seen to be the excrescences of orthodox belief in purgatory, in images, in pilgrimages, in an insistence on a moral life; and in the literal observance of the texts of Scripture."[92]

[92]Lambert, *Medieval Heresy,* p. 168. For further analysis of the beliefs of the Mainz Waldensians, see Kolpacoff, "Waldensian Persecutions," pp. 232-237. Lambert provides several useful discussions of the origins and development of Waldensianism throughout his chapters in *Medieval Heresy;* however, the most sustained consideration of the beliefs and practices of medieval Waldensians in Germany is Cameron, *Waldenses,* pp. 96-150. On tenets in northeastern and southeastern Germany in particular, see Kurze, *Quellen,* and Martin Schneider, *Europäisches Waldensertum im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 95-125.

The faith of those prosecuted in Mainz was typical of late-medieval Waldensianism except in one regard: the manuscript sources reveal an intriguing, specifically anti-papal elaboration on standard Waldensian tenets. In contrast to the usual Waldensian assertion that priests do not have the power to bind and loose souls, the three from Bingen claimed that it is the *pope* who lacks the power.[93] A reference in this tenet to Pope Sylvester evokes the traditional and revisionist legend—not unique to the Waldensians—that the pontiff's acceptance of Constantine's donation had poisoned the Church, and that an associate's rejection of the gift and subsequent persecution marked the birth of the true Church.[94] Another inquisitorial source from Bingen refers to the further inability of *both* popes and priests to provide indulgences and canonize saints.[95] The latter element may well have been a response to contemporary ecclesiastical events, referring to the canonization process for the fiercely pro-Roman St. Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373) which was first completed by Boniface IX in 1391.[96] Canonizations were no exception to the spiritual partisanship of the Great Schism, as indicated by the fact that the French pope Clement VII was simultaneously attempting to turn the spiritual fame of the cardinal Peter von Luxemburg (d. 1387) to advantage. As André Vauchez writes, "each obedience put most of its efforts into securing the political support of temporal lords, but it is significant that both Rome and Avignon were aware of the assistance that could be offered by mystics or prophets who rallied to their cause or who could raise their prestige."[97] Thus the current event of canonization seems to have become not only a topic of discussion, but of disdain, among Rhineland Waldensians during the 1380's.

Particularly intriguing is that the sizable Waldensian community and its school *Spiegelberg* apparently existed in Mainz for years, virtually unremarked and without provoking controversy—that is, until it suddenly found itself in 1390 at the crux of an ecclesio-political crisis.

[93]MS Mainz Stadtbibliothek, I, 151, fol. 205r.

[94]MS Mainz Stadtbibliothek, I, 151, fol. 205r; MS Fritzlar Dombibliothek, 4, fol. 182v. The legend was originally associated with the poverty movement of northern Italy and its claim to representing a purer Church than that which had accepted the Donation of Constantine. See Lambert, *Medieval Heresy,* pp. 156-157.

[95]MS Fritzlar Dombibliothek, 4, fol. 182v.

[96]Her canonization was subsequently completed twice more for good measure, once by John XXIII in 1415 and again by Martin V in 1419.

[97] André Vauchez, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices* (Notre Dame, 1993), p. 221.

Whereas before 1390 its members had been routinely overlooked, ignored, or perhaps regarded as merely symptomatic of a broader ecclesiastical problem, after that year they became perceived by authorities as the problem itself. We may recall that Nicholas Böckeler's predecessor, the papal inquisitor John Arnold, had initiated halfhearted measures against Waldensians in Straßburg shortly before 1390. Upon meeting strong resistance from the accused, however, Arnold resigned and the community was left alone for nearly a decade. The fact that it was the Waldensians of Mainz, not Straßburg, who ultimately became the victims of sudden and sustained persecution in the 1390's drives home the conclusion that this was a primarily *local* response to a broad set of local, regional, and western European ecclesio-political pressures. The relative severity and stringency of the executions in 1393 may be explained in part by the fact that the Mainz prosecutions occurred in two locally-directed stages: a first round of interrogations in 1390 which 'discovered' a community of heretics, followed by a second round in 1392, which produced relapsed heretics necessarily subject to harsher penalties.

Why did the Waldensians in Mainz attract inquisitorial attention in the first place? Although the evidence does not allow for a decisive explanation for the first sudden persecution in 1390, contemporary developments in three areas helped to set the stage for prosecution: first, religious pressures ranging from the mounting spiritual anxiety over the Great Schism after 1378 to the local implications of observance, obedience, and escalating anticlericalism; second, the internal degradation of Waldensian communities, of which the telling sign was the conversion of masters in the final decades of the century who divulged crucial information to inquisitors such as Peter Zwicker and Martin of Amberg; and third, as discussed above, the individual decisions and concerns of people such as Archbishop Conrad, Nicholas Böckeler, and John Wasmod, key figures who acted both within and in response to the centrifugal social, political, and religious environment of late fourteenth-century Mainz. Combined pressure from these factors shaped an environment in which the persecution of unorthodoxy came to be perceived as a necessary, effective answer to a local problem. The utter lack of papal interest in the anti-Waldensian measures underscores the extent to which the campaigns were a locally conceived and directed program.

The discovery of new material from Mainz, with its evidence of both urban and school-based Waldensian communities in the middle-

Rhine region of western Germany suggests the need for a more diverse categorization of the heresy in its late fourteenth century. The inquisitions in Mainz between 1390 and 1393 not only demonstrate how local ecclesio-political issues, anxieties, and crises are rewarding paths into the vexed history of late-medieval Germany, but also shed important new light on the history of fourteenth-century religiosity, heresy, and persecution. If the German Waldensians are the "Middle Ages' forgotten heretics,"[98] those of the urban middle-Rhineland have waited longest to be remembered.

[98]Robert E. Lerner, "A Case of Religious Counter-Culture: The German Waldensians," *American Scholar, (*Spring, 1986), 234-247, at 234.

THE CHURCH AT NANRANTSOUAK: SÉBASTIEN RÂLE, S.J., AND THE WABANAKI OF MAINE'S KENNEBEC RIVER

BY

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French Jesuit Sébastien Râle arrived in Canada in 1689 and was missioned to the Wabanaki natives of the Kennebec River in what is now Maine. Râle accompanied the Wabanaki for thirty years, eventually dying with many of them during an English raid on their principal village, Nanrantsouak ("Norridgewock"). For three centuries, Râle's reputation, for good and ill, has depended primarily on perceptions of his role in the geopolitical and religious rivalries of the Europeans. The initiative of the Wabanaki themselves has usually been ignored. The author references recent scholarship from the native viewpoint, and original documentary sources, in an attempt to take the Wabanaki seriously as a local church—a community of Christians who, through the particular emphases of Râle's missionary method, came both to embrace Christianity and to make it their own in significant ways.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the Wabanaki[1]—the "People of the Dawn," occupying the territory from Lake Champlain eastward into what are now the Maritime Provinces of Canada—were a nation besieged. The devastation of six bloody wars with the English settlers along the Maine coast was still a quarter-century into the future, but a hundred years of increasing European economic pressure and fifty of direct European settlement on or near Wabanaki lands had taken their toll. Competing strategies for dealing with the Europeans, increasing dependence on their trade goods, the resulting rivalries and social dislocations, the ravages of previously unknown diseases, and the declining prestige of shamans apparently powerless in the face of

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[1]This is the now-preferred spelling of the native name once commonly rendered, and still frequently seen, as "Abenaki."

all this had all contributed to a deep spiritual crisis among the Wabanaki.[2] Since 1611, the Kennebec band, living along the banks of the river that rises at Moosehead Lake in what is now northern Maine and empties into the Atlantic near the present town of Bath, had had at least passing contact with members of the Society of Jesus. The acquaintance grew into a serious religious encounter after the Kennebec Wabanaki allied themselves with Algonkian natives of the St. Lawrence valley in the 1640's, many of whom had already been Christianized by Jesuit missionary activity.[3] In 1646, the Wabanaki requested and were visited by their first "permanent" Jesuit missionary, Gabriel Druillettes, who instructed them through the winter and returned for nearly a year in 1650.

For the ensuing forty years, there was no resident missionary in the Kennebec valley. The Wabanaki seem to have nurtured their new-found faith, to the extent that they retained it, in their ongoing commercial contact with the French and St. Lawrence natives. During and after the first English war in 1675 ("King Philip's War") many of the Kennebecs migrated to mission villages built by the Jesuits near Quebec, while those who remained in Maine were visited by Jesuit travelers such as the brothers Jacques and Vincent Bigot.[4] But in the fall of 1693 or 1694, in the midst of the second English war ("King William's War"), a large group of Kennebecs was gathered into a Christian community at the village of Nanrantsouak in the middle of the Kennebec Valley by a Jesuit whose name is now permanently associated with the place and its people, Father Sébastien Râle.[5]

Râle would spend the next thirty years with these Wabanaki people, mostly in and around Nanrantsouak. In the course of his mission, he

[2]Kenneth M. Morrison, "The Mythological Sources of Abenaki Catholicism: A Case Study of the Social History of Power," *Religion*, 11 (1981), 235-263, and a later version of similar material in *idem*, *The Solidarity of Kin: Ethnohistory, Religious Studies, and the Algonkian-French Religious Encounter* (Albany, 2002) pp. 79-101, carefully consider the Wabanaki loss of confidence in their own traditional spiritual leaders.

[3]Charles E. Nash, *The Indians of the Kennebec* ([1892]; reprinted, Hallowell, Maine, 1994), p. 16.

[4]Ibid., p. 33. On early missionary activity in the Kennebec Valley, see Antonio Dragon, S.J., *Le Vrai Visage de Sébastien Rale* (Montreal, 1975), pp. 29-38.

[5]Even Râle himself used several alternate spellings of his name: *Rasle, Rasles, Rale, Rallé, Ralé,* and *Racle* are all found. Except in references to other sources, I retain the common French variant "Râle" as representing the likely pronunciation. *Nanrantsouak* is Râle's own transcription of a Wabanaki name, rendered by Englishmen as *Norridgewock* (or *Narridgeway*), now used by the town across the river from the site of the village.

was to become, in his own mind and those of many Europeans and Wabanaki, practically identified with his "*sauvages*." He would live with and as one of them, speak their language continually, teach and counsel them, pray with them, share their hopes, fears, exiles, and dangers, and eventually die with them. Yet, to French governors and English settlers alike, he would always be a European agent, keeping the Wabanaki aligned with French interests. His death came in August, 1724, in a raid on the village by an English squadron sent to rid the Kennebec River valley of the Wabanaki threat to their settlements, and what they considered its papist fountainhead. By fellow French Jesuits, he was immediately extolled as a martyr for the faith.[6]

The story of this remarkable Jesuit and the Wabanaki Christian community for which he was spiritual leader has been told and retold over the past three hundred years from a variety of viewpoints and interests. In its original form, it may still be gleaned from contemporary letters and manuscripts, virtually all of which have been published in some form over the last three centuries.[7] From the very beginning, it has attracted Jesuit and other Catholic writers as illustrative of Catholic missionary holiness and zeal, and of Yankee Protestant perfidy and cruelty.[8] Similarly, the story of Father Râle and

[6]The prototype of Râle "hagiography" is the "Letter from Father de la Chasse, Superior-General of the Missions in New France, to Father ***, of the Same Society," October 29, 1724, in Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. 67 (Cleveland, 1900), pp. 230-247.

[7]Primary sources referred to here include letters by, to, and about Sébastien Râle, printed in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67 (French and English). Much of this material is reproduced in Antonio Dragon, *Vrai Visage.* A set of manuscript copies of letters by Râle, MS Fr 13.1, Houghton Library, Harvard University, is published in translation in Mary R. Calvert, "Appendix: The Unpublished Letters of Father Rale," in *Blackrobe on the Kennebec* (Monmouth, Maine, 1991), pp. 229-276. Also of great importance is Sébastien Rasles, *Dictionary of the Abenaki language [1691-1722]*, MS Fr 13, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, and its published form, John Pickering (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Abnaki Language in North America*, Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Series, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1833). A contemporary English point of view is found in Elias Nason (ed.), *Journal of Several Visits to the Indians on the Kennebec River by the Rev. Joseph Baxter of Medfield, Mass., 1717* (Boston, 1867). Substantial translated excerpts of original French, English, and Wabanaki sources are provided by Colin G. Calloway, ed., *Dawnland Encounter: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, New Hampshire, and London, 1991).

[8]Catholic sources consulted for this paper include Arthur T. Connolly, "Fr. Sébastien Rasle: The Martyr Missionary of the Abenaquis Indians," *New England Catholic Historical Society Publications*, no. 5 (1906); N.-E. Dionne, "La Mémoire du P. Rasle Vengée," in *Gabriel Richard: Sulpicien, Curé et Second Fondateur de la Ville de Détroit*,

the Wabanaki has been of great interest to New England historians seeking to honor their Puritan forebears' triumph over popery and savage brutality.[9] (Occasionally, the pattern is broken by an English voice raised in half-hearted protest against over-zealous defenses of colonial policy toward the "eastern Indians" and in defense of Father Râle.[10]) In more recent years, this stale "*foi, langue, et patrie*" sniping between French and English writers has given way to an historical revision that seeks to examine the largely ignored Wabanaki perspective on the events which led to the near-total eradication of that people from the Kennebec valley. Though original sources from this point of view are few, and most often read through a three-centuries-thick haze of foreign interpretation, much has been accomplished by the combination of anthropological insights and the simple device of approaching old sources with new questions.[11]

What follows here may seem at first to replicate the Eurocentrism of earlier studies, since it is fundamentally motivated by Christian ecclesiological concerns: the meaning of "church" at its most local level and in its socio-cultural context. Yet, I will remain focused on the actual functioning of the Wabanaki community rather than on any European doctrinal basis for it. To this end, I will try to extrapolate the vital Wabanaki viewpoint from the existing sources and commentaries as far as possible. The imported word "church" may not seem the best description of a native community wedged between two warring colo-

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("Galerie Historique," vol. 6 [Québec, 1911]); "Father Sébastien Rale, S.J.," *Catholic World*, January, 1874, pp. 541-556; and John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854* (New York, 1854).

[9]The Yankee perspective is best represented by James Phinney Baxter, *The Pioneers of New France in New England* (Albany, New York, 1894; reprint Bowie, Maryland, 1980), and J.W. Hanson, *History of the Old Towns Norridgewock and Canaan* (Boston, 1849).

[10]John Francis Sprague, *Sébastien Ralé: A Maine Tragedy of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1906), defends Râle personally while pointedly distancing himself from Catholicism. Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, seems unable to decide between palliative compliments and sharp denunciations. Convers Francis, *Life of Sébastien Rale: Missionary to the Indians* (Boston, 1845), is the most balanced of the nineteenth-century appraisals of Râle's life and work.

[11]Outstanding examples of this newer work are Morrison, *Solidarity of Kin*; *idem*, "Mythological Sources"; and *idem*, *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations* (Berkeley, California, 1984); Andrea Bear Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations: Myth and Reality," *Interculture* (Institut Interculturel de Montreal), 24, no. 1 (Winter, 1991), 12-34; and Françoise Weil, "La Christianisation des Indiens de la Nouvelle France, XVII-XVIII Siècles," *Hispana Sacra*, 40, no. 82 (1988), 747-761.

nial powers. Yet, the Wabanaki themselves sought out, adopted, and clung to Christian religious expression (albeit under the duress of severe cultural crisis). This fact emboldens me first to describe them as a "church"—a Christian worshiping community—and then afterwards to question the nature of this particular church and whether I have called it so legitimately.

I: The Jesuit Mission to the Wabanaki

Newly ordained and a product of a remarkable era of political turmoil and dynamic growth for the Society of Jesus in France, Sébastien Râle arrived in Canada in 1689, steeped equally in French nationalism, personal piety, and deep interest in the spiritual foundations of apostolic work.[12] The Jesuit mission itself had existed since 1632, when France had regained Quebec after its temporary occupation by the English. Very quickly after their arrival, the Jesuits had learned enough about "*les sauvages*" (a term with more potential for neutral, or even positive, connotations in French than in English) to have set their sights on the conversion of the Montagnais people in the St. Lawrence Valley, and the Huron of the upper Great Lakes region. Inspired by the success of the missions in Paraguay and in the East Indies, they at first hoped to employ a strategy of settled, "civilizing" villages into which to gather their converts. It was soon realized, however, to the chagrin of some, that the traditional mobility of these tribes could not be easily replaced with a more sedentary lifestyle.[13] Thereafter, the transformative and Europeanizing model of the villages, and what today might be called an "inculturation" model of inserting individual Jesuits into the lives of particular native bands, seemed to struggle with each other for predominance even within a single mission location. At Râle's arrival, there were already two settled villages in the vicinity of Quebec, at Sillery and at St. Francis on the Chaudière, but Jesuits were also making long treks into the woods along the rivers of Maine. After a four-year apprenticeship, at St. Francis and also among the Illinois on the Great Lakes, Râle himself would become one of the great exemplars of the insertion approach.

[12]See William V. Bangert, S.J., *A History of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis, 1986), pp. 199-217, for a discussion of this period in Jesuit history. "Rale's Life in France, 1652-1689," in Calvert, "Appendix," pp. 1-10, gives a brief chronological account of Râle's early life and Jesuit formation up to his departure for Canada.

[13]Weil, "Wabanaki and French Relations," pp. 749-750, quotes Paul LeJeune in the Relation of 1634 on these strategic calculations.

Jesuit strategy was, of course, only one factor in determining the course to be followed in the Christianization of the native peoples. Economic and political considerations were also key. After 1650, disease, disunity, and ongoing attacks by the Iroquois led to the virtual destruction of the Hurons and the disruption of other patterns upon which the French had relied in the essential fur trade. Thereafter, the Europeans themselves began to take on the trapping and preparation work for which they had hitherto relied on native hunters.[14] The French population of the St. Lawrence valley began to increase, and a new interest was taken in the Wabanaki to the south, at least in part for the assistance they might give in the reorganization of the fur trade.[15] Politically and militarily, these same native bands were becoming increasingly important as a buffer, both against the Iroquois and against the English, whose presence along the coast from Cape Cod northward and eastward was increasing steadily. The northward migration of Wabanaki refugees from King Philip's War in 1675, which necessitated the establishment of the village at St. Francis by 1683, made available a concentrated Wabanaki population for these purposes.[16] In 1689, moreover, with France and England at war in Europe, the Comte de Frontenac was returned to New France as governor with plans to pursue hostilities in North America as well. Râle's recall from the Illinois mission four years later and reassignment to the Kennebec may have been urged in part by the governor's desire to strengthen Wabanaki presence and French influence in this area in the path of English settlement.[17]

This Jesuit co-operation with the aims of government in New France has been asserted, denied, proven and re-proven in so many different ways that it is hardly profitable to renew the debate. As seventeenth-century Europeans, the Jesuits viewed the natives of New France as wild men in need of both civilization and Christian faith, and in this they were in full agreement with the government of their king,

[14]Brian Young and John A. Dickinson, *A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective* (Toronto, 1988), p. 28.

[15]See Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," pp. 18-19 and 28-31, for a sharp critique of this exploitation of the Wabanaki.

[16]Both Calvert, "Appendix," p. 150, and Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, p. 35, suggest this interpretation of the French government's interest in maintaining mission villages near the St. Lawrence.

[17]Frontenac and Râle set sail together in 1689. Baxter, *Pioneers of New France*, pp. 14-16, 34, gives a decidedly English and "conspiratorial" account of this coincidence and of Frontenac's overall mission.

even when they differed as to motivations and methods.[18] The specter of English Protestantism advancing up the rivers of Maine toward Canada would surely have had its convincing effect on the missionaries had there been any residual hesitation. For all these reasons, Jesuits active in the mission to the Wabanaki in Maine would not have been indifferent to such pivotal questions as the disposition of the land called Acadia, from the Kennebec eastward to Cape Breton, which was a constant point of contention between France and England throughout Râle's career, despite the "final" attempt to resolve it by cession to England in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713.

II: Râle and the Wabanaki—Mutual Acculturation?

Râle's first employment upon his arrival at Quebec was in learning the Wabanaki language. In a letter to his brother, he points out that such learning could only be obtained through a close, sustained association with the Wabanaki themselves:

> I spent part of the day in their cabins, hearing them talk. I was obliged to give the utmost attention, in order to connect what they said, and to conjecture its meaning; sometimes I caught it exactly, but more often I was deceived,—because, not being accustomed to the trick of their guttural sounds, I repeated only half the word, and thereby gave them cause for laughter.[19]

In the beginning of 1691, Râle began compiling the fruits of these slow labors into a dictionary of the Wabanaki language, writing on the first of what became 550 pages, "1691: It is one year since I have been among the [*sauvages*]; I begin to put in order in the form of a dictionary the words that I learn."[20]

[18]Weil, "La Christianisation," p. 758, notes this belief about the condition of the native peoples and, p. 751, quotes a letter of Colbert to the Intendant of New France: ". . . those who have the authority in hand up to now have not worked enough to civilize the [*sauvages*] at the same time as they convert them. . . ."

[19]"Letter from Father Sébastien Rasles, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in New France, to Monsieur his Brother," October 12, 1723, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 143; for Râle's comment on the necessity of this strategy, see *ibid*., p. 132. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, p. 168, calls the personal contact that resulted from the decision of many to learn native language and live with the tribes the "crucial distinction between New France and New England." Morrison offers his own description of Râle's linguistic apprenticeship (*ibid*., pp. 177-178).

[20]Râle, Dictionary, p. 1. (Translation of the French dictionary entries is my own.) This manuscript, written in French and Wabanaki, was taken from Nanrantsouak during an English attempt to capture Râle in 1722, and was subsequently deposited at Harvard University's Houghton Library.

Because Râle was always in search of the *génie* of the language, he did not, despite his own epigraph, limit his dictionary to a mere list of words, but recorded whole phrases illustrative of their contextual uses and variations.

A patient perusal of these entries is extraordinarily suggestive of the sort of life he led among the Wabanaki. One can imagine him observing and participating in scenes of everyday life, catching a turn of phrase here and there, or carefully inquiring how to express a particular French thought. We can see the missionary here getting to know the people ("How old are you?") or learning about the family structure and relationships of those he was visiting ("I adopt him for my son."). [21] The amount of time he spent with the sick and the dying becomes evident in phrases such as, "Help me to get up"; or in a complete little discourse: "I am not benefiting anymore from the medicine that you gave me; it did me some good, but the sickness won't stop coming back"; or in the devastatingly eloquent illustration of the Wabanaki word for "both together": "If we could both die together, Jesus, that would be a great privilege." [22] By means of the dictionary, we can glimpse the priest listening to the intimacies of those seeking counsel or confessing their sins ("I love him with all my heart," and "I have jealous thoughts"). [23] Perhaps at times Râle heard more than his European sensibilities allowed him to feel entirely comfortable with: in a subsection written almost entirely in Latin and entitled "*verba foeda*" ("indecent words"), he includes all the words for the sexual organs and for a variety of sex acts as well, using Latin circumlocutions to convey his meaning. One entry reads simply, "*pecco cum ea*" ("I sin with her"). [24] Throughout the dictionary, of course, are also the words and phrases he would need to instruct the Wabanaki in the meaning and practice of their adopted religion: "prayer," "rosary," "you who are in heaven," "Mary preserved in her heart the words of her son," "I fight against the devil," and the beautifully simple instruction, "Take your hand and touch first your forehead, your stomach, and then your shoulders"—a lesson on making the sign of the cross. [25]

The significance of Râle's language work to the whole conduct of his mission can hardly be overestimated. As the Wabanaki historian

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 3.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 417, B37.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 293.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 414, 101, 113, 117, 119, 149.

Andrea Bear Nicholas observes, in an oral culture such as that of the Wabanaki the language embodies not only a particular means of creative self-expression but even the "unique view of reality, both past and present" which is the basis of cultural identity.[26] Râle's recorded observations indicate that, despite his inevitable ethnocentrism, he was able to notice and appreciate a variety of cultural features in those tribes with whom he spent time, from the quality speech of an Illinois chief to the tenderness of the Wabanaki toward their children.[27] His descriptions of some of the myths and customs of the partly-Christianized Illinois even seem to have been a bit too accepting for some of his countrymen: a comparison of certain original letters to an edited compilation of them that appeared in France around the time of his death suggests that the openness of the young Father Râle to cultural difference was somewhat greater than the norm for his fellow Frenchmen. For example, in one of the original letters we read:

> [The *Ottawas*] are very superstitious, and great tricksters (jongleurs). They are divided into three families from which they say they draw their origin, and in each family there are around 500 people. Some are of the family of Michabes, which means "Great Hare.". . .[28]

The corresponding passage in the version published in France (and subsequently used as the source for the esteemed *Jesuit Relations* English translation) adopts what may have been considered a more appropriately disapproving tone:

> [The *Outaouacks*] are very superstitious, and much attached to the jugglerіes of their charlatans. They assume for themselves an origin as senseless as it is ridiculous. They declare that they have come from three families, and each family is composed of five hundred persons. Some are of the family of *Michabou*, that is to say, of "the Great Hare."[29]

[26]Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," p. 16.

[27]"Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 162, 138.

[28]"Letter of April 15, 1693," in Calvert, "Appendix," pp. 244-245 (addressed to a superior in France).

[29]"Rasles to His Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 153. As printed in Thwaites, the letter is drawn from *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, pp. 122-179, and is dated 1723. Calvert, "Appendix," p. 4, however, reports that Râle's only brother died in 1718. The letter as it is here does contain some important unique material, but much of its content is substantially identical to that of the five manuscript letters (dated much earlier than 1723) that Calvert translates, except for frequent editorial changes of the type noted here. It is impossible to tell whether the changes in tone and nuance were made by Râle himself (preparing, perhaps, from the point of view of a much older man, a kind of memoir from copies of old letters) or by an editor in France concerned with the "proper edification" of readers.

In relation to his own lifestyle, Râle's efforts to come to terms with native culture seem to have produced a variety of practical results. At times, he was unable to escape his own sensibilities. At others, he seems enraptured by the beauty and wisdom of native ways. Another of his stories illustrates this, as he describes the Wabanaki custom of eating a sort of stew from a bowl of bark:

> When I first arrived here I could not eat any of their food. They kept asking me, "Why are you not eating?" "Because," I answered them, "I am not accustomed to eating my meat without bread." "You will have to get over that," they answered, "it should not be difficult for a patriarich" (that is what they call those who are their teachers—it means "*patriarch*") "it should not be difficult to get over that since you know how to pray perfectly. It cannot be more difficult for you to surmount that than it is for us to accept and believe things we cannot see." So you see, we must not waver. We must live as they do, in order to win them over to Jesus Christ.[30]

Clearly, the transition from the France of Louis XIV to the Canadian woods was not an easy one. Looking past the ups and downs of thirty years toward the end of his life, however, Râle was able to give this succinct assessment of his success to his nephew: "As for what concerns me personally I assure you, that I see, that I hear, that I speak, only as a [*sauvage*]."[31]

Having passed through his initial period of linguistic and cultural training, Râle was recalled from the Illinois and assigned to the Kennebec mission, arriving at Nanrantsouak in the fall of 1694.[32] The village was located where the Sandy River flows into the Kennebec, in the present town of Madison, about thirty miles up the river from the then-abandoned English trading post at Cushnoc (Augusta). Previously, it does not seem to have been the primary village of the Kennebec Wabanaki, but the social devastations of war, famine, and emigration had so drained the Kennebec valley of its native population that Râle was able to gather in this one place, at least on a seasonal basis, most of the Wabanaki within reach of his mission.[33] (The actual numbers

[30]"Letter of August 26, 1690," in Calvert, "Appendix," p. 237 (addressed to Râle's brother).

[31]"Letter from Father Sébastien Rasles, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in New France, to Monsieur his Nephew," October 15, 1722, in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 93.

[32]This date is sometimes given as 1693, due to some ambiguities in Râle's own reports.

[33]Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, p. 35, goes so far as to claim that Râle founded the village. Dragon, *Vrai Visage* pp. 51-52, gives a brief physical description of the village and makes it clear that its existence long predated Râle's arrival.

fluctuated; in 1714, Râle mentions "more than a hundred families," while at the time of his death in 1724, about two hundred persons were present in Nanrantsouak.[34]) In this way, out of a kind of necessity, the earlier concentration strategy of the Jesuits was merged with the later insertion strategy in the ministry of Sébastien Râle.

Despite being centered on this village, the Kennebec Wabanaki remained highly mobile, because of the admixture of agriculture and hunting in their economy. After spring planting at Nanrantsouak, Râle would annually accompany the community to the coast in the summer, where they would live on seafood and wild fruit until harvest time. In the early winter, they would again "live better at the sea than during the summer" because of the seasonal abundance of water fowl. Around February, when the men "disperse[d] to hunt beavers and moose," Râle would return to the village with the women, children, and sick. On all these peregrinations, Râle would travel equipped for the Mass and sacraments, apparently at the insistence of the Wabanaki themselves.[35] In keeping with the practice of going where his villagers went, he is known to have been present for at least one peace conference between the Wabanaki and the English, and there is some evidence that he may also have accompanied at least one war party.[36]

Within the village, too, Râle was immersed in the ordinary life of the Kennebec band. He describes his involvement, apparently more than ceremonial, in marriage arrangements among members of the village.[37] Râle attended tribal councils and believed, "My advice always determines their decisions."[38] The curious interplay of intimacy and aloofness, of confident belonging and distant analysis, in Râle's descriptions of these activities continues also in the overtly religious sphere. The church, that is to say the Christian community, into which Râle organized this Wabanaki band relied heavily on the European order which Râle brought to his leadership of the sacraments and prayer. A succession of

[34]The larger number is mentioned in "Letter of August 17, 1714," in Calvert, "Appendix," p. 265 (addressed to Râle's brother). The smaller number is given in the account of Râle's death in "Letter from Father de la Chasse," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 235, and is repeated in most of the secondary sources.

[35]"Rasles to his Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 93. Râle gives a fuller description of this migratory pattern to his brother in the "Letter of August 17, 1714," in Calvert, "Appendix," pp. 263-265.

[36]"Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 199, and "Father Sébastien Rale, S.J.," *Catholic World*, p. 554.

[37]Râle, Dictionary, p. 334.

[38]"Rasles to his Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 91.

church buildings were erected and destroyed at Nanrantsouak over the course of Râle's career, each one decorated in large part by the missionary himself, who apparently had something of an artistic reputation. Of the last of these churches, the one that was burned on the day he died, he writes to his nephew that its furnishings "would be esteemed in our European churches."[39] In this aesthetically European building, the prayers and sacraments were held according to a nearly monastic schedule: Mass in the early morning (said, of course, in Latin), followed by catechism and an opportunity for confessions and counseling; vespers at sunset; frequent pious visits to the outlying chapels that were built on the paths to the river and the fields. Râle himself withdrew nightly, from vespers until Mass the following morning, so as to be able to continue his own regimen of prayer before and after rest.[40]

Within this imported order, Râle positioned the participation of his Wabanaki "flock." He writes that about forty young Wabanaki men (likely the majority of young men in the village), whom he designates "minor clergy," were trained by him and dressed in cassock and surplice as they would be in Europe, for participating in processions and serving at Mass, the Divine Office, and Benediction. Râle describes the processions as being attended by "crowds"; one can imagine the entire village turning out to see the odd spectacle of their sons and brothers arrayed in European finery.[41] For the participation of all the people in catechism lessons, vespers, and prayers during Mass, Râle prepared texts in the Wabanaki language. The project of translation was begun with the help of selected native speakers even before Râle had a clear grasp of the language: "I repeated to them in a clumsy manner some passages from the catechism, and they gave them to me again, with all the nicety of their language."[42]

Early in Râle's career, then, it is possible to see at least some participation of the Wabanaki themselves in shaping the presentation of the faith to their own people, and most interestingly Râle trusts them. The

[39] *Ibid*., p. 86.

[40] *Ibid*., pp. 87-93. "Letter of June 15, 1711," in Calvert, "Appendix," pp. 257-261, provides details of Masses and processions organized by Râle at the village of St. Francis Xavier near Quebec, where he and the Kennebecs sojourned from 1705 to 1711 during war with the English; *ibid*., p. 261, he implies his intention to re-establish these practices in Nanrantsouak, to which he is returning.

[41] "Rasles to his Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67. p. 86; "Letter of June 15, 1711," in Calvert, "Appendix," p. 260.

[42] "Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 145.

difference that such linguistic assistance could make to the substance of the teaching being given is illustrated by Râle himself in explaining the "indescribable force in the style and manner with which they express themselves":

> If I should ask you why God created you, you would answer me that it was for the purpose of knowing him, loving him, and serving him, and by this means to merit eternal glory. If I should put the same question to a [*sauvage*], he would answer thus, in the style of his own language: "The great Spirit has thought of us: 'Let them know me, let them love me, let them honor me, and let them obey me; for then I will make them enter my glorious happiness.'[43]

The language has a way of claiming the ideas of the faith for the Wabanaki; God here becomes much more the solicitous spirit of their native myths than the aloof judge of stern catechism morality.[44] Perhaps the Wabanaki church was not an entirely European creature after all.

A somewhat more shrouded indication of genuine native influence in the church at Nanrantsouak is the presence of the outlying chapels mentioned previously. Râle provides few details about these buildings, but what he says is enough to raise some interesting questions and possibilities. To begin with, he uses different language to describe their origin. Having claimed "*j'y ai bâti une Église*"—"I have built a church there"—he writes of the chapels "*On a bâti deux Chapelles*"—"we" or "they have built," or "chapels have been built."[45] Who actually erected these buildings? One Catholic writer, trying to do justice to several conflicting pieces of evidence, suggests that it was the English Protestants, during one of the brief intervals of peace.[46] Râle's language leaves open the possibility that it was the Wabanaki themselves who built them. That possibility is reinforced by the discovery in the dictionary of several entries under "chapel": "Where will it be? What will the length of it be? Where will be the place for saying Mass? The altar must be in the east, and the door at the west."[47] However the buildings came to be, Râle provides us with two other tantalizing

[43] *Ibid*.

[44] For discussion of the roles of *Gluskap,* who ordered the world, and *No-chi-gar-neh,* the spirit of the air, in the religious understanding of the Wabanaki, see Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 241, and *idem.*, *Solidarity of Kin*, pp. 82-86.

[45] "Rasles to his Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 86.

[46] "Fr. Sébastien Rale, S.J.," *Catholic World*, p. 550.

[47] Râle, Dictionary, p. 101.

details of the way in which they were used. The Wabanaki, he writes, "never pass them without offering prayers therein." Further,

> there is a holy emulation among the women of the Village regarding the best decoration of the Chapel, of which they have care, when the Procession is to enter it; all that they have in the way of trinkets, pieces of silk or chintz, and other things of that sort—all are used for adornment.[48]

It seems, then, that although the chapels were clearly used for communal celebrations, they were also places where the Wabanaki felt free to pray in their own way, and places where their own aesthetic might also come into play. Thinking of the syncretistic tendencies often seen in other cross-cultural conversion situations, it is not difficult to imagine such chapels as places where the merging of Christian and native beliefs could be expressed in a somewhat more ample fashion, even if anything overtly shamanistic would never have escaped the priest's scrutiny.[49]

All in all, it is difficult to make an adequate assessment of the extent to which Râle was or wanted to be "inculturated," or the extent to which this was true of the Christianity he administered to the Kennebecs. The observation of Jean-Paul Wiest about Jesuits in China in the same era, that a failure to question themselves led to a failure to truly understand Chinese culture, clearly applies to Râle and his confreres in some ways.[50] They were early proponents of what Wiest calls the "frontier model" of mission, which, without relying on overt military conquest as the earlier "crusader model" did, nonetheless took for granted the superiority of Christian religion and European culture, and sought to extend the boundaries of the Christian world by more apparently spiritual means. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that the kind of linguistic and day-to-day familiarity by which Râle lived with the Wabanaki over a period of thirty years would produce no adaptation in the missionary's way of thinking, in pastoral application if not in doctrinal formulation.

[48]"Rasles to his Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 87.

[49]Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 254, mentions the field chapels among other evidence that Catholic practice was well-suited to the native Wabanaki sense of the sacred dimension in all their ordinary activities. *Ibid*., p. 236, he holds that "Abenaki Catholicism represents a syncretistic intensification of their ancient religious life," rather than a compartmentalization of the two belief systems.

[50]Jean-Paul Wiest, "Bringing Christ to the Nations," *Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997), 654-681.

Unfortunately, as the story of the Kennebec church would eventually bear out, this cultural interplay was not being negotiated by the Wabanaki and their devoted missionary in isolation. The Jesuit's very presence in the village was a symbol of the fact that the Wabanaki were now forced to share their world with both the French and their English rivals. It was inevitable that their religious alliance with the French would be expected to carry through in distinctly non-religious ways as well. Undeniably, letters from the governing authorities in Quebec to Râle and many other fellow missionaries indicate their deep involvement in the territorial struggles of the time and the ongoing attempt to sway the Wabanaki toward the French and away from the English.[51] This does not, however, necessarily validate the standard English accusation that Râle was an *agent provocateur*. His favoring of the French cause in Wabanaki deliberations would have been a simple matter of survival for his mission. The English were not only a rival political power but also professed a "different religion." Laying aside considerations of French nationalism (which surely were present in some form), Râle's fundamental "given" for his work is that Catholicism is the true religion, which the Wabanaki have embraced. From within this basic assumption—so unacceptable to the Puritans of old and to the new historians of today—his writing is entirely solicitous of the welfare of the Wabanaki. He defends their land rights and encourages their unity as a tribe. In his eyes, the Catholic religion has become a feature of the Wabanaki as a nation, just as it is of the French, and so he defends their right to practice it, which means defending his right to be with them, despite constant English objections. Discussing Wabanaki resistance to the constant temptation to abandon trade with distant Quebec for the convenience of the much nearer English settlements, he writes:

> they are hardly indifferent to their own interests, but their faith is infinitely dearer to them, and they believe that if they detach themselves from alliance with us, they will soon find themselves without a missionary, without sacraments, without the Sacrifice, almost without any religious service, and in serious danger of being plunged back into their previous unbelief.[52]

It may be that there is more of Râle than of the Wabanaki in these words, and yet they demonstrate very well the dynamic within which

[51]Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 54-65, presents two such letters from Canadian authorities which were taken from Nanrantsouak in Râle's strongbox during the winter of 1722 by English raiders, and subsequently used as full proof of Râle's political employment.

[52]"Rasles to his Nephew," Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 95.

the Wabanaki expression of Christian faith was caught. Râle led a church that was born, lived, and died in the midst of a cultural conflagration.

III: Râle, the Wabanaki Church, and European Colonialism

For reasons of both political-military strategy and cultural ethnocentrism, neither of the colonial governments that faced each other across Wabanaki land was indifferent to the religious expression of the natives. Both French and English authorities reasoned that successful defense and growth of their respective enterprises required drawing the Wabanaki into their own sphere.[53] Neither power could tolerate a non-Christian native people on equal footing with themselves indefinitely, and neither was much more comfortable with the Christianity of its rival than with the original "paganism" of the Wabanaki. In these fundamental respects, the French and English governors saw the Kennebec Wabanaki in very similar fashion, though their divergent economic aims and strategic positions dictated dramatically different tactics.

To the French, the Wabanaki community was a tool made more useful by the religious alliance. Although, as noted, they surely had strong notions about the "civilizing" function of the missionaries, the religious sincerity of priests like Râle was generally of no particular concern to them, so long as the native people remained disponible to French strategic interests.[54] The English governors, on the other hand, because they felt they had a stronger claim on Acadia, denied more overtly than did the French any national identity to the Wabanaki, and instead considered them English subjects.[55] They constantly blamed the influence of the French Jesuits, particularly Râle, for the Wabanaki's lack of docility toward them. The English self-assurance that they were

[53]Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, 166.

[54]The long-expounded French reputation for cultural openness toward the native American peoples is reviewed and defended by Dragon, *Vrai Visage* pp. 29-51. A sharply contrasting view, emphasizing an underlying cynicism in much of the French approach to the Wabanaki, is set forth by Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," and is also well illustrated in this line of a memorandum from Canada to Versailles: "If we do not agree or do not pretend to agree to their rights over the country which they occupy, never will we be able to engage them in any war for the defense of this same country which is the first line of defense of Canada." National Archives of Canada, MG 18, H-27:235, quoted in Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Characteristics of French-Amerindian Contact in New France," in Stanley Palmer and Dennis Reinhartz (eds.), *Essays on the History of North American Discovery and Exploration* (College Station, Texas, 1988), p. 91.

[55]Reference to the Wabanaki as subjects of the English crown occurs formally for the first time in a treaty of 1693. See Calloway, *Dawnland Encounter*, p.100.

the rightful owners of much of the land, and the rulers of all of it, rendered the whole affair of Râle and the Wabanaki an internal one from their point of view. Râle was a spy for France and the papacy, operating in English territory, and the Wabanaki were civil and religious rebels, both punishable according to the laws of treason.[56]

Despite his frequent attention to the Wabanaki's trouble with the English and to their alliance with the French—matters highly relevant to everyday life in Nanrantsouak—Sébastien Râle himself seems to have been rather cool toward the idea that the people with whom he had lived for so long ought to be appreciated according to European politics. Most often, he writes as if he already knew what in fact turned out to be the case: that in the long run, the survival of this particular Christian community of Wabanaki depended on itself, and not on the protection of any outside alliance. Using one of his favorite images for his community—*troupeau* or "flock"—the priest writes to his nephew:

> My neophytes, moved by the danger to which I am exposed in their village, often urge me to retire for a little time to Quebec. But what will become of the flock, if it be deprived of its Shepherd? Death alone can separate me from them. . . . Pray to [the Lord Jesus], my dear nephew, that he may strengthen in me this feeling, which comes only from his mercy, in order that I may live and die working unceasingly for the salvation of these neglected souls, who were bought with his blood and whom he has deigned to commit to my care.[57]

On first encounter in his correspondence, the reference to the "flock" is apt to strike one as a bit of standard piety, but particularly since he uses it as a foundation for his refusal to leave Nanrantsouak even when the danger to his life is palpable, it seems worth taking seriously as an image that may inform us further about the pastor's understanding of his church.

"Flock" can designate a self-contained and isolated community, and Râle's attitude toward the political situation bears out this interpretation. He appears to have no difficulty distinguishing *his* flock from anyone else's, and he does not make an overt identification of French interests and Wabanaki ones. Indeed, he writes about the possibility of his falling into the hands of "*their*" (the Wabanaki's) enemies; he does

[56]Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, p. 166, takes note of this English attitude toward the Wabanaki.

[57]"Rasles to His Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 119.

not speak of the enemies of the French.[58] This reflects a constant attitude that the problem with the English is less that they are at war with the French than that they are encroaching on the lands of the Wabanaki.[59] This Wabanaki-first perspective seems to have shaped Râle's approach not only to civil politics but also to ecclesiastical politics: nowhere in the letters or the dictionary do we find any references to the structures of Catholic hierarchy or papacy, nor any attempt to explain to the Wabanaki the international network of which they had become a part by virtue of their acceptance of Catholic teaching and practice. Outside of its links with other native Christian communities (such as the Montagnais on the St. Lawrence, instrumental in the initial Kennebec conversions[60]), Râle himself is the only point of contact between the church at Nanrantsouak and the larger ecclesial world.

Indeed, through Râle's eyes the Nanrantsouak church appears almost completely dependent on him, like sheep on their shepherd, for spiritual leadership. The Jesuits having begun to replace the native shamans as far back as the time of Druillettes, nearly fifty years previously, overt use of native myth and ritual was rare. Although surely it survived in various forms (as witnessed by the possibility of a much more ample discussion of it now, three hundred years later, by historians such as Morrison and Nicholas), one of the few mentions Râle makes of native religion occurs in the context of the story of his conversion of a neighboring band whom he had worried (needlessly, as it turned out) would corrupt his Kennebec neophytes.[61] Though he does give a few details of shamanistic rites in his dictionary, nowhere in his writing is there even the kind of bemused description of Wabanaki myth that he provides for the Ottawa whom he had once visited. He certainly shows no sign of appreciating the deep impact of a native mythology on the way in which his own Christian teaching and example were understood.[62] Indeed, his own spiritual life was sustained on the very practical, ritual level, and he looked for nothing more in his

[58] *Ibid*.

[59]Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, p. 178, notes that, in general, the Jesuit missionaries "identified more and more with Abenaki interests"and sought to serve as a buffer between the natives and the insensitivities of their own French authorities.

[60]See Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, pp.16-17.

[61]See "Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 182-195.

[62]See Calloway, *Dawnland Encounter*, p. 61, for a discussion of the proposition that "most Abenakis did not simply cast their old religion aside." Morrison, *Solidarity of Kin*, pp. 171-172, summarizes his whole presentation of the Wabanaki-French encounter with a similar conclusion.

flock. What he most admired in the Wabanaki and seems to have fostered in his pastoral style is the steady pace of everyday life set to the rhythm of devout Christian prayer, docility to Christian teaching, and Christianized social mores.[63]

Nonetheless, Râle's flock was also a community defined, for him, almost entirely by its religion. Even though it is evident from his letters that he participated in the daily and seasonal round of Wabanaki life, so focused on survival, Râle writes in great detail about the ritual preparations that he has made for the Wabanaki. For someone also caught up in affairs of state that had truly international repercussions, he does not slacken his devotion to the sacred rites or his relating of all his other activities to this primary purpose; he exhibits no "sacred vs. secular" split in worldview. Further, as we have seen, he confidently attributes a similar outlook to the Wabanaki, whose adherence to the faith he presents as the full explanation of their alliance with France and as justification enough for his own residence in hostile territory even after explicit threats.

Râle's view of the Wabanaki community as his *flock* should be understood (together with his linguistic and acculturative efforts) as mitigating somewhat the obvious paternalism and cultural imperialism of his pastoral methods. Nicholas, herself a Wabanaki who includes Râle unhesitatingly among the "agents of imperialism," is nonetheless ready to admit that there were individuals in this period who rose above the common attitudes toward indigenous people and demonstrated the possibility of respect and co-operation that many to this day are still trying to promote.[64] Had attention been paid, in the body of material written about him since his death, to the intimacy and determination of Râle's relationship with the Wabanaki, and had his quite explicit stance of defense of *Wabanaki* rights, lands, and faith (not *French* colonial claims) been given credence, he would not be so easily excluded from the more forward-looking category.[65] While there is

[63]See "Rasles to his Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 86-91, and "Letter of June 15, 1711," in Calvert, "Appendix," pp. 258-259, for his appreciation of the Wabanaki's docility and piety. In "Postscript of September 9 (no year [1693]), in Calvert, "Appendix," pp. 256-257, and in "Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 176-179, his description of the death of an Algonkian girl whom he baptized on his way back from the Illinois is a notable exception to Râle's generally non-enthusiastic spirituality.

[64]Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," pp. 33, 18.

[65]Râle's Wabanaki focus is evident throughout his discussion of English "artifices" in "Rasles to His Nephew," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 96-119; note his

little doubt that in his mind France was the necessary protector of these things for the Wabanaki, while the English could not possibly be because of their espousal of a heretical faith and their immediate encroachment on Wabanaki lands, it is also clear from what he writes that foremost in his mind were the people of his *troupeau*, and not the colonial advancement of his earthly king.

One of his friendlier English biographers, John Francis Sprague, seeks to base his defense of Râle on "the fact that his settlement and mission were on territory claimed by the French; that it was his duty as a subject of the king of France to be loyal to that side of the contention."[66] Yet, nowhere in Râle's surviving correspondence is the situation ever described in such terms. It might even be said that Râle's concept of his Wabanaki church actually blinded him—not so much in the sense of a naive lack of understanding but in terms of what he deemed relevant and worthy of concern—to the political use to which he was being put by his own government, to the political fury his very being stirred up among the English, and in general to the political maelstrom that would eventually destroy both him and his flock. Of course, his was not the only French voice that the Wabanaki heard. From the "incriminating" letters taken from Râle in the 1722 English raid on Nanrantsouak, it is clear that the government officials in Quebec had their own agendas. The Wabanaki, of course, knew that the French and the English were at enmity, and they had clearly decided that it was to their own interest to favor the French in these conflicts. That this awareness was Râle's doing or anything like a primary part of his mission is far from obvious.

IV: Wabanaki People, Wabanaki Church

Perhaps the most important concepts for grasping the Wabanaki's own view of themselves as a Christian community are "land" and "people." They were the "People of the Dawnland," and their

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comment on France's cession of Wabanaki land to England: ". . .there is not one [*sauvage*] Tribe that will patiently endure to be regarded as under subjection to any Power whatsoever; it will perhaps call itself an ally, but nothing more" (pp. 102-103). Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast*, pp. 174-176, describes Râle's exchanges of letters with the English in 1716 and 1717, in which he argued that Wabanaki tradition prohibited selling the land, and also warned that the king of France would aid the Wabanaki in retaining their lands (at a time when, in fact, the French willingness to intervene was not at all evident).

[66]Sprague, *Sébastien Ralé,* p. 49.

Christianization by the Jesuits, although it defined for them a set of relationships to other peoples and institutions to which they had not been formally related before, did not change their fundamental identity. As Morrison notes of them, "community and religious practice were co-extensive."[67] They had never had an institutionalized religion that could stand over against the rest of their lives, and the Jesuits did not supply one; as I have noted, Râle did not instruct them in the fine points of ecclesial structure and politics. Their Christianity was called "the prayer"[68]—an activity of a people, not a new structure or rival ideology—and so the Wabanaki remained predisposed toward being a community that could be defined by its religion, in that everything they did had a spiritual meaning. It is in this context that we must understand Râle's accompanying the tribe on fishing and hunting expeditions, at councils, and to parleys with the English.[69] Here, too, the stage is set for the grand misunderstanding of Râle's role by the English and numerous subsequent historians. This unitive view of society encouraged the Jesuit to write as though he had become a sachem of the tribe, and indeed he seems to have played a comparably important role in shaping the dispositions of the entire community. By the Wabanaki, as well as in his own estimation, he seems to have been taken not as the representative of a foreign power so much as a revered member of the community itself.

The Wabanaki adopted Christianity in an attempt to maintain, or regain, their equilibrium as a people living on the land that they had always occupied.[70] Until 1675, they seem to have had no clear sense of having been invaded, no strong reaction to being "crowded out" of their own land. Nonetheless, the appearance of the Europeans had already had profound internal effects in their communities, which they struggled to comprehend. Morrison outlines these, under rubrics such as disease, commercial and spiritual rivalries, and resulting tribal divi-

[67]Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 238.

[68]Râle notes this in discussing the Illinois in "Letter of April 15, 1693," in Calvert, "Appendix," p. 255.

[69]Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 247, concludes from an earlier description of Fr. Druillettes accompanying a hunting party and offering Mass for its success that "priest and shaman barely differed" in the social role that they played on such occasions. *Idem*, *Solidarity of Kin,* pp. 88-93, discusses Druillettes' sojourn among the Kennebecs, and his "shamanic pose." Also on Druillettes, see Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 37, p. 245.

[70]Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 252: "In entering the Canadian missions [during King Philip's War], the Abenaki acknowledged their individual and collective stand against impending communal chaos."

sions (including in-fighting among the shamans).[71] The Wabanaki had come to live in a world of religious bewilderment and confusion that caused in them an almost panicked desire to find other solutions—a sort of "spiritual longing." As Morrison expresses it, "The Kennebecs' appeal for a priest came from a people who were pushed to the brink of physical and psychic survival."[72] This helps to explain the Christian zeal that Râle and others note in them;[73] but this zeal itself, unaccompanied as it was by similar conversion to European cultural values and practices, helps explain the chronic misunderstanding among the Wabanaki, the English, and the French.

A crucial fact in understanding the Wabanaki retention of their original communal identity is that they themselves sought out the teaching of the Jesuit missionaries who eventually came to them, after apparently being rebuffed in the first few contacts that they made with the French.[74] The Jesuits seemed to offer solutions to the many problems that the Wabanaki were encountering. At the same time, they seemed to exemplify the Wabanaki ideal of "the personal characteristics of socially constructive men of power" in a way which the shamans had ceased to do.[75] And while it may not be said of the French generally, individual Jesuit missionaries, at least, lacked the commercial interests of the English with which the Wabanaki had all too much contact. Thus one of the sachems described the Wabanaki attachment to Catholicism when urged by the English to send Râle packing:

> When you came here, you saw me a long time before the French governors, but neither your predecessors nor your ministers ever spoke to me of Prayer or of the Great Spirit. They saw my furs, my beaver and moose skins, and thought of these alone; this is what they looked for so eagerly; I was not able to furnish them enough, and when I brought many, I was their great friend, but only then. But one day my canoe missed the route; I lost my way, and wandered a long time at random, until at last I landed near Quebec, in

[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 242-249. See also Morrison, *Solidarity of Kin*, pp. 86-93.

[72] Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 244; *idem, Solidarity of Kin,* p. 88.

[73] Morrison, "Mythological Sources," pp. 250-252, citing an account in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 62, pp. 29-49, provides a description of the "considerable energy" behind Wabanaki Christian activities at the Quebec mission village of Sillery in the period just before Râle's Kennebec mission.

[74] Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, p. 15. See also Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 235. Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," p. 25, is careful to emphasize, however, that "Wabanakis did not seek out conversion in any significant numbers until hard-pressed by the unspeakable horrors of war, disease and starvation," brought on by European contact.

[75] Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 249.

> a great village of the Algonquins, where the Black Robes were teaching. I had hardly arrived, when a Black Robe came to see me. I was loaded with furs, but the French Black Robe did not even bother to look at them. He spoke to me first of the Great Spirit, of heaven, of hell, and of the Prayer, which is the only way to reach heaven. I listened to him with pleasure, and I enjoyed his talks so much that I remained in that village a long time in order to hear him. In the end, the Prayer pleased me, and I besought him to instruct me; I asked for baptism, and received it. Afterward, I returned to my country, and recounted what had happened to me: they envied my happiness; they wanted to share it; they left to go find the Black Robe and ask him for baptism. Thus have the French acted toward me. If when you first saw me you had spoken to me of the Prayer, I would have had the misfortune of praying as you do, for I was not able to tell if your Prayer was good. Now, I tell you, I hold to the Prayer of the French; I accept it, and I will keep it until the world burns and comes to an end. Keep your workmen, your money, and your minister; I will speak of them no more. I will speak to the French governor, my father, and he will send me some.[76]

The story also demonstrates that despite their initiative, the conversion of the Kennebec Wabanaki was part of a wider process taking place among tribes with whom they had important contact. They were not, in fact, isolated, either in accepting the faith or in maintaining it during the time that they had no missionary, since before the coming of the Europeans they had always had bonds—of trade, language, and kinship—with the other peoples around them. These others faced the same great problems as the Wabanaki, and from them the Wabanaki first received the suggestion that "the Prayer" might hold the solutions. If we were to search for a "universal"—a cosmos of meaning and connection—into which to fit the phenomenon of the local Wabanaki church, this native web of relationships, values, and ways of living would be most appropriate for the role. It was this world that the Wabanaki who accepted Christianity were really trying to retain and reconstruct. Just as Europeans sought to draw the native peoples into the European cosmos, so the native peoples sought to fit the Europeans, and all the cataclysmic changes they had brought, into *their* cosmos. With the Puritans (and perhaps the French) we might today think of the Wabanaki as having become "*Roman* Catholics," but it is clear that "Rome" was not a meaningful or relevant concept in Nanrantsouak.

[76]"Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 210-213 (translation adapted). See also "Fr. Sébastien Rale, S.J.," *Catholic World,* p. 549. Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, pp. 15-17, provides historical details that corroborate the story as told here via a European impression of a Wabanaki storyteller's speech.

The heartiness with which the Wabanaki embraced the religion the Jesuits offered them suggests that it did for them what they needed it to do: it ordered the spiritual chaos that they were experiencing. It seems unlikely that it could have done this, however, if it had been experienced as entirely foreign at the outset. Rather, the ritual emphasis of Catholicism, its focus on moral social behavior, and its communitarian rather than individualist imagination greatly attracted the Wabanaki because these were elements of their traditional spiritual practice. "The religious alliance between the Abenaki and the French developed," says Morrison, "because their religious sensibilities were compatible."[77] So it is not surprising to hear the Wabanaki explain to the grumbling English traders at Cushnoc (Augusta), regarding Gabriel Druillettes, "We have adopted him for our comrade, we love him as the wisest of our captains, . . . and whoever assails him attacks all the Abenaquiois."[78] Similarly Râle, by his inculturation and long residence with them, became for the Wabanaki a bridge between the pre-contact and post-contact realities.

Telling details of precisely how the Wabanaki, in practice, fitted Christianity into their attempt to retain their traditional lifestyle and worldview are few and far between. Occasionally, however, a window opens in the European accounts that allows a glimpse of a deeper Wabanaki reality. Wabanaki women and children on the Penobscot River keep vigil for their warriors during the second conflict with the English (King William's War, 1689) by confessing and praying the rosary.[79] Father Druillettes listens to a chief, who feared for the souls of his sick children, explain how he tried to minister to them in the absence of the priest.[80] Father Râle marks the season of the tribe's annual move to the sea by referring to the feasts of Corpus Christi and Assumption, but his description of the pomp with which the former is celebrated suggests that such feasts quickly came to signify in the mind of the Wabanaki more than simply a point of Christian doctrine, with significant moments in the agricultural cycle being marked by

[77]Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 248. Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," p. 25, has "no doubt that there are many points of comparison to be made," among them the "aim of communal well-being," but is much more circumspect about statements that seem to equate the two spiritualities.

[78]Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, p. 25.

[79]Calloway, *Dawnland Encounter,* p. 144, quoting a letter of Fr. Pierre Thury of 1689.

[80]Nash, *Indians of Kennebec*, p. 26. Morrison, "Mythological Sources," p. 237, notes as a characteristic of seventeenth-century Wabanaki community that "religious power was widely shared [but always] existed only for the people's welfare."

them.[81] Included in matter-of-fact style in Râle's correspondence and in his dictionary are also notices of various other Wabanaki customs that surely had an unarticulated spiritual significance that the missionary never challenged: the custom of eating the food of someone who has just died, the "usual dances" at funerals, the killing of dogs for a war-feast.[82] In all of this, it is clear that the Wabanaki went on living their communal life, weaving their new religious practice into their ordinary traditional activities in a way that greatly strengthened both, secured the identification of church and community among them, and undoubtedly stiffened their resolve to defend themselves and their lands from English encroachments.

Given the general ethnocentrism of the Europeans, it is not surprising that the English were unable to recognize the Wabanaki initiative, both spiritual and political, in the resistance that they encountered increasingly from 1675 onward. The Wabanaki's spiritual renewal had been catalyzed by their contact with the French Jesuits, and so in the eyes of the English any trouble from their Wabanaki neighbors was simply a result of Jesuit agitation among the simple and easily misled natives. The several comments of Puritan churchmen on what they take to be Râle's distorted teaching to "his Indians" suggest now a Puritan failure to grasp the Wabanaki spiritual context within which Christian doctrine was heard and interpreted. Cotton Mather, the Puritan preacher most notorious for his support of the Salem witch trials, had an interview in 1696 with the Nanrantsouak chief Bomaseen, who was then being held for ransom in Boston, and reported that the Wabanaki had been taught

> that the Lord Jesus Christ was of the French nation; that His Mother, the Virgin Mary, was a French lady; that they were the English who had murdered Him; and, that whereas He rose from the dead, and went up to the Heavens, all that would recommend themselves unto His favour, must revenge His quarrel upon the English, as far as they can.[83]

Mather took these declarations at face value and denounced them to Bomaseen as "French poison," without ever, it seems, considering the

[81]See "Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, p. 215, for the annual migration, and *Ibid.*, p. 183, for the celebration of Corpus Christi.

[82]Râle, Dictionary, p. 330; "Rasles to his Brother," in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 67, pp. 183, 203.

[83]Cotton Mather, *Decennium Luctuosum*, quoted in Charles M. Lincoln (ed.), *Narratives of the Indian Wars 1675-1699* (New York, 1913), p. 256.

possibility that they were a quite reasonable (though hardly orthodox) Wabanaki attempt to apply the Christian story to a very real circumstance in their own world. Nicholas speaks of narratives that

> blend myth and reality, the spirit world and the natural world, into a story that is at once captivating, haunting and instructive—an age-old technique of Native oral tradition that not only instructs, but reflects perfectly the reality of the Native world view.[84]

The likely application of such a technique can be discerned in other reports of Râle's instruction, such as the story, apparently stemming from reports of forest fires in Canada, that he predicted the destruction of the earth by fire in forty-nine days, or the account of the priest's dream of wrestling with the devil over the Wabanaki. Both of these were duly recorded (having been heard in translation from Wabanaki conversants) in the journal of Reverend Joseph Baxter, who conducted a short-lived Puritan ministry among the Wabanaki along the coast in 1717 and 1721.[85] "You will not find among Native People," Nicholas reminds us, "a Western preoccupation with separating dream from reality, the spiritual from the commonplace. All is real and all is truth."[86]

The Kennebec Wabanaki both became a church and remained a native community. In examining this phenomenon, we repeatedly encounter a religion that was fitted into the established way-of-life of a people who were yet being thrust into an unfamiliar role in an unfamiliar system, in the very land which they themselves grew increasingly anxious to preserve for its traditional meaning and uses. The Wabanaki do not seem to have imagined that they could rid themselves of the Europeans, nor did they express a desire to do so. They had become dependent on both the French and the English for European commodities for which previous generations of their people would have had no need. French Jesuit missionaries like Râle were now defining themselves by their lives with the Wabanaki, and the French authorities were relying on them to occupy their English rivals. The English, in their turn, tried hard to "pacify" the Indians—by treaty or by force—so as to keep the advantage of their trade and to continue uninterrupted the process of settlement on the eastern lands. As they were not isolated from other native tribes in their

[84]Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," p. 14. Here she writes appreciatively of M. T. Kelly, *A Dream Like Mine* (1987).

[85]Nason, *Journal of Several Visits,* pp. 8, 11.

[86]Nicholas, "Wabanaki and French Relations," p. 14.

choice of Christianity, so the Wabanaki were not in a world apart from the Europeans either. They were enmeshed in the new system and they knew it; otherwise, adoption of Catholicism would have been out of the question. But they also knew what the Europeans seemed hardly to grasp—that they were a nation among nations just as the French or English were. The Wabanaki church was never simply a creature of French Catholicism or even of one zealous and devoted Jesuit missionary. For the Wabanaki, the Christian community was their very selves, their very identity, not because they had sold out to the Europeans but precisely because they were struggling not to sell out to them.

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE NAZIS' *RELIGIONSPOLITIK*: AN ASSESSMENT OF RECENT LITERATURE

BY

MARK EDWARD RUFF*

The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919–1945. By Richard Steigmann-Gall. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 294. $34.99)

Richard Steigmann-Gall, "Was National Socialism a Political Religion or a Religious Politics?" in Michael Geyer and Hartmut Lehmann (eds.), *Religion und Nation: Nation und Religion. Beiträge zu einer unbewältigten Geschichte* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003), pp. 386–408. €30.00

Himmlers Glaubenskrieger: Der Sicherheitsdienst der SS und seine Religionspolitik, 1933–1941. By Wolfgang Dierker. 2nd ed. (Paderborn: Schöningh Verlag. 2002. Pp. 639. €82.20.)

Scholarly investigation into the relationship between the German churches and National Socialism invites controversy. The judgments meted out by historians, journalists, and theologians reveal little consensus even after almost forty years of acrimonious exchanges and debates. They have portrayed the churches as beleaguered institutions struggling to keep their heads above water in the face of relentless state persecution, as heroic individuals courageously spearheading resistance against Nazism, or as opportunists eagerly offering to collaborate with the regime either out of tactical calculations or ideological conviction.[1] Yet in spite of these clashing verdicts, most scholarly

*Dr. Ruff, an assistant professor of history in Saint Louis University, is deeply indebted to John Conway, Wilhelm Damberg, Martin Menke, Jonathan Sperber, Jonathan Wiesen, and Jeff Zalar, as well as members of the Saint Louis University History Department Colloquium, for their helpful comments on drafts of this article. Responsibility for any errors of interpretation, however, lies strictly with the author.

[1]For a massive annotated bibliography on the Catholic Church struggle, see Joseph Bottum and David G. Dalin (eds.), *The Pius Wars: Responses to the Critics of Pius XII* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2004). Currently, there is no recent larger synthetic work that examines the response of both churches to National Socialism that details the ever-growing body of scholarship. See also the bibliography in Doris Bergen, *Twisted Cross: The German Christian Movement in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, 1996). See also

accounts show a great deal of unanimity in their depictions of the churches as the objects of unwelcome intrusions and outright persecution from the National Socialist state, in which the initiative lay almost completely with the Nazi regime. To date, most depictions of the churches under Nazi rule have portrayed this complex relationship between religious and secular authorities primarily through the eyes of the churches themselves.

Two notable recent works turn this picture upside down. They focus on the motivations and tactics not of church luminaries but of the Nazis themselves, who usually (but not always) remained in the driver's seat in this relationship. Arguing that many Nazis sincerely believed themselves to be good Christians, Richard Steigmann-Gall elucidates the religious beliefs of the leading Nazis, including Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels, and Bormann. Though he covers this same terrain, Wolfgang Dierker analyzes in great detail the religious politics and religious beliefs of one particular branch of the Nazi state, the SD, the Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers SS. The SD was an offshoot of the SS created to gather intelligence on ideological enemies of National Socialism. Only recently have historians researched its activities.[2]

These two books have certain superficial features in common. Both appeared with first-rate publishing houses at roughly the same time. Wolfgang Dierker's book, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger: Der Sicherheitsdienst der SS und seine Religionspolitik, 1933–1941*, arrived in 2002 as part of the so-called *Blaue Reihe*, or blue series, an extremely well-regarded series produced by the Roman Catholic historical association, *Die Kommission für Zeitgeschichte*. Richard Steigmann-Gall's book, *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919–1945*, was published in 2003 by Cambridge University Press. Both works were the outgrowths of dissertations by promising younger scholars who had carried out their research in the 1990's.

But here the similarities end. Steigmann-Gall's book bears the burden of unusually high praise. On the cover-jacket, Helmut Walser Smith extolled this work "as a brilliant and provocative work that will recast the whole debate on Christianity and Nazism." Additional encomia by the eminent scholars Richard

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the citations in Robert P. Ericksen and Susannah Heschel, "The German Churches and the Holocaust," in Dan Stone (ed.), *The Historiography of the Holocaust* (London, 2004), pp. 296-318.

[2]See Jens Banach, *Heydrichs Elite. Das Führerkorps der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, 1936–1945* (Paderborn, 1998); George Browder, *Foundations of the Nazi Police State: The Formation of Sipo and SD* (Lexington, 1990); George Browder, *Hitler's Enforcers: The Gestapo and the SS Security Service in the Nazi Revolution* (Oxford, 1996); Lutz Hachmeister, *Der Gegnerforscher. Die Karriere des SS-Führers Franz Alfred Six* (Munich, 1996); Christian Ingrao, "Culture de guerre, imaginaire nazi, violence génocide. Le cas des cadres du S.D." in *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 47 (2000), 265–289.

Evans and Michael Burleigh only bolstered its reputation as a path-breaking revisionist work that would destroy existing orthodoxies. Such advance endorsements ensured of course that *The Holy Reich* would be widely reviewed. Its revisionism has earned it not only acclaim but also trenchant criticism, so much so that its claims are to be the subject of an upcoming forum in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, of which Evans himself is an editor. Dierker's unheralded work, in contrast, has been scandalously overlooked in the United States. Although it has been very well received in Germany, few American libraries have even purchased it—as of this writing, forty-five, according to World-Cat. The €82.20 price tag, its length, the lagging publicity, the fact that Dierker opted to pursue a non-academic career with Hewlett-Packard, and, above all, the absence of an English translation have muted the impact that this outstanding book should have had on this side of the Atlantic. To date, only two reviews have appeared in English-language journals, the second of which was penned by Steigmann-Gall himself.[3]

The dissimilarities extend further to style, structure, and methodology. Steigmann-Gall's book is clearly written, incisive, and compact. Its approximately 275 pages of text rely, however, primarily on selections from secondary sources and ephemera.[4] There is less firsthand archival work. He made use of only a relatively small number of collections from seven German archives. In addition, his scholarship is not always exact.[5] As at least one scholar has pointed out, the footnotes occasionally refer to the wrong event or misrepresent particular arguments or points of view.[6] By contrast, Dierker's considerably lengthier 600-plus-page tome is more narrowly focused. Its scope is largely restricted to the SD, its origins, development, the ideology of its zealous,

[3]See Shelly Baranowski's review in the *Journal of Modern History*, 77 (2005), 851, and Richard Steigmann-Gall's review in Central European History, 38 (2005), 687–690.

[4]German scholars would refer to "gray literature."

[5]In one instance, Steigmann-Gall refers to a meeting convened by Hitler on January 25, 1934, and attended by Martin Niemöller and other prominent Protestant officials, a meeting that went awry for these opponents of Reichsbischof Müller. Steigmann-Gall argues, "This encounter has almost always been cast as a classic example of Hitler's hatred for Christianity," referring specifically to p. 76 of John Conway's classic work, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933–1945* (London, 1968). However, on this page, Conway actually claims, "Hitler's innate hostility to the Church, however, tempered though it was by political expediency, was clearly shown in his interview on 13 March with the two South German Evangelical Bishops Meiser and Wurm, who came to complain that, despite the declaration of solidarity which the bishops at Hitler's request had given to the Reich Bishop on 27 January, Müller's subsequent actions had only further demonstrated his untrustworthiness." Conway was clearly referring to a different meeting that year. See Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 166, and Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches*, p. 76.

[6]See the forthcoming article, Irving Hexham, "Goebbels, Rosenberg, and the Problem of Interpretation in Richard Steigmann-Gall's *Holy Reich*," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 42 (2007).

if not fanatical employees, and its impact on the German church struggle. Perhaps somewhat less readable than *The Holy Reich* on account of its greater density, it nonetheless contains exceptionally limpid prose, at least by the standards of German academics. It is largely free of serpentine sentences and ponderous theory. More importantly, Dierker's book is exhaustively and methodically researched. His range of both primary and secondary sources far exceeds those of Steigmann-Gall. He visited twenty-three archives, including collections in Moscow and Washington, D.C., and made much more extensive use of collections at the Bundesarchiv Berlin. As we shall see, his work employs secondary sources that Steigmann-Gall did not incorporate into his analysis.

Such differences derive from two very different interpretative frameworks. Even if it occasionally refers to the "polycratic" nature of the Nazi state, Steigmann-Gall's book is, at heart, a work of "intentionalist" history.[7] This approach emphasizes that the Nazi regime was a dictatorship. To understand the decisions and policies of the Nazi state, one needs to analyze the intentions of those at the apex of the Nazi hierarchy—Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels, Goering, *et al.* Steigmann-Gall accordingly focuses on the public pronouncements and private utterances of top-ranking Nazi officials. From this more limited foundation, Steigmann-Gall extrapolates universal moral reflections. "Christianity, in other words, may be the source of some of the same darkness it abhors," he informs us. "The discovery that so many Nazis considered themselves or their movement to be Christian makes us similarly uncomfortable. But the very unpleasantness of this fact makes it all the more important to look it squarely in the face."[8] Nazism, he emphasizes, was not a political religion but, in certain ways, a perverse extension of Christianity. In other writings, he argues even more forcefully that Nazism cannot be interpreted as a political religion at all.[9]

Dierker's more meticulous work, in contrast, refrains from absolute pronouncements. Larger questions concerning the responsibility of Christianity for the catastrophes engineered by National Socialism do not factor into his analysis. What emerges instead, in often painstaking detail, are the day-to-day activities of the SD and how these, in turn, helped reinforce pre-existing ideological hatred of the Christian churches. Though not stated directly, this work employs a moderate functionalism, in which structural circumstances deepened and radicalized the SD's hostility toward Christianity.[10] Only at the close does he hint at the larger

[7]On occasion, he refers to "the party's internal social Darwinism"—see *The Holy Reich*, p. 242. For an overview of the debates between "intentionalists" and "functionalists" see Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems & Perspectives of Interpretation*, 4th ed. (New York, 2000), pp. 69–92.

[8]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 267.

[9]Steigmann-Gall, "Was National Socialism a Political Religion or a Religious Politics?" in Geyer and Lehmann (eds.), *Religion und Nation*.

[10]See footnote 7 for an overview of the functionalist interpretation.

implications of his subject-matter, arguing that the participants in the SD believed themselves to be representing a political religion.[11]

But even if the reader is left, in turn, to flesh out some of the larger implications of Dierker's work, it is clear that these authors come to opposite conclusions about the relationship between the churches and the National Socialist regime. The differences in methodology and conclusions point to larger historiographical questions that invite further exploration. This essay will explore three such topics by analyzing the differences between these two books. It will first attempt to shed light on the nature of Nazi religious beliefs, secondly, consider how the structure of the regime shaped Nazi attitudes toward Christianity, and, finally, evaluate the place of the Nazi regime in the larger process of secularization in twentieth-century Europe.

Were Nazism and Christianity compatible? Dierker takes it as a given that the most prominent Nazi leaders believed the National Socialist and Christian ideologies to be incompatible. This is precisely the position that Steigmann-Gall dismisses at the outset as all too typical of the existing scholarship. In fact, in a recent review of Dierker's book, he alleges that Dierker's "affirmation of the conventional wisdom on the churches in the Third Reich also brings with it repetition of many of the fallacies."[12] Instead, he argues, Nazi leaders were genuine Christians. They sincerely believed that their beliefs were Christian, even if they diverged from Christian orthodoxy. Top Nazi officials, he maintains, earnestly subscribed to the ideals of a "positive Christianity," proclaiming their faith in an Aryan Jesus, rejecting the Old Testament, and viewing Paul as a Jewish betrayer of Christ's message of rejuvenation. Likewise, they identified with Martin Luther, who had tried to restore the true essence of Christianity that had been destroyed by the Roman Catholic Church. Liberal Protestantism, he argues, shaped the Nazis' conceptions of "positive Christianity." It attempted to reconcile faith with science, became increasingly anti-Semitic, and was identified with the national cause. Though often violently anticlerical, Hitler remained committed to a nonsectarian positive Christianity and "never attacked the faith of Catholicism."[13] It is not difficult to see how such claims lead Steigmann-Gall to his conclusion that Christianity ultimately shares partial responsibility for the sins of National Socialism.

But he pushes his argument further. Nazism represented something even more basic: the attempt to fight secularization. ". . . [F]or many of its leaders, Nazism was not the result of a 'Death of God' in secularized society, but rather a radicalized and singularly horrific attempt to preserve God *against* secularized society."[14] Tellingly, Steigmann-Gall does not develop the second part of

[11]Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, pp. 548–549.
[12]Steigmann-Gall's review in *Central European History*, 38 (2005), 687–690.
[13]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 65.
[14]*Ibid.*, p. 12.

this argument in his book to show how Nazi leaders believed their crusades to be directed against secularism. One would have liked to have seen quotations from leading Nazis in which they defend their movement as preventing a secular tide from washing over the German nation.

At the most fundamental level, Steigmann-Gall's work raises the question of canonicity. Believing oneself to be a Christian, he ultimately argues, is tantamount to being a Christian. In this vein, he rejects the claims made by previous scholars who argue that "either such Christians deceived themselves or they were not truly Christian."[15] Such definitions of canonicity are unreliable since "others whose Christian credentials are undisputed would similarly fail to pass."[16] Hitler, therefore, was a Christian, even if there is no evidence that he accepted the divinity and resurrection of Christ, the dogma that lies at the core of Christian teachings. But Steigmann-Gall's redefinition is ultimately too loose to be especially useful. It is reminiscent of postmodern definitions of art that define art as that "which the artist says it is," claims that can easily lead to fruitless controversies.

To determine whether the Nazis were or were not Christians, historians have a more difficult challenge in reconciling statements by the Nazis that alternatively praised and excoriated Christianity. Steigmann-Gall accuses Dierker of ignoring the voices of those Nazis who "upheld Christianity as a fundament both of the personal beliefs and of Nazi ideology itself."[17] But Steigmann-Gall himself does not always successfully explain away the sundry anti-Christian statements that he did not incorporate into his analysis. In his memoirs, for instance, Albert Speer reported how Hitler expounded his views on Christianity to a visiting delegation of Arabs. Discussing the implications of the battle of Tours, Hitler held forth: "`Had the Arabs won the battle, the world would be Mohammedan today. For theirs was a religion that believed in spreading the faith by the sword and subjugating all nations to that faith. The Germanic peoples would have become heirs to that religion. Such a creed was perfectly suited to the Germanic temperament.'" Hitler said that the conquering Arabs, because of their racial inferiority, would in the long run have been unable to contend with the harsher climate and conditions of the country. They could not have kept down the more vigorous natives, so that ultimately not Arabs but Islamized Germans could have stood at the head of this Mohammedan Empire. Hitler usually concluded this historical speculation by remarking: "'You see, it's been our misfortune to have the wrong religion. Why didn't we have the religion of the Japanese, who regard sacrifice for the Fatherland as the highest good? The Mohammedan religion too would have been much more compatible to us than Christianity. Why did it have to be Christianity with its meekness and flabbiness?'"[18]

[15]*Ibid*., p. 5. He directs some of his criticism at Doris Bergen's book, *Twisted Cross*.
[16]*Ibid*., p. 6.
[17]Steigmann-Gall's review in *Central European History*, 38 (2005), 689.
[18]Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich* (New York, 1970), p. 96.

Dierker's work also provides many similar statements that were anti-Christian. He quotes Hitler, who excoriated Christianity as being little more than "Bolshevism," an offshoot of Judaism. In 1942, Hitler prophesied the end of Christianity, not within his lifetime but within several hundred years: "It could take a hundred or two hundred years. I am sorry that I, like Moses, can only see the promised land from afar. We are growing into a sunny, truly tolerant Weltanschauung."[19] In another monologue from 1941, he vented his spleen against the churches, concluding with an ominous threat: "I am forced to let a tremendous amount pile up inside me; that doesn't mean, however, that I have let go of what I have noted and not reacted against immediately. It will be put into an account and the score will be settled. I could do nothing against the Jews as well for a long time. It doesn't make any sense to create artificially additional problems; the more shrewdly one acts, the better."[20]

To deflect such criticism that he ignores the anti-Christian statements by the Nazis, Steigmann-Gall takes several tacks. Relying primarily on evidence from the early Nazi years, he insists that Hitler's mounting hostility toward the churches arose only much later when the Protestants were unable to achieve unity.[21] Even at the close of his life when his beliefs approached those of a theism, he "put limits on his apostasy."[22] He never abandoned his belief in the relevance of the Aryan Jesus nor did he espouse atheism or agnosticism. Even the more virulent anti-Christian utterances reveal, at most, Hitler's well-known capacity for self-contradiction.

In addition, Steigmann-Gall questions some of the sources that ostensibly reveal Hitler's anti-Christian fervor. He cites a then yet-to-be published study that calls into question the credibility of Hitler's Table Talks.[23] Though he pro-

[19]Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 23.

[20]*Ibid*., p. 534. The original reads as follows: "Ich bin gezwungen, ungeheuer viel bei mir aufzuhäufen; das bedeutet aber nicht, dass in mir erlischt, was ich, ohne gleich zu reagieren, zur Kenntnis nehme. Es kommt auf ein Konto; eines Tages wird das Buch herausgezogen. Auch den Juden gegenüber musste ich lange tatenlos bleiben. Es hat keinen Sinn, künstlich auch zusätzliche Schwierigkeiten zu machen; je klüger man verfährt, desto besser." I have taken some liberties in the translation of this passage, as the German idioms do not translate especially well into English.

[21]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, pp. 252–253. Yet it is important to remember that the debates about the reliability of Hitler's anti-Christian utterances extend back to the 1950's and 1960's. For an overview, see Heike Kreutzer, *Das Reichskirchenministerium im Gefüge der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft* (Düsseldorf, 2000), pp. 33–36. For discussions in the 1950's and 1960's, see Walter Adolph, "Ziel und Taktik der Kirchenpolitik Hitlers, insbesondere gegenüber der katholischen Kirche," in *Wichmann-Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte im Bistum Berlin*, 11/12 (1958/9), pp. 131–142, Klaus Scholder, "Die evangelische Kirche in der Sicht der nationalsozialistischen Führung bis zum Kriegsausbruch," in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 16 (1968), 15–35, and Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 499.

[22]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 260.

[23]*Ibid*., p. 253.

vides no details as to why the Table Talks might lack legitimacy, it seems that Martin Bormann, the most anti-Christian member of Hitler's inner coterie, may have been in charge of compiling Hitler's monologues and potentially imbued them with even darker anti-Christian tones. Yet the anti-Christian examples that Dierker brings to the table (including Hitler's prophecy of the end of Christianity) come not from the *Tischgespräche* but from another collection that Steigmann-Gall did not analyze, a collection of Hitler's monologues compiled by Heinrich Helm.[24] The statements there corroborate the overall picture presented in the Table Talks.[25]

Steigmann-Gall essentially argues that we should take the Nazis at their word that they were genuine Christians. Previous historians "hold that these actors completely rejected their Christian script after the curtain came down."[26] But the Nazi leaders were long known for their duplicity. Hitler promised to uphold the terms of the Concordat. He insisted that he had no further territorial claims to make in Europe. In light of this pattern of mendacity, why should we give their religious statements credibility? To assess the veracity of the Nazis' religious affirmations, one needs a more careful analysis of the context in which they were articulated to determine whether the statements affirming Christianity were made in a setting that was both religious and public or whether the anti-Christian invective was overwhelmingly private. The Nazis were faced with serious constraints on their anti-Christianity. Overtly anti-Christian measures were much more likely to alienate a larger section of the population than their anti-Semitic measures, since practicing Catholics and Protestants made up a much larger segment of the population than German Jews. Outright declarations of atheism or even anticlerical invective would expose them to charges that they had adopted the tactics and ideology of their Communist adversaries. The Nazis' public statements were thus simply not always a reliable guide to their thinking.

Yet there is an additional possibility that neither author explores. The Nazis' contradictory positions on Christianity may also simply have been a sign of their own ideological incoherence. Nazi positions on many ideological questions were frequently muddled. Nazi ideologues denounced Bolshevism's attacks on private property, while Hermann Goering created his giant state-run Hermann-Goering-Werke. Hitler's views on painting were unabashedly traditional, yet he also embraced Speer's monumental and often strikingly modern architectural visions. Why then should we expect ideological consistency on the question of religion? After all, few Nazi ideologues were trained theologians who carefully thought through their religious beliefs. Steigmann-Gall

[24]Werner Jochmann, *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1944. Die Aufzeichnungen Heinrich Heims* (Hamburg, 1980).

[25]He likewise discounts the statements attributed to Hitler by Hermann Rauschning—see *The Holy Reich*, pp. 28–29.

[26]*Ibid.*, p. 3.

emphasizes that Hitler never questioned his faith in an Aryan Jesus even as he became increasingly anti-Christian. Such a stance may have simply been part of the welter of contradictions that characterized Nazi religious beliefs. The leading Nazis lacked the theological competence (and arguably the desire) to make a symbiosis of Nazism and Christianity convincing and enduring.

Further complicating our understanding of Nazi attitudes toward Christianity was the tangled structure of the Nazi state. Here, Dierker's moderate functionalism leads to a very different set of conclusions. Hitler, he notes, propounded the sincere belief that the Nazi ideology was always to be predicated on action. Ideologies, Hitler averred, were useless if they were unable to be realized through state action. Likewise, state and party had no fixed value if they were not anchored in an ideological core.[27] As contradictory as individual facets of the Nazi Weltanschauung may be, they achieve a greater coherence when seen as part of an ongoing dynamic relationship between action, ideology, and political tactics. An intentionalist analysis of Hitler's own religious beliefs, Steigmann-Gall's home turf, may paradoxically bring us back to a functionalist analysis of the day-to-day treatment by state and party of the churches and Christianity.

Dierker's functionalist approach strengthens his claim that the Nazi leaders believed that their ideology and Christianity were irreconcilable. Few historians would adopt a totally intentionalist approach when attempting to explain the planning that led to the Holocaust. Why should we do the same with the Nazis' religious policies, especially when many at the lower levels of the Nazi bureaucracy were clamoring for a "final solution to the religious question?"[28] Dierker recognizes that the Nazis' church policy was steered by political reality and not just ideology: it was a potent mixture of political realism and ideological conviction, in which these two forces shaped and reinforced each other. The mixture of tactical reserve, ideological firmness in which violence always remained a possibility, and persistent encroachments on the churches' sphere of influence explains the vacillating policies toward the churches.[29]

Even though the war tempered some of the most severe measures against the churches, it was clear that Nazi attitudes toward the churches became increasingly hardened from the mid 1930's onwards. Dierker focuses on the anti-Christian zealots who were interested in dealing with the churches most radically and brutally. A group that might be likened to greyhounds straining at the leash, these ideological hardliners were shaped considerably by their place in the Nazi polyocracy.[30] Led by an angry ex-priest, Albert Hartl, the reli-

[27]Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 120.

[28]For another recent work which also opens up the question of the structure of the Nazis state and Hitler's role in shaping religious policy, see Kreutzer, *Das Reichskirchenministerium im Gefüge der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft*.

[29]Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 499.

[30]*Ibid*., pp. 60–95.

gious affairs branch of the SD encouraged anticlerical attitudes. It housed other disgruntled ex-priests who vilified their former calling.[31] It drew a significant percentage of its employees from the lower middle classes. Its leadership included academics and students who had not pursued a profession in the universities or had interrupted their studies. Once in the SD, these workers lived together in barracks, where they worked grueling hours for low wages. Contrasting their fortune with that of the better-paid and more highly regarded men of the Gestapo, they developed an inferiority complex which manifested itself in an unwillingness to compromise along tactical or pragmatic lines. These hardliners who strove to uphold the purity of Nazi ideals believed themselves to represent the elite within the Nazi state.

The men at the SD, a number of ex-priests included, chafed over the unwillingness of their superiors in the Nazi state to launch a series of initiatives against the churches. At heart, the SD wanted to minimize the churches' influence and even push Christianity as such completely out of German society.[32] They sought a radical separation of church and state, the seizure of the churches' financial assets, and the destruction of all religious ancillary organizations. To these ends, the SD gathered information on church officials, attempted—usually unsuccessfully—to infiltrate religious organizations through the use of spies and turncoats, conducted raids and arrests, and provided the ideological justifications for the state's antireligious measures. That they did not succeed in their long-term goal of the "destruction of all Christianity" does not indicate that they had given up on it: rather, this final struggle had to be postponed for tactical reasons until a more opportune day at the close of the war.[33] Regrettably, Dierker's book concludes in 1941, as the sources for an analysis of the remaining four years were either nonexistent or unavailable.[34]

The functionalist approach helps explain the vacillations in Nazi religious policies. At times, the SD pressured the Gestapo to pursue a tougher policy against the churches to the point of even spying on Gestapo officials and accusing them of ideological laxity.[35] It created a sweeping definition of opposition to the regime by allowing the "law" to be understood not just as a formal

[31]This finding corroborates Kevin Spicer's analyses of "brown priests," who consisted largely of disgruntled priests with strong nationalist leanings on the margins of their church. See Kevin Spicer, "Gespaltene Loyalität. 'Braune Priester' im Dritten Reich am Beispiel der Diözese Berlin," translated by Ilse Andrews, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 122 (2002), 287–320, and Kevin Spicer, "To Serve God or Hitler: Nazi Priests, a Preliminary Discussion," in John K. Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell (eds.), *Remembering for the Future 2000. The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide.* Volume 2: *Ethics and Religion* (London, 2001), pp. 493–508.

[32]Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 170.

[33]*Ibid*., p. 522.

[34]*Ibid*., p. 493.

[35]On the relationship between the Gestapo and the SD, see *ibid*., pp. 289–301.

system of laws but as the Nazi ideology itself.[36] On the other hand, the SD's zeal was so great that it had to be reined in at times by higher-ranking officials. Its relentless attempts to spy on and infiltrate the Catholic Church, especially, had the effect of making church officials take extra precautions to guard their privacy. They increasingly operated in secret, thereby exacerbating the SD's fear that the Roman Catholic Church was by nature a conspiratorial institution hostile toward National Socialism. This was a self-fulfilling prophecy which only led the SD to propose ever harsher measures toward the churches, a "cumulative radicalization" that led SD members to envision ultimately a "final solution to the Christian problem."[37]

This functionalist account also elucidates how the behavior of local Nazi officials toward Christian institutions diverged from the public pronouncements of the top leaders. Steigmann-Gall points out, for instance, that Baldur von Schirach instructed the Hitler Youth not to sponsor their activities during Sunday morning to avoid conflicts with Christian church services.[38] From this and other public statements, he concludes that von Schirach maintained a "positive attitude toward religious observance in the HJ."[39] Yet the history of the Hitler Youth at the local level is replete with accounts of skirmishes with members of the Catholic Youth, the distribution of songs with biting anti-Catholic lyrics (Hetzlieder), and the scheduling of events to conflict with Sunday services or Catholic youth activities.[40] Either local party leaders chose to ignore blithely the order from von Schirach or they believed that they were correctly discerning the will of von Schirach and Hitler. More telling than von Schirach's public statements was his refusal to discipline the local officials who countermanded his instructions. Even after Müller had ordered the members of the evangelical youth to join the Hitler Youth, the Protestant youth organizations were still disbanded.

Above all, Dierker's approach sheds light on a central paradox, which Steigmann-Gall did not address: the Nazis, supposedly believing in positive

[36]*Ibid*., pp. 378–379.

[37]*Ibid*., pp. 491–534. See in particular, p. 528, footnote 179, where reference is made to the "Endlösung der religiösen Frage," in the RSHA documents.

[38]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 215.

[39]*Ibid*., p. 216.

[40]On the encroachments by the Hitler Youth, see Christoph Kösters, *Katholische Verbände und Moderne Gesellschaft. Organisationsgeschichte und Vereinskultur im Bistum Münster 1918 bis 1945* (Paderborn, 1995), and Georg Pahlke, *Trotz Verbot nicht Tot: Katholische Jugend in ihrer Zeit, 1933–1945* (Paderborn, 1995). See the following example of a bitingly anti-Catholic song distributed to thousands at Mass in Speyer: "Die alte Judenschande ist endlich aufgefegt/Die schwarze Lügenbande wühlt weiter unentwegt./ Du deutsches Volk, sag, muss das sein?/ Dass Dich bespeit das schwarze Schwein./ Wenn nicht, dann dresch doch drauf/dass Funken fliegen hoch hinauf!/ Halli, hallo. . . ." Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln, Gen. II 23.11, 16, Flugblatt, das zu Tauschend in Speyer in den hl. Messen verteilt wurde, no date.

Christianity, did little to advance the cause of those committed Christians who embraced Nazism, including most notably the ardently pro-Nazi German Christians. Time after time, Dierker shows how almost all of the attempts at rapprochement by prominent Christians, including Hanns Kerrl in the Reichs Kirchenministerium, were rebuffed, sometimes by SD officials. In 1934, Himmler ordered the remaining clergy out of the SS.[41] Even Catholic clergy who were regarded as "brown priests" were regarded by the SD as potential double-agents or undermining the work of National Socialism by trying to "gain influence" in the Nazi state.[42] Such disdain for tradition underscores once again the explanatory power of the functionalist approach, which showed how the representatives of the old order—the army, the civil service, the traditional judiciary, and, importantly, the traditional churches—lost out in the struggle against the more dynamic and radical forces within Nazism, the "prerogative state" as it has been called. The true believers in National Socialism were convinced that all attempts to adapt Christianity to National Socialism ran counter to the National Socialist ideology. In the words of one lecturer from the SD: "We must prevent, however, that these efforts go too far, because a national Christianity, which we would receive in this case, is much more difficult to fight than an international Christianity. The fight is not over Christianity and a Christianity appropriate (to Germany) but rather over Christianity or no Christianity!"[43]

Even if we accept Steigmann-Gall's premise that prominent Nazi leaders genuinely believed in the ideals of a positive Christianity, such observations lead us to question how central these beliefs were, in fact, to the Nazi ideology. Likewise, Dierker might have detailed more precisely just where the anti-Christian measures ranked on the Nazis' list of priorities. And here it is all the more regrettable that Dierker's sources do not permit him to extend his analysis in any great detail beyond the year 1941, for the Nazi religious policies remained muddled during the war.[44] Hartl was removed from his position within the RSHA on the pretext of his having made sexual advances to a young woman in his department. The Department IVB, which examined "religious opposition," was dismantled by Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Heydrich's successor, who apparently did not understand how Heydrich "could harbor such a deadly hatred of the (Catholic Church)."[45]

Yet at the same time, it is clear that the most radical ideologues had not given up their aspirations to deal a death blow to Christianity, and at the close of the war would have been free of the tactical restraints on their ambitions. In addi-

[41]Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 156.

[42]*Ibid*., pp. 356–359.

[43]Referat "Nationalkirchliche, christliche Bestrebungen," October 16, 1935, quoted in Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 228.

[44]Many of the SD records were either systematically destroyed, or perished in Allied air raids.

[45]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 252; Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, pp. 106–108.

tion, some of those who had been active in the Religious Opponents division of the SD were directly supervised by those co-ordinating the deportations of the Jews to the East, an ominous precedent should these hard-liners have gained further power at the close of the war. Other Nazi militants threatened to hang the Pope in St. Peter's square. Certainly Hitler's increasingly belligerent anti-Christian rhetoric and promises to settle the score with churchmen like von Galen hardly portended an auspicious future for organized Christianity.

What was the long-term significance of the Nazis' religious attitudes? Historians can place these jumbled beliefs in the larger context of a post-Christian Europe. To begin this task, historians and scholars of religion need to dissect the Nazis' "faith journey" more carefully. Hitler began as a Catholic, became more sympathetic toward Protestantism, became extremely anticlerical in the process, but, as Steigmann-Gall points out, probably ended up somewhere near theism.[46] On one level, this admission might undermine his fundamental premise. Even if the Nazis believed that they were fighting secularism and thwarting secularization, as Steigmann-Gall insists, their own anti-Christian actions and anticlerical beliefs paradoxically promoted secularization, or at the least, the end of confessionalism, which some sociologists of religion and theologians see as the precursor to secularism.

Similarly, one might view their effects as similar to those of liberal Protestantism on Christian faith in Germany. Already in the late nineteenth century, many liberal Protestants in Germany called into question many Christian orthodoxies but outwardly retained a Christian vocabulary and patterns of thought. In their rational theologies, they embarked upon a search for the "historical Jesus," posited rational explanations for Christ's alleged miracles, leading to what Robert Ericksen has called a "loss of content" and a "loss of constituency."[47] Neither all liberal Christians nor all Nazis, moreover, formally left the churches, including most tellingly, Hitler. Some of their members had some inward revulsion toward making this step: a decisive break with a religion that threatens eternal damnation and had defined German culture was not always easy, especially for Nazis who were middle-aged. One associates this sort of a break more often with youth. Others, including Hitler, may have feared the political consequences of taking this drastic step. But the children of both liberal Protestants and Nazis in the 1930's may have been less likely to retain their Christianity, once they reached adulthood.

For these reasons, many historians and sociologists have argued that Nazism constituted a "political religion."[48] Its propaganda was filled with many pseudo-

[46]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 259.

[47]See Robert Ericksen, *Theologians under Hitler: Gerhard Kittel/Paul Althaus/Emanuel Hirsch* (New Haven, 1995), p. 13.

[48]The discussions on this topic extend back to the 1930's. For summaries of these debates, see Hans Maier (ed.), *Totalitarismus und Politische Religionen. Konzepte des Diktaturvergleichs*, Vols. I and II (Paderborn, 1996, 1997). For a translation in English, see

religious elements with speeches such as "Für Dein ist das Reich." It stressed the notion of Hitler as a savior who himself suggested that he was a prophet who had often been ridiculed and scorned.[49] Historians have often viewed Communism and Nazism as *ersatz*-religions that bore many similarities to Christianity. It should hardly be surprising that the Nazis held on to pre-existing Christian mental frameworks. Those steeped in values and upbringings very rarely escape these structures altogether, even when they otherwise abandon the faith. Here, one might see the Nazis as a step on the way toward a post-Christian world, a (mostly) secularized world, in which a general Christian framework became filled with an anti-Christian content. Such a model also explains the rejection of paganism by Hitler that Steigmann-Gall describes. But the Nazi migration away from Christianity proved to be a dead end. After 1945, few followed the Nazis' specific path away from Christianity. Only a few unrepentant Nazis joined such organizations as the "German Unitarians," a free-religious pantheistic association that has been described as a "Sammelbecken für versprengte Nationalsozialisten und Deutschgläubige."[50] Some rejoined the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, while others simply kept their distance from all forms of religious life. Nazism thus may have represented a middle-ground between Christianity and the current European secularism, but it was a stopping point that had little direct impact on the more powerful wave of secularization that ensued in the late 1950's and 1960's.[51]

Steigmann-Gall's arguments that insist the Nazis should be regarded as Christian even if their beliefs had become diffuse resemble those that have been used to deny that secularization has taken place in contemporary Europe. Over the last fifteen years, sociologists of religion have disagreed over the extent to which Europe has lost its Christian heritage.[52] In these contro-

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Hans Maier (ed.), *Totalitarianism and Political Religions*: Volume I: *Concepts for the Comparison of Dictatorships,* translated by Jodi Bruhn (London and New York, 2004). For another important collection of essays, see Michael Ley and Julius Schoeps, *Der Nationalsozialismus als politische Religion* (Bodenheim bei Mainz, 1997), and in particular, Philippe Burrin's essay, "Die politischen Religionen: Das Mythologisch-Symbolische in einer säkularisierten Welt," pp. 168–185. See also George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism & Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York, 1975).

[49]See Ian Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth.' Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (Oxford, 1989).

[50]Kurt Nowak, "Deutschgläubige Bewegungen" in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. VIII (Berlin, 1981), pp. 554–559, as quoted in Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*, p. 117.

[51]See Mark Edward Ruff, *The Wayward Flock: Catholic Youth in Postwar West Germany, 1945–1965* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 2005), for fuller citations of the literature on this point.

[52]Steve Bruce, *God Is Dead: Secularization in the West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 45–59; Rodney Stark, "Secularization, R.I.P.," *Sociology of Religion*, 60 (1999), 249–273. Stark has argued that medieval and early modern Britons were no more religious than their contemporaries, citing examples of superstition in the past and conflicts between laity and

versies, none of the participants have quarreled over the reality of declining church attendance. Instead, those who insist that secularization has not taken place point to lingering evangelical narratives, in which secular phenomena such as dieting contain "narratives" of backsliding, temptation, and sin.[53] Like Steigmann-Gall, they posit very loose definitions of religion, raising, once again, the question of canonicity. The presence of New Age groups, they claim, is evidence that Europe is emphatically not secular. Their critics, in contrast, maintain that these New Age movements put forward highly individualistic and diffuse beliefs that verge on pantheism—views that are certainly not Christian.[54] They point to the absence of orthodox beliefs amongst many Europeans and the disappearance of notions of religious obligation and religious community. The fact that many Europeans today are still formally members of their churches, moreover, parallels the reality that many Nazis also chose to retain their church membership in the 1930's and 1940's.

At the heart of these controversies may be political and religious agendas. The historian Robert Ericksen has argued that German society was less secular than many historians have assumed. The churches, he writes elsewhere, could (thus) have done more to oppose Nazi policies and to rescue Jews from the Holocaust.[55] Going even further, Steigmann-Gall concludes that the churches adeptly manufactured and manipulated a myth of resistance to hostile paganists to further their own political and ideological agendas both during the Third Reich and especially after 1945. It ultimately justified conservative Christian Democratic movements throughout Europe: ". . . what we

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clergy over the lack of allegiance to orthodox beliefs. While there probably never were coherent religious communities that were completely uniform, in some eras they were more uniform and coherent than in others. For other literature, see Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging* (Oxford, 1994). Rodney Stark and L. Iannacone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe" in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 33 (1994), 230–252, and Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion* (Berkeley, California, 2000).

[53]For the literature that argues that the secularization narrative should be abandoned, see Jeffrey Cox, "Master Narratives of Long-Term Religious Change," in Hugh McLeod and Werner Ustorf (eds.), *The Decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750–2000* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 201–217; Jeffrey Cox, "Secularization and Other Master Narratives of Religion in Modern Europe," in *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, 14 (No. 1, 2001), 24–35; Callum G. Brown, "The Secularisation Decade: The 1960s," in McLeod and Ustorf (eds.), *The Decline of Christendom*, p. 37; and Brown's *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800–2000* (Cambridge, 2001); David Nash, "Reconnecting Religion with Social and Cultural History: Secularization's Failure as a Master Narrative," *Cultural and Social History*, 1 (2004), 302–325. Of these authors, Nash argues most forcefully for the persistence of evangelical narratives.

[54]Bruce, *God Is Dead*, pp. 90–95.

[55]Robert Ericksen and Susannah Heschel, *Betrayal: The German Churches and the Holocaust* (Minneapolis, 1999), pp. 4, 10.

suppose Nazism must surely have been about usually tells as much about contemporary societies as about the past purportedly under review. The insistence that Nazism was an anti-Christian movement has been one of the most enduring truisms of the past fifty years. It started as a preconception even before the movement gained power and only gained strength after the war. For Western societies intent on rebuilding themselves after the worst devastation in world history and facing a new atheistic "menace," it could be argued that preserving the truism was a political necessity. . . . Exploring the possibility that many Nazis regarded themselves as Christian would have decisively undermined the myths of the Cold War and the regeneration of the German nation that the metaphor of the Stunde Null (zero hour) so precisely represented."[56] How these narratives of resistance were constructed is a topic far beyond the scope of this essay, one that requires much more careful historical analysis. But in any case it is fallacious to conclude that because these narratives were constructed by churchmen and scholars during the Nazi era and thereafter, they lack historical veracity.[57]

In sum, Steigmann-Gall is correct in perceiving that not all of the statements made by prominent Nazis were hostile toward Christianity. In so doing, he has performed a helpful service to the study of Nazi Germany, especially in correcting those who commonly assume that all of the Nazis were uniformly and consistently hostile toward Christianity. But he overstates the case when he argues that the Nazis' positive statements toward Christianity indicated a genuine belief in Christian teachings. In this context, Dierker's careful scholarship, the result of the meticulous handling of many complicated sources, tempers some of the sensationalism of *The Holy Reich.*

[56]Steigmann-Gall, *The Holy Reich*, p. 266.

[57]On this point, see Mark Edward Ruff, "The Postmodern Challenge to the Secularization Thesis: A Critical Assessment," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kirchengeschichte*, 99 (2005), 385–401.

REVIEW ESSAYS

MORE POPES THAN PIETY? APPROACHES TO RELIGION IN THE *NEW CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY*

The New Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. IV: *c. 1024–c. 1198*. Parts 1 and 2. Edited by David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 917, xx, 959. $180.00 each.)

It is unquestionably magisterial. Clad in mauve dust jackets decorated with golden, interlaced borders, the two volumes (called parts) that make up the 1916 pages of Volume IV of the *New Cambridge Medieval History* were more than ten years in the making. The individual chapters are written in all cases by recognized experts, a number of them now emeriti and the deans of their respective scholarly areas. Although the pages, like those of their 1920's predecessor, the *Cambridge Medieval History*, are packed with small print and hence not particularly inviting, the volumes have been produced with truly extraordinary accuracy. (I found only three typos in the entire two volumes.) The relatively few illustrations are well chosen and reproduced; the maps in part two are helpful and professionally done. We feel that we are in the presence of *auctoritas* and *gravitas*—and not only because the volumes weigh in at over three and a half pounds each.

The editors, David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, in short introductions to the two parts, maintain that the period covered, ca. 1024–ca. 1198, was a turning point in relations between Islam, Byzantium, and the Latin West and that the Europe surveyed here is interpreted broadly to include the Near East and North Africa. In contrast to the twenty-five chapters and 1000 pages of the twelfth-century volume of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, which began with church reform and ended with medieval philosophy, the *NCMH* has forty-two chapters and almost 2000 pages and appears to give considerably more attention to social and economic history. A comparison of the *NCMH* with its predecessor should thus enable one to see how much the study and interpretation of eleventh- and twelfth-century European history has changed over the past century.

Nonetheless, for all that is useful, reliable, comprehensive, and judicious about this handbook, it in fact gives little sense of whether basic scholarly questions have altered since 1926, especially in the area of religious history, which will be of particular interest to readers of this journal. Although a multi-authored guide such as the *NCMH* naturally cannot advance radical, idiosyncratic, or highly controversial theses, these two fat volumes leave one with the impression that interpretation has changed only a little around the edges over

the past one hundred years. Since the editors never justify the devotion of almost twice as much space to this period as to others covered in the *NCMH* or indeed discuss the choice of beginning and end dates, the reader is left puzzled not only about the trends of recent historiography but also about how the years between 1024 and 1198 are to be characterized. Before I question whether it is true that interpretation has changed little or ask how we should interpret what was once known as "the twelfth-century renaissance," I describe what this mammoth work covers and accomplishes.

Volume IV, like other volumes in the *NCMH*, begins with what are called themes—that is, aspects of institutional, political, social, economic, and cultural history (such as law, literature, demography, and war) better not treated under geographical headings. The theme chapters are followed, in Part 2, by a very detailed political and institutional history of Europe and the Mediterranean, area by area, with the larger regions divided chronologically. Germany, Italy, the papacy, France, Spain, England, and Byzantium receive two chapters each; Russia, Poland, Scandinavia, Hungary, the Latin kingdom in the East, Egypt, Syria, and Scotland, Wales, and Ireland taken together, receive one each. The individual authors have clearly been enjoined to avoid teleology or so-called Whig history—an injunction signaled through the *NCMH* by the studied refusal to give any titles to the volumes other than chronological ones. "Contest of Empire and Papacy" (*Cambridge Medieval History*, Volume V) and "Victory and the Papacy" (*CMH*, Volume VI) are replaced by the blander "c. 1024–c. 1198" (*NCMH*, Vol. IV) and "c. 1198–c. 1300" (*NCMH*, Vol. V). But the categories of dynasty and nation persistently intrude, just as they did in the volumes of the 1920's. Free of assumptions about national or ethnic character, the entire second part of Volume IV is nonetheless organized primarily around what would become the nations of modern Europe. Several of the chapters (Giovanni Tabacco on Italy, Michael Angold and Paul Magdalino on Byzantium, Thomas Keefe on England) are structured in whole or in part as a series of reigns or dynasties, although some (for example, Peter Linehan on Spain and Peter Sawyer on Scandinavia) try to avoid this, using social or demographic trends instead, and the authors (Constance Bouchard, John Baldwin, Michel Bur) who treat France pay admirable attention to regional and linguistic differences and the importance of local lords. The chapters differ greatly in the amount of documentation provided, ranging from one of I. S. Robinson's articles on the papacy with 616 footnotes to articles by Martin Dimnik, Giovanni Tabacco, Geoffrey Barrow, and Hans Eberhard Mayer with none. Full bibliographies of secondary material are provided for each chapter, but the absence of supporting references in some places is annoying, especially in cases where a scholarly disagreement is referred to but no citations given. The tone of the articles varies enormously as well. All are carefully written, but in a number the prose is rather lifeless. Several authors address recent debates implicitly (there are, for example, a number of different definitions of "feudal" at play in the various chapters, although all authors agree that the word is problematic) but the reader perks up in relief when Susan Reynolds, Jean Flori, and Peter

Kidson tackle modern assumptions and out-of-date interpretations directly and in distinctive voices.

All in all, the focus and coverage of the *NCMH* has changed far less in comparison to the old *CMH* than one might have expected. There is really little more on agriculture and domestic space than there was before, although it is now in a chapter called "the rural economy and demographic growth" rather than one called "feudalism" (*CMH*, Vol. IV) or "England" (*CMH*, Vol. V). The period is no longer titled "Empire and Papacy," but the amount of attention given to the history of the papacy, papal institutions, and church law has, if anything, grown. Peter Landau on canon law, H. E. J. Cowdrey on church structure, four chapters by I. S. Robinson on ecclesiastical institutions, Uta-Renate Blumenthal on the political history of the papacy, and Hanna Vollrath on the conflict of emperors and popes from the German perspective—all thoughtful and learned chapters—nevertheless cover in part the same material. Cowdrey's attention to bishops as well as popes is welcome and parallels the attention in the secular chapters to principalities and castellanies as well as kings; Vollrath's chapter embeds the conflict of pope and emperor in lots of local politics and includes much recent research. Readers of this journal will, however, be surprised to find here a great deal of what used to be called church history and little history of piety, or spirituality, or religious thought. It is surely an odd twelfth century when we find forty-nine references in the indices to Gratian and only twelve to Peter Lombard, 304 to the papacy (not counting those to individual popes) but only eight to "women," one to the Eucharist, and none to purgatory. Since we find similar lacunae in Volume V ("c. 1198–c. 1300"), where there is also little about lived religion or religious ideas, this skewing must rest partly with publisher's decisions that were made before individual editors took over and partly as well with the ghost of the old *CMH* lurking behind the choice of topics and contributors.

What then might have been different? If we consider the topics of religious life and the history of ideas, these volumes are written almost as if M.-D. Chenu and Herbert Grundmann, two of the greatest medievalists of the last century, had never lived. There is nothing about the emergence of the beguines; female saints and women among the Cathar *perfecti* are mentioned (Pt. 1, p. 529) only as possible "role models"—an anachronistic concept that misses the power of female sanctity and charismatic gifts to inspire people of both sexes. Religious life is treated in a chapter on "religious communities" (replacing "monastic orders" in the old *CMH*) and one on "religion and the laity." But the first actually focuses on the monastic orders, and the second, although it devotes a few excellent pages to parish life and pilgrimage, is primarily a survey of heresy, especially dualist heresy. The implication that Catharism—a dissident religion in the south of Europe with its own clergy and widespread support from elites—was "lay religion" seems misleading. Moreover, the chapter on "thought and learning" covers mostly the institutional containers of thought: types of schools, types of books, the influx of new texts. There is almost no sense of what ideas excited twelfth-

century intellectuals or those ordinary people who followed wandering preachers and reformers. The sexual slurs hurled against Peter Abelard get as much space as the controversy over the Eucharist, and more attention is given to the aggression displayed in twelfth-century polemic than to what people argued about. Several of the authors in Part 1 consider with sophistication the question of why simony and nicolaism rose to the center of eleventh-century reform concerns, but no one treats the impact of the campaign against clerical marriage on women or its implications for a new sense of spiritual and secular, or of the body and sexuality. When Ernst-Dieter Hehl, in an excellent chapter on war, concludes that developing ideas concerning peace and violence reflect both the rationalization of socio-political attitudes and a new insistence on the individual and intentionality (Pt. 1, p. 228), I find myself wondering why similar points are not made somewhere in the volume about twelfth-century developments in marriage law (and indeed why war receives so much treatment and marriage so little). When I. S. Robinson, in another excellent chapter, treats the campaign for clerical celibacy in an economic context but pauses to muse on the effects the campaign had on priests' sons (Pt. 1, pp. 436-437), I cannot help noticing that the effect on priests' wives is left unmentioned. Whatever one things about Jacques Le Goff's arguments from linguistic evidence, it is hard to understand how twelfth-century theology, piety, or folk culture can be treated without attention to ideas of purgatory or to what Jean-Claude Schmitt has called the invasion of ghosts circa 1200. One need invoke neither the tired concept of "individualism" nor that of "renaissance" to mention at least in passing the optimism about the human person implied in renewed theological attention to creation *in imagine Dei* or to consider the new interest in psychology or in the natural world found in twelfth-century spiritual writing and natural philosophy.

All this is to say that what is present in these 2000 pages is in general well done, but some topics get far too much attention and others none. Nor does this skewed distribution of words accurately reflect the current state of scholarship, for the late twentieth century gave much attention to women's piety, marriage law, the semiotic as well as theological subtleties embedded in Eucharistic debate, and questions of intentionality raised by ethics and penitential theology.

This leads me back to my earlier questions. It is clear that approaches to the eleventh and twelfth centuries have recently changed far more than this volume indicates (and the same conclusion would be justified if one considered the coverage of secular institutional and political history). Is there then a new consensus concerning, or a new characterization of, the period between 1024 and 1200 that these authors and editors have somehow missed? After all, the past thirty years have seen, at one end of the Middle Ages, the line between "medieval" and "renaissance" erased, and, at the other, the period of "late antiquity" created. Recent surveys by Julia Smith, Chris Wickham, and Michael McCormick are giving us a new "early Middle Ages" as well. Do we have a new "central Middle Ages," or "age of reform," or "twelfth century"?

Neither this volume nor a reprise of current scholarship suggests that we do. The older picture of some kind of turning point in the eleventh century—in mentality as well as in demography, economic life, and the geo-political situation in the Mediterranean—seems still to hold, although recent work seriously questions any abrupt mutation in political and social structures around 1000. The sense, adumbrated by Chenu and Grundmann, not to mention C. H. Haskins, that 1200 is not itself a break in the religious, intellectual, and institutional trends that began around 1100 seems to hold too (and it is a sense that is unfortunately occluded by the decision to end this volume in 1198). But scholarly enthusiasm for the revivals and retrievals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has clearly waned. These articles express such disillusionment—not directly or explicitly but in their attention to instruments of aggression and repression. Perhaps it is not an accident that the final paragraph of the final article in Part 1 speaks of the period covered by Volume IV as a "chaotic interlude," a period of "negative identity," best described by "the absence of defining characteristics." Kidson is, in this essay, talking about art. One may question whether any other scholar writing for the volume would employ such adjectives, or whether they should be applied to other areas of history in the period 1024-1198. But the impression given by the *NCMH*, Volume IV, is that—whether or not "negative identity" describes the period—it does describe a nagging uncertainty at the heart of much current scholarship about it.

The lack of coherent overall interpretation in this volume is surely owing partly to the failure of the editors to make hard decisions about coverage or to deal explicitly with the question of chronological boundaries (in contrast to what the late Timothy Reuter, for example, managed to achieve in *NCMH*, Volume III). But I think this lack is owing as well to the fact that the eleventh and twelfth centuries have simply received less attention recently than the more troubled centuries that came before and after. The years "c. 1024–c. 1198" still wait for historians (among them historians of religion) to reinvigorate and re-imagine them. When this new interpretation comes, however, one suspects that it will be forged at least in part by approaches and insights absent from this volume.

Institute for Advanced Study CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DIVISIONS AND ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE

The Eucharist. By Edward Schillebeeckx. (New York: Burns and Oates, a *Continuum* imprint. 2005. Originally published 1968. Pp. 160. $18.95 paperback.)
The Eucharist in the Reformation. Incarnation and Liturgy. By Lee Palmer Wandel. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 302. $70.00 clothbound, $24.95 paperback.)

It has been remarked more than once that ecumenical dialogue risks failure when the appropriate historical studies are neglected, either not done or not taken into account when the possibilities of eventual communion between churches are discussed. Without these, the issues in dispute at the time of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations of the sixteenth century are not clarified, nor can it be seen what import they have for present ecumenical efforts and what relation they have to the Gospel and to the apostolic tradition.

Both of the above books show careful historical research into sixteenth-century developments and questions. Schillebeeckx is concerned with more theological issues, historical and current. He bases his thoughts about present trends in Eucharistic theology on careful historical research into the Council of Trent. He then relates the issues debated by the Council to contemporary European ways of thinking about the symbolic. Wandel is more purposefully historical. She writes principally about how the Mass, Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion were celebrated by the communities that drew apart from each other in their understanding of what they did and what Christ commanded. Holding these two works in hand together is a reminder of how complex the issues were and of how quite varied aspects of dispute and schism need to be studied. They illustrate the distinction that has to be made between doctrinal and practical questions, as well as the need to explore the relation between the two. They also make the reader sensitive to what is at stake in relating such matters to current thought, practice, and teaching. While that is not her intent, Wandel's book in particular should make it clear that no solution to ecumenical communion, such as a general policy of open communion table, is possible unless churches address the ways in which members of different traditions inevitably think differently about the meaning of the communion table. Even the existing agreed statements on the Eucharist, rich and important though they are, do not take the belief and feeling of participants in the liturgy into full account and so seldom address how to deal with popular and pastoral exigencies.

The small book of Edward Schillebeeckx, rather deceptively entitled *The Eucharist*, is a reprint of a 1968 book. When written it was not meant to be a full range Eucharistic theology. It might better have borne the title "Christ's Presence in the Eucharist" since it treated of then current trends in the discussion of Christ's presence in the Eucharist in the light of the Tridentine doctrine given in the Decree on the Sacrament of the Eucharist. The work is still very rel-

evant, both to historical studies on Trent and to the development of a theology of Eucharistic presence in the light of contemporary thinking and culture. Indeed, one might say that in Catholic circles Schillebeeckx's presentation surpasses much that has been written between then and now and students and scholars would benefit from returning to the careful and accurate thought of a *Magister* in the field. We can be grateful to Continuum for the reprint.

The book is divided into two parts, the one historical and the other a treatment of theological trends of the period before, during, and after Vatican Council II. In the historical section, Schillebeeckx's purpose is to clarify what was discussed and defined at the Council of Trent and to place its teaching into its proper historical and cultural setting. Contrary to the positions taken by some others, Schillebeeckx insists that the matters of Christ's presence and of transubstantiation were thought through in terms of the prevailing Aristotelian natural philosophy. It is only by recognizing this fact that we can know what was intended by its doctrine and how we are to take it seriously in a time when thought forms are more phenomenological and personalist. Neither slavish repetition nor simplistic dismissal of the need for ontology will satisfy. It is from this perspective that the author tackles the thorny question of how to be faithful to the substance of Tridentine teaching while adopting thought forms of quite a different pattern. Both his survey of how theologians, primarily Catholic, had begun before 1968 to discuss Eucharistic presence and his own thinking in the matter are invaluable to present Catholic and ecumenical theology. While this was not his purpose, given his attention to an understanding of symbolic activity, as distinct from scholastic theology's treatment of the eucharist in terms of substantial presence and efficient causality, his approach could be adopted in discussion of Eucharistic sacrifice as well as in discussion of Christ's Eucharistic presence.

To place Schillebeeckx's work alongside that of Wandel is fascinating, for at first sight they hardly seem to be discussing the same sixteenth century. The difference lies in the fact that whereas Schillebeeckx talks of a fairly sophisticated theology, which he admits might not have had much effect on popular devotion and Eucharistic participation, Wandel's concern is with practice and liturgical forms. It is not about theological discussions and doctrinal proposals as such, though these are not neglected, but about what pastors and people thought was being done and conveyed in the celebration of the Mass or Lord's Supper. This is a genuine problem in understanding the question of ecumenical exchange, since the matter cannot be resolved simply by formal statements on Eucharistic understanding. For his part, Schillebeeckx shows himself aware of the distance that can exist between theological thinking and common belief. Wandel on the other hand, while being very careful and complete within the defined limits of her research, could appear to be unaware of the more sophisticated side of medieval theology. She is inclined to treat of all Catholic thought as physicist rather than truly sacramental and metaphysical. The difference between the two authors highlights a problem which neither of them treats, namely, how can we bridge the gap between theological thought and popular thought and practice, whether in studies of the past or in addressing questions of the present.

Before tackling the controversial issues of the Reformation period, Wandel gives quite a long account (pp. 14-45) of the way in which the Mass was celebrated and perceived in the later Middle Ages and of how Eucharistic devotions were promoted and practiced. She brings out especially two things. First is how in the Mass attention was focused on the consecration and the presence of Christ in the host, even to the neglect of communion. Second is how the Mass was identified with the priest who was said to act in the person of Christ and by his mimetic actions recalled Christ's doings at the Last Supper. Given present discussions of presence, it is interesting to note that she points out that though the presence of Christ in the host was taken to be central, there were also other ways in which he was considered present and to which this was related (pp. 45f.), i.e., in the structuring of the year's feasts and celebrations, in plays within the liturgical calendar, in images, and in the mimetic actions of the priest, especially at the consecration. Naturally, as with any survey of history, one might have expected to find other items noted, such as a greater account of the sacrificial aspects of the Mass and the people's part in offering through stipends and designated prayers to be said to accompany the priest's actions. For all that, the reader gets what seems to be quite an accurate account of what the Eucharist meant to people before the Reformation.

After this introduction, Wandel then deals with the early development of the Lutheran tradition, with the diverse traditions of Reformed Churches, and with Catholic tradition as it emerged from the controversies with Protestants. In her accounts of Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic celebration Wandel's book is a careful and detailed analysis of available evidence. Though she cites some doctrinal sources, such as the *Confessio Augustana*, the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the *Heidelberg Catechism*, her principal aim is to trace what was conveyed by the forms of celebration adopted variously within the Catholic tradition, the Lutheran tradition, and the Reformed tradition, indicating the deep divide between them. To do this, she focuses on how the two terms of Jesus's Supper Words were understood, "Do this," and "This is." In other words, she asks how these traditions understood what was to be done in obedience to Jesus's command and what meaning to attach to the verb "is" in the sentence "This is my body." As they all obeyed the command to keep the memorial, Wandel shows that the distance between the past of Christ's sacrifice and the present of the Church was seen differently in each confession. For the Protestant traditions generally, the memory involved was of an event that belongs decidedly to the past, namely, the once and for all sacrifice of Christ in virtue of which and through faith in which believers are saved. This inevitably affected the forms of celebration and of the offering of communion in the sacramental gift. For the Catholic tradition on the contrary the past belonged in some kind of enduring present because of the identification of the action of the priest with the action of Christ. How a deeper grasp of the pneumatological, ecclesiological, sacramental, and symbolic characteristics of keeping memorial might lessen the divide is not within the province of Wandel's book. Nor should we expect it to be, but we ought to be able to see that while

thought on these matters was not highly developed in the sixteenth century it could well be brought into contemporary exchange between Churches.

Maybe it is because of her concentration of purpose that Wandel's treatment of Trent is disappointing and needs completion by studies such as that of Schillebeeckx. In particular, she gives the impression that all Catholic thought on transubstantiation was physicist, whereas Schillebeeckx's work shows that Trent quite clearly eschewed such meaning and that analogies drawn from Aristotelian metaphysics by scholastic theology provided a way out of this dilemma in giving ontological but not physical weight to the conversion of bread and wine. She also seems to pass lightly over Trent's insistence in treating of the sacrifice of the Mass that the Eucharistic sacrifice is totally and entirely sacramental and memorial and so in no way derogatory from the sufficiency of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. What she does show, however, is that both Trent and the revision of the Missal under Pius V deliberately kept the focus on the priest's rather than on the congregation's action and that Catholic doctrine and liturgical reform were voiced in such a way as to retain and promote medieval forms of the celebration of the Mass and of devotion to the reserved sacrament, albeit rejecting and condemning many abuses.

Whatever the rejection of transubstantiation by Luther, or the accent on spiritual eating and drinking in the Reformed tradition, and whatever the indifference to material things sometimes attributed to them, Wandel shows that for a while Protestant worship was much more attentive to the signs of bread and wine than was Roman Catholicism. Roman liturgy in its focus on the host and in the external forms given it, in fact lost touch with the signs of bread and wine as such and with the invitation to eat and drink. It was the respect for the Gospel story and Christ's own injunction which led Lutheran and Reformed confessions and practice to hold firm to the signs of the table. It is rather paradoxical that while Catholicism built up a theology and practice that accentuated the real presence of Christ in the Mass and in the reserved sacrament, it did so at the expense of the tangibility of the signs, both things and action, so that Protestant traditions were and are in practice more evangelical or closer to the Gospel stories in their celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Despite the emphasis on the distinctively sacramental forms of Eucharistic conversion and of memorial sacrifice promoted by Trent, when we turn once more to Schillebeeckx we see that the categories of substance and causality on which medieval and post-Tridentine theology relied are not able to give a persuasive treatment of sacramental symbolic activity. This is of course even more difficult when respect for the signs of eating bread and drinking wine practically vanishes. Schillebeeckx shows us that the efforts of the twentieth century, both Protestant and Catholic, are attempts to find explanations of the Eucharist in terms of God's Word and of understandings of symbolic activity and exchange.

A further problem has to do with the interaction of priest and congregation. In reading some Roman instructions on the Eucharist as well as the most

recent revision of the General Introduction to the Roman Missal (GIRM) one might well ask if Catholic teaching can retrieve an adequate (and indeed ontological) understanding of the Eucharist if it continues to hold to such a strong distinction between the actions of priest and of congregation, and continues to offer an apologetics which justifies communion under only one kind for the faithful (whatever the recommendations for communion under both kinds) and for Masses celebrated without a congregation. In reading these instructions together with Schillebeeckx and Wandel, one is left to wonder whether in practice and doctrinal formulation, and despite innumerable agreed statements, churches today are not still living the impasse of the sixteenth-century controversies amid differences in understanding and devotion.

Asking this is not meant to be a postulate for homogeneity of belief and practice. In that regard, it is refreshing to read Schillebeeckx's plea for a distinctive Catholic belief which supports the doctrine of transubstantiation and ontological change, while at the same time refusing to reject other traditions as lacking in orthodoxy (p. 159). Though in 1968 he did not formulate it that way, one can say that he anticipates the question put in a 1982 ecumenical study of Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed traditions as to whether it may not be possible to have differing doctrines and practices within fidelity to the Gospel and the one apostolic tradition (*The Condemnations of the Reformation Era: Do They Still Divide?* Edited by Karl Lehmann and Wolfhart Pannenberg [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1990]). There may be room for each church to support what it inherits from its own tradition as particular to its own understanding and practice, but in more irenic openness to the peculiarities of other churches. This is not to say that there is no room for liturgical revision for all churches in the light of the Gospel and of early apostolic traditions. It is also not to say that developing cultures do not raise their own set of questions and bring their own insights to doctrine, theology, and celebration. It is rather to suggest that in every development there is a place for the particularities of sixteenth-century heritages, but in such a way that the differences may be lived in a serene ecumenical exchange rather than in polemics and the condemnation of what is different. It is also to suggest that eventual full communion between churches may mean accepting unity in diversity, as far as the understanding and practice of the Eucharist is concerned.

In brief one can say that as a contribution to theological and liturgical studies, both of these books are valuable and worth reading. It is in part their very difference that helps ongoing discussion, for this highlights both the complexities and the possibilities of historical study and so of ecumenical exchange.

The Catholic University of America DAVID N. POWER, O.M.I.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Thinking about Religion: An Historical Introduction to Theories of Religion. By Ivan Strenski. (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. 2006. Pp. vi, 358. $34.95 paperback.)

This text is not focused on setting out how religion is practiced. Professor Strenski's interest here, rather, is to help undergraduate students to understand how religion came to be the focus of theoretical interest. He attempts to set out here how, in various ways, religion became problematic and how scholars attempted to solve those problems. As he puts it: "This book tells the 'story' of important attempts to raise and solve many of the chief problems of religion by inventing what we call 'theories' of religion" (pp. 1-2). That 'story' is set out in three parts.

In the first section of this volume, "The Prehistory of the Study of Religion," Strenski accounts for the emergence of a methodical study of religion as a response to the doubts raised about it in the intellectual ferment created by the Protestant Reformation and the discovery of new worlds that brought with it an encounter with other religions (chap. 1), and by the effects of the historical-critical study of the Bible on traditional religious belief (chap. 2). These developments spurred on thinking about "religion as such," which led, on the one hand, to a quest for the first or natural religion, and on the other, to the naturalistic study of scriptural texts. These enterprises, according to Strenski, constitute "the beginnings of serious and open critical inquiry into the nature of religion" (p. 17)—an inquiry that was executed by some scholars in a religious vein and by others as a secular or naturalistic undertaking.

In part two of the text, Strenski treats "Classic Nineteenth-Century Theorists of the Study of Religion" who he maintains were primarily concerned with the question of the origins of religion. Four major figures are treated here: Friedrich Max Müller (chap. 3) and William Robertson Smith (chap. 5) are presented as dealing with difficulties related to the understanding of sacred texts, and E. B. Tylor (chap. 4) and J. G. Frazer (chap. 6) represent early anthropological approaches to understanding religions and religion. For Strenski, Müller, and Robertson Smith not only were students of religion but also advanced religious agendas—they were therefore both "critics" and "caretakers" of religion (p. 132). Tylor and Frazer, on the other hand, are presented as antagonistic to religion. Although Strenski considers such approaches as ideological as those of Müller and Robertson Smith, he nevertheless claims Tylor's work constitutes the first real science of religion.

In part three of this volume, on the "Classic Twentieth-Century Theorists of the Study of Religion," Strenski argues that scholars of religion moved from empirical (philological, historical, and anthropological) studies to phenomenological and psychological interpretations of religion that transcended the grip of nineteenth-century evolutionism by admitting "subjectivity into the human sciences" (p. 166). Treating such figures as Wilhelm Brede Kristensen, Cornelis Petrus Tiele, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Rudolf Otto, and Ninian Smart in chapter 7, Strenski notes: "Every one of the thinkers with whom we will deal from this chapter on out, had, as well, to take seriously the idea that the study of human culture and society required certain methods especially tailored to the human subject—even if they finally opposed giving the human realm special status" (p. 166). The scholars he chooses to focus on include Max Weber (chap. 8), Sigmund Freud (chap. 9), Bronislaw Malinowski (chap. 10), Emile Durkheim (chap. 11), and Mircea Eliade (chap. 12).

Although the title and subtitle of this volume suggest that the reader will be introduced to theories of religion that have constituted avenues for thinking about religion, Strenski has rather focused attention on the theorists themselves. Throughout the volume he insists on the importance of finding out why theorists of religion thought they were right to propose the theories they elaborated. Theorists of religion, one might reasonably presume, formulated their theories because they believed them capable of providing cogent, testable accounts of religion. Strenski, however, appears to believe that it is rather a matter of biography; that one needs to look more deeply into the idiosyncratic aspects of the lives of theorists, and the peculiarities of their particular social contexts, if one is to understand why they believed their theories to be right. Thus he writes: "Whatever else students take from this book, I at least hope they will feel that they understand how and why some remarkable folk *thought about religion*" (p. 6). I find that an inadequate goal for a book meant to introduce students to the importance of theory in the study of religion.

University of Toronto DONALD WIEBE

A Church That Can and Cannot Change: The Development of Catholic Moral Teaching. By John T. Noonan, Jr. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 297. $30.00.)

Noonan's thesis is that while the Catholic Church cannot change in holding to the deposit of faith, its moral doctrine has changed with regard to slavery, usury, and religious liberty, and it is in process of changing with regard to the dissolving of non-sacramental marriages. In his final thirty pages, he offers his reflections on factors that have influenced the development of moral doctrine.

Noonan treats slavery as the prime case of change in moral doctrine. He observes that no condemnation of this institution is found in Scripture or in the writings of the Fathers except for Gregory of Nyssa. Aquinas said slavery

was "added" to natural law, but it did not contradict it. Moral theologians such as St. Alphonsus Liguori raised no objection to it. In the colonial period several popes did condemn the enslavement of innocent people, and in 1839 Gregory XVI condemned the slave trade as "inhuman." But Francis P. Kenrick, the moral theologian later named Archbishop of Baltimore, insisted that the Pope had not condemned slavery as it was then practiced in the United States.

Vatican Council II, however, in *Gaudium et Spes* included slavery in a list of things it called *probra* (infamies), and John Paul II in *Veritatis Splendor* condemned all these things as "acts which are intrinsically evil." Noonan is convinced that here the Pope has condemned the ownership of one person by another as *per se* and always gravely wrong. But there is a weakness in his position, because the same list includes such things as subhuman living conditions and degrading conditions of work. Here, by "acts which are intrinsically evil," one would have to mean acts that reduce people to such conditions. By the same logic, one could conclude that what John Paul II condemned is no more than what previous popes had condemned, or what the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* calls "a sin against the dignity of persons and their fundamental rights," namely, "to reduce them by violence to their productive value or to a source of profit."

Noonan next treats the development of the Church's judgment on usury when it meant charging any interest on a loan. In the time of Charlemagne the Church began to forbid this as against the natural law, and in 1182 Pope Urban III interpreted Jesus' words: "Lend, expecting nothing back," as condemning usury. Gradually, with the development of modern commerce, Rome came to understand that there were legitimate titles to interest on a loan, and that Jesus' words did not mean what Pope Urban III thought they meant.

Noonan asserts that, from St. Augustine to the eve of Vatican II, the doctrine that the Church should prevent the propagation of heresy, and rightly calls upon friendly civil powers to enforce its suppression, was taught by the ordinary magisterium of the Catholic Church. Vatican II, however, taught that all persons should enjoy freedom from coercion in religious matters. As Noonan observes, this change raises questions about the irreversibility of what has been taught by the ordinary magisterium.

After tracing the history of the Church's explanation and application of the "Pauline" and "Petrine" privileges, Noonan raises questions about the justification of papal power to dissolve the marriages of the unbaptized. He observes that this doctrine has developed without resolving the tension between natural indissolubility and the power to dissolve the marriages of two-thirds of the world's people. He believes that further development, in both theory and practice, must be awaited.

In his final section, Noonan suggests three ways in which development of moral doctrine takes place: by deepening the understanding of revelation; by the observation of human experience leading to a better understanding of nat-

ural law; and by the enhancement of people's capacity to comprehend what the pursuit of truth and happiness by human beings depends upon.

The text is followed by fifty-eight pages of informative notes. These are not numbered, but running heads indicate the pages to which they refer. There is an index of names and topics.

This is a thoughtful and scholarly work, which raises questions for both moral and systematic theologians.

Boston College FRANCIS A. SULLIVAN, S.J.

The Boswell Thesis: Essays on Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality. Edited by Matthew Kuefler. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. viii, 348. $75.00 clothbound; $27.50 paperback.)

The publication in 1980 of *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality* (hereafter *CSTH*) by John Boswell marked the beginning of radical changes that persist to the present in the ways that historians, especially medievalists, deal with same-sex relationships. The sixteen chapters that make up *The Boswell Thesis* seek to assess some of the ways that Boswell's work has continued to roil historical scholarship during the past quarter of a century.

The opening essay by the editor, Matthew Kuefler, outlines the central tenets of Boswell's argument. In brief, Christianity, according to Boswell, emerged in a Mediterranean world where intimate relations between persons of the same sex were widely tolerated, if not invariably condoned. Neither the Christian Scriptures nor the early church Fathers, Boswell maintained, expressed blanket disapproval of homosexual practices. Those who now believe that they did so, he asserts, misunderstand the sources. The moral neutrality toward homosexual relations that characterized the Early Church, Boswell continues, persisted throughout the early Middle Ages. Hostility toward same-sex relationships began to surface in Christian Europe only during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As condemnation of same-sex relationships and those who engaged in them grew more severe, Boswell concluded, mainstream scholars and church authorities began to read their own attitudes back into the documents of the Early Church in order to justify their position.

Boswell, to say the least, set the cat among the pigeons, and feathers continue to flutter furiously, both among those who accept his views and those who find them unpersuasive or even abhorrent. Both groups, it must be said, include people of all sexual orientations. Indeed some of the earliest and most vociferous critics of Boswell's views were members of the gay community, many of whom considered his judgments of the Church far too benign, as Kuefler points out in his extended account of the reviews that *CSTH* received upon publication. The present book, however, presents overwhelmingly the views of accepters, although the individual authors do so with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

The chapter by Ralph Hexter that follows Kuefler's introduction is a particularly informative, indeed moving, personal account of the making of *CSTH* and subsequent reactions to it. Hexter, to whom Boswell dedicated CSTH and whom he designated as his literary executor, was close to Boswell throughout the period when he was working on *CSTH*. On Boswell's own published testimony, Hexter contributed enormously to the book's development. He is accordingly able to draw not only upon personal recollections of the book's creation, but also to document his statements in detail from the correspondence that remains in his keeping, pending its deposit in a public archive.
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Among the more notable of the fourteen remaining chapters in *The Boswell Thesis* are Mark D. Jordan's reading of Boswell's conception of his scholarship as a Christian ministry, Amy Richlin's analysis of the love letters exchanged between Marcus Cornelius Fronto and the emperor Marcus Aurelius, E. Ann Matter's investigation of the traces of lesbian relationships in medieval religious houses for women, Jacqueline Murray's reflections on male expressions of fear of castration and their implications for medieval notions of masculinity, Ruth Mazo Karras' study of "compulsory heterosexuality" among medieval knights, and Penelope D. Johnson's examination of the visions of Gerardesca of Pisa and her apparent obsession with her clothing.

Anyone concerned with the study of medieval sexual attitudes and behavior will find this attractive and well-chosen collection of essays intellectually provocative and stimulating, whether they agree with the authors' views or not.

University of Kansas, Emeritus JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

The Spirituality of the Christian East, Volume 2: *Prayer*. By Thomaš Špidlík. Translated by Anthony P. Gythiel. [Cistercian Studies Series, Number 206.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. xviii, 540. $39.95 paperback.)

This volume is a development of the last two chapters of Tomaš Špidlík's earlier book, *The Spirituality of the Christian East* (1978; English translation 1986), and so presents itself as being the second volume of a series with the same title, or volume two of what the author describes as a *Systematic Handbook* (p. xv). While the two concluding chapters of the first volume covered "Prayer" and "Contemplation," *Prayer* now itself covers a significantly broader range of material: The Divine-Human Dialogue (Chapter Two), Prayer as Supplication (Three), Bodily Prayer (Four), Liturgical Prayer (Five), Meditative Reading (Six), Contemplation (Seven), Mysticism (Eight), Dispositions for Prayer (Nine), and Hesychasm (Ten), followed by a summarizing conclusion. The bulk of the work is preceded by an Overview of the Sources (One), providing a brief description of the Fathers and spiritual writers, the liturgical documents, and the liturgical poetry, from which the material presented here is drawn. The range is characteristically broad, encompassing

the material from throughout the Christian East (Coptic, Syrian, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopian, Russian, as well as Greek), early as well as late (including material from the twentieth century). These chapters are each divided into sections and subsections (usually a page or two), the headings for which are all listed in the table of contents. The bibliographic references to the material cited and further secondary work are provided in notes at the end of each chapter, and the work concludes with a selected bibliography, in which primary and secondary material are listed under the subsection headings and page numbers. The result is a veritable compendium of information, clearly arranged and readily accessed.

The sheer breadth covered by this volume in turn, however, accounts for its major weakness, that the information that it provides about or from any one figure, or concerning any one topic, is so brief that it does no more than provide a mention, before moving on to the next topic. In doing so, while attempting to be respectful of different traditions within the spirituality of the East, the work ultimately subsumes all the particular voices into one grand stream analyzed in terms of distinct categories, the legitimacy of which is simply presumed: the "cloud of witnesses" is reduced to an undifferentiated grey sky. Nevertheless, the work will be of use to both general and scholarly audiences; it will whet the appetite of the former, leading them on to further study, and for the latter, those who know how to contextualize its gems, it will provide a handy treasure trove.

St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary JOHN BEHR
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A History of Preaching. By O. C. Edwards Jr. Contains a CD-Rom with a second volume of primary sources, 665 pages as well as a digitized copy of volume 1. (Nashville: Abingdon Press. 2004. Pp. xxviii, 879. $65.00.)

Homiletics professors looking for a brief, manageable, and contemporary history of preaching have commonly been frustrated; the existing works tend to be (1) old and out of date, and/or (2) vast multi-volumes, many of which are devoted to specialized study, and/or (3) histories reflecting questionable scholarship, and (4) usually out of print. O. C. Edwards' *A History of Preaching* is one of three works on the topic published in the past five years to fill the void that has existed for the past thirty years. Edwards work has at least one clear advantage over the other two contemporary histories: his has been completed, while the multi-volume works by Ronald E. Osborn (*The Folly of God*) and Hughes Oliphant Old (*The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church*) are still in process. Additionally, Edwards' history is a more manageable size. *A History of Preaching* consists of one printed volume plus an additional CD-Rom that contains both a second volume as well as a digitized copy of the first. The second volume consists of 665 pages of primary sources: complete sermons and reflections on what

preaching is and how it should be conducted, beginning with a synagogue homily and a sermon by Melito of Sardis (ca. 165 A.D.) and extending up to the work of homilists preaching and homileticians reflecting on preaching in the last decades of the twentieth century. In some ways, by collecting this material and making it available in one source, the second volume may easily be as valuable as the first.

Describing his book as "a homiletic genealogy for those who preach the faith today in English—especially Americans, but British as well," Edwards acknowledges the limitations that space and time have constrained him to make. He begins with a consideration of the earliest examples of Christian preaching and reflections on preaching that are available, but soon begins to focus his attention, first on the Greek and Latin Fathers; then, after the patristic period, on preaching in the West; then, after the Reformation, on preaching in England; and finally on preaching in the United States. Although he critiques Fant and Pinson's *20 Centuries of Great Preaching* for devoting ten of twelve volumes to preaching in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he comes dangerously close to falling into the same pattern himself. Over half of the book treats the history of preaching in England and America. Indeed, his treatment of recent British and especially American contributions to the art of preaching and homiletic theory are the strongest part of the book, and happily, he considers a wide variety of traditions, from Evangelical to main-line Protestant to Roman Catholic, treating each tradition with respect. On the other hand, the progressively narrowing focus necessarily precludes treatment in other branches of Christianity and thus tends to make his history more helpful for a seminary professor who teaches preaching than for anyone doing an in-depth study of the field.

Although responsibly researched, Edwards' would have to be considered a popular history, as unlikely as that description might seem for a book approaching a thousand pages. The pattern he follows is to give an overview of preaching in the various periods of Christian history, then, identifying the major figures in preaching from each period, provide a brief biography and analysis of their homiletic style, often, although not always, with a consideration of one or more of their sermons. For each period, he has included either complete sermons or reflections on the art and technique of preaching in the companion CD-Rom. The information he provides gives a good introduction to the major figures and movements in preaching; his bibliography points the way for those who wish to pursue a more in-depth study. *A History of Preaching* should prove a handy and helpful text for seminar courses on the history of preaching or for those looking for a good and thorough overview of the topic.

The Catholic University of America DONALD J. HEET, O.S.F.S.

The Papacy: An Encyclopedia. General editor Philippe Levillain, English language edition editor John W. O'Malley, translated by Deborah Blaz *et al*. 3 vols. (New York/London: Routledge, 2002. Pp. xxxvi, 614; xiv, 615-1266; xiv, 1267-1780.)

Originally published in 1994 as *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*, the English edition updates the bibliography and some of the articles and adds several new entries. As evident from its French title, the emphasis in the articles is historical. It was designed for use in libraries.

The topics covered range from biographies of the popes acknowledged by the Vatican and of most of the antipopes in brackets, to a vast array of themes related to the papacy. Separate entries are devoted to papal conclaves, simony, *habemus papam*, onomastics (naming of the new pope), coronation, *possesso*, titles, residences, allocutions, benedictions, canonizations, patronage, offenses against, travels, sickness, deposition, resignation, death and tomb, and vacant or impeded see. Items associated with the pope are also treated such as regalia, tiara, vestments, keys, fisherman's ring, pavilion (sunshade), coins, medallions, banners, chair of St. Peter, *sedia gestatoria* (litter), *ferula* (ceremonial rod), *flabellum* (feather fan), and *floreria* (warehouse of papal paraphernalia). The papal chapel is described in entries on the Sistine Chapel, ceremonials, liturgy, *castrati*, and breviary, while one has to consult various entries for the music used there.

The papal court is described in entries dedicated to such topics as the papal palace, garb, gentlemen, diplomatic corps, nuncios, and legates. Various papal officials are delineated in the entries on the papal family and household and its prefecture, on almoner, barber, caudatary, chancellor, chaplain, chef, collector, cursor, datary, sacristan, and secretary. Cardinals receive extensive treatment: their appointment (e.g., *in petto*), garb (e.g., *cappa* [mantle up to seven meters long], *mozzetta* [ermine cape], and biretta), offices (e.g., papal nephew, protector, and legate), and titles.

To help understand the organization of the papal bureaucracy, there are separate entries on the consistory, secretariats (e.g., of State, of the Roman Curia, of Briefs, etc.), congregations (e.g., Holy Office, Index, Penitentiary, Signature of Grace, Propaganda Fide, Index, etc.), and tribunals (e.g., Rota and Apostolic Signature)—an organizational flow chart would have been helpful, but is missing. The Roman Curia is also studied by entries on its officials (e.g., chancellor, camerlengo, abbreviator, minutante, and scriptor), on its style (*bollatica*), fees (common and small services, annates), documents (recorded in registers, differences among bulls, briefs, constitutions, and encyclicals), forgeries, and practices (provisions, petitions, expectatives, reservations, and *ad limina* visits).

Papal teaching authority can be studied through the entries on magisterium, Holy Office, master of the sacred palace, infallibility, *ex cathedra*, heresies, anathema, and social teachings. Papal law is treated under various headings such as code, *Decretum*, decretals, exemptions, and reserved cases and causes.

The Papal States and Vatican City State are treated in long articles with separate entries for such items as the superintendent of the ecclesiastical state, *annona* (a provision of grain), passports, labor unions, library, secret archives, gardens, museums, observatory, postage stamps, railway station, press office, *Osservatore romano*, radio, television, and telephone. The state's defense is described in entries on the gendarmes, papal navy, Swiss Guards, Palatine Guards, and zouaves. Papal finances receive an appropriately long entry, plus separate studies of banking, tax, and tithes. The city of Rome is given a substantial entry. It can be further studied under such headings as its images in literature, traveler's views of, its Senate, its famous buildings (e.g., Colosseum, Pantheon, and Quirinal), its basilicas (major and minor, St. Peter's [its fabric and excavations], St. John Lateran, St. Paul Outside the Walls, and St. Mary Major), obelisks, sackings, confraternities, nobility, feasts, the diocese of, and its suburbicarian dioceses.

Relations with secular states can be found in such entries as the Roman Empire, Donation of Constantine, barbarians (with separate entries for the Franks and Lombards), Holy Roman Empire, investiture controversy, concordat, crusades, holy helmet and sword, golden rose, consecrated swaddling clothes (a papal gift on the birth of a princely heir), wars of Italy, Italian unity, and the world wars.

Papal relations to other members of the Catholic Church outside Rome are found in entries on councils (but not all general councils receive treatment), on bishops (conference of, synod of), on religious orders and groups (under the separate headings of monasticism, military orders, Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, and Opus Dei, but with many other groups ignored), and on seminaries.

Papal relations with other religious communities can be found in the entries on ecumenism, Judaism, Anglicanism, and Uniates, but for the Eastern Churches and Protestantism one has to consult a variety of entries such as the Third Rome and Anglican ordinations.

The above are only a sampling of the topics! This encyclopedia provides a true cornucopia of substantial matters (e.g., on the Second Vatican Council [pp. 1569-1586]), minutiae (e.g., the papal processional cross is turned toward the pope [p. 437]), and the arcane (the ten categories governing pontifical secrets [p. 1399]). Amusing anecdotes can be found in a number of entries. A 121 double-column page index allows one to mine quickly this reference work. It also contains a chronological table of the popes and lists of martyred popes and of "popes who are saints"—claiming incorrectly that no pope was canonized after 1295 (yet the entries on Pius V and Pius X state otherwise). The map of the Papal States incorrectly states that Ferrara in 1598 and Urbino in 1625 became autonomous or independent, when the opposite was the case. Perhaps to keep costs down, no illustrations accompany the entries.

The contributors, over two hundred in number, come mostly from France, but there is also a good representation of German and Italian scholars. Those

from England and America contributed to the English-language edition a few articles, such as that on Americanism. That a French audience was primarily intended is suggested by the special attention given to such topics as the Franks, Wars of Italy, French (sixteenth century), the French Revolution, the First French Empire, the Oldest Daughter of the Church, Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Quietism. Many of the entries are written by an expert on the topic, and they conclude with a bibliography that ranges in length from a couple of works (papal resignations) to almost fifty (inquisition). The quality of the translations is generally good. This is attributable to the hiring of professional translators and the review of their work by experts. Nonetheless, an occasional problem crept in—e.g., Adrian VI of Utrecht (his birthplace) is referred to as bishop of Utrecht (p. 344), and Paul II (d. 1471) issued his decree in 1464, not 1494 (p. 267). I would strongly recommend that every university and seminary library obtain a copy of this encyclopedia for its collection.

The Catholic University of America NELSON H. MINNICH

History of the Diocese of Clogher. Edited by Henry A. Jefferies. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2005. Pp. 249. $65.00.)

The Irish diocese of Clogher, which incorporates County Monaghan, most of County Fermanagh, and portions of counties Cavan, Donegal, Louth, and Tyrone, has the good fortune of possessing many rich and important historical records. The Clogher Historical Society, which has produced the well-respected journal *Clogher Record* since 1953, has ensured that a lively interest in ecclesiastical history continues in the diocese to this day. This volume builds upon this strong tradition of historical scholarship by making available a *pot pourri* of important articles which cast light not just on Clogher but also on significant national historical questions.

The editor, Henry A. Jefferies, admits that the volume does not pretend to be exhaustive, and this is borne out by the lack of treatment given to the early modern period: nevertheless, there is much to recommend this collection. Charles Doherty begins with a study of the early cult of St. Molaisse, arguing that the ecclesiastical site of Devenish was an important and powerful force from the early seventh century, with wide jurisdiction, and that the status of Armagh, with the support of the Airgialla dynasty, only increased considerably around the year 640. Cormac Bourke traces a number of significant metalwork survivals from the early medieval period and in particular saints' bells. Katharine Walsh, in a substantial and comprehensive article, examines evidence for the popularity of St. Patrick's Purgatory (Lough Derg) among late medieval continental pilgrims and provides much that is new and original. Brendan Smith explores diocesan relations in the late medieval period, with particular reference to papal interventions and the relationship between the bishop of Clogher and the archbishop of Armagh, which varied from collabo-

rative to hostile. Henry A. Jefferies, in a ground-breaking study of the papal registers referring to Clogher, challenges the view that the late medieval Irish church was on the verge of "total breakdown." His systematic examination of the registers reveals some significant statistics, which call into question previous generalizations. A second article by Jefferies, which assesses the career of Dr. Hugh MacMahon, vicar general and later bishop of Clogher from 1707 to 1715, also constitutes a fascinating yet accessible study of the practicalities of living under the penal laws in one Irish diocese. MacMahon's *relatio status* is the most comprehensive found for any diocese during the period and is of considerable importance not just for local history but for national history also. Two poems treating of the pilgrimage to Lough Derg are edited by Seosamh Ó Dufaigh, who in later articles casts light on both Richard Owens, bishop of Clogher (1894-1909), and on the Lenten pastorals of Bishop Patrick McKenna (1916-1922). Eamon Phoenix and Daithí Ó Corráin explore aspects of diocesan history in the twentieth century, Phoenix examining the issue of partition and Ó Corráin the career of Bishop Eugene O'Callaghan (1943-1969).

There are, however, some careless errors and inconsistencies within the text, which should be rectified for future printings. A typographical error on page 20 has the translation "In all Ireland Macculaisre" inserted into the Latin text of the hymn of Molaisse while "Macculasrius Hibernia" appears in the English translation. The sentence beginning "It need hardly be said. . ." on page 29 requires a complete re-write as it contains a number of errors. On page 38, the author McKenna is spelt in two different ways at note 96. There is no agreement on whether translations should be provided for quotations in Latin (a translation is given at note 44 on page 17, for example, but not for note 3 on page 41). On page 44 (line 13) and page 45 (line 10) "Middle Ages" is found written in upper case and lower case respectively. There is also a noticeable lack of consistency between articles regarding nomenclature: on page 44 we are introduced to Jacobus de Voragine (of *Legenda Aurea* fame) who in a subsequent article is found under the Italian version, Giacamo de Varragio (p. 70). On page 56 we meet the Catalan pilgrim Ramon de Perellós y Rhode who is subsequently found under the name Raymond de Perelhos in the article following (p. 73). Furthermore, it is disappointing that the volume lacks a Note on Contributors.

This is a welcome and important addition to Irish historiography. A wide range of readers should find it an accessible and varied collection, with much to contribute to our understanding of Irish cultural and religious history.

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SALVADOR RYAN

Cinquant'anni di vita della 'Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia.' Atti del Convegno di Studio (Roma, 8-10 settembre 1999). Edited by Pietro Zerbi. [Italia Sacra, Studi e Documenti di Storia Ecclesiastica, 71.] (Rome: Herder Editrice e Libreria. 2003. Pp. xi, 298. €45.00 paperback.)

This volume publishes the papers of a conference held in 1999 that assessed the first fifty years of the *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* (hereafter *RSCI*), which publishes two thick issues every year.

In an excellent article with an appendix of documents, Paolo Vian describes the origins of *RSCI*. From 1938 onward, various individuals and groups proposed a journal devoted to the history of the Italian church from its origins. Several wanted an historical institute as well, and some wanted it to be located at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan. Substitute Secretary of State Giovanni Battista Montini offered strong encouragement. Finally in 1945 Michele Maccarrone, a diocesan priest and medievalist originally from the Romagna, won the approval of Montini when he proposed just a journal without an institute and did not ask for a Vatican subvention. Rome became its home because of the number of church historians located there. Maccarrone was appointed editor of the journal along with an editorial board of distinguished scholars. It was decided that every issue would include a bibliographical section, because the war had made it difficult for scholars to learn of new publications. The first issue appeared in 1947.

Under the editorship of Maccarrone, the *RSCI* emphasized the institutional church and a straightforward presentation of historical material. There was little space for debates over historical issues in the opinion of some members of the editorial board and outsiders. The differences came to a head in "the crisis of 1976." Paolo Brezzi, a member of the editorial board, wanted a change of policy that would include more debates and a broader definition of church history. Maccarrone disagreed. Two members of the board resigned, and the editorial board of Hubert Jedin and others dissolved itself and gave complete editorial responsibility to Maccarrone. Ovidio Capitani, a participant in the crisis who agreed with Brezzi, describes the issues of 1976 in an article that demonstrates that considerable anger remains, although his allusive prose leaves some things unclear. *RSCI* operated without an editorial board until a new one was constituted in 1979.

RSCI sponsored some very important conferences. Paolo Prodi describes the conference entitled "Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia nel Cinquecento" that met in Bologna in 1958, a successful attempt to bring together clerical and lay scholars. Indeed, the list of the 135 speakers and attendees is a who's who of the most important Italian historians on sixteenth-century Italian religious history over the past fifty years. There was one Anglo-Saxon there, Leonard Boyle, O.P., a future prefect of the Vatican Library. The volume that came out of the Bologna conference included some seminal studies. The Bologna meeting also marked a split between *RSCI* and the Bolognese Istituto per le Scienze

Religiose, when Maccarrone refused to publish Giuseppe Alberigo's preface to the volume. Prodi publishes it here. At the time there was a plan for *RSCI* and the Istituto jointly to sponsor a series of monographs. This also fell through, possibly because Alberigo wanted to include Delio Cantimori on the board of editors. Maccarrone, a gifted scholar and editor of *RSCI* from 1947 to 1993, appears to have been quite dictatorial.

Other studies analyze the four important conferences on the medieval church and the two dedicated to nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italian church history. The last section of the book offers papers about three other Italian journals dedicated to religious history. Franco Bolgiani, editor of *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* (first issue 1965), describes that journal and how it differs from *RSCI* in admirably clear prose. Mario Fois describes the *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* (first issue 1963), and includes the sad information that it has only thirty North American subscriptions. And Alberigo describes *Cristianesimo nella storia* (first issue 1980).

From the beginning *RSCI* published more research in medieval history than any other field and it emphasized institutional church history, while avoiding the history of spirituality and piety. Nevertheless, in the 1960's and 1970's it published some fundamental studies on sixteenth-century Italian Protestantism. While few debates on methodology and disputed questions appeared in its pages, there were some very sharp reviews that expressed profound differences. When Monsignore Maccarrone died in 1993, the creation of the Fondazione Mons. Michele Maccarrone per la Storia della Chiesa in Italia ensured that the journal would continue.

There is rich material here for anyone interested in the evolution of Italian church historiography over the past sixty years, as Brezzi, Delio Cantimori (a friend of Maccarrone from youth), Giuseppe De Luca, Jedin, Giacomo Martina, Raffaello Morghen, Pio Paschini, Pietro Pirri, Paolo Sambin, and others wrote for *RSCI* or served on its editorial board. *RSCI* also published about 45,000 bibliographical entries in its first fifty years and a good number since. *RSCI* has played a major role in promoting historical research on the Italian church and will probably continue to do so.

University of Toronto and Chapel Hill, North Carolina PAUL F. GRENDLER

Ancient and Medieval

Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature. By Annette Yoshiko Reed. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 319. $75.00.)

The focus of this excellent monograph in the field of Enochic studies is the *Book of the Watchers* (chaps. 1-36 of *1 Enoch*), which itself is an expansion of

the enigmatic tale about the "sons of God" in Genesis 6:1-4. Through its seven chapters, the monograph traces the "fate of this apocalypse from its composition around the third century B.C.E. and its widespread influence among pre-Rabbinic Jews . . . to its rejection by the Rabbinic movement, adoption by early Christians, suppression by later church leaders, and eventual loss to the West" (pp. 1-2).

After an introduction that succinctly sets out the plan of the book, the first chapter asks how the fallen angels and their teachings function within the *Book of the Watchers*. In this chapter attention is also drawn to the complex literary relationship that exists between Gen. 6:1-4 and *Watchers*. Following on the observations made in the first chapter about the redaction history of the *Watchers*, chapter two investigates the text as the product not of a single author, but instead as the product of a series of authors and redactors. Chapter Two ends by suggesting that the author and audience of *Watchers* should not be assumed to be on the fringes of Judaism; so Chapter Three seeks to map the reception-history of it among pre-Rabbinic Jews.

In a similar vein, Chapter Four seeks to understand the reception history of the *Watchers* in early Christian circles. Yoshiko Reed asks the salient question to which the chapter is dedicated: "If pre-Rabbinic Jewish and proto-Christian interpretations of this text are so similar, why would the *Book of Watchers* eventually be preserved in Christian circles but not Jewish ones?" (p. 123). The focus of Chapter Five is upon Justin Martyr's understanding of the instruction motif in *Watchers* and how it played a central role in the "Christianizing" of the angelic descent myth. The sixth chapter considers the reasons why the Christian attitudes toward the *Watchers* myth increasingly came to parallel Rabbinic attitudes in the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ. The final chapter explores the re-emergence of Jewish interest in Enoch (and thus the *Watchers* myth) in the early Middle Ages. Lastly, the book's findings are summarized in a brief epilogue (pp. 273-277).

Fallen Angels traces a specific tradition (the *Watchers*) over a long time period (several centuries). The difficult task of tracing the complex interaction between Judaism and Christianity over time is done with sophistication. The study leads Yoshiko Reed to raise two important caveats. First, her study demonstrates that the so-called "parting of the ways" between Judaism and Christianity is an oversimplification of a very complex relationship; scholars must acknowledge this. Second, the canonical bias of the academy must be redressed, because to ignore or undervalue traditions that come out of so-called ""Pseudepigraphal texts" is to impoverish our understanding of antiquity. As Yoshiko Reed states in her conclusion, "Much is lost when we treat the 'extrabiblical' status of a text as somehow inherent to the text itself and assume that such works were, from the very moment of their composition, fated to circulate only on the fringes of society" (p. 274).

Anyone interested in the *Book of Watchers*, the development of the Enochic literature, or the complex development of Judaism and Christianity needs to interact with this significant study.

Illinois Wesleyan University KEVIN SULLIVAN

The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography. Edited by Dale B. Martin and Patricia Cox Miller. (Durham and London: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 364. $89.95 cloth; $24.95 paperback.)

Dedicated to the pioneering scholar of late ancient studies, Duke University's Elizabeth Clark, *The Cultural Turn* offers specialists and students fifteen innovative essays in the fields of gender, asceticism, historiography, and Mediterranean history, c. 100-700 A.D. Dale Martin's fine introduction to the collection surveys cultural approaches to the study of late antiquity, maps out the intellectual heritages of new methodologies, and underscores the interdisciplinary nature of this exciting field. In so doing, Martin makes available for graduate students preparing for comprehensive exams a handy overview of the last thirty years of scholarship on late antiquity, from the field's origins in patristic studies to its fusion with social and cultural history, as well as anthropology, the philosophy of language, and linguistics. Acknowledging late antiquity's debt to the field work of cultural anthropologists, Martin notes that intrepid scholars must now "enter a world—a different and somewhat odd world—much the way an ethnographer would enter a foreign culture" (p. 5).

The fifteen essays then navigate the steadfast reader through the complexities of this "odd world," focusing on diverse topics such as Susan Harvey's inventive study of the gendered, liturgical speech of Syrian Christians and its performative spaces, to Blake Leyerle's provocative analysis of desert ascetic prohibitions against oral violence, that is, meat-eating or slanderous speech, itself considered a kind of symbolic cannibalism. James Goehring traces the export of the mythic Egyptian desert as exotic exchange-commodity, from its hagiographical origins to its Gallo-Roman reinvention. Equally intriguing are the intellectual forays into the body-history of late antiquity, including spiritual tattooing on virginal flesh (Virginia Burrus) and the "grotesque" bodies of harlot-saints (Patricia Cox Miller). David Brakke meticulously negotiates the charged territory between gender theory and women's history by arguing that rhetorical portraits of women in early ascetic texts do have "concrete effects for real women" (p. 27). Maureen Tilley moves the reader into the social realm of women's history by excavating Augustine of Hippo's epistles penned to elite female recipients in order to recover "information about historical women" (p. 41).

In his essay on Theodoret, the fifth-century bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria, Philip Rousseau encapsulates perfectly the tension inherent in this field between literary and historical methodologies: "a key problem in late ancient

studies in recent years, especially for historians, has been the problem of access . . . are we truly getting in touch, so to speak, with the peoples of a remote past? Or are we condemned, rather, to be mere aesthetes, judging in the terms of our own times. . ." (p. 278). Rousseau challenges his readers to bridge the gap between this alien past and the familiar present by presenting them with a Bishop Theodoret whose epistemology and subjectivity turn out to be "quite modern in their tone" (p. 281). In contrast, Daniel Boyarin, drawing on the methodologies of New Historicism, invites his readers to contemplate the chasm separating modern interpreters from the (unknown) crafters of early rabbinic texts.

Identity politics play a central role in the chapters devoted to the study of heresy in late antiquity (Teresa Shaw, Averil Cameron, David Hunter) and the intersection of classical and Christian *paideia* (Susanna Elm, Mark Vessey, Dennis Trout). Whereas Cameron looks to Byzantine heresiologies for jewels of poetic inspiration, Trout turns to the poet of the martyrs, Pope Damascus, to chart the transformation of civic identity and public memory in fourth-century Rome. Trout ventures into spatial and visual theory (something one might expect even more of in this cutting-edge collection) by incorporating the work of French sociologist Henri Lefebvre and art historian Jaś Elsner. Overall, there is much to admire in *The Cultural Turn*, from its balance of literary and historical readings of the past to its disciplinary range and theoretical creativity.

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville LYNDA L. COON

A History of the Church in the Middle Ages. By F. Donald Logan. (London and New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xiv, 368. $22.95 paperback.)

The success of *The Da Vinci Code* has a special meaning for historians of Christianity. It points to the importance of history, even in mythological and legendary form, to satisfy the fundamental relationship between story and human understanding. What is perhaps most interesting is that considerable effort is being devoted to serious discussion of this most recent resurrection of conspiracy theory. Still, we can take some consolation that this period has witnessed a modest increase in courses devoted to church history and in the number of general works on the topic. Also, the field has been undergoing a quiet revolution, from an exclusive emphasis on ecclesiastical governance and doctrinal disputes to an interest in the Church as it touched the lives of people. F. Donald Logan's work reflects this trend.

I have often thought that the best church history is found in the "Acts of the Apostles" and the Epistles and that this should serve as a model for modern historians. It is a delight to see scholars moving in that direction. Of course, Logan gives ample space to topics like the conversion of Constantine, Justinian, Pope Gregory the Great, the Carolingians, the papacy, and the Great Schism, but he also has sections on popular devotion, Peter Abelard, universities, and a whole

chapter on death and purgatory. But it is in the tone of his work that we find his effective use of narrative and his eye for illustrative detail and apt quotations. It seems important to learn that Pope Alexander VI was knowledgeable about Greenland and was aware that the Christians there tried to preserve their faith even though they had had no bishop or priest for eighty years. A similar story in more modern times is told about the Japanese Christians who survived a long period of isolation. When we tell the story of the Church, these episodes deserve serious examination. It is one of the strengths of Logan's book that he works to capture the flavor of a topic as well as the facts. For him, the relationship between Abelard and Heloise is very human. He contrasts the passionate tone of Heloise's letters with Abelard's reply. "How cold his response must have seemed when, in reply, he merely counselled her to pray." On the other hand, Innocent III, who receives a detailed treatment focusing on relations with secular rulers, the crusade, and the Fourth Lateran Council, never comes to life in the same way. This is the most extensive treatment of any pope and reflects Logan's adherence to conventional views. Given the extensive work done on Innocent III in recent years and the image of Innocent that has been emerging, this treatment inevitably falls short. On the whole his treatment of the papacy neglects important new research that provides much more dynamic and engaged pictures of the popes. An exception is the considerable space he devotes to Pope Nicholas V's efforts to restore Rome after the period of long neglect in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and his founding of the Vatican Library, an effort not appreciated by his successor, Calixtus III.

There is considerable merit to this volume, and it will prove useful to both students and teachers. A new edition will provide opportunity for revisions. One problem stands out. Logan approaches the Church from a northern European perspective. This is evident in interpretations as well his organization of the materials. Christianity was, however, a Mediterranean religion. The Church reflects this fact, though the Latin Church's ties to northern Europe have obscured this reality to a considerable degree, especially as a result of the Protestant Reformation. As the Latin Church has moved away from its eastern roots, its history has become more separated from the eastern Churches. The western Church even up to the fifteenth century remained much more conscious of its relationship to the eastern Churches than was the case after the Reformation. I suggest that Logan would strengthen his already valuable book by recognizing this fact and giving it due attention.

Professor Logan writes well and is a conscientious scholar. His book will win numerous well-deserved adherents. My suggestions are made in a spirit of making a very good book better.

Syracuse University, Emeritus JAMES M. POWELL

Il battesimo di Costantino il Grande. Storia di una scomoda eredità. By Marilena Amerise. [*Hermes Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie, Einzelschriften*, Heft 95.] (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1995/2005. Pp. 180. €34.00 paperback.)

The story which Amerise has to tell is an extremely interesting one, even if some of its details will probably always remain obscure. The emperor Constantine was baptized in May, 337, when he was very close to death, and the bishop who baptized him was Eusebius of Nicomedia. Eusebius was constantly and consistently reviled by the adherents of the creed drawn up at Nicaea in 325 as an arrant heretic, not merely after his own death in 342, but even while he and Constantine were both still alive, as his political ally Eusebius of Caesarea complained (*Contra Marcellum* 1.4.9). Hence it is not surprising that the orthodox of later ages found it hard to stomach the fact that the first Christian emperor had been baptized by an "Arian." The truth about Constantine's baptism was, therefore, concealed, adapted, and modified, then eventually completely replaced by deliberate invention. The first part of Amerise's study analyzes the account of the baptism of the emperor in the *Life of Constantine* by Eusebius of Caesarea (pp. 13-64); the second part describes how writers of the fourth century after Eusebius presented Constantine's baptism in a new way because they depicted the emperor, who had in reality been sympathetic to Arius and had recalled him twice from exile, as an unwavering supporter of doctrinal orthodoxy against Arius, "Arians," and "Arianism" (pp. 65-92); the third part examines the emergence of the completely fictitious account which subsequently established itself as canonical and was accepted throughout the Middle Ages—the legend that Constantine had at first persecuted the Christians and had been stricken with leprosy, but converted to Christianity, was miraculously healed and then baptized by Pope Silvester in Rome (pp. 93-120).

Unfortunately, it is not clear to the present reviewer that Amerise's monograph marks any significant advance on previous scholarship, and her bibliography raises serious doubts about her scholarly expertise and judgment. A bibliography of "secondary literature," which runs to fully twenty-seven pages in what is a rather short book (pp. 145-172), includes several unscholarly and perverse books such as Alastair Kee's notorious *Constantine versus Christ. The Triumph of Ideology* (London, 1982), yet finds no space for (1) W. Levison, "Kirchenrechtliches in den Actus Silvestri," *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung*, Kanonistische Abteilung, 15 (1926), 230-240, reprinted in the posthumous volume *Aus Rheinischer und Fränkischer Frühzeit. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Düsseldorf, 1948), pp. 466-473; (2) Jean Gaudemet, "La législation religieuse de Constantin," *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 33 (1947), 25-61; or (3) Peter Weiss, "Die Vision Constantins," *Colloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Alfred Heuss*. Frankfurter Althistorische Studien, 13 (Kallmünz, 1993), pp. 146-169, now translated into English by A. R. Birley and revised by the author as "The Vision of Constantine," *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 16 (2003), 237-259. These omissions are regrettable because they are so relevant to Amerise's book. (1) Levison's short paper of 1926 adds to the

arguments for a Roman origin for the *Actus Silvestri* which he had advanced two years earlier in his long and justly famous paper of 1924, which Amerise cites and uses, although her bibliography does not direct readers, as it should have done, to the revised and more readily accessible version in Levison's collected papers. (2) Gaudemet's study played a significant part in quieting doubts about Eusebius' veracity and authorship of the *Life of Constantine* in the middle of the twentieth century. (3) Weiss' important and original paper puts the conversion of Constantine in an entirely new light. Amerise's bibliography also misreports a fair number of titles (e.g., books by Richard Burgess and Alexander Demandt), misstates the names of several authors (e.g., "Klein 1974" refers to an article by Konrad Kraft first published twenty years earlier), often fails to give references to the series in which monographs are published and under which alone many libraries catalogue them—and it pays the reviewer an unintended compliment by attributing his article "The Conversion of Constantine," *Classical Views*, 29 (1985), 371-391, to Averil Cameron.

On matters of substance, doubts about Amerise's competent and judgement arise on the very first page of her introduction. She puts the end of the Roman Republic in the first century after Christ (p. 11 n. 2: "Augusto che ha determinato il passaggio dalla reppublica al principato nel I secolo **d(opo) C(risto)**' [emphasis added]) and illustrates the proposition that the conversion of Constantine remains a *vexata quaestio* with a footnote that cites no fewer than fifty modern works in a list which mingles inextricably good, bad, and indifferent scholarship without attempting to analyze the real progress which has been made in this controversial field (p. 11 n. 4). In the first part of the book, the author insists that Eusebius himself, not a posthumous editor, is responsible for the structure and arrangement of Book Four of the *Life of Constantine* and bases substantive arguments on this supposed fact (esp. pp. 17-18 nn. 21, 25). Since the reviewer takes a different view, he regrets that Amerise seems nowhere to mention his fullest statement in the case in "The Two Drafts of Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*," in: *From Eusebius to Augustine. Selected Papers 1982-1993* (Aldershot: Variorum Reprints, 1994), no. XII, whose conclusions are, despite some minor verbal quibbles, essentially accepted by Averil Cameron and S. G. Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 9-12, 24-34. As for the third part of her study, Amerise appears not to have taken the precaution of consulting the entry for the *Actus Silvestri* (of which there is as yet no proper critical edition) in the *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*[3] (Turnhout, 1995), no. 2235, which registers yet another relevant modern study absent from her bibliography—W. Pohlkamp, "Tradition und Topographie: Papst Silvester I. (313-335) und der Drache vom Forum Romanum," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 88 (1983), 1-100. *Quid plura?*

University of Toronto TIMOTHY D. BARNES

Maiestas Domini: Une image de l'Église en Occident V^e^-IX^e^ siècle. By Anne-Orange Poilpré. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2005. Pp. 300. €35.00 paperback.)

The author revisits an iconographic theme, *Maiestas Domini*, that has been comprehensively treated before, notably in Frederik Van der Meer's monograph of 1938. In modern art-historical jargon the term is applied most particularly to images that surround an enthroned figure of Christ with the beast-symbols of the four evangelists, and it is often extended to images that, drawing on the Apocalypse, represent a lamb instead of an anthropomorphic figure of Christ. Here the author's focus is primarily on early Italian images, monumental mosaics, and also some small-scale works in metal or ivory, and on Carolingian manuscript illustrations.

The term *Maiestas Domini* is elastic and difficult to define, and the author is aware that it is a Latinate pseudo-medievalism when used in an iconographic sense, applying important textual constructs to images seldom if ever so designated in medieval sources. The author, strongly influenced by many studies of Yves Christe, presents an ecclesiological rather than theophanic (Van der Meer's emphasis) or parousiac interpretation of the imagery. In the author's view, the earliest examples of her themes, primarily in monumental mosaics in Rome, are statements about the nature and power of the institutional church. Later images are related to ecclesiastical reform, sometimes not very persuasively. For example, the author argues that the unusual image in the Gundohinus Gospels (from Francia, after 754) should be related to Boniface's reform mission east of the Rhine, although no evidence is presented connecting it with Boniface or with that area, and despite the image's close association with a rare text on the facing page that, as she states, strongly supports a dogmatic rather than an ecclesiastical interpretation. An extended discussion of the Godescalc Evangelistary makes interesting reading, but has as its premise the notion that five images displayed on five separate pages in a book, so that they can never be seen together, should nonetheless be interpreted within the category of the *Maiestas Domini* image, all or nearly all of the other examples of which are visible as an ensemble. One would wish for a presentation of premises and evidence rather more open to alternative interpretations. Too often such conclusions seem arbitrary, and thus unpersuasive.

The book's illustrations are, unfortunately, grossly inadequate. There are a few color plates, all of familiar images available in many other publications. Most of the illustrations provided are in black-and-white, but many of these are presented through very crude drawings rather than photographs, a procedure never explained. Photographs are expensive and annoying to acquire, especially as many institutions now assess significant or even punishing reproduction fees even for such a scholarly publication as this, but one expects to see them unless for some reason unobtainable. In too many cases the reader is not even directed to another publication where a photograph rather than a drawing might be seen, and many works are not illustrated at all, even when discussed at length. Unless already an expert in this area, with a library at hand

and pre-existing knowledge of what sources to consult, the reader often has no means of evaluating the author's interpretations against the visual evidence. It seems that the author does not want to lose sight of larger interpretive issues by becoming bogged down in details. Ah, but in the details is the devil (or whoever, for there are many variants of the saying).

Basically the author reads the images against modern secondary literature, and agaInst primary sources, both patristic and early medieval. For example, in discussing the important *Maiestas Domini* image from the Codex Amiatinus (Monkwearmouth-Jarrow before 716) she adduces Ambrose's commentary on Luke for the view that Christ is present in the four symbolic symbols of the Evangelists, while the four Gospels represent ecclesia. The connection between text and image is not explored in detail, however. Is the citation just a tool with which the modern beholder might form an interpretation of the image's meaning? The author provides neither evidence nor argument that this patristic work was known in the Northumbrian context of the manuscript's production or in any hypothesized context whence its model or models stemmed. Such questions are difficult, but the reader who wants to pursue such issues receives no help from the author. In sum, this book is a convenient and often thoughtful essay presenting a strong reading of the images and texts considered, with hypotheses that a highly-motivated and expert reader might want to consider further.

University of Delaware LAWRENCE NEES

The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600-900. By Charles B. McClendon. (New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xii, 264 with 175 b/w and 35 color plates. $65.00.)

This accessible and well-illustrated book provides a thoughtful overview of the history of architecture between the later Roman period and A.D. 1000. Dedicated to the memory of Richard Krautheimer, it in fact brings to mind Krautheimer's seminal volume on the architecture of the Byzantine world as well as Kenneth Conant's companion volume on Carolingian and Romanesque architecture. Indeed, in many ways this is a shorter, updated version of these two great volumes squeezed comfortably into 208 handsomely illustrated pages.

Part one reviews the legacy of "late antiquity," the Roman response to the cult of relics, *Romanitas* and the barbarian West, and the Christianization of Anglo-Saxon England. Part two focuses principally upon the Carolingian era and its aftermath in six chapters which include a review of the eighth century, the impact of Rome on Charlemagne's Aachen, private patronage and personal taste, the monastic realm, the innovation of later Carolingian architecture, and an epilogue that examines the architecture at the turn of the millennium in terms of the foregoing history. These contents illustrate immediately that, notwithstanding the reference to the new discoveries thanks to recent medieval archaeology in the introduction, this is essentially a history of eccle-

siastical architecture following closely the works of great masters such as Krautheimer. Moreover, if there is one point that reveals the author's thesis, it is to be found on page 195, where, in sum, he argues that early medieval architecture evolved in response to the later Roman cult of relics. Over time this architecture was fashioned in "an array of shapes, sizes, and decorative textures" by the Franks, Lombards, Visigoths, and Anglo-Saxons, all of whom, McClendon contends, sought to emulate Roman techniques. So, he concludes tellingly, "the so-called Carolingian Renaissance . . . marked a shift in degree rather than kind." In other words, while he identifies the new architectural forms of the era after c. 814, following Charlemagne's death, continuity of experimentation with Roman concepts is his principal theme.

This thesis must surely merit reconsideration following the results of many important excavations. Undoubtedly, the theme of continuity cannot be set aside. The Roman triclinium form, for example, well known in late antiquity, outlives the collapse of *Romanitas* and is to be found in excavated sites such as the Mercian palace in ninth-century England and, similarly, it served the abbots of San Vincenzo al Volturno as either a residence or guest-house in the same era. Yet we now know that other forms of elite dwellings existed as well: the small but well-preserved ninth-century aristocratic house with its porticoed front from the Forum of Nerva in Rome certainly merits mention, as does the contemporary hall-house with its bowed walls from the village of Poggibonsi, Tuscany. Similarly, while McClendon identifies the Roman conceptual framework for the schematic plan of St. Gall, he pays little attention to the evidence from the extensive excavations at San Vincenzo al Volturno which illustrate how a small nucleus was transformed into a ninth-century modular arrangement on terraces that, in Roman terms, now intentionally dominated the landscape. Traces of the same urban concept have been found elsewhere in Italy at Farfa and Monte Cassino, and hints of it exist as far afield as St. Denys. In sum, the archaeology emphasizes a massive injection of investment in the Carolingian era in order to emulate fully *Romanitas*. This is perhaps best illustrated by the ubiquitous discovery of animal-driven mortar-mixers associated with late eighth- and ninth-century building projects as lime mortar replaced the use of more primitive building materials.

In sum, this handsome book serves to summarize much great scholarship, but new research emphasizes how much there is to ponder as we grasp the rhythms of a truly formative era in European architecture.

University of East Anglia RICHARD HODGES

The Story of Wamba: Julian of Toledo's 'Historia Wambae regis.' Translated with introduction and notes by Joaquin Martínez Pizarro. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 262. $64.95.)

The *Historia Wambae*, an account of the suppression of the revolts in the provinces of Narbonensis and Tarraconensis against the new king Wamba in

672-673, together with three related legal or rhetorical documents, is the only historical work produced in Visigothic Spain between the mid 620's and the Arab conquest of 711. It is also the only early medieval historiographical text to devote itself in such detail to so short a period and so confined a topic. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that it has never previously been rendered into English, despite the existence of several recent useful anthologies of such translations. In fact the first Spanish version appeared less than five years ago. In part its uniqueness and also the difficulty of the questions of its nature, purpose, and compositional history may explain its relative neglect. However, this only makes the appearance of this careful and accurate translation all the more welcome. Its lack of inclusion in a previous anthology gives Professor Martínez Pizarro the opportunity to devote the rest of his book to lengthy historical and literary introductions to the text and to substantial notes on the texts. As these make frequent reference to the Latin original, it is perhaps regrettable that he did not go so far as to re-edit the text, or alternatively reprint the Wilhelm Levison edition of 1910 for the MGH. There are no extant medieval manuscripts of the work; only sixteenth century copies, but the time may be right for a fresh editorial eye on the text itself.

The two introductory essays are substantial, but the historical one suffers from being too even-handed. Professor Martínez Pizarro is not himself a specialist in the Visigothic period, and in consequence may not recognize that he is attempting to construct a synthesis from the works of scholars whose views do not easily coexist, or are often flatly contradictory. The effect is rather like trying to write history by committee. A further consequence is that he allows a surprising amount of space to older interpretations that have few if any modern followers. On the literary side, which is where his own interests mainly lie, he is far more original and indeed has few predecessors in the task of trying to establish the influences that may be detected in this short but complex group of texts. In particular he argues for an indebtedness to the Late Antique tradition of verse panegyric that has not previously been noticed. As the formal parallels are not exact, he may be overplaying his hand, but it is certainly thought-provoking. The notes can repeat some of the arguments of the introduction, and are not as full on some topics as on others, but all of these are minor quibbles. This book is to be warmly welcomed, and deserves a paperback version too.

University of Edinburgh ROGER COLLINS

Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249. By Claire Taylor. [Royal Historical Society, Studies in History, New Series, Vol. 46.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 311. $90.00; £45.00.)

This book swims interestingly and successfully against the tide. In its scope and intent, it rejects a number of the orthodoxies of current heresiography, and

looks both forward to a synthesis of recent methodologies, and back to the grander perspectives of certain founding texts. Modern Anglophone research on medieval heresy has tended to focus either on the apparently disparate heresies of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, or on the larger sects of Cathars and Waldensians, seen as beginning in the later twelfth century and stretching into the early fourteenth century (and, in the case of the latter, to the Reformation). To express the division more crudely, historians work either on chronicle accounts or on trial registers. In recent years, in both Anglophone and Francophone work, methodologies within both camps have tended to focus upon source-criticism, and interpretations have minimized or even dispelled the sense in which those phenomena labelled as heresy had any 'real' existence. 'Heresy' in chronicle accounts has been read as a code for other religio-political disputes; 'heresy' in trial registers has been localized and anthropologized, with historians (myself included) focussed particularly on how the records construct the details they claim to depict. In both of these areas, Claire Taylor resolutely refuses the pull of the current. Her fascinating book on heresy in France, focussed particularly upon the medieval diocesan area of Agenais (almost coterminous with the modern *département* of Lot-et-Garonne), takes us from the early eleventh to the mid-thirteenth century, and spends almost equal weight on each chronological pole, making extensive use of both early narrative materials and later trial evidence, alongside charters and other documents. And Taylor's argument is (as she puts it) resolutely 'post-revisionist': whilst alert to the complexities of the evidence, and conscious of the ways in which orthodox authority could shape and distort the surviving material, she firmly argues that dualist heresy did exist and extended over both time and space to a degree that other recent commentators have rejected almost out of hand.

Key to Taylor's argument is careful consideration of what orthodox medieval commentators may have had in mind when they used the term 'Manichaean' to describe contemporary heresies. Rather than simply adopting a patristic reference without reflection, she suggests, the eleventh- and early twelfth-century chroniclers were making an honest attempt to diagnose heretical phenomena upon which they had seriously reflected. The use of 'Manichaean' in this period was, she demonstrates, quite different from that deployed by writers in the ninth and tenth centuries, and much more focussed upon elements Taylor sees as being fairly secure 'markers' of dualist belief: "the rejection of sex, the refusal to drink wine, eat meat or otherwise harm living creatures, a predilection for fasting and the refusal to speak evil" (p. 113). Thus casting a more sympathetic eye upon the narrative materials, traces of dualism can be located more widely than a revisionist viewpoint would allow, and Bogomil influences from the East identified in south-western France. Taylor also, however, insists upon the importance of the local social context for heresy: that heterodox belief, and dualism in particular, were most likely to arise in areas experiencing weak ecclesiastical control and suffering oppression and social insecurity. Her picture of what occurs in the Agenais is thus a complex interplay between changing social conditions (crises in the early

eleventh century, political instability in the later twelfth) and intellectual currents (principally Bogomil missionizing in the early period, but also indigenous reflections upon the nature of Evil).

I am not completely convinced by all that Taylor argues: I'm less certain that one can build any very secure sense of what lies 'beyond the text' in the case of the early narratives, and more doubtful than she about the precise role of social experience in the formation of heterodoxy. But the former may be the methodological prejudice of an historian more used to focussing on the high and later Middle Ages, and the book is never less than highly thought-provoking, a sensitive engagement with both the modern historiography and the experiences of the real people who once lived, believed, and died in medieval France. In clear and elegant prose, Taylor asks us to confront the more glib assumptions of various revisionist trends in modern heresiography, and provides an inspiringly diligent model for the historiographical pursuit of heresy over several centuries.

Birkbeck College, University of London JOHN H. ARNOLD

Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste, roi de France: Volume V: *Supplément d'actes, actes perdus, additions et corrections aux précédents volumes.* Edited by Michel Nortier. (Paris: Boccard. 2004. Pp. ix, 589.) Volume VI: *Lettres mises sous le nom de Philippe Auguste dans les recueils de formulaires d'école*. Edited by Michel Nortier. (Paris: Boccard. 2005. Pp. viii, 215.)

The project to publish the acts of King Philip II Augustus of France (1179/1180-1223) was supposed to be completed long ago, but the systematic scrutiny of archival sources has had the good effect of turning up more and more authentic acts and of providing the sorts of information that make it possible to assess the authenticity of many others. Michel Nortier, the editor of these two volumes, believes that the project is now more or less done, except for a projected interpretative volume, which, it is hoped, will have a comprehensive index.

Part one of volume V includes about sixty newly identified acts, as well as others falsely or with insufficient evidence attributed to the king. Part two of this volume describes acts now lost but alluded to in various sources. And part three offers corrections and additions to the previous four volumes. It also has an "annex" on the execution of the king's testament and an appendix on the places where Philip's acts were issued.

Volume six, as its subtitle suggests, excerpts formulaic letters which, from internal evidence, probably were issued by the king but were turned into models for students at the schools, in particular the Universities of Paris and Orléans. Two annexes provide two additional documents from similar sources. And two appendices marshal the evidence that can be garnered on the practices (diplomatics) of the royal chancery.

The sixty new acts in volume V are a hodge-podge, as might be expected, but there are a number of them that deal with or mention Jews (nos. 1830, 1865, 1875), grants to lepers (nos. 1828, 1838, 1844, 1854), and the extension of the king's protection to vulnerable subjects (nos. 1833, 1835, 1842, 1853). Two false acts are among the most interesting. No. 1834 purports to be Philip's personal letter to the Count of Foix, asking him to join the king's expedition to the Holy Land, the Third Crusade (1190). It was published in French in 1640, although the original version may have been a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century Latin forgery that evokes authentic details, like the presence of the count of Foix on the expedition. The tone is one of a kindlier, gentler Philip Augustus than most historians would recognize. He signs off, "Vostre bon et ami PHILIPPE." The other false act, no. 1872, was issued allegedly on July 28, 1214, in camp soon after the Battle of Bouvines, where Philip Augustus routed the German allies of King John of England. The act commends a southern baron, Déodat, described with imaginary titles, like Duke of Narbonne and Prince of Rouergue. He is cited for his bravery and audacity and the conceit of fighting at Bouvines under the alias Tristan! The Pierre Tristan who really did fight in the battle and is mentioned in a well-known contemporary source, was a familiar of Philip Augustus, one of his chamberlains, but the name Tristan and the disguise motif of the great romance that bears his name seem to have tickled the falsifier's fancy and generated the forgery.

Scholars of all types owe a great debt to the efforts of editors of royal, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical *acta*. These two volumes published by Nortier show that the debt continues to increase.

Princeton University WILLIAM CHESTER JORDAN

The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham (1376-1422). Translated by David Preest; introduction and notes by James G. Clark. (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 471. $150.00.)

It will be enormously useful to students of the later Middle Ages to have a readily accessible translation of Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora*, the single most important narrative source for English history between the Good Parliament of 1376 and the death of Henry V in 1422; and, after having had to wait so long for one, it is more than a little ironic that two have now appeared within the space of two years. In 2003, Oxford Medieval Texts published the first volume of *The St. Albans Chronicle: The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, edited by John Taylor, Wendy Childs, and Leslie Watkiss, which contained both the text and translation from 1376 to 1394 (volume 2, from 1394 to 1422, is forthcoming), and now David Preest and James Clark have published this translation (with introduction and footnotes, but lacking the original Latin text) of the whole chronicle.

The first question that needs to be asked, however, is whether this is indeed the *Chronica Maiora* of Thomas Walsingham. The authorship and

relationship of the various chronicles written at St. Albans during this period is, of course, a complex and much-debated question, but ever since the publication between the 1920's and the 1940's of V. H. Galbraith's seminal articles on these texts, the general—though not unanimous—opinion has been that it is the chronicle which goes by the title of *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti* which constitutes the fullest printed text of the *Chronica Maiora* for the years 1392 to 1406. This does not mean that it constitutes the fullest text, which is probably to be found in British Library Ms. Bodley 462, which is being used by Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss as the basis of their edition and translation. But it is certainly a significantly fuller chronicle of these years than is to be found in the *Historia Anglicana*, which Clark and Preest have used as the basis of this translation (collated with Galbraith's edition of the so-called *St. Albans Chronicle* from 1406 to 1420). James Clark has stated on a number of occasions that he considers it unlikely that Walsingham wrote the chronicle printed as the *Annales*; he considers the abbot's chaplain, William Wintershill, a more plausible candidate (p. 19). This may be the case (although it does not seem to be an opinion shared by Taylor, Childs, and Watkiss), but for a work entitled *The Chronica Maiora of Thomas Walsingham*, there is strangely little discussion in the introduction about these opposing points of view.

Nevertheless, given that the fuller St. Albans/Walsingham text will before long appear in Oxford Medieval Texts, it is in a certain sense fortuitous that translations of both the longer and the shorter versions of these texts will now be available. For these are, in truth, marvelous chronicles. Walsingham was the last great monastic chronicler of the English Middle Ages, and he is in most respects fit to rank alongside the best of them: inquisitive, informed, deeply chauvinistic and prejudiced, fiercely devoted to St. Albans and the monastic profession. Walsingham's love of anecdote and caustic wit brought out in his work both the best and the worst in the English monastic tradition of historiography. Moreover, as James Clark has emphasized in a series of deeply perceptive publications over the past few years, Walsingham's historical writing was consistently informed by his classical learning, making him not just the last great English *chronicler* of the Middle Ages, but simultaneously one of England's first 'Renaissance' *historians*: thus "he cultivates a classical style of narration in which even the most commonplace events . . . are reported as moments of great passion and high drama" (p. 9). Much of his narrative, not surprisingly, concerned the travails of the Catholic Church at this time: after all, his chronicle coincided almost exactly with the Great Schism in the Church (1378-1417), which permitted Walsingham to draw on his deep reserves of antipapalism, and with the rise and ostensible defeat of Lollardy, the first significant heretical movement in England for a millennium. For the Lollards, he cultivated a finely-honed contempt, just as he did for the friars: when the devil appeared at Danbury (Essex) on the evening of June 2, 1402, it was "in the likeness of one of the Friars Minor" (Franciscans) that he did so (p. 321).

All this is well brought out in David Preest's very readable translation and elucidated by James Clark's concise and informative introduction and footnotes. Whether or not this really is Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora*, it makes one of the great chronicles of medieval England available to a much wider audience than hitherto, and is a fine work of scholarship which will be equally valued by students and researchers alike.

University of St. Andrews CHRIS GIVEN-WILSON

St. George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century. Edited by Nigel Saul. (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 241. $90.00.)

Edward III's foundations at Windsor (the chivalric Order of the Garter and associated college of secular canons) centered on St. George's Chapel, in the lower ward of Windsor castle. *St. George's Chapel Windsor in the Fourteenth Century* seeks to demonstrate Edward's motivation for these extraordinary foundations, and their impact.

This book is, in fact, one of several recently published on St. George's. In 2001 *St. George's Chapel in the Late Middle Ages* edited by Richmond and Scarff, was published, based on a conference of the same name. Following that the British Archaeological Association published the proceedings of its Windsor-based conference. In the same year a further conference took place, and from this the latest offering has emerged. Is there room, one might ask, for a further substantial volume? The series of eleven fascinating and highly informative papers in this book confirms that there is. The first three papers focus on Edward III; they are followed by five on the College and three on architecture and building.

The first three papers focus on the Order of the Garter; topics include the relationship of Edward's Order to his political maneuverings, the construction of a public image of monarchy, and iconography. A brief but fascinating contribution by D.A. L. Morgan subtitled "How God became an Englishman revisited" covers the rise in status of St. George and the Blessed Virgin Mary under the Plantagenets and its association with a sense of nationalism.

A more substantive contribution is made by Clive Burgess in his excellent and important account of collegiate foundations. Following this is A. K. B. Evans on litigation, a fascinating story of an obstinate vicar—highly revealing about legal cases in the late Middle Ages. It follows the editor's own contribution on the canons of the collegiate foundation, a clear and concise account of their careers. These papers tell us much about the personalities and people involved in the institution, additionally identifying what was exceptional or otherwise at St. George's. The musical tradition (albeit in the fifteenth century) is charted next through the career of John Plummer.

At the time of Edward's foundation the college was served by a small chapel (constructed by Henry III), later wholly reconstructed by Edward IV and

Henry VII. For survivals of Edward's college, one must look to the ancillary buildings, in particular the original college entrance. John Goodall's article assesses this porch, tracing from it an incredible series of buildings, and telling us much about the character of late medieval English architecture, within which clearly the concepts of continuity and revival, interpretation and adaptation are firmly rooted.

An account of the masons working at St. George's is provided next. The issue of the scale and complexity of Edward's works is well made. The impact of gathering together this enormous group of masons in the mid-fourteenth century is here associated with the subsequent development of a so-called national style. This concept, perhaps too heavily indebted to John Harvey, raises a crucial question about the character of late medieval English architecture and such generalizations have done much to undermine the varied and innovative character of architecture in England in the late Middle Ages. The exceptional nature of Edward's foundations, however, is confirmed by the final paper detailing the castle's carpentry.

At times one might wonder whether the articles do not stray too far from the title of the volume. Conferences, however, do not produce monographs, and this volume is satisfyingly coherent. Several of the essays stand out as significant contributions to the history of Edward III, and the history of both colleges and architecture in late medieval England. Its broad contextualization, therefore, is perhaps not a failing but rather this book's great value.

English Heritage LINDA MONCKTON

Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the Great Schism, 1378-1417. By Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 240. $45.00.)

Whereas most books on the Great Schism have considered it from the point of view of ecclesiastical and/or national politics, this is a study of literary and artistic works produced in response to that calamity. It moves from a discussion of reactions to the schism of 1179, which throws some light on the later affair (via the works of Hildegard of Bingen, Elizabeth of Schönau, and John of Salisbury), to two chapters on saints and visionaries (Birgitta of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, Pedro of Aragon, Constance of Rabastens, Peter of Luxembourg, Vincent Ferrer, Marie Robine, Ursulina of Parma, Ermine de Reims, and Jeanne Marie de Maillé), followed by what the writer calls poetic visions by Philippe de Mézières, Eustache Deschamps, Honoré Bovet, and Christine de Pisan. The final chapter is about prophecy and in particular the 'pope prophecies' and Telesphorus. The work should introduce scholars who have concentrated too much on politics to a world of discourse which is not very familiar. One strength of the book is its discussion of some relatively unfamiliar authors whose works may not be readily accessible to students. Some of

these writers were lowly persons, and the book certainly reveals the reactions to the crisis of some very unpolitical Christians.

The book is relatively sparing in giving the political and historical background and to the present reviewer, a historian, it lacks historical nuance. The literature in question frequently reminds one of the polemics of some modern members of the Anglican communion against those who disagree with them. A dialogue of the deaf is to an extent represented here. The author says (p. 162) that the solutions in the texts discussed were "eminently reasonable, exactly what was needed to solve this intractable problem." This was so only for those who could accept the premises on which they were based. *Cessio*, *subtractio*, and even a general council all presented intractable problems, theological, legal, and political, which genuinely could trouble the consciences of those in power, and to refuse to accept what was offered was not always a sign merely of being power-hungry. "No poet or prophet can sway those who are truly determined to hang on to power" (p. 163) of course, but it was not only power politics which made the schism so intractable, despite the rhetoric on both sides which accused opponents of such sins. In all of this the political problems were probably the most important, but the theological should never be underestimated. Almost all those who spoke here had the advantage of speaking as people who could only exhort, without being daily obliged to devise policy for the Church or the nation. In the end the Council of Constance opted for a solution which blamed no one who was prepared to accept it, even two of the rival popes.

For the historian, then, much more context and background would make the work more useful. There are also a few strange errors which I suspect are the result of a literary rather than a historical approach. For instance *de summis pontificibus*, is translated as "the last popes" (p. 81); the 'plot' by the cardinals which was the undoing of Adam Easton and his colleagues was not pro-Clementist but seems to have been a plan to subject Urban to a committee (p. 172); "la Santità vostra" (p. 54) is surely not "your saintliness" but "your Holiness"; Sigismund certainly did not depose John XXIII; Constance did that. Students should read this book but will want to go further.

Durham University MARGARET HARVEY

Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe. By Virginia Nixon. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 216. $35.00.)

Since early Christian times, artists have faced the challenge of giving visual form to beliefs. Dogma and devotion evolve, and so must art. Thus, the study of religious iconography goes hand in hand with that of theology and spirituality, and because none of them exists in a vacuum, such study must consider wider contexts (historical, social, economic, etc.) as well. Hagiography provides fertile ground for this type of enquiry as the popularity of saints ebbs and flows across time and geographic areas. As Virginia Nixon states in the preface to her

new book on Saint Anne, "Far from being a purely art historical project, it turned out to be as much about the history of religion, and indeed about history in a general sense" (p. xi).

Despite its title, the book is concerned with a more limited area than "Late Medieval Europe" and deals mostly with German-speaking lands (along with Flanders and Holland) in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It focuses on two iconographies: *Anna Selbdritt* (Saint Anne, the Virgin Mary, and the Baby Jesus) and the *Holy Kinship*, in which the three figures are accompanied by Anne's three husbands and their abundant progeny. Although the book takes art as a starting point, its essential focus is on the saint's cult: the texts that chronicle her life (apocrypha and later writings), shrines, monastic foundations, and confraternities dedicated to her.

The author argues that Anne was "a saint among other saints" (p. 21) until the 1470's, when her popularity grew through the agency of clerics and humanists who believed in her salvific powers (chapter 3) and saw her as a model for female behavior, especially that of middle-class laywomen (chapter 4). Perhaps the book's most interesting contribution is its discussion of how the cult was used in fund-raising for the Church (chapter 6). Focusing on two German examples—Augsburg, "an old city undergoing major social and economic changes" (p. 92), and the newly created Saxon town of Annaberg—the author shows how the rebuilding of churches and convents, along with the acquisition of relics, works of art, and indulgences, were the result of their "competition with one another for status, clientele, and ultimately income" (p. 82). The next chapter, "Functions and Perceptions: How People Used Images," on contemporary reactions to images (in particular as criticized by Protestant writers), remains too general. It contributes no new information to a topic that has been studied in depth by other scholars. After a short chapter (eleven pages) on "Anne's Decline," we encounter the concluding chapter, "The Images."

It is surprising, to say the least, for a book that aims to explain the remarkable flourishing of Anne imagery at the turn of the fifteenth century, to wait until the last chapter to see images addressed in depth. The limited number of illustrations (thirty-six, all black and white) does not do justice to the richness of the material. Also problematic is the absence of any methodological background. The author ignores important work on the construction of saints' cults (for instance, André Vauchez's, missing from the bibliography), or Jean Wirth's 1978 essay "Sainte Anne est une sorcière" (re-edited by Droz in 2003). Nixon is surprisingly oblivious of medieval spirituality (exegetical readings of the *Song of Songs*, so fundamental for Marian imagery, are absent), which limits her ability to understand the images she discusses. A case in point is her discussion of the motif—rather than a compositional feature, as she calls it (p. 58)—of the Madonna and St. Anne gazing into space. This unfocussed gaze, betraying their knowledge of the baby's future Passion, expresses their participation in the plan of redemption. Although certainly true, this insight leaves out important implications for the way images were actually used. As the author later

acknowledges, it is an "inward" gaze (p. 59): the two meditating women act as models for the devout.

Overall, this is a disappointing book, one that would have greatly benefited from careful editing and serious reorganization of its chapters and their contents.

Colby College VÉRONIQUE PLESCH

Introducing Nicholas of Cusa: A Guide to a Renaissance Man. Edited by Christopher M. Bellito, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Gerald Christianson. (New York/Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 480. $29.95 paperback.)

Attempting to introduce Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464) to the twenty-first century involves almost as much complexity and nuance as typified the subtle mind of Nicholas himself. The contributors to this volume, mostly members of the American Cusanus Society, have achieved a formidable task. The volume divides into five sections: Introduction, Church and Society, Humanism and Spirituality, Philosophy, Theology, and Science, and a Guide to Research. This works well, for it allows the readers to dip into whichever facet of Cusa's writings has the most fascination for them or one can just read the book straight through. To get a glimpse of the whole picture one would do best by reading the two chapters in Part I: Introduction, i.e., "An Appreciation" by Morimichi Watanabe and chap. 2 "Life and Works" by Donald F. Duclow. They place Cusa in the context of the fifteenth century, and they reflect the breadth of Cusa's interests, the profundity of his thought, but also how his life and works reveal his involvement in the issues and events of his lifetime: the Council of Basel, the attempt at reunion with the Greek Churches, and also an issue of his time and ours, the attempt at dialogue between the European and Christian worlds on one side and the non-Christian and especially the Muslim world on the other.

Section II presents in three chapters parts of Cusa's life that have become better known in the last two generations: [Cusa and] "Reform" by Brian A. Pavlac, "The Church" by Thomas M. Izbicki, and "Political and Legal Ideas" by Morimichi Watanabe. One of the terms in Cusa's mystical theology and metaphysical thinking could be very aptly applied here: "the coincidence of opposites." Pavlac concentrates on Cusa and reform in a discussion of his deeds. Cusa was an advocate of the contemplative life but was constantly on the move, involved in the major crises of his day. He worked for reform as a bishop and preacher but was also a collector of benefices, a curialist at the heart of what many saw as the major structure in need of reform. He was open-minded and a realist in his dealings with the Hussites at Basel and wrote his major treatise (*De concordantia catholica*) at Basel but then broke with Basel to side with Pope Eugenius IV in hope of having a better chance of reuniting the churches. His personal intervention and journey to Constantinople in pursuit of union led to the remarkable vision and shift in thinking while on the return voyage which leads into the third part in this volume: Humanism and Spirituality.

Here several writers expound on Cusa and "Renaissance Humanism" by Pauline M. Watts, "Mystical Theology" by H. Lawrence Bond, "Preaching" by Lawrence F. Hundertsmarck, and "Interreligious Dialogue" by James E. Beichler. Many of the insights and clarifications in these are helpful for the section that follows. The fourth section "Philosophy, Theology, and Science" through no fault of the authors presents the most dense reading: "Knowledge and the Human Mind" by Clyde Lee Miller; "Christ and the Knowledge of God" by Walter Andreas Euler; "Sacraments" by Peter Casarella; and "Mathematics and Astronomy" by Tamara Albertini. In reading these it is good to consult chap. 15 "A Glossary of Cusan Terms" by H. Lawrence Bond since Cusa's themes of enfolding-unfolding (*complicatio-explicatio*), learned ignorance (*docta ignorantia*) among others play a significant role.

Clyde Miller discusses the relation of God's mind and the human mind, Cusa's idea of the "conjectural" nature of all human knowledge and how this way of thinking, a pre-Cartesian mind-set, is easily misunderstood in later analysis. Walter Euler's essay presents a theme, discussed earlier, that Cusa while striving for interfaith dialogue and openness to the insights and contribution of other religions (e.g., Biechler's article) also tried to balance this with a Christocentric perspective. For Cusa the search for God was through Christ. The word play in Cusa's "Vision of God" is developed since this conveys both our seeing God and God's seeing all things. Peter Casarella continued this line of thinking when writing on the sacraments, since Cusa balanced an affirmation of an incomprehensible God with a Christ-centered mysticism. Cusa as a preacher saw himself as a communicator of spiritual wisdom, a theme stressed also in Lawrence Hundertsmarck's essay.

There is so much in this book that individual nuggets cannot be listed. The richness and profundity of Nicholas of Cusa's ideas as expressed in his writings are elaborated by Chapter 14, "Nicholas of Cusa in English" by Thomas M. Izbicki and Kim S. Breighner. Here we find a listing of the many translations, the great studies on his life and works, an alphabetical listing of his individual works with commentaries and studies, studies of his speculative thought, his ideas on interreligious dialogue, on reform of the Church, political and ecclesiological thought, his influence on later thinkers, and finally manuscripts, editions and his library.

For anyone who has at some time said, I wish I could learn more about Nicholas of Cusa, this book is a good place to start. For others to whom the question has never arisen, this collection makes a good case for why one should study him. It leaves one pondering without being ponderous.

State University of New York at Fredonia THOMAS E. MORRISSEY

Die Sermones des Nikolaus von Kues. Merkmale und ihre Stellung innerhalb der mittelalterlichen Predigtkultur. Akten des Symposions in Trier vom 21. bis 23. Oktober 2004. Edited by Klaus Kremer and Klaus Reinhardt. [Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft, 30.] (Trier: Paulinus, Cusanus-Institut. 2005. Pp. xlii, 270.)

The present volume presents papers from the first of two international symposia focused on the sermons of Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464). The complete 293 sermons are now available in edited, printed form in Vols. XVI-XIX of the series *Nicolai de Cusa Opera Omnia* (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1970-2006). To anyone who is studying Nicholas' thought the sermons are an essential resource, constituting, as they do, approximately one-third of his writings. Some of the sermons were put into written form *after* they were preached; some were written down *before* they were preached; and some were preached without ever being written down. The 293 sermons of which we are in possession are more correctly referred to as sermon-sketches—some of which are lengthy sketches, others of which are quite short. Although all of the sermons except for two (viz., XXIV and LXXVI) are written in Latin, most of them were preached in German. As a result, the written sermons give us only thematic impressions of what Nicholas actually preached more or less extemporaneously. There can be no doubt that at times he also preached in Latin, especially when preaching in Rome and when preaching to priests. In preaching to the latter, his sermons were, presumably, oftentimes macaronic. Moreover, the German Sermon LXXVI, unlike Sermon XXIV, is not from the hand of Nicholas himself; rather, it is the report of a hearer in Vienna, where it was preached.

By contrast with Cusanus, Meister Eckhart wrote some 243 sermons (fifty less than did Cusanus). Over half of them (140 in number) were in German, whereas the others (103 in number) were in Latin. But what is it that explains why Nicholas *wrote* only one Sermon in German but *preached* most of them in German? How long, typically, did a sermon, as preached, last? Have there survived manuscripts (of the sermons) written in Nicholas's own hand? Is there evidence that Nicholas was an effective preacher, an interesting preacher? How highly philosophical and theological are his sermons? How extensive is his use, in the sermons, of dramatization, parable, anecdote? How rich and how novel are his metaphors? What sources does he cite? What themes seem to be the most prominent? These and other questions are raised—and answered (in some cases decisively, in other cases tentatively)—in the present collection of symposium papers. Thus, as in the first paragraph above, the papers furnish us with a wealth of knowledge about the background context, the thematic contents, and the varied forms of Nicholas's *Predigten*. Accordingly, the volume is to be highly recommended to medieval and Renaissance scholars.

Klaus Kremer provides an introductory overview that does much more than merely summarize the other contributors' papers. Thereby it stands on its

own as a major contribution to the volume. Maarten Hoenen, in explicating the relationship between exegesis and philosophical teachings in the sermons, makes innovative comments on Nicholas' way of interrelating faith and reason. Walter Euler explores the historical development of the sermons and identifies changing emphases. He seeks to group the sermons into different time-periods—periods of development that differ from Nicholas' own estimate thereof in his *De Aequalitate*. Marc-Aeilko Aris looks at the different audiences addressed by Nicholas and investigates the influence that respective audiences had on the construction of the sermons. Kazuhiko Yamaki focuses intensively on Nicholas' use of the book-metaphor—a metaphor that includes Nicholas' speaking of "the book of conscience," "the book of the soul," "the book of man's intellectual nature," and so on. Georg Steer delves into Nicholas' knowledge of, and use of, Eckhart's sermons. And Volker Mertens examines Nicholas' preaching as it is situated in the context of the vernacular homilizing of that day. The volume concludes with three further items. There is a well-documented analysis, by Klaus Kremer, of Nicholas' understanding of *visio intellectualis* and of his distinguishing it from *visio mystica*. Furthermore, Karl Bormann offers a spirited defense (1) of his edition and German translation (a revision of Paul Wilpert's earlier edition and translation) of Nicholas' *De Venatione Sapientiae* and (2) of Raymond Klibansky and Hans G. Senger's edition of this same Latin text. Bormann's defense, against a hostile critic, is certainly important, though of interest only to those readers who are working directly with Nicholas' texts. The final item is a book review of Vol. XVIII, fascicle 3 (certain *Sermones*) of the *Opera Omnia*.

In summary, the present collection of symposium papers represents some of the key conclusions of most recent scholarship. Probably no reader can agree with every detail of these scholarly determinations—of the groupings into periods, etc. And, undoubtedly, no single treatment of a topic—e.g., as regards faith and reason—can be expected to suffice by itself. Yet, the volume offers the reader, along with an abundance of reliable information, a helpfully balanced perspective. For Nicholas of Cusa was not only a man-of-learning (who twice declined the offer of a professorship at the University of Louvain) but was also a devout priest (who served as apostolic legate to the German nation, as Bishop of Brixen, and as Cardinal of St. Peter in Chains). The sermons help us not to lose sight of *iste totus homo*.

University of Minnesota JASPER HOPKINS

Early Modern European

The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe. Edited by Wim Janse and Barbara Pitkin. [*The Dutch Review of Church History*, Volume 85.] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. 2006. Pp. viii, 569. €169,00; $228.00.)

Excluding the book reviews appended at the end, this volume collects twenty-four essays from two conferences under the procrustean frame of the title indicated. The editors have divided the essays into three parts. Seven are grouped under "Education and Theological Training," which deal with the theological and pedagogic undertakings of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands and Germany, giving this section a strong thematic unity; they represent the contributions by Riemer Faber, Stefan Ehrenpreis, Leendert Groenendijk, Andreas Mühling, Wim Janse, F. G. M. Broeyer, and Karin Maag. A second group of eight essays in Part Two, "Interpretation of Scripture and Confessional Preaching," represents two directions of research: while Raymond Blacketer, G. Sujin Pak, Barbara Pitkin, and Rady Roldan-Figueroa analyze Protestant (mostly Reformed) biblical exegesis, Robert Christman, Sven Tode, Emily Michelson, and Jason Sager devote their essays to the study of sermons. A third group of nine essays goes in different directions in spite of the loosely worded theme, "Construction of Clerical and Communal Identities": three deal with England (Robert Scully, Gary Jenkins, and Ellen Macek), two with Italy (Kathleen Comerford and Wietse de Boer), and one each with Scotland (Margo Todd), Germany (David Fors Freeman), and The Netherlands (Gerrit Voogt). For the readers of this journal, there are nine contributions on Catholicism that may be of more interest which will be discussed below.

Robert Scully examines the Jesuit mission strategy in Tudor England. Its focus on the gentry and aristocracy reflected both the family origins of many of the English Jesuits themselves as well as a strategy to secure protection and maximum political influence. Highly successful in counties removed from central governmental intervention, such as in Lancashire, this Jesuit strategy of gentry missions came under criticisms by secular priests and limited, in the long run, the social impact of recusant Catholicism. That last subject is the theme of Gary W. Jenkins's examination of recusant political thought in the first decade of the reign of Elizabeth. Bested by the Anglican rhetoric of monarchical apotheosis, as in the writings of Bishop Jewel, the recusants found themselves caught between loyalty to their earthly sovereign and a universal ecclesiastical authority. In her essay, Ellen Macek examines advice manuals for both Anglican and Catholic clerics between 1560 and 1660 to reconstruct the different ideals for the clergy. Turning to Spain, Patrick J. O'Banion studies confessional manuals to argue for the importance of negotiations in the relationship between clergy and laity. Taking a wider perspective, Kathleen M. Comerford examines the professionalization of the clergy in the dioceses of Florence, Lucca, and Arezzo after the Council of Trent. Comparing the synodal

and episcopal acts with the records of diocesan visitations, she concludes that Tridentine norms were hardly fulfilled up to the middle of the seventeenth century. Arguing against the theories of professionalization and confessionalization, Wietse de Boer pleads for reflecting on the individual experiences of the parish clergy and offers the interesting example of Girolamo Magni, a parish priest in Tuscany who kept a personal journal from 1531 to 1595.

Pennsylvania State University R. Po-chia Hsia

Luthers trinitarische Theologie des Heiligen Geistes. By Pekka Kärkkäinen. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte/Abteilung Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, Band 208.] (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005. Pp. viii, 208. €34.80.)

A new picture of Luther is thankfully emerging as the result of detailed studies, among them Pekka Kärkkäinen's book *Luthers trinitarische Theologie des Heiligen Geistes*, on Luther's thought as contextualized in late-medieval nominalist theology and philosophical theology. The choice of the Trinity, and in Kärkkäinen's case the Holy Spirit as related to the Trinity, lends itself to the study of Luther's rich understanding of the knowledge and the experience of the triune God, as well as to the analysis of characteristic themes in Luther's thought—e.g., the relation of law and gospel—as those themes are interwoven with classical doctrines. Kärkkäinen's study is representative of this new line of scholarship on Luther, heralding the growing consensus that Luther cannot be studied without paying careful attention to the distinct influences on his thought by his teachers Trutfetter and Usingen, particularly their connotation theory (p. 43), by the metaphysical and language-philosophical issues of the *via moderna* represented by Ockham, d'Ailly, and Biel, and by the precise doctrinal questions posed by Lombard in his *Sentences*. Luther must be studied, as Kärkkäinen demonstrates, with the full critical apparatus of late-medieval thought at one's disposal in order to understand the distinctions and predications that Luther makes when articulating doctrinal claims, as well as the way in which his thought is deeply informed by philosophical-theological issues.

Kärkkäinen's study begins with a description of the historical trajectory of trinitarian theology from significant proponents in the Middle Ages (e.g., Aquinas, the Victorines), and ending with d'Ailly and Biel. Kärkkäinen effectively shows Luther's thought on the Trinity to be a development of the tradition in Western theology that reaches back to Augustine's psychological model, rather than a break from it. Luther's vast corpus is organized chronologically in three parts: the early marginal notes to Lombard's *Sentences*, the biblical commentaries from 1513 to 1520, and the various writings—sermons delivered primarily at Pentecost, catechetical material, and disputations—until his death in 1546. By this seamless historical order the argument is made that Luther develops features of his understanding of the Trinity from his earliest days as a student, particularly that he considers the Spirit in full view of

the complexities of trinitarian-theological themes. One question concerns the relation of the Spirit to Father and Son in the inner Trinity that Kärkkäinen shows Luther answers by stressing the *filioque* in the relations of origin. The crucial outer-trinitarian question concerns the personal marks of the Spirit in the economic order of grace that is dictated by the axiom *opera trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa*. Kärkkäinen shows that Luther understands the Spirit's distinct contribution to grace by the Spirit's presence of love as gift (*donum*), while also discussing in detail the relation of the Spirit to the law and to the hidden aspect of the divine essence. Another result of this study is that we may now understand that claims about the Spirit's work in the world can be made analogously to claims about Christ. The union of eternal essence with bodily manifestation and the communication of attributes show that the Spirit's work is not reducible to applying Christ's work to the believer but that the Spirit has its own integrity in contributing to the grace available by presence (pp. 98, 100).

Kärkkäinen's study is a hopeful indication that important epistemological and doctrinal questions are raised in Luther scholarship and it will serve as an exemplary monograph on how these questions should be treated. The historical approach tends, however, to overshadow the conceptual-doctrinal results. The Spirit is encountered in Luther's corpus through the vast array of biblical images—the dove, flame of fire, tongues—and creedal statements—the Spirit of the prophets, the *Holy* Spirit, the one who makes alive (*vivificans*). A topic as imaginatively and scripturally diverse as the Spirit would greatly benefit from conceptual analysis, which would abstract from the particular claims in order to develop the conceptual relations of parts within the whole. A systematic-theological analysis of the Spirit would also help situate Luther as a necessary dialogue partner in recent constructive-theological discussions of the Spirit. A further question that Kärkkäinen inspires concerns the experiential dimension of the Spirit's presence. If the Spirit is understood as Luther does by the gift and presence of love, then what are the anthropological, psychological, spiritual, and empirical dimensions of that presence with the believer? Philosophical theology just might have many conversation partners in the empirical studies of religion.

Harvard Divinity School CHRISTINE HELMER

Orden und Klöster im Zeitalter von Reformation und katholischer Reform 1500-1700, Band 1. Edited by Friedhelm Jürgensmeier and Regina Elisabeth Schwerdtfeger. {Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung, Band 65.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag. 2005. Pp. 256. €22.80 paperback.)

This first of three volumes designed to survey religious orders in the period of Protestant and Catholic Reformations covers (1) Benedictine monks and (2) nuns, (3) Cistercian monks and (4) nuns, (5) the Teutonic Order, (6) the

Knights of St. John of the Hospital (Knights of Malta), (7) Servites, (8) Birgittines, (9) Brethren of the Common Life, (10) Canonnesses and collegiate foundations for women, and (11) Ursulines. Subsequent volumes will take up Augustinian Eremites, Celestines, various mendicant friars, Jesuits, Carmelites, Carthusians, Poor Clares, Crosiers, Maria Ward's Congregatio Jesu, Praemonstratensians, and others. Only houses located within German-speaking regions of Europe are to be included. The first four chapters on Benedictine and Cistercian monks and nuns make up nearly half of the book. The editors explain that these eleven orders are included largely because the scholars assigned to cover them submitted their entries first.

Most entries follow a standard pattern, beginning with a statistical snapshot of the order's situation ca. 1500, ca. 1550, and ca. 1648, followed by a map and a numerical listing of each German house of the order coded to permit the reader to gain an overview of which houses survived or failed to survive the chaos of the era and which regions suffered greater or lesser losses. The standard entry then continues with sections on (1) the origins, character and charism of the order; (2) its late medieval life, culture, and reform efforts up to 1517; (3) the impact of the early Reformation; (4) the impact of the "second Reformation," territorialization, and confessionalization; (5) the impact of Trent's reforms; and (6) spirituality, art, culture, and scholarship at the end of the era. Extensive bibliographies at the end of each entry make up in part for the decision to eschew footnotes or endnotes.

Although perhaps most useful as a reference work, the book does give the reader some sense of both common patterns and circumstances specific to certain orders. One notes how, for Benedictines, areas of late medieval reform correspond strongly to areas in which these orders survived the upheaval of the Reformation. On the other hand, in some instances an unreformed convent survived better than one that had been reformed under pressure during the fifteenth century, because the former often represented an institution of noblewomen embedded in the politics of the territory, which enabled it to weather the Protestant attacks on monastic life. Indeed, the chapters on women's houses (including Chapter 10 on canonnesses and women's collegiate foundations) as well as the two chapters on the military orders illustrate extremely well how adaptable certain institutional forms of religious life were; by the end of the era, some houses of each order had simply become Protestant versions of their pre-Reformation institutions, in some instances with Protestant and Catholic branches existing side by side.

Yet a different pattern is observable with the Servites. Originating in Florence, their core area in German-speaking lands became the heartland of the Reformation, Saxony and Thuringia, where all their houses were lost. But two new Observant provinces in Tyrol and Bohemia in the seventeenth century thrived and played an important role until the Josephine secularizations in the 1780's and even influenced nineteenth-century Catholic life in Austria.

The authors take care to build up their descriptions as a series of concrete, vivid vignettes exemplary of the houses of a particular order in German-speaking regions. As a result, this valuable reference work is anything but an arid collection of data. One awaits eagerly the completion of the series.

Loyola University Chicago DENNIS MARTIN

Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy. By Lance Gabriel Lazar. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 377. $80.00.)

Revealing the complex dynamic that existed between religious institutions and the laity represents one of the richest veins that scholars have mined in recent works that explore early modern Catholicism. Lance Gabriel Lazar's book offers a fine addition to this growing body of literature. Taking as his main focus three early, signal Jesuit confraternities in Rome that worked with reforming prostitutes, their "at risk" daughters, and for the conversion of Jews, respectively, Lazar examines how the Jesuits fostered "the active engagement of the laity in pious devotions" (p. 30). While the Marian congregations became the characteristic form of Jesuit confraternity, especially after the 1560's, Lazar argues successfully that these earlier confraternities represented important, exportable models for translating the Jesuits' "way of proceeding" into concrete examples of charitable activity.

Lazar structures his book thematically, beginning with a useful introduction to Jesuit ministries within the broader context of early modern Catholic charitable activities, and spending the next three chapters exploring key features of each of the representative confraternities. A final chapter demonstrates how the Jesuits expanded these model confraternities beyond their Roman base and synthesizes the interpretive conclusions of the study.

While Lazar wisely decides to follow the lead of his archival documents in filling out the portrait of each confraternity, focusing on important themes such as membership composition, the motivations of the recipients of charitable activity, and strategies for conversion employed by the Jesuits and their lay associates, respectively, this approach leads to some unanswered questions and a certain imbalance among Chapters Two through Four. For example, while Chapter Two provides a fascinating exploration of the evolution of S. Marta, an early Jesuit confraternity that sought the reform of Roman prostitutes, through a close examination of the composition of confraternal membership, it leaves questions of motivation underdeveloped. Lazar does a good job of showing how Ignatius Loyola inspired the development of this institution though his long-term interest in working with "fallen women," and introducing the key players among the Roman élite who helped to found and finance the confraternity and its (literal) charitable structures. Nevertheless, while Lazar highlights the central role played by élite female patrons in supporting this endeavor, he

says precious little about their complex motivations. Although he cites secondary literature that has begun to round out the picture of the gender dynamics of early modern reform, he provides a far too cursory discussion for this reader, given the tantalizing questions that his material raises (p. 60).

Chapters Three and Four are more successful. In the third chapter, for example, Lazar offers an excellent discussion of the entrance process for "at risk" young girls at the charitable house run by the S. Caterina confraternity, the kinds of inmates that the institution attracted, and key personae who supported its growth and financial stability. Chapter Four offers some fascinating case studies to demonstrate the strategies that the Jesuits employed to effect the conversion of Jews through their *Catecumeni* houses in Rome and beyond. Here, Lazar argues incisively that these houses offer a window onto the broader conversion strategies that the Jesuits employed in future apostolic activities.

Aside from some minor critiques of the book, Lance Lazar's *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord* offers a valuable new piece to the complex puzzle that is early modern Catholicism. Clearly written, well-researched, and cogent, the book illuminates another dimension of early Jesuit institutional history, while also offering an important view of the nuts and bolts of lay reform activity in early modern Italy.

University of New Hampshire JENNIFER D. SELWYN

Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels, Volume III: *The Resurrection Narratives*. By Jerome Nadal, S.J. Translated and edited by Frederick A. Homann, S.J. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 181, 18 illustrations. $39.95.)

Shortly before his death in 1556, Ignatius of Loyola asked Jerome Nadal (1507-1580) to write a book of meditations on the Gospels keyed to their Sunday and feast day sequence in the Roman missal. The founder of the Society of Jesus also requested that the book be illustrated. Nadal, one of the most peripatetic members of a decidedly peripatetic order, devoted what little free time he had to this task between 1568 and 1576. The result is the *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, initially published by Martin Nunius in Antwerp in 1593/95. Diego Jiménez, Nadal's secretary and later literary executor, oversaw the project through its completion. Although originally written for Jesuit seminarians, the book's sponsors, including Pope Clement VIII, who provided a sizable publication subvention, insisted that it be available to a much broader Latin-reading audience, such as candidates for the priesthood. Nadal's masterpiece soon became one of the seminal devotional treatises of the Catholic Reformation. A second edition appeared in 1595 and a third in 1607. Its success was due in part to the harmonious integration of Nadal's often poignant text with the equally moving set of 153 accompanying engravings created by the Wiericx (Wierix) family workshop of Antwerp.

Much to its credit, Saint Joseph's University Press decided to publish an English translation of the *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*. Given the length of Nadal's text and the complexity of the project, the book is being issued in three parts. Volume 1 on *The Infancy Narratives* appeared in 2003 with Melion's lengthy essay (pp. 1-96) on the history, devotional methodology, and significance of the Nadal-Wiericx enterprise. A CD-ROM containing all 153 engravings scanned from the 1607 edition was included. Volume 2 on *The Passion Narratives*, by far the longest section of the book, will be published last.

In his preface to Volume 3 on *The Resurrection Narratives*, Frederick A. Homann discusses the historical use of Latin within the Society of Jesus and, more broadly, by the Catholic Church. He notes some of the challenges involved in translating Nadal's words and his meanings into standard American English. Homann briefly explains Nadal's use of the Latin Vulgate Bible and his exegetical procedures. Here, as in volume 1, Homann's translation seems smooth, accurate, and eminently readable.

Walter S. Melion's essay (pp. 1-32) focuses on Nadal's understanding of Christ's Resurrection narratives as a series of "sensible signs," such as his bodily appearances to Mary Magdalene or his disciples. These visual prompts inspired Nadal to structure his own text around the perceptible evidence of the accompanying engravings. Or as Melion puts it, his text "examines Nadal's sense of the relation between historical sights seen and the image of truth his meditative program implants" (p. 3). He briefly explains the structure of Nadal's text, specifically how it links Ignatius' practice of "seeing the place" or making oneself present with the engraved image, each of which is marked with letters that sequence or control the viewer's movement through the narrative. These letters in turn are keyed to the accompanying annotations and the more extensive meditations. Melion next offers detailed readings of the Resurrection and Pentecost prints for the opening and closing chapters of this section of Nadal's book. Since the Synoptic Gospels do not narrate the Resurrection, Nadal faced the difficult challenge of deciding what to include. Melion persuasively proposes that Nadal viewed the Resurrection as a redemptive stream in which the viewer reads the engraving and the accompanying text as a rising by stages from sin and death to a new life. In his analysis of the Pentecost, Melion returns to Nadal's understanding that sensible signs "make visible the lineaments of faith" (p. 11). Melion's essays here and in Volume 1 are in some ways akin to Nadal's own writings. His often dense texts challenge his readers yet wonderfully reward their persistence with a wealth of insights about the brilliance of Nadal's vision and the complementary power of art to stimulate devotion. I eagerly await the publication of Volume 2.

University of Texas at Austin JEFFREY CHIPPS SMITH

The Seventh Window: The King's Window Donated by Philip II and Mary Tudor to Sint Janskerk in Gouda (1557). Edited by Wim de Groot. (Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren Publishers. 2005. Pp. 304. €40.)

This collection of some twenty essays is an in-depth discussion of a prestigious piece of artwork. The two scenes depicted in the large window described are the dedication of the Temple of King Solomon and the Last Supper, both scenes replete with iconic significance, particularly for Philip. At the time of the donation the King was not only patron of the church, but ruler of Spain, England, and the Netherlands. He was frequently compared to Solomon, just as his father was referred to as David, the Great King, and the Last Supper was also representative of the Eucharist, which was central to his personal piety. The gift was solicited and negotiated by Vigilius van Aytta, a royal official and courtly intermediary, and was occasioned by the rebuilding of the church which followed the destructive fire of 1552. Gouda at the time was a 'loyal' town, whose officials had taken their oaths to Philip during his visit to The Netherlands in 1549, although he had not visited the town. The church suffered from iconoclastic riots at the time of the Troubles in 1566, but the window was spared because the main targets of the rioters were 'graven images,' and in 1572 the town passed into Protestant control, remaining thereafter part of the United Provinces. Although the Provinces repudiated Philip's sovereignty in 1581, and the church was never again used for Catholic worship, the regime remained relaxed about the imagery of this—and other—windows in Sint Janskerk. Pride in their beauty and workmanship seems to have overcome any repugnance at what was represented, and Gouda was in any case never a center of radicalism. Over the succeeding centuries the window has been maintained, and periodically restored, as taste and resources have permitted, sometimes with beneficial results, and sometimes not. During World War II the whole collection was dismantled and stored, but the church fortunately survived both the occupation and the liberation, and the windows were put back in place in 1947.

One of the reasons why it has been possible to keep the King's window in something like its original form is that the cartoon, executed by Dirck Pietersz Crabeth, has also survived, much restored but still containing most of the original work. That, and the fact that the widow was finely illustrated by Christoffel Pierson in 1675, has kept subsequent renovations sufficiently accurate. Only a proportion of the original glass now remains, but that includes the images of the donors; Philip probably taken from a portrait by Titian (or possibly from the life) and Mary from an unknown source. The image of Mary is more significant for its iconography than for any accuracy of the likeness.

The essays in this beautifully produced and lavishly illustrated book cover every aspect of the window's concept, creation, installation and subsequent fortunes with relentless scholarship. Treated are the political and economic circumstances of Gouda; Philip's relations with his Netherlandish subjects; Crabeth's educational background; the nature of Habsburg patronage; Philip's

subsequent creation of the Escorial; and (in great detail) the iconographic significance of the scenes chosen. To the student of English history it is notable that Mary is a mere cipher. She just happened to be Philip's wife at the time, and although she bore his numerous titles, plainly had no role outside of England. This is made clear both from the heraldic representation, which is discussed by Andrea Gasten, and also from her general position in the iconography. In spite of the Queen's presence, England had no part in this piece of patronage, either symbolically or actually, and that is perhaps reflected in the fact that the longer of the two articles which deal with Philip as King of England, and with England's role in Philip's dominions at the time is reprinted from the *English Historical Review* of 1997. It was a perfectly good article, and some of the references have been updated, but it is a pity that Glyn Redworth could not have been prevailed upon to provide a new piece for this collection. There may be errors, but the only one which I detected is a statement that England did not formally declare war on France in 1557. On the whole the quality of the scholarship, whether dealing with politics, imagery, or conservation, is very high. Although the accounts for the installation of the window do not survive, much of its subsequent history can be (and is) traced from that source by Henny van Dolder-de Wit. It is also worthy of comment that this whole work, dealing with a Dutch subject and its Spanish antecedents, and compiled mainly by Dutch and Spanish scholars, should have been published in English. The Anglophone world has cause to be suitably grateful.

University of Oxford DAVID LOADES

Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England. By Arthur F. Marotti. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 320. $55.00 cloth; $25.00 paperback.)

Professor Marotti's book makes a constructive addition to the literature on religious conflict in early modern England. He does not pretend to be breaking new ground in what has become a steadily growing field except to do precisely what his subtitle promises: set the two rival denominational discourses side by side for consideration. The primary value of the volume is his addition of Catholic sources to a discussion that among literary critics has been largely confined to their opponents, since Protestant propagandists, including such major figures as Edmund Spenser and John Milton, were free and even encouraged to be as vocal as they pleased, whereas Catholics who preferred not to share the fate of Robert Southwell had to be a good deal more circumspect; thus, there has been considerable speculation in recent years that Shakespeare may have been Catholic, and certainly the absence of hostility to the old faith in his works has been observed for centuries, but if he was a Catholic yet nonetheless wanted to keep working as a playwright in London, he had no choice but to be extremely careful. Literary texts are not Marotti's chief inter-

est, however; his chief interest is the polemical duels that regularly recur between the 1580's and the Glorious Revolution, the two termini of his study.

Between a short preface and shorter afterword, the book is divided into five chapters, four short ones devoted to various particular controversies and one last, longer one, longer than any two of the preceding ones together, where he, by his own account for the first time in the book, begins to point toward a larger historiographical conclusion as to the impact of anti-Catholic discourse in constructing an English nationalism in direct contradistinction to how the English had defined themselves less than two centuries before. Alert perceptions abound: his first chapter notes how a 1599 edition of Southwell "clearly Protestantized the verse" (p. 30). His second chapter, "Alienating Catholics: Recusant Women, Jesuits, and Ideological Fantasies," discusses how the ever-demonized Jesuits were depicted as prosecuting their subversions via weak women and via Phineas Fletcher's short epic, *The Locusts, or Apollyonists*, arrives at the insight, useful to this Milton teacher, that "the seduction of Eve [in *Paradise Lost*] takes place in the context of anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit polemic. A diabolical disguiser who is a skillful rhetorical seducer succeeds in enticing his female victim into idolatrous, superstitious practice and alienating her from both her husband and the faith in which they have grounded their marital relationship" (p. 65). The fit is astonishingly neat, and is plausible, given Milton's obsessive hatred of Catholicism.

In his preface he notes the discomfort of a questioner at a conference who wondered at his not "address[ing] the issue of whether or not they [the Jesuits] had done some or all of the things of which they were accused"; in a "somewhat exaggerated reply," he said, "I did not care what actually happened (the province of the professional historian) but rather that I was interested in what people thought happened, since this was at the center of the imaginings and of the polemical logic of the works I had examined" (p. 4). He here gets to the heart of the difference between the two disciplines, the one tethered to reality, the other to fantasy, but as a fellow fantasist of his, another inmate of the English-Department madhouse, I can't help but be a little disturbed (my only objection to his useful work) by the coolness with which he surveys a literature of oppression and execution, whether it is the individual slaughter of missionaries in the name of religious freedom or the protracted horrors visited upon Ireland by a religious bigotry enlisted to support a national antipathy and justify the worst excesses of colonial brutality. Scholarly objectivity is a marvelous thing, but would he have maintained an equally Olympian detachment, avowedly indifferent to mere facts, if the objects of hatred, persecution, and butchery had been distinguished not by their faith but by their gender, sexual preference, or race?

Kutztown University
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RAYMOND D. TUMBLESON

Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633. By Donna B. Hamilton. (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 268. $94.95.)

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, England was a dangerous place for Roman Catholics. The penal laws laid heavy fines on those who did not attend weekly Protestant religious services and, at an extreme, set capital punishment not only for priests, but also for those who sheltered or helped them, the government treating Catholics as actual or potential traitors. Captured priests and laypersons who appeared on the official recusancy rolls were the most visible of the Catholics, but there were many other Catholics who kept a lower profile, including "Church papists" who avoided the charge of recusancy by going through the motions of conformity. At a time of solidifying nationalism, loyalty was a key issue, both for the authorities and for English Catholics who wished to live unmolested—especially in the light of the Papal Bull of 1570 excommunicating Queen Elizabeth and the papal assertion of a temporal authority superior to regal sovereignty. Most Catholics tried not only to avoid the harsh penalties of law, but also to demonstrate their national allegiance—especially in the wake of the Spanish invasion attempt of 1588 and the failed Gunpowder Plot of 1605. In this religious context, Donna Hamilton argues, the prolific, if second-rank, writer Anthony Munday adopted a survival strategy that involved balancing a continuing commitment to his Catholic faith with an English loyalism, exploiting opportunities to criticize not only hard-line or fanatical Catholic resistance but also the continuing oppression of Catholics and the relentless assaults on traditional Catholic culture.

Hamilton admirably handles the task of examining and interpreting the varied works Munday composed, translated, or revised over the course of a writing career of some four decades—for example, plays, civic entertainments, chivalric romances, religious polemic, and urban chorography. She offers a nuanced analysis of Munday's celebration of Catholic cultural plenitude, universalism, and triumphalism through translations of continental romances. She teases out the Catholic ideology implicit in the city entertainments and in the revisions he made for two different editions of Stow's *Survey of London* (1618 and 1633), the former offering him an opportunity to express the City's resistance to monarchical encroachment on traditional rights and liberties and the latter allowing him to underscore the traditional Catholic foundation of the modern urban and civic culture. She has a particularly insightful discussion of the religious and political complexities and topicalities of the dramas in which he had a hand, especially the plays on Sir Thomas More, the Earl of Huntingdon, and Sir John Oldcastle. Given the relatively scant attention such texts have been given, her keen analysis of them is a welcome one.

The large argument Hamilton is pursuing with regard to Munday's Catholicism opens up his writing to fresh understanding. In a context in which Catholics needed to present sociopolitical criticism through the self-protective strategies of rhetorical indirection, equivocation, and disguise, Munday,

Hamilton argues, consistently introduced into works that ostensibly supported the Protestant hegemony elements that subverted it, responding not only just to the general situation of Catholics in his time, but also to specific historical moments such as the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Jacobean-Spanish Match negotiations. Hamilton calls Munday a "skilful equivocator" using the "methods of rhetorical indirection" (p. xvii), but this description might also apply to other writers as well—Jonson and Shakespeare, for example. Scholars have, over the years, developed ways of decoding literary texts written in a period of censorship and political oppression. What Donna Hamilton has done in her examination of the life and writings of Anthony Munday is a fine example of historically informed close reading, but the larger picture that emerges of Elizabethan and early Stuart culture is also quite valuable.

Wayne State University ARTHUR F. MAROTTI

Les Curés de Paris au XVI^e siècle. By Vladimir Angelo. [Histoire Religieuse de la France, no. 26.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2005. Pp. v, 906. €49.00 paperback.)

At 906 pages, this book, a revised *thèse de doctorat* completed under the direction of Marc Venard, cannot help but to command attention. The author seemingly left no stone unturned in his effort to bring the parish clergy of sixteenth-century Paris into the historical spotlight. The significance of Paris as the demographic, intellectual, and political hub of sixteenth-century France is well understood, as is its emergence as a bastion of militant Catholicism (here Megan Armstrong's recent study of Franciscan preachers in particular comes to mind). Yet, a few well-known *curés* aside, the place of the secular clergy is largely absent from scholarly discourse. This absence is regrettable, Angelo argues, because the *curés* serving the city's thirty-nine parishes were not only deeply enmeshed in everyday life, but they also formed "le lien entre théologie et pastorale, entre pratique religieuse quotidienne et orientation politique" at a time when the dual forces of Catholic reform and Protestantism were reshaping the city (p. 596).

Angelo sets out to reconstruct the *curés*' world, layer by layer, over the course of the sixteenth century. He intentionally casts a broad chronological net in order to expose change and continuity over time. It is a daunting agenda, which, he explains, he began by identifying the names of as many *curés* as possible, where they served, and for how long. Once armed with this list, comprised of 386 men in all, Angelo culled through an enormous range of sources (synodal statutes, capitular and parish registers, wills, inventories after death, to name only a few) to illuminate the trajectory of the *curés*' careers as both an ideal and lived experience. The result is a well-organized and cogently presented group portrait of Parisian *curés* that in its sheer scope and concomitant refusal to rest on generalizations forges new historiographical ground.

Divided into three parts, Angelo's narrative draws the reader into ever closer concentric circles around the *curés* and their parishes. Part I examines the varied, and often competing, jurisdictional frameworks in which *curés* had to function, followed in Part II with a detailed look at how men became *curés*, and what intellectual and cultural "baggage" they brought with them to the job. Angelo reserves his most extended discussion for Part III, where he explores the realities of the *curés*' lives as pastors—how well they performed their charge; their relations with auxiliary clergy and parishioners; the manner in which they lived. His study concludes with two, user-friendly appendices: a chronological list of the 386 *curés* by parish (pp. 605-622); and a biographical sketch of each man comprised of ten categories (sources permitting), ranging from diocese of origin to political choices (pp. 623-838). Consequently, the book is at once an essential end and beginning for a fuller understanding of the institutional and human landscape of parish life in sixteenth-century Paris and its impact on the development of early modern French Catholicism.

Although the book paints a picture vast in its detail, some dominant images emerge. Drawing on a mixture of medieval pastoral traditions and Catholic reform, Parisian *curés* appear to have fulfilled their duties attentively, if not always with visible passion, and largely to their parishioners' satisfaction. By law, every *curé* in Paris was required to have a *maîtrise ès arts*, but in the second half of the century, one in two *curés* held an advanced degree. In addition, more than 40% of the *curés* remained in charge of their parishes in excess of eleven years, thus allowing them to establish firm roots in the community. For these reasons, they were well positioned to cultivate Parisians' strong Catholic sensibilities, particularly when confronted with the rising tide of Protestantism. However, following Robert Descimon's lead, Angelo challenges many historians' assumption that the secular clergy were animators of the Catholic League after it gained control of Paris in 1588. Although a dozen or so *curés* were diehard Leaguers, five situated themselves at the opposite end of the spectrum as committed *Politiques*. More *curés* still occupied neutral ground, reinforcing Catholic orthodoxy through liturgy and ritual without overtly engaging in League politics.

Despite the richness of this picture, Angelo is aware of its limitations. Most notably, because his sources reflect a predominantly clerical, elite bias, parishioners' voices are largely silent. A striking exception is the *marguilliers*, parishioners elected to oversee the temporal administration of the parish. For example, we see the *marguilliers* of Saint-Séverin petitioning the bishop for a reduction in the number of foundation Masses said in the parish due to insufficient funds (p. 325); the *marguilliers* of Saint-Eustache demanding that their *curé* limit his early morning and late afternoon sermons to one hour so as not to interfere with the Mass and vespers schedule (p. 344); and the *marguilliers* of Saint-Jean-en-Grève allying with their *curé* to defend parishioners' burial rights (p. 422). Their tenacious presence reminds us, as John O'Malley has argued, that the needs and experiences of local communities shaped early

modern Catholic religious identity as much, if not more, than blind obedience to the church hierarchy.

University of Southern Maine KATHARINE J. LUALDI

Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva. Volume 1: *Courtship, Engagement, and Marriage*. Edited by John Witte, Jr., and Robert M. Kingdon. [Religion, Marriage and Family.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 2005. Pp. xxxii, 512. $32.00.)

John Witte and Robert Kingdon have compiled a very interesting and useful collection of primary sources pertaining to marriage in Calvin's Geneva. They have culled fascinating information on marriage and the control of matrimony from an impressive variety of documents, including excerpts from sermons, biblical commentaries, statutes, legal memoranda, and correspondence. Almost all the correspondence and normative literature reproduced in this volume was authored by Calvin, though the editors have also included a number of important pieces written by Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor as the leading pastor in Geneva. Of particular interest are excerpts from the registers of the Consistory, a quasi-tribunal that was comprised of the city's pastors and elders and had jurisdiction over a wide range of moral issues, including marriage disputes. Having founded the Consistory in 1541, Calvin religiously attended its weekly meetings and profoundly shaped its agenda until his death in 1564. The selected Consistory records date from 1546, 1552, and 1557, sample years that corresponded respectively to the appearance of Calvin's Marriage Ordinance, growing opposition to Calvin among some native Genevans, and the summit of Calvin's power following his defeat of Ami Perrin and the so-called "Children of Geneva."

The fourteen chapters are organized around a variety of topics, including courtship, parental consent to marry, polygamy, incestuous unions, religiously mixed marriages, and proper wedding ceremonies. For each chapter, the editors provide a useful overview of the issues involved and detailed background to the documents they have chosen. Denying that marriage is a sacrament, Protestants introduced several significant changes in the control of matrimony: the reduction in the number of impediments to marry (based on consanguinity, affinity, or the spiritual ties of godparentage), the rejection of clerical celibacy, the compulsory publication of the banns, mandatory parental consent for the marriages of minors, and the possibility of divorce for adultery or desertion.

In handling disputed marriage engagements, which were much more common than divorce cases, Calvin and the Consistory were interested above all in establishing whether couples had freely and unconditionally promised to marry each other. They declared null any engagement involving coercion, be it from parents, the other party, or anyone else. Marriage promises required parental permission for males under twenty and females under eighteen, and the Consistory even nullified an engagement because of the opposition of a

party's Catholic mother, who lived outside Geneva's jurisdiction. Some may be surprised that Calvin and the Consistory viewed engagements that had been freely and properly made as binding, occasionally obliging couples to go through with the wedding even though both now wanted to be released from the bond. Notwithstanding biblical examples to the contrary, Calvin expressed strong opposition to marriages between people of widely disparate ages, aptly seen in his great consternation when, at 69, his friend Guillaume Farel married a woman less than half his age.

Calvin revealed the limited grounds for divorce in a letter in which he informed an unidentified Protestant woman that she must continue living with her physically abusive Catholic husband unless her life was actually in danger. Calvin's call for simplicity both in weddings, which were celebrated during the church service, and in postnuptial celebrations was reflected in a big controversy over dancing that allegedly occurred at a wedding feast in 1546, resulting in the arrest of several people, his nemesis Perrin among them.

All told, the documents from Calvin's Geneva that are reproduced here are very well chosen, eloquently translated, and deftly analyzed. This volume should be of great interest to anyone interested in the history of marriage and of the Reformation.

University of Mississippi JEFFREY R. WATT

Bellarmino: Una teologia politica della Controriforma. By Franco Motta. (Brescia: Editrice Morcelliana. 2005. Pp. 683. €42.00.)

This difficult, densely written book does reward the reader who perseveres to the end. Its subject, Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621), stands out as a major figure in the Counter-Reformation; indeed, for Franco Motta in terms of the development of thought, he *is* the Counter-Reformation. The author considers his book to be neither a study of Bellarmine's theology nor an intellectual biography, but "an historical essay on the ideas of Bellarmine as they are found in the context of his biography" ("un saggio di storia delle idee calata in un contesto biografico") (p. 10). He aims to uncover the fundamental idea in the cardinal's mentality, his *forma mentis*, which is at the root of his position on multiple theological issues. This centerpiece of Bellarmine's thought, and by extension that of the Counter-Reformation, turns out to be the principle of authority and its correlative, obedience. The author investigates this theme principally but not exclusively with regard to three issues: the composition of the *Controversies (Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis Haereticos)* (3 vols., 1586-1593), the arsenal of Catholic apologetics and the most influential theological work of the Counter-Reformation; the conflict with King James I of England over the indirect power of the pope in temporal matters; and most extensively, the inner-Catholic dispute *De Auxiliis* over the role of grace and free will in the

process of salvation which finally ended with a 1607 degree of Pope Paul V exonerating both the Dominican and Jesuit adversaries of heresy but taking no position on the issue. Those interested in Bellarmine's role in the Galileo Affair will find nothing here.

Motta finds Bellarmine to have inclined to the principle of authority from the beginning as nephew of Marcello Cervini, a papal legate at the Council of Trent and briefly pope himself (1555), and then as a member of the Society of Jesus formed by the *Spiritual Exercises*; in these Motta takes the "Rules for Thinking with the Church" to be of central importance. From his earliest years Bellarmine was acclaimed as a preacher, but it was at Louvain from 1570 to 1576, where he experienced heresy at first hand during the Dutch rebellion, that he developed his controversial method. His Jesuit education in a rhetoric that aimed to persuade his adversaries of the truth of the Catholic faith brought with it an increasing emphasis on historical argument and on the various theological authorities, starting with the Bible and the Fathers. Neither he nor his Protestant opponents were speculative thinkers. But these authorities frequently did not provide conclusive answers. Eventually there had to exist one authority which could definitively decide controversial issues. For Bellarmine this had to be the pope, so that he arrived at papal infallibility out of the necessity for an ultimate judge in matters of controversy. Papal authority stood at the center of the *Controversies*. It was also this need for a central authority, according to Motta, that dictated Bellarmine's advocacy of the indirect power of the pope in temporal affairs. The pope as universal pastor had to be able to discipline and control kings and princes, who belonged to his flock, when they obstructed the way to salvation for their subjects. Motta reminds us of the part that the papal absolution of Henry IV from heresy (1595) played in the consolidation of his position as king of France.

Like Bellarmine, Motta considers the contest *De Auxiliis* between Jesuits and Dominicans to have been not only over grace and free will, important as that was, but over cultural dominance in the Church and two competing theologies. The Dominicans supported a conservative theology that saw itself maintaining traditional Augustinianism with its pessimistic vision of human nature and the Jesuits a theology more ready to adapt to the changing times with a more optimistic assessment of human nature based to a degree on their experience in the foreign missions. Motta argues that Bellarmine, as the principal papal consultant to both Clement VIII (1592-1605) and Paul V (1605-1621), considered the position on predestination of the Dominican Domingo Báñez to be heretical and that of his fellow Jesuit Juan de Molina on *scientia media* to be at least close to heresy; his own position was subsequently called "congruism." But for largely political reasons, his allegiance to the Society, and especially his awareness of the division a condemnation would cause in the Church, he effectively hindered Clement VIII, who was strongly inclined to condemn Molinism, from doing so and then counseled Paul V not to take a definitive position on the issue. So, paradoxically, by persuading the popes not

to exercise their admitted infallibility Bellarmine helped prevent them from damaging their own credibility and so he fostered papal infallibility.

This is an immensely learned book that touches upon many other issues that cannot be discussed in this short review. Motta presumes a detailed knowledge in his readers and writes for specialists who certainly should consult it. The book is provocative and stimulating in its attempt to characterize not only the thought of Bellarmine but also the whole Counter-Reformation. But only to a limited degree is it persuasive. The author himself refers to his findings as hypotheses. Perhaps we should see in Bellarmine and in the Counter-Reformation rather a pursuit of order in a period of change and upheaval. This would align him with other major thinkers of the period, for example, Jean Bodin, Descartes, and later even Thomas Hobbes, not to mention the Protestant Scholastics, all of whom aimed at intellectual order. Motta's discussion of Bellarmine's theory of the indirect power of the papacy disappoints. He would have benefited from Franz Xaver Arnold, *Die Staatslehre des Kardinals Bellarmin: Ein Beitrag zur Rechts- und Staatsphilosophie des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Munich, 934), which remains in my opinion the best discussion of Bellarmine's political thought and is missing from his bibliography. Arnold points out that Bellarmine recognized the need for an international authority in a time of the rising modern states and at one point even suggested a temporal form of this authority to be exercised by princes. This position looks much better from the perspective of the early twenty-first century. Motta recognizes in Bellarmine and in the Counter-Reformation the attempt to adapt theology to the changing times but he does overlook a major feature of it, or Early Modern Catholicism, a term Motta avoids: the attempt to develop a spirituality for life in the world as found most significantly in Francis de Sales. This is found in only a limited fashion in Bellarmine and thus, in my opinion, weakens Motta's claim that he *is* the Counter-Reformation.

Loyola University Chicago ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

Retrying Galileo, 1633-1992. By Maurice A. Finocchiaro. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 485. $50.00.)

This book is an important addition to the literature on the Galileo affair. Finocchiaro is already well known for his indispensable English anthology of the documents of Galileo's trial and its background. Now he turns his attention to the very complex history of how the results of that trial were received, interpreted, refuted, reinforced, misinterpreted, and mythologized in the next three and a half centuries up to, and including, Pope John Paul II's "rehabilitation" of Galileo in 1993. There is no other book which attempts to synthesize this history, and Finocchiaro's presentation of it is so well done that it shows every promise of being the basic foundation for any further research in this area for many years to come. The emphasis throughout is primarily on objective history rather than interpretation (the latter is promised in a later volume).

The former is unusually extensive in coverage, minutely researched and documented, and based on many largely inaccessible and neglected primary sources, many of which are translated at length into English (the longest being twenty pages). An extensive bibliography and detailed index allows the reader to use the book almost as one would use an encyclopedia.

The seventeen chapters of the book are arranged in chronological order. Some of the main topics discussed are how the result of the trial was promulgated and received up through the Enlightenment; Pope Benedict XIV's qualified removal of the ban against publication of the works by Copernicus and Galileo; the removal of these books from the Index in 1835 after the Settele affair in 1820; the opening of the Vatican file on the case in the 1870's and the subsequent flood of Galileo interpretations; the tricentennial attempt to rehabilitate Galileo which culminated in the Pio Paschini affair at Vatican Council II; and the Vatican Commission Report in 1992.

The long historical journey also provides the author an opportunity to debunk the large accumulation of myths about the Galileo affair, arising from numerous sources and motives, by showing when and how they originated in later years. Examples are the "but still it moves" comment which was supposedly made by Galileo immediately after his condemnation (which could well have then led to his execution as a relapsed heretic); a detailed examination of the claims that he was tortured; his being blinded by his captors; his supposed five years in prison; and whether some key documents in the case were forged.

Also of special value for scholars is Finocchiaro's lengthy history of the adventures of the Galileo file, which was located originally in the Vatican Secret Archives, but which was later included in the very large collection of church records which Napoleon's army stole in 1810 and removed to Paris, where many of the documents were lost or destroyed for making cardboard. However, after diligent efforts by Rome the Galileo file ultimately was found and was returned to the Vatican in 1843. By piecing together the author's accounts of the irregular peregrinations and gradual release of documents pertaining to the case, Galileo scholars will find this book an invaluable aid to identify and understand what was known, when, and by whom, regarding the primary source material on the Galileo case.

Recurrent interpretive topics in the book include the issue of slippage back and forth over the centuries between the meanings of the phrase "contrary to the Scriptures" and "heretical"; whether or not the Bible teaches natural science; and the Holy Office's 1616 memorandum to the effect that Galileo had been placed under an injunction not to teach, defend, or hold Copernicanism, while Cardinal Bellarmine's letter to Galileo three months later about the same meeting seems to say that there was no injunction.

Finocchiaro's reading of the work of the Galileo Commission and of Cardinal Poupard's Report of October 31, 1992, is quite thoughtful and worthy

of careful reflection. The "rehabilitation" of Galileo at that time, according to the author's reading of the documents, seems to mean the following. Pope John Paul II accepted Poupard's Report summarizing the work of the Galileo Commission, but did not formally approve it. Then later at that same session of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences (which was meeting on the topic of Complexity in Science) the Pope pointed out that the 1616 Decree of the Congregation of the Index presupposed a univocal view of the methodology and epistemology of natural science and scriptural theology. But we now know that that is not the case. An inter-disciplinary epistemology which formulates a non-univocal complexity view of the methodologies and the modes of knowing in these areas is rather what was called for and needed. As a result the 1616 Decree, which was the primary legal ground for condemning Galileo at his trial, was faulty precisely because of its univocal view of science and Scripture. This is as far as Pope John Paul II and this book by Finocchiaro pursue this point. However, this seems to be enough to suggest the question of whether it is implied here that the verdict against Galileo at the trial was in turn faulty, given that the Decree of 1616 was faulty. Why not take this issue one step further toward a complete closure of the case and a full rehabilitation of Galileo in 1992? Was that the intention? After all, the original dispute in 1616-1633 did not involve matters of *de fide* truth.

Whether or not this "closes the case" of Galileo, discussion of the Galileo affair will no doubt continue for a long time. During that future historical interval, "retrying Galileo" will thus also continue. And Finocchiaro's book, which is most welcome especially for its thoroughness, historical objectivity, and balance, will play a large role in that discussion.

Saint Louis University RICHARD J. BLACKWELL

Pierre-François Chifflet, Charles Du Cange et les Bollandistes. Correspondance. Présentation, édition et commentaire par Bernard Joassart. {Tabularium hagiographicum, Volume 4.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2005. Pp. 305. €60.00 paperback.)

The monumental hagiographical collection known as *Acta Sanctorum* has been in continual publication for over three centuries. It was inspired by the researches of the Jesuit, Héribert Rosweyde (1569-1629), but it was his successor, Jean Bolland (1596-1665), who recast the whole enterprise so as to encompass publication of every Life of every saint of the Church, ordered liturgically by calendar month. It was Bolland who turned a partnership of Jesuit scholars into a small, cohesive society devoted to this task, but from the first, the society made call upon the expertise of others who, although not of the community, were decisively in tune with its spirit and critical methodologies. The literary correspondence between the first Bollandists and two very notable French collaborators is the matter of this book. Pierre-François Chifflet (1592-1682) had joined the Jesuits in 1609 and was taken up by Rosweyde, his senior confrère,

after the publication in 1618 of his account of the antiquities of Besançon. The first surviving letter between them is dated 1624, a request from Rosweyde for transcriptions of *Vitae* from manuscripts accessible to Chifflet in France. A great quantity of transcriptions either commissioned by Chifflet or written in his own hand were found among Rosweyde's voluminous papers after his death in 1629, witnessing the beginnings of a collaboration that was to continue for the rest of Chifflet's scholarly life. The majority of the letters included in this edition, twenty-nine of them, belong to his correspondence with Jean Bolland, covering the period from 1624 to 1680 and the publication during that time of the volumes of *Acta sanctorum* for January to April.

The support and collaboration of the philologist and historian Charles Du Cange (1610-1688) belong to the later period, and to the Bollandist generation that succeeded the two pioneers. The surviving letters all belong to the correspondence between Du Cange and Daniel Papebroch, across the period from 1665 to 1686. Du Cange was well born and a man of position as well as a scholar of prodigious erudition. A reader of the first volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*, from which he drew material for his Glossaries of late Latin and late Greek, Du Cange seems always to have remembered thereafter the needs of the Bollandists in the course of his own researches in Parisian libraries. He sent to Papebroch in 1683 a long 'mémoire' listing nearly six hundred hagiographical texts that he had found among the Greek manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Colbertine. In the quarrel over the true origins of the Carmelite order, which saw the Bollandists accused of heresy by the Spanish Inquisition for refuting the widely-held belief that the Carmelite rule dated back to the prophet Elijah, both Chifflet and Du Cange lent support to their friends, and an important part of Du Cange's correspondence concerns this dispute. The Introduction reprints an extract from the letter that he sent to his friend Wyon d'Hérouval in which he set down his esteem for the critical historical methods of the Bollandists, a letter which was subsequently circulated publicly.

The correspondence in this collection has been edited from a number of scattered letter-books, some now in Paris, some in Brussels, and others in the Bollandist archive. Père Joassart, a modern-day Bollandist, is himself heir to the papers he has so expertly edited and introduced, and is to be congratulated on the appearance of his fourth volume in as many years in the series "Tabularium hagiographicum." The series, which aims to publish all the surviving correspondence between the early Bollandists and their collaborators, is filling out at a rapid rate, and shows a commitment to coverage worthy of the first Bollandists themselves.

University of Oxford JAMES WILLOUGHBY

S. Alfonso Maria de Liguori: Carteggio, Volume I: *1724-1743*. Edited by Giuseppe Orlandi. [Serie dell'Istituto storico Redentorista, Roma.] (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 2004. Pp. 840. €95.00 paperback.)

Giuseppe Orlandi, C.SS.R., professor at the Lateran University in Rome and member of the Redemptorist Historical Institute, publishes here the first volume of the correspondence of Saint Alphonsus de Liguori (1696-1787), bishop, founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists), doctor of the Church, and patron of moral theologians and confessors.

This work is most welcome and long overdue, since the last collection of Alphonsus' letters, in three volumes, appeared over one hundred years ago, in 1887. The present edition includes numerous letters found and edited since then, and is not marred by an editorial decision that, in 1887, sometime tampered with the original text. The title indicates that the collection does not consist merely of letters by Alphonsus (*epistolario*) but includes letters to him (*carteggio*). The reader is thus enabled to see Alphonsus in immediate dialogue with his contemporaries.

The General Introduction, which applies to all the projected volumes of the collection, begins with a short biography and personal profile of Alphonsus, accentuating his literary output. There follows a history of the various collections and editions of letters that have appeared throughout the more than two centuries since his death in 1787, together with an evaluation of these. Thirdly, Orlandi explains why he opted to present both the letters of Alphonsus and of his correspondents; and the reasons for including various non-epistolary texts. The principal correspondents in this volume are Bishop Thomas Falcoia, Venerable Maria Celeste Crostarosa, and his early companions: Caesare Sportelli, Paolo Cafaro, Francesco Rossi, Gennaro Sarnelli, and several contemplative nuns.

The General Introduction continues with a description of the formalities of presenting each letter and their transcription; it concludes with a valuable section on contemporary Neapolitan divisions of the day, weights and measures, and coinage—information needed for a precise understanding of the material in many of the letters.

An introduction to volume I consists of an overview of the 296 letters from the years 1724 to 1743, of which 106 are by Alphonsus and 190 by his correspondents, and also the meaning of the abbreviations occurring in the letters and in the footnotes.

The body of the correspondence follows: 296 texts. Each year for which there is a text is introduced with a brief summary of the events in the life of Alphonsus for that year. The formalities of each letter are not cramped together, but are generously spaced: letter number, addressee, short description of the contents, spiritual invocation, place, date, salutation, closing, and signature. Large typeface and ample line-spacing make reading easy and enjoyable. The footnotes, mostly bibliographical references, are helpful but do not overwhelm.

The 192 pages of back material are most serviceable for a study and an understanding of the texts. The section "Archival and Bibliographical References" gives a description of the original document, its location, published editions, and references. Then, short biographies of the correspondents, a glossary of the modern equivalent of archaic words, a year-by-year curriculum vitae of Saint Alphonsus, twenty-seven pages of select bibliography. Finally, there are six indices: proper names, places, addresses, correspondents, chronology of the letters, and general index.

This early correspondence is indispensable for understanding the crucial and troubled events in the founding of the Redemptorist Congregation, the role of Venerable Maria Celeste and Bishop Thomas Falcoia, the formation of its Rule, and the clarification of its charisma in the Church. Present throughout is the very human and amiable personality of Alphonsus himself.

Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province CARL HOEGERL, C.SS.R.
Brooklyn, New York

Late Modern European

Religious Women and Their History: Breaking the Silence. Edited by Rosemary Raughter. (Dublin: Irish Academic Press. Distributed by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2005. Pp. x, 150. $27.50 paperback.)

Religious Women and Their History is a slim (six essays and a poem) volume of conference proceedings sponsored by the Women's Education, Research and Resource Centre at University College, Dublin. The selections cover a wide variety of topics under the general heading of Irish women's religious experiences from the eighteenth century forward, and serve as an excellent introduction to current directions in the field.

The volume has a number of obvious strengths. First, the essays analyze both Catholic and Protestant women, a welcome trend in Irish historiography. In her introduction, Rosemary Raughter writes, "the evangelicalism of the nineteenth century suffused all branches of Christianity, affecting both Protestantism and Catholicism with its message of spiritual regeneration and moral reform" (p. 5). This is not to deny the differences between Protestant and Catholic women's religious experiences, as Raughter later notes that the operation of the Penal Laws, however fitful, shaped the roles of women in the Catholic Church in ways that were not shared by their Protestant sisters (p. 26). Nevertheless, a volume that asserts the commonality of Christian religious experience, in a country where religious divisions are often replicated in the historiography, should be commended.

The book also strongly emphasizes women's agency. Religious women are too often depicted solely as victims of an obviously patriarchal church struc-

ture. However, Rosemary Raughter's article observes that the structural disorder caused for the Catholic Church by the Penal Laws opened up a space in eighteenth-century Ireland for female religious work, a time that Raughter calls a "matriarchal era" (pp. 26-27). For Catholics, that space may have closed in the later nineteenth century, as the Church began to control female religious organizations more tightly as part of a general consolidation of the hierarchy's power (p. 103). Still, the women documented in this volume have considerable achievements to their names: the founding of religious organizations like the Sisters of Mercy and the Society of the Sacred Heart, public preaching associated with the Salvation Army, and missionary work in India and China, just to name a few.

The richest essays were Maria Luddy's overview of convent archives, Janice Holmes's piece on the Salvation Army in Ulster, and Myrtle Hill's examination of the Zenana Mission. The Salvation Army piece underlines the combination of class and religious tensions that female Salvation Army preachers faced when holding public meetings in nineteenth-century Ulster. Surprisingly, they faced little criticism along gender lines, and were instead often ridiculed for their working-class accents and patterns of speech. It would have been interesting to read more about how these women saw their own gender roles. At one point, the author notes that one female preacher used "sentiment" to "warm the hearts" of her audience (p. 69). One wonders if the choice of this "feminine" rhetoric was unselfconscious, an attempt to appeal to audience expectations, or part of the general rhetorical strategies of evangelicalism. The experiences of the women working overseas for the Zenana Mission nicely illustrates the tension between male missionaries' desire to use women to appeal to colonized women, and their fear of giving women too much power and visibility.

The volume also admirably highlights directions for further research, particularly in Maria Luddy's essay on convent archives, which argues for their usefulness as a window into larger issues in Irish social history, such as medicine or the uses of public space. In fact, Luddy's essay does such a good job illustrating the potential value of convent collections that it should have come earlier in the volume to set up the essays that follow. Another minor quibble is the book's brevity, especially given its price. Nevertheless, *Religious Women and Their History* successfully encompasses the rich variety of work currently being done on religious women in Ireland.

Central Washington University JASON KNIRCK

Culture War: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Edited by Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 368. $70.00.)

In an era when the term is being invoked to characterize everything from international terrorism to the American electorate and campus politics, it might

seem contrived to give the title *Culture Wars* to a book of essays on confessional strife in late-nineteenth-century Europe. The term itself, however, was first introduced (in the 1980's by the American sociologist James Davidson Hunter), as a (mis) translation of *Kulturkampf*, the emblematic German instance of the conflicts that provide the subject of this anthology. Several features of the volume make it a valuable addition to the literature. The first is the breadth of its coverage. Its essays span Europe from the United Kingdom to Italy and Hungary. It is broader in geographical, if not chronological scope that Ellen Evans' recent survey, which focused on the politics of confessional tension in continental western and central Europe. The theme of the anthology is also broader than Evans' work. As its title implies, it emphasizes the cultural dimensions of these tensions, which the editors lay out in two introductory essays. Christopher Clark analyzes the militant "New Catholicism," while Wolfram Kaiser deals with its antipode, the militant European anticlericalism that encompassed moderate liberals, free-thinking progressives, and revolutionary socialists. The editors thus attempt to describe "the relationship between the New Catholicism and its various antagonists" as a transnational phenomenon, the common theme in a European-wide set of "competing programs for the management of rapid political and social change" (p. 13). It is a sign of their success that the other ten authors, whose essays on individual European countries constitute the bulk of the volume, address common elements in disputes that raged during the last decades of the century over civil marriage, charity, the disposition of religious property, and—above all—education. In every land, both parties to the disputes became increasingly versed in the techniques of popular mobilization, especially in the exploitation of the new national media. The essays then explore with particular success the rhetoric, imagery, and rituals that were popularized in the polemics—the Belgian "*frère quêteur*," the Spanish Good Friday banquet, the Masonic "Synagogue of Satan."

This is no introductory survey. The authors are a distinguished group of scholars, who attend to the rich variety of these culture wars in lands whose confessional history they know well. The cultural tensions were extraordinarily complex amid the political and social flux of the late nineteenth century. They were complicated by questions of gender and generations, uneven regional development, and differences of national political culture. With the exception of the United Kingdom, where they shared the role with Anglicans, Catholics everywhere made up the clerical party, but their antagonists were more often secularists than Protestants. In Italy and other Catholic lands, the tensions extended into the Church itself. In Austria, particularly in the Tirol, they were complicated by ethnic struggles, while anti-Semitism figured prominently in most countries. Perhaps the most complicated case was the Swiss, which Heide Bossard-Borner ably analyzes. Here the dynamics of the antagonism varied from canton to canton. Given the "cellular character" of this country, it is hard, she writes, "to write a coherent account of the place" (p. 281). Readers who do not have a firm grasp of the national histories will find it hard to make sense of the abundant detail offered in the other essays as well. Still,

for students of European Catholicism and confessional history, this volume is welcome indeed.

Georgetown University ROGER CHICKERING

Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919-1933. By Stephen Schloesser. (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 449. $85.00.)

Jazz Age Catholicism offers an original, insightful, and penetrating analysis of an important moment in the cultural history of modern France. It argues that pervasive collective bereavement in the aftermath of World War I prompted a profound cultural shift in elite French society that made Catholicism—dismissed only a few years earlier as retrograde, essentially out of step with the modern world, and archaic—a vibrant and consoling cultural option for many of France's most innovative and creative minds. But Stephen Schloesser's argument is more subtle still: not only did many within the avant garde turn to, and find in, Catholicism a vibrant cultural paradigm that offered solace and spiritual renewal; but prominent French Catholic thinkers and artists embraced modernity not by wholesale rejection of the past but by effecting a synthesis of medieval and modern philosophical principles and artistic forms. At the forefront of this experiment in Catholic renewal and redefinition were Jacques Maritain, Georges Bernanos, Georges Roualt, and Charles Tournemire. Refusing to abandon the philosophic and aesthetic traditions of the Catholic past—whether Scholasticism in philosophy (in the case of Maritain) or Gregorian chant in music (as was Tournemire's striking accomplishment)—each of Schloesser's subjects "formulat[ed] traditional Catholic ideas in modernist guise" (p. 15). Thus it is Catholicism's outreach to the modern—as much as modernity's embrace of Catholicism—that emerges most powerfully from this analysis.

One of Schloesser's most impressive qualities is his ability to write clearly, intelligently, and originally about cultural production in its many forms: literature, philosophy, and music are analyzed with equal ease and clarity. This facility is especially evident (and welcome, to this reviewer, at least) in his analysis of Charles Tournemire, composer and organist. Deeply familiar with the technicalities of musical composition, Schloesser successfully sets forth the formal characteristics of plainchant and explains how Tournemire, who harbored no political sympathy with the ultra-conservative, integralist appropriation of plainchant in the late nineteenth century, claimed it as a mode of modernist expression in his masterwork of 1927, *L'Orgue Mystique*. Because Schloesser can write authoritatively about music, philosophy, and literature, he is able to demonstrate that Catholicism's appeal extended broadly through the cultural domain and was not limited to one or two specific genres. Furthermore, his willingness to think about how sexual modernity (epitomized in the 1920's by homosexuality) often coincided with a deep respect for cultural order—most evident in Jean Cocteau's abiding friendship with, and respect for, Jacques and Raissa Maritain—offers us

a new way to understand the modernist initiatives of inter-war Catholicism: "*la main tendue*," once understood only as the outstretched hand that hoped to bring Catholics and Communists together, emerges here as another form of cultural rapprochement, equally unexpected by the standards of the pre-war era, by which Catholics and homosexuals could find common ground.

Jazz Age Catholicism contributes in two significant ways to our understanding of twentieth-century French cultural history: first, it prompts a serious reconsideration of the role played by, and the cultural attraction of, Catholicism in the aftermath of World War I; second, it contributes importantly to a scholarly re-assessment of the cultural consequences of the war itself. Yet it leaves one wanting something more. The argument is well made that this new spirit of innovation emerged from the psychological trauma of World War I, thus linking this work with a very rich vein of recent scholarship on the cultural consequences of the war. What remains less well developed is the longer-term significance of this cultural shift. Was "Jazz Age Catholicism" an ephemeral phenomenon without long-term, lasting significance? Or was it the beginning of a fundamental reorientation in Catholicism that led to the Second Vatican Council and its defining spirit of ecumenicism? And what of the modernists who perceived in Catholicism a new opportunity for spiritual renewal? Was theirs only a fleeting alliance? These questions might rightly belong to a subsequent study, but the richness of this book makes one eager to know more not just about the individuals examined but the lasting impact of the cultural transformation they helped to effect.

University of Colorado, Boulder MARTHA HANNA

Crusade of Charity: Pius XII and POWs (1939-1945). By Margherita Marchione. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 284. $19.95 paperback.)

Since the performance of Rolf Hochhuth's drama *The Deputy* in 1963, studies of Pius XII, pope from 1939 to 1958, have been decidedly partisan with a long list of detractors on the one hand and his defenders on the other. Both sides have often seemed more interested in denigrating or vindicating his actions during the course of the Holocaust than in ferreting out the truth. To complicate the picture, many of the positive or negative images have been drawn not by historians but dramatists, lawyers, and journalists. Part of this large and growing "historiography" has been catalogued in José M. Sánchez's *Pius XII and the Holocaust: Understanding the Controversy* (2002) and *The Pius War: Responses to the Critics of Pius XII*, edited by Joseph Bottum and David G. Dalin (2004). William Doino, Jr., in "An Annotated Bibliography on Pius XII, the Second World War, and the Holocaust" (pp. 97-280) found in *The Pius War*, aptly notes that Sister Margherita of the Religious Teachers Fillipini is "among the most passionate supporters of Pius XII" and her prodigious effort is not "primarily a work of scholarship."

The author of half a dozen volumes defending Pius XII, in *Crusade of Charity*, as elsewhere, the author readily acknowledges that she does not write from a detached perspective, "convinced that Pius XII was a wise and saintly man" (p. xvi). This apologetic tone leads one to hold suspect some of her important findings and presentation of material not readily found elsewhere. Her main focus here is on the work of the Vatican Information Office formed by this pope in 1939 to monitor and mitigate the suffering and separations provoked by World War II. Part of this vast correspondence has been drawn from the earlier printed eleven-volume *Actes et documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (1965-81), but many more documents have now been made accessible by the Secret Vatican Archives. Some ten million wartime documents of the prisoner of war/missing person service presently available have been catalogued in two large volumes entitled *Inter Arma Caritas: Uffizio Informazioni per i prigionieri di guerra istituto da Pio XII* (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2004). The first volume includes an inventory of files and description of how the service operated; the second includes a selection of the millions of requests received, and in some cases the responses provided.

Many of the requests are written in Italian, German, or French, and Sister Margherita has translated and included some one hundred requests and responses. Her volume is divided into three parts: the first is on "Leaders of the Catholic Church" (Benedict XVI, John Paul II, and Pius XII [pp. 3-41]). Why the first two popes are included is not clear. The second on "World War II" (pp. 45-64) explores how and when the Vatican intervened on behalf of the families of prisoners and the dispossessed, and the concrete assistance provided. The bulk of the book is found in part three, "Requests for Vatican Assistance" (pp. 67-229), which provides a wide range of requests for papal assistance from Christians and Jews. In her "Conclusion" (pp. 230-241), Marchione returns to her apologetic mode noting that the millions of requests attests to "Their trust in the efforts of Pope Pius XII" (p. 230), and that "a grave injustice has been done to the memory of Pope Pius XII" (p. 240). This theme is reiterated in the Epilogue (pp. 242-248), concluding that "personally and through his representatives, Pius XII employed all the means at his disposal to save Jews and other refugees" (p. 248). An "Appendix" (pp. 249-259) contains additional pertinent Vatican documents, while the short annotated "Bibliography" (pp. 267-274), reflects her sentiments and assumptions.

St. John's University, New York FRANK J. COPPA

The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust. By Frank J. Coppa. (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 353. $59.95.)

Before venturing into the minefield covered by this book, Coppa notes that "many of the most influential works on the Church and the Holocaust have been produced not by historians and theologians but by dramatists, novelists,

journalists, and lawyers." Hence "one must keep in mind the difference between advocacy and historical scholarship."

Coppa deserves credit for writing as a historian, albeit—and this is a major weakness of the book—one so detached that he is often unwilling to judge between sharply contesting advocates. Herewith an example of his "on the one hand—on the other hand" methodology.

Coppa reports, correctly, that the protest of Pope Pius XII against the Nazi roundup of Roman Jews in mid-October 1943 was private and discrete. He also gives the reason: because the German Ambassador to the Holy See, Ernst von Weiszäcker, who worked behind the scenes to frustrate his superiors' persecution of Jews, warned the Pope that a public protest would put the Jews at even greater danger. Labeling the Pope's policy "subtle benevolence" (toward whom? Coppa does not tell us), he writes that "some observers are convinced that [the Pope's course of action] avoided a massive massacre of Roman Jewry. Others discount the papal role in saving Rome's Jews." A footnote refers to the works of Susan Zuccotti. The reader is not informed that her arguments have been decisively refuted by Ronald Rychlak. Though herself a historian (unlike many non-historians cited uncritically by Coppa—notably James Carroll, a frequent source throughout the book), Zuccotti's work is a prime example of what Coppa calls in his Introduction "a process of selection that bolsters a preconceived interpretative bias." In a work heavily dependent on secondary sources the failure to distinguish between advocates and honest seekers after truth is a major flaw.

We all make mistakes. But the number of them in these pages is troubling. Repeated citations of an important article by Martin Rhonheimer all refer to non-existent page numbers. Well-known contemporary names are garbled (curial Cardinal "Jeijia," Archbishop "Gunthausn" of Seattle). Coppa writes twice about "2600 priests at Vatican II," seemingly unaware that almost all were bishops. He gives a version of the prayer for the Jews in the Good Friday liturgy never heard in any church in the English-speaking world. A reference to a "bishop's protest" against Nazi euthanasia fails to identify the prelate in question. A number of pronouns lack antecedents, leaving the reader to guess at the author's meaning.

Worst of all is his account of "a postwar document, discovered only at the close of 2004," ordering that Jewish children baptized during the Holocaust not be returned to their parents. Coppa fails to inform readers that within days of this discovery the document in question was shown to be of uncertain provenance, and that its account of Vatican policy was false. An omission of this magnitude is difficult to excuse.

Inconsistencies abound. Coppa writes on page 143, for instance, about Pius XI's "conciliatory approach toward Nazi Germany," only to tell us fifteen pages later that "between 1933 and 1936 Pius made more than thirty protests against

Nazi actions." Coppa cites defenders of the disputed 2000 Vatican document *Dominus Jesus* who pointed out that calling Christianity the only true religion "does not claim that all others are false, or even that Christianity is perfect as it is lived today." His comment that "this line of thought seems to defy logic" makes one wonder about Coppa's own logic.

A writer familiar with Catholicism could not write about the priest at Mass "sanctifying the host." Nor could he call Pope John Paul II's statement that Vatican II's language about Christ as "the only Savoir of the world does not forbid, but on the contrary calls for, the peaceful relations with the believers of other religions" merely "one side of the debate." And such a writer would not write about a post-conciliar debate about "whether to implement the Council's decrees." The debate was about their interpretation.

Despite these serious flaws, Coppa's summing up is fair. In the pre-modern age, he writes, the popes protected Jews as often as they restricted them. Many of those who have written on this subject "ignore the persistent reality that hostility between Jews and Christians was often mutual, and that some Jews have been guilty of anti-Christian sentiment and conduct." The Church never called for a racially pure society, a demand which arose only in the nineteenth century and which even the Church's critics acknowledge was "contrary to its theology." And finally "Pius XII's position toward the Jews, like that of his predecessors, was far more complex and nuanced than many of his critics will allow."

Archdiocese of St. Louis JOHN JAY HUGHES

Chrétiens et Juifs sous Vichy (1940-1944): Sauvetage et désobéissance civile. By Limore Yagil. {Histoire religieuse de la France, 26.] (Paris: Éditions du Cerf. 2005. Pp. 766. €59 paperback.)

This massive volume has four especially noteworthy features. First is the importance of the politically charged question which it poses: why was it that France, in sharp contrast to her neighboring counties, had such a high rate of survival (75% approximately) of its Jewish population, despite the harsh exterminationist policies of both the Nazis and their Vichy counterparts.

The key to the originality of this study is the richness of its sources. The archival fruitfulness especially from departmental and local sites is particularly impressive. Even more striking is the extensive use of the extraordinarily detailed material of the Department of the Righteous at Yad Vashem. This second asset has opened up a whole new avenue of inquiry concerning help to the Jews of France during the Nazi occupation.

The approach which the author adopts in utilizing her wide array of sources constitutes the third characteristic of this volume. The author first examines the administrative and ecclesiastical background of each region, department, and diocese prior to making a specific assessment of conditions in each locality

under investigation. While the circumstances differed dramatically everywhere she investigated, she found countless, conscious-driven individuals ready, able, and unyielding in their efforts to help their persecuted Jewish neighbors.

Thus the fourth and final feature of this remarkably developed study is the radically revisionist conclusion: it is a variety of administrators at every level and humanists of every persuasion who are ultimately responsible for the safeguarding of 75% of the Jews of France during the Shoah. These benefactors of the Jewish community are apolitical—neither resistance nor collaboration—rather they are individuals acting in response to their own consciences. Within this previously ignored moral force are especially large numbers of spiritually dynamic Catholic priests, laity, and above all often-forgotten religious women. This book will undoubtedly spark a heated debate in French historical circles. It will likewise undoubtedly become an indispensable contribution to our understanding of France during the Nazi occupation. No French historian and no research library will want to let this superb study go unrecognized.

Boston College FRANCIS J. MURPHY

Cross on the Star of David: The Christian World in Israel's Foreign Policy, 1948-1967. By Uri Bialer. [Indiana Series in Middle East Studies.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 241. $39.95.)

This book should be required reading for all Vatican diplomats, and for those who study twentieth-century Vatican diplomacy. This is not because it gets the Vatican side of the diplomacy with Israel right. It often doesn't. Rather, it will help readers understand how the other side interprets Vatican diplomatic maneuvers, and this is a crucial test case with core values and needs at stake, both politically and religiously, on both sides.

Uri Bialer, who holds the Maurice Hexler chair in International Relations–Middle East Studies at Hebrew University, has published two previous books on Israeli diplomacy, and had available for this volume recently released archives of the Israeli government. An equivalent Catholic study of the Holy See's side of the events narrated here, of course, will have to await the release of the remainder of the Vatican's archives of the Secretariat of State for the pontificates of Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI.

I would estimate that roughly two-thirds of this book deals with Israeli-Vatican relations, which is of interest because the large majority of Israeli Christians are not Catholic, but Orthodox, and Israel's chief international ally is the United States, a country whose world view has been dominated by Protestant Christianity.

Bailer's scholarly attention is focused on the years after the establishment of the State of Israel. For what led up to it, and for the Vatican's role in the United Nations' debate on it, he relies on the standard Jewish sources, particu-

larly Sergio Minerbi, who felt that the Holy See harbored an implacable theological animus against the very idea of a Jewish state in the Holy Land because of the ancient teaching of contempt which held that the Temple was destroyed and the Jews exiled from their homeland because of their alleged collective guilt for the death of Jesus.

True, this idea was commonly held among Christians before the Second Vatican Council's declaration *Nostra Aetate* in 1965. But it was not really *the* motivating factor in Vatican reactions to Zionism, as Bialer, following Minerbi, erroneously alleges. Bialer, for example, cites the negative response of Pope Pius X to Theodore Herzl's 1904 appeal. Herzl's diary, however, recounts only what Pius said, not what he said to Pius. If Herzl, as is likely, gave the same grandiose, eschatological arguments about the Jewish return to the Land to the Pope that he gave to British evangelicals, the Pope's rejection of millennialist argumentation takes on a different valence. And, in fact, Bialer fails to mention the message sent by Cardinal Merry del Val to Herzl only some days later, that if the gathering of the Jews in Palestine was a *humanitarian* need, of course the Church would support it.

Bialer illustrates early in his book that the Israelis viewed Vatican officials as harboring an implacable hatred of Jews and therefore (they believed) of Israel. He also shows that many Israeli officials were in consequence opposed to an exchange of ambassadors with the Holy See. But there is no evidence in Catholic sources, such as the *Actes et Documents*, to support such theological hostility to Israel as a state. Rather, there is, and this is what in fact Bialer's book deals with and deals with quite well, overwhelming evidence that the Holy See in the years leading up to the UN partition vote, supported it, tacitly if not publicly, because of its inclusion of the internationalization of Jerusalem. Indeed, the Catholic countries of the world, especially Latin America, provided the votes, virtually as a bloc, for the very creation of Israel, which would not have been possible if the Vatican had in any way actively opposed the creation of Israel as a Jewish state. The Vatican did not retreat from its support for internationalization until 1967, when it changed its language subtly to "international guarantees" for freedom of access to the Holy Places.

But what remained over the years was a mutual mistrust, a burden of the centuries, which drove both diplomacies. It is only now, ever so slowly, being replaced by a cautious trust, based on the larger Catholic-Jewish experience of dialogue. Bialer's book faithfully and insightfully records the Israeli side of numerous events which led in the end to the historic Fundamental Agreement between the Catholic Church and the State of Israel.

Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Relations EUGENE J. FISHER
U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops

The Holocaust and Catholic Conscience. Cardinal Aloisius Muench and the Guilt Question in Germany. By Suzanne Brown-Fleming. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2006. Pp. xiv, 240. $45.00 clothbound; $20.00 paperback.)

Suzanne Brown-Fleming's short study of the post-1945 career in Germany of Bishop, later Cardinal, Aloisius Muench seeks to rectify some shortcomings she finds in F. Colman Barry's biography written in the 1960's. In particular, she examines the Cardinal's record on the question of German guilt for the crimes of the Holocaust, and the underlying anti-Semitic attitudes shared by so many Germans. In her view, Muench, as the Vatican's leading representative in Germany from 1946 to 1959, contributed to the lack of self-examination and the perpetuation of anti-Semitic prejudices among German Catholics. In this way, he was emblematic of the Catholic Church's failure in this period to confront its own complicity in Nazism's anti-Jewish ideology.

Brown-Fleming is quite right—even though not the first—to note the peculiar mentality which prevailed among the German established classes in the post-1945 years. Many foreign observers, including this reviewer, recall very clearly the repellent mixture of self-justification and self-pity, based on a still vibrant nationalism, even racism, which concentrated on the Germans' suffering and alleged mistreatment and ignored entirely the fate of others. Only a few stalwart voices called for acknowledgment of, and repentance for, the crimes committed in Germany's name. Bishop Muench was not among them. Instead, as an American envoy, he swallowed uncritically the Germans' self-assessment and did his best to promote his philo-German and anti-guilt ideology, based on his own deeply conservative and often anti-Semitic world-view. But Brown-Fleming runs the risk of exaggerating Muench's influence. The regrettable attitudes she deplores were not his invention and indeed owed little to his advocacy.

In fact, this German mood was founded on several fundamental points. The German elite had been badly scarred by the humiliations suffered in 1919; they now expected that their second defeat would lead to a super-Versailles. All shared a deeply-entrenched dread of Russian Communism, and many believed the Western allies' policy would also be based on revenge. German Catholics sought to defend their new-found national position as exemplified in the Concordat. When the Cold War broke out, the Western allies needed to recruit the west German population to their side. They therefore accepted the self-serving apologias proffered by this group and the accompanying amnesia about their Nazi past. Muench's views nicely fitted into this political reality.

Why was Muench appointed, not only as the Vatican's representative but also as liaison adviser on Catholic affairs to the U.S. military government? He was born and brought up in the Catholic diaspora in Milwaukee, taught in the seminary, and was promoted to the small rural diocese of Fargo, North Dakota, in 1935. His contacts with Europe were limited, and he had no diplomatic

experience. His nomination as Apostolic Delegate in 1946 was in fact largely due to the fiasco of an earlier attempt to resurrect the Vatican's diplomatic presence in Germany. In November, 1945, the Vatican had sent an elderly Italian Archbishop, who spoke no English, but appeared with a large retinue to uphold the Papal presence. General Eisenhower was not pleased, and made it clear that only an American would do. At the same time, the Secretary for War in Washington wanted a German-speaking Catholic dignitary to act as liaison with the military government. Apparently no one else filled the bill, so Muench in fact obtained both appointments and fulfilled both for three years. He avoided any potential clash by becoming a strong advocate of the interests of his "clients," the German Catholic population. These people, in turn, assumed that Muench had substantial influence in both Rome and Washington, and when they found him to be sympathetic, increasingly sought his good offices on their behalf. Brown-Fleming believes that in this way Muench had "undue" influence. But his work clearly pleased Pope Pius XII, who, as soon as possible, promoted him to be nuncio, and he came to be regarded as a valuable ally by the new West German government after 1949.

Brown-Fleming is strongly critical of Muench's exculpatory attitudes toward all Germans, his repudiation of collective guilt, and his failure to denounce the German mass murder of the Jews. She attributes this to the entrenched anti-Judaic prejudices common to his generation of conservative Catholics, both in America and Europe. On the other side, his sharp criticisms of American occupation policies—as being too harsh—nearly had him recalled by Washington. These authorities, however, were less concerned about his distortions of history or the support he gave to the Germans' sense of victimization. In Brown-Fleming's view his principal fault was to encourage German Catholics to believe they needed no examination of conscience.

Brown-Fleming's stance is naturally affected by the perspective of fifty years later, and by the subsequent striking emendation of Catholic attitudes toward Judaism. Her book is not free from the kind of wishful thinking which believes that attitudes at the time should have been different. And while her well-researched examination of the available sources, especially Muench's own papers, now in Washington, is thorough, her book suffers from the inaccessibility of the Vatican's records, since the papers for the reign of Pius XII are still—regrettably—closed. Eventually the whole story will have to be told again. But she does well in throwing light on some of the less attractive aspects of post-1945 German/American Catholicism and on the evidence of the Church's continuing anti-Jewish stereotypes in the years before the Second Vatican Council.

University of British Columbia JOHN S. CONWAY

Araldo del Vangelo. Studi sull'episcopato e sull'archivio di Giacomo Lercaro a Bologna 1952-1968. Edited by Nicla Buonasorte. [Istituto per le scienze religiose—Bologna: testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, nuova serie 32.] (Bologna: Il Mulino. 2004. Pp. 313. €25.00 paperback.)

The book under consideration here, *Araldo del Vangelo*, yields many fruits. Edited by Nicla Buonasorte of the University of Modena and the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Sciences in Bologna, the book contains a useful chronology and bibliography of Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro's life and work; it provides a valuable and detailed catalogue of the Lercaro archive at the John XXIII Foundation; and it includes four studies of Lercaro, by Giuseppe Alberigo, Angelo Varni, Alberto Melloni, and Giuseppe Battelli. Although Giacomo Lercaro is best remembered for his tenure in Bologna, he was born (1891) in Genoa, launched his career there, and lived over half of his life there. Beyond some early study in Rome, in fact, Lercaro was fifty-five when he left Genoa for good, to become the archbishop of Ravenna in 1947. Five years later, in 1952, he arrived in Bologna. In January 1953 Pope Pius XII elevated Lercaro to the cardinalate. The new archbishop had already acquired fame as an activist who labored to engage, and engage with, the laity, a quality that would be tested by Lercaro's tenure in Bologna, a citadel of Italian Communism during the Cold War. Under its legendary mayor, Giuseppe Dozza, and his successor, Guido Fanti, Red Bologna did, indeed, figure prominently in Lercaro's fortunes. The Christian Democrats, for example, tried to unseat Dozza in 1956 by challenging him with Giuseppe Dossetti, Lercaro's close associate and advisor. After that debacle, Lercaro's career peaked with his work at the Second Vatican Council where he assumed a number of tasks, as one of the principal co-ordinators of the proceedings, one of Pope Paul's chief aides, and as president of the *Consilium ad exsequendam constitutionem de sacra liturgia*. The archbishop's work on liturgical reform, however, brought controversy on him through the publication in February 1967 of *The Torn Tunic, Letter from a Catholic on the 'Liturgical Reform'* by Tito Casini, an angry conservative. Although Giuseppe Alberigo portrayed Casini's attack as "a vulgar libel," it seemed to signal the beginning of a rough period that ended Lercaro's career in a cloud. The central enigma in these last years, moreover, was the role and motivation of Paul VI. Lercaro's positive relationship with Paul (and Montini before 1963) seemed to work against him after the Casini assault. Shortly before its publication, Lercaro offered his biretta to the Pontiff in line with the August 1966 *motu proprio* that called for ordinaries to tender their resignations upon reaching their seventy-fifth birthdays. Lercaro would become seventy-five that October; but Paul, significantly, rejected the resignation. The following July, however, after the publication of Casini's book, Rome appointed the bishop of Mantua, the conservative Antonio Poma, to be Lercaro's replacement (and perhaps watchdog) in the wings, as Bologna's archbishop *cum iure successionis*. Matters came to a head at the end of 1967 when Lercaro and Paul diverged over the war in Vietnam. Encouraged by Dossetti, the archbishop advocated a more activist position than that taken by the more diplomatic

Paul. In his meticulously researched contribution to this study, "Lercaro, Dossetti, the Peace and Vietnam '1 January, 1968'" (*Lercaro, Dossetti, la pace e il Vietnam '1° gennaio 1968'*), Giuseppe Battelli relates the steps and relationships, such as those with Dossetti and Fanti, that led to Lercaro's New Year's homily in the Bologna Cathedral which called for an end to the United States bombing campaign, triggering what Battelli termed "the impossible union (*connubio*) of prophecy and diplomacy." On February 12 the Italian press announced Lercaro's resignation as archbishop, the victim of a far-off war that had forced the Vatican into a quandary.

The University of Scranton ROY DOMENICO

American

Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the Seventeenth-Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico. By Robert C. Galgano. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 212. $32.50.)

This relatively brief work of 188 pages of text and notes provides a glimpse of the results of the meetings between Indians and Spaniards in those two diverse areas in the seventeenth century. The inspiration that led to this study was its author's conviction that the historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists who have studied the peoples of the two disparate regions over the last half century or so, in studying specific cultures, have missed "the bigger comparative picture that leads to greater insights and reveals new patterns." Galgano also believes that earlier scholars have failed "to explain the dynamic variations of Spanish colonization schemes" and "to see broader designs in the negotiated coexistence between natives and newcomers."

Galgano defined his "pedagogical goal" as "to emphasize the central roles Indians played, and their reactions to Spanish missionization in Florida and New Mexico." He claimed to have designed his work "as an accessible history especially for undergraduate use." In the same vein he also explained: "Though I am most interested in natives' views, the Spanish perspective is equally important." He has succeeded in achieving these latter goals. But he has given relatively little attention to his more ambitious ones of presenting "the bigger comparative picture" and "dynamic variations of Spanish colonization schemes" and "broader designs in the negotiated coexistence."

This book grew out of a paper the author gave at a meeting of graduate students who were attending a summer archaeological field school at the College of William and Mary under the auspices of the Omohundro Institute of American History and Culture and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Professor James Axtell apparently was the director of that field school. For some time since then Galgano has taught at both the College of William and Mary and James Madison University. The author identified himself as a histo-

rian. In the preparation of this work, the author claimed to have done research at both the University of Florida's P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History and at the University of New Mexico's Zimmerman Library. But, the author's cited fonts indicate that his book is based largely on secondary sources or on primary ones that have been published.

In that sense his work is derivative as it is based almost exclusively on the published work of other scholars rather than on unpublished primary sources. However, his "Selected Bibliography," as he termed it, indicates that he did research in the manuscripts of the Jeannette Thurber Connor Papers, the Woodbury Lowery Collection, and the Stetson Collection for the Florida portion of his narrative and in the France Vintor Scholes Collection of the University of New Mexico for the section devoted to that region. But there is scant reflection of that documentary research in his thirty-one pages of "Notes" concerning his sources. In a hasty perusal, I found only one citation from the Stetson Collection and one from the Connor Collection. His inclusion of those manuscript collections in his bibliography appears to be more "window dressing" than a reflection of reality.

Nonetheless, he has done a workmanlike job of extracting information from his sources to present a very readable and enlightening account of the Indians' and Spaniards' seventeenth-century encounters in both Florida and New Mexico. Galgano observes that considerably more is known about Florida's original native peoples because of the wealth of documentation that has survived for it while much of the documentation for New Mexico perished during the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.

Toward the end of his introductory chapter on page 31 Galgano makes a somewhat puzzling observation. In it he notes that, "In the process of re-Christianization Spain became intimately associated with the Christian Church and later the Roman Catholic Church." The period that he was discussing was the Moorish period. Some elaboration seems to have been called for on the nature of the distinction that he was making in that remark.

On a more nit-picking level, Galgano consistently misspells "Chisca" as Chicsa. The book's index is too skimpy to be very useful. Galgano on page 8 observes that "Spanish secular and ecclesiastical officials . . . recklessly exercised their power over others." Such an accusation seems to demand some proof or further elaboration at least. The author seems to have a taste in the opening pages particularly for such unsupported generalizations. On page 15 a sentence begins: "A trembling mouth suggested that something bad was eminent." The context suggests that "imminent" probably was what the author intended. Three lines below it a sentence begins with: "By combining augers in their environment . . . the Indians gleaned more information about the future." "Auguries" is what the context seems to call for. A more careful proofreading of the manuscript by someone at the press should have caught such flaws. But they are only minor ones that do not detract seriously from the book's read-

ability or usefulness. The University of New Mexico Press is to be commended for having made Robert Galgano's work available to the general public.

San Luis Archaeological and Historic Site JOHN H. HANN
Tallahassee, Florida

Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War By E. Brooks Holifield. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 617. $35.00.)

A book like *Theology in America* is a rarity these days. An ambitious tome, it traces the ideas of nearly 300 theologians in the Anglo-American colonies and the United States between 1636 and 1865. It does so at a time when most historians of religion have shifted their focus away from the ideas and debates of literate, intellectual elites and toward such topics as everyday practice and popular ideology. Holifield's work can be read as a valuable counterweight to this trend, as "rare was the discourse in early America in which theology had no role" (p. viii).

Holifield's work draws narrative coherence from the argument that early American theologians shared a concern with the reasonableness of Christianity that led them to infuse their arguments with philosophical theory. This overarching theme interplays with five others: "the continued insistence on theology's 'practicality' and its ethical functions, the importance of Calvinism, the interplay between Americans and Europeans, the denominational setting of theology, and the distinction between academic and populist strands of thought" (p. 4).

The first part of the book treats the Reformed tradition from the first debates in New England to its fragmentation in the wake of Jonathan Edwards. Initially, seventeenth-century Calvinists relied on Protestant scholasticism and humanist logic in making their arguments. But a mounting challenge from English deists led subsequent generations of New Englanders to evidentialism and natural theology to defend truth as revealed only in the Bible. The second part of the book elaborates upon the use of evidentialism beyond New England and through the early national and antebellum periods. It covers a broader array of denominations including, among others, Unitarians, Universalists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Shakers, and Mormons. Uniting these disparate and competing strands, according to Holifield, was a methodological foundation based on Scottish Common-Sense traditions and an exaltation of Baconian science.

By the 1830's, many dissenters found limited utility in Baconian Science. The book's third part traces the work of Lutherans, Catholics, and Transcendentalists, and how they turned to intuition, historical communities of faith, and other alternatives to Baconian empiricism. A short chapter on the challenge presented by

slavery details how the institution forced many theologians to question the practicality of theology and consider "a form of interpretation that took into account historical criticism, the social and cultural context of the biblical writings, diversity and development within the canon, and the force of presuppositions in biblical scholarship" (p. 495). A brief afterword, however, points to the persistence of evidential theology into the twentieth century.

In devoting a chapter to the debate over slavery, Holifield provides an excellent example of theologians attempting to put their work to practical use. But in so doing, he makes one wonder if he should have done more on the relationship between theology and the rhetoric of the American Revolution, antebellum reform, nativism, or anti-Catholicism. To what extent did theology play a role in these movements, and what effect did they have on theology? To be sure, this would entail Holifield's veering somewhat from his stated purpose, but his theme of practicality begs for just a bit more sociopolitical contextualization of the ideas discussed.

It is also noteworthy that Holifield departs from the current tendency of many colonial American historians to approach their subject from a broad, continental perspective. Jesuit activities in New France and New Spain receive only passing mention. While it would not be fair to insist that Holifield should have devoted comprehensive attention to all of North America—his work is magisterial as it stands—he might have chosen a less ambitious title.

Metropolitan State College of Denver JAMES D. DRAKE

The Founders on God and Government. Edited by Daniel L. Dreisbach, Mark D. Hall, and Jeffry H. Morrison. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield. 2004. Pp. xx, 314. $80.00 cloth, $29.95 paperback.)

Setting the tone of this anthology, Michael Novak, in the foreword, contends that "scholars since about 1950 have thoroughly misconstrued the high achievements of the founding generation with respect to religious liberty" (p. ix). Even a cursory examination of the literature will reveal that is correct. Recent historians of the founding period have concentrated their efforts primarily on social and economic questions of the era.

The editors of this anthology have assembled essays by ten authors who seek to demonstrate that religious belief was of prime importance for leaders of the founding generation. As with all anthologies, the authors accomplish this goal with varying degrees of success. Among the best of the essays are Morrison's on John Witherspoon and James R. Stoner's on the Carroll family of Maryland. At the other end of the spectrum is Dreisbach's essay on George Mason, an essay in which the author seems to devote more space to James Madison than to Mason. The other seven essays do a very good job of demonstrating the importance of religion and religious liberty for the founders.

For example, Vincent Phillip Munoz, in his essay on Washington, makes a good case for Washington's view that "reason and the lessons of experience . . . taught that patriotic republicans ought to recognize and endorse religion because only a religious citizenry could sustain republican self-government" (p. 7). Indeed, this is a recurring theme throughout many of these essays—that religious belief, particularly Christian beliefs (although not Roman Catholic Christianity), was useful to maintain the orderly society. John Adams, according to John Witte, advocated the establishment of what he called "public religion." While not explicitly endorsing any particular sect or denomination, Adams's public religion would inculcate "honesty, diligence, devotion, obedience, virtue, and love of God, neighbor, and self" (p. 26), the characteristics necessary to sustain a republic. As Morrison points out, John Witherspoon's "formulation of the relationship between religion and republicanism [can be] reduced to this truism: no republic without liberty, no liberty without virtue, and no virtue without religion" (p. 129). Even the Reverend Witherspoon at times emphasized the utilitarian nature of religion.

Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., tackles the difficult job of addressing Jefferson's religiosity. Buckley presents convincing evidence to overcome the historical myth that "Jefferson was personally irreligious and desired his fellow Americans liberated from the shackles of belief" (p. 53). Equally challenging was Howard L. Lubert's task of resurrecting Benjamin Franklin's religious beliefs. The core of Lubert's argument is that "Franklin invoked religious language to promote socially beneficial behavior" and that Franklin believed "that the most acceptable form of worship is to do good works. . ." (p. 157).

The other theme in the book is the matter of religious liberty. Here the authors seem to be in agreement that freedom of religious belief was an important value for the Revolutionary generation, at least as that generation is represented by the ten founders dealt with in this collection. Even John Witherspoon "always argued that the conscience must be left free" (p. 131).

It is sometimes difficult for us in the early twenty-first century to appreciate the importance of religious belief for Americans of the late eighteenth century. And perhaps it is even more difficult to understand that the leaders of our Revolution viewed religion, specifically Protestant Christianity, as necessary for maintaining the stable society necessary for the preservation of republican government. This collection goes a long way toward putting us in the mindset of the founding period of the United States. It should be of interest to students of the founding era, and useful in advanced undergraduate as well as graduate courses in the history of the American Revolution and the constitutional history of the period.

University of St. Thomas THOMAS B. MEGA
St. Paul, Minnesota

Who Shall Take Care of Our Sick? Roman Catholic Sisters and the Development of Catholic Hospitals in New York City. By Bernadette McCauley. [Medicine, Science and Religion in Historical Context.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 146. $45.00.)

In 1849 the Sisters of Charity opened St. Vincent's Hospital, the first Catholic hospital in New York City. It was the third in the city and the first to be established by a religious congregation of women. In *Who Shall Take Care of Our Sick?*, Bernadette McCauley analyzes the prominent role of religious women in the development of Catholic hospitals in New York City in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These sisters served as administrators, nurses, supervisors, heads of departments, and board members. Today, Catholic hospitals are the largest single group of not-for-profit health care sponsors, systems, and facilities in the United States, making McCauley's history particularly important.[1] She not only examines how and why hospital development and nursing were so important to sisters but also what made Catholic hospitals distinctive from their secular counterparts. In this regard, she argues that hospital work and spiritual pursuits were inseparable. Indeed, Catholics claimed their hospitals were different because religious women cared for them in a special way.

Using primary historical documents from the sisters' and archdiocesan archives and secondary sources in the histories of women, religion, medicine, and nursing, McCauley weaves together a fascinating story of the sisters' foundations, their lives in the United States, the nursing care they provided, their financial activities, and the modernization of their hospitals in the early twentieth century. In so doing, her main thesis is that it was Catholic sisters, rather than priests and bishops, who placed their church as central to the hospital landscape in New York City. At the same time, sisters created institutions that were distinctive not only from secular facilities but also from each other. Ethnic connections were central: the Sisters of Charity established St. Vincent's Hospital, where Irish patients predominated; the Dominican Sisters, originally from Germany, founded St. Catherine's in Brooklyn; an Italian immigrant sister established Columbus Hospital in Manhattan for the Italian population; and sisters from Quebec developed Misericordia Hospital. Indeed, cultural and ethnic differences are major themes of the book.

McCauley also delineates a specific regional difference between New York hospitals and those established by sisters in other parts of the country: namely, that in New York City, Catholic hospitals received money from the state legislators. The power of Catholic votes in New York State, particularly in the city, gave the Church a significant political voice there.

Of the many interesting facets of this book, McCauley's analysis of the modernization of Catholic hospitals and their efforts to attract new patients is par-

[1] "Catholic Health Care in the United States" (The Catholic Health Association's website. 2006).

ticularly insightful. By the early twentieth century, patients favored location rather than religious affiliation as the criterion for choosing a hospital. McCauley argues, "The large Catholic populations reflected a location with a high percentage of Catholic residents, not necessarily the patients' choice to be treated in a Catholic institution" (p. 85). As a result, Catholic hospital promoters needed to show that they were up-to-date with, rather than different from, other hospitals, and they no longer emphasized their facilities as "sisters' hospitals" (p. 88). What was most critical was whether or not hospitals could provide quality care. Thus, sisters established nurse training schools, while others obtained further education as laboratory or x-ray technicians and administrators. They continued to manage and nurse in hospitals in New York City, but rather than claiming expertise based on religious identity, they worked as educated professionals.

Who Shall Take Care of Our Sick? adds to understandings of the integration of religion and medicine in the social history of hospitals. This book is well written and well researched. It is appropriate for scholars in the history of medicine, nursing, labor, religion, and women and should be required reading for students in each of these disciplines.

University of Pennsylvania BARBRA MANN WALL

'Peace and Good' in America: A History of Holy Name Province, Order of Friars Minor, 1850s to the Present. By Joseph M. White. (New York: Holy Name Province. 2004. Published in Association with the Academy of American Franciscan History. Pp. xviii, 522. $45.00.)

Joseph M. White, known for his work on the American diocesan seminaries and on the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, has written a history of the Holy Name Province of the Order of Friars Minor. Commissioned for this project by leaders of the province, he made extensive use of archives in Rome and in the United States. The book maps the origins of the province in nineteenth-century America: Sardinians, who came to western New York in 1855 at the invitation of Bishop John Timon of Buffalo and founded, among other works, St. Bonaventure College [now University]; and Thuringians displaced by the *Kulturkampf* who came to America in 1875 and assumed pastoral work in the Newark Diocese. In 1901, the leadership of the order organized a new province in America, combining the Germans with a smaller number of English-speaking members who were predominantly Irish in background, under the patronage of the Holy Name of Jesus. In the division of properties and missions, the new province received St. Bonaventure College, together with parishes and friaries in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey.

White characterizes his endeavor as an attempt to write a history of Franciscans "in the context of dramatic changes in both society and the Church. . . . It is a story of constant responses to ever-changing situations" (p.

viii). Because of his familiarity with broader historical themes, White is able to characterize the friars' impact on the life of the Church. Although this book was published internally by the Franciscans, bypassing the usual process of scholarly critique, the author acknowledges the assistance of Christopher Kauffman and others in preparing the text.

The book is divided into four parts, plus an epilogue. Part I covers the diverse origins of the men who were to form the new province and concludes with its establishment. Part II, covering the period from 1901 to 1943, describes the province's growth, its pastoral and educational work (including the assumption of parish work in the U.S. South), the founding of Siena College, and the mission to China. Part III takes the story to 1967. They were years in which membership reached nearly 1000, work in the Far East shifted from China to Japan, new initiatives were undertaken in South America, high schools were opened, and pastoral work in the South was expanded to the Caribbean. Part IV examines the work of the friars in the years to 1987, and includes attention to issues of academic freedom and religious sponsorship, and the province's many efforts to address pastoral needs in a global age. The book concludes with an epilogue, "The Refounding Era, 1987-2001," by Father Dominic Monti, who served as White's principal consultant for this project. The epilogue describes the friars' success at collaborating with lay people in the work of evangelization, their efforts to promote individual renewal, and their adjustment to smaller membership in the province.

'Peace and Good' in America includes a helpful glossary of terms to assist readers unfamiliar with the particular language of Franciscan life. There is an engaging section of over forty photographs that concludes with a somber picture of the body of Father Mychal Judge, chaplain to the New York City Fire Department, being carried from the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. The book also contains a numerical table of province membership, and two short indexes of names and ministries which, while helpful, could have been expanded to cover subjects as well. Joseph White has rendered good service to the Franciscans of Holy Name Province and to those wishing to know their story.

College of the Holy Cross ANTHONY J. KUZNIEWSKI, S.J.

Polish National Catholic Church of America: Minutes of the Supreme Council 1904-1969. Compiler and General Editor Casimir J. Grotnik. Translated by Theodore L. Zawistowski. [East European Monographs, No. DCLXIII.] (Boulder: East European Monographs. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 2004. Pp. 392. $60.00.)

This is a valuable source for the investigation of the understudied Polish National Catholic Church. The denomination arose in 1897 under the leadership of a dissident Polish Roman Catholic priest, Father Francis Hodur, and is the lead-

ing American example of an ethnic church which stoutly maintained its Catholic identity. The compilation provides translated records of the Supreme Council of the PNCC and is a necessary companion to the earlier compilations *Synods of the Polish National Catholic Church 1904-1958* and *The Polish National Catholic Church: Minutes of the First Eleven General Synods 1904-1963*.

The Supreme Council Minutes begin in 1904 and proceed with numerous *lacunae* through the leadership tenures of Bishops Francis Hodur (1904-1953) and his successor, Leon Grochowski (1953-1969). Certain issues appear repeatedly, most notably the persistent and eventually successful effort to establish the church in the homeland. A presence in Poland was vital to a church claiming to represent more fully Polish ethnicity, but World Wars I and II, interwar hostility from a government linked by concordat with Rome, and later persecution by the Communist government presented numerous obstacles and gave the effort an overtone of tragedy. Another ongoing concern, addressed usually by implication, was the reconciliation of the need for administrative order with a polity avowedly more democratic than Roman Catholicism. Other topics include a persistent paucity of seminarians and ongoing rivalry with Roman Catholic Poles, who remained numerically dominant despite PNCC evangelism.

Although minutes are usually only a few pages per session and do not include quotations, there are some apparent paraphrases, usually from Bishop Hodur. Despite Roman Catholic Poles' efforts to marginalize the PNCC within American Polonia, the records suggest a growing desire for Polish National Catholic participation in common ethnic concerns such as relief in World War II and the Polish American Congress (founded in 1944), an ethnic umbrella organization. Ecumenicism appeared in the 1960's, notably in the presence of Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican bishops at an episcopal consecration. The effects of acculturation received acknowledgement with the proposal for an English missal in this decade.

The translation is readable and the organization chronological. The indices are limited to names and places, so topics must be sought by reading the entire work. Since the original Polish accompanies the translation, the work is shorter than the apparent size of the volume. But the availability of an English version of this important source increases the accessibility of information on this interesting if small denomination.

Loyola University Chicago WILLIAM J. GALUSH

Peter Maurin: Apostle to the World. By Dorothy Day with Francis J. Sicius. (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Press, 2004. Pp. xxviii, 187. $20.00 paperback.)

Dorothy Day's longstanding desire to publish a biography of Peter Maurin has at last borne fruit through the work of Francis J. Sicius, who served both as

editor and co-author of the present study. Dorothy had begun her Maurin biography by 1943 and completed the rough manuscript in 1947, just two years before Maurin's death. However, the work remained in need of considerable editing, a job that Day neither found the time nor energy to pursue toward publication. Thus, we owe a great debt to Sicius, who unearthed Dorothy's biography from the archives, readied it for publication, and, when necessary, filled in the gaps of Day's account by incorporating passages from her other writings, such as *The Long Loneliness*. For greater ease while reading the present work, Day's words are printed in italics; Sicius' narrative, which is nearly half of the book, appears in normal font.

The genius of the content and structure of *Peter Maurin: Apostle to the World* is threefold. First, Sicius provides a type of *basso continuo* that is supportive of Day's narrative. His own portions of the text unify and clarity her story without overpowering it, thus carrying through on Sicius' own claim: "The true author and inspiration for this work remains Dorothy Day. . ." (p. xv). Second, Sicius honors Day's perspective on Peter the man and saint, whose spirituality greatly affected the development of Dorothy's own. While focusing on Maurin the person, Sicius nonetheless provides the reader with a larger historical, theological, and cultural context than the one which Dorothy was able to provide. Third, Sicius appropriately enlarges upon Maurin's intellectual heritage—which Day also remarked upon, but in more piecemeal fashion. In this area, Sicius moves beyond even Marc H. Ellis's fine study, *Peter Maurin: Prophet in the Twentieth Century* (1981).

Sicius is the sole narrator throughout his remarkable Chapter 8, "The Green Revolution," in which he clearly distinguishes between Dorothy's vision and Maurin's own. Socius rightly presents Maurin as a Catholic thinker who viewed the medieval synthesis as an "expression of a moral vision that could be applied to all time" (p. 124). Maurin, with his great capacity for synthesizing ideas, offered a dream for integrating matter and spirit as an alternative to the competitive capitalism that spawned the economic depression of 1929 through the 1930's. In short, Maurin outlined a plan for faith-based communities, working for subsistence, close to the land. He saw the need for humanity to live in harmony within the natural environment, as Sicius so aptly notes, "decades before intellectuals and social activists" took up the baton (p. 126).

Sicius has amply filled a lacuna in Peter Maurin and related Catholic Worker studies. I have one small suggestion to make: an index would make the work even more helpful to readers, especially those wishing to use it for future reference.

Lourdes College
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SR. BRIGID O'SHEA MERRIMAN, O.S.F.

Canadian

A History of Canadian Catholics: Gallicanism, Romanism, and Canadianism. By Terence J. Fay. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two.] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 400. $75.00 clothbound; $27.95 paperback.)

Terence Fay admits that a major hope in writing his book is to "create the first comprehensive history of Catholics in Canada" (p. ix). Though there are other works dealing with the history of Canadian Catholicism and Christianity, Father Fay claims to address his objective by focusing on French and English-speaking Canadian Catholics as well as Native people and Euro-Canadians from first contact to the present. Even so, given its very brief coverage of Canada's west and far west, especially since it claims to be "comprehensive," the book continues to reflect a perennial problem of Canadian Catholic church historiography of largely ignoring Canadian Catholicism west of Ontario. Surely, given the ever-increasing number of published monographs and articles on church history in Canada's west and far west, such a situation is no longer justified. As for the book's subtitle, it reflects its threefold chronological division from a state-controlled Francophone Catholicism, to a Vatican- or ultramontane-dominated Catholicism and finally, and especially since Vatican Council II (1962-1965), to a Catholicism that is still struggling to even comprehend, much less accept the pluralistic, globalized, multicultural, and interfaith reality of modern Canada, or, in short, that Canada is now no longer a Christian nation.

In trying to achieve his very worthy objective, Fay deliberately follows a strictly narrative rather than a narrative-analytical approach. In a word we are provided with "safe" history. Fay does this by stressing the importance of many figures, both clerical and lay, men and women, though mainly clerical-episcopal; and by covering significant social and political policies that have influenced cultural, ethnic, and gender development over four centuries. Again this is achieved by taking the "safe" road by not seriously challenging any past "shadows" in Canadian Catholicism (e.g., J. R. Miller, certainly a major and generally accepted authority on Native residential schools, makes no appearance, except for an article on anti-Catholicism; though Joanna Manning, a strong critic of the Catholic Church's treatment of women, is noted briefly [pp. 316-317], but without Fay taking any position short of admitting that, since they are over half the Canadian population, women are important). Instead Fay states the obvious that "women, the marginalized, and native people, given a chance, will help to universalize, energize, and organize the Catholic church in the twenty-first century" (p. 324). Certainly any critically thinking or curious reader must ask "why" are they not "given a chance"? But Fay offers no serious reflections, examinations, or answers to such "whys" on this or other important issues. So while this work could have an appeal to the general reader or first-time student, given his admitted approach, it will hold little interest for the scholar or critical reader who would find themselves throughout demanding far greater exploration and development of such issues.

Of course, "safe" history does have an obvious objective. There is no doubt that the aim here is to make the book as acceptable as possible to the general reader, especially the still regular church-going layperson, or about one in five (20%) baptized Canadian Catholics. But such a methodology, in avoiding serious and balanced criticism can also err on the side of accuracy. For example, he states that "while some [most?] women consider the church the hand of the past and an instrument of oppression, most [some?] Canadian women are willing to engage in dialogue with the [still clerically dominated institutional?] church in the hope that a conversion experience [by the institutional Catholic Church?] will renew the Christian vision and inspire all to service" (p. 324).

"Safe" history also has its price. In 1971, due to Vatican II, a Roman Synod of bishops wisely noted: "anyone who ventures to speak to people about justice must first be just in their eyes." Surely historians who fail to address seriously and examine the "whys" of past ecclesiastical attitudes toward traditional "out" groups, such as women, Native people, LGBT people, and many others, do not fully practice their profession. Perhaps this book might provide the first-time reader with a desire to journey deeper. Although, in holding out that possibility, its bibliography and notes need to be far more inclusive, detailed, and extensive, especially given its claim to being "comprehensive." But it must be said that it is a significant start toward the writing of a truly comprehensive history of Canadian Catholicism, and as such, Fay deserves our gratitude for laying a foundation on which to build.

Sacred Heart School of Theology VINCENT J. MCNALLY
Hales Corners, Wisconsin

Latin American

City, Temple, Stage: Eschatological Architecture and Liturgical Theatrics in New Spain. By Jaime Lara. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 299. $65.00.)

As objects of scholarly inquiry, utopian projects tend to elicit among historians both indifference and enthusiasm; despite some noticeable changes, these reactions are not very different from the ones that long have accompanied the historical study of ideas be they religious, political, or philosophical. However gross this generalization may be, it appears to hold true for the modern historians who studied the early evangelization of Mexico and the mendicant friars who made it possible. A similar divide appears to exist among the art historians who from George Kubler onwards have shed light on the architectural complexes that served as stages for the Christianization of the Mexican Indians. In his beautifully produced and richly illustrated *City, Temple, Stage*, Jaime Lara has unapologetically made the ideas and expectations about the end of times held by a select group of friars in sixteenth-century Mexico the key for understanding this unique architectural legacy.

The title brings to mind Samuel Edgerton's *Theaters of Conversion*, a by now indispensable study on Mexican religious architecture. Yet for all their similarities, these are two very different books. Whereas Edgerton focused on style and the transfer of artistic motifs, traditions, and techniques to Mexico, Lara makes clear from the outset that he will not concern himself with style but meaning. And meaning, for the author, is to be found by identifying the core metaphors that the friars, drawing on both Christian and native traditions turned into the unifying principle behind their "catechumenal complexes." As expressions of the missionaries' apocalyptic expectations, these complexes, according to Lara, were meant to encompass the past, the present, and the future by evoking and embodying all at once Jerusalem, its Temple, and the heavenly city to come.

The author has a tendency to overstate the hold that millenarian ideas had on the Mexican friars, even among the Franciscans. This impression is corroborated by the lack of a clear distinction between the particular vision of the end of times embraced by followers of Joachim de Fiore such as Mendieta—who arrived in Mexico in 1554 and not in 1529—and the eschatological themes and motifs that by the sixteenth century had become part and parcel of Christian liturgy and art. It is not surprising then that the world of the friars presented in *City, Temple, Stage* should be an unabashedly medieval one in which the presence of Renaissance techniques and conventions of visual representation barely registers.

Professor Lara has drawn on an impressive body of theological, literary, and artistic sources across time and places in search of the prototypes that may have guided the friars in the planning of the religious complex and the designing of its individual components: *posas*, open chapels, atrium, atrial crosses, etc. Some readers will find the seemingly endless correspondences in display fascinating; others will be more inclined to question the criteria behind a number of these exercises. Some of Lara's proposals are also likely to generate debate. A case in point is his provocative reinterpretation of the checkerboard plan of colonial towns as a design inspired by Eiximenis' reading of Ezekiel.

As if overwhelmed by the world of possibilities opened by his sources, Lara has privileged accumulation over analysis, suggestion over disciplined speculation, a move that may explain why some sections remain oddly tentative. Yet, this is a valuable if idiosyncratic scholarly contribution in which synthesis and new reinterpretations, images and ideas have not quite managed to work out their differences.

University of Connecticut, Storrs OSVALDO F. PARDO

Australian

From the Murray to the Sea: The History of Catholic Education in the Ballarat Diocese. By Jill Blee. (Ballarat, Victoria: Catholic Education Office, Ballarat and Indra Publishing. Distributed in the U.S. by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2004. Pp. 181. US$38.50; Aus. $49.95.)

This attractively produced, extensively referenced, and well illustrated study traces Catholic education from its earliest days to the present in the area which became the Ballarat Diocese in 1874. When Victoria became a separate colony from New South Wales in 1851, it inherited a publicly funded system of denominational schools as well as a parallel system of government schools. The Catholic Diocese of Melbourne, established three years earlier, now covered the whole of the new colony. Provision of Catholic education, as for other Australian dioceses, was a priority, and, with the secularizing Victorian Public Education Act of 1872—which withdrew funding from the denominational schools—became a matter of urgency for the diocese and of resulting public conflict in the colony. Blee traces this conflict in the context of the sectarianism of the times which it exacerbated. She feels that accommodation with the government could have been negotiated and that Catholic parents, through the policy-driven retention of Catholic schools, became deprived of choice and the personal religious education of their children. However, as her later documentation indicates, Catholic parents responded with marked generosity to the hierarchy's summons to shoulder the financing of these schools.

The book covers substantial changes in educational organization and practice from the early schools subsidized by the government, through the nine decades of withdrawal of public funding, to the current now forty-year span of restored and then considerably increased government aid. Parallel with this is traced the initial situation where Catholic parochial schools in general were lay-staffed, through the era of predominant employment of teaching religious when aid was withdrawn, to the by now ubiquitous return of lay staff with the restoration of aid. The middle interval, from the vantage point we now have, calls for in-depth, Australia-wide research into the resolution and sustained effort to maintain a system of schools become, for so many decades, totally reliant on Catholic expenditure of commitment, energy, and finance. This was at cost to all sectors involved, whether clergy, lay people, or religious. For those interested in the long-term evolutionary movements of history, it seems that, under a guiding Providence, so many nineteenth-century-founded teaching institutes were available to staff these schools and that that era has now passed. Previous eras in the long history of the Church have seen similar births and deaths, accompanied by new challenges.

Jill Blee knows her Ballarat diocesan area well and re-creates with telling detail incidents and circumstances of its pioneering years, its subsequent gold-based prosperity, and its present solid establishment as a significant Victorian regional city. She draws on much relevant contextual history: Irish depopula-

tion and emigration which predominantly supplied Victoria's Catholic population; the nature of colonial spread and settlement; the significance of key personalities, whether of public or more local prominence, in the story she unfolds. She has taken a wide canvas for her study, and, while giving it authentic flavor and atmosphere, some clarifications are called for. For example, on pages 68-70, the Presentations were not forced to accept enclosure (this came from the Sisters themselves); the Bar convent is in the city of York; both Teresa Ball and Catherine McAuley built their centers of operation from their own resources; the Mercy constitutions followed the Presentation (and Brigidine) in having independent foundations, while the Sisters themselves became the most numerous in the *English-speaking* world. Only solemn-vow orders were required to seek dowries; there were other institutes which, from their own constitutions, sought dowries, a stipulation often modified in practice. Should the tuition fee for the Catholic Central Training College in Melbourne be 80 pounds a year (hardly 800 as given in the text, p. 103)?

This book remains a significant contribution to Australian regional history.

Australian Catholic University ROSA MACGINLEY

BRIEF NOTICES

Historia jurídica del anatocismo. By María Encarnación Gómez Rojo. (Barcelona: Universidad de Málaga, Facultad de Derecho. Order from Librerías Proteo y Prometeo, Puerta Buenaventura, 3, 29008 Málaga. 2003. Pp. 81. Paperback.)

This brief survey of the ways in which legal systems, ecclesiastical and secular, have dealt with compound interest on loans and deposits seeks to cover an enormous span of time—from Plato to the 1917 *Codex iuris canonici*—and space—its focus is on Spain, but the author also deals briefly with France, Germany, and Italy, with additional side glances at Islamic and Jewish teachings on usury and compound interest as well. Given this vast scope, Professor Gómez Rojo is bound to be highly selective in her treatment and attempts to provide simply a broad general outline of what she regards as the principal highlights of this complex topic. The book's strength lies in the considerable number of bibliographical references that it provides for the selected writers and problems that it does cover. It is richest, naturally enough, in citations to the Spanish-language literature of the subject, but remarkably weak in its coverage of English and American scholarship—I saw no mention, for example, of such fundamental works as John T. Noonan's *Scholastic Analysis of Usury*, John Gilchrist's book on *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages*, or John Baldwin's work on *Medieval Theories of the Just Price*. On the other hand, scholars curious about the teachings of, say, Tomás de Mercado or Juan de Hevia Bolaños on usury and compound interest may find this book a helpful source of information and references.

The University of Kansas JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

Remembering Iñigo: Glimpses of the Life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. The 'Memoriale' of Luis Gonçalves da Câmara. Translated with introduction, notes, and indices by Alexander Eaglestone and Jospeh A. Munitiz, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2004. Pp. xxii, 252. $24.95 paperback.)

There were no portraits of Ignatius of Loyola painted during the lifetime of the founder of the Society of Jesus. Whereas an image of Ignatius was left to be painted after his death, the saint's own writings provide an image which, perhaps, excels beyond what could be accomplished by brush and canvass. By his own hand or under the direction of a secretary, over 6,000 letters, the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formula of the Institute*, and the *Constitutions*, a few brief com-

mentaries on giving the *Exercises*, and a dictated version of his life commonly referred to as the *Autobiography* provide a substantial insight into Ignatius' mind and times. Another document, known as the *Memoriale* by Louis Gonçalves de Câmara, provides additional details of the saint and founder.

Da Câmara had entered the Society of Jesus in 1545 and from his first days of novitiate desired to know and observe Ignatius, the man he felt was both founder and model for the Society of Jesus. The opportunity to fulfill these desires occurred when Da Câmara was made director of the physical necessities of the community, the minister, a job which put him in close contact with Ignatius. For a period of seven months in 1555 Da Câmara took daily notes of the actions of Ignatius and reactions to various events. The collection of memories has no organizational focus other than what Da Câmara chose to include and thus what is recorded describes a range of behaviors and attitudes not seen in the saint's own writings. These descriptions sketch a more human Ignatius, a man given to a full range of virtues and temperaments. These descriptions, first published in 1904, afford historians a more precise look at this man and his times.

The translators and editors deserve praise for a well laid-out translation which include all the n ecessary apparatus to make this sixteenth-century text accessible to the modern reader. Scholars of early modern religious history would be remiss not to find a place for this book on their shelves.

Gonzaga University MICHAEL W. MAHER, S.J.

The Catholic Revolution. New Wine, Old Wineskins, and the Second Vatican Council. By Andrew Greeley. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 224.)

Intending to reprise much of his work on the development of Catholicism in the United States since the Second Vatican Council, the author succinctly charts the "demolition of the structure that said that the Catholic Church would not, could not ever change" (p. 70). Following an introduction which attempts to justify the use of "revolution," chapter two outlines features of the law-dominated Church of the 1950's, later described as "sin-oriented and focused on a blind obedience relationship between the lay Catholic and the Church leadership" (p. 192). This neatly sets up the argument for "revolution" in chapter three, a summary of Greeley's own research into the standard sociological markers indicating the "drastic change in Catholic attitude and behavior" (p. 38) between 1963 and 1974. Chapters four and five, the most creative of the book, make good use of William Sewell, Jr.'s theory of structural change and Melissa Jo Wilde's use of Durkheim's notion of "collective effervescence" to describe the collapse of inherited structures, the "event" of the Council, and the spread of euphoric change among the laity. The argument is a helpful move beyond Greeley's standard focus on the impact of *Humanae Vitae* (see

page 43). Chapter six easily joins with nine to reiterate Greeley's insights into the Catholic "religious sensibility," its sacramentalism and communalism. This approach is set over against the description in chapter seven of the elite managerial cadre of liturgists, ecumenists, catechists, and feminists who "take control of the direction of change in their own areas of concern and impose their views on many parishes, usually without consulting the membership" (p. 83). Next, the author includes a very helpful review of data related to international Catholicism (chapter 8). As Greeley has argued before, the creators of "beige Catholicism" joined with the failure of episcopal leaders at almost every level to cause the current malaise in the Church. His research on the priests, delineated in outline form in chapter ten, describes their behavior as a key indicator in the development of all three dimensions of the revolution: structural collapse and the spread of conciliar effervescence among the laity, the emergence of a Catholicism without metaphor or story, and, in response to change, the development of the "new authoritarian pragmatism." Greeley returns to his commitment to the recovery of the aesthetic sensibility as the central key to the reconstruction of contemporary Catholicism in the final four essays in the book on cultural heritage, the role of beauty in religious education, the importance of "charm" in the exercise of authority, and the need for professional liturgists to listen to the laity. The book concludes with a helpful summary, ten pages of notes, bibliography, and index.

An overview of Greeley's provocative insights, *The Catholic Revolution* is a good book and most helpful in pushing historians to develop a theory of change. Generally uncomfortable with the notion of revolution, most would probably be cautious with respect to the author's over-generalizations and his failure to differentiate in the areas of leadership, episcopal and managerial, and the always "wise" but rather vague "laity." The sociology and theology point in a significant and fruitful direction. In an historical journal it should also be noted that these reflections on ecclesial change take place outside of the context of the civil rights movement, Vietnam, broader political and economic developments, and the culture wars, all of which would locate the "revolution" in the Church within a broader trajectory of change and encourage more sensitive readings of its flawed participants.

Franciscan School of Theology JOSEPH P. CHINNICI, O.F.M.
Berkeley, California

Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae. Edited by Comte Paul Riant. [Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Histoire.] (Paris: Éditions du CTHS. 2004. Pp. 44, 12, xiii-ccxxiv, 196. €78.00 paperback.)

This is a facsimile of Paul Riant's two-volume *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, which first appeared in 1878-1879, with a new preface by Jannie Durand. Riant aimed to collect all available sources of information regarding the transfer of religious treasures from Constantinople to Western

Europe in the thirteenth century. The facsimile was published by the *Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* in 2004 to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the sack of Constantinople.

Riant wished to establish a history of the crusades that would transcend the nationalist particularities and dependence on limited narrative sources that he thought characterized previous studies. Since, as he explained in his preface, serious history is based on detailed examination of evidence, he undertook to gather together all manner of information about the transfer of religious objects during and after the Fourth Crusade. The bulk of both volumes is therefore comprised of excerpts of Latin texts. Riant's preface, which runs 224 pages, contains a systematic and detailed exposition of the sources he chose to include. The medieval texts are divided into chapters of hagiography, liturgical documents, letters and records, and 'diverse documents' including inscriptions and extracts from ecclesiastical books such as necrologies; all of which offer testimony to the stunning despoliation of Constantinople's religious treasures.

Although the work of another era, Riant's anthology has not been superceded and will still be consulted by historians. The evidence compiled is foundational to the modern understanding of the Fourth Crusade. Moreover, Riant's efforts at systematization and emphasis on the examination of non-narrative sources were part of the maturation of western historical methodology. These volumes are consequently of as much interest to those studying development of modern historiographical practice as they are to medievalists.

The modern preface by Durand provides a useful biography and assessment of Riant.

The Catholic University of America LEONORA NEVILLE

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

Proposals for sessions and papers for the Spring Meeting of 2007 to be held at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin on March 29-31 should be sent to Dr. Steven Avella at steven.avella@mu.edu.

The President of the American Catholic Historical Association, James M. Powell, Professor Emeritus of Syracuse University, has appointed Thomas C. Reeves of the University of Wisconsin, Parkside to the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize for a three-year term. The chairman of the committee is Augustine C. Thompson, O.P., of the University of Virginia, and the other member is Charles J.T. Talar of the University of St. Thomas School of Theology at St. Mary's Seminary, Houston.

Professor Powell has also appointed Ann Rose of Pennsylvania State University to the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award for a three-year term.

Please send any changes in your email or postal addresses to the Association office.

Meetings, Conferences, Colloquia, and Lectures

On May 23-24, 2006 to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Fondation de l'Œuvre d'Orient a conference was held in Rome at the Centre Culturel Saint-Louis de France and at the Istituto Pontificio Orientale. The following papers were presented: Dominique Trimbur, "Entre religion et politique: les origines et les premières anneés de l'Œuvre d'Orient," Jean-Marc Ticchi, "Les directeurs de l'Œuvre d'Orient et leurs moyens d'action," Régis Ladous, "La Papauté et l'Œuvre d'Orient," Vincenzo Poggi, "Le déclin de l'Empire ottoman et les Églises," Daniela Fabrizio, "Le protectorat de la France et les chrétiens d'Orient," Giuseppe-Maria Croce, "Catholiques et Orthodoxes de Pie IX à Jean XXIII," Gianpaolo Rigotti, "La Congrégation pour les Églises Orientales et l'Œuvre d'Orient, 1917-1959," Christian Sorrel, "L'Œuvre d'Orient et les congrégations religieuses masculines," Paolo Pieraccini, "Le Saint-Siège et les Lieux-Saints, 1856-2000," Rita Tolomeo, "Nonces et représentants pontificaux en Orient, de 1856 à 1958," Dominique Avon, "Figures de l'orientalisme catholique," Christian Cannuyer, "Diasporas chrétiennes orientales en Occident," Michel Van Parys, "Les Églises d'Orient et les oeuvres catholiques: de l'assistance à la collabora-

tion," and François Thual, "Des empires aux nations et des nations à la mondialisation, la permanence d'un projet."

On May 29-31, 2006 the Canadian Catholic Historical Association held its Seventy-Third Annual Meeting at York University in Toronto, Ontario. Among the sessions presented on May 29 were one on "Vocation and Ministry" with a paper by Michael Power on "From Priest to Urban Pastor: Father Edmund Burke Kilroy." Another session featured papers by Glenn Wright on "James F. Kenny, Founder of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association," by Richard Lebrun on "The CCHA Journals, Seventy Years of Scholarship," and by Brian Hamilton on "Reflection on a Forty Year Bibliography of Canadian Religious History." A session entitled "Canadian Catholicism in Time of Conflict" had papers by James Trepanier on "For God and Country: Reaction to the Knights of Columbus Catholic Army Huts Campaign of 1918," by Laurence Gottlieb on "Catholic Unions and Catholic Associations in Quebec during the 1920's," and by Brian Watson on "How Silent was the Catholic Church? English-Canadian Catholicism and the Jewish Plight during the Nazi Era." On May 31 a session entitled "Perspectives on Women Religious and Education" featured three papers: by Mechtilde O'Mara on "The Role of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto in the Post-Secondary Educational Sector," by Ellen Leonard on "Theological Education at the University of St. Michael's College Through the Eyes of a Woman Religious," and by Elizabeth Smyth on "The Sisters of St. Joseph as a Learning Organization: Rethinking the Creation of St. Joseph's College, Toronto." The final session, "Religious Congregations and 20th Century Challenges," had two papers: by Debra Nash-Chambers on "The Sisters of St. Joseph and Institutional Adaptability in Guelph, Canada West, 1861-2002: Benevolence, Medical Care and the Pendulum of Civic Affairs" and by Robin S. Gendron on "Canada's University: The Dominican Order, Canadian Aid, and the National University of Rwanda."

On June 25, 2006 a panel dedicated to the theme "Is God in All of This? Religion and Religious Culture in United States Foreign Relations" was presented at the Conference sponsored by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations held at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. The four papers were "The Bush Administration's National Security Strategy: War on Terrorism or War on Sin?" by Ira Chernus, "Catholic Good Neighbors: Maryknoll Catholic Missionaries in Latin America" by Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens, "'The People of God in Chains': Franklin Roosevelt and the Religious Culture of United States Foreign Policy, 1937-1941" by David Zietsma, and "A Divine Mission: The Public Diplomacy of German Churches in Occupied Germany, 1945-1952" by JonDavid K. Wyneken.

On September 20-22, 2006 an international seminar entitled "Heritage of Nicolaus Cusanus and Tradition of European Philosophy" will be held at St. Petersburg State University in Russia. For more information contact Professor Oleg E. Dushin at odushin@mail.ru and see the website http:\\philosophy.pu.ru.

On October 12-14 at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, the Second Lovis Corinth Colloquium will be held on the theme "'Ut pictura meditatio': The Meditative Image in Northern Art, 1500-1700." It will examine the form, function, and meaning of pictorial images produced and/or circulated in the Low Countries, Germany, and Northern France, as prompts to the meditative life. For further information, contact conferenceblast-bounces@sixteenthcentury.org.

On October 13-15, 2006 the Cusanus Society will hold a conference at Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary on "Conforming to Christ in Learned Ignorance: Ways of Praying and Knowing at the Dawn of the Reformation." For further information, please contact Dr. Gerald Christianson at Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary.

On November 9-11, 2006 a conference on "Guadalupe, Madre de América: Narrative, Image, and Devotion" will be held at the University of Notre Dame under the sponsorship of its Cushwa Center and Institute for Latino Studies. Among the presentations are "America's Sacred Mountain of Sustenance: Tepeyac and Its Virgen de Guadalupe" by David Carrasco, a panel discussion of "Poetic Memory: The Nican Mopohua as Sacred Text," "Subversive Beauty: Guadalupan Images in Art and Literature" by John Phillip Santos, "Generations That Called Her Blessed: The Rise of Guadalupan Devotion and Theology" by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, "From Patroness of New Spain to Banner of Mexican Independence: Guadalupe and Ecclesial Transformations, 1754-1810" by Teresa Maya Sotomayor, "Finding Our Lady of Guadalupe in Eighteenth-Century Mexico" by Willian Taylor, and "The Theology of Guadalupe: From Miguel Sánchez's Imagen de la Virgen María (1648) to Pope John Paul II" by Timothy Matovina. For further information, visit http://marketplace.nd.edu/cce/.

On November 10-11, 2006 a congress about Alcalá la Real will be held in that Spanish city. It welcomes papers on a variety of topics including religious and lay institutions and popular religiosity. Proposals for communications should be sent to the Secretaria at tecnicocultura@alcalalareal.es.

On December 2, 2006 a conference on "War and Peace in the Middle Ages and Renaisssance" will be held at Barnard College in New York City. Proposals for papers from any discipline or methodology were to be sent by May 15 to Laurie Postlewate at lpostelw@barnard.edu.

Among the seminars to be offered in the spring semester by the Folger Institute in Washington, D.C. are "The Mental World of Restoration England" by Annabel Patterson and "The Spanish Connection" by Barbara Fuchs. The deadline for admission is January 3, 2007. For further information, contact institute@ folger.edu or see www.folger.edu.

Anniversaries and Exhibitions

To commemorate the 500th anniversary of the Swiss Guards, the world's oldest active military force founded by a bull of Julius II in 1505 commissioning the recruitment of 200 Swiss soldiers to guard the person and palace of the pope, the Vatican has sponsored a number of activities. From March 29 to July 30, an exhibition is open in the Charlemagne Wing at the left (south) colonnade of St. Peter's Square. Among the items in the exhibit are the bull of 1505, a sword of Julius II inscribed with his motto, the helmet and breastplate of Emperor Charles V, two of Benvenuto Cellini's commemorative medals, a painting by Giuseppe Rivaroli in 1927 depicting the death of 147 Swiss Guards while defending Clement VII during the Sack of Rome in 1527, and the two-handed swords from 1584 that used to accompany the papal *sedia gestatoria.* On May 4 the pope blessed a troop of seventy former guards who retraced on foot the 440 mile route followed by the first Swiss Guards who departed from Bellinzona in the canton of Ticino and arrived in Rome on January 22, 1506. On May 5 to 7, there were held choral performances, a commemorative Mass, a wreath-laying honoring the fallen guards, a swearing in of new recruits, a fireworks display over Castel Sant'Angelo, and a concert.

On April 20 the Vatican announced a series of celebrations to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone of the new St. Peter's Basilica by Julius II on April 18, 1506.

On May 10 an exhibition opened in the Walter Reade Theatre at Lincoln Center in New York entitled "Picturing Mary." It traces the representations of Mary across the globe and over almost two thousand years.

Benedict XVI's Renouncement of the Papal Title "Patriarch of the West"

The Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity announced on March 22 the decision of Benedict XVI to abandon the title "Patriarch of the West," implicitly assigned to him by the Eastern churches and formally adopted in 642 by Pope Theodore. Noting that title was somewhat vague since it does not refer to his jurisdiction over a specific territory but over the Latin Church and refers to a cultural context stretching from Western Europe to the Americas, Oceania, Australia, and New Zealand, the pope considers the title obsolete and practically unusable. In addition, his patriarchal powers have been modified by the episcopal conferences and their international meetings instituted by Vatican II. He hopes that this renouncement will also prove useful in ecumenical dialogues.

Canonizations

On April 27 Benedict XVI in a message to the prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints insisted on the need for physical (not just moral) miracles to provide divine confirmation of judgments reached by ecclesiastical authorities regarding a person's virtuous life. He also stated that only the Roman Pontiff can concede veneration to a Servant of God.

On March 21 the Congregation for the Causes of the Saints opened an official investigation into the life and virtues of Father Walter J. Ciszek, S.J. (1904-1994), of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, who spent twenty-two years in prison, forced labor camps in Siberia, and supervised freedom for serving as a missionary in Russia. Released in 1963, he returned to the United States where he engaged in spiritual direction and wrote two books: *With God in Russia* (1964) and *He Leadth Me* (1973).

On April 5 in the cathedral of Krakow in a ceremony attended by the Polish Prime Minister, Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz, and other high-ranking civil authorities and by cardinals, bishops, priests, religious, and laity, Cardinal Stanisław Dziwisz, the archbishop of Krakow, announced the successful conclusion of the five-month rogation process that took testimony from over one-hundred witnesses regarding the life of Karol Wojtyła, prior to his becoming Pope John Paul II.

On April 19 Archbishop Raymond Burke of St. Louis informed the General of the Society of Jesus that he is initiating the process that may eventually lead to the canonization of Father John A. Hardon, S.J. (d. 2000), who founded the Marian Catechist Apostolate, of which the archbishop is the current director.

On April 28 Pope Benedict XVI authorized decrees recognizing the miracles that will advance the causes of a number of candidates for sainthood, among whom was Blessed Rafaele Gulzar Valencia, the thrice exiled bishop of Veracruz, Mexico, and great uncle of the founder of the Legionaries of Christ, Father Marcial Maciel Degollado. Also having miracles accredited to their cause were Blessed Theodore (christened Anne Thérèse) Guérin (1798-1856), French foundress of the Sisters of Providence of Saint-Mary-of-the-Woods in Indiana, and the Venerable Servant of God Basile Antoine Marie Moreau (1799-1873), French priest and founder of the Congregation of Holy Cross.

On April 30 in the cathedral square of Milan, the first beatification ceremony in the history of Milan ever celebrated there with papal authorization was conducted by Cardinal Dionigi Tettamanzi, the local archbishop. He beatified Father Luigi Monza (1898-1954), the founder in 1937 of the Secular Institute of the Little Apostles of Charity, whose consecrated sisters are dedicated principally to helping physically handicapped children. The archbishop also beatified Monsignor Luigi Biraghi (1801-1879) who was the spiritual director of the Major Seminary of Milan and founded in 1838 the Sisters of Saint Marcellina, who engage in the cultural and moral education of youth and in foreign mission activities.

On that same day in Ramapuan, Kerala, India, Cardinal Varkev Vithayathil, the major archbishop of Ernakulam-Angamaly of the Syro-Malabars, presided over the beatification ceremonies of Father Augustine Thevarparampil (1891-1973), known as the apostle of the untouchables, almost six thousand of whom he personally baptized. He served for four decades in the local parish church of St. Augustine as one of three assistant priests (called the "Kunjachan" or "little priest" in the Malayalam language because he was very short).

Among the websites devoted to the cause of Blessed Junípero Serra, O.F.M. (1713-1784), are the following: serra.org/frserra.html; home.earthlink.net/~forhorn1/serra.htm; and www.catholic-church.org/serra-beth/serra-4.htm.

Publications

The introduction, "Penitential questions: sin, satisfaction and reconciliation in the tenth and eleventh centuries" (pp. 1-6), sets the theme for the six articles found in Number 1 for 2006 (Volume 14) of *Early Medieval Europe*: Rob Meens, "Penitentials and the practice of penance in the tenth and eleventh centuries" (pp. 7-21); Carine van Rhijn and Marjolijn Saan, "Correcting sinners, correcting texts: a context for the *Paenitentiale pseudo-Theodori*" (pp. 23-40); Catherine Cubitt, "Bishops, priests and penance in late Saxon England" (pp. 41-63); Roger E. Reynolds, "Penitentials in south and central Italian canon law manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries" (pp. 65-84); A. H. Gaastra, "Penance and the law: the penitential canons of the *Collection in Nine Books*" (pp. 85-102); and Ludger Körntgen, "Canon law and the practice of penance: Burchard of Worms's penitential" (pp. 103-117).

"La meditazione nella prima età moderna" is the focus of all the articles published in the third number for 2005 (Volume XLI) of the *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa*, which are divided into two sections following a "Premessa" by Benedetta Papàsogli (pp. 507-511): (I) "Tempo, Meditazione, Contemplazione": Sabrina Stroppa, "L'«ars meditandi» nel Seicento mistico" (pp. 513-535); François Trémolières, "Haine de la meditation? Notes sur les enjeux d'une querelle théologique" (pp. 537-552); Gabriele Perrotti, "Tempo della meditazione e tempo della contemplazione. Molinos e la controversia quietista" (pp. 555-571); Marco Maggi, "Orologi ascetici. Meditazione e 'ordine del giorno' in alcuni «orologi spirituali» del Seicento italiano" (pp. 573-597); Benedetta Papàsogli, "Meditazione e forme della memoria" (pp. 599-621); (II) "Figure e forme della Meditazione": Anne Régent, "Du corps démembré au corps restauré: ferments stylistiques de l'unité textuelle dans les *Chrestiennes Meditations* de Théodore de Bèze" (pp. 625-642); Christian Belin, "Figuration et configuration dans *La Croix de Jésus* de Louis Chardon" (pp. 645-663); Ralph Dekoninck, "*Ut pictura/sculptura meditatio*. La métaphore picturale et sculpturale dans la spiritualité du XVII^{e} siècle" (pp. 665-694); Agnès Guiderdoni-Bruslé, "Figures de l'ame pèlerine: la méditation emblématique aux XVI^{e} et

XVII[e] siècles" (pp. 695-723); and Girolamo Dal Maso, "Meditazione e scrittura musicale nelle L*eçons de Ténèbres* di François Couperin" (pp. 725-749).

The issue of *La Ciudad de Dios* for January-April, 2006 (Volume CCXIX, Number 1) is an "Homenaje al P. Fray José de Sigüenza en el IV Centenario de su muerte (+1606)." Following a «Resumen de la vida del V. P. Fr. Josef de Sigüenza» (pp. 11-28) are eleven articles: Ignacio de Madrid, O.S.H., "El espíritu y la espiritualidad jerónima en Fray José de Sigüenza" (pp. 29-58); Manuel Rincón Álvarez, "Fray José de Sigüenza: algunos rasgos de su personalidad" (pp. 59-85); Gabriel Sabau Bergamin, "Valoraciones del monje jerónimo fray José de Sigüenza y su obra" (pp. 87-111); Annie Fremaux-Crouzet, "Ortodoxia y biblismo plurilingüe en fray José de Sigüenza" (pp. 113-139); Dominique Reyre, "José de Sigüenza y los peligros de la lectura de la Biblia en lengua vernácula" (pp. 141-151); José M.ª Ozaeta, O.S.A., "Tres sermones inéditos del P. Fr. José de Sigüenza en honor de San Lorenzo" (pp. 153-183); José Rodríguez Díez, O.S.A., "Fr. José de Sigüenza y Fr. Martín de Villanueva, reliquieros del Real Monasterio de El Escorial" (pp. 185-220); F. Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, "Los prólogos de las obras del P. Sigüenza: Declaración personal y mensaje institucional" (pp. 221-250); José Sierra Pérez, "Música especulativa y música práctica en el P. José de Sigüenza" (pp. 251-291); F. Javier Campos y Fernández de Sevilla, "Bibliografía de y sobre el P. José de Sigüenza, OSH" (pp. 293-313); and «Cronología» en Valores literarios del P. Sigüenza, de L. Rubio González (pp. 315-317).

A forum entitled "'A Religious Turn' in Modern European Historiography?" was held during the spring meeting of 2005 of the American Society of Church History in Atlanta, Georgia. The papers presented at that time have now been published in the issue of *Church History* for March, 2006 (Volume 73, Number 1), as follows: Jeffrey Cox, "Provincializing Christendom: The Case of Great Britain" (pp. 120-129); Thomas Kselman, "Challenging Dechristianization: The Historiography of Religion in Modern France" (pp. 130-138); George S. Williamson, "A Religious Sonderweg? Reflections on the Sacred and the Secular in the Historiography of Modern Germany" (pp. 139-156); and Thomas Albert Howard, "Commentary—A 'Religious Turn' in Modern European Historiography?" (pp. 157-162).

Seven brief articles in the issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian* for winter, 2006 (Volume 24, Number 1), are concerned with "*Dignitatis Humanae*, The Declaration of Religious Liberty, on Its Fortieth Anniversary," as follows: Joseph A. Komonchak, "The American Contribution to *Dignitatis Humanae*: The Role of John Courtney Murray, S.J." (pp. 1-20); John Coleman, S.J., "The Achievement of Religious Freedom" (pp. 21-32); Agnes de Dreuzy, "*Dignitatis Humanae* as an Encounter between Two 'Towering Theologians,'" John Courtney Murray, S.J., and Yves Congar, O.P." (pp. 33-44); J. Leon Hooper, S.J., "Murray and Day: A Common Enemy, A Common Cause?" (pp. 45-61); Joseph F. Chinnici, O.F.M., "*Dignitatis Humanae Personae*: Surveying the Landscape for Its Reception in the United States" (pp. 63-82); William L. Portier, "Theology of Manners as Theology of Containment: John Courtney Murray and *Dignitatis Humanae* Forty Years After"

(pp. 83-105); and Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, "'The Conscience of Contemporary Man': Reflections on *U.S. v. Seeger* and *Dignitatis Humanae*" (pp. 107-123).

Hallel Videos and DVD's (www.hallelvideos.com and 1-800-445-7477) has made available in its series "Catholic Life in America" the following video documentaries: *Kateri Tekakwitha: Native American Saint; Isaac Hecker: Americanist; Daniel Rudd: Founder of Black Lay Catholic Congresses; Frances Cabrini: Mother of Immigrants; Thomas Turner: Black Catholic Leader; John Ryan: Labor Priest; Dorothy Day: Blessed Are the Poor; Al Smith: Irish Catholic Politician; JFK: RC; John Courtney Murray: American Theologian; James A. Walsh: Fields Afar;* and *The Catholic Press: A Video History*. Hallel Videos has also produced a series of videos tracing the impact of the Second Vatican Council on the American Catholic Church entitled "The Third Millennium: Vatican II, A Civilization of Love."

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association has announced the launch of two CD-ROMs. The first contains seventy-one volumes of *Historical Studies* from 1933 to 2004 including the *Report* for 1933-1965, *Study Sessions* for 1966-1984, and *Historical Studies* for 1985-2004. The second CD-ROM contains the first edition of the *Bibliography of Canadian Religious History, 1964-2005,* compiled by Brian Hogan. For more information, contact Valerie Burke at P.O. Box 398, Kleinburg, ON, L0J 1C0.

Dr. Kevin Schmiesing, the executive director of Catholichistory.net, has announced a new website devoted to the history of Catholics in the United States (www.catholichistory.net) that serves as a clearing house for online information on American Catholic history: significant persons, places, and events. It spotlights items in the current news and provides bibliographies in subfields of American Catholic history. He welcomes suggestions and feedback at kschmiesing@catholichistory.net.

The Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto announces the launch of its new website (http://www.archtoronto.org/archives), which provides access to information on the services and programs provided by the Archives, including reference, genealogy, and sacramental records searching.

The Passionist Historical Archives is currently digitizing its collection of record albums, reel-to-reel tapes, and audio tapes. It is also making available the table of contents of its Holy Cross Province Publication *The Passionist*, which began in the 1940's. Under the heading "Passionist History" are statistics on Passionist membership in the United States beginning in 1854. The web address is http://cpprovince.org/archives; the email address is archives@cpprov.org.

The Claretian Archives of Chicago has announced the microfilming and indexing of the *Voice of St. Jude* (Vols. 1-27 [1935-1961]), *St. Jude* (Vols. 27-29 [1961-1963]), and *U.S. Catholic* (Vols. 29-34 [1963-1968]). Subsequent issues of *U.S. Catholic* are available through Pro Quest Information and Learning of University Microfilms Inc. The earlier rolls of microfilm with a 407-page index

are available directly from the Archives. Please contact the archivist, Dr. Malachy R. McCarthy, at mccarthym@claretians.org or at (312) 236-7782 ext. 412.

Personal Notices

Dr. Patrick Carey, holder of the William J. Kelly, S.J., Chair in Catholic Theology at Marquette University, has won first place in the 2005 Catholic Press Book Award category of biography for his book *Orestes A. Brownson: An American Religious Weathervane*.

Dr. Louis J. Reith of Georgetown University has received from the university's president, Dr. John DiGioia, a vicennial gold medal for twenty years of service in the Lavinger Library.

Dr. John Frederick (Fritz) Schwaller, of the Executive Council of the ACHA, has been appointed president of the State University of New York at Potsdam effective July 1, 2006.

Obituaries

Dr. William M. Daly, professor of medieval history at Boston College from 1947 to 1986, died on October 11, 2005 at his home in Natick, Massachusetts. He was born in western Massachusetts in West Stockbridge on December 27, 1920. He graduated from Boston College in 1942. From 1942 to 1946 he served in the United States Army Air Corps. A navigator with twenty-one missions on B-17 bombers with the 429th Squadron, Second Bombardment group, 15th Air Force from its base at Amendola near Foggia, Italy, Bill's wartime experiences remained vivid to him all his life. He was wounded during his first mission and believed that he was saved by the Tuskegee Airmen. On October 4, 1944 his plane was shot down over Munich. He was one of only three airmen to escape the doomed plane. With typical humility and understatement, he characterized the interrogation that followed capture as "certainly not the very happiest 24 hours I ever spent." In winter of 1944-45 he was in a prisoner-of-war camp—Stalag Luft III. After he was released, he was assigned to the Pentagon, where he worked for the War Crimes Commission that reviewed courts-martial cases and recommended clemency reviews where circumstances indicated.

Following military service, William Daly began to teach at Boston College in 1947. He received his PhD at Brown University in 1955 under the direction Professor Barnaby C. Keeney. His dissertation was on "The Concept of Christendom in the Western Crusade Chronicles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." He kept his scholarly interest in the idea of Christendom ever after. His publications include "Christian Fraternity, the Crusaders, and the Security of Constantinople, 1097-1204: The Precarious Survival of an Ideal," *Mediaeval Studies* 22 (1960), pp. 43-91; "Caesarius of Arles: A Precursor of Medieval

Christendom," *Traditio* 26 (1970), pp. 1-28; "St. Peter, an Architect of the Carolingian Empire," *Studies in Medieval Culture* IV.1 (1973), pp.55-69; "*Christianitas* Eclipses *Romanitas* in the Life of Sidonius," *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (1987), pp. 7-26; "Clovis: How Barbaric, How Pagan?" *Speculum* 69 (1994), pp. 619-664; and "An Adverse Consensus Questioned: Does Sidonius's Eucharisticon (Carmen XVI) Show that He was Scripturally Naïve?" *Traditio* 55 (2000), pp. 19-71. Following his retirement in 1986, he pursued his interest in the emergence of the notion of Christendom (Christianitas). Illness prevented him from bringing that book to completion. Bill's wife, Katie (Catherine McCarthy Daly), arranged to give many of his research materials and personal papers to the Burns Library at Boston College.

When I was an undergraduate at Boston College (1961-1965) I met Bill in a history class. We soon discovered that we were both born in Western Massachusetts and that we had a love of medieval history. Bill was an excellent teacher. He was a kind, gentle man with a rich sense of humor and a ready smile. He was demanding in his courses. He took a personal interest in many students, including me. I remember fondly dinner at his home with his wife Katie and Professor Sam Miller, who taught the history of the Reformation. Bill loved lively conversation and was especially interested in things Catholic. I still remember that at dinner we talked, among other topics, about the movement to celebrate Mass in English. Bill was also politically active as an early member of Americans for Democratic Action, as well as at Boston College, where he participated in the formation of a chapter of the American Association of University Professors at Boston College. He and his wife were active members of the Natick Fair Housing Committee in the 1960's.

Bill leaves behind his wife Catherine, two sons, Michael of Manlius, New York and William F. of Leicester, Massachusetts, one daughter, Patricia of Norfolk, Connecticut, six grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

(I want to thank Dr. Alfred J. Andrea, Professor Emeritus at the University of Vermont, and Mrs. William M. Daly for their help in composing this obituary.)

Ohio State University JOSEPH H. LYNCH

John F. Broderick, Jesuit priest and historian, was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, on September 17, 1909, and died at Campion Center, the nursing facility for Jesuits, in Weston, Massachusetts, on May 21, 2006. The son of Irish immigrants, Patrick and Margaret (Leonard) Broderick, he grew up in Lynn, where his primary education was at St. Mary's, a parochial school, and his high school education at Lynn Classical High School. Fortunate to obtain a job with the Massachusetts Department of Public Works, he earned his way through Boston University, where he obtained a bachelor of arts degree in 1931.

Continuing to work for the D. P. W. after college, Broderick's reading led to an interest in history and in the Jesuits. Having joined the New England Province of the Society of Jesus on September 15, 1936, he pursued the Jesuit course of studies with four years in the humanities at Shadowbrook in Lenox, and three years of philosophy and four years of theology in Weston, both Jesuit houses of studies in Massachusetts. Ordained on June 16, 1945, he completed his fourth year of theology at Weston and a year of ascetical studies (tertianship) at St. Stanislaus House of Studies in Cleveland for the 1946-47 academic year before he was sent to Rome at the end of that year to pursue a doctorate in church history.

In Rome, Broderick came under Rev. Robert Leiber, S. J. (1887-1967), the confidant of Pope Pius XII, and other Jesuit historians. Having completed his dissertation in 1950, he turned it into a book which was published the following year. Broderick had complemented his research in the Vatican Archives with research in both England and Ireland. The study, *The Holy See and the Irish Movement for the Repeal of the Union with England*, was concerned with Daniel O'Connell and movement for Irish freedom and the attitude of both the Papacy and the British Government toward the same. With that work completed, Broderick was appointed to teach church history on the theological faculty at the Jesuit House of Studies in Weston, where he continued his research and writing. The first of his four periodical articles, "A Census of the Saints," published in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* in 1956, was a surprise to some scholars because it demonstrated how few saints had actually been canonized.

In 1961, Broderick accepted an assignment as the Editor of Modern Church History for the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, which was published in fifteen volumes in 1967. To this encyclopedia he contributed thirteen articles, including one on the Jesuits before their restoration, which was reprinted in the second edition of the same encyclopedia in 2003. Over the years, his other contributions to encyclopedias included five for the *Catholic Encyclopedia for Home and School* in 1965, nine for the *Encyclopedia Americana Annual* between 1966 and 1967, thirty for the *Encyclopedia Americana* in 1968, five for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1968, and three for the *Encyclopedia of Religion* in 1985, in addition to his output of book reviews between 1952 and 1983: twenty-nine in *America*, eight in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, nineteen in the *Catholic Historical Review*, five in *Church History*, and thirty in *Theological Studies*. He published two other books, *Documents of Vatican Council I* (1971), and *Catholicism in the Upper Wind River Valley* (1987), a work dealing with a parish in Dubois, Wyoming. The latter was indicative of Broderick's pastoral ministry which he carried on during the summer as he did with local parishes around Boston when he was at Weston or in Washington.

Over the years since receiving his doctorate, Broderick taught at various institutions. While he taught church history, patrology, and sacred archaeology at Weston before he reached the status of a professor emeritus in 1981, he

became the first Jesuit to teach at Boston University when he took the place of a professor in the Religion Department for one semester; he taught church history at the LaSalette Seminary in Ipswich for the 1969-70 academic year, and to the Daughters of St. Paul in Jamaica Plain, from 1979 to 1981, both in Massachusetts; and, as a professor emeritus, he remained on the faculty of the Weston Jesuit School of Theology until 2004. At the same time, during most of these years between 1972 and 2004, he was the librarian for Campion Center, until his health declined so that he spent his last year or so praying for the Church and the Society of Jesus.

Father Broderick was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association from 1952 until 2003, three years before his death.

In his interview of Broderick for the New England Jesuits Oral History Program, Richard W. Rousseau, S.J., concluded the session with this prayer: "Lord, we want to thank you for the gifts that we have received from Fr. Broderick over the years, all the things that he has done for the Church. And in our gratitude we hope you will bless him for all that he has done." May the noble soul of John F. Broderick, Jesuit priest and historian, rest in peace!

College of the Holy Cross VINCENT A. LAPOMARDA, S.J.

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