ST. PAUL'S SHIPWRECK AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN MALTA

BY

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Small islands have a need for a myth of national identity. The small Central Mediterranean archipelago of Malta, geographically located on the respective peripheries of Muslim North Africa and Christian Europe, has since the Late Middle Ages used the claim to be the site of the shipwreck of the apostle Paul in A.D. 60 (Acts 28) as a key argument for a Latin European identity. The fact that the islands had emerged from a traumatic Muslim experience made it psychologically imperative for them to trace their Christian roots to apostolic times. This study examines the validity of their claims and discusses the earliest known evidence for a Pauline tradition.

In 544 A.D., when Rome was controlled by a hostile Byzantine garrison and under imminent threat of attack by the Goths under Totila, Pope Vigilius (537–555), made a calculated appeal to popular patriotic sentiment by instructing the poet and orator Arator, whom he had raised to the elevated status of Subdeacon of the Roman Church, to give a public recitation of his verse paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles "De Actibus Apostolorum," which he had composed around 536 A.D. after resigning from the Court of Theodoric the Ostrogoth at Ravenna.[1]

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[1]Arator, *De Actibus Apostolorum,* ed. A. P. McKinley (Vienna, 1951). See also A. P. McKinley, *Arator: The Codices* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942), pp. 104-118. Arator, who was probably of Ligurian origin, had been trained in Milan under the patronage of Bishop Lurentius (490–512), and achieved distinction as a poet, an orator, and a lawyer. In Ravenna he was befriended by Cassiodorus (*ca.* 480-575), and Theodoric valued his services and treated him with distinction.

The poem, written in hexameters, is divided into two books dedicated respectively to St. Peter (Book I) and St. Paul (Book II), and has a thinly veiled political message in the way it lavishes praise on St. Peter at the expense of St. Paul and the other apostles. In this way the primacy of the Roman See, at a time when it was increasingly contested by Constantinople, is stressed. The performance, organized in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in front of a lay and clerical audience, was a huge success and lasted four days since Arator had to repeat many passages by request of his audience. In Book II the poem makes a specific reference to the Central Mediterranean island of Malta, which it calls a *statio,* or "port of call for sailing boats,"[2] and there can be little doubt that it identifies the place with the site of St. Paul's shipwreck.[3]

The poem contains in this way the earliest known official association of the *Melita* of Acts 28:1 with the Central Mediterranean island of Malta. That such an identification was already current at a more popular level, is suggested by the *Acts of Peter and Paul,* a post-fourth-century text from the New Testament apochrypha, that makes a specific mention of the Maltese archipelago, indicating Gaudomelete (i.e., "Melite near Gaudos") as the place from where the Apostle, bypassing Africa, had sailed to Sicily by way of Syracuse.[4] The toponym leaves no room for ambiguity.[5] In Late Roman and Byzantine texts Central Mediterranean Melite was often referred to by that name to avoid confusion with other islands or landfalls with similar, or identical, names. The corresponding form of Melitegaudos (or Melitogaudos) was similarly used when the place indicated was the island of Gozo in the Maltese archipelago.

[2]*De Act. Apost.* ii, 1121-1127. On the significance of the word *station:* J. Busuttil, "Maltese Harbours in Antiquity," *Melita Historica*, V (1971), 305.

[3]"…velamine noctis aperto pandere visa solum quod praebuit hospital nautis Sicanio lateri remis vicina Melite. . . ."

[4]For *The Acts of Peter:* M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament—Translations and Notes,* (Oxford, 1924). For an online translation: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0815.htm. The passage which comes at the start of the text reads: "… And having sailed from Gaudomelete, he [Paul] did not come to Africa [or] to the parts of Italy, but ran to Sicily, until he came to the city of Syracuse. . . ." My thanks are due to Mr. Paul Guillaumier for generously alerting me to the Gaudomelete reference in *The Acts of Peter and Paul.*

[5]On the significance of the toponym and its companion 'Meltegaudos': S. Fiorini and H. C. R. Vella, "New 12th Century Evidence for the Pauline Tradition and Christianity in the Maltese Islands," in J. Azzopardi (ed.), *The Cult of St Paul in the Christian Churches and in the Maltese Tradition* (Malta, 2006), p. 161, where the toponym is explained as a composite Greek place-name "consisting of an initial adjectival component coupled with a final nominal component." In this case "Melite of (associated with) Gaudos."

Arator's audience may, nonetheless, not have been interested in an exact geographic location for *Melita*. From the available literary evidence, the patristic commentaries in particular, one gets the impression that the importance vested in the shipwreck story rested primarily in its moral lessons. The site of the island was a matter of secondary interest and, perhaps, even irrelevant.[6] A case in point is St. John Chrysostom (*ca.* 347–407) who in Homily 53 on the Acts of the Apostles limits his observations to the great honor which the natives showed Paul and his companions. This he takes as an indication that many of them embraced Christianity,[7] but their geographic identity falls outside his concern. It is, as a matter of fact, doubtful, if in learned and suitably informed circles Malta was at all associated with St. Paul. In the *Descriptio Terrarum* composed by the Gallician historian and theologian Paulus Orosius (*ca.* 385-420), the island corresponding to the approximate geographic location of Malta is indicated as the "Insula Calypso," implying that Orosius's concern was with Homer, not St. Paul. Calypso is likewise the name given to that island in an eighth-or-ninth century Mappa Mundi that accompanies a copy of Orosius's *Descriptio* in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.[8]

There is nothing to suggest that Malta had a Pauline tradition before the Late Middle Ages. The tenacious belief of the Maltese that they can trace their Christian roots to St. Paul has, since then, become a prime factor in the forging of their national identity.[9] In 1536, the Abbé Jean Quintin d'Autun, Secretary to Grand Master Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, testified to their blind trust in its historical certitude. "The natives," he wrote, "believe as firmly and with certainty that St Paul has been in Malta just as much as they believe that St Peter has been in Rome."[10] In spite

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[6]The Greek texts are listed in J. Busuttil, "Fonti greche per la storia delle Isole Maltesi," Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, *Missione archeologica a Malta: Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1968* (Rome, 1969), pp. 15-26.

[7]J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Cursus Completus . . . series graeca,* vol. IX, col. 350.

[8]Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 6018, fols. 63ᵛ-64, reproduced as Doc. 8, in G. Aquilina and S. Fiorini (eds.), *Documentary Sources of Maltese History,* Part IV: *Documents at the Vatican No. 2 Archivio Segreto Vaticano: Cancelleria Apostolica and Camera Apostolica and related sources at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 416–1479* (Malta, 2005), pp. 11–14.

[9]M. Buhagiar, "The St Paul Shipwreck Controversy—An Assessment of the Source Material" in *Proceedings of History Week 1993,* ed. K. Sciberras, The Malta Historical Society (Malta, 1997), pp. 181-213.

[10]J. Quintinus, *Insulae Melitae Descriptio* (Lyons, 1536), translated and annotated by H. C. R Vella as *The Earliest Description of Malta (Lyons 1536) by Jean Quintin d'Autun* (Malta, 1980), pp. 42-44.

of this it is important to emphasize that, in the present state of our knowledge, there is absolutely no archaeological or textual evidence for a Christian presence in Malta before the fourth century. The epigraphic, iconographic, and archaeological data from the Early Christian burial places suggests a post-Constantian date,[11] while the much publicized "secure archaeological testimony" for an early Pauline tradition at the Roman villa site of San Pawl Milqi is both inconclusive and of a dubious nature and should be dismissed.[12]

An epistle of March 19, 416, addressed by Pope Innocentius I (401-417) to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, investing him with the mission of harmonizing practices within the Latin Church, stresses the point that the churches established throughout Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the islands in between (which presumably included Malta and Gozo) owed their foundation to 'Apostolic' evangelization under-taken from Rome.[13] Innocentius was one of the first Bishops of Rome to insist on the primacy of the Roman See. He based his claims on the Synod of Sardica in Illyria (343), which had recognized the supreme authority of the Bishop of Rome. The epistle was one with a political agenda and must be read and interpreted within such a context. It cannot be used as an argument that the places mentioned owe their Christian roots to Apostolic times. In Syracuse, which like Malta, has a Pauline tradition, the first incontestable evidence for a Christian community is an epistle on the *lapsi,* or Christians who had relapsed into paganism, addressed by the presbyters and deacons of Rome (*ca.* 250-251) to the Sicilian Church, a copy of which was sent to St. Cyprian of Carthage.[14] This seems to hint at a thriving Christian presence, but secure archaeological proof is absent.

The available evidence, written and unwritten, for a Christian presence on Malta between the early post-Constantinian Age and the Muslim conquest of 870,[15] is often ambivalent, but in spite of problems

[11]M. Buhagiar, *Late Roman and Byzantine Catacombs and Related Burial Places in the Maltese Islands* (Oxford, 1986).

[12]M. Buhagiar, "The Early Christian Remains at Tas-Silg and San Pawl Milqi, Malta. A Reconsideration of the Archaeological Evidence," *Melta Historica* XII (1996), 15-30.

[13]Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3791, fols. xlviii[v] and l, reproduced as Doc. 1, in Aquilina and Fiorini, *Documentary Sources*, p. 2.

[14]Epistulae XXX, 5. Cyprian was a key point of reference in the mid-third century. On the *Lapsi* controversy: Hertel, *Caecilii Cypriani opera omnia,* I-II (Vienna, 1868-1871).

[15]The evidence is discussed in M. Buhagiar, "Early Christian and Byzantine Malta—Archaeological and Textual Considerations," in V. Mallia Milanes (ed.), *Library of Mediterranean History,* Vol.1 (Malta, 1994). See also T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta: A

of interpretation, there are clear indications of a flourishing community whose strategic geographic location made it a point of encounter for the theological, cultural, and artistic cross currents flowing from the neighboring churches of Sicily and North Africa. A hint of an influence from the Roman Church may arguably be contained in a list of donations allegedly made by Constantine, in the early fourth century, to the baptistery of the Lateran. These included the grant of 222 *solidi* farmed from a "massa Amalon" (or Amazon), in a place called Mengaulum, which, there is reason to believe, is a copyist's corruption of Melitegaudos.[16] The reference is contained in the earliest nucleus of the *Liber Pontificalis*,[17] compiled at the latest, as convincingly argued by Louis Duchesne, during the pontificate of Boniface II (530-532).[18] The main difficulty about the reference is its reliability. Duchesne has demonstrated how a great number of the biographies of the early Popes, down to the time of Pope St. Gelasius (492-496), are full of errors and historically untenable. On the other hand, the Constantinian donation is defended by modern scholarship including the seminal 1957 study of Ludwig Voelkl, which dates it to 317.[19] The donation must not be confused with the notorious eighth-or-ninth-century fabrication known as the *Constitutum domini Constantini imperatoris,* the mythological nature of which has been known since the early fifteenth century, when Cardinal Nicolas of Cusa dismissed it as "*dictamen apocryphum.*"[20]

That the Lateran baptistery dates approximately to around the time of Constantine can be argued on stylistic and art historical grounds. The adjoining basilica of St. John Lateran is, in addition, built on the site of the palace that came to Constantine through his wife Fausta.[21] Indirect evidence seems to suggest that Constantine donated it to the

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Discussion of the Sources" in A. T. Luttrell (ed.), *Medieval Malta—Studies on Malta Before the Knights* (London, 1975).

[16]As proposed by Louis Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis* I (Paris, 1886), pp. cxlix, 193 n.63.

[17]Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3764, fols. 19-23 [olim 20-24], reproduced as Doc. 2 in G. Aquilina and S. Fiorini, *Documentary Sources.*

[18]L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis.*

[19]Ludwig Voelkl, *Der Kaiser Konstantin. Annalen Zeitenwende* (Munich, 1957), p. 90.

[20]*De Concordantia Catholica,* III, ii, in the Baseleiner edition of his *Opera,* 1565, I. It was not, however, until the publication of Cardinal Cesare Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici,* the last volume of which was published shortly before his death in 1607, that the document was universally accepted as a forgery.

[21]For which reason it was called "Domus Faustae."

Christian community in the interval between the Battle of the Milvian Bridge (312) and the Edict of Milan (313), which enfranchised the Christians. A church council against the Donatists was held within its precincts in 313. There is, as a result, a discernible link between Constantine and the Lateran complex and a bequest toward its upkeep is probable. The Mengaulum debate opens a spiral of possibilities, but even if Imperial lands on Gozo did in fact form part of the grant to the baptistery, it is by no means an indication that the island had a Christian community and, far less, a Pauline tradition.

Christianity was certainly flourishing by the sixth century, and there is an unequivocal reference to a See of Malta in four letters of Pope Gregory the Great written in the period between July 592 and January 603.[22] The first three deal exclusively with Malta and provide precious insight into sixth-century Maltese Christianity, but they also raise tantalizing and as yet unanswerable questions.[23] They talk about the *pensio* on lands belonging to the *Ecclesia Africana,* the disciplinary action against Bishop Lucillus who was to be deposed *sine ambiguitate* for an undisclosed misdemeanor, and of the elevation of Traianus, a Sicilian monk, as the new bishop of the island. They emphasize the suffragan status of the Maltese Church to Syracuse, raise the possibility of a monastic presence, and hint at close ties with the African Church for which there is valuable archaeological testimony.[24] In the fourth letter, Gregory instructs the bishops of the province of Syracuse, among them Traianus, Bishop of Malta, to welcome his *chartularium* (proctor ?) Hadrianus, whom he is dispatching to them to administer the patrimony of the Roman Church, and to ensure that they are acting correctly. Bishops whose conduct is found to be unbecoming are to be admonished privately, but he warns that Hadrianus will report to him those who persist in their errors. He ends by exhorting them to resume the practice of caring for sick children.

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[22]Published as docs. 4-7 in G. Aquilina and S. Fiorini, *Documentary Sources. A*n earlier reference to a Lucianus "episcopus melitensis" who in 553 attended the fifth Oecumenical Council of Constantinople (C. J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles—D'aprés les documents originaux par Charles Joseph Hefele, nouvelle traductions françaises faites sur la deuxième allemande corrigée de notes critiques et bibliographique par Dom H. Leclerq* [Paris, 1909], iii, 93-05) is suspect. *Vide:* T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta."

[23]For an assessment of their importance to Maltese Paleochristian studies: M. Buhagiar, "Early Christian and Byzantine Malta," pp. 115-117.

[24]On the Ecclesia Africana and Malta: *ibid.,* pp. 109-111.

Lucillus and Traianus are the only documented Early Christian bishops of Malta. The islands fade out of ecclesiastical history between 603 and 878, when an unnamed bishop of Malta was in chains in a Muslim prison in Palermo.[25] In or around 756, at the height of the iconoclast controversy, the bishoprics of Calabria and Sicily passed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[26] That the Maltese Islands were included in the transfer is indicated by a Byzantine *notitia episcopatum* for the period *ca.* 730–*ca.* 789 which mentioned Melite as a suffragan see within the province of Sicily.[27] Such an ecclesiastical situation prevailed until the islands made their first contact with the Normans in Sicily in 1091, but the Latinization process gathered momentum only after the definitive Norman conquest of 1127.[28] Greek influence nonetheless lingered on until at least the second half of the thirteenth century through the activities of Sicilian Basilian monks who may have played a key role in the re-Christianization process.[29]

The probability of a Byzantine shipwreck tradition centering on the Dalmatian island of Meleda (present-day Mjlet) is suggested by the *De administrando imperio* of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, whose writings are a precious insight on the Byzantine Empire and neighboring areas at the turn of second millennium. The *De administrando imperio,* composed in the first half of the tenth century, is a handbook of foreign politics, treating the migrations of the Slavic and

[25]L. Muratori, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* I parte 2 (Milan, 1735), col. 264A. The reference is contained in a letter composed by the Greek monk Theodosius which survives in an unsatisfactory Latin translation: B. Lavagnini, "Siracusa occupata dagli Arabi e l'epistola di Teodosio Magno," *Byzantion,* XXIX-XXX (1960), 261-265.

[26]V. Grumel, "L'annexion de l'Illyricum Oriental, et de la Sicilie et de la Calabre au Patriarchat de Constantinople," *Recherches de Sciences Religieuses*, XL (1952), 49; G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State,* 2nd English edn. (Oxford, 1968), p. 170. The date is contested by J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford, 1987), p. 351, who reproposes the traditional date of around 732 on the basis of a report in the *Liber Pontificalis* that on several occasions the envoys of Pope Gregory III (731-741) to the Iconclast Emperor Leo III were arrested in Sicily. Leo, furthermore, confiscated Roman Church property in Sicily and Calabria. See also A. Guillou, "La Sicilie Byzantine: Etat des Recherches," *Byzantinische Forschungen,* 5 (1977), 95-145.

[27]T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta," p. 80.

[28]Details and references in A.T. Luttrell, "Approaches to Medieval Malta," in *Medieval Malta,* pp. 30-31. See also G. Wettinger, "The Arabs in Malta," in *Malta – Studies of its Heritage and History* (Malta, 1986), pp. 97-98, and M. Buhagiar, "Les influences Sicilo-Normandes sur l'architecture médiédvale de Malte," in M. Kew Meade *et al.* (eds.), *L'architecture Normande en Europe—Identité et échanges* (Marseilles, 2002), pp. 85-86.

[29]M. Buhagiar, "The Re-Christianisation of Malta: Siculo-Greek Monasticism, Dejr Toponyms and Rock-Cut Churches," *Melita Historica,* XIII (Malta, 2002), 253-283.

Turkic peoples and the places they settled in. Meleda is called Maleozeate, and Constantine VII talks of the *pagani* who dwelt on the island.[30] Another Byzantine aspirant to the honor of the shipwreck site was Mitylene (Mitilini) on the Greek island of Lesbos, where St. Paul had earlier on made a brief stop in the course of his third journey (Acts 20:14). In the early seventeenth century, Mitylene's claims were cursorily dismissed by the impassioned apologist of the Maltese Pauline myths, the Jesuit Girolamo Manduca,[31] but the tradition had an old history that stretched at least as far back as the late twelfth century.[32]

A Siculo-Byzantinesque tradition favoring the Maltese Archipelago was apparently well established by the middle of the twelfth century when a Sicilian (or perhaps South Italian) Greek subject of King Roger II (1108–151), exiled for an undisclosed misdemeanor on "Melitogaudos," addressed a piteous lament, composed of more than 4000 iambic trimeters, to the admiral of the fleet and vizier of Sicily, George of Antioch, in a bid to regain the favor of the king.[33] The poem, which can be dated on internal evidence to the period between George of Antioch's conquest of Gerba in 1135 and his death in 1151,[34] should be read and interpreted within the context of the long and traumatic re-Christianization and Latinization process that started in 1127. The exile bemoans his misfortune at being forced to dwell among

> ". . . the children of the godless Hagar . . . (who invoked) only the heresiarch, the all abominable Mohammed. . ."

He finds little comfort in the fact that the Christians were coming out of their hiding places and that mosques were being transformed

[30]For the *De Administrando Imperio* see the *Corpus Scriptoricorum Byzantinorum,* XXXVI (Bonn, 1840).

[31]National Library of Malta, Ms. 25: *Relazione o sian tradizioni avute e trasmesse dalli antichi circa le co*se *dell'isola di Malta e di quanto s'é potuto cavare da scritture antiche degne di fede,* fol. 179. On Girolamo Manduca: A. T. Luttrell, "Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela: Tradition and Invention in Maltese Historiography," *Melita Historica,* VII (1977), 105-132; V. Borg, "Girolamo Manduca—His Life and Works," *Melita Historica,* VII (1977), 237-257; M. Buhagiar, "The St Paul Shipwreck Controversy."

[32]See *infra.*

[33]The poem (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Cod. Graec., 4577) was first exposed in J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci Mauscripti* (Madrid, 1769), pp. 140-145. Its relevance to Maltese history was first realised by A. Pertusi, "Le isole maltesi dall'epoca bizantina al periodo normanno e svevo," *Byzantinische Forschungen,* 5 (1977), 253-306. Excerpts from it are published with a commentary in S. Fiorini and H. C. R. Vella, "New 12th Century Evidence."

[34]Fiorini and Vella, p. 162.

into Christian churches. He then goes on to talk of priests who came from the Norman Kingdom, hinting in the process at the presence of a bishop on Gozo.

The poem opens a spiral of new possibilities, but it is essential to distinguish factual recording from poetic licence and metaphor. Pending an analytical study of the text and its full publication,[35] the new insights that it seems to provide must necessarily be tested against the evidence of the more secure source material.[36] It is, for example, hazardous to take it as testimony for a Christian community that survived the Muslim conquest when the written and unwritten evidence indicates otherwise.[37] The hyperbolic mention of "countless pious inhabitants" who came "out into the open" is a possible veiled reference to the grafting on an essentially Muslim territory of a Latin garrison and its attendant Latin rite clergy.[38] The reference to a bishop is of greater interest. It is possible that the Maltese archipelago became an episcopal see upon its formal integration into the Norman Sicilian Kingdom,[39] but the available documentary evidence makes a resident bishop unlikely.[40] Similarly improbable is the existence of separate bishoprics for Malta and Gozo, and it is dangerous to take the situation prevailing in Late Roman and Byzantine times, when Gozo had distinct municipal and possibly military arrangements,[41] as a yardstick for the Muslim and Norman periods.[42]

[35]This is being undertaken by S. Fiorini and H. C. R. Vella, who propose to publish the annotated text in the University of Malta's *Documentary Sources for Maltese History* series .

[36]For an overview see M. Buhagiar, *The Late Medieval Art and Architecture of the Maltese Islands,* (Malta, 2005), pp. 18–38.

[37]M. Buhagiar and S. Fiorini, *Mdina the Cathedral City of Malta,* (Malta, 1996), I, 45-51.

[38]Details in M. Buhagiar, "Re Christianization of Malta."

[39]There is secure documentation for a bishopric of Malta in 1156: A. Mayr, "Zur Geschichte der älteren christlichen Kirche von Malta," *Historisches Jahrbuch,* XVII (1896), 488-492.

[40]M. Buhagiar and S. Fiorini, *Mdina*, I, 142 *et passim.* Until the sixteenth century, the bishop was normally not Maltese and rarely visited the island. In 1366 he did not have an official residence.

[41]M. Buhagiar, "Gozo in Late Roman, Byzantine, and Muslim Times," *Melita Historica* XIII (1997), 113-124.

[42]Fiorini and Vella, "New 12th Century Evidence," p. 167, hint at the possibility that Gaudos and Melite could have been separate bishoprics within the province of Sicily, under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, during the period *ca.* 800–*ca.* 850, but the *notitia episcopatum* of Basil of Ialimbana, on which they base their hypothesis, employs earlier records and the reference to Gaudos and Melite occurs in

The excerpts that have appeared in print, fine-tune, but do not drastically change, the mosaic of Muslim and Norman Malta that has been slowly taking shape since 1975, when Anthony T. Luttrell published his seminal analysis of the source material.[43] The clear reference to a Pauline tradition may, in the final analysis, turn out to be the poem's most important contribution to the mosaic. It is probable that the re-Christianization and Latinization movement had an interest in reviving the identification of the Maltese Archipelago with the shipwreck story. That the tradition took root is demonstrated by the case of the "Uomini di San Paolo" or "San Paolari." These were a band of charlatans and vagabonds who claimed descent from the "household of St. Paul"[44] and made the rounds of Italian cities administering cures for venoms and snake bites. In Sicily they were popularly known as *cirauli*.[45] Their alleged power over venomous substances was presumably anchored in the story of the miracle of the viper, which became the most famous episode of the shipwreck narrative. The poem, as a matter of fact, describes the incident in fastidious detail.

The deceit of the San Paolari was demonstrated by Teseo Pini around 1485,[46] but popular credence in their curative virtues lingered well into the early modern period, particularly in the hinterlands of Sicily and South Italy. The first known reference to their activity comes at the close of the Norman period, in 1194, in the account of a political mission sent by the Emperor Henry VI, pretender to the throne of Sicily and South Italy. The text, contained in a letter sent by Henry's

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the *descriptio orbis Romani* (attr. to George of Cyprus) datable to *ca.* 603–*ca.* 606, when Malta was securely under the jurisdiction of Rome. T. S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta: A Discussion of the Sources," in A. T. Luttrell, *op.cit.,* 76, 82, points out that this is a civil geographical (not ecclesiastical) list . See n. 26 *supra.*

[43]A. T. Luttrell, "Approaches to Medieval Malta," pp. 29-40.

[44]". . . Questi dicono trar l'origine da San Paolo Apostolo, il che è falsissimo . . . poichè egli sebbene ebbe stimuli della carne, tuttavia li superò con l'aiuto di Dio, non avendo dunque avuto moglie, né perso il fiore della verginità. . .": Teseo Pini, *Speculum Cerretanorum.*.

[45]On the Uomini di S. Paolo: B. Montinaro, "Credenze Popolari—Tradizione Paolina," *Sudpuglia—Rassegna trimestrale della Banca Popolare Sud Puglia*, IX (December, 1983), 91-97.

[46]Teseo Pini's manual on charlatans and crooks, *Lo speculum cerretanorum* was plagiarized in Italian translation, by the seventeenth-century Bolognese author Rafaele Frianorio, who included the section on the San Paolari in chapter 27 of his book *Il Vagabondo* edited with other writings on brigands and swindlers by P. Camoresi in *Il libro dei vagabondi* (Turin, 1973). For a recent study see M. Masala (ed.), *Il vagabondo di Raffaele Frianoro—Fra divertimento letterario e istanze repressive* (Rome, 1999).

advisor and proctor, Konrad of Querfurth, to Herbert of Hildesheim,[47] is a typically late medieval mélange of biblical lore, mythology, and geographical inaccuracies. The reference to the "Uomini di San Paolo" follows a description of Mount Etna and Syracuse, but Konrad indicates Capri as the site of the shipwreck, and then proceeds to confuse that island with Mitylene. He may, in fact, have been using secondary material, and there is nothing to suggest that he visited Malta. That he might have had the island in mind is, on the other hand, suggested by his description of the "Uomini di San Paolo" as "Saracens." In the twelfth century, Malta was largely Muslim.[48] A few years earlier, in 1175, Burchard, Bishop of Strasbourg, who presumably stopped on the island while on an embassy to Egypt, had described Malta as an island *a Sarracenis inhabitata*.[49] There is a real possibility that the original Uomini di San Paolo were Maltese swindlers.

Konrad makes no reference to a "household of St. Paul" and Teseo Pini (or his informers) may, as a matter of fact, have confused Paul with his host Publius. He talks instead of "Saracens who solely by spitting, have the power to kill venomous animals." Such a virtue they owed to the merits of the apostle, who to show his appreciation for their hospitality, had invested his host (i.e., Publius), as well as his children and grandchildren, with this miraculous power that they continued to enjoy "to this very day."[50] In the middle of the fourteenth century, another German cleric, Ludolph of Suchen, was more specific. After recounting the story of Paul's deliverance from harm, when he had been bitten by a viper that leapt out of the fire lit by his hosts, he continues:

> On this island there still live people who boast of being descendants of that household through whose hospitality such (favours) happened to St Paul.[51]

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[47]The Pauline significance of Querfurth's account: I. M. Lappenberg (ed.), "Arnoldi Abbatis Lubecensis Chronica an. 1172–1209" [=Chronica lavorum], *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Scriptores, 21 [New York, 1963], 196) is first noted in H. Bresc, "Sicile, Malte, et Monde Musulman," in S. Fiorini and V. Mallia Milanes (eds.), *Malta—A Case Study in International Cross Currents* (Malta, 1991), 51, n.10. It is discussed in detail in Thomas Freller, *St Paul's Grotto and its Visitors—Pilgrims, Knights, Scholars, and Sceptics from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century* 2nd ed. (Malta, 1996), pp. 31-33.

[48]Luttrell, "Approaches," pp. 32-40; Wettinger, "Arabs in Malta."

[49]Text in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores,* 21 (Hanover, 1869), 236.

[50]The English translation used here follows that in Freller, *St. Paul's Grotto,* pp. 31-32.

[51]F. Deycks (ed.), *Ludophi, Rectoris ecclesiae parochialis in Suchem, de Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber,* Bibliothek des literarisehen Vereins, XXV (Stuttgart, 1851), 22.

Ludolph had been on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the course of which he apparently stopped at Malta,[52] even though the island did not lie on the standard pilgrimage route. The text seems to show a personal familiarity with the Maltese islands, but gives Corsica, not Malta, as the island of the shipwreck. It has been argued that as in the case of Konrad of Querfurth, this may perhaps, be interpreted as a muddling up of Mediterranean geography,[53] but the problem remains unresolved. There is also a possibility that the indicated site was the island of Pantelleria, between Malta and Tunisia, and that Ludolph unwittingly confused its Greek name *Cosyra* (sometimes rendered as *Corissa*) with Corsica.[54] The proximity, and geophysical and socio-religious similarities, between Pantelleria and Malta did not escape late medieval travelers and commentators. The erudite Florentine Domenico Silvestri, who around 1400 composed a treatise on Mediterranean islands, *De insulis et earum proprietatibus,* emphasized this geographical reality ("*Corissa et Melite vicine sunt*"), but located the shipwreck site in Mitylene.[55]

Until the fifteenth century, Christian cartography was more concerned with an interpretation of the Bible and a demonstration of religious themes and references, than with geographic correctness. Paulus Orosius's *Descriptio Terrarum* was an important pioneering document, but the map at the Vatican is of uncertain date,[56] and the first truly significant exponent of the theological dictatorship which stifled genuine geographic research was the sixth-century author Cosmos of Alexandria, who, before becoming a Christian and embracing monastic life on Mount Sinai, had sailed, as a trader in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and earned for himself the title of *Indicopleustes* ("Indian Sailor").[57] The *Topographia Christiana* which he composed between 535 and 548

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[52]As convincingly argued in Freller, *St. Paul's Grotto,* pp. 38-49.

[53]*Ibid.,* p. 47.

[54]As suggested T. Freller, "St Paul's Grotto, Malta, and its Antidotic Earth in the Awarness of Early Modern Europe," J. Azzopardi (ed.), *The Cult of St Paul,* p. 196.

[55]For Silvestri's treatise see C. Pecoraro, *Domenico Silvestri – De Insulis et earum propietatibus* (Palermo, 1955). See also J. Zammit-Ciantar, "Malta and Gozo in a Fifteenth Century Codex," *Studi Magrebini,* XXIV (1992), 63 who however mistakes Mitilyene for Malta.

[56]*Supra*

[57]The treatise survives in two copies: one a tenth-century MS in the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana, Florence (Nova Collectio Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum); the other an eighth-or-ninth-century uncial MS in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. On Cosmas: *Kosma Aigyptiou Monacholi Christianikē Topographia—The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk,* tr. and ed. with notes and introduction by John W. McCrindle, Hakluyat Society, Series 1, vol. 98 (London, 1897).

A.D. contains the oldest surviving Christian maps,[58] and conditioned a cartographic tradition that found crystalization, in about 776 A.D., in the *mappamundi* of Beatus of Liébana (d. 798 A.D.)[59] where the "great ocean" is fused with the Mediterranean and the two seas are sprinkled with many islands that include Tule, Britain, Hibernia, the Fortunate Isles, Corsica, Sardinia, Crete, Sicily, Cyprus, and six others.[60]

Nearer the time of Konrad of Querfurth and Ludolph of Suchen, the tradition found an eloquent expression in the Ebstorf *Mappamundi*,[61] which is generally ascribed to the learned Englishman Gervase of Tilbury (*ca.* 1150–1220),[62] who was widely traveled and had spent a period of time, around 1189, in the court of King William II of Sicily. The map, which is possibly related to the *Otia imperialia,* a compendium of history, geography, and physics, which Gervase, composed *ca.* 1210-1214, for Otto IV,[63] is a brilliant synthesis of Christian cosmography, intended for instruction and pious meditation. Divine intervention in human history and geography is emphasised, and the map is drawn in the manner of a Roman road plan to facilitate the contemplation of God's miracles and the holy sites of the Bible and the Christian story, regardless of distances and geographic exactitude. Gervase followed the Ancient Roman technique of dividing the world into three parts and of tracing twelve circles (the homes of the twelve winds) in the cosmic ocean,[64] but the treatment is stylized and generalized and there is no attempt to display real coastline or detail. Africa is little more than the segment of a circle and the Mediterranean is sprinkled with islands and sweeps in a northerly direction around a landmass which is presumably the Greek peninsula. Sicily appears as a heart shaped island in close proximity to Venice which juts into the Adriatic.

[58]It is possible that the sketches in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana MS are original drawings by Cosmas , or under his direction.

[59]The map is known through a number of copies, the most important of which is the so-called *St Sever* or *Paris I* executed about 1050 in the the Aquitanian Monastery of St Sever (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Lat. 8878 [S. Lat., 1075], fol.45).

[60]C. Raymond Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography,* 3vols. (London 1897-1906), II, 550-559, 591-604, remains a standard reference.

[61]So called after a Benedictine monastery near Illzen where it was discovered in 1830. It was destroyed during World War II, in 1943, but is well known through reproductions and photographs. For notes and information on the map: W. Rosien, *Die Ebstorfer Weltkarte* (Hanover, 1952).

[62]Tilbury in the county of Essex. Gervase is thought to have been of royal blood.

[63]The treatise is variously known *Liber de mirabilibus mundi, Solatia imperatoris,* and *Descripio totius orbis.*

[64]Gervase relied especially on the writings of Mela and Pliny the Elder.

It is against such a background of popular and highly colorful geographic misinformation that the accounts of Konrad of Querfurth and Ludolph of Suchen must be read and interpreted. In the case of Malta, the difficulties are further aggravated by confusion over the name of the island. The Mengaulum debate of the late Roman and early Byzantine periods found an echo in late medieval and early modern controversies when documents referring to Melitene in Armenia, Meleda in the Adriactic, and Mileto in Calabria were erroneously associated with Malta and used as proof for a vigorous early Christian presence.[65] Tommaso Fazello,[66] Rocco Pirri,[67] and Giovanni Francesco Abela,[68] among others, used such unreliable sources which resulted in unintentional falsifications as, for example, the myth of a Melivetan Council, supposedly held in Malta and attended by 214 bishops, who included St. Augustine and a Sylvanus Bishop of Malta,[69] or of a Maltese Benedictine monastery.[70] The Pauline legends and traditions were fueled by similar misinformed geographic identities, and while there is evidence for deliberate inventions,[71] the mistakes were often the result of toponomastic confusions.

Ludolph of Suchen's account contains the first known reference to the medicinal properties of rock sanctified by St. Paul which, if pounded into dust and diluted in wine, was a potent antidote against venomous substances. In Malta such attributes have, since at least the early modern period, been associated with stone chipped from a man-made cave, in the ditch of the Roman city of Melite, that the apostle is

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[65]A. T. Luttrell, "Gerolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 108 et *passim.*

[66]T. Fazello, *De Rebus Siculis Decades Duae,* 1st ed. (Palermo, 1558). Reprinted Venice, 1574. Italian translation by R. Fiorentino (Palermo, 1817).

[67]R. Pirri, *Notitiae Sicilieium Ecclesiarum (*Palermo, 1641). Reprinted in Italian Translation as *Sicilia Sacra* (Palermo, 1733 ed.).

[68]G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione di Malta* (Malta, 1647), p. 49.

[69]The myth had been firmly established by the early sixteenth century when J. Quintinus, makes specific reference to it. See: V. Borg, "Tradizioni e documenti storici" in *Missione Archeologica Italiana a Malta: Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1963* (Rome, 1964), pp. 43-44, and A. T. Luttrell, "Gerolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 115.

[70]G. F. Abela, *Della Descrittione,* p. 49. The monstery was actually founded on the island of Meleda (Mljet) in the Adriatic in 1130: Luttrell, "Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 108.

[71]Such as in the writings of Girolamo Manduca and *De Sacto Publio martyre Melite principe, et Athenarum episcopo Divi Pauli hospite. . .* (National Library of Malta, MS.25). Manduca's only proofs were often the recollections of fantasticating old men: Luttrell, "Gerolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela," p. 119.

credulously thought to have used as a place of refuge.[72] Ludolph's
account (if it does in fact refer to Malta) pushes back the belief in the
palliative qualities of the rock from the cave by at least two hundred
years. By 1366, a church ("Sancti Pauli de Cripta") with a burial ground
had been built above the cave,[73] presumably testifying to the fabrica-
tion of a Pauline apocrypha that was intimately related to the consoli-
dation of the Christianization and Latinization process. The dedication
of the cathedral to St. Paul, securely documented in 1299,[74] is probably
an indication that Malta's association with the apostle that achieved
formal recognition by the last decades of the thirteenth century.

This not withstanding, voices of dissent continued to contest
Malta's claims, which, as can be deduced from the *Descriptio* of the
Abbé Jean Quentin d'Autun, were sometimes taken in a light vein.
Informed late medieval treatises and travelogues indicated other
Mediterranean islands. One important exception was the early thir-
teenth-century Bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry, who may have stopped
at Malta in 1216 while sailing from Genoa to take possession of his see.
In a letter composed in the winter of the same year he describes his
journey and makes specific reference to Sicilian Malta and its Pauline
association.[75]

Mitylene was the place most frequently indicated, but some travel-
ers, such as Jacopo di Verona, who departed for Palestine in 1346,
favored Crete,[76] and his ideas were shared by the canon from Milan
Pietro Casola, who stopped at Crete in 1494.[77] The German Dominican
friar from Ulm, Felix Fabri, who around 1480-1483 made two pilgrim-
ages to the Holy Land, certainly did not have Malta in mind when, in
the account of his second pilgrimage, he reported on the danger
incurred by travellers sailing "among the isles called Cyclades, and in

[72]G. Zammit Maempel, "Rock from St Paul's Grotto (Malta) in Medicine and Folklore,"
in J. Azzopardi (ed.), *St Paul's Grotto, Church and Museum at Rabat, Malta,* Friends of
the Museum of St Paul's Collegiate Church Rabat (Malta, 1990), pp. 169-216.

[73]The document which survives in a late copy (Cathedral Archives, Mdina, Curia
Episcopalis Melitensis, Acta Originalia, Vol. IX, fol.37), is published by G. Wettinger, "A
Land Grant by Bishop Ylario to Bochius de Bochio at St Paul's Grotto, 1366," in J.
Azzopardi (ed.), *St. Paul's Grotto,* p. 66.

[74]H. Bresc, "Malta dopo il Vespro Siciliano," *Melita Historica,* VI (1974), 313-321.

[75]R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry* (Leiden, 1960), p. 97 ff. Mr.
Thomas Freller generously brought this publication to my notice.

[76]Freller, "St Paul's Grotto, Malta, and its Antidotic Earth," p. 198.

[77]M. M. Newett (ed.), *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage in the Year 1494* (n.pl,
1907) cited by Freller in "St Paul's Grotto and its Antidotic Earth," p. 198.

the Athaenian sea, and off the coast of Illyria and Dalmatia . . . which danger was feared by the sailors who carried St Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, xxvii.29."[78] In the second half of the sixteenth century, Malta was likewise excluded by the pharmacist Reinhold Lubenau, who in 1587 accompanied a legation of Emperor Rudolph II to Edrine and Istanbul. He reports that on a visit to the Eastern Mediterranean island of Levkás he was informed by the natives that the place, together with the neighboring islands of Andípaxoi and Paxoi, had been freed of poisonous creatures by the virtue of St. Paul, who had preached there after his shipwreck.[79]

The arguments against Malta were masterfully synthesized in 1730 by Ignazio Georgi, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Veliko Jezero on the Dalmatian Meleda (Mljet),[80] provoking a vociferous Maltese reaction.[81] The Pauline legend had by that time become the central element of Malta's Christian and European credentials. Questioning it was both irreverent and unpatriotic, and the island's geographic location on the fringes of Christian Europe and Muslim North Africa lent the debate a sinister political dimension. The plethora of pseudo–scientific *dissertazioni*, produced by distinguished Maltese and European apologists to refute Georgi's arguments,[82] received the active backing of the Knights of St. John, who had a vested interest in promoting their island principality as a bulwark of Latin Europe with a prestigious Christian tradition that could be traced back to apostolic times.

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[78]The account occurs in a description of the dangers of the sea at the start of the second pilgrimage: *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri* ca. *1480-1483,* edited and translated by Aubery Stewart, Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society (London, 1896), vol.1, Part 1.

[79]W. Sahm (ed.), *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau* (Königsberg, 1912-1915), II, 285.

[80]I. Georgi, *Divus Paulus apostolus in mari, quod nunc Venetus sinus dicitur, naufragus, et Melitae Dalmatanensis insulae post naufragium hospes, sive de genuino significatu duorum locorum in Actibus apostolicis, cap.27:27, cap.28:1 inceptiones anticriticae* (Venice, 1780).

[81]M. Buhagiar, "The St Paul Shipwreck Controversy," pp. 187-188.

[82]*Ibid.,* p. 188.

CONSTRUCTING ANOTHER KIND OF GERMAN: CATHOLIC COMMEMORATIONS OF GERMAN UNIFICATION IN BADEN, 1870-1876

By

Pontus Hiort*

This essay discusses how Badenese Catholics responded to the nationalist rhetoric surrounding German unification in 1871. Faced with a Protestant dominated commemorative discourse aimed at reinforcing the Protestant hegemony over the definition of Germanness, Catholics successfully contested this ideological message. By creating an alternative commemorative discourse, Catholics were able to manifest their own understanding of national identity instead of becoming subsumed in a new nation-state based on Protestant values. The uneasy coexistence of Protestant and Catholic versions of German identity suggests that confessional elements constituted integral parts of German nationalism and that Catholic and Protestant integration into the Kaiserreich should be viewed as a contested debate over the definition and legitimization of the new state.

Just six months after the triumphant foundation of the Second German Empire in January 1871, the Radolfzell Roman Catholic daily *Freie Stimme* complained that German Catholics had become targets for domestic warfare following the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian war: "The loyal Catholics, especially the clergy, sacrificed greatly during the war; now, when peace has been celebrated, the liberals demand a war with the church. . . ."[1] The newspaper maintained that liberals and Protestants sought to cast doubts on German Catholics' loyalty to the Fatherland by spreading rumors such as, "The Ultramontanes and the French are sworn allies who seek to ruin Germany's greatness!"[2] Its polemics aside, *Freie Stimme* was painting a fairly accurate picture of

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[1]*Freie Stimme*, July 22, 1871.
[2]*Ibid.*

the ill-treatment of many Badenese Catholics in the immediate post-unification period. As the conflict became more distant, the more Protestants and liberals had tended to "forget" Catholic efforts in the war, focusing instead on the allegedly traitorous behavior of the Catholics.

During this time, Catholics and Protestants heatedly debated the role Catholics had played in the Franco-Prussian war and the unification process. In July 1871, Luise, the consort of Grand Duke Friedrich I of Baden, had traveled to Freiburg to honor the volunteer work of the Sisters of Mercy in the recent war. In a well-publicized ceremony, she placed a cross on their building, and respectfully enumerated the important contributions the nuns had made to the war effort.[3] Only a few days later, the lead article of the liberal *Karlsruhe Zeitung* asserted that over the last few years, Baden's Catholics had proven useless in the defense of the Fatherland. Disloyal to Wilhelm I and lacking "true love" for the German nation, they had allegedly proved more a burden than an asset in the recent war against France. The article insisted that the true *Heimat* of the state's Catholics was neither Baden in particular, nor Germany in general, but rather Rome. Indeed, the wars of unification had been won despite the efforts of Badenese Catholics rather than thanks to them.[4]

Shortly afterward, Stephan Braun, one of Baden's leading Catholics, published a reply to the Karlsruhe paper in *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt*. He encouraged Protestants and liberals to question Grand Duchess Luise concerning the wartime behavior of Catholic clergy and laity—she would set the record straight. To demonstrate how important his fellow Catholics had been to the military success, he recounted the activities of the local Maltese order in painstaking detail. Braun cited statistics on the knights' undertakings during the war, from how many had volunteered as doctors and nurses to the number of bandages they had applied.[5] The list reflected the pressure that Badenese Catholics faced in a post-unification period that witnessed the resumption of a fierce prewar *Kulturkampf*. Repeatedly singled out as enemies of the German nation, Catholics often considered it necessary to justify their existence in the new nation-state. Determined not to let Protestants and liberals exclude them from the memory of the war and unification, they refuted their critics' accusa-

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[3] *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* August, 2, 1871.
[4] *Karlsruhe Zeitung,* August 6, 1871.
[5] *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* August 28, 1871.

tions in the struggle to control the discourse and rhetoric surrounding the events of 1870-1871. Catholic determination to control the construction of the memory of war and unification became all the more important as these milestones came to constitute one of the building blocks for the new national identity that was being constructed in Imperial Germany.

Faced with a nationalist rhetoric and a constructed memory of the Franco-Prussian war that reinforced the Protestant hegemony over the definition of Germanness, Catholics actively opposed the attempts to construct national identity along confessional lines. Rejecting an official national identity frequently tinged with anti-Catholic sentiment, they employed the debates on the nature of the Franco-Prussian war and subsequent commemorative activities to manifest their own understanding of what it meant to be German in the Second Empire. This essay explores how Badenese Catholics responded to the nationalist rhetoric and the commemorative discourse surrounding German unification. By focusing on the state of Baden, which constituted an anomaly because it had a Catholic majority but was governed by a Protestant Grand Duke and a national liberal political majority, we gain increased insight into the complex interactions between Catholics and Protestants at the beginning of the Second Empire. Baden is also a useful case study because the *Kulturkampf* that liberals and Protestants had initiated there in the 1860's served as a model for the bitter conflict in Prussia and the Reich.[6]

During the 1860's relations between Catholics and Protestants in Baden rapidly deteriorated. In their attempts to modernize, the state's liberals and Protestants had grown increasingly aggressive in their rhetoric and policies against the two-thirds Catholic majority, especially after the Prussian defeat of Austria in 1866. Many of the subsequent conflicts were intimately tied to the German question. Liberals and Protestants advocated Baden's integration into the North German Confederation, while Catholics harbored strong sympathies for Austria and were unwilling to accept unification without their southern neighbor. Tensions had reached a climax as the debates over the doctrine of

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[6]For an introduction to Badenese history, see Wolfgang Hug, *Geschichte Badens* (Stuttgart, 1992); Hansmartin Schwarzmeier (ed.), *Handbuch der Baden-Württembergischen Geschichte. Dritter Band: Vom Ende des alten Reiches bis zum Ende der Monarchien* (Stuttgart, 1992); Karl Stiefel, *Baden 1648-1952,* Band I (Karlsruhe, 1978).

papal infallibility immediately before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war polarized the state's two predominant confessions.[7]

Due to the political, economic, and cultural pressure Badenese Catholics faced following unification, an investigation of their reactions to war and unification furthers our understanding of the varied responses that Catholics around Germany offered to the unification process. My analysis of Protestant and Catholic uses of nationalist rhetoric and their construction of differing memories of the Franco-Prussian war and unification suggests that the integration of Protestants and Catholics into the German nation-state should be viewed as an ongoing debate over the definition and legitimization of the new state.[8] Although the traditional view of Catholics as passive victims engulfed in a Protestant- and Prussian-dominated national identity has recently been contested, few scholars have focused on exactly how Catholics asserted their own sense of national belonging.[9] The confessional element in German nationalism has become increasingly important as scholars have recently begun stressing the centrality of religion to the everyday life of Germans in the Second Empire. Most historians no longer view the nineteenth century as a period of linear secularization. Rather, they agree that religion functioned as a social force that shaped numerous social, political, and cultural actions, emphasizing the capacity of confessional loyalties to form and mobilize public opinion. National identity did not replace religious convictions; on the contrary, Catholic and Protestant uses of nationalist rhetoric further intensified local confessional conflicts and polarized society.[10] Consequently, an analysis of Catholic responses to the war, the construction of the

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[7]For a more in-depth treatment of this period, see for instance: Josef Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche in der Ära von Reichsgründung und Kulturkampf* (Mainz, 1973); Lothar Gall, *Der Liberalismus als regierende Partei. Das Großherzogtum Baden zwischen Restauration und Reichsgründung* (Wiesbaden, 1968); Friedrich Koeppel, "Baden und die deutsche Entscheidung des Jahres 1866," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte Oberrheins*, 88 (1936), 451-453.

[8]This analysis confirms some of Helmut Walser Smith's theories on German nationalism. See Helmut Walser Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870-1914* (Princeton, 1995)*,* esp. pp. 237-239.

[9]*Ibid*.; Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany 1800-1914* (New York, 2001). The latter work contains some promising research into how Catholics integrated into the Empire. See especially the essay by Anthony J. Steinhoff, "Building Religious Community: Worship Space and Experience in Strasburg after the Franco-Prussian War," pp. 267-297.

[10]For instance: Wolfgang Altgeld, "Religion, Denomination and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Germany," in Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in*

memory of the unification process, and the new national identity promises insights into how and why confessional affiliations came to play such an important role in the *Kaiserreich*.

During the past decade, scholars have produced a plethora of works on the multifaceted nature of German national identity in the Second Empire.[11] Today, most agree that the official identity emanating from Berlin was not unconditionally accepted throughout the Reich, but rather mediated and altered depending on geographic location, class, confession, and ethnicity. Several of these studies have focused on the importance of commemorations and public culture for the construction of a national identity.[12] However, these scholars have tended to overestimate the cohesiveness of the constructed memory of the Franco-Prussian war and unification, failing to recognize the importance of the contested memory of these events as a source of tension as Germans tried to integrate into the new nation-state. This omission

Germany, pp. 49-66; Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth Century Germany," *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 647-670; Olaf Blaschke, "Das 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter?" *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 26 (2000) 38-75; David Blackbourn, *Marpingen. Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Nineteenth Century Germany* (New York, 1994); Wolfgang Schieder, "Kirche und Revolution. Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte der Trier Wallfahrt von 1844," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 14 (1974), 419-454; Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany*.

[11]For instance, Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley, 1990); John Breuilly (ed.), *The State of Germany. The national idea in the making, unmaking, and remaking of a modern nation state* (London, 1992); Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill, 1997); Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2001); James Retallack (ed.), *Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933* (Ann Arbor, 2000); James J. Sheehan, "What is German History? Reflections on the role of the *Nation* in German history and historiography," *Journal of Modern History,* 53 (1981), 1-23.

[12]For instance: Reinhard Alings, *Monument und Nation. Das Bild vom National-staat im Medium Denkmal—zum Verhältnis von Nation und Staat im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Berlin,1996); Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor;* Dieter Düding, Peter Friedemann, and Paul Münch (eds.), *Öffentliche Festkultur. Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Rheinbeck bei Hamburg, 1988); Wolfgang Hardtwig, "Der bezweifelte Patriotismus—nationale Bewußtsein und Denkmal 1786 bis 1933," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 44 (1993), 47-75; Ute Schneider, *Politische Festkultur im 19. Jahrhundert: die Rheinprovinz von der französischen Zeit bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges (1806-1918)* (Essen, 1995); Charlotte Tacke, *Denkmal im sozialen Raum. Nationale Symbole in Deutschland und Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1995).

is somewhat surprising because collective memory plays so important a role in the construction of identity, a topic that has been illuminated by social scientists during the last decade.[13] The contested memory of the war and unification suggests that Germans did not all share the same foundation upon which to base their new identity. Instead, the construction of national identity became a fluid, contested, and often contradictory project in which both Catholics and Protestants attempted to convince the other of the pre-eminence of their own view of German history and the future of their common nation-state. Liberal and Protestant determination to establish their own sense of Germanness led to a polarization of local society as struggles over the concept of national identity infused the political and cultural discourse. Throughout Baden, locals on both sides often politicized commemorative activities and the construction of monuments, using them as means to increase their political power. Instead of creating a more cohesive society after 1871, German nationalism facilitated an intensification of conflicts on the local level.[14]

As news of the outbreak of war spread throughout the German lands in July 1870, most Germans initially set aside their differences to unite in a nationalist furor. As the first excitement evaporated, however, old tensions resurfaced with surprising speed. Moreover, citizens were now equipped with a new weapon to use in their quarrels: the nationalist discourse popularized at the outset of the war. Furthermore, as Germans began constructing the memory of the Franco-Prussian war and unification, it became evident that Catholics and Protestants nourished different, often opposing collective memories of the conflict and unification process. These recollections, rather than facilitating increased understanding among citizens, provided them with additional means to maintain and often intensify existing disagreements. More importantly, at the local level, citizens now cast their disputes against the backdrop of an emerging fixation on national consciousness and the construction of a national identity, which tended to raise stakes, further exacerbating tension. This suggests that we should analyze more carefully the divisive effects that the popularizing of

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[13]For instance: Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, 1989); John Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994); Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983); Pierre Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past,* 3 vols. (New York, 1995-1997).

[14]This view permeates Smith's work, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict*, esp. pp. 10-11, 13-15, 237-239.

nationalism had on local communities, instead of assuming that nationalist excitement provided for a more cohesive society. National identity did not develop at the same speed and in the same manner as it replaced existing local, regional, religious, and class identities, but instead often facilitated an intensifying of already existing differences.

Like citizens elsewhere in the German lands, Badeners responded with enthusiasm when the on-going conflict between Prussia and France escalated into war in July 1870.[15] Hoping that war against France would unify Germany, the citizens of Baden proclaimed that the political and confessional struggles that had divided their state during the last few years had now finally come to an end.[16] Indeed, the first weeks of the war witnessed a unity of purpose that superseded all previous economic, religious, social, and political divisions. For a brief period, residents of Baden were no longer Protestants, Catholics, or Jews, but Germans, especially since citizens were well aware of their precarious geographical position as a bordering state to France. To add to the uncertainty, most soldiers normally stationed in cities around the state were incorporated into the Fourteenth Army Corps that departed for France, leaving many Badeners fearing the threat of a French invasion.[17]

After a few tension-filled weeks, Catholics and Protestants alike embraced the first military victories. Both camps interpreted these triumphs as signs that Germany's position in Europe was about to improve dramatically. They began calling for annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, which had not been fully integrated into France after the French Revolution.[18] The German victory at Sedan on September 2 caused great public excitement as people gathered in the streets to celebrate the surrender of Napoleon III.

Although Catholics and Protestants had greeted the news of early victories with great relief, it quickly became evident that they viewed the war differently. Already in the beginning of August, the *Konstanzer Zeitung* argued that though domestic peace should be maintained, locals must not turn a "blind eye" to the activities of the Catholic clergy during the war. Newspapers quoted several liberals as stating that this

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[15] For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, July 21, 1870; *Freie Stimme*, July 21, 1870.

[16] *Konstanzer Zeitung,* July 21, 1870.

[17] For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, August 30, 1870.

[18] *Badischer Beobachter*, September 2, 1870; *Konstanzer Zeitung,* October 2, 1870.

war had little to do with the Prussians and the French; instead the Jesuits and their actions at the Vatican Council were to blame for it. They also claimed that the hatred Catholics had displayed toward Prussia and Otto von Bismarck had convinced Napoleon III that he could provoke war without having to face a united German army.[19] In contrast, Catholics, while expressing general support for the war, remarked that at least this time, all Germans would be fighting on the same side, which constituted an improvement over 1866. Because Baden had been a member of the German Confederation that suffered defeat in the Austro-Prussian war, many Badeners were still smarting that setback.[20]

The Catholic responses to the initial developments of the war reflected their complicated relationship to the unification project. When Baden was engulfed in a harsh *Kulturkampf* during the 1860's, most of which was focused on eliminating religious control over the schools, Badenese national liberal politicians such as Franz von Roggenbach and Julius Jolly had made it all but impossible for Catholics to support any of the government's policies.[21] Although most Protestant national liberals supported a closer relationship with Prussia, especially after the latter's victory in the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, Catholics opposed the push toward a more unified Germany. These sentiments became especially evident in the elections to the newly created Customs Union in 1868. Led by Jakob Lindau, Catholics organized a successful election campaign, which had stunning results. Although the liberals won the popular vote with 89,000, the Catholics with 78,000 were close behind. Since Catholics had campaigned on an anti-Prussian platform, the vote provided a clear indication of the discord between state policies and popular Catholic opinion.[22]

After Sedan, many German leaders began contemplating the reorganization of their territories. In these discussions, Protestants often claimed that due to the alleged backwardness of Roman Catholicism, the Catholic faith could not be allowed to play an integral role in their

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[19]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, July 24, 26, 28; *Freie Stimme*, July 26, August 2, 1870.

[20]*Freie Stimme,* July 26, 1870.

[21]Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*, pp.120-130; 132-133.

[22]Excellent accounts of these elections include Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*, pp. 208-214; Julius Dorneich, "Die Entstehung der badischen 'Katholischen Volkspartei' zwischen 1865 und 1869 im Tagebuch von Baurat Dr. Karl Bader," *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 84 (1964), 349-370; Walter Scühbelin, *Das Zollparlament und die Politik von Baden, Bayern und Württemberg, 1866-1870* (Vaduz, 1965), pp. 71-102.

future state. Following the surrender of Napoleon III, many Protestant-liberal newspapers claimed that the primary goal of the war was to defeat Catholicism and found an Empire based upon the only true religion—Protestantism.[23] Protestants and liberals referred to the imminent defeat of the French and the removal of the pope from Rome as two major victories for modern civilization, signs that the primitive and anti-modern Catholic spirit was finally about to be broken. To bolster their arguments, many papers cited a letter from the Prussian general Friedrich von Holstein to the French General Gorardin, in which he prophesized: "The future belongs to the nordic or Protestant race . . . Catholicism stupidifies . . . God will remain with the ones who seek progress, which is why he is abandoning the Roman people."[24]

Especially after Sedan, much German nationalist rhetoric explained the collapse of the French forces by claiming that Roman Catholicism had obstructed France's transition to a modern nation-state, echoing the views many Protestants would express after the war about the degenerative effect of the Catholic faith.[25] Leading Protestants cited Italy, France, and Spain as examples of poorly developed nation-states plagued by widespread illiteracy, poverty, and political disarray–attributing all of these problems to Catholicism.[26] Catholics vehemently rejected this assertion, pointing out that Protestants and liberals had misinterpreted the religious lesson of the war. Catholics maintained rather that the conflict represented God's way of showing both French and Germans how alienated they had become from the Christian spirit.[27] The disintegration of the French Empire was not due to the Catholic faith, but rather the result of French inability to remain good Catholics. Catholics were especially critical of what they considered Napoleon III's un-Catholic behavior. They cited his decision to support the anticlerical Italian nationalists against Austria in 1859 as a strong indication of how far he had strayed from his Catholic convictions. Newspapers stressed that though French Catholics were currently in great agony, this ordeal would assist them in reconnecting with their Catholic faith.[28] The suffering caused by the war, not only to

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[23]*Freiburger Zeitung*, October 5, 1870. For an excellent discussion of the relationship between Protestantism and the unification, see Ernst Bammel, *Die Reichsgründung und der deutsche Protestantismus* (Erlangen, 1973).

[24]*Freiburger Zeitung,* October 3, 1870.

[25]For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, October 3, 5, 1870.

[26]*Ibid*.

[27]*Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* August 10, 1870.

[28]*Ibid*.

Germans and French, but to the pope as well, should remind Christians of all nationalities of the importance of religion. This war did not pit one confession against another; rather, it served as a confirmation that in their quest for modernization, Germans must not neglect their faith.[29] These sentiments constituted a continuation of the resistance that Catholics had offered to the modernizing reforms that Badenese liberals had initiated during the past decade. Catholics argued that these reforms were signs that the uninhibited striving for modernity was increasingly corrupting the German national character.[30]

Even before the fighting had ceased, Protestants had begun constructing a memory of the war that highlighted the importance of the Protestant victory over the Catholic spirit, an interpretation which only increased the hostility toward Catholics. When Protestants and liberals outlined Germany's promising future that was sure to follow military victory, many questioned whether there was room for Catholics in the new Empire: "Should Germany really contain a large part whose *Heimat* is not in Germany, but on the other side of the Alps? After a struggle in which the best blood of the Fatherland was spent, that would constitute treason and must under no circumstances be allowed by the nation."[31] Although Catholics had contributed to the war effort, these voices implied both that their efforts had been insignificant and that their Catholicism excluded them from the future German nation-state. Some Protestants and liberals viewed this military victory as an opportunity to limit the influence of the supposedly backward Catholics in the new state. They believed that military success would considerably enhance their chances of transforming Germany into a dominant European power. Many German Protestants believed that the nation-state functioned as the bearer of progress in which education, the economy, and political conditions would be greatly improved. This notion clashed with the presumed parochialism of Catholic Germany. Even before any peace treaties were signed, the state-sponsored official nationalist discourse interpreted the impending victory as a signal for Germany to assume its rightful place as the most powerful state in Europe. Catholics, on the other hand, placed less emphasis on the "positive" aspects of the war, and instead expressed concern about their minority status in the future Empire, the increasing secularization of society, and the fate of the pope,

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[29]*Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt*, July 20, 1870.

[30]For instance, *Freie Stimme,* October 10, 1871.

[31]Quoted in *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* October 19, 1870; see also *Heidelberger Wochenblatt*, September 24, 1870.

who had come under attack from Italian anticlericals in 1870 as French forces left Rome to fight the Germans.

Relations between Catholics and Protestants in Baden deteriorated steadily in 1870. Emboldened by the German military success, liberals and Protestants soon began complaining about Catholic wartime behavior. They especially targeted Catholic priests, and in several well-publicized cases accused local clergy of praying for French victory.[32] During the war, allegations of Catholic priests convincing entire villages to support the French surfaced, which increased tensions between the two confessions.[33] The behavior of Catholic priests during times of war was not, however, a new source of tension in Baden. After the Austro-Prussian war, liberals and Protestants had denounced members of the clergy for allegedly boasting that in case of Austrian victory, all German Protestants would be forced to convert to Catholicism.[34] The case that attracted most attention in 1870-1871was that of the Catholic priest Manfred Burgweiler in Pfullendorf, a rural community near Lake Constance. During the fall of 1870, Burgweiler had reportedly led his congregation in prayer for French victory on several occasions, claiming that a Prussian triumph would endanger German Catholicism.[35] These accusations not only reflected Protestant-liberal concerns about the loyalties of Catholic clergy, but also fears about the increased influence of Catholic priests, especially in rural areas. Since the election of Herman von Vicari as Archbishop of Freiburg in 1842, there had been a gradual ultramontanization of the Badenese Catholic clergy. Coupled with the popular religious revival that took place throughout the German lands during the 1840's and 1850's, these developments had created an increasingly powerful local clergy. The influence that priests enjoyed in their communities intimidated non-Catholics.

Toward the end of 1870, when unification of Germany seemed a certainty, Protestants intensified their efforts to link the imminent military victory and founding of the German Reich to their religion. At a banquet in Constance to celebrate the conquest of Metz, the Protestant city council member Zogelmann proclaimed a new version

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[32]Documentation regarding many of these cases can be found in Erzbischöfliche Archiv Freiburg (hereafter cited as EAF), B2-29 Staat und Kirche.

[33]*Freiburger Zeitung,* October 7, 13, 1870.

[34]See for instance, *Freiburger Zeitung*, February 10, 12, 1867.

[35]EAF, B2-29 Staat und Kirche; *Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt*, August 31, September 7, 1870.

of the "Our Father." Modeled on the Lord's prayer, Zogelmann's version, entitled "A Pious German's Wish," was not directed to God, but to Wilhelm, King of Prussia. Zogelmann pleaded with the King to grant Germans what they had so long desired: a unified nation-state. Although this request in itself would not have offended Catholics, the city council member also asked Wilhelm to destroy the power of the "blacks," who sought to divide and weaken the German nation.[36] In the following days, Zogelmann's speech, considered blasphemous by Catholics, was hotly discussed, and local Catholics expressed their outrage in numerous ways. They asserted that asking Wilhelm to undermine Catholic influence was not only futile, but also constituted a grave insult to the King. Although not Catholic, Wilhelm had often proven himself to be a man of proper religious convictions. Judging from his frequent praise of God after German military victories, it was evident that he was a pious man who would never deliberately hurt his Catholic subjects. By suggesting otherwise, Zogelmann had offended the King, and should be punished accordingly.[37] Catholics, though critical of the official commemorative discourse, strove to stress their respect for and loyalty to the future German Emperor, providing evidence that they often excluded him from their criticism of the official canon of nationalism.[38]

Catholics also argued that Zogelmann's agenda for Catholics proved that he and his fellow liberal Protestants were attempting to deepen divisions among Germans. His blasphemy reflected his lack of respect for religion, which was important to all Germans, whether Catholic, Protestant, or Jew. Catholics argued that by opposing demands to execute Napoleon III, their clergy displayed a better sense of patriotism than most Protestants.[39] They claimed that only a German lacking a deep understanding of nationalism would call for further punishment of Napoleon III, who had already lost everything. This incident represents an early instance of Badenese Catholic understanding of the requirements of patriotism. Contrary to most official canons of nationalism, Catholics often emphasized the humane aspects of their patriotism. As nationalism grew increasingly chauvinistic and populist, they often

[36]The poem was published in its entirety in *Freie Stimme*, November 9, 1870. The banquet took place on October 29, 1870.

[37]*Freie Stimme,* November 9, 1870.

[38]Catholics displayed similar sentiments regarding Wilhelm's involvement in the *Kulturkampf*. They were quite willing to absolve him of all guilt, instead blaming primarily Bismarck and Falck for the persecution of Catholics.

[39]*Freie Stimme*, November 12, 1870.

complained that it appealed to the worst aspects of people, encouraging greed, intolerance, and ignorance. Catholics argued that their ability to display compassion for the fallen enemy made them better Germans.

The approach the Catholics of Conatance took to the controversy over Zogelmann's comments illuminates one of the ways that Catholics integrated themselves into the Second Empire. Highlighting the negative qualities of the national liberal version of patriotism, they stressed their own sense of Germanness by being what Protestants and liberals were not. When faced with accusations of not having a fatherland, Catholics remained steadfast in their convictions, gathering strength by portraying themselves as martyrs, falsely criticized for their un-German behavior. Their use of the Protestant-liberal "Other" enabled them to consolidate and strengthen their own identity. Catholics often pointed out that national-liberals considered it patriotic to aid the government in persecuting local Catholic priests and to label falsely Catholics enemies of the Fatherland. Most importantly, Protestant patriotism seemed to be based on the notion that German Catholics were without a fatherland, who did not deserve to have a nation to call their own.[40] Catholics implied that simply by refraining from constantly deriding their fellow Protestant citizens, they were being better Germans. They often pointed out that they never called for the exclusion of anybody from the German nation. Of course, this was a slightly idealized self-portrait as Catholics often engaged in anti-Semitic rhetoric and were sometimes overtly hostile to the inclusion of Jews into the German nation.[41]

When Bismarck initiated negotiations with the south German states in November 1870, making it evident that Germans were heading towards unification, Badenese Catholics, though pleased with the defeat of France, remained ambivalent about their immediate future. Gravely concerned about the fate of the pope, they realized that in the aftermath of a German victory, his security would be even more threatened. After French troops left Rome in August 1870, Italian forces had occupied the city on September 20. Relegated to the small territorial

[40]*Freie Stimme*, November 11, 1871.

[41]The small Jewish community in Konstanz often faced discrimination. See the discussions regarding the establishment of a synagogue in Gert Zang, *Konstanz in der Grossherzoglichen Zeit*. Vol. 4.2 (Constance, 1993) pp. 97-98. For a somewhat different view of relations between different confessions in Baden, see Ulrich Baumann's excellent essay "The Development and Destruction of a Social Institution: How Jews, Catholics and Protestants Lived Together in Rural Baden, 1862-1940," in Smith (ed.), *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800-1914*, pp. 297-315.

enclave that constituted the Vatican, surrounded by liberal Italian nationalists, Pius IX's independence appeared unsure. This matter was of great concern to German Catholics, and it occupied their attention for years to come. Badeners repeatedly stressed the need to protect the pope, arguing that if the French could not do it, the Prussian government should assume the task.[42]

Catholic concerns about the independence of the Holy See, and especially their belief that the Prussian government should intervene in this matter, was the source of great controversy.[43] By incorporating the pope's struggles into their analyses of the Franco-Prussian war, Catholics employed a non-nationalist discourse, which triggered charges of treason from Protestants and liberals. Catholics rebutted these attacks, claiming that their concern for the pope did not lessen their loyalty to the German cause or make Rome their true *Heimat*. They claimed that their opponents failed to understand that though their spiritual home was in Rome, that did not make them Italians.[44] German Catholics, with their strong ties to Rome, constructed parts of their identities around the persona of the pope. They did not consider loyalties to Berlin and Rome to be mutually exclusive, but sentiments that could—and should—be nourished simultaneously. In this aspect, they differed from their Protestant counterparts, who did not include any similarly strong "non-German" component into their identities. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with its exclusive focus on national groups, these loyalties further complicated Catholic integration into the Second Empire, particularly while the controversial Pius IX was still pope. After his death in 1878, the more conciliatory nature of his successor, Leo XIII, limited some of the damaging effects that the Catholic attachment to the Vatican exercised on their acceptance as Germans.[45]

Although Badenese Catholics participated in the celebration of the proclamation of the Reich on January 18, 1871, misgivings about their status in the Empire soon replaced any feelings of elation. To be sure,

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[42]For instance: *Badischer Beobachter*, October 2, 1870, February 2, 1871.

[43]For a good discussion of this issue, see Margaret Anderson, *Windthorst: A Political Biography* (New York, 1981), pp. 146-149. I would like to thank the anonymous referee for this journal who pointed me to this citation.

[44]*Badischer Beobachter*, September 20, 1871.

[45]For general accounts on the lives and careers of the two popes, see: Owen Chadwick, *A History of the Popes, 1830-1914* (New York, 1998); Georg Schwaiger, *Papstum und Päpste im 20. Jahrhundert: Von Leo XIII zu Johannes Paul II* (Munich, 1999).

they approached the new Empire with guarded optimism, but the recent anti-Catholic rhetoric concerned them. Catholics entered the new nation-state with both different expectations about the future, and a different memory of the Franco-Prussian war and the subsequent unification. While most Protestant Germans constructed their memory of the recent conflict around notions of military victories, success, prosperity, and unity, for most Catholics the war had different connotations.[46] Although they were proud of the achievements of the German troops, the accusations of anti-Germanness and the aggressive Protestant nationalist rhetoric caused Catholics to construct a different memory of the war. Catholics often pointed out that it was not certain that Germany would now enter a new time of prosperity. To be sure, Germany was now unified, which was worth celebrating. However, they repeatedly warned against the over-confidence of their fellow countrymen that accompanied the military victory. The official commemorative discourse surrounding unification was littered with references to Germany's greatness and how the new nation-state would soon be dominating European affairs. Although they took care to emphasize the value of sound national pride, Catholics claimed that other Germans were not behaving in a manner befitting their supposedly religious character. They consistently pointed out that these attitudes were becoming part of what it meant to be German, and that these sentiments revealed how the Protestant-liberal stress on individuality and ego-centrism had poisoned the German national character.[47]

These criticisms reflected Catholic concerns about the way in which political and economic power was distributed. Fully aware that Protestants were in control of most of Germany's financial and cultural capital, Catholics often criticized the former for focusing too intently on material issues and paying too little attention to the spiritual aspect of their lives. Because substantial parts of the new national identity were constructed around the memory of the war, the existence of separate memories made the consolidation of the German nation-state much more difficult. Instead of being able to create Germans around common notions about the unification process, bourgeois elites were faced with competing versions of these events and the future of the Empire.

[46]For a stimulating discussion of the creation of the memory of the war, see Alfred Kelly, "The Franco–Prussian War and Unification in German History Schoolbooks," in Walter Pape (ed.), *1870/71-1989/90. German Unifications and the Change of Literary Discourse* (Berlin, 1993).
[47]For instance, *Badischer Beobachter*, October 20, 1870.

From the outset in commemorating recent events, Protestants and liberals consciously excluded Catholics from much of the discourse surrounding the wars of unification and the foundation of the Reich. In celebrating these milestones, German Protestants emphasized the defeats of Austria and France on the road to unification. Many of the commemorative efforts in the wake of the war highlighted the religious aspect of the Franco-Prussian war, as Protestants stressed that Germans should be grateful to (the Protestant) God for their victory over Catholic France.[48] Ceremonies staged throughout the Empire to mark the return of the troops sometimes served as commencements for the national *Kulturkampf*, which would function in part as an attempt to construct a national identity along confessional lines. In Zweibrücken, near Freiburg, the Protestant minister Heinz Roth used the peace celebration to proclaim that now that the external enemy had been defeated, it was time to root out the internal ones. Attacking social democrats and Catholics, he claimed that their behavior during the recent war proved that there were many anti-German elements among the true (Protestant) Germans. If Germany was to grow as a European power, these elements had to be removed from the nation so that the new state could embark successfully on the modernizing project. Although Roth was vague in regards to exactly what Catholics would have to do to become worthy members of the nation, these threats still represented a serious affront to Catholics.[49]

The construction of a memory of the war and the subsequent formation of a national identity did not occur only in conjunction with war commemorations. Catholics and Protestants often employed nationalist vocabulary when engaged in conflicts over seemingly non-national topics. Consequently, insights into the construction of memory and identity can be found even outside the immediate arena of commemorations. The campaign for the national parliamentary elections in late February 1871 constituted one of the first instances in which Catholics and Protestants began to construct the memory of the recent war and unification. Taking advantage of the favorable political situation, liberals and Protestants conducted a very aggressive election campaign in which they used the military victory and the unification as proof of the superiority of their policies–all expressed through a discourse adapted from the war.[50] The Protestant-liberal campaign

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[48]For instance, *Konstanzer Zeitung*, April 24, 1871.

[49]*Freiburger Katholisches Kirchenblatt,* March 29. 1871.

[50]Zang, *Konstanz in der Grossherzoglichen Zeit.* Vol. 4.2, p. 24.

focused on portraying their opponents in the Catholic People's Party as traitors who had not contributed to the war effort, and in some instances even prayed for French victory. The traitorous Catholic clergy became a prominent theme in the election campaign as liberals used the nationalist discourse to promote their political agenda. This was consistent with the Protestant and liberal tendencies to collectively "forget" Catholic efforts in the war, while instead focusing on their allegedly treacherous behavior.

In Constance, the recent war dominated the political debates during the election campaign. Liberals often noted that before 1870 the Catholic candidate, Franz von Bodman, had advocated decreased military spending, which, had it been adopted, certainly would have led to the demise of the Badenese Fatherland.[51] In his campaign, von Bodman was frank about his past policies, admitting that though he was thrilled that Germany had been unified, he would have preferred the unification process to have involved Austria as well. He was, however, quick to stress that his sentiments did not prevent him from being a true German, and that if elected, he would ensure that the unified Fatherland would become strong, just, and powerful.[52] His statement was important since its reference to Austria revealed that Catholics subscribed to their own particular notions of Germanness. When von Bodman admitted that he was still very much attached to the Austrian cause, he publicly expressed what many Catholics privately thought. Indeed, by declaring his pro-Austrian sentiments in such a closely scrutinized public arena as an election campaign, he was attempting to legitimize beliefs located outside the now official nationalist discourse.

Unfortunately for von Bodman and his fellow Catholics, their assertions that these feelings did not mean that they were any less German than their liberal and Protestant opponents fell on deaf ears. The first few years of the Kaiserreich were characterized by the prominence of the *kleindeutsche* (Borussian) historiographical school of Heinrich von Treitschke and Heinrich von Sybel. They and many other historians propagated a teleological view of recent events, which declared that the war against Austria had been a necessary step on the road to unification.[53] In the view of these historians, the events of the seventeenth

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[51]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, February 14, 21, 1871.

[52]*Freie Stimme*, February 23, 1871.

[53]For discussion of the Borussian historiographical school, see Georg Iggers, *The German Conception of History* (Middleton, Connecticut, 1968).

century, especially the successes of the armies of Counter-Reformation Austria, had prevented German religious unity and caused centuries of political division.[54] Thus, pro-Austrian sentiments were sure to provoke accusations of treason and anti-Germanness.

As the election neared, local Protestants intensified their efforts at portraying Catholics as disloyal Germans who had contributed little, if anything, to the war effort. A few days before the election, the auxiliary bishop Lothar von Kübel published a pastoral letter, in which he only briefly mentioned the recent military and political events, instead focusing on the debate over papal infallibility. Liberals claimed that the pastoral letter proved that Rome was the true *Heimat* of the Catholics. They accused Kübel of ignoring what the majority of Germans wanted: to continue celebrating unification. Liberals repeatedly returned to this pastoral letter, emphasizing how it displayed the alienation of Catholics from the German nation, and how important it was that voters note Catholic attitudes toward the recent historical events. Protestants and liberals stressed that Catholics could not be trusted with political power, since they lacked sufficient knowledge of what Germans considered to be the most important contemporary issues. Consequently, Protestants and liberals both accused Catholics of disloyalty, and declared them unfit to hold political power. These accusations were not uncommon and reflected a growing Protestant and liberal concern about the potential success of organized political Catholicism, which after the founding of a Catholic People's Party in 1869 had become a concrete threat.[55]

The electoral results proved disastrous for the Catholic People's Party. Although Constance had a large Catholic majority, the liberal candidate received more than twice the votes of his Catholic opponent. This result was repeated throughout the province, as liberals won twelve out of the fourteen seats that Baden held in the German Reichstag.[56] Local liberal politicians were quick to utilize this election result as yet another piece of evidence that the citizens of Constance were tired of the poor Catholic leadership and that people had faith in the national liberals' ability to integrate the city properly into the new Reich. Most of their

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[54] Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict*, pp. 5, 24, 57-58.

[55] *Konstanzer Zeitung*, February 21, 1871.

[56] For instance, *Konstanzer Zeitung*, March 6, 1871. For a complete treatment of election results in Baden during the Kaiserreich, see Fred Sepainter, *Die Reichtagswahlen im Großherzogtum Baden. Ein Beitrag zur Wahlgeschichte im Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt, 1983).

election analyses were framed in nationalist terms, and the fact that the results were announced and celebrated in conjunction with the celebration of the peace indicates how keen liberals were to tie their political victory to the emerging nationalist discourse. They consistently stressed that people had cast their votes based on patriotic and nationalist sentiments and that voters had recognized their efforts during the past decade to integrate Constance into Germany.[57]

The electoral success of the national liberals was due not only to the support of Protestants; an unusually large number of Catholics voted liberal as well. This tendency displays that though both the Protestant-liberal and Catholic-conservative blocs were fairly cohesive, exceptions to this pattern did exist. Contrary to many other areas in Germany, more Badenese Catholics remained outside the Center party than Protestants from the national-liberals, especially during the first decade of the Empire. As many scholars have pointed out, throughout the nineteenth century Baden had enjoyed a relatively strong tradition of liberal Catholicism.[58] Particularly important here was the influence of Vicar Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg (1774-1860). His demands for reforms within the Church initiated the movement for a more liberal Catholic faith. Even as the Catholic religious revival set in during the 1840's and '50's, many Badenese Catholics opposed the ultramontanization of the Church. Furthermore, Thomas Mergel has analyzed the connection between the strong liberal political tradition and reforms within the Church, which also made Badeners more receptive for liberal Catholicism.[59] Especially around the time of unification, as the Badenese bourgeoisie was growing increasingly powerful, some Catholic burghers elected to support the more progressive and modernizing policies of the liberals. Given the relative strength of these sentiments, the number of so called Old Catholics, who opposed the declaration of papal infallibility, should come as no surprise. Although an investigation of Old Catholic attitudes toward the nation-state is outside the immediate scope of this article, we should note that they did play a role in many communities. However, these differences within the Catholic community notwithstanding, its cohesiveness remained fairly stable during most of the Second Empire.

[57]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, March 11, 1871.
[58]For instance, Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*.
[59]Thomas Mergel, "Für eine bürgerliche Kirche. Antiultramontanismus und Bürgertum 1820-1850. Rheinland und Südwestdeutschland im Vergleich," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte Oberrheins*, 144 (1996), 397-427.

One problem that Catholics encountered when attempting to express publicly their memories of the last war was that the official state-sponsored discourse failed to provide frameworks through which Catholics could manifest their sense of Germanness as well as their view of unification. Many scholars have pointed out that the act of remembering a war occurs through personal experience and pre-existing cultural narratives.[60] Consequently, Badenese liberals and Protestants, aided by political and economic power, sought to rework the meaning of earlier historical episodes such as the war of 1866 to fit the official narrative. On the other hand, Catholics struggled to preserve an alternative discourse that was threatened to be subsumed by the increasingly hegemonic Protestant-liberal discourse. In the Protestant-Prussian teleological view of unification, the wars against Denmark, Austria, and France constituted an ideal way to achieve unity and nation-state status. In this official discourse, Germans had been divided for centuries, by the machinations of the pope and Austria, within the framework of the Holy Roman Empire, until the threat of external enemies brought them together in joint defense of their common Fatherland.[61]

Baden's Catholics rejected this ideological message for several reasons. First and foremost, Baden had sided with Austria in 1866 as a member of the German Confederation that demanded that Prussia demobilize in 1866. Although the liberal government and Grand Duke Friedrich I had hoped to join a Prussian-led unification up until the outbreak of war, many Badenese had supported Austria. Consequently, Badenese Catholics did not accept the notion that the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 constituted a logical step on the road to unification. Badenese Protestants, on the other hand, most of whom had supported the philoprussian policies of the Grand Duke, and of the liberals Franz Roggenbach and August Lamey, simply suppressed Baden's role in the Austro-Prussian war in their construction of the memory of unification.

Badenese Catholics also resented that the commemorative discourse declared that Germans, as in 1870, had defended their Fatherland in 1866. Especially for Catholics in the southern part of the

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[60]For a useful addition to the vast literature on this topic, see T. G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper (eds.), *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration* (London, 2000); see also Peter Burke, "History as Social Memory," in T. Butler (ed.), *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 97-113; Samuel Hynes, "Personal Narratives and Commemorations," in Emanuel Sivan and Jay Winter (eds.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1999).

[61]For instance, Heinrich von Treitschke, *Zehn Jahre deutsche Kämpfe* (Berlin, 1874).

state, which had belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy for several centuries prior to Napoleon's reorganization of much of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, the term "Fatherland" had a different meaning from what it had for other Germans. Catholics argued that in 1866, most liberals and Protestants had been quite confused about what constituted their Fatherland. Thus, it was inconsistent to claim now that they all along had advocated this specific solution to the German question.[62] Protestants and liberals admitted that at the time of war, many had viewed Bismarck's actions as a case of Prussian expansionism, but history had proven that it constituted a necessary clarification of the relationship between the two great German powers. In their attempts to rewrite the history of the previous war, they always stressed how anti-Prussian the Catholics had been, failing to mention that they had too been critical of both Bismarck and Prussia.[63]

Determined to establish their own cultural script in which they could construct and express their own memories of the wars and unification, Catholic newspapers often focused on outlining and explaining some of the events (in which Bismarck's role was becoming increasingly suspect) that had caused the war of 1866.[64] During the first few years of the Empire, they expended considerable effort trying to uncover the "true" causes of the war, and many of these arguments were subsequently used to attack Bismarck and the liberals' official version of nationalism. Drawing upon evidence surfacing from the biographies of retired Italian diplomats, ultramontanes highlighted Bismarck's role in orchestrating these wars, attempting to prove that he and his fellow Prussians had been the aggressors in these conflicts. They accused the Chancellor of having negotiated behind the back of his King, and quoted him as having stated repeatedly that he was ". . . much more Prussian than German. . . ."[65] According to the ultramontanes, in 1866 Bismarck had been prepared to cede [non-Prussian] German territories to France to avoid a conflict. This was cited as evidence of Bismarck's and his liberal supporters' lack of patriotism. Furthermore, by tracing Bismarck's plotting in 1866, Catholics claimed to have debunked the myth that in 1870 the Fatherland was under attack and that great sacrifices were needed to save the nation. As ultramontanes strove to clarify Bismarck's role in these wars, they criticized the national liberal

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[62]For instance, *Badischer Beobachter,* May 11, 1871.

[63]For instance, *Freiburger Zeitung,* August 4, 1872.

[64]These efforts intensified with time. See for instance, *Freie Stimme,* August 12, 1871.

[65]Quoted in *Freie Stimme*, September 20, 1873.

notion that there had been something almost holy about the unification process. Instead, they noted that the German lives lost in these wars had primarily served to satisfy Bismarck's appetite for territorial gains.[66] These sentiments were an indirect condemnation of the national liberal version of patriotism. Catholics often criticized their opponents for attempting to change the definition of the nation to fit a variety of different political, cultural, and economic causes. Catholics argued that the attempted rewriting of the war of 1866 served to illustrate how liberals and Protestants were rewriting history to fit their notions of Germanness. Furthermore, their willingness to reconstruct their notions of German national identity indicated that they had a limited understanding of what it meant to be a German.

These sentiments tied into a Catholic argument that liberals and Protestants only used the concept of national identity as a means to other ends. The Protestants' alleged preoccupation with materialism and their tendency to use the nationalist discourse to gain material, financial, and economic advantages, proved that their Germanness was not as rooted in the German historical and philosophical tradition. Their definition of the concept was obviously highly superficial and did not reflect any profound understanding of their own identity.[67]

One of the most popular ways of commemorating the recent war and unification was to construct a monument. Especially in the first decade after 1871, the German national landscape was filled with statues as cities and towns honored their troops and political leaders. As many scholars have noted, monuments are especially suited to the construction of memory.[68] Made out of durable material, monuments facilitated the anchoring of collective memories in shared public spaces, in

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[66]*Ibid.*

[67]*Ibid*. For an additional example of these sentiments, see *Freie Stimme*, December 9, 1871.

[68]There is a voluminous literature on the topic of monuments and commemorations. See for instance: Alings, *Monuments und Nation*; Avner Ben-Amos, "Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism," *History & Memory,* 5 (1993) 50-77; Maria Bucur and Nancy M. Wingfield, (eds.), *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present* (West Lafayette, Indiana, 2001); Wilfrid Lipp, *Natur, Geschichte, Denkmal: Zur Entstehung des Denkmalbewußtsein der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 1987); Reinhart Koselleck and Michael Jeismann (eds.), *Der Politische Totenkult: Kriegerdenkmäler in der Moderne* (Munich, 1994); Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley, 2000); Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 206 (1968) 529-585.

which their majestic forms helped legitimize a particular interpretation of past events, and functioned as depositories for memories for future generations. Particularly in the age of nationalism and the nation-state, they served as confirmation of the importance of the rise of a particular nation; they were the vehicles that made the abstract idea of the nation real and credible. In Germany, the ideological message accompanying a statue most often fell within the confines of the Prusso-Protestant-dominated official national discourse. Catholics seldom constituted the driving forces in these projects and were frequently indifferent or even opposed to them.

In Baden, the discourse around the *Siegesdenkmal* in Freiburg indicates that while Catholics were inclined to embrace certain aspects of German national identity, they were reluctant to accept the official commemorative discourse, which portrayed Prussia, the Hohenzollern dynasty, and Bismarck as the driving forces in the unification process. For many of Baden's ultramontane Catholics, the ideological message of the monument, while stressing the contributions of local soldiers and political leaders, did not represent their own sense of Germanness.[69] Most of the bourgeois city fathers who spearheaded this project were either Protestants or Old Catholics (who had broken with the Church over papal infallibility), while ultramontanes remained largely excluded from this exercise in local patriotism and nation-building. A brief analysis of some of the Catholic responses to this project provides useful clues to their relationship to the highly complex web of loyalties that constituted the post-1871 national identity.

At the suggestion of the Freiburg city council in January 1871, an organizing committee was formed to explore the possibility of constructing a monument to honor the Badenese soldiers and their commander, General August von Werder. Letters were sent to all the major cities in the province to inquire about the potential support for this kind of project.[70] While most communities were supportive, not everyone agreed on the ideological message and overall value of the commemorative effort. For instance, members of the town council of St.

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[69]For a discussion on some of the ideological messages stressing the contributions of local soldiers and political leaders, see Ute Scherb, "Das Freiburger Siegesdenkmal–ein badischer Alleingang? Eine Untersuchung vor dem Hintergrund national-und partikularstaatlicher Denkmalstiftungen im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts" (Freiburg: Unpublished Thesis, 1990).

[70]Stadtarchiv Freiburg (hereafter cited as St. AF), C1/Denkmäler/5. Protocol from *Bürgerausschuss* meeting, January 23, 1871.

Blasien, all of whom were conservative Catholics, rejected the proposed monument as a waste of money. Council members were willing to donate only if local soldiers were to receive monetary compensation from the new German nation-state, for which they had "so valiantly" risked their lives. The city councils of Triberg and Breisach, both comprising ultramontane Catholics, also opposed spending money on anything other than the veterans. Instead of constructing a monument, they argued that funds should provide assistance to crippled veterans to help them cope with life after the war. All three cities referred in their responses to the Austro-Prussian war, an event that was largely missing from the official commemorative discourse. St. Blasien complained that the veterans of 1866 had not been honored in the same manner as those of the more recent war, although they too had risked their lives to protect their Fatherland. Triberg echoed these sentiments, pointing out that many veterans of 1866 had experienced economic difficulties when they returned to civilian life.[71] This was a recurring theme as Catholics often criticized various commemorative activities for wasting money that should instead aid the war veterans whose economic situation was often precarious. As part of their opposition to the construction of the *Siegesdenkmal*, some Freiburg Catholics reminded members of the *Bürgerausschuss* that if the veterans of 1870-1871 were to be commemorated with a monument, attempts should be made to include the veterans of 1866 in this discourse as well.[72]

Although enjoying only tepid support from Badenese Catholics, the process of constructing the *Siegesdenkmal* in Freiburg progressed steadily, and was ready to be unveiled in September 1876. In addition to securing the presence of Emperor Wilhelm I at the unveiling, the members of the organizing committee attempted to include all residents of Freiburg in the festivities. They planned a parade from the train station to the statue. Organizers also arranged for different ceremonies to be held throughout the city and were careful to include the Catholic Church in these ceremonies. This was obviously a thorny issue, especially since the Badenese *Kulturkampf* had now reached new heights during the summer and fall of 1876 as the state parliament had passed legislation that abolished confessional schools.[73]

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[71]St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/5. Letters to the *Bürgerausschuss* from Breisach, February 9, Lörrach, February 11, and Triberg, February 16, 1871.

[72]St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/3. This was discussed in a meeting on March 10, 1871.

[73]On the planning of the unveiling ceremony, see St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/5. On the intensification of the *Kulturkampf*, see Becker, *Liberaler Staat und Kirche in der Ära von Reichsgründung und Kulturkampf*, pp. 358-364.

Catholic attitudes toward the monument were rendered even more ambivalent because, while monuments were being built all over Germany to celebrate the efforts of the soldiers, members of the Jesuit order were being driven out of the new state. In the first decades after the war, Germans clashed over conflicting interpretations of the Jesuits' role in the Franco-Prussian war. While liberals and Protestants accused them of having hoped and prayed for French victory, Catholics pointed to the courage and love for the Fatherland they had displayed when volunteering for the war effort.[74] Most Catholics believed that the Jesuits had played an important role in caring for the wounded, some had even been awarded the Iron Cross for their services.[75] Especially in 1874-1875, when reports about mistreatment of Jesuits surfaced in the press almost daily, Catholics were critical of the actions of both the national and state governments.

Consequently, members of the *Erzbischöfliches Ordinariat* in Freiburg found themselves in a difficult position. On the one hand, the monument honored unification, and they were hesitant to associate with celebrations commemorating an event that in many ways constituted the beginning of the national *Kulturkampf.* On the other, they faced on-going accusations of being enemies of the Fatherland who maintained closer ties to Rome than to Berlin. If they elected not to participate, liberals and Protestants would interpret their decision as further confirmation of their hostility toward the Second Empire. Finally, following negotiations between the organizing committee and Auxiliary Bishop von Kübel, the latter agreed to deliver a speech that day, not at the monument, but at the cathedral. His decision to participate in the ceremony was made easier because the monument contained no specifically anti-Catholic symbolism.[76]

The Catholic attitudes toward the *Siegesdenkmal* reflected their approach to much of the commemorative culture in the early years of the Second Empire. Although their greater economic prosperity usu-

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[74]See Michael B. Gross, "Kulturkampf and Unification: German Liberalism and the War Against the Jesuits," *Central European History*, 30 (1997), 545-566. *Idem, The War against Catholicism: Liberal Identity and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2004). Roisin Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany* (Boston, 2003).

[75]These debates resurfaced in conjunction with different types of commemorative activities. See for instance *Freie Stimme*, September 9, 1874.

[76]St. AF, C1/Denkmäler/5. Letter from Kübel to the organizing committee, September 30, 1876.

ally provided Protestants more opportunity to control the process of memory construction and nation-state building, thus disadvantaging Catholics, the latter played an active role in debates surrounding these projects. While they seldom displayed overt hostility to the ideological message(s) accompanying a monument, they made sure to voice complaints about anti-Catholic sentiment, since their version of Germanness often clashed with the Protestant one. Thus, these projects seldom facilitated increased understanding among Germans. Instead, locals often politicized monuments and other commemorative activities and used them as means to increase their political power.

Few commemorative activities caused more controversy that the annual celebration of the victory at Sedan. Almost immediately after the capture of Napoleon III, a number of Germans demanded that the nationalist exhilaration that had accompanied the military victory should be manifested in a ceremony. Members of the Protestant Association in Bremen first requested an annual celebration in which Germans could showcase their patriotism and love for the Fatherland. During the first few months of 1871, the well-known lawyer Franz von Holtzendorff and Johann Caspar Bluntschli, the president of the Protestant Association, discussed initiating an "*allgemeines Volks und Kirchenfest.*"[77] During the 1860's, Bluntschli, who lived in Heidelberg, had became known as one of the fiercest advocates of the Badenese *Kulturkampf*. Although he and Holtzendorff initially claimed that the celebration would have an intra-confessional character, their private correspondence reveals their intentions to use it to exclude parts of the population from the German nation-building project. In February 1871, Holtzendorff wrote Bluntschli, "No law or parliamentary debate can damage the radicals, the socialists, the Jesuits, and the ultramontanes, as seriously as a *Volksfest*, in which people are annually reminded just who the founders of the Empire were, and who the enemies of the German Reich in 1870 were."[78]

Especially in the first two decades after unification, local communities in Baden engaged in fierce debates concerning the value and meaning of this celebration. Throughout Germany, most of the speeches at the festivities focused on the need to intensify the *Kulturkampf* rather than to celebrate the victory at Sedan. Speakers emphasized the religious aspect of the war. The victory was most often dis-

[77]Becker *Liberaler Staat und Kirche*, p. 310.
[78]*Ibid*, pp. 310-312.

cussed in the context of a triumph over the Roman spirit, which had supposedly prevented a Jesuit takeover of the German lands.[79] In much of Germany, Catholic citizens staged counter-demonstrations; parents kept their children away from school on September 2, and people from all classes and confessions clashed. Although social democrats and others also abstained from participating, confessional and not class issues were at the forefront of the controversies, at least until 1890. Both Catholics and Protestants used this commemoration to present their own views of the current situation in the Reich. Instead of creating unity, the celebration deepened fissures in society.

In 1873, the local liberal association in Constance organized a Sedan Day celebration complete with a banquet at the *Konzilsaal* on the eve of September 2. Liberal politician Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch's plenary speech focused on the connection between the recent war and the *Konzilsaal,* where the decision to execute the Bohemian religious reformer Jan Hus had been taken in 1415.[80] He urged his audience to remember that the events surrounding the injustices done to Hus marked the pinnacle of clerical power in Constance, and though the last war as well as some of the domestic efforts since 1871 had been successful in the battle against the internal enemy, the war was not yet won. He asserted that the clerical spirit was resilient, and it would require much determination and dedication on behalf of "true" Germans if they were to break the stranglehold which the Church had long maintained on local society. He ended his speech by conjuring the spirit of Hus, stating that it was unfortunate that they could not burn the spirit of the clericals as they had burned Hus.[81] Throughout the Kaiserreich, especially during the *Kulturkampf*, Badenese liberals and Protestants often compared the current situation to the martyrdom of Hus.[82] Thus, liberals not only tied their cause to one of the best-known

[79]Excellent accounts of Sedan Day include: Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, pp. 27-51; Claudia Lepp, "Protestanten feiern ihre Nation—Die kulturprotes- tantsichen Ursprünge des Sedantages," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 118 (1998) 201-222; Schneider, *Politische Festkultur*. The last argues that since Catholics seldom organized counter-demonstrations on September 2, they did not utilize Sedan Day as a means of ral- lying support to the same extent as social democrats, who often staged alternative meet- ings on the very day of the celebration. However, this interpretation fails to take into con- sideration the important role that the debates surrounding this annual celebration played for the Catholic community.

[80]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, September 4, 1873.

[81]*Ibid.*

[82]*Konstanzer Zeitung*, January 21, March 27, 28, April 10, 1862. See also Jiri Koralka, "Konstanz als Reiseziel tschechischer Husverehrer um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts,"

historical figures in the area, but in doing so created a continuous historical narrative of a struggle against papal power from the time of Hus's conflict with Rome.

In the wake of unification, liberals and Protestants argued that it was evident by how people celebrated Sedan Day that it had become the new national holiday. Catholics, however, rejected this claim. They pointed out that in many places, only the Veterans Association had organized celebrations, and that it was apparent that people were growing tired of this commemoration. They also pointed out that a number of liberals boycotted the event, joining the ranks of Catholics and socialists, which rendered Sedan Day an increasingly artificial celebration. Indeed, they claimed that the celebration had developed into ". . . a farce arranged by the [liberal] party leadership. . . ."[83] This interpretation was far removed from the liberal and Protestant attempts to portray the festivities as something that had emerged from the people. *Freie Stimme* noted, "It would be more than enough to do it every ten years. The French are just happy that Napoleon is gone, and for us Germans, who are more divided and hostile toward each other than ever before–all because of the *Kulturkampf* that began in those September days of 1870–it would be enough to celebrate the great national liberal St. Sedan every ten years."[84]

Such statements illustrate how differently Catholics and Protestants viewed the war and unification. It was difficult for most Catholics to relate to the commemorative discourse that soon surrounded September 2. While Protestants celebrated it as one of the greatest days in German history, and a victory over Catholicism, Catholics rejected it for the same reasons.[85] Liberal behavior proved that they, claiming to be the true representatives of Germanness, attempted to use Sedan Day to complete their victory over the Catholic Church. Rather than creating unity, the celebrations of this victory served to further alienate the two confessions from each other, as it confirmed the different fates they had suffered as Germans. Catholics also claimed that the more divided Germans became, the more certain sectors of society

Schrr VG Bodensee [=Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte des Bodensees und seiner Umgebung], 1987, pp. 93-130; Helmut G. Walther, "Konstanz und Hus—Zur Geschichte einer Beziehung," *Konstanzer Almanach*, 1980, pp. 9-13.

[83]*Freie Stimme,* September 2, 1873.
[84]*Freie Stimme,* September 12, 1876.
[85]*Ibid.*

insisted on staging public celebrations and commemorations of unifi-
cation. They sarcastically noted, ". . . [I]f a foreigner would arrive in
Germany, he would think that we Germans did not have a problem in
the world, since all we do is celebrate the greatness of our nation."[86]
Catholics offered stinging criticism of this trend and demanded that it
stop, otherwise it would completely demoralize the German nation.

Badenese Catholics and Protestants engaged in fierce contestation of
the nature of the German national identity during the first years of the
Kaiserreich. Helmut Walser Smith has pointed out that ". . . national ideas
made sense to different groups in society not by a generalized notion
of what the nation is but by an appeal to the historical memories and
experiences of disparate groups within the nation."[87] The Protestant
attempts to link the wars and the unification process to the strength of
their confession reflected the need to support their newly found
national identity with memories, myths, and histories. However, while
Protestants shaped the memory of the three wars of unification to fit
their view of the process of unification, Badenese Catholics sought to
correct some of the fabrication behind this constructed memory.

Often politically and economically disadvantaged, Badenese
Catholics faced pressure from a Protestant-Prussian-dominated nation-
alist discourse, which frequently contained a strong anti-Catholic bias.
We should not interpret Catholic attitudes of indifference and hostility
toward war commemorations and nationalist rhetoric as signs of sub-
mission to a Protestant-shaped national identity, but rather view the
experiences of Badenese Catholics as successful manifestations of
their own sense of Germanness. Their persistence in uncovering the
true reasons for the war of 1866 and their fierce opposition to the cel-
ebration of Sedan Day display their unwillingness to be subsumed by
a national identity tainted by assumptions about Catholic backward-
ness and anti-German sentiments.

While the immediate outbreak of hostilities triggered sentiments of
nationalist unity, citizens soon returned to their old struggles. They
attended different churches; they argued over how best to modernize
their state, and they quarreled about who constituted better patriots.
The behavior of members of both confessions suggests that despite
the calls for unity during times of war, the contestation of national

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[86]*Freie Stimme*, September 16, 1876.
[87]Smith, *German Nationalism and Religious Conflict*, p. 233.

identity prevailed and in many cases intensified. Especially on a local level, the debates over what constituted Germanness tended to further polarize society following unification. As citizens used the new-found rhetoric to improve their position in local society, the nationalizing project became a source of great tension and conflict throughout the German lands. Catholic insistence on manifesting their own version of the German nation indicates that though they were eventually integrated into the Second Empire, theirs was a rather different nation-state from what Protestants and liberals imagined. Catholics' frequent insistence that their version of Germanness was superior to its Protestant counterpart confirms that confessional sentiments constituted integral parts of German nationalism.

The struggles over the construction of the memory of unification indicate that German nationalism and national memory divided as much as they united. Since Catholics and Protestants constructed different memories of this event, which came to constitute one of the most important building blocks for the national identity, their integration into the Empire should be viewed as part of a debate over the legitimizing effects of the nation-state. Protestants considered the founding of the nation-state to represent the apex of the long struggle for German unity that had preoccupied Germans since the Reformation. Catholics, with their traditional loyalties to both Rome and Austria, were more ambivalent about the absolute value of the nation-state. Protestants often mistook this hesitancy for anti-Germanness, which prompted anti-Catholic rhetoric. Especially in Baden, with its long history of church-state hostility, confessional affiliations played an important role in shaping the everyday lives of ordinary citizens. The advent of the nation-state and the increasing appeal of nationalism did not mean that the latter replaced all previous loyalties. Although many scholars have tended to consider nationalism as a sort of *force majeure* that quickly took precedence over all other loyalties, the experiences of these Badenese Catholics suggests that nationalism coexisted with many of the old loyalties. Instead of replacing loyalty to the pope in Rome, German nationalism came to constitute one part in the complex web that comprised the late nineteenth-century identities of Badenese Catholics.

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE OF LOUVAIN

By

KEVIN A. CODD*

The American College of the Immaculate Conception in Louvain (Leuven), Belgium, has been preparing young men for service as priests to the Church in North America for one hundred and fifty years. Conceived in 1857 by Martin J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville, and by Peter Paul Lefevere, Bishop of Detroit, the seminary in its early decades took advantage of a flourishing of missionary interest and vocations in Europe to provide much needed clergy to the Church in North America. It also provided to American seminarians the opportunity to study philosophy and theology in the famed Catholic University of Louvain in preparation for priestly ministry. It has served as an intellectual, spiritual, and pastoral cradle for many of America's missionaries, pastors, and educators, and continues to do so to the present.

The twin notions of training American seminarians in Europe and of preparing European seminarians for the missions of America were nothing new to the Church in the United States at the mid-point of the nineteenth century. Both concepts had been advanced and attempted by American bishops almost since the foundation of the nation in the previous century. The two young men John Carroll hesitantly sent to the Urban College in Rome in 1787 were the first to cross the Atlantic in hope of receiving a priestly formation distinct in quality and character from what was available to them in their own country.[1] Likewise, it was not long before foreign-born priests had proven useful in the American missions, the famous Belgian missionary, Charles Nerinckx,[2] for example, being already at work in Kentucky by 1805.

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[1]James M. White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1989), pp. 86-87.

[2]Nerinckx, Charles (1761-1824) was ordained a priest in 1785 in Mechlin, Belgium. He served the archdiocese until 1801 when, in the wake of the French Revolution, he

The need for many more priests to serve the growing church in America became ever more critical as the young nation developed. Two pastoral pressures were at work: First, immigration from Europe was quickly changing the face of the ecclesiastical landscape in North America. James T. Fisher reports that in 1826 there were approximately 250,000 Catholics in the United States out of a total population of eleven million; but over the next three decades the Catholic population sky-rocketed to more than three million.[3] The number of priests to support these Catholic communities remained dangerously low. According to Patrick W. Carey, in 1830 there were 232 priests in the United States, and by 1866 the number was ten times greater but still only 2,770 to serve the entire Catholic population of the country, by then in the millions.[4]

Second, in the more distant reaches of the continent to the west, the Church found itself still very much a missionary church as it attempted to establish itself among the indigenous populations (often in fierce competition with Protestant missionaries) as well as ministering to far-flung but growing Euro-American populations of miners, trappers, and settlers. The situation of the three missionary bishops ministering in the northwest corner of what is now the United States and Canada's Vancouver Island is illustrative. When Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers in 1838, and later, Augustine Magloire Alexander Blanchet, arrived in the Oregon country as young priests from Quebec, they found themselves mostly alone as priests and later as bishops in a vast region for which they had been given responsibility (covering what are now the states and province of Alaska, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Vancouver Island). They found some assistance

chose to go to the Indian missions of North America. By 1805 he was serving in Kentucky, where he spent most of the remainder of his life. See Camillus P. Maes, *The Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx: with a chapter on the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky; copious notes on the progress of Catholicity in the United States of America from 1800 to 1825* (Cincinnati, 1880). See also: Ben J. Webb, *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville, 1884), pp. 184-193. John Tracy Ellis, "The Influence of the Catholic University of Louvain on the Church in the United States," *Louvain Studies*, IX (1983), 269-320. Nerinckx, of course, was far from alone; French Sulpician priests, for example, were also at work in America from early in the nineteenth century. See John Tracy Ellis, "The Formation of the American Priest: An Historical Perspective," in *The Catholic Priest in the United States: Historical Investigations,* ed. John Tracy Ellis (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1971), pp. 16-19.

[3]James T. Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America* (New York, 2000), p. 41.

[4]Patrick W. Carey, *The Roman Catholics in America* (Westport, Connecticut, 1993), p. 36.

from Pierre Jean DeSmet, S.J.,[5] and his small band of Jesuits stationed mainly in the Rocky Mountains and from even fewer Oblates of Mary Immaculate. F. N. Blanchet described the situation as he took up his role as archbishop of Oregon City:

> The Archbishop started with 10 priests including T. Mesplie, two Jesuit Fathers at St. Ignaces residence, 13 Sisters and two educational houses. The Bishop of Walla Walla was starting with 3 Secular priests including a Deacon, 4 Oblate Fathers of O.M.I., and 12 Jesuit Fathers at the Rocky Mountains. The Bishop of Vancouver Island had not even one priest to accompany him to Victoria.[6]

If North American bishops needed priests and religious for its immigrants and its western missions, then Western Europe was the place to look for them. The Catholic Church in Western Europe was in the midst of a profound revival that took root in the wake of the 1801 Concordat with Napoleon. One result of Europe's Catholic revival was a boom in vocations to the priesthood and religious life. In Belgium alone, Vincent Viane notes, the increase was remarkable:

> After a long "warming up" period, there was therefore a sudden explosion of religious energy in the wake of the Belgian Revolution, which peaked in the early 1840's. Whereas the country counted 4791 regulars in 1829, their numbers had more than trebled by 1856, surpassing those from the last years of the ancien régime.[7]

Alongside the vocation boom, the Catholic revival in countries like Belgium was accompanied by an expansive impulse that was deeply connected to the increasing influence of ultramontanism in these same countries. Even as there was a conviction that the true faith should be defined by a single voice from Rome and that this faith should be defended vigorously, so too there was an accompanying con-

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[5]Peter John De Smet (1801-1873) was born in Dendermonde, Belgium. De Smet was a Jesuit scholastic when he first arrived in St. Louis in 1823. He was ordained a priest in 1827. He made his first voyage into the Rocky Mountains in 1840 and developed an enduring relationship with the Flathead and related tribes of the region. See E. Laveille, S.J., *Le P. De Smet: Apôtre des Peaux-Rouges, 1801-1873* (Brussels, 1922). Robert C. Carriker, *Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West*, ed. Richard Etulain (Norman, Oklahoma, 1995).

[6]Francis Norbert Blanchet, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon*, trans. Edward J. Kowrach (Fairfield, Washington, 1983), p. 130.

[7]Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX (1831-1859): Catholic Revival, Society and Politics in 19th Century Europe*, KADOC Studies, vol. 26 (Leuven, 2001), pp. 170-171.

viction that the one, true faith should be propagated to the far ends of the earth with as much zeal and energy as possible.[8] The surplus clergy of Europe offered the Church the laborers to undertake a vast new missionary outreach.

In search of laborers for their vineyards, bishops from throughout North America regularly undertook long and expensive trips to Europe. Many of the American bishops who traveled to Europe in search of priests for their dioceses made it a point to spend time visiting the parishes and seminaries of Belgium. A number of them had already benefited from the service of Belgian clergymen, most notably Nerinckx and DeSmet. But other Belgians had also made their way across the Atlantic and taken up service in the American missions. Peter Paul Lefevere came to the United States as a seminarian and was ordained a priest for the Diocese of Detroit in 1831. He labored in an extensive mission field covering Missouri, southern Iowa, and western Illinois before being named administrator of the nine-year-old diocese in 1841. It was not long before he was recruiting fellow Belgians to his struggling diocese, among them Peter Kindekens, who arrived in Detroit in 1842 from the Diocese of Ghent and was straightaway named pastor of Lefevere's cathedral parish. In 1851, at Lefevere's request, Kindekens traveled to their home country in search of more priests, at which time he brought back with him a fellow Belgian, John De Neve.[9]

Lefevere would soon go further in his efforts to bring European clergy to North America by joining forces with the young bishop of Louisville, Martin J. Spalding.[10] Together, they would promote an alternative to the bishops' recruitment trips to Europe: an American seminary in Belgium that would funnel some of Europe's surplus clergy directly into their dioceses.

In 1852 Spalding embarked on his first recruitment trip to the continent, first visiting France, then moving into Belgium, a place that impressed him as "a truly Catholic country."[11] While in Belgium he

[8] Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, trans. Owen Chadwick, 2nd ed. (London, 1990), p. 213.

[9] John D. Sauter, *The American College of Louvain (1857-1898)*, Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie (Louvain, 1959), pp. 26-27.

[10] For details of Spalding's ancestry in America and his early life see Thomas W. Spalding, *Martin John Spalding: American Churchman* (Washington, D.C., 1973). Also see Spalding's first biography: John Lancaster Spalding, *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York and San Francisco, 1873).

Peter Paul Lefevere, Bishop of Detroit. Image taken from J. Van der Heyden, *The Louvain American College: 1857-1907* (Louvain: Fr. & R. Ceuterick, 1909), p. 19.

came to know the professors of the University of Louvain, whom he admired for "their faith, humility and learning."[12] He also visited the Cardinal Archbishop of Mechlin-Brussels, Engelbert Sterckx; in the course of a meal with Sterckx on January 7, 1853, Spalding proposed for the first time the establishment of a missionary college in Belgium. This proposal, Spalding reported later, was warmly received by the archbishop, who promised all possible assistance.[13] Sterckx proposed that such a college be sited in the university town of Louvain.[14] Before day's end, Spalding had written Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick of Baltimore, who himself had been a priest of Louisville prior to his ele-

[11]Sauter, *American College*, p. 16.

[12]*Ibid*.

[13]Spalding, *American Churchman*, pp. 63-64; Spalding, *Life of M. J. Spalding*, pp. 158-162; Sauter, *American College*, pp. 16-17.

[14]A. Simon, *Le Cardinal Sterckx et son temps (1792-1867)* (Wetteren, 1950), vol. 2, p. 402.

vation to the episcopacy. Spalding was clearly animated by the idea and had already formed in his mind the outlines of the project:

> I dined to-day with Cardinal Sterckx, a most holy and learned prelate. Conversing with his eminence on the utility of establishing here a Missionary College, he entered warmly into the project, and promised to second it with all his influence, which is very great, apart from his high position. He suggested the following plan, of the success of which he entertains no doubt. I lay it before you for your opinion and advice:
>
> The college is to be for the education of young men for the American Mission, and is to be established in connection with the University of Louvain, which is in the Archdiocese of Mechlin.[15] The students in the beginning will occupy a rented house, and will have the privilege of attending the courses of study at the university free of charge. The discipline of the college will be under the direction of an American missionary, who will teach English, and exert himself to procure the necessary funds for keeping up the establishment, which, the Cardinal thinks, can be easily realized in Belgium; and this is the opinion of all those clergymen with whom I have conversed on the subject. Students will not be wanting, for in this diocese particularly the number of candidates for the ministry far exceeds the demand for clergymen.
>
> Such are the outlines of the plan, which if carried out, will be of great utility to our missions. The studies at Louvain are of a high order; and, perhaps, some of our bishops may send students of talent to perfect their education in this renowned university. The ecclesiastical spirit here is admirable, and the simple piety of the people contrasts strongly with the comparative coldness of Catholics in Protestant countries.
>
> A hundred young men educated at Louvain for the American missions! Is not the thought enlivening? And yet, it is very far from impossible; and, if the Cardinal's anticipations be well grounded it may be done with little or no expense to the American prelates.[16]

Kenrick was not so animated by the vision of "a hundred young men educated at Louvain." Like other American bishops, he preferred American priests to be trained in American seminaries.[17] Opinion against foreign-trained clergy was still strong among the American bishops; Ireland's All Hallows College, for example, had been in exis-

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[15]"Mechlin" is the same city as "Malines" as it is known in French, and "Mechelen" as it is named in Dutch. It has been the primatial see of Belgium and its political antecedents since 1560. In 1961, the name of the archdiocese was expanded to include the capital city of Brussels.

[16]Spalding, *Life of M. J. Spalding*, p. 162. See also: Sauter, *American College*, pp. 17-18; Spalding, *American Churchman*, p. 66; Ellis, "American Priest," p. 27.

[17]Sauter, *American College*, p. 20.

tence since 1842, but its offer of Irish priests to the dioceses in
America had been met with a tepid response from the American hier-
archy. Not only was it expensive for the American dioceses to adopt
the Irish seminarians; there was also among the bishops a fundamental
distrust that Irish-trained priests would be culturally in tune with
American values and ways.[18] Furthermore, Pope Pius IX was putting
considerable pressure on the American bishops to found an American
seminary in Rome. The Louvain project seemed to many to be in com-
petition with that intended for Rome; in any case, neither went for-
ward due to lack of episcopal support.[19]

Spalding did not let his "enlivening thought" die but rather, together
with Lefevere, looked for the appropriate moment to give the idea
some concrete form. In 1856, Lefevere assigned his vicar-general,
fellow Belgian Peter Kindekens, the task of going to Rome to repre-
sent the diocese in an unrelated issue it had with the Redemptorist
order. In the meantime, Baltimore's Kenrick had failed in his efforts to
have one of his priests go to Rome to open an American College
there. Kenrick therefore asked Lefevere to have his man in Rome,
Kindekens, take up the charge. One might suspect in hindsight that
Kindekens and Lefevere were not altogether dedicated to Kenrick's
summons, their eyes perhaps already set north of the Alps for any
future American seminaries in Europe; be that as it may, Kindekens at
least gave the impression of having fulfilled Kenrick's request, though
without the success hoped for by the prelate. Kindekens continued
on to Belgium, where he became aware of certain wealthy members
of the Belgian nobility, most notably Count Felix de Mérode,[20] willing
to fund an American missionary college in Louvain; within a matter of
days he had also spoken with Cardinal Sterckx and several other
Belgian bishops who all supported the proposal. With the promise of
60,000 francs from de Mérode and the encouragement of the Belgian
bishops the Louvain project suddenly came to life while that of Rome
remained stalled.[21]

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[18]White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 88-89.

[19]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 22-23. White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 100-103.

[20]Felix de Merode (1791-1857) was a Belgian patriot and member of the nation's pro-
visional government that proclaimed independence. He served as a Minister of State and
was a member of the Chamber of Representatives. See: Sauter, *American College*, p. 29.
See also: Joseph Van der Heyden, *The Louvain American College: 1857-1907* (Louvain,
1909), p. 14.

[21]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 28-30. Simon, *Cardinal Sterckx*, Vol. 2, p. 403.

Martin J. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville. Original portrait in the Archives of The American College, Louvain. Used with permission of The American College.

In November of 1856, Kindekens sent out a circular letter to the bishops of the United States explaining his failure in Rome:

> My Lord:—When, during the past summer, at Rome, I endeavored with the utmost diligence, by the special request of the Most Rev. _____, the Archbishop of Baltimore, to look for and secure a suitable location for the projected "American College" in that City, I found that not only is it impossible at present, but that it will probably remain impossible for some time to come, to establish such an institution in the Holy City. In point of fact, the Holy Father assured me that, under present circumstances (the occupation of Rome by the French, &c.,) he could not say when it would be in his power to assign a suitable building for the purpose. [22]

[22]Kindekens to A. Blanc, November 7, 1856, University of Notre Dame Archives, VI-1-K-6, New Orleans. The same text is found in handwritten form in: Liber primitivus de initio Collegii Americani Immac. Concept. B. M. Virginis, *Archives of The American College* (Louvain, 1857), p. 1. See also: Van der Heyden, *Louvain American College*, pp. 14-15.

Kindekens then presented his case for the Louvain college and made an appeal for financial support. Of particular importance to the college's future is the paragraph in which Kindekens states its dual purposes:

> Your Lordship will easily perceive that the object of the institution in Belgium would be, 1st, to serve as a nursery of properly educated and tried clergymen for our Missions; and 2nd, to provide the American Bishops with a College to which some at least of their students might be sent to acquire a superior ecclesiastical instruction and a solid clerical training, without much expense, as the college will require no other Professors than those for the English and German language.[23]

Response to Kindekens' circular from the American episcopate was not heartening. There are eight responses held in the archives of The American College, that of Mathias Loras, bishop of Dubuque, is typical:

> In answer to your circular ... I cannot say much about the erection of a new college in Belgium for the U.S. I leave the decision to wiser men. I say only that I cannot provide much help from poor Iowa.[24]

Martin Spalding continued his efforts to win over Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore, writing to him in February, 1857: "I cannot see why Belgium should not have a missionary college, like Ireland, France and Italy, or why we should not profit by the abundant missionary zeal of her clergy."[25] On February 4, 1857, Spalding and Lefevere addressed their own circular letter to the archbishops and bishops of the country presenting to them a lengthy prospectus for the Louvain college and petitioning their support:

> We take the liberty to request that if you should approve the general objects and regulations of the college, and desire to become one of its Patrons, you should have the kindness to signify the same to the Bishop of

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William Stang, "The American College of the Immaculate Conception at Louvain, Belgium," *American Ecclesiastical Review*, New Series VI (XVI) (1897), 256. This document is reprinted in full in: John Tracy Ellis, ed., *Documents of American Catholic History*, 3 vols. (Wilmington, Delaware, 1987), I, 315-317. Also see the full text in: John A. Dick, "The American College of Louvain," in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, ed. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1997), pp. 90-91.

[23]*Ibid*.

[24]Mathias Loras (Dubuque) to Peter Kindekens (Detroit), November 11, 1856, Archives of The American College.

[25]J. L. Spalding, *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1873), p. 163.

Detroit, at as early a date as possible as the Rector proposes to leave for Europe early in March, and it will be highly important to his success that he should have the donation of as many American prelates as possible. Should you feel inclined to contribute towards the foundation of the college, you will please to specify the amount, that the Rector may be able to calculate his resources. The eight articles of the Prospectus will indicate the benefits accruing to contributors. We also beg to mention, as an evidence of our own Confidence in the advantages likely to result from the proposed College, that we have each agreed to contribute one thousand dollars toward its establishment. Should you desire to adopt any student according to the ninth article, you will please instruct the Rector accordingly.[26]

The prospectus specified that Kindekens would be the first rector and that those European men recruited into the new college would be free to choose their future field of work among the dioceses that subscribe to the college's foundation. Those who could not pay the tuition would be available for "adoption" by the subscribing dioceses.[27] It was understood that the subscribing bishops would also form a sort of board of trustees for the new institution.[28]

In the meantime, Kindekens's principal financial backer, Count Felix de Mérode, suddenly died and left nothing in his will for the proposed seminary.[29] With little more than $1,000 each from Spalding and Lefevere by way of financial support, Kindekens returned to Louvain

[26]Circular letter of Martin J. Spalding and Peter Paul Lefevere to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, February 4, 1857, Liber Primitivus, pp. 6-7.

[27]*Ibid*.

[28]The situation of inadequate episcopal oversight of the college was addressed by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884; it was decided that the original system was impractical and should be replaced by a committee of three bishops to whom the rector would be responsible. The rector remained accountable as well to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith for the spiritual and temporal administration of the seminary. The rector was obligated to send an annual report on the college to both the bishops' committee and the Congregation. Rectors were appointed by the Congregation upon the recommendation of the committee of bishops. The board of three bishops had to be formed anew at the end of the World War I and served until the closure of the college in 1939 due to the onset of the World War II. In the postwar era, the college has been under the supervision of a committee of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), previously the National Conference of Catholic Bishops. The committee of fourteen bishops also presently serves as the college's corporate board of trustees. See J. A. M. De Becker, "The American College," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York, 1907), 424-425. Also see Richard E. Cross and Eugene L. Zoeller, "The Story of the American College," *The American College Bulletin* (1957), p. 36.

[29]Kindekens's subsequent efforts to gain access to the promised 60,000 franks from the Count's relatives seemingly came to naught. See Sauter, *American College*, p. 61, fn. 2.

shortly thereafter and purchased a decrepit butcher shop not far from the town center that had once been a part of the Cistercian Aulne College, closed and sold off in parcels in the wake of the French Revolution. The foundation of the American College of the Immaculate Conception in Louvain was declared accomplished by Kindekens on the Feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1857.[30]

Kindekens's rectorship was short-lived. Though Belgian by birth he had lived in the United States for almost twenty years, become an American citizen, and adopted many American ways. His direct and blunt manner as well as his lack of diplomatic finesse did not make him an attractive figure to the Belgian episcopacy; nor did his prickly personality endear him to a number of American bishops or the proprietors of the Paris-based Society for the Propagation of the Faith, which was an essential institution to cultivate if the new college were to survive financially.[31] By 1859, Spalding and Lefevere arranged for John De Neve, whom Kindekens himself had recruited to Detroit from Belgium in 1851, to travel to Louvain and take the rectorship from Kindekens. Though previous histories of the American College have painted the transition from Kindekens to De Neve as cordial, in fact, the correspondence among the principals reveals considerable misunderstanding and hard feelings, especially on Kindekens' part. He wrote to Spalding:

> Since the arrival at Louvain of Father De Neve, I find myself painfully disturbed. On the one hand, listless and tired from the difficulties which harass me; but inseparable from these, from an important undertaking, and especially disgusted by the arbitrary manner of the measure which has been taken (a measure in which has been neglected the customary courtesies given to the lowest servant). I feel compelled to ignore all other consideration and pack my bags immediately. [32]

[30]Stang, "American College," p. 258. Joseph Van der Heyden, "The Louvain American College," *Catholic Historical Review*, II (New Series) (1922), 232. Besides the American College in Rome, there was one other attempt to found an American seminary in Europe, that of Joseph Ehring in Münster, Germany, in 1865; it closed in 1874. See White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 102-103. American seminarians were also sent in significant numbers to Innsbruck for theological studies.

[31]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 64-69, 87-88.

[32]"Depuis l'arrivée à Louvain de Mr. De Neve je me trouve dans un tourment fort pénible. D'un côté las et fatigué de difficultés harassantes; mais inséparable d'une entreprise importante et surtout dégouté de la mesure arbitraire qu'on vient de prendre (mesure où on a même négligé les convenances qu'on a coutume d'observer envers le dernier de valets) je me sentais poussé à braver toute autre considération et à faire immédiatement mon paquet." Kindekens (Louvain) to Lefevere (Detroit), February 9, 1860.

Despite his inadequacies, Kindekens was able to attract a small number of European priests and seminarians, Flemish, Walloon, French, Dutch, Prussian, all desirous of serving in the North American missions, as well as a few Americans; in his two years as rector he registered about twenty students in all,[33] and in this he brought to life much of Spalding's original vision for the place.

As the college's first rector Kindekens established in the institution a unique ethos that endured for decades after him. His contribution was threefold. His new American College was from the beginning a *missionary* seminary, one dedicated to extending the Church to the distant corners of North America. His seminarians were fed a constant diet of missionary spirituality, and this with a typically American flavor. Such was not usual fare for diocesan seminarians in Europe, whose vision seldom rose beyond the needs of their own diocese or region. Secondly, it was a fundamentally *cosmopolitan* seminary made up of young men from a variety of nations and cultures who were expected to live together in mutual respect and real fraternity. Kindekens' house rule was no different from any standard seminary rule of the day except in one aspect; he added one imperative not usually found in such documents:

> They [the seminarians] are to live together with one heart, loving each other in fraternal charity, anticipating one another in carrying each other's burdens. They are to be most careful in avoiding any tendency to speak badly of one country over another.[34]

Thirdly, Peter Kindekens made the most of what many saw as a great disadvantage; he taught his new seminarians to accept the *poverty* of the new college as something valuable for their formation as missionaries. His leadership imposed a simple but sober spirit on those living under his wing.[35] The deprivation was real enough. One American student, David Russell of Louisville, in an unguarded moment described the college building as "the rat hole," yet he also wrote of his life there

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University of Notre Dame Archives, Box: Detroit III 2-j-1, 1860, January 2–May 25. Translation by P. Wallace Platt, C.S.B.

[33]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 72-75.

[34]"8. Inter se concordes vivant charitate fraterna invicem diligentes, honore invicem praevenientes, alter alterius onera portantes. Caveant quam maxime a propensione qua solet una natio de altera male loqui." *Liber Primitivus*, p. 16. Translation by Aurelius Boberek, O.S.B.

[35]Sauter, *American College*, p. 78.

in elegiac terms: "I could not have believed that I could so soon have become attached to those whom I never saw nor heard of before. We live like true brothers, all aiming at the same end by the same means."[36]

John De Neve brought a softer personality and a more skilled diplomatic touch to the position of rector, especially in his affairs with bishops and financiers. Within the seminary itself, he continued what Kindekens had begun and did not change its fundamental direction or spirit. De Neve was at heart a pastor,[37] and it would show particularly in his relationships with his students. He added to the formation of his students an extraordinary talent for engaging them personally and forming deep "father-son" bonds with them. For those coming to the American College from other seminaries, this was a most surprising quality: that the seminarians should actually take a walk with the rector was extraordinary to their minds. One young student, Charles John Seghers (later bishop of Vancouver Island and archbishop of Oregon City), having just arrived from the seminary in Ghent, wrote to a fellow seminarian:

> Dear Friend,
>   Taking advantage of the first free moment that I find, I hasten to furnish you, not with news, but with a few small details that concern our position, our way of life at the American Seminary. I was received here by these gentlemen, the 30th of September, with a cordiality that one rarely finds on this earth: from the first moments I had already come to know the Germans, the Brabantois, the Americans and the one Dutchman, who have taken possession of our establishment. You would hardly believe the admirable accord which reigns here among all these men so different in country, language and customs: I can assure you that there is not one with whom I have not already had a conversation. What can I say? To walk around the garden with the Rector or with the Vice Rector, is a thing which happens almost every day.[38]

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[36]Van der Heyden, *American College*, p. 46. Van der Heyden cites: *The Record, Louisville*, January 20, 1859.

[37]Sauter, *American College*, pp. 91-93.

[38]"Profitant du premier moment libre que je rencontre, je m'empresse de vous munir non pas de nouvelles, mais de quelques petits détails qui concernent notre position, notre manière de vivre au Séminaire Américain. J'ai été reçu ici de la part des messiers, le 30 Septembre, avec une cordialité comme on en rencontre rarement sur la terre: et dès les premiers moments j'avais déja fait connaissance avec des Allemands, des Brabantois, des Américains, et avec le seul hollandais que possède notre établissement; Vous ne sauriez croire quel admirable accord règne ici entre tous ces hommes si différents de pays, de langage, et de moeurs: je puis vous assurer qu'íl n'en est plus un seul avec lequel je ne me sois pas encore promené ou avec lequel je n'aie déjà entretenu la conversation. Que dis-je? Se promener autour du jardin avec le Recteur, avec le Vice-recteur, c'est l'affaire de

De Neve supported his teaching and formation of the future missionaries by establishing in 1862 a "Union of Prayer," a spiritual sodality to which his departing students joined themselves as means of supporting one another in their coming missionary lives. In the constitution of the union, De Neve wrote:

> 3ly. Our blessed Lord has promised, that He would be in the midst of two or three assembled in His name; and although the members of this association will be separated by great distances, they can unite, at least in spirit, round the throne of God, and beg Him to be with them, in their labors for the glory of His divine Son.[39]

The rules of the Union of Prayer were dominated by promises to pray rosaries, to add a special intention to the third hour of their breviary office for the members of the association, and to say annually at least three Masses for both the association's living and dead members. Further, De Neve asked his Union of Prayer members to write at least one letter back to the college each year offering a short account of his mission of the current year.

From his own experience in America, De Neve saw the need for a formal support system for his young missionaries. Mutual support in prayer, ongoing fatherly advice from their rector even after they had left for the missions, and the maintenance of an ongoing relationship to their *alma mater* requiring them to write annual accounts of their ministry to edify and encourage those following them, were all part of De Neve's project of forming and maintaining his missionaries.

De Neve stabilized the college's financial situation and, in the course of his first decade as rector, was able to purchase and reunify almost all of the property that had once belonged to the Cistercian Aulne College as part of his new American College.[40] De Neve also worked to have the college receive complete approval from the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* and its head, Cardinal Alessandro Barnabò, something that had not been fully accomplished by his predecessor.[41] During his first decade as rector, the college admitted 185

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presque tous les jours." Seghers (Louvain) to Van Loo (Ghent), October 7, 1862, Archives of The American College, Louvain. Translation by P. Wallace Platt, C.S.B.

[39] Van der Heyden, *American College*, p. 120.

[40] Sauter, *American College*, pp. 98-99. The deeds for the college's property remained in De Neve's or other priests' hands until 1912, when they were turned over to the University of Louvain.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-104.

students. And with these increasing numbers of seminarians, so too the number of young priests sent to North America also rose dramatically: 120 between the years 1863 and 1870.

The burdens of administration and of pastorally caring for his seminarians and his young priests in North America took its toll on De Neve's emotional health. After eleven years as rector, his first term came to a sad end with a complete mental collapse in 1871. De Neve's physical and mental decline led to a sharp drop in the number of new students coming to the college in 1870.[42] As 1871 began, he became bed-ridden and his mind continued to deteriorate. In October of the same year, he finally asked to be relieved of his duties, and shortly thereafter, a broken man, he reached the depths of his illness by attempting to take his own life.[43]

De Neve's act also inflicted a wound to the life of The American College; like his own, though serious enough, it was not, in the end, mortal. The events of that night sent De Neve's colleagues, the Reverends Edmund Dumont, J. J. Pulsers, and John Leroy, into a frenzy of activity as they took over administration of the institution and attempted to limit the damage as news of the crisis spread to America. To Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet of Nesqually alone, they wrote at least seven letters between September 1871 and the end of December 1872 advising the bishop of De Neve's condition, the affairs of the college, and the progress of their students. In one letter, acting rector, Edmund Dumont, shared the hard truth: "the situation of the college is very precarious at this moment."[44]

The search for a new rector was a frustrating process. Dumont had the support of some American bishops but was appointed bishop of Tournai in November of 1872 before he could be named to the rectorship. Former students John Fierens and Charles Seghers were con-

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[42]*Ibid*., p. 136.

[43]*Ibid*., p. 36. The incident was described some years later in considerable detail by a student, A. J. Penartz, who was present for the event: "It was not Peter but the terrible shriek of a woman's voice coming from the Rector's room that aroused the students. The first man in the room was Mr. Brincke, but the man who disarmed the insane man was Mr. Schram. No artery was severed and all that Prof. Michaud had to do was to put in a few stitches and to send for a Brother and a straight jacket." Pennartz (Sigel, Illinois) to Van der Heyden (Louvain), January 3, 1906. Archives of The American College, Louvain.

[44]". . . que la situation du collège est très précaire en ce moment." Dumont (Louvain) to A. M. A. Blanchet, May 25, 1872. Archives of the Archdiocese of Seattle.

1867 photo of American College seminarians, perhaps the first photograph taken of American College seminarians. Identifiable among those pictured: Francis A. Janssens, future bishop of Natchez and later archbishop of New Orleans (seated, third from left), Peter Hylebos, Diocese of Nesqually (standing, middle row, first from left), Augustine Van de Vyver, future bishop of Richmond (standing, middle row, second from left), Augustine Brabant, Diocese of Vancouver Island (standing, third row, first from left), William Van der Hagen, Louisville (standing, middle row, fourth from left), John Willemsen, Diocese of Detroit, future rector of The American College (standing, middle row, fifth from left). Photographer unknown. Archives of The American College, Louvain. Permission granted for reproduction from The American College.

sidered but not pursued, probably because of their youth. Finally, everyone settled on Francis Janssens[45] of the Diocese of Richmond, but Janssens' bishop refused to release him from his diocese.

Lacking a decision by the American bishops responsible for the college to name a permanent rector, Dumont led it from 1871 to 1873; thereafter Pulsers remained as "pro-rector" from 1873 until 1881.

[45]Francis J. Janssens (1843-1897), was born in Tilburg, ordained a priest in Louvain for the Diocese of Richmond, Virginia. He was appointed bishop of Natchez in 1881 and in 1888 archbishop of New Orleans. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley, eds., *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1997), pp. 716-717.

In 1881, much to Pulsers's consternation, De Neve returned to reclaim his title as rector.[46] De Neve's return was the result of a rather masterful and complex process of lining up support from a variety of ecclesiastics in Belgium, Rome, and the United States by assuring them of his full recovery and claiming that he had never officially been removed from the office. Restored to Louvain, De Neve was able in the ensuing ten years to make a significant transition from its financial security's being dependent on Belgian generosity to its being dependent on the generosity of a growing cadre of alumni serving in the United States.[47] He was also able to increase again its enrollment and bring in new clergy as his collaborators, most significantly, Reverend Jules De Becker, a young canon lawyer who had recently completed his studies in Rome, and the man who would lead the college up to the cusp of the World War II.[48] De Neve, for his part, retired from the rectorship in 1892, once again a broken and mentally frail man.

The modest rectorship of John Willemsen followed, lasting only until 1898.[49] Willemsen was the first alumnus of the American College to serve as rector and was known in Louvain as a fine Latinist and a very able theologian. During his years as rector he oversaw construction of the present chapel and, like his predecessor, bought additional pieces of the old Aulne site to add to the college's property. He initiated the drafting of a new *Constitutions and Rules* for submission to Rome, rules which were largely written by De Becker. Willemsen submitted his resignation as rector for reasons of poor health after only six years in office. Correspondence from the time indicates that his resignation was not actually due to health reasons, but to accusations made against him in Mechlin, perhaps claiming that he was sympathetic to "Americanism."[50] He resided in Italy until his death in 1932.

Eighteen of the college's alumni were raised to the episcopacy in America before the turn of the century;[51] several made enduring marks on the growing church in the country. Patrick Riordan was appointed the second archbishop of San Francisco; he founded the major semi-

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[46]The story of these transitions in leadership are well documented in Sauter, *American College*, pp. 138-156.

[47]*Ibid*., p. 157.

[48]*Ibid*., p. 158.

[49]*Ibid*., pp. 174-191.

[50]Brian Dick, "Het Amerikaans College in Leuven van 1898 tot 1951" (Licentiate in History, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1998), pp. 39-41.

[51]Sauter, *American College*, p. 205.

nary for his archdiocese in Menlo Park in 1898 and a few years later presided over San Francisco's reconstruction after the devastating earthquake and fire of 1906.[52] Charles John Seghers, despite his chronically bad health, proved to be a dynamic and zealous bishop, first of Vancouver Island, then as archbishop of Oregon City, finally returning to the see of Vancouver Island. The poor diocese included all of Alaska, a land that was deeply attractive to Seghers's missionary impulse. He used Victoria as a staging ground for a dramatic missionary voyage into the heart of the frozen northland. There he was murdered by one of his own traveling companions, a death which shocked the faithful both in America and in his homeland of Belgium.[53] Francis Janssens, the one-time candidate for the rectorship of the American College, was named bishop of Natchez (now Jackson), one of the poorest areas of the nation, serving there for seven years before being appointed archbishop of New Orleans in 1888, where he was noted for his establishment of Catholic parishes for blacks and Catholic schools for the poor living in rural areas.[54] John Lancaster Spalding, nephew of Martin, was named the first bishop of Peoria in 1875 and was considered one of America's significant "men of letters" in the late-nineteenth century; he was instrumental in founding the Catholic University of America on the model of his *alma mater,* the University of Louvain"[55] William Stang, ordained for the Diocese of Providence, served as vice-rector of the college from 1895 to 1899, during which time he also taught pastoral theology, English, and moral theology to the seminarians.[56] During these years,

[52]Glazier and Shelley, eds., pp. 1210-1211.

[53]See: Gerard George Steckler, S.J., "Charles John Seghers, Missionary Bishop in the American Northwest: 1839-1886" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Washington, 1963). Gerard George Steckler, S.J., *Charles John Seghers, Priest and Bishop in the Pacific Northwest, 1839-1886: A Biography* (Fairfield, Washington, 1986). Maurice de Baets, *Mgr. Seghers: l'Apôtre de l'Alaska* (Ghent, 1896).

[54]Glazier and Shelley, eds., pp. 716-717.

[55]Of Spalding's role in founding the Catholic University, John Tracy Ellis, writes: "For it was to this young prelate more than any single individual that the University at Washington owed its birth in 1889. In spite of a pervasive lethargy and indifference on the part of most of his episcopal colleagues, the Bishop of Peoria persisted year after year, efforts that culminated in his forceful sermon at Baltimore's Third Plenary Council on November 16, 1884, entitled 'The Higher Education of the Priesthood.'" Ellis, "Louvain," p. 272. See also: John Tracy Ellis, *John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, American Educator* (Milwaukee, 1961). Ellis, "American Priest," pp. 321-322. David Francis Sweeney, O.F.M., *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, 1840-1916*, Makers of American Catholicism, vol. 1 (New York, 1965). C. Walker Gollar, "John Lancaster Spalding on Academic Freedom: The Influence of Louvain on an American Catholic Bishop," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 72 (1996).

[56]Dick, "Amerikaans College," pp. 44-45.

Stang had the honor of being the first American to be named a professor of the University of Louvain. He was named bishop of Fall River in 1904 but died only three years later. Perhaps Stang's most significant influence on the Church in America was through his manual of pastoral theology,[57] initially published as a text for the seminarians of the American College. As the first pastoral theology text available in English, the manual came into wide use in many American seminaries, forming a generation of priests with its practicality and emphasis on the priest's pastoral role as "preacher and teacher."[58]

The second fifty years of the American College would be scarred by two world wars: the first it barely survived, and the second left it closed by its patrons in the American episcopacy. A native son of Louvain, Jules De Becker, already briefly mentioned, would be the guiding spirit of the seminary through most of its second half-century, just as John De Neve had been in its first half. What De Becker brought to the college by way of inspiration and direction was significantly different from De Neve's contribution. If De Neve was at heart a pastor, De Becker was fundamentally a lawyer. Born in Louvain in 1857, the very year the American College was founded, De Becker completed his degree in civil law at the university of his own hometown and was admitted to the Belgian bar in 1878. Only a few days later he left for Rome to enter the Belgian seminary there. Over the course of seven years he completed a license in theology and a doctorate in canon law in Rome's Gregorian University. He was ordained a priest in the Basilica of St. John Lateran in 1881 and worked for two years in the offices of the Congregation of the Holy Office. Upon De Becker's return to Louvain in 1885 De Neve snapped up the young and promising cleric, assigning him to teach canon law and liturgy to his seminarians.

De Becker was the clear choice as rector when the position opened upon Willemsen's resignation in 1898. With his Roman connections he provided a valuable asset to the college in keeping relations with the Vatican congregations positive.[59] By his very person he was able to dilute

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[57]William Stang, *Pastoral Theology*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1897).

[58]White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 214-215, 253. Stang's manual on pastoral theology was followed in 1899 by that of a fellow Louvanist, Frederick Schulze, who was then teaching at St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee; like Stang's, it became widely used in American seminaries, going through at least nine editions over the next thirty years. See White, pp. 215-216, 253, 369.

[59]At the request of a number of unhappy Louvanists in the Archdiocese of Victoria (previously Vancouver Island), De Becker would use his relations with the Vatican to
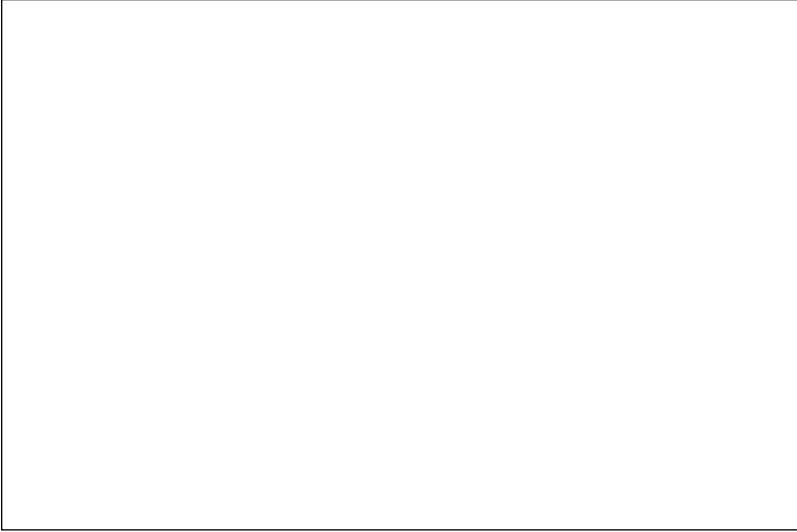
Post card image of the garden of The American College in Louvain with the ordination class of 1885 posed informally about the yard. Photographer unknown. Archives of The American College, Louvain. Permission granted for reproduction from The American College.

any fears Romans or Americans might have harbored about the orthodoxy of the instruction being received by future priests studying in Louvain, concerns that might have led to the resignation of his predecessor.[60]

Almost from the start De Becker began transforming the American College into something quite new: a proper seminary in the Roman model. He developed the rule first proposed by Willemsen and had it approved by Pope Pius X almost immediately. He carried his copy of the new *Regulae Collegii Americani* with him at every meeting with his seminarians, it serving, in the words of his successor, Pierre De Strycker, "simultaneously both as a symbol and a weapon."[61]

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facilitate the forced resignation of American College alumnus, Archbishop Bertrand Orth from the Victoria see in 1907. Heynen (Nanaimo) to De Becker (Louvain), December 21, 1907. Archives of The American College, Louvain. For more on Orth's resignation, see Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia* (Edmonton, Alberta, 2000), pp. 231-233.

[60]Dick, "Amerikaans College," pp. 42-43.

[61]Pierre de Strycker, "In Memoriam: Mgr. Jules de Becker," *The American College Bulletin*, XXX, no. 1 (1937), 9.

He reordered the academic life of the college by negotiating with the rector of the University of Louvain for the re-establishment of *Schola Minor* of the Faculty of Theology expressly for his seminarians.[62] Prior to this development, the seminary courses had been taught partly by the priests of the college staff and partly by the Jesuit priests of Louvain. The Jesuits continued to offer spiritual direction to the students along with De Becker's good friend, the prior of the local Benedictine abbey of Mont César, Dom Columba Marmion.[63] De Becker himself continued to lecture on matrimony in the field of canon law, an area in which he was considered a world expert. By 1906 he had announced the establishment of a program in philosophy for his seminarians, allowing his seminary, for the first time, to be responsible for the full course of study and formation of a young man for the priesthood.[64]

Early in his rectorate De Becker began publishing *The American College Bulletin*, which provided to the college's alumni and friends news both of the college and of its many alumni and their labors in America. The Reverend Joseph Van der Heyden, a college alumnus who had served for many years in the Idaho missions (he had returned to Louvain due to the loss of a leg from frostbite while riding a stage-coach in Idaho), was made its first editor. Van der Heyden took to his task with gusto and collected information on the college's history and its clergy wherever he could find it.

In 1901 De Becker made his first formal visit to Rome on behalf of the college, meeting with the Prefect of the Propaganda Fide and Pope Leo XIII. Following his journey to Rome, De Becker sailed straightaway to America; in the course of his six-month journey he visited alumni throughout the country. He also took the opportunity to visit as many bishops and archbishops as possible, making himself and his college known to them. This was the first of four such tours of the United States, tours that would take him to virtually every corner of the nation

[62]Dick, "Amerikaans College," p. 21.

[63]Columba Marmion, O.S.B. (1857-1923) was born in Dublin, Ireland, and ordained a diocesan priest in Rome in 1881, together with De Becker. In 1886 he joined the Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous in Belgium and from 1899 to 1909 served as first prior of the newly established Abbey of Mont César (Keiserberg) in Louvain. In 1909 he was elected abbot of Maredsous, a position he held until his death. He was beatified by Pope John Paul II in 2000. See Mark Tierney, O.S.B., *Blessed Columba Marmion: A Short Biography* (Dublin, 2000).

[64]J. de Becker, "To the Friends of the American College," *The American College Bulletin,* IV, no. 2 (1906), 58-59.

and included Canada's chronically impoverished Vancouver Island. De Becker visited his alumni in their parishes, saw their work firsthand, and came to admire deeply the unique vigor and energy of the Church in America as it tackled the many challenges facing it. Though never a pastor or missionary himself, he appreciated what his alumni were accomplishing and how they were accomplishing it, and he then applied these lessons to his seminary program back in Louvain. He was, for example, quite liberal in offering his seminarians an unsupervised life during their summer vacations in Europe, a policy that evidently caused discomfort on the part of others. De Becker's response to their concern:

> I know that there exist serious objections to this system of spending far from home the long holiday period. We ought therefore to have at Louvain only young me capable of leading during the school term the rather austere life of a clerical seminary and of persevering in that life of their own volition during vacation. Often, whilst musing over the large amount of freedom accorded to the clergy in the Untied States, I said to myself whilst traveling about the immense country, "How absurd to subject the future priest to a régime of extreme supervision, of privation of liberty, during the entire period of his formation and then, upon the morrow of his admission into the ranks of the priesthood, to let him loose into this vast world of which he knows perhaps but imperfectly all the dangers!"[65]

As the fiftieth anniversary of the college approached, De Becker had something grand in mind to mark the occasion: a bold new building to take the place of much of what had previously served as quarters for the seminarians. He had already developed the gardens of the college and restored a seventeenth-century Cistercian chapel on the lower property, but his new scheme was of a far grander scale than that which anyone before him had ever dreamed. In 1904 he undertook another visit to Rome followed by a second visit to the United States, where he met almost one hundred of the college's priest and bishop alumni at a formal reunion in St. Louis. His intentions in making the visit almost certainly included preparatory work for the announcement of the construction of a grand new edifice to replace what he referred to as the "ramshackle student quarters."[66] By the time of his formal announcement of the project in April 1905 he already had completed his architectural plans for a building designed to house one

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[65]Jules de Becker, "The Past Year," *The American College Bulletin,* XV, no. 1 (1922), 5-6.

[66]Van der Heyden, *American College*, p. 308.

hundred and twenty seminarians. In his letter to the alumni, De Becker made clear he had the permission to proceed of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith and the bishops serving on the college's board of directors. Perhaps more to the point, he indicated in his letter that, even as he was writing, the old buildings were being leveled and the students "forced to seek shelter wherever they could find it."[67]

The new building was completed by October 1905 at a cost of $38,000. De Becker raised all but $10,000 of the total, an amount he covered from his personal wealth. On its exterior, the architect placed a sculpture of an Indian chief, arms crossed and looking out over the street below with great dignity: a permanent sign of the college's missionary tradition and its bond with the Catholic Church in the United States.

In 1911, De Becker negotiated with the University of Louvain a significant change in legal status for the college. Previously, all the deeds for the college real estate had been held either in De Neve's hands or in those of other alumni priests at work in the United States. The deal was simple: the deeds would be turned over to the university even as the university promised full and complete rights to the property in perpetuity to the American College as long as it should exist. The new situation meant a much more stable ownership situation for the college as well as reducing the weight of Belgian taxes on the extensive property and buildings.[68]

The great test of De Becker's leadership would come less than ten years after the construction of the new College. By 1914 the threat of war was felt in Belgium, despite its neutrality. At the time, over one-third of the seminarians in the college were Germans, another third Americans, and the remainder Belgians, French, and Irish.[69] With the student body as nationally diverse as ever, the rector had to tend carefully to the relations among the seminarians if he were to maintain among them a spirit of fraternity as European political pressures were building. With the coming of summer vacation, most of the seminarians had gone to their homelands, never to return.

[67]*Ibid*., p. 311.
[68]*L'acte de cession de la propriété du Collège Américain à l'Université Catholique,* August 12, 1912. Archives of The American College, Louvain. The agreement was the basis both for the American bishops to turn over the property to the university at the onset of World War II and for those same bishops to make claim to the property again after the war. It continues to be the operative agreement between the college and the university to the present.
[69]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," p. 28.

By the 19th of August, Louvain had been occupied by the advancing German forces. De Becker had already volunteered his new building as a Red Cross center so that it flew above its roof both the American flag and that of the Red Cross.[70] That evening, a German officer demanded use of the building for his troops, but De Becker convinced him to make use only of the large classroom on its main floor. The next day another German officer assured De Becker that the American building would not be harmed. A week later, after a skirmish with Belgian troops followed by a disastrous "friendly fire" exchange among the Germans, the invaders began to execute Louvain's citizens and set fire to the city. The ancient University of Louvain Library was one of the first buildings to be put to flames.[71] De Becker and his vice-rector, Pierre De Strycker, remained within the college buildings while the city burned and the executions continued for the next two days.[72] During the same two days and nights, the university's *rector magnificus*, Monsignor Paulin Ladeuze,[73] joined them by climbing over the wall that separated his garden from that of the American College. Three days further on the German forces ordered De Becker, De Strycker, and Willemsen, who happened to be visiting, to flee the city altogether. They joined thousands of other refugees on the road to Brussels. Upon arriving in the capital city, they were brought to safety through the intervention of the U.S. Ambassador, Brand Whitlock.[74] Whitlock later described his meeting with De Becker in poignant detail:

> He sat there at my table, a striking figure—the delicate face, dignified and sad, the silver hair, the long black soutane and the scarlet sash, in his

[70]Hugh Gibson, *A Journal from our Legation in Belgium* (Garden City, New York, 1917), p. 78.

[71]Chris Coppens, Mark Derez, and Jan Rogiers, *Leuven University Library: 1425-2000* (Leuven, 2005), pp. 135-179.

[72]Gibson, *A Journal*, pp. 154-155. The burning of Louvain in 1914 has been widely written about by historians; see Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Guns of August*, Reprint, March 9, 1994 ed. (New York, 1962), pp. 311-324.

[73]Paulin Ladeuze (1870-1940) was doctor and magister in theology at the Catholic University of Louvain, where he taught patrology and New Testament exegesis from 1898 to 1900. In 1900 he, along with Albert Cauchie, established the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Ladeuze became Rector Magnificus of the Catholic University of Louvain in 1909 and remained rector until his death in 1940. In 1929 Ladeuze was ordained bishop. Leo Kenis, *The Louvain Faculty of Theology in the Nineteenth Century. A Bibliography of the Professors in Theology and Canon Law with Biographical Notes* (Leuven, 1994).

[74]For the ambassador's own recollections of these events, see Brand Whitlock, *Belgium Under the German Occupation: A Personal Narrative*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (1919), 99-117. See also: Gibson, A Journal, p. 153.

white hand a well-worn breviary. . . . Monseigneur described the experi-
ence. He told it calmly, logically, connectedly, his trained mind unfolding
events in orderly sequence: the sound of firing from Hérent, the sudden
uprising of the German soldiers, the murder, the lust, the loot, the fires, the
pillage, the evacuation and the destruction of the city, and all that.

The home of his father had been burned down and the home of his
brother; his friends and his colleagues had been murdered before his eyes,
and their bodies thrown into a cistern; long lines of his townspeople, con-
fined in the railway-station, had been taken out and shot down; the church
of St. Peter was destroyed, the Hôtel de Ville—the finest example of late
Gothic extant—was doomed, and the Halles of the University had been
consumed. And he told it all calmly. But there in the Halles of the University
was the Library; its hundreds of thousands of volumes, its rare and ancient
manuscripts, its unique collection of incunabula—all had been burned
deliberately, to the last scrap. Monseigneur had reached this point in his
recital; he had begun to pronounce the word *bibliotèque*—he had said "*La
biblio. . .*" and then he stopped suddenly and bit his quivering lip. "*La bib. . .*"
he went on—and then, spreading his arms on the table before him, he
bowed his head upon them and wept aloud.[75]

When De Becker was eventually allowed back into Louvain, he
found his college intact. Not one to stand helpless in the midst of his
destroyed hometown, he headed a committee to tend to the material
wants of the survivors and returning refugees; the American College
became one of the city's primary relief centers for the remainder of
the war. Six of his seminarians managed to return to the college, and
for them Monsignor Ladeuze officially reopened the ancient University
of Louvain, they being its only students for the 1914–1915 academic
year. The college served the university in another way: the medieval
statue of the *Sedes Sapientiae,* the very symbol of the university, as
well as the town's most important reliquary, that holding the remains
of Blessed Margaret of Louvain, were housed in the college's chapel
throughout the war years.[76]

With the end of the Great War in November of 1918, the question
of the continued existence of the American College arose. There were
serious issues of financing the college in the wake of the war, as well
as those that had always nipped at the heels of the institution in times
of crisis. Had it not outlived its missionary purpose? Could not
American seminaries form American priests better? If America needed

[75]Whitlock, *Belgium*, pp. 104-105. Also see Coppens, Derez, and Rogiers, *Leuven*,
p. 158.
[76]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 29-34.

a seminary in Europe, was not the one in Rome enough? And more lately, was not the academic quality of institutions like the Catholic University of America now equal to that of the University of Louvain? De Becker journeyed to America in 1917 to re-establish a board of directors among the American bishops, reaffirm the college's importance to the bishops, and round up support for his seminary's continuation. De Becker succeeded admirably and upon his return set about getting the buildings back in order and renovated where needed.

Evident in all this was a noticeable change in De Becker's vision for the college: from this point onward he would, of necessity, look primarily to America for his seminarians, postwar immigration rules having changed in the United States, severely limiting the ability of many European seminarians to immigrate legally. He chose a vice-rector accordingly: an American from the Diocese of Providence, Charles Curran. In November 1919, his new students began arriving: two from Newark, sixteen from Hartford, and six Belgians, one of whom was a prewar seminarian of the college. With these twenty-four men, the American College began a new life in the postwar era. De Becker continued to appeal to the Church in America for students, outlining in every way possible the unique advantages of study in Louvain, including the benefit of spending vacations in European countries, being immersed in their cultures, and learning their languages.[77]

De Becker's persistent efforts at recruitment were effective, for in the following years enrollment increased gradually, giving the college renewed stability; by 1930 and the golden anniversary of his ordination, De Becker had the satisfaction of counting eighty-six seminarians filling his building.[78] That same year he accepted his former vice-rector, Pierre De Strycker,[79] as his coadjutor rector; a year later, feeling the weight of his increasing age and after thirty-three years of leadership, De Becker resigned his rectorship altogether, remaining in residence as rector-emeritus until his death in September 1936.[80]

Though a Louvanist by birth and a Roman by education, De Becker, in his vocation as rector of the American College, became, in a manner, an American in spirit. Shortly after his death, one of his former

[77]*Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.
[78]*Ibid.*, p. 39.
[79]De Strycker's Curriculum Vitae may be found in *Collectanea Mechliniensia*, vol. 34 (1949), 639.
[80]De Strycker, pp. 6-11.

students and at the time spiritual director in the college, Louis Smet, wrote of him:

> Although he never labored in America, he had a genuine love and admiration for our great country. He took a pardonable pride in being the Rector of the *American* College, never tired of speaking about his journeys to America, had Old Glory flying over the college on all solemn occasions. (This reminds us that it was the American flag that saved the college from destruction during the War.) All the alumni will remember with what zest Monsignor De Becker used to sing "*omnes in Americam*," the concluding words of our College hymn each year at the eighth of December. He was an American *in voto*![81]

De Becker's successor, Pierre De Strycker, when not serving the American College as a professor or vice-rector, had served as rector of the nearby Pope Adrian VI College. He had gained further stature in the years after the Great War as the man most responsible for organizing Cardinal Désiré Mercier's[82] triumphal tour of the United States at war's end.[83] The rectorship of Pierre De Strycker was neither a long nor pleasant one. Even as he was taking hold of the reins from De Becker, fearsome noise was coming once again from Belgium's neighbor to the east. The hot breath of the Third Reich was first felt in the college itself in September of 1938 when rumors of imminent war cut short the summer vacation of the seminarians, forcing them to race back to Louvain. War itself was delayed, and sixty-one seminarians began the new academic year. During that year De Strycker managed to make additional improvements to the college buildings and added a few amenities, but his work was cut short as more and more students were called home. There were only thirty-eight students to open the 1939 academic year, but even they began to dwindle as the weeks passed and the threat of war became ever more

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[81]Louis J. Smet, "Mgr. De Becker and the American College," *The American College Bulletin,* XXX, no. 1 (1937), 15.

[82]Désiré J.Mercier (1851-1926) was ordained in 1874 and eight years later became professor of philosophy at the University of Louvain; at the request of Pope Leo XIII, he organized in Louvain the Higher Institute of Philosophy, which dedicated itself to the study of St.Thomas Aquinas. He was appointed archbishop of Mechlin in 1906 and made a cardinal in 1907. During World War I, Cardinal Mercier became the pre-eminent opponent to the German occupation of his land. See: John A. Gade, *The Life of Cardinal Mercier* (New York, 1934). For more on Mercier's opposition to the German occupation of Belgium see, Désiré J. Mercier, *Cardinal Mercier's Own Story* (New York, 1920).

[83]Roger Aubert,"Cardinal Mercier's Visit to America in the Autumn of 1919," in *Studies in Catholic History: In Honor of John Tracy Ellis,* ed. Nelson Minnich, Robert B. Eno, and Robert Trisco (Wilmington, Delaware, 1985), p. 321. See also: Gade, *Life of Mercier*, pp. 212-222.

serious. By Christmas the enrollment had shrunk to twenty, at which point De Strycker judged the continuation of the college program no longer viable; he announced to his students that the college would be formally closed on Christmas day, 1939. Some of the twenty seminarians still at the college upon its closure returned to the United States, while others continued their studies in Rome, St. Brieuc, or Genoa.

De Strycker, his vice-rector, Harold Gonder, and a few others remained in the college building, preparing it for the probable invasion of Belgium by hiding valuables behind secret walls. On May 10, 1940, the invasion began, and that same evening Louvain endured its first bombardment of the new war. Gonder evacuated the next day while De Strycker heroically vowed to remain in Louvain; by May 12 the rector of the university, Honoré van Waeyenberg, advised De Strycker to leave as well. The abject rector worked his way to Bordeaux and finally caught from the port there the last ship to the United States, where he remained in exile for the duration of the World War II. On May 17 the new library of the university, built largely through American generosity, was the target of a German incendiary bomb; the library and all of its holdings, for the second time in less than fifty years, burned, and its 900,000 volumes were lost.[84]

Van Waeyenberg kept the University of Louvain in operation despite the occupation of the city and refused at every turn to co-operate with the Nazis in their multiple demands to turn over all lists of students so that they could be conscripted as laborers in the war effort. Van Waeyenberg immediately began restoring the lost library, bringing together collections from elsewhere and encouraging donations of books from professors and other individuals and institutions, much of which was placed in the halls of the American College where students continued to access them throughout the war years.[85] The college had been protected until December 1940 from German occupation by a large document from the American ambassador posted on the building declaring the buildings to be the property of the American hierarchy; after Germany declared war on the United States, the document was use-less. German officials sought to occupy the space as housing for their soldiers, but that was avoided through the intervention of the occupa-

[84]Coppens, Derez, and Rogiers, *Leuven*, pp. 313-322. E. Lousse, *The University of Louvain during the Second World-War*, trans. Th. Crowley (Bruges, 1946), pp. 10-13.
[85]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 49-50. Coppens, Derez, and Rogiers, *Leuven*, pp. 327-328.

tion force's town major, who was sympathetic to the university's need for the buildings.[86] Once again, the college buildings and its holdings were largely unharmed during the various bombardments of the city.

Meanwhile, in New York, De Strycker worked to keep interest in the American College alive and joined forces with Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, a noted alumnus of the university's Institute of Philosophy, to raise funds for the reconstruction of Louvain's university library. Neither enterprise found much success, and De Strycker began to lose enthusiasm for both projects, though even as late as January 1945, several months after Belgium's liberation, he wrote a circular letter to the alumni of the college expressing his hope of reopening it.[87] He returned to Belgium in August 1945 and, after disembarking in Antwerp, immediately went to visit his family, walking unexpectedly into the midst of a family baptism to the surprise and delight of all.[88] He then visited the American College, finding it intact. He was pleased that it had had such an important role to play as the university's library during the war years, but by then, he no longer had the strength or vigor to pursue its reopening. He expressed his opinion on the matter to a Louvain alumnus, Archbishop John G. Murray of St. Paul, then serving as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, making it clear that he believed the American College had finally outlived its usefulness. The Board of Trustees thereafter commissioned De Strycker to negotiate the definitive transfer of the college property to the university; he retained his title as rector and remained in residence in the college. His own condition seriously weakened, leading to his death in July 1949 at sixty-nine years of age. For all practical purposes, the American College, at the age of ninety-two, died with him. From September 1947, the property was used as a residence for university students,[89] Canon Louis Janssens serving as rector.[90]

That the American seminary in Louvain might still be the "enlivening thought" that it had been for Martin J. Spalding one hundred years

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[86]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," p. 54.

[87]*Ibid.*, 55.

[88]Personal interview with Mr. Louis De Strycker, December 26, 2005, Brussels. Mr. De Strycker, nephew of Pierre De Strycker, recalls the moment of his uncle's arrival vividly.

[89]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 55-57.

[90]In the wake of the Second Vatican Council Janssens would come to be recognized as the Louvain Faculty of Theology's most significant moral theologian in recent times. As such he influenced several generations of American Catholic pastors who studied in Louvain. See Roger Burggraeve, "The Holistic Personalism of Professor Magister Louis Janssens," *Louvain Studies*, 27, no. 1 (2002).

before, was about to be tested. The unhopeful conclusion that De Strycker had forwarded to Archbishop Murray was still very much in the air in 1949 when the question of reopening the college was again broached among the American hierarchs. The matter was discussed at the November 1949 meeting of the American bishops, and a committee was formed, with Bishop Matthew F. Brady of Manchester as its chairman, to review the matter. Bishop Brady took his job seriously and commenced substantial communication with various parties concerning the college's future. He kept in regular contact with the *rector magnificus* of the university, Van Waeyenberg, as well as the Reverend David M. Ellwood, secretary of the Alumni Association. Bishop Russell McVinney of Providence, an alumnus himself, served on the committee and became a formidable advocate for reopening the college. McVinney prepared a sheet of "talking points" responding to possible objections from other bishops; his first point took on the De Strycker issue:

I.   "Has it any usefulness now for the dioceses of the United States?"
              —Monsignor de Strycker thought not—
     Ans. 1. Msgr. de Strycker was an old, tired man when he said this. The problems necessarily to be faced in reopening overwhelmed him.
     2. Msgr. de Strycker was never over enthusiastic about the college, though he had been vice-rector for a time and was the last rector.
     3. There should be an American rector. It would make a big difference.

II. "The College has lost its initial usefulness," wrote Msgr. de Strycker before his death.
     Ans.-—True, it was founded to supply priests for the American Missions. But it has served another purpose almost entirely since the First World War.
     N.B.-The Councils of Baltimore recommended the American College, Louvain, and urged Bishops to send promising students there as well as to the American College in Rome and the University of Innsbruck.

III. "Most American Bishops judge it useless."
     Ans.—Q. E. D. Take a vote.[91]

The fact-finding committee reported back to the bishops in November 1950 with a positive recommendation. The committee was then authorized to take preliminary steps towards a reopening in 1952, steps that included sending to all the bishops of the United States a request for information as to how many students they might

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[91]"Comments of Bishop McVinney on points contained in the letter of Cardinal Van Roey to Cardinal Spellman," copy, Archives of The American College, Louvain.

be willing to send to Louvain. The circular letter was sent out in October 1951; the responses came back with promises of eighty-one seminarians. With this information in hand, the bishops finally took the vote in November 1951; the result was a positive one. McVinney was thereafter made chairman of the American College's new Board of Bishops; it came as no surprise that, under his influence, the commit-tee should choose as the man responsible for bringing the American College of Louvain back to life[92] a priest of his own diocese, the Reverend Thomas F. Maloney. He would be the first American to serve as the college's rector.

Maloney arrived in Louvain in April 1952 to begin preparations for the official reopening of the American College at the beginning of the 1952-1953 academic year.[93] The first new seminarian, James Chapman, arrived from Dubuque on September 23, 1952, followed by fifty-three others.[94] Maloney worked hard to connect his new students with the traditions of the past, celebrating anew the college's patronal feasts, hanging a portrait of De Becker in the dining room, singing again the venerable college hymn, *O Sodales*, on feast days. The new students endured privations due to plumbing problems, lack of recreational areas, and inadequate library facilities, but the spirit of fraternity that had been a hallmark of the college since its inception seemed strong among them under Maloney's care.[95]

At Mahoney's urging the *schola minor* was reopened by the uni-versity for the seminarians, and by 1954 the publication of *The American College Bulletin* had recommenced. To the readers of the first issue of the resurrected *Bulletin*, Maloney wrote:

[92]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 57-59. Also see Philip Dominic Irace, "The Louvain American College: 1952-1974" (MA in Religious Studies, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, 1974), p. 12.

[93]Maloney's arrival in Louvain in 1952 was rather floridly described five years later by Joseph Coppens in these words: "Pushed by the will of success, by optimistic temper, by the sense of endeavor and of confidence in Divine Providence, bright characteristics of the American people, they dropped as by parachute into the still gloomy sky of partially ruined Louvain, the new rector of the college, the today so deeply venerated Monsignor Maloney." Joseph Coppens, "Promotion de son Excellence Mgr Russel McVinney: Allocution de M. le Chanoine J. Coppens," *Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia* XIV (1958).

[94]Cross and Zoeller, "The Story," pp. 60-61.

[95]As an example, the "Chronicles" entry for December 25, 1954, includes a reflection on what makes the celebration of Christmas in the seminary so different from anywhere else. The response: "it seems to be that most indefinable thing called a spirit of fraternal union. . . ." Donald A. Panella, "Chronicles," *The American College Bulletin*, XXXIV, no. 1 (1955).

The reopening of the college has been a delicate task if only because of the importance of calling back to life the spirit of the place, and reviving old customs among young men of a different age and of new tastes.

. . . .

You would almost expect to hear and see your own former classmates among the throngs of students who crowd the college. You would find them doing the very things done in our day: playing the games we played, singing as we did, carrying on animated and profound discussions with an earnestness all their own, practicing their foreign language acquisitions as they walk the paths in the lower garden.[96]

Beginning in 1955, renovations to the building were undertaken in preparation for the one-hundredth anniversary of the college's foundation, coming up in 1957. Meanwhile, in the wake of the postwar "vocations boom" in the United States, the student census rose in the college; by the golden jubilee year, there were over one hundred American seminarians in Louvain.[97]

Maloney's celebration of the jubilee was a grand one, the highlight of which was the academic session held in the University Halls, the same ancient building that had housed the original university library until its burning in August 1914. Van Waeyenberg welcomed two distinguished guests and honorees to the proceedings, Russell J. McVinney, Bishop of Providence, and Fulton J. Sheen, Auxiliary Bishop of New York, to whom honorary degrees were awarded; McVinney was acknowledged for his efforts to reopen the college in 1952 and Sheen for his evangelical work in print, radio, and television media. In his response to the honor, Sheen proclaimed: "When we look back over a life that is rather full, we recognize how much we owe to the good Lord. But, next to God, on this earth, I owe what I am to the University of Louvain."[98]

Maloney served as rector until January 1960, when it was announced that he had been named auxiliary bishop of Providence. Only two years after his return to Providence, in September 1962, Maloney died. With Maloney's departure from Louvain, the keys of the college were handed to the Reverend Paul D. Riedl, a priest of the Diocese of Springfield. If Maloney had to breathe new life into a mori-

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[96]Thomas F. Maloney, "The Rector's Letter," *The American College Bulletin,* XXXIII, no. 1 (1954), 10.

[97]Irace, p. 22.

[98]Fulton J. Sheen, "Réponse de son Excellence Mgr Fulton Sheen," *Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia*, XIV, no. 1 (1958), 47.

bund institution, Riedl had the even more difficult job of guiding it through a decade marked by startling and oftentimes disorienting reforms to the Church and seminary, upheaval and social revolution in western societies, and the division of the Kingdom of Belgium and its Catholic university over the country's long-simmering "language wars."

Riedl maintained the order and life of the college as it had been under his predecessor for as long as it was reasonable to do so. With the tectonic plates of culture and society moving under his feet, it was not long before he had to take a new approach to his ministry in Louvain. As perhaps a symbol or, better, a prophecy of what was to come, one of his first major works was to replace in 1961 the traditional stained glass in the apse of the college chapel with brightly colored glass executed in a dramatically contemporary style.[99]

The opening of the Second Vatican Council in October 1962 marked a turning point in the life of the Church and, with it, in the life of the Louvain seminary, as in every seminary around the world. For the seminarians of Louvain, a unique and privileged window into the proceedings that followed was made available. The council was an event deeply influenced by the theologians of Louvain, due to the extraordinary role given to the archbishop of Mechlin (Malines), Cardinal Leon Joseph Suenens,[100] who was called upon to serve as one of the council's principal moderators. Suenens liberally used the theologians of Louvain in preparing and revising the council's declarations, so much so that it was not a great exaggeration for some to claim later that "the Second Vatican Council was the First Louvain Council."[101] Since the professors of the seminarians of the American

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[99]The new glass was designed and executed by local artist, Roger Daniels of Hasselt. The complete set of new windows for the chapel by the same artist was not completed until 1970.

[100]Leon Joseph Suenens (1904-1996), born in Ixelles, was ordained a priest in 1927 for the Archdiocese of Mechlin. He was appointed auxiliary bishop of the same archdiocese in 1945 and archbishop in 1961. In 1962 he was made a cardinal. He retired from the archbishopric in 1979 and died in 1996. See: Leon-Joseph Suenens, *Memories and Hopes*, trans. Elena French (Dublin, 1992); http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bsuenens.html, February 6, 2006.

[101]". . . non sans exagération métonymique, de se référer au Concilium Vaticanum Secundum comme au Concilium Lovaniense Primum." M. Sabbe, "Les Archives de Vatican II à la Katholieke Universiteit Leuven," in *Sources locales de Vatican II*, ed. J. Grootaers and Cl. Soetens (Leuven, 1990), p. 39. Among the Louvain professors involved in the council cited by Sabbe are: L. Cerfaux, Ph. Delhaye, A. Dondeyne, V. Heylen, Ch. Moeller, G. Philips, G. Thils, and W. Onclin.

College were often traveling to Rome as *periti* or to offer counsel to Suenens, those same seminarians found themselves in the privileged position of receiving first-hand, insider reports on the work of the council fathers. Thus, the seminarians of the American College were among the first to be "formed" by the theological and pastoral directions being taken by the council fathers.

By 1964 the *aggiornamento* of the council was having its effect in Riedl's seminary. Tensions between those looking forward to liberalization of the house rule and those who found change frightening made their way even into the pages of the usually discrete *American College Bulletin*.[102] Riedl had to find new ways to dialogue with his seminarians, involving them more in decision-making and leading less autocratically. Riedl was, for the most part, given high marks for his wise and attentive handling of the transitions.

In October 1965, a decree particularly pertaining to seminary formation, *Optatam Totius*, was approved by the council fathers; the document stressed the importance, among other things, of improved pastoral formation for seminarians.[103] To fulfill that mandate Riedl took advantage of a request by Cardinal Suenens, the task of supplying a pastor to minister to a newly founded English-speaking parish in the Brussels area. With the liturgy quickly moving into the vernacular, Anglophones living in the cosmopolitan capital found themselves without the opportunity to participate in the "new Mass" in their own language. The new parish was named "Our Lady of Mercy," and the vice-rector of the American College, the Reverend Albion Bulger, was named its founding pastor. It quickly became a center for the Louvain seminarians to be trained pastorally in a parish setting. The chaplaincies of nearby military bases offered similar opportunities for the seminarians, but Our Lady of Mercy Parish was an especially important venue for the seminarians' pastoral formation as it eventually became the testing

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[102]The June 1965 issue of *The American College Bulletin* is, perhaps, where the tensions become most visible to today's historian. The first three articles are all reflections on the new conciliar decrees and their pastoral applications, while the introduction to the issue notes that a "lack of balance" in the process of "synthesizing and compromising" had resulted in "an individualism, a lowering of our esprit de corps." This in turn had led to the development of a new house rule, which, in turn, led to the development of unspecified "tensions." *The American College Bulletin*, XLIV, no. 1 (1965).

[103]Mathijs Lamberigts, "Optatam Totius—The Decree on Priestly Formation: A Short Survey of its History at the Second Vatican Council," *Louvain Studies*, 30, no. 1-2 (2005). See also White, *Diocesan Seminary*, pp. 409-412.

ground, and the seminarians of the American College the testers, of new catechetical methodologies being pioneered by the Catholic University of Louvain's lecturer in pastoral catechetics, Dr. Christiane Brusselmans.[104] Those methodologies eventually found their way into parishes throughout the United States and the English-speaking world, influencing several generations of catechists and Catholic children. Brusselmans would later become a key figure, along with some of her former American College students, in developing practical methodologies for implementing the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA), again testing them in the college and at Our Lady of Mercy.

The renewed interest in the historical and scriptural foundations of theological studies that was promoted by the council found particular expression in the establishment of a scholarly journal by a number of the college's seminarians in 1967, *Louvain Studies.* The journal quickly became a forum for Louvain's theologians and others to publish their research in English, making it available to a world beyond the French- Dutch- and German-language communities that theretofore had been their usual audiences.

A particularly troubling challenge faced by Riedl was taking shape in the streets of Louvain just outside the gates of the college. The long-simmering resentments over language issues in Belgium and, in particular, in the Catholic University of Louvain, broke out into passionate demonstrations and student riots. The so-called "language wars" forced on the university a division into two autonomous institutions, one French-speaking, the other Dutch-speaking. Riedl decided early on that it was not his or his college's fight and remained resolutely neutral throughout. Nevertheless, the effects of the division of the city and university could not but be felt deeply within the American College. The "Flemish university" in Leuven began to offer many of its academic programs in English, including the entire course of studies in theology, philosophy, and canon law. The "French university," in its newly constructed village, Louvain-la-Neuve, or "The New Louvain," some twenty-five kilometers to the south, taught only in French. Riedl and his successors strictly enforced the college's neutrality, allowing any American College seminarian or his bishop to choose between the two, and for many years thereafter some seminarians remained in Leuven while others traveled to Louvain-la-Neuve for daily classes. Under the new

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[104]Susan K. Roll and Thomas P. Ivory, "'It is a joy for me to do it': An Appreciation of Christiane Brusselmans," *Louvain Studies*, 17, no. 1 (1992).

regime, no one seminarian could have full access to all the academic resources formerly available to all. The two academic traditions that developed in the separated universities, nevertheless, lived together rather commodiously within the college, perhaps one of the few places in Belgium where such was possible.

The decade of the seventies welcomed a new rector, the Reverend Clement E. Pribil, who served in the position for only two years. Desiring to be an interim rector, in January 1972 Pribil handed over responsibility to his successor, a young priest of the Diocese of Providence and a professor of New Testament studies at the university, the Reverend Raymond F. Collins.[105] Collins divided his time and his considerable energy between his responsibilities at the Faculty of Theology and those of the rectorship. The challenges of sorting out the proper manner to form young men for the priesthood in the post-Vatican II era remained as more and more marks of former times were left behind, including use of clerical clothing and titles such as "Father" in the house. Collins was credited particularly with strengthening the college's ties to the university and expanding the pastoral opportunities available to the seminarians under his care.[106]

With the use of English in the Leuven university, it became more common for young priests pursuing higher degrees in theology, canon law, and philosophy to take up residence in the American College. No longer limited to seminarians, the character of the community began to change, as did the college's sense of its mission. More of these priests came from English-speaking nations other than the United States, giving the house once again a more international character. In 1975 a month-long summer institute in theological studies was initiated under Collins's rectorship and continues to this day; though initially designed for priests looking for theological renewal, it was later opened to all religious and laity. Finally, priests wishing to take semester or yearlong sabbatical programs began to join the college community on an increasingly regular basis. As it moved through the seventies, the American College became more than a seminary; it was evolving into a house of studies, offering a variety of academic and renewal opportunities that would benefit the mission of the Church in many corners of the world even as it guarded the seminary program as the core of its ministry.

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[105]Joseph A. Selling, "Raymond F. Collins: U.S.A.-K.U.L.-C.U.A.," *Louvain Studies*, 20, no. 2-3 (1995).

[106]*Ibid*., p. 105.

Collins's years as rector came to an end in the summer of 1978. By then, there was a sense that the rector's position, like that of most pastors, should have a set term. Five years became the norm, and with that, a series of rectors followed in rather rapid succession: the Reverend William Graytak of the Diocese of Helena, the Reverend John Costanza of the Diocese of Pueblo, Reverend Monsignor Thomas Ivory of the Archdiocese of Newark, the Reverend Melvin T. Long of the Diocese of Salinas, the Reverend David E. Windsor, C.M., and presently this author, the Reverend Kevin A. Codd of the Diocese of Spokane. With the lack of temporal distance from these rectorates to provide fitting historical perspective, it is best to draw to a close this survey of the history of the American College as it now celebrates the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. Since its opening, the American College has provided to the church in America almost two thousand missionaries, professors, pastors, lay leaders, and bishops. "A hundred young men educated at Louvain for the American missions! Is not the thought enlivening?"[107] wrote Martin J. Spalding in 1853; his vision has been fulfilled twenty times over in the past century and a half.

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[107]Spalding, *Life of M. J. Spalding*, p. 162. See also: Sauter, *American College*, pp. 17-18.

REVIEW ARTICLE

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PRIESTS, MOUNTAINS, AND "SACRED SPACE"
IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

BY

WILLIAM A. CHRISTIAN JR.*

Les Prêtres des montagnes; La vie, la mort, la foi dans les Pyrénées centrales sous l'Ancien Régime (Val d'Aran et diocèse de Comminges). By Serge Brunet. (Aspet: Universatim Pyrégraph. 2001. Pp. 863.)

Clergés, Communautés et Familles des Montagnes d'Europe; Actes du colloque "Religion et montagnes," Tarbes, 30 mai-2 juin 2002. Edited by Serge Brunet and Nicole Lemaître. [Histoire Moderne 50, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne.] (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 2005. Pp. 421.)

Montagnes sacrées d'Europe; Actes du colloque "Religion et montagnes," Tarbes, 30 mai-2 juin 2002. Edited by Serge Brunet, Dominique Julia and Nicole Lemaître. [Histoire Moderne 49, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne.] (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 2005. Pp. 427.)

Defining the Holy; Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Edited by Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton. (Aldershot, Hants., and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate. 2005. Pp. 345.)

Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe. Edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. 350)

Mountains and Priests

Serge Brunet's monumental *Les Prêtres des montagnes* is a study of customary religious practice and institutions in the Val d'Aran in the Pyrenees and of diocesan attempts to bring this high, isolated valley to heel. Formed by the river Bavarthès, the Val d'Aran rises from an altitude of 600m at the frontier with France to peaks as high as 2500m; in a space of 633 km^2 there are thirty villages or hamlets with a total population in the early modern period of about 6000 persons. For centuries part of Spain but in a French diocese, the valley was able to garner considerable ecclesiastical independence by playing off the two jurisdictions. The book is a fascinating case study of an unusual prolonga-

tion of custom in the face of the uniformizing forces of modern nation states and the Council of Trent.

Following Marc Bloch, Brunet practices a "regressive history" which shows "how much religion has left its clues which, consciously or not, the historian follows up, going back to the source" (p. 59). He does so, in the words of the historian Bartolomé Bennassar, in an exercise of "total history," starting from architecture, art, kinship, patterns of inheritance, family names, place names and travelers' reports, as well as a wide range of ecclesiastical, civil, military and administrative documents at the local, regional, and national level both in France and Spain.

For virtually every topic Brunet compares his findings (on vocations, reform, education, migration of priests, etc.) with other valleys in the diocese of Comminges, valleys in neighboring dioceses, and those of other studies of the Catalan valleys of Àneu and Boí, Andorra, Brittany, Savoy, cities of Languedoc, and Paris. The comparisons reveal great variation, and sometimes it is hard to discern the landscape in the thicket of detail.

The result is a book that, well, sprawls. The pilgrim reader has to keep an eye on the compass as the author goes on major, if rewarding, detours. Topics are scattered through the 863-page work (itself only part of his unpublished four-volume thesis). There are statistics on everything countable (those who choose to wade through them should bring hip boots) and a profusion of photographs, maps, and charts. All in all, this reader felt quite at home.

From the fourteenth until the eighteenth century, the valley pretty much had its way. Each new bishop had to come and confirm the valley's privileges "on knees, with head bowed, before representatives of valley clergy and laity, his right hand on the holy scriptures" (p. 89), then add his signature to that of his predecessors on the original 1372 parchment. These privileges, incremented by customary accretion, included valley retention of all tithes (half for the priests, half for the parish expenses), parish council presentation of curates, the figure of a local archdeacon with bishop-like judicial authority who could be appealed only to the archdiocese or the pope, and the limitation of episcopal visits (with no retinue) to once every seven years at most. On the Spanish side, the Aranese had the right to apply for benefices anywhere in Spain, and a number held them in Catalonia and Aragon.

The apogee of valley religious autonomy and prosperity came in sixteenth century during French religious wars, when Aran was pampered by Philip II as a bulwark of Catholicism with privileges for cross-border trading, especially of mules to Spain and horses and military supplies to the French Ligue. Alone among Spaniards Aranese traders had the right to circulate throughout Gascony. Church constructions, furnishings, and art from this time testify to the valley's wealth.

The Catholic Reformation in the diocese of Comminges, as elsewhere in much of France, was put off until the end of the sixteenth century by religious struggle. In Aran it had to wait much longer, with the first inroads made by Jesuits missionaries, who in the 1640's catalyzed reconciliations within and between parishes. But despite the concerted efforts of one bishop after another in the seventeenth century the Aranese were generally able to retrofit reforms to their own institutions.

Its plethora of peasant clerics were active as armed militia in the revolt of the Catalans, and later in the battles in and around Aran in the War of Succession (1701-1715) against the troops of Spain's Bourbon king. Around 1715 a French military officer reported:

> There are 360 clerics, most of whom have no scruples about using guns. It is scarcely believable that there could be so many clergy in such a small territory where there is not even a [collegiate church] chapter. The tiniest village has seven or eight, most of whom would have trouble getting by if they did not cut wood for sale or work the land. They are poorly dressed and almost all wear wooden shoes (p. 369).

But by this time the situation of the clergy was in decline. The decisive blow to Aran's privileges came when the bishop of Comminges won support for reform in the valley from the French Bourbon Philip V of Spain through the king's Jesuit confessor, after the Aranese had made strategic mistakes by throwing their lot in, first, with autonomy for Catalonia, and then, with the wrong contender for the Spanish throne.

In 1790 the diocese of Comminges was abolished, and in 1804 the Val d'Aran became part of the diocese of Urgell. Since 1814 the valley has been both part of Spain and a Spanish diocese, and its days of playing diocese and nation against each other are long over. At present there are only five priests in the valley, only one of whom, retired, is native born. A friend from the adjacent valley of Boí who attended the Urgell seminary in the 1960's tells me that he had never heard anything special about the Aran clergy or their history.

Lesser clergy like coadjutants and those without parish duties, who have left little trace in parish records, are virtually invisible in ecclesiastical history, and Brunet's book is largely dedicated to them, revealing their intense and complex participation in community and spiritual life.

In 1715 the valley's 360 clerics (of whom about 140 were priests) represented about 7% of the population. This percentage (which was higher still in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) was high for the zone; at the end of the Old Regime the valley's priests comprised 29% of those of the diocese, though the valley comprised 5% at most of the diocesan population. As in much of the Pyrenees, the production of priests was an integral part of a strong house system, whereby only one son inherited the house and the land,

and the houses that could, invested in land-secured chaplaincies that maintained generation after generation of junior sons.

The clerics were organized on a village or village-group level in corporations called *taulas* or *mesaus* (<Latin *mensa*), a kind of cooperative that held land, loaned money, and conjured storms. Each had its meeting house, which also served as a kind of dinner club and storehouse for the priests, and the whole troop of them would go for dinner whenever there was a death or anniversary. Their chief income was from death Masses, which they administered collectively, as villages and valleys administered collectively their mountain pastures. A kind of feral clergy, they wore lay garb, and often had wives or women. They were educated by apprenticeship, often by clerical uncles in village schools funded by pious bequests. In early modern Aran, priests were generally the only literate people and served as notaries.

The gradual effect of concentrated effort by the Comminges bishops over the seventeenth century was to enforce the residence of rectors in diocesan parishes and insist on stays in the seminary for new ordinations, "a situation in which the parish priest was absent and native priests were stable [making] way to one in which rectors were stable and native priests actively circulated" (p. 206). The process was slow, however. A rudimentary seminary (run by Jesuits) did not open until 1712, and the first students from Aran arrived three years later.

The new system, which prioritized formal education in order to produce priests or notaries, meant that by the mid-eighteenth century families invested less in death Masses to endow family clergymen and more in schools and seminary. Many of the "perpetual" Masses lapsed or petered out as their endowments became devalued. Lay persons took over from priests as notaries and town secretaries. In 1731, in a crippling blow to the lesser clergy, all death Masses were reassigned from the *mesaus* to the curate. In 1750 a decree of Spain's Fernando VI reduced the interest on the land-secured loans that were the basis for the system (already reduced by bishops from $8^1/_3$% to 5% in the sixteenth century) from 5% to 3%. Brunet suggests that few new chaplaincies were founded, not because of a change in "religious mentality," but because they no longer served their purpose of endowing native clergy, many of whom were no longer in the valley. Nevertheless, some *mesaus* and their dinners persisted into the 1790's.

The Aran parishioners, on the occasion of episcopal visits, seem to have protected their clergy. But the diocese made every effort to eliminate priests who drank too much, wore lay clothes, bore arms, or lived with women. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Brunet maintains, French dioceses chose to have fewer, but higher-quality priests, while Spanish ones had begun their reforms earlier, and did so by upgrading the priests they had. The result was that in this period numbers of Spanish priests continued to accumulate, while there is a dip in the number of French secular clergy. In fact,

many of the poorer Aran priests started migrating in the winters to Spain, where they survived by begging. Philip V, when he rejected the appeal of the valley's notables against their bishop's reform, did so in part, he said, because of "the multiplicity of priests . . . who since they do not have enough to live on in the valley, become vagabonds and dishonor their condition by asking for alms" (p. 407).

The last 300 pages of the book contain a historical ethnography of the "home priests"—their evolution from the married priests of the high Middle Ages in the high valleys of the Pyrenees; their involvement as valley government leaders; their exclusion from patrimonies; their role as spiritual leaders of families as godparents; their tower or section of the stem household known as the "abbey"; their communal refectory and its use as a tithe storage deposit, storm lookout, and conjuring post; and their function as record keepers, advisors, and notaries.

As in the rest of the work, these chapters are peppered with surprises. The home priest served as godparent for the children of the inheritor, not of other non-inheriting siblings. Meals were a kind of money, and priests who were remiss were penalized by the *mesaus* by having to provide a certain number of meals. The physical presence of tithe goods from the community in the *mesaus* headquarters seemed to give spiritual force to the storm conjuring performed there. Households grouped land parcels with liens for Mass foundations, and the wheat (or hay fed to animals) from that land went to feed the priests for the funeral meals. Funeral banquets also provided a community audience for the reading of wills. Feeding the dead with offerings was in some places considered the feeding of fairies, in others a way to feed the poor.

Brunet lays out the economic organization of *mesaus* for death masses in terms of different kinds of loans secured by land; the *mesaus* as a kind of bank, with loans and entailed lands as currency; and how these loans were eventually switched over to the fabrics of the parish churches, which themselves became detached from community control. Finally, he examines wills, death rituals, burial, death banquets and offerings, and the spaces of the dead. The entire system served the stem houses. The houses made foundations from which the priests lived; the priests in turn prayed for the household and community dead, provided credit, helped the household to accumulate capital goods, and, as executors of wills, guided transitions from one generation to another.

Brunet is entitled to be forgiven for the rather strange first chapter, in which he attempts a kind of atemporal synthesis of Aranese cosmology that associates carnival figures with the dead, the dead with Moors and fairies, and the devil with the high peaks. Unlike the documentary rigor of the rest of the book, this chapter is a fanciful mix of present-day usage, nineteenth-century folklore, vocabulary, and place names, with evidence from elsewhere adduced when it fits. Brunet here directly cites no living persons to support his syn-

thesis.[1] While some of what he suggests is in keeping with highly cathected notions of some older rural Basques in regard to certain mountains,[2] it does not fit this reader's experience with acquaintances in the eastern Pyrenees or the Cantabrian mountains, who tend to be quite matter of fact about their environment. The author's identification of the dead with the Moors in particular required more evidence for this reader.

It is churlish to ask for even more information and comparisons, but once one enters in the dynamic of learning about everything, a kind of intellectual gluttony takes over. The Val d'Aran Brunet describes fits well Eric Wolf's notion of a "closed corporate community."[3] In the high Pyrenees this place-corporateness is broadened to the valley level and exacerbated and concentrated by topography. The subject begs for more comparison with the Spanish side. Brunet is keyed into Catalan scholarship, but over the border from Aran in Aragon is the greatest concentration in all of Spain of district shrines visited by villages from surrounding villages, which reflects intensely and cooperatively developed valley identities.[4] Some of the idiosyncrasies of Aran compared the rest of the diocese of Comminges, may be differences between Spain, or Aragon, and France, or Gascony. The Aranese carnival, for instance, shares

[1]His article "Le carneval en Pays de Luchon, 1880-1950" in *Folklore, revue d'ethnographie méridionale*, 36: 190-191 (1983), 57, however, includes ample oral sources. Brunet has two more historical works in press: *Relation de la Mission des Pyrénées (1635-1649). Jean Forcaud, jésuite, et la montagne*, text translated, annotated, and presented by Serge Brunet with the participation of Paul Fave (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S); and *"De l'Espagnol dedans le ventre!" Les catholiques du Sud-Ouest de la France face à la Réforme (vers 1540-1589)* (Paris: Honoré Champion) based on the archives of Simancas.

[2]See José Miguel de Barandiarán, *Mitología Vasca,* 5th ed. (San Sebastián: Txertoa, 1983), and Sandra Ott, "La Montagne and 'The Old Religious' in a French Basque Mountain Commune," *Montagnes sacrées d'Europe* (hereafter cited as MSE), pp. 357-360.

[3]Eric R. Wolf, "Closed Corporate Communities in Mesoamerica and Java," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology,* 13 (1957), 1–18; his "The Vicissitudes of the Closed Corporate Peasant Community," *American Ethnologist*, 13 (May, 1986), 325-329; and specifically for mountain border Europe, John W. Cole and Eric R. Wolf, *The Hidden Frontier: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Alpine Valley* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[4]See José C. Lisón Arcal, *Cultural e identidad en la provincia de Huesca: Una perspectiva desde la antropología social* (Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, 1986), and Enrique Satué Oliván, *Religiosidad popular y romerías en el Pirineo* (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1991). See also, for other matters María Tausiet, *Ponzoña en los ojos: Brujería y superstición en Aragón en el siglo XVI* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico," Diputación de Zaragoza, 2000). Marc Salvan-Guillotin, in the MSE volume reviewed below, demonstrates the close artistic connections between the Aragonese and Gascon sides of the Pyrenees in the sixteenth century, "Le décor peint de l'église San-Juan-Bautista de San-Juan de Toledo de la Nata et ses équivalents pyrénéens," MSE, 161-191.

aspects of others in Spain.[5] He would surely also find use for works on death and funeral customs in Spain, and for Peter Sahlins' history of the Spanish-French border in Cerdanya.[6]

This said, this reader has no doubt Brunet's work will stimulate new lines of research for Spain, especially on clerical corporations and vocations. In Spain, clergy in many larger towns were organized in formal corporations known variously as *cabildos de clérigos* (for example, Almazán, Atienza, Ávila, Béjar, Guadalajara, Madrid, Molina de Aragón, Priego in Cuenca), *cofradías de clérigos*, or *universidades de clérigos*. One author refers to these corporations as "*cabildos menores*" to distinguish them from cathedral and collegiate chapters.[7] Some of these groups, at least, owned property (including a house where they met), had special privileges, and made loans. James Melvin of the University of Pennsylvania is researching these cabildos for his thesis. He kindly informs me that the statutes of those in Ávila "suggest that the groups functioned as both trade organizations that regulated clerical comportment, adjudicated disputes between clergy over tithes, wedding stipends, etc., and likewise provided material and spiritual assistance to members."[8] That of Priego stated in 1600 that it "was founded not so much for wealthy priests as for the mercenary and poor ones."[9] José Sánchez Herrero writes, referring to

[5]Julio Caro Baroja, *El carnaval (análisis histórico-cultural)* (Madrid: Taurus, 1965); Josefina Roma Riu, *Aragón y el carnaval* (Zaragoza: Guara, 1980); Juan Garmendia Larrañaga, *Carnaval en Navarra* (San Sebastian: Haranburu, 1984); Kepa Fernández de Larrinoa, *Mujer, ritual y fiesta: Género, antropología y teatro de carnaval en el valle de Soule* (Pamplona: Pamiela, 1997); and slightly farther afield, William A. Christian, *Trovas y comparsas del Alto Nansa* (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 1998).

[6]María Cátedra, *This World, Other Worlds: Sickness, Suicide, Death, and the Afterlife among the Vaqueiros de Alzada of Spain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), which makes ample use of oral testimony in its construction of a cosmology; William Douglass, *Death in Murelaga: Funerary Ritual in a Spanish Basque village* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969); *Ritos funerarios en Vasconía* [Atlas etnográfico de Vasconía, Vol. X] (Bilbao: Etniker Euskalerria, 1995) [846pp.]; Josetxu Martínez Montoya, *Pueblos, Ritos y montañas: Prácticas vecinales y religiosas en el tiempo y en el espacio de la comunidad rural (Valle de Arana-Alava-Euskal Herria): Ensayo antropológico* (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer, 1996), pp. 109-118; Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

[7]María del Carmen Martín Martín, *Dos ejemplos de Cabildos menores en la tierra de Béjar : La Universidad de Clérigos de la Villa y el Cabildo de clérigos del Cuarto de Arriba* (Béjar: Centro de Estudios Bejaranos, 2002).

[8]Personal communication; documents in Tomás Sobrino Chomón, *Documentos de antiguos cabildos, cofradías y hermandades abulenses* (Ávila: Institución Gran Duque de Alba y Caja de Ahorros de Ávila, 1988).

[9]Sara T. Nalle, "Inquisitors, Priests, and the People During the Catholic Reformation in Spain," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XVIII (1987), 574. I am grateful to Dr. Nalle for this reference.

the dioceses of the kingdom of León in the late Middle Ages, that those broth-erhoods of clergy "that included all kinds of clerics were mainly dedicated, whether by the intention of their founders or as the result of their evolution over time, to the celebration of Masses for the dead."[10] The Spanish cabildos came in a great variety of forms, some open, some closed. As far as this reader knows, the subject is not well studied.

Brunet's book has 550 pages of text (with many photographs, maps, graphs, and diagrams interspersed throughout), 172 pages of notes, 28 pages of appen-dices, a 9-page glossary (though some terms in the text are neither in the glos-sary nor standard dictionaries), a 17-page bibliography, and a 46-page index. This reader came away from this exuberance energized by how much remains to be learned, and how much fun it can be to learn it.

Brunet and other scholars alert to the dynamics of local variation organized a conference in Tarbes in May 2002 to explore how themes that arose in his study might play out in other areas, especially mountain areas of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Massif central. The papers have been published by the Sorbonne in two separate books.

Compared with the detail and bulk of Brunet's information, that of *Clergés, Communautés et Familles des Montagnes d'Europe*,[11] in thirty twelve-page chapters, comes in less detail and smaller portions. But many of the chapters are substantial and open fresh lines of inquiry. Most deal with areas of France, three with Spain, two each with Andorra and Switzerland, and one each with Portugal, the Italian Alps, and Transylvania. Five of the papers deal with late antique or medieval periods, the vast majority with the early modern period, and two with the twentieth century. The papers are arranged in five sections—Clerics and their Families; Clerics and Community Identities; Services to or Control of Communities?; Mountains as Refuges, Mountains to be Christianized; and The Era of Religious Competition. But the great variety of places and periods within each section means that reading the volume sequen-tially was like a steeplechase.

Building on Timothy Tackett's work on recruitment of priests,[12] the authors examine family inheritance structures to explain the disproportionate origin of priests in some mountain zones, including systems that reserve positions for family members or pass them on from one to another. They suggest that the imbrication of clergy in local society before Trent, due to the patronage of parish posts and local rights to tithes, local clerical sources of credit, and

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[10]José Sánchez Herrero, *Las diócesis del Reino de León, siglos XIV y XV* (León: Centro de Estudios e investigaciones "San Isidro," 1978), p. 389.

[11]Hereafter cited as CCF.

[12]Timothy Tackett, *Priests and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France. A Social and Political Study of the Curés in a Diocese of Dauphiné, 1750-1791* (Princeton: Prince-ton University Press, 1977).

priests as notaries, continues after the Catholic Reformation in new and ingenious ways. In his introduction, Brunet suggests that diocesan correctives tend to reach the mountains later and mountain communities can be particularly resistant to them.

For this reader many essays were illuminating. One learns how families in Andorra from the tenth to the fourteenth century by founding chapels spun off clerical posts for younger sons and reinforced the position of the single inheritor;[13] a similar system, perhaps without the physical chapels, seemed to hold in the Gévaudan (now Lozère, roughly), where at the end of the fourteenth century almost one out of five persons who made wills endowed clerical posts for family members and one out of ten benefices studied for the fifteenth century were handed down from one relative to another by the system of *resignatio in favorem*.[14]

In Val d'Aran the community and the parish were so intertwined that the priest notary kept the parish accounts and the village accounts in the same book, one starting from the front, one from the back. *Consuetes* of communities in Andorra show a similarly interlocked administration of parish and community property.[15] The early modern period witnessed a concerted attempt on the part of dioceses to reduce community control over parishes through inspections of parish accounts, prohibition of government meetings in churches, etc.[16] For Corsica Michel Casta addresses the effort, fairly general throughout contemporary Catholic Europe, of bishops to avoid placing parish priests in their home villages.[17] Breaking that centuries-old link has not been easy, as it addresses the heart of the issues that Brunet is raising, the maintenance of local usage and custom. It appears to have been harder to do in mountain zones, because fewer outside clergy were eager to go there, and closed mountain communities were less willing to have them. While some mountain regions export priests, few are able to attract them.

[13]Roland Viader, "Le clergé dans la société andorrane (Xᵉ-XIVᵉ siècle)" CCF, pp. 23-34, based on documents transcribed by Cebrià Baraut.

[14]Philippe Maurice, "Famille et clergé en Gévaudan à la fin du Moyen Âge," CCF, pp. 35-45. The Gévaudan continued as a reservoir of priests; the diocese of Mende sent a disproportionate number of students to the French seminary founded in Rome in 1853, leading to a privileged connection and a reputation for the mountain zone as a bulwark of faith against modernism. Patrick Cabanel, "Une foi de granit: les montagnes romaines du XIXᵉ siècle," CCF, pp. 331-342. The author's *Cadets de Dieu; Familles, vocations et migrations religieuses en Gévaudan (XVIIIᵉ-XXᵉ siècle)* (Paris: CNRS, 1997), is frequently cited in the book.

[15]Martina Camiade, "Relations entre la paroisse et la communauté d'habitants en Andorre, aux XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles, d'après *les consuetes*," CCF, pp. 125-136.

[16]Joaquim M. Puigvert i Solà, "L'histoire sociale de la paroisse de montagne en Catalogne (XVIIᵉ-XIXᵉ siècle)," CCF, pp. 201-208.

[17]Michel Casta, "Les carrières sacerdotales dans les paroisses de la montagne corse à la fin du XIXᵉ siècle," CCF, pp. 149-161.

Mountain communities could make good use of clerical outsiders, as with Jesuit missionaries in the Pyrenees. In the sixteenth-century episcopal territory of Trent, where communities had far less autonomy, the key usefulness to communities of the parish priest, often an outsider, was in servicing the dead and dying and pacifying disputes through the sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist; but his status was ambiguous, and village complaints during visitations show him in an uneasy position between leader and employee of his parishioners.[18]

Only one contribution, alas, had to do with communities of priests. Stéphane Gomis asserts that communitarian native-son priests ("*filleuls et communalistes*") were organized right across France from the Jura to the Pyrenees, and they sang canonical hours in churches, performed anniversary Masses, elected officials, and distributed revenues. They held common property, but did not usually live together. Those in the diocese of Clermont, at least, also ran schools and hospitals.[19]

New doctrines, at least initially, must break the link between locality and religion. Cathars, Waldensians, and Calvinists arrived from cities and then over time became localized; in this process mountains came to serve as hideouts or redoubts for their perpetuation among the non-elite, sometimes long after elites had reverted to Catholicism. As with the Val d'Aran, religious exceptionalism seems to thrive in mountains that are also borders—whether between nations, dioceses, or both.[20] But Catharism held out the longest in the Pyrenees, one contributor suggests, merely because it was the last place that the inquisitor bishops got to.[21] For new doctrines this process of localization is a reverse, in a way, of the delocalizing effort Brunet describes. In parts of Protestant Switzerland it was urban ministers assigned from Zurich who in the sixteenth century applied outside doctrines and norms; by the eighteenth century, with more local candidates available, the ministers were locally born, tied in to family networks, and sympathetic to local customs.[22]

Two of the most interesting contributions regard regions in which, unlike the Val d'Aran, Protestants and Catholics lived side by side. Robert Sauzet describes the great variety in religious coexistence in the Cévennes: some

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[18]Cecilia Nubiola, "Suppliques et requêtes religieuses du clergé, des fidèles et des communautés rurales au prince-évêque de Trente (xviᵉ siècle)," CCF, pp. 101-109; Claude-Marie Robion, "'Indes pyrénéenes'. Les communautés montagnardes vues par les missionnaires jésuites au XVIIᵉ siècle," CCF, pp. 293-304.

[19]Stéphane Gomis, "Enseignement et assistance. L'action de prêtres communalistes dans le diocèse de Clermont sous l'Ancien Régime," CCF, pp. 177-187.

[20]Gabriel Audisio, "La montagne: un refuge pour les vaudois?" CCF, pp. 23-242; Joël Fouilleron, "La montagne cantalienne et les morsures des déviances religieuses (XVIᵉ-XXᵉ siècle)," CCF, pp. 261-280.

[21]Pilar Jiménez, "Y a-t-il eu un catharisme des montagnes?" CCF, pp. 223-235.

[22]Anne-Lise Head-König, "État protestant, clergé de montagne et encadrement des paroissiens dans la Suisse du XVIIIᵉ siècle," CCF, pp. 189-199.

towns with harmonious interaction, mixed marriages and shared shrines; and some identical pairs of villages choosing opposing confessions seemingly out of prior rivalry. Overall there was a process of "confessionalization" whereby (not unlike in American small towns) a family's primary identity became its religion.[23] Valérie Sottocasa shows that at the beginning of the French Revolution, Catholics initially favorable in some of these mixed zones were led to "read" the Revolution as "Protestant," thereby turning violently against it and its local supporters, including constitutional priests.[24]

Finally, an analysis of religious practice in the diocese of Gap based on the kind of detailed information not available for earlier periods anywhere in France sounds a note of caution in regard to blanket statements about enduring zones of devotion, in mountains or otherwise, showing that the rate of religious practice and clerical recruitment fluctuated dramatically over the nineteenth century from canton to canton.[25]

Brunet and others remark on the fragility of migratory flows, especially of priests. Room in the geographical analysis of clerical vocations must also be made for migratory specialization by town. Some towns and villages, in all essential respects identical to their neighbors, develop the specialty of providing priests and religious, often handed down through family lines, just as other towns produce itinerant stone masons, hotel operators in Mexico, or waiters in Manhattan. And similarly, within regions that habitually produce clergy towns often develop specialization in particular orders that is passed from generation to generation. Such clusters may begin, as in a Spanish instance this reader was told of, with the visit of a charismatic missionary who convinces a group of youth to join his order, much the same way as whole cohorts of village youths chose to emigrate to Germany in the 1970's or become shepherds in the American West.

The question of mountains and vocations becomes: Which mountain cultures produce a disproportionate amount of priestly vocations, and why? The obvious reason is the system of impartible inheritance in many of those zones. But, as Isidro Dubert points out for the mountains of Lugo,[26] there are zones of impartible inheritance that historically have not produced a disproportion of vocations, and other explanations must come into play. For some of the

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[23]Robert Sauzet, "Les catholiques cévenols, des minoritaires mal connus," CCF, pp. 307-318. In her lucid conclusion Nicole Lemaître points out, "For reasons still to be explained, religious parameters are incomparably more powerful and long-lasting in the mountains than in towns or the ordinary countryside," CCF, p. 402.

[24]Valérie Sottocasa, "Révolution et religion dans le sud du Massif central: sensibilités populaires en terre de frontière religieuse," CCF, pp. 319-330.

[25]Nadine Vivier, "La pratique religieuse dans le diocèse de Gap au XIXᵉ siècle," CCF, pp. 355-367.

[26]"Montagnes, clercs et vocations religieuses dans la Galice intérieure, 1685-1859," CCF, pp. 75-86.

poorer mountain regions, the production and exportation of priests seems simply one more kind of skilled labor export for a zone that needs children but not adults. And local studies in Spain have shown that in the last one hundred years recruitment of priests has a lot to do with family traditions, the political climate, and the effect of particular curates.[27]

Together with Brunet's opus, *Clergés, Communautés et Familles* suggests the feasibility for broad studies to identify the historical geography and ethnography of vocations in other countries, identifying regions that specialize in the production of priests and religious (such as, in Spain, portions of the northern and southern slopes and piedmont of the Cantabrian mountains), and relating this to kinship and inheritance structures, settlement patterns, and means of production.

The other volume of papers from the Tarbes conference, *Montagnes sacrées d'Europe*, is quite different, and rather more of a grabbag. The underlying themes are to what extent and in what ways mountains have been regarded as sacred (Eliade-type notions that mountains can be intrinsically sacred are quickly dispensed with[28]) and to what extent mountain people are especially devout or devout in special ways. On the whole, the essays deal more with representations than with social realities. The book has twenty-seven chapters (twenty on France), an introduction by Christian Desplat, a conclusion by Dominique Julia, and indices of persons, places, and themes.

A cultural reading of the landscape has occurred in most if not all civilizations, and the book opens with essays on the imagined mountain in ancient Greece and the template of special hills and mountains in the Bible.[29] A general pattern, identified by Brunet in his monograph and laid out here by Alain Cabantous,[30] is a switch on the part of non-mountain urbanites from considering mountains to be a fearsome zone of danger and wilderness inhabited by the uncouth and the backward, to, in the late eighteenth century, considering it to be the last reserve of the noble and God-fearing shepherds and country folk. A number of essays debunk these stereotypes, demonstrating that mountain people were neither especially backwards nor especially pious.[31] The attempt

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[27]See, for instance, Antón M. Pazos, *El Clero Navarro 1900-1936* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 1990).

[28]Jean-Pierre Albert, "Les montagnes sont-elles bonnes à penser en termes religieux?" MSE, pp. 65-71.

[29]François Quintin, "À propos de l'imaginaire montagnard en Grèce ancienne," MSE, pp. 23-34.

[30]"La turbulence des sacralités montagnardes dans l'Europe moderne," MSE, pp. 47-55.

[31]Marie-Hélène Colin, "Des saints vosgiens de la montagne? Amé, Romaric et Claire," MSE, pp. 109-119; and, similarly, Philippe Martin, "Les Vosges: terre de superstitions ou terre de missions?" MSE, pp. 289-299; Philippe de Robert, "Montagnes inspirées: Histoire religieuse et romantisme chez Napoléon Peyrat," MSE, pp. 57-64; Gérald Chaix, "La montagne et les chartreux. Imaginaire et réalité d'un refuge (1816-1903)," MSE, pp. 317-323; Jean-François Galinier-Pallerola, "Le Canigou: précipices affreux ou montagne sacrée? Ruine et reconstruction de l'abbaye Saint-Martin," MSE, pp. 325-337.

to deduce from archaeological remains a particular pagan piety in mountain zones or toward peaks is considered a recent example of the topos.[32] Alpinism subsequently gave a new familiarity to key mountains,[33] and in the twentieth century skiing brought them yet a different kind of desacralization.[34]

Many essays in MSE seem to have tacked onto them the consensus of the conference that little aside from the outside ascriptions distinguishes the religion in the mountains from that of the plains. But there is no systematic, serial examination of the theme. The travelers' accounts, of course, tell more about the travelers than what they see.[35] One has the feeling that if the sense of the meeting had gone the other way, a number of the essays would have read the (largely anecdotal or literary) data to come up with another conclusion. And, indeed, Dominique Julia in his conclusion plausibly disagrees with many of the authors, pointing out aspects of mountain life that make it different and can have a discernible impact on its religiosity: transhumant pastoralism, which sets up connections with sometimes distant areas; danger in landscape, snow, and storms, which leads to the establishment of particular kinds of shrines and devotion to particular saints (like Mary,[36] Saint Michael for heights, and Saint Maurice and the Theban legionnaires in the Alps[37]). Mountains are often borders, and borders are often strategic locations for shrines that attract multiple communities. Mary has historically had this kind of agglutinative devotional attraction, and many border shrines are dedicated to her, as papers on Laus,[38] Montserrat,[39] and Catalan shrines to Mary[40] point out. Mountains lend themselves to penitential practice, especially for non-mountain people, and the topos of the mountain

[32]Robert Sablayrolles, "Être pieux en montagne durant l'Antiquité. L'apport de l'épigraphie dans les Pyrénées centrales," MSE, pp. 75-95; Jean-Luc Schenck-David, "Être pieux en montagne. L'apport de l'archéologie des sanctuaires d'altitude dans les Pyrénées centrales romaines," MSE, pp. 97-101.

[33]Three contributors cite Philippe Joutard, *L'invention de Mont Blanc* (Paris: Gallimard-Juillard, 1986).

[34]Christian Sorrel, "Une nouvelle montagne sacrée? Catholicisme, tourisme et sports d'hiver en Savoie au xxᵉ siècle," MSE, pp. 367-379.

[35]Frédéric Meyer, "Le regard des voyageurs étrangers sur la religion des Savoyards du XVIᵉ siècle au début du XIXᵉ siècle," MSE, pp. 301-313.

[36]Christian Desplat, "Des eaux, des rocs, un culte: Marie dans les Pyrénées occidentales françaises à l'époque moderne," MSE, pp. 121-135. See also Ottavia Niccoli, "Madonne di montagna: Note su apparizioni e santuari nelle valli alpine" in Ottavio Besomi and Carlo Caruso, *Cultura d'élite e cultura popolare nell'arco alpino fra Cinque e Seicento* (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1995), pp. 95-121.

[37]Cyril Isnart, "Saint alpin, saint local, saint légionnaire. Usages et variations du modèle de sainteté légionnaire dans les Alpes du Sud," MSE, pp. 151-160.

[38]Marie Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, "Notre-Dame de Laus au diocèse d'Embrun. Cristallisation d'une religion des montagnes au xviiᵉ siècle?" MSE, pp. 137-149.

[39]Ignasi Fernández Terricabras, "Montserrat, montagne sacrée. Spiritualisation du territoire montagnard dans un massif catalan (XVIᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles)," MSE, pp. 193-206.

[40]Marlène Albert Llorca, "La Vierge et les montagnes: l'exemple catalan," MSE, pp. 207-213.

retreat for hermits is explored in a number of essays, including signally Christine Delaplace on the imitation in the West in the fifth and sixth centuries of the desert saints in the East.[41] The connection of mountains and hermits is shown to be more myth than reality, as hermits have generally preferred to be close to communities and highways.[42] (Also rejected is the Trevor-Roper idea that witchcraft is a particularly mountain phenomenon.[43])

Two key questions in the book are whether mountains were intrinsically sacred, and whether mountains (all mountains) were held to be sacred. A different question would be whether particular mountains were held to be more sacred than others around them.

This reader could have used more maps, and in the case of both collections, a glossary.

In all three books under consideration, there is remarkably little direct inquiry of living people about their ideas or conceptions, or at least few direct quotes.[44] It is as if a seventeenth-century traveler's written account were considered direct evidence for ideas about mountains, but not a twentieth-century inhabitant. Cabantous suggests that a switch has taken place, and that outsiders now have a desacralized, matter-of-fact idea of the mountains, while some mountain people have internalized the romantic and folkloric notions of an earlier generation of outsiders. Just how people do feel about their landscape, almost nobody in these books has bothered to ask. Of all the present-day clues available for a regressive history, it would seem that present-day people were the least used, or, if used, the least acknowledged.

But all in all, these three works, which belong together, are a valiant, sustained inquiry into rural religion and its clergy in the mountains of France and its neighbors, for which readers will be deeply grateful.

"Sacred Space"

In April, 2003, a month before the Tarbes conference, a somewhat similar conference was held at the University of Exeter. Fifteen of the papers presented there have been published in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* [hereafter DH], edited by Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer. The contributors include social historians, art and architectural historians, and an archaeologist. A similar collection, also published in

[41]"Aux origines du 'désert' en Occident. Érémitisme et premières fondations monastiques en Gaule et en Italie aux ve-vı^e siècles après Jésus-Christ," MSE, pp. 217-226.

[42]Catherine Sanstchi, "Essai de géographie érémitique dans les Alpes," MSE, pp. 235-251, where, however, there appears to be a running confusion between hermits and shrine keepers, as in an essay by Philippe Masson.

[43]Oscar Di Simplicio, "La sorcellerie dans l'ancien état siennois," MSE, pp. 265-273.

[44]An exception is Ott, "La Montagne," MSE, pp. 357-366.

2005, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* [hereafter SS], edited by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, is more focused on the context of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations; the contributors are all social historians. Many essays in both volumes are fresh and stimulating, and those interested in the subject will want to look at both. Nine of the thirty papers in the two books deal with the United Kingdom, four with France, four with Germany, two each with Flanders, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain and one each papers with Netherlands, Bohemia, Transylvania, and Moldavia. The two works share an editor, and it makes sense to talk about them together.

When one compares these two British collections with the two French ones reviewed above, aside from evident differences in the content addressed there are basic differences in the approach. The French-based collections, with the Val d'Aran study in mind, have a rural emphasis and address the dynamics of the local *terroir*: what happened here, and why it differed elsewhere; what are the demographic, kinship, geographic factors that govern variation. The Britain-based collections, which build on the work of Eamon Duffy, Robert Scribner, and Natalie Zemon Davis, are more centered on cities and more interested in laws that govern the generation and organization of sacred topography in general, the confessional doctrines and devotional trends that establish religiously-valenced precincts irrespective of locality or local culture.

The two British-based collections examine the spatial dynamics of the sacred in various arenas: the home, the church, the streets and squares of cities and villages. A good half of them examine how religious aspects of these arenas are disputed or redefined over the early modern period.

Home devotions are so important in people's lives and so little studied. Five papers examine them (all in DH). Diana Webb's lucid overview provides examples from throughout medieval Western Europe; it is particularly insightful, this reader thought, on the subject of formulaic prayer.[45] Late fifteenth-century Dutch paintings of the Annunciation apparently reflect interiors of the better-off non-noble houses of the time, the household devotions practiced, and the kinds of books and devotional paintings used; the author suggests that devotional areas were temporarily created in rooms generally used for non-religious purposes.[46] Lisa A. Banner describes the special apartments in monasteries for the married knights of the Order of Santiago in Spain.[47] And two essays lay out examples of the private religious geography of sixteenth-century England: the private gentry chapels and clandestine Mass sites of Catholics (with wonderful casuistic material on what could and could not be done); and three chapels

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[45]Diana Webb, "Domestic Space and Devotion in the Middle Ages," DH, pp. 27-48.

[46]Jeanne Nuechterlein, "The Domesticity of Sacred Space in Fifteenth-Century Netherlands," DH, pp. 49-79.

[47]Lisa A. Banner, "Private Rooms in the Monastic Architecture of Habsburg Spain," DH, pp. 81-93.

of the powerful Cecil family that reflected the evolution of official attitudes toward churches over an eventful sixty-year period.[48]

Many essays deal with church interiors. A number of them emphasize the role of liturgy and ritual in creating a sense of holiness and marking its location or concentration. A reading of the *consueto* of two thirteenth-century Flemish churches, Saint Omer and Lille, show how rituals restore and maintain sacred precincts,[49] and internal manuscripts of the Cistercian convent of Wienhausen from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century show how the nuns created "a spiritual journey that involved the imaginative recreation of the *via crucis* and the *loca sancta* of Jerusalem within the convent."[50] Contributors point to the role of candles, incense, music, and liturgical bells in emphasizing key places and moments, and filling and thereby distinguishing from the exterior by their light, odor, and sound the devotional area.

Other essays describe transformations of church interiors. The remodeling of churches in Brittany made the consecration more visible,[51] and that of the "Jerusalem" type Burchtkerk in Antwerp related Catholicism to ancient traditions.[52] The partial transformation of the church interiors under Lutherans in Nuremburg, from *domus dei* to *domus ecclesiae*, left images but removed attention from them, allowing a kind of ambiguous transition period in which image-based devotion dwindled by attrition.[53] Fine essays describe more radical transformations by Calvinists in Geneva[54] and Transylvania,[55] and by Friends with their Gracechurch Street Meeting House in London,[56] revealing a new aesthetic of light and white, and a new notion of attention.

> The true ornamentation of the temples lies not in ivory, gold, and precious stones, but in the frugality, temperance, piety and all the virtues of those who are in the church.[57]

[48]Richard L. Williams, "Forbidden Sacred Spaces in Reformation England," DH, pp. 95-114.

[49]Annabel Ricketts with Claire Gapper and Caroline Knight, "Designing for Protestant Worship: the Private Chapels of the Cecil Family," DH, pp. 115-136.

[50]June L. Mecham, "A Northern Jerusalem: Transforming the Spatial Geography of the Convent of Wienhausen," DH, pp. 139-160.

[51]Elizabeth Tingle, "The Sacred Space of Julien Maunoir: the re-Christianising of the Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Brittany," SS, pp. 237-258.

[52]Cynthia Lawrence, "Ruben's *Raising of the Cross* in Context: The 'Early Christian' Past and the Evocation of the Sacred in Post-Tridentine Antwerp," DH, pp. 251-275.

[53]Bridget Heal, "Sacred Image and Sacred Space in Lutheran Germany," SS, pp. 39-59.

[54]Christian Gosse, "Places of Sanctification: The Liturgical Sacrality of Genevan Reformed Churches, 1535-1566," SS, pp. 60-80. One of this reader's favorite essays.

[55]Graeme Murdock, "'Pure and White': Reformed Space for Worship in Early Seventeenth-Century Hungary," DH, pp. 231-250. In CCF see also Péter Sahin-Tóth, "Les 'gardiens des cols' face à la Réforme. Éclatement confessionel et restructuration de la société sicule en Transylvanie (fin XVIᵉ-début XVIIᵉ siècle)," CCF, pp. 111-124.

[56]Simon Dixon, "The Priest, the Quakers and the Second Conventicle Act: The Battle for the Gracechurch Meeting House, 1670," DH, pp. 301-318.

[57]Second Helvetic Confession, cited in Gosse, "Liturgical Sacrality," SS, p. 74.

The latter cases provide the starkest alternatives to Catholicism. We hear, and hear of, the astonishment of the unconverted.

> They enter into their churches with no greater reverence than they enter into taverns; they bow or make reverence to nothing therein, for that they have made all sacred things away. . . .[58]

> They have leaft their churches as fit to mooue people to pietie and deuotion, as theyr barnes are, when all the corne and hay is out of them, and nothing left to be seene besides the roofes, walles and silles.[59]

> When [the Papists] enter our temples, they are so astonished that they are completely taken aback or feel they have entered a new world. What? (they say) a Church without any pictures.[60]

It is through juxtapositions like these that these two collections acquire a special force, as the reader confronts what striking divergences emerged from the (common?) medieval matrix.

Several essays explore the evolution of the religious use of church interiors within confessions: the exclusion of lay functions from churches, whether courts, town meetings, dances, or ales; the maintenance of gender, social, or civic hierarchy in seating and burial patterns;[61] the return of consecration ceremonies in the churches of England and Scotland,[62] and, in an engaging piece of reconstruction, the role of congregations in shaping services by singing psalms, groaning devotionally, and bringing dogs.[63]

Public areas of localities—streets and plazas—are treated in about a third of the essays. A fascinating essay on taverns as secular counterpoints of churches, in synch with the thought of Robert Scribner, nuances notions of a clear line between the sacred and the profane, showing mixes of taverns and breweries with churches and monasteries.[64] That on Lille and Saint Omer suggests that Palm Sunday, Rogations, and relic processions temporarily make civic areas sacred, con-

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[58]Thomas Hill, *A quatron of reasons of Catholicke religion* ([English secret press] 1600) cited in Williams, "Forbidden Secret Spaces," DH, p. 113.

[59]*Ibid*.

[60]Calvin, *Opera*, XLIX, col. 613, cited in Gosse, "Liturgical Sacrality," SS, p. 73.

[61]Will Coster, "A Microcosm of Community: Burial, Space and Society in Chester, 1598 to 1633," SS, pp. 124-143.

[62]Andrew Spicer, "'God Will Have a House': Defining Sacred Space and Rites of Consecration in Early Seventeenth-Century England," DH, pp. 207-230; and Andrew Spicer, "'What kinde of house a kirk is': Conventicles, Consecrations and the Concept of Sacred Space in post-Reformation Scotland," SS, pp. 81-103.

[63]John Craig, "Psalms, Groans and Dogwhippers: The Soundscape of Worship in the English Parish Church, 1547-1642," SS, pp. 104-123.

[64]Beat Kümin, "Sacred Church and Worldly Tavern: Reassessing an Early Modern Divide," SS, pp. 17-38; Kümin is the author of *The Shaping of a Community: The Rise and Reformation of the English Parish c. 1400-1560* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996); Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "The Delineation of Sacred Space," DH, p. 22.

verting a town into Jerusalem.[65] Surely also they are ways of marking territory in the face of other local communities, such as Jews and international enemies. This function becomes much more accentuated in the Counter-Reformation, not only where there are substantial dissenting populations, but also in the Catholic heartland of Italy and Spain. The essay on Rome shows its Post-Reformation refashioning to emphasize its ancient sacred past,[66] and those on Lyons,[67] Prague,[68] and Antwerp[69] detail a post-Reformation "refounding," in dialogue with Rome's retooling, to reassert their Catholicism, revitalize late medieval shrines, enhance their similarity with Jerusalem, and stake their claim for authenticity and antiquity in the face of dissenters and iconoclasts. In these strategic programs the "other" is kept in mind and visible, whether heretic, Jew, or Turk.

Essays on Augsburg and the enclaves in France of Orange and Avignon describe conflict and negotiation over the use of public zones. In Orange the conflict was between local Protestants, Dutch rulers who enforced a kind of tolerance, local Catholics, and the French monarchy, with intervals of equilibrium and sharp shifts due to international politics;[70] in Avignon it was between the papal legate, the town council, and the French monarchy, and it played out in festivals, shrines, and rituals.[71] In Augsburg the system of civic parity between Catholics and Protestants required constant, vigilant management.[72] All of these studies point to the emergence of neutral places, uncapped by monuments to martyrs or other confessional markers, forerunners to what we would now call civil society. Along with the contributions of Sauzet and

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[65]Stijn Bossuyt, "The Liturgical Use of Space in Thirteenth-Century Flanders," DH, pp. 187-206.

[66]Simon Ditchfield, "Reading Rome as a Sacred Landscape, c. 1586-1635," SS, pp. 167-192; see also his *Liturgy, Sanctity and History in Tridentine Italy; Pietro Maria Campi and the Preservation of the Particular* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For another, state-religious landscape proposal, Thomas Dandelet, *Spanish Rome 1500-1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

[67]Judi Loach, "The Consecration of the Sacred Realm," DH, pp. 277-300.

[68]Howard Louthan, "Breaking Images and Building Bridges: The Making of Sacred Space in Early Modern Bohemia," SS, pp. 282-301.

[69]Lawrence, *op. cit.*

[70]Amanda Eurich, "Sacralising Space: Reclaiming Civic Culture in Early Modern France," SS, pp. 259-281.

[71]Eric Johnson, "La Ville Sonnant: The Politics of Sacred Space in Avignon on the Eve of the French Revolution," DH, pp. 319-335.

[72]Duane J. Corpis, "Mapping the Boundaries of Confession: Space and Urban Religious Life in the Diocese of Augsburg, 1648-1750," SS, pp. 302-325. On Augsburg see also Lee Palmer Wandel, "Religion, Raum und Ort" in Johannes Burkhardt, Thomas Max Safley, and Sabine Ullmann (eds.), *Geschichte in Räumen: Festschrift für Rol Kießling zum 65. Geburtstag* (Konstanz: UVK, 2006), pp. 279-292. Wandel cites Emily Fisher Gray, *Good Neighbors: Architecture and Confession in Augsburg's Lutheran Church of Holy Cross, 1525–1661*, Diss. University of Pennsylvania 2004, which I have not seen. I am grateful for Dr. Wandel's assistance.

Sottocasa in the CCF volume, these essays speak to the instability of confessional coexistence, of which we learn again and again in the news.[73]

Only two essays consider non-urban landscape: a survey of the seventeenth-century missionization of Brittany (by Jesuits, as in the Pyrenees) that shows a cultivation of local saints and capping of supposed pre-Christian sacred stones and wells, in a "conscious attempt to reconstruct the mental and physical world of the early Breton saints and Church";[74] and a study of the seventeenth-century enclosed "deserts" of Carmelite solitaries in Spain, simulacra "not only of Carmel, but of Eden," and also pagan wildernesses to be sacralized by penance.[75]

Cynthia Lawrence's bravura "contextual investigation" of a Rubens painting for Antwerp includes a consideration of the church's prospect from the wharves and wraps together cityscape, the internal sacred geography of the church, and the composition of a work of art.[76] Yet, as with virtually all the other essays (whether based on evidence from devotional treatises, custom books, works of art, material culture, or chronicles), this reader hungered for an additional kind of information: how these sacred places were experienced by people who went to them. Surely letters and diaries, art, canonization, and miracle testimony could be scrutinized for this kind of information. We are told of prescriptive "programs" but not emotional outcomes. The root question, of course, is how did the great transformation that the more radical Reformations presuppose take place in individuals?

The general pattern of reproduction of Jerusalem and the Holy Land within the church, churchyard, city, or village, often in some measured way, whether full-scale or reduced, was fed by pilgrimage to the Holy Land and in turn fed pilgrimage, not only to Jerusalem but also to Holy Land relics (the True Cross, shroud, tunic, and other clothes, Veronicas, the milk of Mary), European shrines of biblical saints, European replicas (Holy Sepulchres, Sacromonti), and relic-replicas (Loreto, on the jacket of SS).[77] This tendency was emphasized in the

[73]David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violences: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); for an influential statement of this instability, Robert Hayden, "Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans," *Current Anthropology,* 43 (2002), 205-232.

[74]Alexandra Walsham, "Holywell: Contesting Sacred Space in post-Reformation Wales," SS, pp. 211-236, quote 241. She is the author of *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 1993).

[75]Trevor Johnson, "Gardening for God: Carmelite Deserts and the Sacralisation of Natural Space in Counter-Reformation Spain," SS, pp. 193-210.

[76]Lawrence, *op. cit.*

[77]The archaeologist Martin Biddle has made a wide-ranging survey of replicas of the Holy Sepulchre in Europe. See now also Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006) (I am grateful to Felipe Pereda for this reference).

Counter-Reformation in an attempt to demonstrate religious authenticity and pedigree, but it built on late medieval spiritual exercises like those at Wienhausen in which, as in the later ones of Ignatius Loyola and those described for pilgrims to Rome, believers imagined themselves in other places and times.

While the creative and restorative power of ritual for sacralizing site is amply addressed, only two essays treat the radiating power of images, well-known relics, holy bodies, or even living saints in the creation of sacred spaces around them.[78] One deals with the Holywell shrine of St. Winefride in Wales, a rare exception in that it survived the Reformation and continued to serve as a healing site, as well as a clandestine base for Catholics;[79] another with a twelfth-century Cistercian pilgrimage site to the True Cross, Bromholm in Norfolk, for which the mapping of metal objects with metal detectors reveals much about how the precinct was used.[80]

Finally, this reader shares Simon Ditchfield's scruple about the term "space" for the early modern period, when the word used would have been "luogo," "lugar," "lieu," never "space," "spazio," or "spatium." Ditchfield worries about the "fundamentally anachronistic notion of considering space as in any way an abstract quality." In this reader the uneasiness is compounded by the feeling that "space" as used in some essays has an Eliade-like connotation of immanence.[81]

Perhaps the obliteration of devotion to images, relics, and saints from the British landscape has removed them and the landscape itself somewhat from the history of British Catholicism. Or was the landscape already less sacralized in areas that turned Protestant? Certainly, part of today's striking contrast between Northern and Southern Europe is due to the fact that the sacralization of the landscape in areas that remained Catholic has been an ongoing, cumulative process that continued well beyond the Reformation, with ever more mountains, valleys, and other natural locations, as well as city squares, being capped, imaged, and crossed.

[78]Two other collections of essays treat these themes: Sofia Boesch Gajano and Lucetta Scaraffia (eds.), *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità* (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1990); and, like DH with a stimulating mix of historians with art historians, María Cruz de Carlos, Pierre Civil, Felipe Pereda, and Cécile Vincent-Cassy (eds.), *Usos y espacios de la imagen religiosa en la Monarquía Hispánica del siglo XVII/Usages et espaces de l'image religieuse dans la monarchie hispanique du XVIIᵉ siècle* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, in press).

[79]Alexandra Walsham, *op. cit.*

[80]Tim Pestell, "Using Material Culture to Define Holy Space: The Bromholm Project," DH, pp. 161-186.

[81]Ditchfield, *op. cit.* SS, p. 191.

BOOK REVIEWS

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General and Miscellaneous

The Catholic Church through the Ages. A History. By John Vidmar, O.P. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: Paulist Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 360. $18.95 paperback.)

At the outset the author notes the obvious difficulty of achieving balance in doing a one-volume history of the Church. He says one either adopts a breezy approach loosely combining broad topics or includes so much detail that the reader gives up. However, he aims to produce an outline of the history of the Church that combines substance with readability.

As to readability, I would say he has certainly succeeded though it does get a little breezy at times. He displays a fine talent for clearly and succinctly summing up a period, and he excels in his characterizations of leading figures. His depiction of Pope Paul III is a good example (p. 233). Moreover, he includes many well chosen illustrations.

In attempting to achieve substance he divides the main periods of church history into six ages following a schema of Christopher Dawson. It provides a good framework in keeping the myriad facts in some kind of order. Within each age he treats the material topically rather than following a strict chronological order, though this can at times be confusing as when he treats Modernism before Vatican Council I.

The book, of course, includes many broad all-encompassing statements. But one expects as much in a book that covers 2000 years in 360 pages though I would quarrel with more than a few of them. But they do provoke thought. For instance, in view of the many literary antecedents of the Enlightenment it is interesting to read, "Two great books heralded the Enlightenment," viz., *Newton's Principia Mathematica* (1687) and John Locke's *Essays on Human Understanding* (1690).

Let me single out a few of his judgments to which one might take exception. His treatment of Augustine, for instance, I find guilty of special pleading as he glosses over the negative features of his legacy. Then there is the way he presents Modernism as an offshoot of Liberal Catholicism, and in his treatment of the development of doctrine he mentions Mohler, Sailer, and Schlegel but curiously fails to mention Newman's great *Essay on the Development of Doctrine*.

One of the merits of his short history is the way he zeroes in on matters that are currently relevant, giving informative accounts of the issues involved.

A reader will find his treatment of the rise of Islam especially useful today. I also found helpful the eighteen pages he devotes to the relations of the Catholic Church with the Nazis, showing the considerable resistance put up by the Catholics though they were hogtied by the destruction of the Catholic press. As he says, the few diocesan papers that managed to stay alive after 1938 paid dearly for their existence by complying with the Nazis.

For those who want a rapid walk down the mine-strewn road of Catholic history, Father Vidmar will prove a useful, if sometimes controversial, guide.

Cincinnati, Ohio   THOMAS BOKENKOTTER

Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale. By Anna Benvenuti, Sofia
    Boesch Gajano, Simon Ditchfield, Roberto Rusconi, Francesco Scorza
    Barcellona, and Gabriella Zarri. [Sacro/Santo, 9.] (Rome: Viella. 2005. Pp.
    427. €28.00 paperback.)
*Il tempo dei santi tra Oriente e Occidente: Liturgia e agiografia dal tardo
    antico al concilio di Trento*. Edited by Anna Benvenuti and Marcello
    Garzaniti. [Atti del IV Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo
    studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiografia. Firenze, 26-28 ottobre 2000.]
    (Rome: Viella. 2005. Pp. viii, 501. €39.00 paperback.)

No academic culture is more welcoming to the study of sanctity and holy people in Christian history than that of Italy, where even some secular universities have faculty chairs dedicated to hagiography, and where faculty in general departments of history can make careers based on the study of saints and sainthood. Anna Benvenuti, the force behind these two volumes, a professor of medieval history at the University of Florence, has long been an expert on the role of holy people in medieval Italy, just as her colleague at Florence, Gabriella Zarri, has blazed a trail for the study of different forms of Christian sanctity in the early modern period. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Roberto Rusconi, who teach, respectively, medieval history and the history of Christianity at the Università di Roma Tre, are also well known for their work on Christian saints and the role of sanctity in Christian culture, especially in medieval Italy. The first volume under review here, *Storia della santità nel cristianesimo occidentale* (*The History of Sanctity in Western Christianity*) brings this remarkable quartet together with Francesco Scorza Barcellona, who teaches the history of Christianity at the Università di Roma Tor Vergata, and Simon Ditchfield, who teaches modern history at the University of York in England, to offer a detailed and thoughtful overview of changing ideas of holiness and the roles of those we call the saints in Christian history from the beginning of the Christian *cultus* to the pontificate of John Paul II.

The material is divided chronologically, and to some inevitable extent, by theme. Francesco Scorza Barcellona begins with a chapter entitled "Origins," that brings the discussion up to the beginning of the fourth century. This chap-

ter starts with the idea of martyrdom in Second Temple Judaism and earliest Christianity, and traces the development of the Christian holy person through the beginnings of church hierarchy, the rise of the ascetic communities, and the development of sacred biography, pilgrimage, cults, and iconography specifically associated with saints.

The second and third chapters cover the Middle Ages. In the second chapter, Sofia Boesch Gajano considers the "structuralization" of Christian hagiography after the development of Christian political states, from the fourth to the twelfth centuries, as seen in monastic reforms, the role of the Papacy, holiness associated with visionary activity, and the rise of new forms of sanctity associated with holy war. Anna Benvenuti then takes over for a chapter on her specialty, late medieval urban life, in which she develops themes of local patronage as opposed to the centralized authority of Rome, new forms of religiosity among the laity, the rise of the Mendicants, and the development of a formal system of canonization.

The fourth and fifth chapters focus on Renaissance and early modern Christianity. Gabriella Zarri takes the story to the late sixteenth century, through the Council of Trent, focusing on the christianization of society and the rise of Christian Humanism, the development of formal hagiographical literature, the rise of Marian cults, and the role of political prophecy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including the "Sante Vive" of Renaissance courts, and culminating in the figure of Girolamo Savonarola. In the fifth chapter, "The World of the Reform and the Counter-Reform," Simon Ditchfield considers how ideas of Christian sanctity were formed by confessional identity (considering briefly, and for the only time in this volume, Christian sanctity in a Protestant context). Ditchfield's essay focuses on the development of saintly cults, the Congregation of Rites and the Inquisition, the impact of the liturgical reforms of Trent on saints' cults, and the sea-change that came with the missions to Asia and the Americas and brought the Society of Jesus into the forefront. This chapter ends with an analysis of the ambivalence toward saints in the Enlightenment.

Finally, Roberto Rusconi steps out of his normal medievalist shoes to consider "The Church Confronts Society," the title of his chapter on the saints in the modern world. Rusconi traces the re-emergence of saints' modernity according to new themes: the emergence of a "societal saintliness," the role of the Church in colonial and post-colonial Africa and Asia, including the new saints and martyrs associated with that story, the rising importance of male and female founders of religious orders, twentieth-century changes in the process of canonization, the increasing appeal of devotion to the Sacred Heart and modern Marian cults, and the particular role of the Papacy. These last topics bring the discussion to a consideration of Pope John Paul II, the pontiff who created saints with an "exasperated accent on the recognition of sanctity by the supreme authority of the Catholic Church," but nevertheless, according to Rusconi, did not change the basic definition of the role of saints that had developed at the turn of the nineteenth century. "In particular, the supreme ecclesiastical hierarchy

wished to inculcate in the devotion of the faithful the role of a saint as an exemplary model of Christian life, to be imitated, not an intercessor to be invoked" (p. 377). The problem of miraculous cures, and the popularity of figures such as "Padre Pio di Pietrelcina" (now of course, Saint Pio of Pietrelcina) still remain, but even here, Rusconi says, the increasing medicalization of the miraculous has put the holy power of healing into another, less miraculous, mode. Rusconi suggests (p. 379) that the future of sainthood in the Roman Catholic Church may involve a process of beatification at the local or national (episcopal) level, with actual canonization still in the hands of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

In the introduction, the authors describe this volume as an effort to bring together long paths of research and differing methodologies, individual and collective research that articulate different themes and contexts, but putting it together into a common "historical horizon" (p. 15). Overall, I think this endeavor has been successful. There is nothing quite like this in English, but it would be useful to have a translation for courses in Christian history. Such an endeavor would necessitate a few additions: an American publisher would probably ask for more about Protestant forms of holiness; and certainly now the canonization of Saint Pio and the death of Pope John Paul II have added new considerations to the account of Christian holiness in the twenty-first century.

The second book reviewed here, *Il tempo dei santi tra Oriente e Occidente: Liturgia e agiografia dal tardo antico al concilio di Trento*, presents twenty-one essays on liturgy and hagiography in East and West, from the late antique period to the Council of Trent. The majority of these essays treat questions of liturgy and hagiography either in the medieval West (mostly in Italy) (eight) or in the Byzantine or Slavic Churches (five), a few are methodological in nature, and the rest cover topics that involve both East and West, like the essay of Giovanni Battista Bronzini on the shrine of the Archangel Michael on the promontory of the Gargano (pp. 387-396).

These essays are derived from papers presented at the conference of the AISSCA, the Italian Society for the Study of Sanctity, Cults, and Hagiography, held in Florence in 2000. The organizers of the conference, Anna Benvenuti and Marcello Garzaniti, provided an introduction and an afterword, while Sofia Boesch Gajano wrote the prologue to the volume. Like many volumes of conference proceedings, this collection is a bit disjointed, although some of the essays are clearly excellent contributions. I found especially interesting Robert Taft's study of the origins, significance, and development of the liturgy and cult of saints in the Greek Byzantine and Slavic worlds (pp. 35-54), Ferdinando Dell'Oro's analysis of the genesis and development of the western Sanctorale and Sacramentary (pp. 79-119), Christian Hannick on the liturgical cult of the saints in the Greco-Byzantine world (pp. 279-291), Marcello Garzaniti on the cult of saints in medieval Slavic manuscripts of the Gospels and the Epistles (pp. 311-341), and the Bronzini study of the cult of the Gargano mentioned above. Other chapters will doubtless be of particular interest to other readers, since most of the contributions to this book are on well-defined topics.

What is of greatest interest in this volume, in my estimation, is the attempt it makes to open a dialogue between scholars of the eastern and western churches. More work of this sort obviously needs to be done, and the cult of the saints is a rich field for such comparative study. More could certainly be said about the Italian cities where liturgies from both sides of Christianity still continue to be practiced, and saints from East and West are venerated. AISSCA is to be congratulated for dedicating one of their conferences to this endeavor. I hope other scholarly associations will follow their example.

University of Pennsylvania   E. ANN MATTER

The Oxford History of Christian Worship. Edited by Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 916. $55.00.)

It is truly admirable that a work of this breadth (and length) is at once useful to the liturgical specialist, to the trained theologian, to the church historian, and to the educated layperson. Its scope and structure of thirty-four chapters is mostly chronological with separate topical chapters on such things as women in worship, liturgical music, spatial setting, visual arts, vestments and objects, and a retrospect by the highly qualified and well respected scholars who are the general editors of the volume. Geoffrey Wainwright brings a wealth of knowledge and experience from a decidedly theological and ecumenical approach to liturgy. His professorship at Duke University was preceded by prestigious positions in England, then Cameroon, and New York City. His masterful book of liturgical theology, *Doxology,* deserves the name "classic" with which it is often described. Karen Westerfield Tucker's contribution "Women in Worship" reflects her astute grasp of a number of issues related to liturgy, not the least of which is the contemporary relevance of such a traditional part of church life.

Among the more difficult decisions such editors have to make is how to introduce such a volume. That it begins by a fundamentally scriptural and theological approach from the pen of Wainwright himself is both an important statement of the depth of this book, as well as setting an important theological tone for much of the rest of the book. One could debate a few of his assertions; one could also opine that it is too brief. Yet on balance the theological overture struck here is admirable, especially given the way liturgical studies have been so variously described and pursued of late.

It is important to note the format of this book. Photographs, sketches, and copies of art work and liturgical vessels fill its pages. Also at regular intervals the authors quote at length from a church document, prayer book, commentary on liturgy, or another writing from the period at hand. These are easily noticed because they are set off from the rest of the print by their grayish background and dark border. These documents give an important glimpse into

the issues being discussed. They offer a primary source for the secondary reflection about the sources and phenomena under discussion.

Almost all of the over thirty international contributors to this volume represent the first tier of liturgical scholars alive today. Each is recognized in his or her field and almost always are well recognized to be connected with the chapters they have authored, e.g., John Baldovin on "the Empire baptized" (312-622 A.D.) or Andre Haquin, "The Liturgical Movement and Roman Catholic Ritual Revision" (nineteenth century on). Certainly Anscar Chupungco is well known for his work on liturgical inculturation ("Mission and Inculturation: East Asia and the Pacific") but one needs to note that his particular contribution is somewhat dated (it was the topic of his doctoral dissertation) and that in Catholic circles one would have welcomed at least some reference to the 1994 document from the Vatican's Congregation for Divine Worship, *Varietates Legitimae*, on the very topic. The editors' intention to include Orthodox, Catholic, the Reformation churches, Mennonite, Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal churches from the widest geographical spectrum (Africa, the Americas, Asia, Australia, and Europe) is sustained throughout. At times one might debate the relative importance given to a particular topic, e.g., a chapter on "The Reformed Tradition in Korea" (by Seung–Joong Joo and Kyeong-Jin Kim) without a parallel treatment of the worship of other traditions. Yet even these (admittedly brief) "windows" into what might be regarded as a surprise do precisely that, offer a window into an aspect of the world-wide liturgical scene that is not normal material for such an important dictionary.

Understandably the first part of the book is devoted to generous treatments of the apostolic era (Maxwell Johnson), the empire baptized (John Baldovin), the ancient oriental churches (Christine Chaillot), the conversion of the nations (Michael Driscoll), western Christendom (Timothy Thibodeau), and Byzantine and Slavic Orthodoxy. From these one should note the clarity of Chaillot's piece and the important methodological assertions and cautions offered by Michael Driscoll, although one would have wished for some more substantial primary sources in the notes for his interest in semiotics, etc. Otherwise his use of "classical" liturgical sources is judicious and wide-ranging.

Catholic historians and liturgical scholars might well be disappointed at the relative brevity of the treatment of (Benedictine) monasticism and the mendicant tradition. Other scholars might judge that some repetition could have been edited out for the sake of including other things, i.e., some of what Nathan Mitchell argues in "Reforms, Protestant and Catholic" is taken up more thoroughly by Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber in "The Lutheran Tradition in the German Lands," and Bruno Burki in "The Reformed Tradition in Continental Europe." One might also question whether Katarina Schutz Zell deserves a special two-page excursus when other contemporary voices are more prominent and obvious candidates for such emphasis.

Matters of contemporary debate, e.g., the authorship and dating of Hippolytus' *The Apostolic Tradition* are admirably noted and summarized. One characteristic of this volume is the attention authors pay to the historical and cultural context for the worship orders they describe. Placing texts in context is enormously important. "Proof texting" has no place in the study of liturgy. There is none in this important volume.

Given the helpful insights about liturgical method, including "context," one could only wonder what another such "dictionary" might look like if the conventional, chronological, and then topical approach were jettisoned, beginning to end, with another approach where music, architecture, visual arts, vestments and objects, etc. were integrated into the chronological approach to studying liturgy. For example, given the theological weight which many Reformed traditions place on music and which the Orthodox place on the visual arts what would a chronological study that included these topics look like? Clearly the impact of the visual and music on the liturgy is essential to understanding what the liturgy is and does.

But that is for another book. The present dictionary is well worth its (comparatively) modest price and deserves to be referred to by specialists and non specialists alike for years to come.

The Catholic University of America   KEVIN W. IRWIN

Sacred Rhetoric: Preaching as a Theological and Pastoral Practice of the Church. By Michael Pasquarello III. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. viii, 143. $15.00 paperback.)

This volume seeks to situate contemporary homiletic practice within the Church's tradition. The author, an associate professor of practical theology at Ashbury Theological Seminary in Wilmore, Kentucky and an ordained elder in the United Methodist Church, is catholic in his appropriation of the Christian past by calling upon the witness of Augustine, Gregory the Great, St. Benedict, Bernard of Clairvaux, Humbert of Romans, Bonaventure, Aquinas, Erasmus, Latimer, Luther, and Calvin. This is traditional church history, that is, church history as a branch of theology in the service of the Church. While there are perceptive insights into the authors discussed, the book does not claim to break new ground historically. In fact, it does not claim to break new ground theologically or homiletically. Quite the contrary, the book is itself an example of its argument: rather than look to new theories of communication to render preaching more effective, the preacher should look to the great preachers and great Christians of the past as exemplars. This approach, of course, perpetuates tradition. The ancient and medieval Church relied on the imitation of Christ, the Apostles, and the saints to form Christians. Imitation, not rules, were what worked. As the author argues, one reason is that the Holy Spirit is not confined by rules, and it is the Holy Spirit who in the end is the true speaker. The human

voice is only its instrument. For Pasquarello, the preacher only becomes that instrument by first embodying the message that is to be communicated. In a sense (*pace* Marshall McLuhan) the message is the medium. In the end, the Gospel preaches itself. Pasquarello also hopes to recapture that tradition, at least as he saw it existing before the Enlightenment divided the theological disciplines and caused a modern homiletic poverty. For preaching to be truly effective, the preacher must reintegrate homiletics into the content and experience of faith. The goal should not be mere technical skillfulness, but Christian wisdom. Pasquarello goes too far, however, in claiming that his authors "neither presumed to be technical experts, nor were they concerned with writing theory" (p. 134). Augustine was certainly a technical expert. Both Erasmus and Calvin were "expert" practitioners of humanist rhetoric. All three were also interested in communication theory. In fact, it was the knowledge of all levels of communication (or rhetoric) that led them to choose the *sermo humilis* to reach less educated believers including many of their clerical colleagues. Pasquarello is certainly correct in emphasizing the scriptural character of the traditional sermon both in content and in the language employed. For Pasquarello, the Bible does not need to be translated into a more modern idiom since it was crafted by the divine Word, the most expert of preachers. Translation and the elaboration of new theories or practical tips only distance the speaker and the audience from the eloquence of the Gospel. That distance contributes to the "homelessness" of homiletics and the Christian people who "struggle to maintain an alternative vision, identity, and vocation in an increasingly indifferent and even hostile world" (p. 136). Pasquarello uses his sources responsibly and well, although he passes over in silence the sacramental life of the pre-Reformation Church in his exclusive emphasis on the written and preached Word in the authors he discusses. To be sure, the Word was sacramental, but "mute" sacraments also spoke to both learned and simple Christians. However, this privileging of the Word is a pardonable failing in a book devoted to preaching.

Villanova University   R. Emmet McLaughlin

Natural Law, Laws of Nature, and Natural Rights. Continuity and Discontinuiy in the History of Ideas. By Francis Oakley. (New York: Continuum Press. 2005. Pp. 143. $29.95.)

This excellent book provides a sophisticated but accessible introduction to some fundamental problems in the history of natural law thinking, and the writing throughout is elegant, lucid, and persuasive. Oakley's central argument is that a major shift occurred in the fourteenth century and that it influenced both the scientific and the moral philosophies of the succeeding age. A byproduct of the argument is a reminder that the traditional periodization of Western history into ancient, medieval, and modern is "more of a hindrance than a help" in the study of intellectual history (p. 81), an observation that will be applauded by many medievalists.

Historians typically treat the physical laws of nature as conceptually distinct from the natural law that directs our moral behavior. But Oakley challenges this sharp distinction. He is not concerned to refute Hume's is-ought argument, that we cannot derive moral propositions from factual ones. His argument is rather that the same underlying set of ideas informs both kinds of thinking and that the physical laws of nature can provide a sort of "intellectual template" to which the natural moral law conforms (p. 70).

Underlying Oakley's whole argument is his concern with a persistent tension between the Greek and Hebrew sources of Christian thought. On the one hand we have the Greek idea of a divine reason immanent in an eternal cosmos, a reason reflected also in the workings of human reason. On the other hand stands the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, an all-powerful, willful God of untrammeled freedom who made the universe from nothing and out of his own good pleasure. Oakley shows how the church fathers, especially Augustine, and then the scholastic theologians, especially Aquinas, sought to reconcile the two ideas. Aquinas envisaged an eternal law, a manifestation of divine reason directing all created beings to their due ends, a ground of both the physical laws of the universe and the natural moral law known to man. As Oakley notes, in Aquinas the fit between the templates of moral and physical natural law is very close.

But a later generation of theologians, prominent among them William of Ockham, saw in this way of thinking an unacceptable restraint on God's absolute freedom and omnipotent will. Ockham argued that the characteristics of the existing universe did not flow by any kind of necessity from the reason of God; God could have made a different universe with different laws of motion and different rules of morality. And this teaching, Oakley argues, helped to shape the new scientific thought of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a contingent universe one could not explain the way things behaved by pure reason, by hypothesizing about natural ends and occult essences. The only way to understand the material world was by observation and experiment and mathematical formulations of the resulting data.

The problem is more complicated when we consider the moral natural law. Ockham's teaching that moral norms depended entirely on the will of God was reflected in some natural law theories of the early modern period. But alongside this doctrine Ockham also presented a "non-positive moral science" based on reason and experience, and this too had echoes in later thought. In Ockham's own later political writings, where he discussed explicitly the varieties of natural law, he appealed persistently to right reason as a guide to human behavior. Oakley explains the dichotomy by pointing to the common medieval distinction between the absolute and ordained powers of God. However, Oakley's argument here leaves open a much-disputed question that he raises but does not finally answer, the question whether Ockham's voluntarist theology did in fact exercise any significant influence on the content of his later political thought and his teachings there on natural law.

In a last chapter the author considers the emergence of a doctrine of natural rights, another area of current dispute, "a crowded and confusing field," as Oakley notes (p. 88). Here Oakley presents a clear and succinct account of the views of Leo Strauss, who saw a radical innovation in the teaching of Hobbes on rights, and of Michel Villey who found the origin of individual natural rights in the philosophy of Ockham. Finally, he considers more recent work (some of it my own) that finds a beginning of natural rights thinking in the juridical writings of the twelfth century. In this area Oakley leans to a doctrine of continuity, seeing "a slow, evolutionary development of natural rights talk" from the twelfth century onward (p. 105), but he also notes that there were "significant differences of emphasis and nuance" (p. 107) in the early modern writings, and rightly observes that much detailed work remains to be done.

Cornell University (Emeritus)   BRIAN TIERNEY

Die Zisterzienser: Geschichte eines europäischen Ordens. By Immo Eberl. (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 2002. Pp. 614. €29,90.)

This is the most recent comprehensive history of the Cistercians from the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098 to the present day, comparable with the English-language *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (1977) by Louis J. Lekai, a landmark work but inevitably somewhat dated, and the not altogether reliable French *Les moines blancs* (1993) by Marcel Pacaut.

With over six hundred pages it contains a wealth of material, chronologically arranged. The first chapter, surprisingly little more than thirty pages long (pp. 11-46), covers the first half century to the death of Saint Bernard in 1153. New is the claim by Eberl (p. 38) that it is conceivable that Bernard and his companions deliberately spent six months preparing to enter Cîteaux in order to give the abbot, Stephen Harding, the opportunity of arranging the foundation of the first daughter-house, La Ferté. The next chapter deals with the expansion to the papal reform bull *Parvus Fons* in 1265, covering approximately twice the period of the opening chapter but over two hundred pages long, or about a third of the book's total (pp. 47-255). Much of the space is taken up by a very thorough, almost daunting, catalogue of abbeys and an equally exhaustive overview of the subsequent growth of their estates. This is followed by thematic sections on the leading figures in the Order, its privileges and constitution, its relations to its female members, its spirituality, liturgy, art and architecture, culture and learning, and the economy of the Order. By placing these topics within a chapter terminating in the thirteenth century, the treatment of later developments within these areas is inevitably precluded. For example, although the early leading figures are discussed, there is only a cursory reference later to the important abbot of La Trappe, de Rancé, after whom the later Trappists are named, and no mention at all of Thomas Merton in the last chapter. Also, although early Cistercian architecture is discussed, there is

no mention of the later elaborate Baroque churches of Austria and southern Germany or the magnificent classical buildings of many French abbeys.

The next chapter (pp. 257-385) covers the impact of the Hundred Years' War, papal schism, and the Black Death, and the general decline occasioned by the appointment of "commendatory" or absent abbots, often not even monks, whose chief interest was the revenue which went with the office. A chapter of less than one hundred pages follows (pp. 387-477) and takes the story forward three hundred years from the Reformation to the secularization of many abbeys at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Here the dissolution of the monasteries in northern Protestant countries could have been dealt with at greater length. A short chapter (pp. 479-516) covers the last two centuries with the restoration of the Order and its subsequent expansion to America, Africa, and Asia, and completes the history to the present day.

The extensive bibliography (pp. 574-614) reveals the breadth and depth of the author's research. The fact that personal and place names are invariably correctly spelt may in itself not seem an important point, but is nevertheless indicative of the author's reliability and attention to detail. It is a pity that there is no index and that the map shows only the main French and German abbeys and thus belies the text which embraces the Cistercian world as a whole. This is an important book which contains a tremendous amount of material. It is to be hoped that it may appear in an English translation.

Blewbury, Oxfordshire   JAMES FRANCE

English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation, 1585-1954. By John Vidmar, O.P. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press. Distributed in the USA by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2005. Pp. vii, 196. $69.50.)

The title could be "Some English Catholic Catholic Historians. . ." since this is largely history seen through the eyes of those in opposition to the "forward" or militant protagonists of Rome and pope. After a summarizing chapter on "History and Religion," "Exiles and Appellants" (pp. 10-22) features the Catholics in England who never criticized the popes but appealed against the baneful influence of Jesuits and Catholic exiles who, safe from Protestant persecution, could afford militancy. William Watson's rollicking prose against the hated Company gets quotation. Was it worth noting that, as he awaited execution in 1603, he retracted everything he wrote against the Society?

Two subjects recur like the themes in an operatic overture: the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth in 1570 and the insistence on an oath of loyalty or supremacy which reopened the war on papal claims in 1559. Earlier rigidity petered out in the 1770's when the government needed men to serve in the forces, even Catholics. Vidmar reminds us that Paul III drew up a bull of excommunication against Henry VIII in 1538. It was never "published" and so

no one ever remembers it. Who published the excommunication of 1570? *Cui bono*? "It is likely that the government even welcomed the pope's bull . . . and sought to exploit the resulting confusion" (p. 16). The remaining evidence suggests that the dark trio Roberto Ridolfi, Francis Walsingham, and William Cecil, who organized the Ridolfi plot, also saw to the excommunication reaching the public at the right time: see *The Dangerous Queen* (1964) and *The Marvellous Chance* (1968). "The Quest for Catholic Emancipation" (chap. 2) pursues the subject further.

These themes evolve in the remaining chapters, with a discerning recognition of the differences of emphasis affecting all shades of opinion. With the Cisalpine movement at the close of the eighteenth century, the demurring of the Appellants had become a positive murmuring against papal claims. "To the Cisalpines"—Joseph Berington, Alexander Geddes, Sir John Throckmorton, and even John Lingard—"all that stood between English Catholics and emancipation was papal claims" (p. 29). Berington wrote to John Kirk predicting "the imminent extinction of the papacy" and added, "the sooner this happens the better" (p. 39). Vidmar substantially endorses the case made by Edwin Jones for John Lingard and his history (chap. 3). "The Jesuits and Mark Tierney" (chap. 4) almost achieves light relief but there was nothing to amuse obliging archivists in his cavalier disregard for returning borrowed manuscripts. With the final achievement of emancipation, Catholic writers became outspoken in their defense of past issues—notably Gasquet and his revision of the monastic reputation and the more aggressive Belloc who reintroduced emotionalism in his defense of everything together with a nonchalant disregard for recording documentary evidence. The last two chapters largely round off and recapitulate.

Jesuit and other pro-papal writers have their mention: Robert Persons, Charles Plowden, and J. H. Pollen, notably, but with little mention of well-known writers before the cut-off line, 1954. Vidmar's brief is altogether legitimate but needed clearer statement. The anti-Jesuits are allowed generous quotation, but Vidmar, while not dismissing all they say, deals with them critically. The frequent presence of prejudice and ignorance in their flaying the victim is recognized. The book abounds with interesting facts and cogent short summaries. It is the work of a scholar and a judicious student.

London, England   FRANCIS EDWARDS, S.J.

The Dominance of Evangelicalism: *The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*. By David W. Bebbington. [A History of Evangelicalism: People, Movement and Ideas in the English-Speaking World.] (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press. 2005. Pp. 288. $23.00.)

David W. Bebbington is a general editor of the series in which this book is volume three in the projected five-volume series which will cover the eighteenth century to the present. His subject is the evangelical movement in the English speaking world—Britain, the United States, and the settler colonies of

the British Empire—in the nineteenth century. He deals with this vast subject skillfully, and has produced a useful and clearly written account based upon an impressive familiarity with both primary and secondary source materials.

The central thesis of the book is the dominant place of evangelicalism in the culture of the nineteenth century. The steps which defined the evangelical experience were the acceptance of the Bible as the source of truth, conversion as its beginning, redemption as its object, and work as its consequence. The spread of literacy and a common text, the English Bible, allowed evangelicals all over the world to share a religious bond that transcended distance and national and denominational identities. Bebbington uses two men to symbolize this unity, the American revivalist, Dwight L. Moody, and the English Baptist, Charles Haddon Spurgeon. Moody, together with his musical director, Ira Sankey, crossed the Atlantic to preach to huge audiences with a message that cut across denominational lines. Moody's powerful sermons and Sankey's upbeat hymns were followed by "inquiry rooms," a form of personal counseling, innovations widely copied. Spurgeon presided over London's Metropolitan Tabernacle, where he preached to the largest Protestant congregation in the world for nearly forty years. Spurgeon's printed sermons, published weekly, made him famous all over the world. Though a Baptist, like the nondenominational Moody, he was a man whose appeal was far beyond his religious base.

Bebbington emphasizes throughout his work the unity of evangelicals world-wide. "What is most striking about the movement is less its heterogeneity over space than its internal connections." (p.78) National historians have ignored the inner dynamic of evangelical experience which bound the faithful together. Evangelicals shared a common view of spirituality which found its expression in prayer, was reaffirmed by the home, guided by the sermon, and expressed in the conviction that Jesus was personal savior. That evangelical spirituality fueled outreach at home and the mission field abroad.

Nineteenth-century evangelicalism was influential, because it was in harmony with the dominant cultural movement of Romanticism. Bebbington argues that the evangelicals were not as hostile to the Enlightenment as generally believed, and offers as evidence the influence of Enlightenment Commonsense Philosophy, particularly the argument that belief in God was intuitive in all human beings. Evangelicals also drew upon the eighteenth-century argument from design which posits that because the universe clearly shows signs of design, there must be a Designer. Some of his quotations from nineteenth-century evangelicals offered in support of the view that they were influenced by the Enlightenment seem tortured. He is on much safer ground in suggesting the impact of Romanticism upon evangelicalism, an impact that was felt in theology, preaching, liturgical practice, ecclesiastical architecture, and in the sentimental language of outreach which appealed to the heart. A problem for many evangelicals was that in many of these areas Roman Catholic Romantic affinities were well established. Furthermore, in John Henry Newman, they had one of the great Romantic prose writers of the age. These

connections were not lost upon many evangelicals who raised the alarm against Popery loudly and often. Nonetheless, by the century's end evangelicals all over the world were building Gothic Revival churches and incorporating more ritualistic elements into worship as well as adding organs and robed choirs. Spurgeon, it should be noted, opposed all of these changes.

Bebbington offers a cogent summary of the impact of modernism within the evangelical community, attributing its success in large part to "the spread of the cultural mood associated with Romanticism as it evolved into a more popular phase" (p. 182). In response, the evangelical doctrine of the atonement became less mechanistic and there was a growing consensus that everlasting punishment was "not to be given undue weight" (p. 170).

Perhaps the greatest impact of the movement was that evangelical morality became the prevailing system of values in the English speaking world. The anti-slave movement, the temperance movement, the social purity movement, and the social gospel all had evangelical roots, as did other moral crusades which are generally less-well regarded today, such as Sabbatarianism or the strident hostility of many evangelicals to novels, social dancing, and the theater. It is not without significance that virtually every great English novelist of the century showed little sympathy for evangelicals. But it would be wrong to judge a movement by its most fallible characters. If Obidiah Slopes, the odious Evangelical clergyman in Trollope's *Barchester Towers,* had his actual counterparts, there were far more men and women motivated by genuine piety and goodness. And if evangelicals sometimes erred in their zeal to monitor the behaviors of others, perhaps it can be said of them what Bebbington writes concerning evangelical attitudes toward women, that evangelicals both circumscribed and enlarged. It is those evangelical works which enlarged that he honors in his writing.

University of Texas, Austin   Patricia S. Kruppa

Ancient

From Apostles to Bishops: The Development of the Episcopacy in the Early Church. By Francis A. Sullivan, S.J. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: The Newman Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 253. $28.95.)

Father Sullivan's confessional allegiances are not unimportant in this book and neither, therefore, should mine be. I am an ordained minister of the Uniting Church in Australia (a union church of Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches formed in 1977); half my teachers during my foundational theological training in Melbourne in the late 1970's were Jesuits; I am Principal of the Uniting Church theological college in Brisbane, which is itself part of a highly integrated ecumenical consortium (the Brisbane College of Theology: Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Uniting), and with the Roman

Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane (John Bathersby) I am Co-Chair of a National Dialogue between the Roman Catholic and Uniting Churches.

The basic question which Father Sullivan explores in this very well written book is whether the historic episcopate, particularly as understood by the Anglican, Orthodox, and Roman Catholic traditions, is of divine institution, an issue he properly describes as "truly church splitting." In his own words, "[t]he question that divides Catholics and Protestants is not whether, or how rapidly, the development from the local leadership of a college of presbyters to that of a single bishop took place, but whether the result of that development is rightly judged an element of the divinely willed structure of the church" (p. viii). He acknowledges that none of the Apostles could be described as "bishops" in the historic sense, that until the early part of the second century no single bishop presided over any Christian community, and that even then, apart from in Antioch and the Roman province of Asia, probably nowhere did they do so until the middle of that century. By the end of the century, however, and this would be agreed across confessional divides, in a development which can only be described as rapid, the structure of single bishop-presbyters-deacons had become the norm everywhere. This fact leads to a number of observations: first, that the traditional Roman Catholic claim that there is, as an integral part of the structure of the Church, an apostolic succession represented by an "unbroken line of episcopal ordination from Christ through the apostles down through the centuries to the bishops of today"[1] is unsustainable as our author himself acknowledges; and second, that while the historical record alone will not support such a claim, the rapid emergence of the threefold ordering of the Church as normative does require, at the very least, the exploration of potential theological arguments arising out of that record. It is this which Father Sullivan skillfully and thoughtfully explores. That I do not believe that he has made his case does not diminish his fine scholarship.

Father Sullivan's opening chapter ("Apostolic Succession in the Episcopate: a Church-Dividing Issue") is a very fair and balanced account of the issues at stake here both between and for Catholics and Protestants. His short "Afterword," again very balanced, offers useful and positive reflections on possible ways forward in this ecumenical divide. In between he offers some observations, mainly by way of textual commentary, on the writings of the New Testament and those of both Church Fathers and other early Christian writers from Clement of Rome to Cyprian of Carthage as they either address or inform the presenting issue. In these brief commentaries there is, however, just the slightest touch of coloring by what he is trying to demonstrate, that is, evidence for a theological argument for the divine will in the early ordering of the Church and the emergence of a separate and singular episcopate.

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[1] The Vatican Response to the *Final Report* of ARCIC I (1991) as quoted by Father Sullivan.

In his final chapter ("Successors by Divine Institution?"), Father Sullivan argues that the post-New Testament development of church order into a single episcopate supported by a normative threefold structure is not only consistent with what he presumes to be the divine will for the defense and maintenance of both unity and orthodoxy in the face of schism and heresy, but provides sufficient proof that it was by virtue of that divine will that such developments took place. That evidence of such consistency might point to the possibility, even the probability of divine planning and guidance, does not, however, finally prove it. That Father Sullivan offers a strong and well-argued case for the traditional Catholic position is clear; whether he has done so beyond reasonable doubt is less so.

Trinity Theological College, Brisbane   DAVID RANKIN

Early Christian Literature: Christ and Culture in the Second and Third Centuries. The Apologies, Apocryphal Acts and Martyr Acts. By Helen Rhee. {Routledge Early Church Monographs.] (New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xiv, 266. Paperback.)

Most discussions of the relation between Christianity and the culture of the Roman world focus on the writings of the apologists, figures such as Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, or Origen. Their writings respond to criticisms of Christianity and attempt, in varying ways, to show that Christians are not irreligious and respect, at least up to a point, the moral ideals that govern life in society. In the nature of things apologists seek points of intersection between the beliefs of Christians and the larger world around them. Which is to say that the writings of the apologists are a unique literary genre within early Christian literature with specific aims and characteristic features. With some exceptions, notably Tatian, they give us one perspective on the relation between Christ and culture.

The central idea behind this book, a reworking of a dissertation submitted to the Center for Advanced Theological Studies at the School of Theology of Fuller Theological Seminary, is that any assessment of early Christian attitudes toward Greco-Roman culture must take into consideration at least two other bodies of literature. The first is the apocryphal acts of the apostles, e.g. the Acts of Thomas, the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and the Acts of John. These are imaginative expansions of the lives of apostles written to entertain the Christian folk with edifying stories and miraculous tales of fabulous adventures that often stretch the bounds of credulity. The martyr acts, by contrast, have a historical basis and offer narratives of trial and martyrdom of individuals or groups of individuals. Examples are the Acts of Justin, the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicity, and the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs.

The sources are treated under three headings, the superiority of Christian monotheism, the superiority of Christian sexual morality, and loyalty to the

empire. Rhee, assistant professor of World Christianity at Westmont College, Santa Barbara, California, shows how differently the three bodies of literature—apologists, acts of the apostles, and martyr acts—address the topics. On the first, monotheism, the apologists attempt to demonstrate the rational foundations of belief in one God and present Christianity as the "true philosophy." Christ comes across first and foremost as a teacher. By contrast the apocryphal acts emphasize the miracles of the apostles and present Christianity as a "true power." The martyr acts contrast devotion to the one God and sacrifice to the many gods of Rome or the "genius" of the emperor. Rhee's phrase for these writings is "true piety."

The second section, on the superiority of Christian sexual morality, is the most illuminating. Rhee shows that the apologists promote marriage as a religious and social good, and see virginity and continence as a laudable virtue. The apocryphal acts, however, are strongly encratitic, and reject marriage and sexual intercourse as sinful. The martyr acts, especially those dealing with female martyrs, highlight the tension between marriage and family and commitment to Christ. Similar accents come through in the final section on loyalty to the empire, the apologists promoting allegiance to the emperor while the acts defy imperial authority.

The idea behind the book is a good one and Rhee has read widely in the ancient sources and in the modern literature. She asks intelligent questions and sheds fresh light on a well-worn topic. But I found the categories too schematic and the distinctions between the three bodies of literature too neat. To be sure, attitudes toward society in early Christianity were quite varied and the apologists cannot be taken as normative. Still I don't see that the apologists and the authors of the martyr acts necessarily represent two different attitudes toward Greco-Roman culture. It is understandable that in recounting the trial and death of martyrs, the authors of the acts reject the religious values of the society in which they live. What gives the acts their unique character, however, is not that they represent a different form of Christianity but that they were composed to celebrate the heroic death of faithful Christians and hold up the martyrs as models of total devotion to Christ.

There is no reason why the apologists and authors of the martyr acts could not come from the same communities. One of the "acts" records the martyrdom of Justin, who was an apologist in the mid-second century. It was certainly possible to commemorate the fidelity and courage of the martyrs and still live in Roman society in a Christian family with all the daily adjustments and compromises that required. The acts of the apostles, however, breathe a different spirit. They represent a more radical, even deviant form of Christianity, that appealed only to a certain kinds of Christians. Several of the acts of the apostles are clearly influenced by Gnosticism. The martyr acts, like the writings of the apologists, spring from mainstream Christian communities. Looked at from this perspective the apocryphal acts of the apostles would represent a minority view, whereas the apologists and martyr acts

reflect different ways the great Church related to culture, at times seeking limited accommodation, at other times resolutely confessing the Lordship of Christ against all earthly authority.

University of Virginia   ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN

Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature: A Literary History. By Claudio Moreschini and Enrico Norelli. Translated by Matthew J. O'Connell. 2 vols. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 455; xxvi, 734. $99.95.)

Two questions are especially raised by this weighty but finely translated survey. First, what does one mean by "Christian Literature"? Second, what should one make of the new subtitle, "A Literary History"? (The original title, *Storia della letteratura*, is equally problematic; and comparable difficulty arises with titles like *Histoire littéraire* or *Literaturgeschichte*.) The authors suggest (I, xi) that "literatures" are defined by their languages, whereas *Christian* literature is defined by its content. They admit that the languages used have their own histories and therefore their own effects; but they would not divide Christian literature in the first instance according to language.

One should note at once the authors' deliberate omission of material in Syriac and other languages of the *Oriens christianus*. It is true that the earliest Christian texts have to be placed within the context of (predominantly Greek) Hellenistic culture, which they modified by their particular approach to sacred texts and sacred rituals, to the Hebrew Bible, and the sacramental life. Yet the impact of languages further east, not to mention Hebrew itself and Aramaic, had become apparent by the second century at the latest, and continued to grow in importance. It also has to be borne in mind that several elements of early Christian literature survive only in their "eastern" translations and recensions—which raises the immediate question of whether the survivals mirror accurately the originals. In short, it is no longer acceptable to fly the Greek-and-Latin flag and still lay claim to an inclusive "Christianity."

I also think an opportunity was lost when the authors turned to the Latin tradition, in which "the importance of the Bible . . . was utterly decisive" (I, 318). Here a new thread could have been identified and pursued; but that does not happen, and in particular there is never an attempt to set down in one place a comparison between the Greek biblical tradition, so conscious (with time) of both the Hebrew and the Septuagint texts, and the Latin tradition, based essentially (until Jerome) on a translation or translations. How odd, also, to confine to a chapter on "The First Christian Literature of the West" the observation that Christians "tried to find in the Bible elements that could be matched to standards by which secular texts were usually judged" (I, 323)— hardly a peculiarity of the West.

A real attempt is, however, made to define a literary *history*. "Literary forms and genres were adapted to the needs of the new faith," and "literary history focuses on the development of literary forms in relation to the development of institutions and ideas" (I, xiii). In other words, needs, institutions, and ideas have a certain priority, an explanatory force in relation to the texts themselves (even though the needs are betrayed to us only in texts). These are brave avowals, but the temptation to rest content with textual forms alone is never quite resisted. "In literature," the authors declare, "it is not possible to reach the same certainty—or probability—as in the interpretation of historical or economic facts" (whatever they are, I, 317), which is to overlook their earlier suggestion that the two have to go hand in hand: if one lacks security, then so does the other. When we come, in the second volume, to the period after Constantine, we find a more explicit emphasis on "rhetoric," which encourages or demands "a reading that includes formal structures as part of the linkage of literature with its times"—which must consist in part, one assumes, in "needs, institutions, and ideas." "In late antiquity," we learn, "reality and rhetoric were closely connected in an indissoluble symbiosis" (II, 9). Is this a new phenomenon? Why do we not hear more about it?

Let us take a particular example, relating to gnosticizing gospels. (One has to admire, by the way, the analysis of "canonical" and "apocryphal" gospels as a single phenomenon, I, 30 f.) The "Gnostic" gospels, like their canonical *confrères*, are preoccupied among other things with competing claims to authority. They display a confidence of their own in their predominantly dialogue style, which contrasts with the more historical and developmental emphases of the canonical narratives. There is a choice of leadership and instruction hidden here, which provokes a particular curiosity about the competing claims of teachers and presbyters and a general curiosity about the relationship between text and power. Not enough is made of this, either as an identifiable theme or as a theoretical issue (which comes first: the text that supports the leadership, or the leadership that is reflected in the text?). There is, indeed, little on the development of episcopacy, in spite of an early chapter on "ecclesiastical discipline and homilies" (I, 126 f.); and the papacy in particular merits a mere snippet (I, 318).

One is led to ask, therefore, how chapters function in the book as a whole. Gospels are treated, as I say, in one chapter; but then we have a separate account of "The Johannine Tradition" (I, 75 f.), and other New Testament texts are separated according to category—apocalypse (I, 85 f.), letter (I, 101 f.), treatise (I, 112). What methodological policy lies behind such groupings (and overlaps)?

There are chapters and lengthy sections devoted to writers of major significance, and they often seem to mark what are perceived as moments of major development or change. Clement of Alexandria, for example, exemplified (he did not originate) a crucial transition from an essentially post-Jewish to a neoclassical tradition: "he takes his place on the border between a Christianity that adopts secular literary forms and a Christianity wholly focused on its own

oral tradition and concerned essentially with an intense labor on its own Scriptures and sacred traditions, still substantially using the tools of Judaism" (I, 266). Origen gets a chapter entirely to himself (I, 268 ff.), and is pleasingly presented as both venturesome and loyal: "faithful not only to the Scriptures but to the church," and anxious "to offer not a close, rigid system but an open-ended study, which he urges all to pursue on their own" (I, 289). The chapter on "The Christian Literature of Africa" (I, 329 ff.)—devoted for the most part, naturally, to Tertullian and Cyprian—introduces the arresting notion that Africa's prominence in the Christian tradition merely matches its importance as the native land of Fronto and Apuleius (I, 329). As we could expect, Augustine is another figure treated separately at length (II, 362-409).

These self-contained analyses are not, however, typical of the work as a whole. It is more common to find elements oddly scattered, with corresponding breakages in sequence. I have mentioned the separation of "The Johannine Tradition" from both gospels and later apocryphal and Gnostic developments. Irenaeus is set apart from Apologists, especially Justin, which interrupts any coherent treatment of, for example, Logos theology. The formation of the New Testament canon is presented in the first volume, but in a diffuse form; and we have to wait until II, 200-235 for a fuller treatment of apocrypha and their gradual exclusion.

The difficulty is accentuated in the second volume, which makes in some ways a fresh start, and reflects the heavier influence of Moreschini. There is a more forceful definition of "literature": it does not include "documents," but represents rather "something that does not have a purely practical purpose" (II, xvii). The writers congratulate themselves here on a "disarming simplicity"; but it proves in the end only a recipe for vagueness. How does one decide whether a document is not literary? And in what sense is literature never purely practical? Poetry fares well in this work, albeit in fits and starts; but hagiographical texts, sadly, are regarded as only "marginally" literary (II, xviii), even though they merit a later treatment in at least their Latin guise (II, 348 f.). The *Life of Antony* makes no appearance as a text (except as translated by Evagrius, II, 325), even in an earlier chapter devoted in part to "Ascetics" (II, 57 ff.)—although Antony's *Letters* are mentioned briefly (II, 62-63).

The historical framework, meanwhile, is presented in familiar but now debatable form. Continuity (especially of "forms") is less evident in the West than in the East (even though, apparently, "late antiquity was marked by an evolution of literary forms," II, 11). We begin to detect, we are told, "clearer divisions" (although the implied lack of earlier clarity is not described), divisions that "herald the new (medieval) culture" (II, xvii). The differences are then explained simply by the presence or absence of barbarians—"the break in literary traditions that was caused by the barbarian invasions" (II, 236). No sector of the West, therefore, was exempt from "barbarism," and there were no barbarians in the East.

The authors' touch here is less certain. Therefore on the one hand, late antique Christianity is set firmly in an era of "decadence" marked by the "exhaustion of pagan thought" (II, 1-3). The Church, at least in the West, begins to separate itself from the state, and in that sense separates religion from the state's control—an important novelty. We observe the development of a "new social reality" (II, 2). So is Gibbon deftly overlaid with more recent depictions. Then, on the other hand, we are made to veer away from decadence and exhaustion. Exhaustion was not, apparently, a sign of decadence, but "signified a transformation and at the same time a continuity" (II, 6). We now have to believe in "basic cultural elements shared by all these writers without exception," and in a species of "social conditioning, which yielded a shared esthetic outlook"; a conditioning (or an outlook) imposed "by a fixed set of social conditions coming from the culture they received prior to and independently of any and every literary activity and creation" (all in II, 7). The interior contradictions and the changed senses (compared with the first volume) of both "literature" and "continuity" are evident enough.

So, one is saddened by a loss, in this second volume, of any attempt to trace development and textual relations. The most telling (and weary) symptom of indifference is the readiness to make heresy and controversy the governing frame. "Western Christian Culture," for example, is subsumed under Arianism (II, 236 ff.). This is the context provided for Ambrose (II, 268 ff.)—even though he is eventually characterized in a way that belies his implied significance in a chapter of such a sort: he disclosed "a Christian spirituality that was warm and welcoming"; his sermons were "sensitive, reflective, and carefully thought out" (echoing Christine Mohrmann); "his art . . . embraces everything in a kind of psalmic garb, halfway between prose and poetry"; and "for him ideas were never separable, or separated, from the echoes they could awaken in the hearts of the listeners" (II, 287). Jerome is comparably squeezed within a broader chapter (II, 298-320)—albeit devoted to "Science and Biblical Philology"— along with Rufinus and Pelagius. How he would have loved that! Indeed, further conjunctions are even more bizarre. "As happens," we read, "in periods of great cultural fervor a happy homogeneity unites the major figures among themselves and the minor figures with the major" (II, 299)—the happy homogeneity aligning Jerome with Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine! Only the Cappadocians are allowed to escape into a chapter of their own (II, 81-135).

What might one suggest instead? Surely, the development of the homily, alongside the related but distinct skill of the commentary, dominates the Christian literary scene in this period. There are dispersed treatments of homily—relating to Basil, for example (II, 96-99), and Chrysostom (II, 149-155)—and there is an interesting section on stenography (II, 236-237). Commentary one has to rummage for—in the section, for example, on Didymus (II, 70-80)—but the emphasis is on the senses of Scripture (yes, we have a chapter on The Antiochene School," II, 136-177, which is where Chrysostom is forced to find his literary niche). There is little on the "needs" or the "institutions

and ideas" so confidently appealed to earlier; on the "indissoluble symbiosis" of reality and rhetoric. The social circumstances of homily, the purposes of commentary, are left aside. To take only one example, Averil Cameron's *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire*, published years before Moreschini and Norelli's original Italian *Storia*, showed how we should now harmonize the varied elements of "discourse," including literary discourse, in this turbulent and inventive age. In that connection, by the way, it is difficult to understand why, on the subject of "Christianity and Ancient Education," we are limited to a study of Synesius and Nonnus (II, 178 ff.); rather than of Basil and Augustine (although *De doctrina christiana* eventually gets its treatment, II, 377-381).

From this point, we descend quickly into mere miscellany. The chapter on "The Age of the Barbarian Invasions in the West" (II, 410 ff.) does nothing to bring together in any unified way the more than thirty writers mentioned. In particular, it gives no vivid impression of how western Christians reacted, at a literary level, to the barbarian event; this is no updated *Histoire littéraire des grandes invasions*. And look who is tightly squeezed into this assortment: Orosius (II, 413-415), Cassian (II, 432-436), Sidonius (II, 457-460), and Leo (II, 462-465). The authors then explicitly admit that they are not sure what distinguishes this chapter from the one following, "The Literature of the Romano-Barbarian Kingdoms of the West" (II, 470 ff.). Here we come up hard against their uncertainty as to how to create an integrated account. Kingdoms in the fifth century were apparently "still in flux," but in the sixth century "solidly established." Yet, in the very next sentence, it becomes clear that they were nothing of the kind (II, 470). At one moment, older forms were "gradually vanishing," but then we lurch into "fragmentation," seen as "a characteristic of sixth-century literature" (II, 470). Again, nearly thirty writers are treated individually in some sixty pages; and Boethius, Ennodius, Cassiodorus, Gregory of Tours, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville are lumped together under a catch-all heading. Benedict gets one small paragraph (II, 498); compare the space devoted earlier to Cassian, Eucherius, and the Lérins writers (II, 432-439).

The final section on the East is equally disappointing. We start with an emphasis on Ephesus and Chalcedon as unifying factors; the resulting sense of inadequacy echoing that induced by the Arian focus earlier. There is a chapter on "Asceticism and spirituality in the Greek World" (II, 631 ff.); but we are not told why we should happily separate the writers concerned from their western counterparts and from the earlier treatment of "monasticism" as a distinct category (II, 61-64). Views of the past, we learn, were now predominantly ecclesiastical—a view that might have surprised Jordanes or Gregory of Tours. Analysis of the chronicle as a distinguishable genre is first applied to Prosper: "with him the chronicle henceforth replaces all history in the narrower sense of the term" (II, 421). One assumes that the authors mean in the West: Malalas is tacked onto the end of the chapter on "Greek Christian Historiography" (II, 685 f.).

What starts out as a "literary history," therefore, ends in the realm of the encyclopedia. A brave attempt has been abandoned. The work will have to

compete, therefore, with other studies more honest about their aspirations. One thinks, for example, of Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings' excellent *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (also translated by Matthew O'Connell). It bears saying also that, while the English translation may naturally continue to favor an Italian bibliography and scholarly antecedents, it seems odd that several works originally in English are cited in their Italian translations, as is also the case with primary texts.

The Catholic University of America   PHILIP ROUSSEAU

Women in Early Christianity: Translations from Greek Texts. Edited by Patricia Cox Miller. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 340. $29.95.)

Patricia Cox Miller has provided a sourcebook for the study of women in the first five centuries of Christianity which should prove useful for both undergraduate teaching and for reference use by scholars as well. The book begins with a helpful synthetic introduction in which Miller discusses the nature of the sources she draws upon, gives an overview of the larger themes covered in the book, and provides some more general historical and theoretical background. The sources used are of three kinds: documentary, popular literary, and theological. Miller has drawn upon material ranging from the canons of church councils to hymns, martyrologies, hagiographies, funeral orations, and theological treatises. The book's organization into larger topics and subthemes represents perhaps the feature which will be most appreciated and useful for the teacher: Miller has given us an elegant way of organizing and trying to make sense of a wide body of disparate sources. She has broken her material down into five different sections: "Women's Roles in the Church," "Women and Virginity," "Portraits of Ascetic Women," "Women and Domestic Life," and "Female Image and Theology." Each section is in turn divided into a number of different subtopics; thus, for example, the section "Women and Virginity" contains texts on the topics "Female Comportment," "Major Treatises on Virginity," "The Subintroductae," and "Transvestism." Some of the translations are Miller's own, while a larger number have been reprinted from other works. The teacher will appreciate Miller's short introductions to each subsection and each individual text, as well as her glosses of words and phrases which might prove delphic to undergraduates. She has also inserted organizing headers into longer excerpts to make their structure more readily apparent and has identified most scriptural and classical allusions. There are three appendices and two indexes. The first appendix is a timeline listing Christian women of the first five centuries, providing dates where they are available. The second appendix is a second timeline, this one giving the dates in the first five centuries of the authors and works used in the book. The third appendix offers suggestions for further reading, grouping the bibliographic entries by topics which correspond to the sections of the book. Finally, there is a general index followed by an index of scriptural references.

Any attempt to compile a sourcebook such as this must inevitably force upon the editor the unenviable task of leaving certain texts on the cutting room floor, so to speak. Granting this limitation, one still wishes that Miller had devoted more space in her introduction to discussing any similarities and/or differences which might obtain between the representation and roles of women in non-Greek Christian texts—not just Latin, but also, for example, Syriac. Nevertheless, Miller has drawn together and clearly organized an impressive body of material, giving us a book which should facilitate the incorporation of the role and importance of women into the teaching of early Christian history. Hers is an effort for which both students and teachers should be grateful.

Princeton University Jack Tannous

Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History. Edited and Translated by Kevin Madigan and Carolyn Osiek. (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 220. $48.00.)

If there were ever any doubts that women were ordained to ministerial positions in the early church, such doubts can now be put to rest. Madigan and Osiek have presented overwhelming literary, canonical, and epigraphic evidence for the ordination of women deacons and women presbyters, and for the ordination of women to other offices. The authors have collected, edited, and translated all the extant data in Latin and Greek (and some Syriac) for both the East and the West until ca. 600 A.D., including about seventy-five inscriptions.

Madigan and Osiek present clear and accurate translations of all the items in their documentary history, providing the original Greek or Latin, where appropriate, in footnotes. The documents are preceded by helpful, brief background comments, including biographical statements concerning ancient authors. Commentaries discuss the item's significance for providing evidence concerning the ordination of women. Extensive footnotes provide bibliographical references to the most relevant scholarship. Surprisingly, there is no comprehensive bibliography. There are, however, excellent appendixes, indexes, and maps.

Madigan and Osiek warn against assuming that ordination in the early church meant exactly what it means today. They also distinguish correctly between "ordination, membership in the clergy, and special group status" (p. 5). Chapter Two shows that patristic commentators almost invariably interpreted Rom 16:1–2 and 1 Tim 3:11 to refer to women deacons and that members of the "order of widows" (cf. 1 Tim 5: 3–13) were, at least by one commentator, equated with deaconesses. Similarly, Chapter Five, which contains data from the post-600 A.D. era, demonstrates that later authors and councils took it for granted that there were women deacons in the earlier period. Chapters Three through Seven deal with the extant evidence for women deacons in the East. Chapter Six covers the material on women deacons. Chapter Eight presents and discusses the (far less extensive) data for women presbyters.

Madigan and Osiek take care not to draw conclusions that cannot be sup-
ported by the literary texts, canons, or inscriptions they present. Only on one
occasion was it unclear to me how a particular literary text (John of Damascus,
On Heresies 49) was directly relevant to a discussion on women *deacons* (pp.
133-134). I also think it would have been better to indicate consistently in the
translations themselves, rather than in the commentaries, parts of names or
other words which need to be restored because of missing letters in inscrip-
tions (e.g., contrast Arete [p. 72] and Severa [p. 90] with [Ce]lsa [p. 75] and
[Epipha]n[e]ia [p. 80]). Similarly, given the extant τῆς before the letters ματ in
the text of "Matrona of Stobi" (p. 84), it seems to me better to restore the text
της ματ[ρώνης] and to translate the words as "of the matron" rather than "of
Matrona." There is an inconsistency between the date of the discovery of
Sophia's inscription as given in the caption for figure 9 and the introduction
to the inscription (p. 90). The form Theoprepia should have been given in the
translation as that is the spelling given in the text of the inscription—or, at
least, the alteration should have been indicated by parentheses as in the head-
ing (p. 93). The correct spelling of the findspot of the Ammion inscription is
Uşak, not Uçak (p. 169). The authors, unintentionally, give the impression that
Tertullian thought Montanism to be a "deviant group" (pp. 8-9) and that
Cyzicus was closer to Constantinople (p. 47) than the approximately 180
Roman miles which separated the two cities by road. All the above, however,
are minor issues.

Madigan and Osiek have produced the best, most comprehensive, and
extremely useful documentary history to date regarding the ordination of
women in the early church, correcting a number of earlier held false assump-
tions (pp. 3-4; 204-206).

Phillips Theological Seminary   WILLIAM TABBERNEE

*Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of
     Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages*. By Kevin L. Hughes. (Washington, D.C.:
     The Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 278. $59.95.)

This handsome volume grew out of a dissertation written under Bernard
McGinn, master mentor of many students of medieval theology. The title pres-
ents it as a study of the "doctrine" of Antichrist, that enigmatic figure of the
apocalyptic tradition that kept the imagination of theologians, preachers, and
common people busy for centuries. McGinn himself has interpreted the
antichrist theme socio-theologically as "two thousand years of the human fas-
cination with evil." Hughes's study moves in a different direction. On the
assumption that Christian doctrine is based on biblical texts and their inter-
pretation, the author follows step by step and with impressive learning the his-
tory of just one particular biblical text which is of prime importance for all
antichrist lore and speculation, Paul's second letter to the Thessalonians—not
just its famous second chapter but the entire letter. With this approach he joins

the growing number of scholars, especially medievalists, who are taking up the history of biblical exegesis as a field of research that can throw new light on the history of Christian thought. Methodologically, Hughes is aware that working in this field stretches the skills of the historian to the limits, analytically as well as synthetically. He proceeds with great caution and knows the importance of being open to surprises. The surprise in this case is that the early and medieval commentaries do not reflect the burning contemporary concerns of an age when apocalyptic emotions and fears reached new peaks time and again. As the author explains, medieval commentators saw Paul primarily as a teacher, not as a prophet, and tried to extract coherent doctrine from the text, not predictions of their own contemporary situation. Hughes finds two major strands in the early exegesis of the letter: an apocalyptic realism that considers Antichrist as an individual figure, tyrant or deceiver, whose appearance will be part of the actual events at the endtime, and a spiritual interpretation, typical of the Latin tradition, which reflects on interior dangers in the individual soul and speaks of a communal "body of antichrist" in contrast to, but also within, the Church, the "body of Christ" throughout history. Major representatives of the former strand are the Ambrosiaster, Pelagius, and Theodore of Mopsuestia (in Latin), of the latter Tyconius, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. The author himself is uneasy with the term "spiritual" for the Tyconian-Augustinian interpretation; "spiritual" exegesis refers to the anagogical function of the biblical text. "Metaphorical" or "figurative" may be better choices. Hughes shows that early medieval interpreters do not choose between these two options but hold them together as parts of the one normative tradition of Bible and Fathers. He is at his best in the presentation of the Carolingian authors. The sections on Rabanus Maurus and especially Haimo of Auxerre are masterpieces of careful source analysis and authoritative textual/contextual reading. The eleventh-century authors (Lanfranc, Bruno) whose Pauline commentaries have not found much interest to date, will need more work; here Hughes's bold deductions are less convincing because the textual basis presents him with problems. The diachronic survey of the material ends with the *Glossa ordinaria* and Peter Lombard, whose exegetical work Hughes sees correctly at the transition point to a new form of scholastic commentary. Throughout the book, the introductions to each exegete, which show the author in full command of the literature in the field, are particularly valuable. Together they form a helpful roadmap of the state of scholarship on the medieval interpretation of Paul and could be used as such by anyone planning to venture into this relatively unexplored territory. More than that, Hughes's competent investigation of one short letter in its entirety demonstrates that the exegetical history of the Pauline Epistles is a gold mine for the historian of Christian doctrine. One can only wish that he will find imitators, equally enthusiastic prospectors who will continue to explore the mighty river bed of Pauline exegesis at other points. The results will be well worth the effort.

Boston University   KARLFRIED FROEHLICH

There is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire. By Michael Gaddis. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 39.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 396.)

One of the most difficult questions for students of early Christianity to confront is the reason for the violence and coercion that followed in the wake of Constantine's conversion early in the fourth century. Scholarship, of course, has had a comfortable answer for generations: Christianity, as Edward Gibbon taught us, is inherently intolerant; once Constantine gave them access to the levers of power, Christians quite naturally used them to suppress and persecute their religious rivals. Despite this solution's prima facie plausibility, however, it has always had gaps, one of the biggest being its failure to grapple with a strong pacifist movement based on Jesus' central commandment to return hatred with love. For scholars attuned to this problem, the issue has been to find a plausible alternative explanation for Christianity's coercive turn.

With this book, Michael Gaddis does just that. Using as both his title and a leitmotif for the strands of his argument the Egyptian firebrand Shenoute's retort to a pagan magistrate whose house he had ransacked ("There is no crime for those who have Christ"), Gaddis takes his reader into the mind of those late antique zealots who did so much to reshape the face of Christianity during the period between the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Demonstrating how these rigorists and their supporters justified such actions as God's anger and not their own, Gaddis argues that religious violence grew out of a distinct shift in Christian thinking about martyrdom. What was once the reward for exemplary suffering and endurance became instead a reward for "those who struck out directly against the enemies of the faith" (p. 93).

But the thinking of zealots is only part of the problem. More important, as Gaddis recognizes, is understanding why their actions were accepted by the wider community. Scholars have long recognized that monks drew much of their prestige from their willingness to suffer like martyrs, but this connection did not explain either the greater propensity to violence or the readiness of other Christians to accept it. A new discourse about martyrdom supplies the missing link. It shows itself in John Chrysostom's urging his congregation to rebuke and even strike "blasphemers," because in this way they would be imitating the martyrs (p. 175).

Discourse, more than violence itself, is the real subject of Gaddis' interest, and it leads him to two important conclusions. First, unlike so much modern scholarship, Gaddis does not identify the thoughts and actions of the Shenoutes of Late Antiquity with mainstream Christianity; instead, he firmly labels theirs an "extremist discourse" and devotes much space to demonstrating that it did not go uncontested. Second, he is equally attuned to the rhetorical strategies devel-

oped by the imperial center to justify the violent suppression of Christian as well as pagan adversaries in the name of unity and salvation.

What tipped the balance in favor of extremists was their readiness to put their lives' on the line, and the readiness of their followers to read such behavior as martyrdom. "Their willingness to die," he observes (in one of many fine turns of phrase), "gave them the right to kill" (p. 181). Gaddis is fully aware of the contemporary implications of his study. Indeed, he concludes that both secular and religious ideologies of the modern world have their origins in this Late Antique discourse. Such thinking makes this book not only important, but also timely.

University of California, Santa Barbara   H. A. DRAKE

Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity. By Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony. [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, XXXVIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 250. $45.00.)

Israeli scholars have of late produced tremendous work on the topic of pilgrimage. The present volume, a substantially revised dissertation written at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, makes available to non-Hebrew-speaking historians a taste of that rich, ongoing work. Bitton-Ashkelony surveys an impressive variety of late ancient sources (in Greek, Latin, and Syriac, from western Gaul to Mesopotamia) in her exploration of nascent notions of sacred geography. Rejecting overly simplistic rubrics such as "popular religion," Bitton-Ashkelony instead probes the theological, political, and social dimensions of a religious phenomenon whose origins are obscure (or even irrelevant) but whose impact was ineluctable. At the heart of her study lies the city of Jerusalem, allegorized in the New Testament but brilliantly rematerialized in late antiquity, a religious center around which crystallized diverse responses to the idea of venerable Christian place.

An introductory chapter lays out scholarly approaches to the question of sacred space, betraying a tendency, little expressed in the rest of the volume, toward a *religionsgeschichtlich* approach. The first three chapters tackle "great thinkers" of late antiquity. Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa were lukewarm toward Jerusalem pilgrimage, even as they heavily promoted local cultic shrines, possibly due to competition with other bishops such as Cyril of Jerusalem (chap. 1). Jerome at times embraced the sanctity of the holy land (in which he settled), yet at other times polemically rejected the special sanctity of the holy city. Once again, for Bitton-Ashkelony, ecclesiastical politics intervene; yet even a political figure such as Jerome cannot escape the rising tide of the adoration of sacred space (chap. 2). Augustine pointedly refrained from articulating any theology of sacred geography beyond typically Pauline allegories of God's omnipresence and the "New Jerusalem." Bitton-Ashkelony

views this reticence as pastoral condescension from the great bishop, focused more on the behavior of his flock than on their *locus* (chap. 3).

The final two chapters push into the monastic realm which, Bitton-Ashkelony argues, was central to the political and theological developments of a "territory of grace." She persuasively demonstrates the productively paradoxical importance of both *xeniteia* (wandering) and *hēsychia* (tranquility) in the accounts of desert saints in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria into the sixth centuries. Three significant monastic thinkers then ground these hagiographic sources: Athanasius of Alexandria, who deftly acknowledges holy land pilgrimage but subsumes it into (episcopally supervised) monastic practice; Evagrius Ponticus, whose highly theorized mystical monasticism provides an even more thorough (and influential) internalization of the pilgrimage idea; and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, whose biblical interpretations incorporate pilgrimage into a supersessionist, anti-Jewish theology. The last chapter (chap. 5) returns to the question of "local versus central" pilgrimage in Palestinian and Syrian sources. Here Bitton-Ashkelony produces her most compelling argument: the imagination of local pilgrimage sites (particularly monastic sites) as a "second Jerusalem," suggesting that "local" sacred space could only predominate through an imagined, and redistributed, "center."

Encountering the Sacred is an enormously learned volume, superbly written and notated, required reading for students of early Christian pilgrimage and monasticism. Bitton-Ashkelony dispenses with the typical frameworks for discussing Christian theologies of space—most notably (and perhaps a bit hastily) the persistent influence of Platonism—and in so doing presents us with theologians and theorists who are always responsive and reactive. Some more tantalizing suggestions might have been pursued further, such as the importance of monastic theology as foundational for medieval pilgrimage, or the ways in which biblicism could mediate between material piety and theological anti-Judaism. It is, however, the mark of a dynamic study to leave the reader wanting more, and doubtless the groundwork laid here will provide intellectual provocation for numerous further studies.

University of California, Riverside   Andrew Jacobs

Augustine: A New Biography. By James J. O'Donnell. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers. 2005. Pp. xvi, 396. $26.95.)

The subtitle of this new life of Augustine announces a biography. It is both that and rather more. Before O'Donnell's *Augustine*, there were two big standard works on Augustine's life. Peter Brown's now-classic *Augustine of Hippo* first appeared in the 1960's. It was a spectacular and pathbreaking work of genius written by a young man who was then only in his early thirties. Not without good reason does O'Donnell himself laud Brown as "Augustine's best biographer" (p. 73). Brown's *Augustine* appeared again at the turn of the millennium, with recon-

siderations that looked back on the author's original work from the perspective of a half-century of changes in which Brown himself had a large part. Then Serge Lancel's *Saint Augustin* appeared just before the turn of the millennium, first in French and then, within three years, in an English translation—a biography whose extraordinary quality was assured by the author's incomparable command of the whole range of ancient North African history. Whereas Brown's work set Augustine's life in the context of the development of Late Antique culture and thought, Lancel offered a more strictly biographical perspective that placed the man more firmly than ever in his African homeland and culture.

O'Donnell's *Augustine* is not like either of these now-classic lives. His Augustine is not set *in* any context. Instead, the reader is taken for a sometimes breathtaking ride, invited to sense the forces involved in making the man from the inside out. The "more" that the reader gets is a postmodern rush. We feel the depression and anxiety, the rage and anguish of a man living his driven life of success and failure. Patently influenced by cybernetics, virtual and deconstructive currents, this Augustine is not a neat narrative retold in careful chronological order. It is a critical inspection that strives to break down the pieces of personality (p. 84). In the postscript that has appeared with the paperback version (2006, p. 7), the author confesses that he had toyed with the subtitle of "An Antibiography," much in the manner that my clothing has sometimes been derided as an Antifashion, I suppose. The result is anything but neat or intended to satisfy.

O'Donnell's Augustine is a site of immense talent, huge ambition, and great frustrations whose self-fashioning, down to the center of the famous conversion, was deliberately constructed in his *Confessions*. Alert to the stratagems of deliberate amnesia and fiction, there is a constant drive to interrogate the subject. What is it that Augustine is *not* telling us? And why? In a man who was so attuned to his increasing celebrity, the tactic is useful and produces better insights. Moved by a hermeneutic of suspicion, O'Donnell is determined not to be seduced or hypnotized by his subject's words. In his prying apart, he does not shrink from imaginative reconstructions, fictional biographies, and counterfactual scenarios that might well make an Edmund Morris blush (e.g., pp. 51-52, 80-81, 171-172, 205-207, 230-231). He brings into the glare of his spotlight experiences that Augustine most wants us not to see—amongst others, his eleven (not nine, as he minimized) years as a devoted Manichee, and his beloved mother's involvement in the Donatist church. The personal story is set against a deep cultural background: the making of sermons, the writing of letters, the quality and knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Punic, and the complex and rapidly evolving template of late antique social relations.

O'Donnell warns us, as we might expect, not to take the power of late paganism as gravely as it is presented to us: "Christian parody and polemic is taken too seriously" (p. 189). The fright of a great religious threat was needed in the forging of a new Christianity in the late fourth century. The polemics did serve one great end and personal success: "Augustine's part in shaping catholic identity was the central achievement of his career" (p. 201). As with "pagan-

ism," the author also moves to a new telling of the Donatist-Catholic battle that reconstrues it in novel ways by using an inventive terminology—"Caecilianists" v. "Donatists"—to circumvent Augustine's willful triumphalism (chap. 8). There follows one of the best analyses of Pelagius and his heresy. Here too, there was a huge price tag attached to success. O'Donnell makes clear how much Augustine was a Pelagius "wannabe"—a fighter who was forced from positions that we would expect him more naturally to hold, finally to espouse ever more logically refined and coherent, but extreme ideas (p. 269). In the end, Augustine was to be decisively shaped by his own African world, one with which he coped so badly (p. 272). Since the searchlight is shone so relentlessly on the man—it is, after all, a biography—the one less-than-fulsome chapter devoted to Augustine's "theologies" is bound to disappoint some.

In the laudable desire to communicate with a generation of e-mailers and video-gamers, there are turns of phrase and expression that some are bound to see as over-reaching. Augustine appears as a C.E.O., a gunslinger, an attack-dog, a Don Quixote, a horny young man on the hunt for hookups; the Greatful Dead play and the Manichees arrive as a New-Age sect. The author has taken the risks of stylistic inconcinnity and anachronism, but for all the right reasons. And mostly with success. Reading this reconsideration of this one human life, I have had to accept, again, that there is something unusual in Augustine that I will never understand—a fascination, as O'Donnell rightly names it. No other figure from all of antiquity has attracted three of the finest spirits of our age and has provoked from them three masterpieces that so admirably mirror the lives of the writers. His own little trinity. Of all these modern views of this ancient life, there can be no doubt that O'Donnell's is the one for our age—an Augustine for the threshold of the twenty-first century. It is that good. Beg, borrow, or buy. Then pick it up and read.

Princeton University   BRENT SHAW

Medieval

Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages. By Nicole Chareyron. Translated by W. Donald Wilson. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 287. $45.00.)

For medieval Christians the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an act of extraordinary devotion. Rich spiritual rewards awaited those who could visit the city sanctified by the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Yet the long, expensive, and dangerous journey from Europe to the Holy Land was itself also an act of penance. Utilizing more than fifty contemporary accounts, Nicole Chareyron opens in this book a fascinating window into the world of these pilgrims. In evocative (although occasionally over-florid) prose, Chareyron creates a composite picture of a typical pilgrimage from its hopeful departure until its uncertain conclusion. Her close familiarity with what she refers to as "our authors" makes this book both interesting and entertaining.

It is important to point out that, title notwithstanding, this is a book about Jerusalem pilgrimages at the *end* of the Middle Ages—specifically the fourteenth, fifteenth, and early sixteenth centuries. A pilgrim in the twelfth century, for example, would have had a dramatically different experience than what is described here. Chareyron recognizes the diversity of late medieval pilgrimage routes, yet focuses on what she sees as the most common one and then follows it closely. It begins at home with a ceremony and tearful departure and then moves on to Venice, where ships' captains compete with one another to sell package tours that seem never to go as promised. After experiencing the rich beauty of Venice, the pilgrims then board a cramped vessel where poor food, bad smells, nasty rats, cagey oarsmen, and disease are the norm for the next five weeks. When the pilgrims finally do arrive at the ruins of crusader Jaffa they are packed into caves where they must wait until they have paid sufficient fees, bribed sufficient officials, and submitted to sufficient depredations. Only then can they depart under the guidance of the approved Franciscan tour leaders. Along the way and throughout their visit to the Holy Land they will be beset by corrupt authorities and local Muslims who routinely lob insults or stones at them while all the while seeking to rob them blind. The journey was a penance indeed.

Once in Jerusalem, things do not get much better. Most pilgrims were given Spartan quarters and strictly limited in their ability to move about. Aside from visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, they took excursions to Bethlehem, the Jordan, and other holy sites. After a month of all that, most pilgrims were eager to return home, yet Chareyron follows those who pressed on to Gaza, Mt. Sinai, Cairo, and Alexandria. Through the eyes of those travelers the reader explores rich bazaars, filled with luxury items, exotic animals, and pitiful slaves, trudges along difficult desert treks, and marvels at the pyramids, which were generally believed to be Joseph's granaries. At last comes the voyage home, usually more eventful than expected or wanted.

There is no grand thesis here, nor should there be. Chareyron has instead woven together the accounts of her authors into a compelling narrative in which their voices, at once flawed and human, come through to the modern reader. It is a page-turning story accessible to a general audience that would also be ideal for classroom use.

Saint Louis University   THOMAS F. MADDEN

The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith. Edited by Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke, and Barrie Dobson. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, vol. 27.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 235. $90.00.)

The economics of the publishing world make the publication of *Festschriften* much rarer than used to be the case; however, this volume shows

a great combination of personal tribute to an eminent scholar and a pioneering archivist, on the occasion of his retirement from the directorship of the Borthwick Institute, University of York. It is a focused and interesting collection of essays, the subjects of which reflect the breath and scope of David Smith's work.

The first two contributions in the book, by Christopher Brooke and Christopher Webb respectively, present the scholarly work of David Smith as the editor of the British Academy's *English Episcopal Acta* series, general editor of the Lincoln Record Society, and editor of many volumes of other medieval ecclesiastical documents from the York diocese as well as director of the Borthwick Institute, which under his leadership became one of the most important repositories of documents related to the ecclesiastical and regional history of northern Britain as well as an active research center and training ground for new generations of archivists.

Julia Barrow's contribution, "Why Forge Episcopal Acta? Preliminary Observations on the Forged Charters in the *English Episcopal Acta* series" argues that forgeries were produced primarily by large Benedictine monasteries and cathedral priories and to a lesser degree by other ecclesiastical institutions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The most active in this field were post-Conquest foundations at Gloucester, Rochester, Durham, and Norwich, and the charters were produced to assert the right to numerous parish churches or tithes granted in the late eleventh century, which was a low point in the production of private charters as well as an attempt to secure freedom from various demands of episcopal officials. This article contains also a useful list of forged episcopal *acta* and beneficiaries of these documents. The next essay, by Nicholas Bennett, "Pastors and Masters: The Beneficed Clergy of North-East Lincolnshire, 1290-1340," argues for a less gloomy picture of lower clergy in later medieval Britain, which has traditionally been seen as dominated by absenteeism and lack of care for parish duties. Using the example from the registers of the bishops of the dioceses of Lincoln, he finds many examples contradicting this view. Then, Janet Burton elucidates how another type of sources—so called "cause papers"—concerning payments of ecclesiastical dues, matrimonial cases, defamation, and testamentary wills can be used to explore complex relationships between religious houses in Yorkshire and their lay neighbors. Charles Fonge moves on to study the role and development of collegiate churches in the pre-Black Death period using the cartulary of St. Mary's collegiate church in Warwick. The next contribution, by Christopher Harper-Bill, moves away from the corporate to the individual to examine the career of Walter Suffield, Bishop of Norwich (1244-1257), who has been rather positively described by Matthew Paris's chronicle. The literary picture is analyzed here in conjunction with his *acta* to reveal a conscientious administrator and pastor who was particularly concerned with supplying charitable provisions for the poor. The theme of charity is taken up by R. H. Helmholz, who discussed legal bases of charitable giving in the canon law and evidence for

practical application of these principles by the late medieval English ecclesiastical courts. Then, Philippa Hoskin returns to figures of bishops, offering a study of the composition of the episcopal household and shows a significant continuity in personnel under successive bishops of Durham in the thirteenth century. The next article, by Brian Kemp, brings together a selection of *acta* issued by English rural deans in the early stages of this office's existence between mid-twelfth century and c. 1220 to illustrate the range of activities performed by the deans. F. Donald Logan turns our attention to a range of matters dealt with by the Court of Arches (a provincial court of appeal for the province of Canterbury). The actual records of the court perished in the Great Fire of London, but Bishop Roger Martival of Salisbury (1315-1330) kept a separate register of inhibitions sent by the court to him as a local bishop, and this material provides a unique glimpse into the legal machinery which covered several dioceses. The penultimate essay, by A. K. McHardy, "Bishops' Registers and Political History: A Neglected Resource," focuses on the non-ecclesiastical aspects of the bishops' role in late medieval England. The final contribution, by Jane Sayers, discussed the "ultimate" sources of church history—the papal registers—and the history of research and publication of material relevant to Great Britain and Ireland.

The Foundations of Medieval History is a well designed and focused volume that is engaged with traditional sources of ecclesiastical history, but asks new questions and as such is useful and interesting to historians of the English medieval church, whilst many of the articles from this book could be included in the reading lists of advanced undergraduate courses on late medieval England.

University of Leeds   EMILIA JAMROZIAK

Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389. By Dawn Marie
    Hayes. [Studies in Medieval History and Culture.] (New York and London:
    Routledge. 2003. Pp. xxiii,193. $78.00.)

Buildings deemed as sacred in the Middle Ages were never exclusively such, as Dawn Marie Hayes so engagingly shows in her *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389.* Whereas space, both sacred and secular, became increasingly compartmentalized and differentiated in the early modern period, there existed in the Middle Ages an ambiguity between sacred and profane that, according to Hayes, reflected the similarly nuanced medieval human body. The body, in fact, served as a didactic tool, inasmuch as the medieval Christian's understanding of the spatial arrangement and proper use of churches was based upon the medieval conception of the arrangement and proper use of the body.

Hayes uses the murder of Thomas Becket to illustrate her church=body metaphor. The attack upon Becket in 1170 occurred at the altar, the area of the

church regarded as the "head" of the cruciform building, and it was Becket's head, the "locus of archiepiscopal consecration," that received the fatal blows. Yet, Becket's murder, although a profane act carried out in a sacred space, caused Canterbury to "became more powerful as it absorbed its violated human self." The relics associated with Becket's body and the hagiographies that focused on his abused head ultimately served to affirm church authority over secular authority. Thus, the body of Becket paralleled the body of the church, both edifice and community.

Chartres cathedral also receives Hayes's refreshing analysis. Chartres was "off the beaten path" and destined to be eclipsed when a clerical advertising campaign of the early thirteenth century that focused on the miracles associated with the shirt worn by Mary at the birth of Christ propelled it to the forefront of pilgrimage sites. The shirt, which had touched the bodies of both Mary and Christ, was Chartres' most famous relic, along with the stones on which Becket's body fell and a phial of Becket's blood brought to Chartres less than ten years after Becket's death. Hayes notes in her detailed examination of the Chartres miracle stories that the vast majority of miracles were directly concerned with bodies, giving substance to her argument that "the currency of Chartres is human flesh."

Hayes's artful pairing of human body and church edifice serves to illustrate the ambiguity of profane and sacred in the medieval period, and underscores the extent to which medieval theology responded to practical needs. Churches were places of worship, certainly, but were also used for storage, lodging, legal proceedings, shopping, and sexual assignations. As Hayes points out, sacred buildings were like bodies, with some parts more sacred than others. Ideally, the entire consecrated edifice should have been considered sacrosanct, but ideal seems to have comfortably accommodated reality in the Middle Ages.

Hayes maintains in this well-written, extensively annotated short book that there were two "façades of Christian worship," the physical space of a church building and the physical body. One could not be understood without the other. Each relied on the other for definition. The church sanctified the corporeal, while the bodies of saints prompted the establishment of churches; the bodies of pilgrims who visited the sacred structures both confirmed the sanctity of the church and challenged it by their profane utilization of its interior and environs. Ironically, the very nature of the human body—its fleeting existence and corruptibility, was, as Hayes explains, "integral to the establishment of medieval sacred place [and] central to its function." Thus, that which was reckoned to be eternal relied upon the transitory body, an assumption upon which medieval Christianity negotiated its place in society.

Tennessee Tech University   Susan Laningham

The Gothic Enterprise: A Guide to Understanding the Medieval Cathedral. By
    Robert A. Scott. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 292.)

On the surface, this book is a study about the great sacred structures of the
High Middle Ages and the causes and circumstances of their creation. But
anyone who reads it carefully will soon understand the actual topic paramount
in Scott's distinctive perspective. The author is a social scientist who has dis-
covered for himself the sheer fascination of the English cathedrals, reporting
here in a very individual way about that voyage of discovery. At the core of this
biographical process is Salisbury Cathedral, and it stands at the study's center.
And because the Stonehenge megaliths are but a few miles away, at the book's
end Scott juxtaposes two monuments as the creations in stone of two differing
historical collectives. In this many-faceted and compelling study, he attempts to
explore the motives and circumstances of existence of these two collectives.

The book begins and ends with a sense of wonderment about the artifacts
which first awakened the interest of scholars in the Gothic period some 250
years ago. Scott includes himself in the ranks of these discoverers of wonder
in knowledgeable awe of Gothic artistry. He is in search of a kind of holistic
understanding of the phenomenon. So he is not only interested in the con-
struction of the great churches between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries,
and their fuller meaning. The buildings are also viewed as examples reflecting
the ambition and productivity of a medieval feudal society whose cultural
habitus was significantly stamped by a belief in the world beyond, cultic prac-
tices, magical thought, thinking in symbols and images, and the multiple con-
straints of a way of life constantly at existential risk.

Scott has worked through an abundance of interdisciplinary literature in
order to present as many varied aspects of his topic as possible, and his inves-
tigative curiosity carries him into the furthest nooks of medieval studies. This is
further enriched by frequent consultation of standard works of diverse neigh-
boring disciplines, and these lead to surprising and illuminating insights.
However, the selection suffers from an essential limitation in that except for
two studies, all the literature he cites is in English, or a work in English transla-
tion. The consequence is that Scott can report authoritatively on recent work
in social history and the history of mentality, where Anglo-American research
has been at the leading edge of inquiry, but when it comes to questions that
require a better knowledge of Continental European discourse, his treatment
remains inadequate. What I have in mind are, for example, the highly contro-
versial debates, relativizing older theses, on the possibilities for a philosophical-
theological interpretation of the medieval church as a model for heaven. Or
inquiry on sacred space as a space for social and spiritual acts, or studies on the
material economy and technology of the great stonemason workshops. A fur-
ther result of his selective approach is the heavy focus on a specific geograph-
ical area, namely England. This tilt is not necessarily inimical to a correct total
cultural-historical portrait, but that rather Anglo-centric picture is difficult to
project and transpose onto the continent without certain gaps and fractures.

One may also wonder about the general utility of the findings. Scott investigates several of the fundamental questions on the position, function, and collective frame for action of the clerics almost exclusively in reference to the monastic *vita communis* of the early medieval period and High Middle Ages – being aware and correctly pointing out that some English cathedrals were under the control of monastic communities. But that was by no means the rule when viewed from a Continental vantage. There the clerical communities of the cathedral chapters were in the quickening process of dissolution precisely at the same time the first Gothic construction projects were launched. So the model of the *vita communis* cannot be regarded as a spiritual correlate of the community enterprise of the "cathedral."

The specific weight given various topics here springs from a distinct discursive intention. Scott very clearly is not intent here to present a finely balanced and well-argued compendium on the topic of the cathedral. Rather, his primary concern is to engage in a scientific re-narration and presentation of his own epistemic interest. The great strength of this book is thus the power invested in its clarity of expression, which is able to spark a reader's enthusiasm and interest, persuasive in the way a gifted lecturer captivates his or her audience. The Gothic Enterprise is a personal enterprise of the author, in a sense a form of biography as a mode of knowledge. It reads like the invitation to a journey of discovery replete with astute insights rather than a textbook claiming to give a full account of all relevant views and opinions.

University of Cologne   NORBERT NUßBAUM

A Call to Piety: Saint Bonaventure's Collations on the Six Days. By C. Colt Anderson. (Quincy, Illinois: Franciscan Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 213. $21.95 paperback.)

In the introduction to his book, Colt Anderson compares Bonaventure's *Collations on the Six Days* (of creation) to Egyptian pyramids full of "beautiful hieroglyphics and symbolic ornamentation" (p. vi). These things are mysteriously beautiful in and of themselves, but when properly understood they reveal a culture and a religion that is "vibrant and alive to the immediate concerns" of its contemporaries. Such are the collations of Bonaventure; they can be seen in and of themselves or entered into to discover how he spoke to the Friars Minor and the Church of his day about things of which they were very much a part. Anderson's work helps the contemporary reader understand the complex situation and controversies that the Franciscans were involved in soon after the death of their beloved founder.

Today's Franciscans have been around for almost 800 years and are a well respected family in the household of the Christian Church. Not so the brothers and sisters who formed the early Franciscan movement. They fought among themselves as they established their Franciscan identity, and they

clashed with bishops, priests, and scholars about their role in the Church. They were a rapidly growing and not so well formed group of mendicants caught up in the whirlwind of church reform between the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the Second Council of Lyons in 1274. In the midst of this turmoil, Bonaventure addressed his final collations to the friars in particular and the Church in general.

Anderson's *A Call to Piety* tries to situate the Collations in their historical context. It is divided into seven chapters with an introduction. In the first two chapters, he does a marvelous job of explaining the Order that Bonaventure inherited in 1257 when he was installed as Minister General. This he does by expounding on the scandal that the friars found themselves involved in. He does an excellent job of explaining the Joachimite tendencies that many of the so-called "spiritual friars" were attracted to and why they were.

Anderson focuses his attention and ours on the Collations in chapters 3-6. He begins with a description of Bonaventure's understanding of good members of the Church as "observers of divine law, lovers of divine peace, and singers of divine praise" (p. 65) with Christ as the center of all things. He moves on to give us Bonaventure's defense of "scholasticism and its usefulness for preaching" (p. 90) as well as an explanation of the multiform exegesis of Scripture. This was a difficult thing for Bonaventure to do, especially given the zealot Franciscans' Joachimite leanings and distrust of learning. Bonaventure takes the very symbols and language used by Joachim in order to bring these "spiritual" men into a more ecclesial understanding of the faith.

"Bonaventure has no problem speaking of the sin of the church" (p. 144) according to Anderson, who moves on to describe how Bonaventure saw a need to return to the Church's "original perfection" and a contemplative ecclesiology.

Finally, Anderson explains the collations as Bonaventure's call to piety through *kenosis*. In his conclusion, he invites the reader to heed this call in the context of today's Church. I would recommend that all Franciscans, especially the Friars Minor, read Anderson's book as they continue to struggle with reforming their identity after the Second Vatican Council. I believe that in it they will find Bonaventure still has the strength to challenge his brothers and call them to the task of preaching within the Church.

Catholic Theological Union   GILBERTO CAVAZOS-GONZÁLEZ, O.F.M.

Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination. By John V. Tolan. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 372. $52.50 cloth; $22.50 paper.)

For the past forty years, there have been two standard reference works on this subject: *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (1960) by Norman Daniel, and Richard Southern's *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*

(1962). With the publication of John Tolan's well-researched, theoretically informed, and thoughtful account of Western attitudes toward Islam from the seventh through the thirteenth centuries, we now have a third.

Beginning with a chapter on the Church Fathers, and another on the polemics and apologetics of Eastern Christians in the seventh and eighth centuries, Tolan shows how Latin authors built upon tradition; how, for example, Christians living in Muslim-occupied Spain in the eighth and ninth centuries— like the protected minorities (*dhimmi*) of the Middle East before them—saw the conquest of Islam as a punishment from God; and how northern scholars, lacking any firsthand experience of Islam, tended to characterize Muslims either as pagans, akin to the Roman persecutors of old, or as arch-heretics, based, again, on the typology of early medieval authors such as Isidore of Seville.

By the time of the Crusades, Muslims had become idol-worshipers—and Muhammad their heresiarch leader. Never mind the inconsistencies. Actual experience of Islam rarely got in the way of ridicule and contempt; and negative images served to justify the use of force. Add to these attacks the more genuine attempts to understand this rival faith, and one finds that by the end of the thirteenth century, multiple and varied images of Islam were circulating—some positive, most negative—in a society where the boundaries between scholarly and popular views were not as clearly marked as is commonly assumed.

Tolan's intent in this book is to "complement" the work of Daniel and Said, and for those who study pre-modern Muslim-Christian relations, he does this admirably well: his nuanced and subtle analysis of Western images is based not only upon a thorough familiarity with the sources but also upon an equally close reading of the cultures that produced them. When examining the ninth-century Córdoban martyrs' movement, for instance, he contrasts the inflammatory writings of Alvarus and Eulogius—aimed at shoring up Christian resistance and at painting the world in apocalyptic terms—with the reserved reactions of the rest of the *dhimmi* community (the majority), who at least on some levels had come to terms with their Muslim overlords, and who wanted the fanatics to go away, so that they could continue to enjoy the protections and privileges the caliph had granted them.

For other readers, however, for historians working on the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries, for example, or for social scientists studying the ideological role of dehumanization, Tolan does much more than merely "complement" the earlier studies: he corrects the impression left by Daniel and Said that the history of Islam in the European imagination is but an unbroken chain of stereotypes in the service of timeless colonial ambitions.

On the contrary: the negative "orientalist" portrayals of Islam that Said sees as the ideological underpinning of French and British colonialism, actually have their origins in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries—in the resistance of Christian "orientals" to their Muslim colonizers (p. 67). The martyrs of

Córdoba are a case in point. By having themselves executed for publicly defaming Islam, and by demonizing those Christians who co-operated with the Muslim overlords, they wanted to incite hatred and to erect a "wall of violence" between Muslim ruler and Christian subject. And this, Tolan rightly points out, corresponds to the logic of what Said called anticolonial "resistance culture" (p. 88)—a stance that can be traced to early eastern polemics/apologetics such as the Risâlat al-Kindî and the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius.

Inevitably, in pondering the Middle Ages, we ponder modernity; and at one point, as he runs through the various conflicting representations of Muslims that existed in miniatures, manuscript illuminations, troubadour poetry, mystery plays, polemics, and hagiographies, Tolan observes that some small Spanish towns still celebrate their liberation from the "Moors" by setting up an effigy of the Prophet. "Eight centuries," he writes, "after the Chanson de Roland describes the Saracens of Saragossa toppling the idol Mahomet into a ditch, eight centuries after Raoul de Caen imagines Tancred destroying a gilded idol of Muhammad in the temple of Solomon, Valencian villagers re-enact this imaginary idol-destruction as a central part of their dramatization of the reconquista" (p. 133).

A thoroughgoing reference work like *Saracens* was long overdue; it is also quite timely.

The American University in Cairo   DAVID BLANKS

Cistercian Nuns and Their World. Edited by Meredith Parsons Lillich. [Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture, 6.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. xii, 366. $49.95.)

This is the first book to be devoted to a broader study of the arts of medieval Cistercian nuns. While considerable attention has been given to the architecture of monks in the Order, little has been written on the women's houses. Professor Lillich must be given credit for compiling eight articles that successfully provide a groundwork on which future studies can be based.

The edition begins with an excellent analysis of the iconography of Bernard of Clairvaux and his sister Humbeline. The author, James France, traces the surviving medieval images of these two early Cistercian religious and proves that Humbeline enjoyed a privileged position within the Order because of the brother as well as her status as a nun in the foundation years of the twelfth century. Her most well-known image appears on the cover of *Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women* (Kalamazoo, 1995), in which she sits front and center under a tree of holy nuns as found in a painting dated in 1635 from the convent at La Paix Dieu.

Next is a series of regional studies of the architecture of Cistercian nuns. Constance Berman's study of the remains of four houses in southern France

follows the same lines as her controversial study of *The Cistercian Revolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia, 2000). The Low Countries come next with Thomas Cooman attempting an overview of what little remains of the eighty-five nunneries founded there in the Middle Ages. Using old photographs, documents, and some archaeological evidence, he focuses on the nuns' churches, cloisters, ranges, abbess lodgings, and gate houses. Christine Kratzke follows with her study of the architecture of Cistercian nunneries in Northern Germany, where more physical evidence survives. As with the preceding articles, however, she was forced to consider what it is to be called "Cistercian" and to determine if the convents were similar to houses of monks. Her conclusions, as well as the other two above, find that there is great diversity especially in the churches and it is impossible to find a medieval "plan type" that applies to the female houses of the order.

The next two articles focus on two individual convents: Las Huelgas in Spain and Ss. Jacobi and Buchardi in Germany. The former, written by James D'Emilio, is an excellent summary concerning the founding of this famous royal nunnery. He was able not only to analyze the extensive physical remains and place them in their architectural history, but also to detail the importance of Las Huelgas for its political significance in the unification of Spain, as well as the religious significance within the Cistercian order, especially as it relates to nuns. The next article, on the much lesser-known house in Germany by Cornelia Oefelein, focuses on the primary documents that have only recently been made available to scholars, as well as looks cursorily at the nun's church, which was the only building left standing after the convent was secularized in 1810.

The last two articles focus on single works of art in two specific monasteries. Charlotte Ziegler concentrates on a fourteenth-century charter from St. Bernard for the Horn nunnery in Austria. A sixteenth-century tapestry antependium commissioned by two abbesses for their community of Flines outside Douai is the topic of Andrea Person's study.

In sum, the articles with the accompanying 173 figures as well as lists of convent and geographical locations, are more than just a study in Cistercian art and architecture of nuns. They are a beginning for future studies on the physical remnants that touched the lives of women called to religious life in medieval Europe.

Slippery Rock University   JOHN A. NICHOLS

*The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth
    Century.* Introduction, translation, and annotations by Alice-Mary Talbot and
    Denis F. Sullivan with the assistance of George T. Dennis and Stamatina
    McGrath. [Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XLI.] (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton
    Oaks. 2005. Pp. xx, 264.)

Byzantine civilization has left a rich and varied body of historical writings.
The assortment of chronicles, histories, and memoirs provides an almost
unbroken narrative of the empire's history from the sixth to the fifteenth cen-
tury. The early chronicles offer thin gruel to modern historians trying to form
a coherent account of the "dark" seventh and eighth centuries, but by the tenth
century the growing maturity and scope of Byzantine historiography allow for
a more developed understanding of the dominant events and people of the
time. *The History of Leo the Deacon*, focussing mainly on the reigns of the two
great soldier emperors Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969) and John I Tzimiskes
(969-976), has long been recognized as the most important source for the mil-
itary and dynastic policies that shaped the course of events in the later tenth
century. Strangely, however, Leo's history has long languished in an outdated
edition, without an English translation, and has until now remained inaccessi-
ble to all but specialists. The appearance of this fine, meticulously annotated,
translation by Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis Sullivan will be welcomed not only
by Byzantinists, but perhaps even more so by students and scholars in the
related fields of western medieval and Islamic history.

The History of Leo the Deacon bears all the hallmarks of the genre. The
author writes in an archaic Greek full of recondite vocabulary and allusions to
earlier models, particularly Procopius and Agathias. He employs rhetorical
devices, notably the set speech and the excursus, to dramatize the narrative.
He intends to present an orderly, connected record but often strays from his
chronological line and occasionally conflates events. Leo was also writing the
history of his own time, stating when he was an eyewitness or participant in
the events he describes. This gives his work an authoritative immediacy and
firsthand perspective; yet Leo also displays the fantastic conception the
Byzantines had of the outer world, its workings and peoples. Throughout his
work the classical idea of Chance and the Christian agency of Providence oper-
ate side by side, reminding readers of the uncertainty of this life and reinforc-
ing the moralizing, instructive value not just of this history but of History itself.
Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Leo's history is the insight it offers into
the mind of an educated Byzantine of middling social rank—what he knew,
what he made of the world around him, and what he deemed useful or nec-
essary for his and later generations to know.

All the many challenges posed by the *History of Leo the Deacon* are ably
handled by the translators. Their introduction begins by sketching the histori-
cal background, with due emphasis on the military campaigns that set the later
tenth century apart as the zenith of Byzantine power in the eastern
Mediterranean. This serves to elicit the primary value of the *History* as a

source for the wars against the Hamdanids in Cilicia and Syria, and against the Rus in Bulgaria, but the translators also direct the reader's attention to the other significant ingredients of Leo's work. These include his sources and methods, his discussions of political and ecclesiastical affairs, comparison with other historians, and the random bits of information Leo supplies on Constantinople, natural phenomena, and on the men and women who people the text. In its thoroughness, and its integration of foreign scholarship on Leo the Deacon, the introduction gives readers new to the text the tools by which to assess its strengths and weaknesses as a historical source.

The translation itself reads well—no small feat considering the florid Greek in which Leo composed his work. Readers will be especially grateful for the annotations which explain the nuances of Leo's vocabulary and clarify the meaning of the text in many places. The discussions of chronology, technical details, and geographical references enhance the value of the translation and put the full range of Leo's work clearly before the reader. Included in the scholarly apparatus are genealogical tables, maps, and specialized indices which underline the book's usefulness to specialists and students alike.

The scholars involved in preparing this translation deserve congratulations for an impressive, immensely helpful addition to Byzantine scholarship, both as a research and teaching resource. It is worth emphasizing that it is the work of many hands. Such a collaborative undertaking, blending the philological, historical, and interdisciplinary expertise necessary to extract the full worth of opaque historical sources, should inspire similar projects focusing on the many Byzantine texts still in need of the comprehensive examination given so profitably to the *History of Leo the Deacon*.

St. Clement's School, Toronto   ERIC McGEER

Crusader Art in The Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291. By Jaroslav Folda. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. lxvii, 714; 11 colour plates, 10 maps, 415 figures, 501 illustrations on the compact disc. $150.00.)

Jaroslav Folda's monumental book is another link in his life's work that has been dedicated to the research of crusader art. Besides his numerous articles on the subject, his books show systematic development, from his *Crusader Manuscript Ilumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291* (Princeton University Press, 1976), through *The Art of the Crusades in the Holy Land 1098-1187* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) and up to the current comprehensive volume, which will be a basic resource to any researcher of the crusaders. The need for such a book was evident for a considerable period of time, since only parts of the relevant period have been investigated, and no all-embracing view on the subject existed.

In his book, Folda examines the art created for the crusaders by various social classes and ethnic groups, from Western merchants to Muslims in the Orient. But more than that, the book provides significant new contributions to a number of aspects and concepts in the research of crusader art.

Unlike any previous work, Folda places art itself, in its various forms, in a primary position, and raises the discussion on the essence of crusader art of the thirteenth century to a theoretical level, thus creating and setting it as a significant chapter in art history. This is a major innovation.

Unlike many art historians, Folda discusses historical events in the Holy Land, which he considers relevant to his research. It is my belief that this meticulous discussion contributes to the interpretation of the conditions of artistic creation in the following chapters.

In the introduction to his book, Folda informs the reader of his work process and the significance he accords to each chapter. The first chapter, dedicated to the historiography of crusader art history, is of the utmost significance. Here, Folda not only reviews the contribution of the various scholars of the Latin Orient since the nineteenth century, but also examines the efforts and perceptions of those who shaped the field in the twentieth century. Thus, he presents a progressive process of the development of research, in all artistic media, discussing, for example, the work of two of the leading art historians, Camille Enlart and Paul Deschamps, whose works paved the way for future scholarship and are still in use today. In an extensive and accurate analysis, Folda shows Enlart's positions, specifically the parallels Enlart draws between crusader architecture and the contemporaneous architecture in France and his constant desire to view crusader architecture as part of French architecture; Folda also points to the relative absence of observations in Enlart's work regarding local elements that do not fit his theory.

After a meticulous review of researchers like Lucy-Anne Hunt and Doula Mouriki, Folda discusses the definition of the essence of crusader art. He shows that there is a great development in the perception of the unique essence of crusader art, particularly in the study of icon paintings, as both Mouriki and Hunt begin to discuss Syrian artists, unlike their predecessor, Kurt Weitzmann, who discussed artists who came from Southern Italy. Furthermore, in this chapter not only does Folda remember every researcher who dealt with problems of crusader art, but he also presents the views of these researchers. I must note that I view this as a perfect example of how historiography should be written, particularly now, when many researchers quote selectively.

At the end of this chapter, Folda presents his credo: "Our study of the art of the crusaders in the Holy Land during the period 1187-1291 is a fresh attempt to discover, analyze, interpret and characterize the nature and development of this art and architecture in a particularly troubled historical setting" (p. 18).

Also exemplary is Folda's use of historical knowledge to understand the location and context of the objects and art works, in the life of the crusaders and others in the period. In one such example, which supports his statement on the importance of the presence of panel painting and icons in the art world of the crusaders in the Holy Land from 1250 onwards, he quotes a very significant passage from the Templar of Tyre, who tells about an Assassin attacking Philip the lord of Tyre and his son: "when he saw the Assassin coming in with the naked sword in his hand, he lunged toward the altar which had a board painting with pictures of saints on the front of it, and he got behind it" (p. 435). This text depicts a comprehensive picture of art, life, and the perception of religious art in the period.

The chapter on the painting of icons and the examination of styles and artists is central, and teaches us of varied art schools with their own features and traditions.

It is beyond the scope of this short report to refer to the individual chapters in detail. But I believe that each of them provides a significant contribution to the study of artistic creation in the crusader kingdom and will serve as a foundation and scholarly guide for students of the period and of art history in general in the future.

Tel Aviv University   NURITH KENAAN-KEDAR

Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in Medieval Islam. By Yaacov Lev. (Gainsville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. x, 215. $59.95.)

Charitable institutions—hospitals for the sick, homes for orphans, asylums for the aged—did not exist in Classical Greco-Roman civilization nor in Germanic or Celtic cultures of northern Europe. Christianity created these institutions in the fourth century in cities such as Antioch, Alexandria, Caesarea (Cappadocia), and Constantinople in the Eastern Mediterranean. The rapid development of these philanthropic institutions into specialized facilities for needy people was no doubt linked to the conversion of Emperor Constantine to Christianity and the process of Christianizing the Roman state. Historians have traced the subsequent evolution of Christian philanthropic institutions in the Eastern Christian society of Byzantium and their slower development in the Western Latin provinces. Scholars of European civilization, however, have largely ignored the history of charity and charitable institutions in the Islamic world, although medieval Muslim hospitals, orphanages, poor houses, and free schools represent an important element in a continuous history of charity which began with the fourth-century Christian foundations.

Yaacov Lev's monograph is the first attempt in English to fill this lacuna by summarizing the history of Islamic charity from its origins in the Koran to the rise of the Ottoman Empire.

Lev begins by discussing the basis of Muslim charity found in the Koran, *zakat* and *sadaqa*. *Zakat* was an obligatory payment to benefit the poor paid by believers; *sadaqa* a voluntary contribution for the needy, offered by Arab tribes allied with Mohammed. In the wake of the Muslim conquests and the formation of the caliphate, *zakat* evolved into a tax paid to the government, not given directly to the poor. By 1171, the government of Saladin in Egypt collected *zakat* as a port tax in Alexandria, and used its proceeds not for the needy, but for holy war against crusaders.

The concept of *sadaqa* (voluntary aid to the needy) proved more effective in helping the poor, the sick, and others in need of society's support. Like Christianity, Islam emphasized that voluntary deeds of charity atoned for sins. Thus, in 972 the Fatimid Calif al-Muizz expiated his cruel execution of rebels by conspicuous acts of charity. Personal acts of charity also helped to legitimize a new ruler's authority. Nur al-Din, the Turkish beg who seized power in Syria and Egypt (1100's), justified his *de facto* independence of the Caliphate through his impressive charitable foundations.

Sadaqa proved to be an effective concept for supporting charitable institutions because early on it was supported by a flexible legal institution called a *waqf*. By establishing a *waqf*, a private donor dedicated land and sometimes movable wealth to support a particular charitable cause. In establishing the *waqf*, the founder prepared a written document often with very detailed instructions on exactly how the charity was to function. *Waqf* donations supported the great Islamic hospitals (*bimaristan*) including the Tulunid hospital in Fustat (872-874), the Adudi hospital in Baghdad (982), and the houses of the sick founded by Nur al-Din in twelfth-century Syria. Some of the *waqf* documents describe the number of physicians assigned to treat the sick and the organization of the hospital wards.

Through *waqf* donations, Muslims funded many other charitable activities. *Waqf* endowments provided ornate drinking fountains in many towns, maintained libraries, and provided food and lodging for pilgrims to Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. By the late eleventh and twelfth centuries many *waqf*s were supporting educational institutions such as free Koranic schools for orphans and poor children where students learned to read, memorize, and recite the Koran, and madrasas, schools in which older students learned Islamic law. Lev stresses that very few Muslim charitable foundations actually provided food or shelter for the truly poor. Lev maintains that even those institutions founded to shelter wanderers (*fuqara*) were often for mystics—sufis or later dervishes—rather than those who were destitute.

In addition to his descriptions of Muslim charities, Lev also summarizes some of the scholarly debates surrounding key issues. For example, he explores the possibility that the *waqf* was not a pure Islamic institution, designed specifically to support *sadaqa*, but may owe much to earlier Byzantine laws governing charitable institutions (the *piae causae* of the emperor Justinian's legisla-

tion). Lev's book also provides an excellent bibliography which includes recent monographs on Islamic charity written in Hebrew.

My only criticism of Lev's study is of its organization. I would have structured the chapters either according to chronology or according to specific types of charitable institutions. I cannot discern any system in Levi's chapter divisions. Despite this shortcoming, the book offers a wealth of information for scholars outside Islamic studies who want to see the whole picture of medieval charity, from Baghdad in the East to the elaborate philanthropic institutions of Renaissance Italy.

Salisbury University, Maryland   TIMOTHY S. MILLER

The Art of Healing: Painting for the Sick and the Sinner in a Medieval Town.
    By Marcia Kupfer. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
    2003. Pp. xviii, 202 plus 117 figures. $45.00.)

Marcia Kupfer's lively book is a model of interdisciplinary scholarship. Drawing on extensive archival research and deftly moving from archaeology to hagiography to nosography, among other myriad fields, the study focuses on the little-studied crypt frescos of Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher in central France. Kupfer frankly admits that these paintings, produced around 1200, are of middling quality, but she insists that their emphasis on scenes of healing offers important insights into the social uses of the monument, particularly the care of the sick body and soul.

As with her earlier book, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: The Politics of Narrative* (New Haven, 1993), political motivations of the clergy feature prominently. The college of canons, the presumed patrons of the paintings, emerges as a group determined to assert their role as mediators of divine healing. The first two chapters consider how the canons interacted with local lords and the many institutions dedicated to healing the sick in and around Saint-Aignan, especially in relation to ongoing changes in the cityscape. The third chapter asks what motivated the house of canons to sponsor an artistic program focused on healing. Repeated outbreaks of ergotism in this region are posited as one likely factor, but Kupfer believes more fundamentally that the crypt's representation of saints, associated with nearby and administratively subordinate institutions of healing, ultimately asserted the hegemonic position of the canons. Some recent scholarship, most notably Cynthia Hahn's, has questioned whether political motivations significantly informed pictorial hagiography in the High Middle Ages. But because Kupfer weaves a host of other threads into her narrative, her readings contain nuances that a short review cannot convey.

After establishing a social context, Kupfer turns to a sustained analysis of the monument. Chapter four presents the unusual disposition of the crypt—

rendered inaccessible from the nave during the course of a twelfth-century campaign—primarily in relation to a posited penitential function. The fifth chapter analyzes the paintings individually. Throughout Kupfer painstakingly and convincingly identifies a number of heavily damaged scenes, such as a meal of Bethany in the crypt's axial chapel. But in a few cases her reconstructions overstep what the evidence warrants. For example, she asserts that paintings in the crypt's north apsidiole, of which only faint silhouettes remain, originally presented a hagiographic cycle (pp. 13, 44). This is a reasonable hypothesis, but without any support (e.g., documenting traces of halos) it is only that; Kupfer directly acknowledges this only later in the book (p. 85). The identification of Roland among the figures present in an image of the Miraculous Mass of St. Giles is speculative (p. 97). Nevertheless, the hero's purported presence provides the basis for an excursus on spiritual healing.

The quibbles I noted while reading this book do nothing to detract from the sophisticated interpretive framework it develops and which bears fruit in the final chapter. Themes teased out earlier in the study are linked with wider concerns, including the body, gender, and ecclesiastical power. Kupfer boldly examines the fragmentary remains of a "minor" monument to expand our understanding of the complex ways in which art could function for medieval viewers. She opens up an important chapter on the relationship between art and institutions of healing in the West, of which the Isenheim altarpiece is a celebrated case.

Although richly illustrated, it is unfortunate that a volume on paintings lacks color reproductions (presumably the publisher's decision). Kupfer's descriptions are consistently vivid, but they are no substitute.

University of Colorado, Boulder   KIRK AMBROSE

The Mirror of Salvation: Speculum Humanae Salvationis. An Edition of British Library Blockbook G. 11784. Translation and commentary by Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz. (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 194; 58 black and white illustrations. $65.00.)

It is difficult to imagine the audience envisioned for this edition by its editor-translators. The editors say their purpose is to present the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* "in an immediately accessible and understandable form and to the widest possible present-day audience" (p. 6). Judging from their approach, they are resurrecting this late-medieval text for a modern, non-specialist reader. While the translation of the *Speculum* text that forms the core of the volume will be useful as a finding aid for English-speaking scholars working in the fields of medieval art history, history, theology and literature, the explanatory texts are simplistic and the apparatus is minimal.

The volume consists of a short introduction, a list of woodcut illustrations, reproductions of the woodcuts accompanied by an English translation of their

Latin captions and texts, a modern commentary on the text titled "Interpreting the Blockbook," a cursory and somewhat dated bibliography, and an index. The editors provide no rationale as to why they chose the second Latin edition of the *Speculum*, dated by van Theinen and Goldfinch as *c.* 1474-75 (*Incunabula Printed in the Low Countries*, 1999, item 2007), for translation and reproduction. This *Speculum* edition is, in fact, very interesting as it combines xylographic printing (also known as prototypography) with moveable type, though readers are not told why this might be interesting. The first Latin edition, also printed in the Netherlands, and subsequent editions are not discussed.

In their brief discussion of xylographic reproduction (the terms 'xylography' and 'prototypography' are nowhere used), the editors say that the woodblocks were "moistened with dye" (p. vii), which is odd, as the usual substance for printing in this period is ink. Very little is said about the role of blockbooks in the early history of printing; there is no mention of A. H. Stevenson's important discovery about watermarks in blockbooks, for example; and there is no discussion at all of the role that typographical images like those found in the *Speculum* play in the margins of Books of Hours, the best-selling book of the later Middle Ages. In their introduction, the editors do say they hope their work will encourage readers to explore further the iconography in "Gothic" stained glass and sculpture, and in Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel (p. 7), a general gesturing toward art history. Similar statements are made about the book's relevance to medieval history and theology.

The *Speculum* itself is described throughout as a book "for teaching the common folk" (pp. 5-6), though this notion has been mainly discounted by recent scholarship, which suggests that the book is rather more complex than first imagined. The discussion of typology, that is, reading Old Testament stories as prefiguring the New, the central organizing device of the *Speculum*, is also explained at the most basic level. One would think that with the *Speculum* text so immediately at hand, more might have been said about the complex interrelationships of its images and texts. The interpretation of specific texts in the "Interpretation and Commentary" is sometimes helpful (as in identifications of more obscure stories found in the Apocrypha and in Peter Comestor), but sometimes not. On the question, for example, of the female face of the serpent that tempts Eve there are any number of scholarly articles and at least one important monograph that immediately spring to mind, but the editors interpret this as reflecting Eve's "alter ego," then discuss the myth of Narcissus, which appears nowhere in the medieval text.

The *Speculum* itself, though, remains just as compelling as it was to readers of the fourteenth-century manuscripts and of later blockbooks and printed editions, and it is good to have this English prose translation to supplement the Middle English verse text edited by Avril Henry (*The Mirour of Mans Saluacion, A Middle English translation of the Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, 1987), along with the English edition produced by Adrian and Joyce Lancaster Wilson (*A Medieval Mirror: Speculum Humanae Salvationis,*

1324-1500, 1985). In their English translation, the editors have done a service, however irritated scholars might be by the cursory introduction and bibliography, and by some of the editors' commentaries. The imagined audience might further include advanced high-school students and undergraduates interested in medieval culture, students of theology working at a fairly introductory level, generalist Christian readers exploring medieval meditative texts, and perhaps even priests seeking sermon materials.

Pace University   MARTHA W. DRIVER

Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350-1500. By Kathleen Kamerick. [The New Middle Ages, Series No. 27.] (New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xi, 292. $89.95.)

Kathleen Kamerick refers to the process of working on this project as a "search for understanding holy images." The result is a kind of archaeological excavation of late medieval religious and social culture that was distinguished by its multifaceted approach to images.

Her first two chapters deal with both sides of the image controversies of this period in English history. The Lollards charged that images were prohibited in the First Commandment as idolatrous and that money spent on them should go to the poor, who were the true image of God. The defenders of images argued that the Incarnation of Christ meant that images of his human nature could be portrayed. Christ himself sanctioned their use by imprinting his image on Veronica's veil. In addition to this and other defenses, Roger Dymmok stated that God ordained them because of the superiority of sight over hearing. The defenders and attackers of images were, as Kamerick observes, concerned chiefly with how laypeople used them. The rest of Kamerick's study is an attempt to recover how the largest segment of the population used images.

Her third chapter examines the evidence of wills in Norfolk and Suffolk. She gives useful charts about the distribution of image gifts by gender and geographical distribution. Particularly valuable insights are offered in Kamerick's fourth chapter dealing with the social and political dimensions of the images used by various communities. The parish accounts of church wardens, as well as the membership lists and account records of gilds, indicate how individual groups gained a sense of communal fellowship in their support of specific images and the public spaces they occupied. Images could also inform political allegiances, as in the case of the cult images of the Lancastrian King Henry VI.

A highlight of this book is Kamerick's sensitive and probing analysis of the role of images in the lives of Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. Holy images, especially the crucifix, helped Julian understand and feel Christ's Passion. Bodily and spiritual sight worked concurrently as a conduit to reveal

God's love. Margery Kempe also fused bodily and spiritual senses in her visions. She was able to transfer the import of Christ's suffering on the cross to the suffering of animals and people in whom she saw the Lord. It is no wonder that she reacted bodily with loud weeping!

The sixth chapter deals with the variety of responses to images in prayer books that fused the acts of reading and beholding. Rather than replacing books for the unlearned, a justification for their use given centuries earlier by Pope Gregory, images combined with texts, both together comprising the book. In many cases the texts guided the viewing of the pictures. There was a dynamic interaction between image, rubric, and text. This required the reader to flip back and forth, merging visual and verbal devotion with the physical and temporal movements of reading. Kamerick goes on to discuss indulgences and charms that became associated with images. Yet, according to Kamerick, the massive iconoclasm of the early sixteenth century was sparked less by the questionable magical properties assigned to certain images than by the ways in which people attributed animate qualities to statues.

This book is indispensable for scholars of late medieval culture and for those seeking to understand this period of religious transition in England.

University of Victoria   MAIDIE HILMO

Suppliques et Requêtes. Le Gouvernement par la Grâce en Occident (XIIe-XVe Siècle). Edited by Hélène Millet. [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 310.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2003. Pp. 434. €45.00 paperback.)

The product of a conference held in Rome in 1998, this superb collection epitomizes both the pan-Europeanism which has long characterized French exploitation of the Vatican Archives and the multidisciplinary approach to which French historiography has given such productive stimulus. The object of a comparative study of supplications to the pope with analogous requests to other rulers is magisterially achieved by the collaboration of a distinguished international body of experts tackling the various branches of diplomatic and placing it in its broader cultural context. So, after the editor's introductory review, Geoffrey Koziol traces the Carolingian origins of the later medieval rite of supplication, in which sophisticated legal elaboration rests on enduring conventions of prayer and beneficence. These conventions are graphically expanded on by Jean-Marie Moeglin in a re-examination of a much-discussed miniature, argued as showing Pandolph IV of Capua before Henry II, and by Jean-Claude Schmitt, on the basis of illustrations in manuscripts of Gratian's *Decretum*. Charles Vulliez examines the rhetorical underlay of supplication. Regarding papal petitions, Patrick Zutshi's careful sifting of evidence for the commencement of their enregistration suggests that the practice in the form of the surviving series may be due to the reforming zeal, otherwise marked, of Benedict XII (1334-1342). Javier Serra Estellés presents Clement VII's secretary

Egidius Iuvenis maintaining his own register of particular business. Ludwig Schmugge lucidly delineates the scope and legal reference of the business processed by the Papal Penitentiary, while recalling to the historian's attention the spiritual dynamic (apt to be overlooked in concentration on bare procedure) in the relationship of supplicant and pontiff. From the 20,408 supplications to Urban V in 1362-1366, Anne-Marie Hayez surveys the approximately 12,000 over benefices. Élisabeth Lalou presents the special case of Philip VI's household and quasi-household officers. Such studies of actual supplication complement and are complemented by Pascal Montaubin's depiction of the earlier development of curial techniques adequate to the extent of recourse. If grace was in theory unlimited, not so the stock of benefices and in the resulting competition influence counted, whether available on an individual basis, as in Nathalie Gorochov's cases of Paris university supplicants c.1340-1420, or through the well-known university roll, as represented by Charles Vulliez's account of that of the Picard nation from 1414-1415. As regards secular government, three papers deal directly with France. Olivier Mattéoni presents the requests for official appointments made to Louis XI as an illustration of the dialogue between prince and subject which (cf. Koziol and despite the criticisms of reformers) was integral to their relationship. Claude Gauvard, in a lengthy and nuanced excursus, examines the exercise of royal grace in criminal cases, and Jean Hilaire the civil context. Timothy S. Haskett considers bill process in England, offering in course interesting observations on the rôle of conscience underlying the Court of Chancery's jurisprudence. José Manuel Nieto Soria reflects on the king of Castile's contact with the papal court in the fifteenth century and its implications. Andrea Barlucchi describes the character of the Archivio di Stato di Siena's holding of petitions to the city's government. At a theoretical level, Antonio García y García's analysis of the juridico-political dimension and Christian Trottmann's of the theology of government by grace are thought-provoking.

The production is handsome, with thirteen plates. Misprints are few for a multilingual volume. Documentation is copious. This is a well-executed and integrated contribution to the study of governmental process.

Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin   Michael Haren

Florence and Its Church in the Age of Dante. By George W. Dameron. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. x, 374. $65.00.)

From 1250 to 1330 Florence suffered a succession of overlapping conflicts between Guelfs and Ghibellines, Black and White factions, popular and elite forces for which Dante famously blamed the papacy and its Angevin and Florentine Guelf allies. In his earlier study of *Episcopal Power and Florentine Society 1000-1320* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1991) pp. 145-153, George Dameron suggested that competition among Florentine lineages

within the local church may have exacerbated the violence. Here, instead, aiming to refute the anticlericalism of Robert Davidsohn's much cited *Storia di Firenze*, he emphasizes that "the church played a constructive role institutionally, economically, culturally, and politically in the process by which Florence became the dominant commune in Tuscany" (p. 5).

The church was not monolithic. Dameron details the operations of Florence's myriad ecclesiastical institutions, emphasizing the importance of rural alongside urban contexts, secular and monastic as well as mendicant clergy, and underscoring the clergy's involvement in local dispute resolution (p. 32) and the development of confraternities and charitable institutions that "helped maintain social peace" (p. 52). Although papal interventions and Florentine politics provoked disputes, especially among the upper clergy, these "constituted social processes that channeled and reconciled . . . competing interests and constituencies" (p. 27).

Clergy comprised roughly 3% of the Florentine population (p. 82), controlled a quarter to a third of landed property (p. 114), and contributed 10-20% to the communal fisc in *gabelle* and other taxes (p. 152). Among the upper ranks Ghibellines disappeared (p. 81) and the influence of older aristocratic families waned (p. 97) while members of upwardly mobile *popolano* families rose thanks to their "political and economic connections with the papacy" (p. 105). Meanwhile two-thirds of the lower clergy lived on incomes below those of unskilled urban laborers (p. 128). Benefices varied greatly in value, tithes were unreliable, and many priests supplemented their incomes with mortuary fees, altar offerings, and testamentary legacies (pp. 133-135). While elite institutions profited from and stimulated Florence's expanding economy, rising episcopal, communal, and papal taxes in the 1320s fell most heavily on the lower clergy, precipitating a crisis in diocesan finance and experiments with clerical self-government (pp. 157-163).

Parochial clergy nevertheless ministered satisfactorily to their parishioners, who in their testaments and burial choices did not abandon them for the mendicants (p. 176). The doctrine of Purgatory became central to Florentine piety, serving "to vindicate, legitimize, and facilitate the culture of money-making and civic aggrandizement" (pp. 167-168) and offering the possibility of atoning for usury through charity to the poor and ecclesiastical benefactions. The Renaissance "cult of remembrance" identifed by Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. first emerged in late *Duecento* Florence: men endowed chapels "to imprint their names and those of their lineages," women patronized art "to benefit the spiritual needs of their communities" (p. 194).

From 1285 Florence passed a series of laws curbing ecclesiastical prerogatives that gave it the upper hand—despite nine interdicts—in "an unequal but generally collaborative partnership" with the church (p. 217). In turn, the inquisition "served to shore up religious orthodox beliefs and to encourage loyalty to the Guelf commune" (p. 229). Through elaborate ecclesiastical building proj-

ects and the ritual celebration of Florence's expanding circle of leading saints "the ruling elite of the city drew on established religious traditions to help construct a set of pro-Guelf guild-based beliefs that underscored the legitimacy of the post-1266 regime" (p. 224). Leading ecclesiastical institutions smoothed Florence's assertion of control over its surrounding territory (pp. 233-239) and helped mold "a composite but continually divided ruling class" (p. 241).

Church historians will welcome Dameron's regard for rural as well as urban settings and his emphasis on the ongoing importance of parish clergy even if his rebuttals of Davidsohn seem unnecessarily defensive. Political historians will surely agree that Rome and the local church were key to the formation of Florence's Guelf regime and ideology in this period, though they may miss a more chronological and comparative approach and, like Dante, regard the process as less benign than does Dameron. The cluster of arguments and variety of sources that he has opened up are certain to stimulate further research and discussion.

Washington and Lee University   DAVID S. PETERSON

Renaissance Florence in the Rhetoric of Two Popular Preachers: Giovanni Dominici (1356-1419) and Bernardino da Siena (1380-1444). By Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby. [Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, Volume 4.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2001. Pp. xii, 344. $82.00, €72,00.)

Intensely engaged with the major issues of the day, as well as the salvation of the soul, preachers of the late medieval and early modern period have become key interpreters of their complex societies. In the last decade, the historiography of Italian preaching has especially grown and deepened as scholars have moved from theological issues to the importance of the sermon as a social and cultural text.

A welcome addition to the literature is Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby's study of two master preachers of the early fifteenth century, the Dominican Giovanni Dominici and the Franciscan Bernardino da Siena. Focusing on sermons preached and recorded in Florence, Debby examines a variety of topics, including politics, economic life, the family, anti-Semitism, and public controversies. Meticulously researched in terms of the historiography of preaching, the author's approach can be relatively conservative (for example, the chapter on "Family, Women, and Social Fringe" could be enriched by a thorough consideration of the extensive scholarship on gender). And, perhaps because of the timing of publication, she covers aspects of Bernardino, such as women's roles, anti-Semitism, peacemaking, and public performance that have been handled recently by other scholars (Mormando, 1999; Polecritti, 2000).

However, this careful overview still provides a sound analysis of Dominici's and Bernardino's fiery social preaching in Florence and provides a revealing glimpse of the many nuances between them as they worked, only a few

decades apart, within a particular setting. Each of the seven chapters moves back and forth between Dominici and Bernardino, permitting a finely honed comparison. Particularly relevant to the intellectual context of Florence is the discussion in Chapter Four, "The Preachers on Culture and Education." For instance, although both friars disapproved of pagan poetry, Debby convincingly argues that Bernardino's attitude toward secular education was more open and relaxed than Dominici's; the latter, keenly interested in the teaching of the young and in the curriculum of the grammar schools, was nonetheless suspicious about excessive learning on the part of the laity.

The strongest element of the book is Debby's analysis of Dominici, who has been studied less intensively than Bernardino and whose sermons are far less familiar, even to other historians of Italian preaching. While many Renaissance scholars are acquainted with the *Regola del governo di cura familiare* and the *Lucula Noctis*, Debby instead works closely with Dominici's unpublished sermons to reveal his witty storytelling and sharp, insistent personality. Less circumspect than the more tactful and pragmatic Bernardino, he was sometimes bold enough to challenge directly the Florentines: "If someone wants to kill me for telling the truth, he is welcome!" (p. 41). In the politically charged atmosphere of his birthplace, he criticized the tightening of citizen participation under the Albizzi regime and didn't hesitate to attack the proud and ambitious rulers of the city, calling them "cursed hypocrites" and labeling the commune as "a fine example when instead of the good it is governed by the bad" (p.71). Yet he was surprisingly more reticent than Bernardino when he discussed sexual issues, especially the delicate topic of sodomy.

A valuable supplement to the book is the generous appendix (pp. 219-312) with complete, edited texts of ten of Dominici's sermons preached between 1400 and 1406, from the MS. Riccardiana 1301, discovered in 1907 and unpublished until now. Along with Debby's book as a whole, these sermons will provide an important resource for scholars of both late medieval preaching and the social history of Florence.

University of California, Santa Cruz   Cynthia Polecritti

Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation. By Brian Patrick McGuire. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 446. $85.00 clothbound; $30.00 paperback.)

More than forty years ago now, in the distinguished two-volume tome on the later medieval church contributed to Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, F. Delaruelle chose to devote a whole chapter to Jean Gerson (1363-1429), long-serving Chancellor of the University of Paris, dedicated pastor, gifted preacher, tireless advocate of church reform "in head and members," distinguished theologian, and one of the leading intellectuals of his day. In so doing, and speaking of the first half of the fifteenth century, Delaruelle felt it

warranted to portray the great Chancellor as "the mirror of his times" and to entitle the chapter "Le siècle de Gerson."

By the time he did so, scholarly interest in matters Gersonian had long since begun to quicken. That that was the case is evidenced *inter alia* by the decision of Palémon Glorieux to undertake the first new edition of Gerson's complete works since that of Dupin in 1706, by Max Lieberman's extraordinary (and extraordinarily gritty) series of articles on his life and writings, and by the work of Louis Mourin on his sermons, André Combes on his mystical theology, and J. B. Morrall on his ecclesiology. In the years since then interest in one or other aspect of Gerson's richly varied career has, if anything, intensified. It is reflected, for example, in Gilbert Ouy's fundamental researches on the Gersonian manuscript tradition, in the works of G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes on his ecclesiology, Louis B. Pascoe on his idea of reform, D. Catherine Brown on his pastoral theology, in Brian Patrick McGuire's translation into English of a whole series of his early writings as well as in his sponsorship and editing of a multi-authored *Companion to Jean Gerson* scheduled by Brill for publication in 2006.

All of that duly noted, the surprising thing about the currently thriving field of Gersonian studies is the fact that nobody since John Connolly in 1929 has made a full-scale attempt at a new biographical treatment of the man himself. That prominent gap in *Gersoniana* McGuire himself has now moved boldly to fill. He has done so in this substantial, painstakingly-researched, carefully-balanced, and finely-nuanced study, clearly the outcome of long years of sustained effort. Unlike Connolly, who organized his somewhat anachronistically defensive biography in thematic fashion, McGuire has gone about his task in straightforward chronological fashion, conducive to the charting of a lifetime's maturation and development on the part of his subject, basing himself on an attentive reading of the full corpus of Gerson's writings, French as well as Latin, and quite self-consciously eschewing "any fashionable theoretical approach" (p. xi).

In 1964, noting the sheer volume of Gerson's writing and the self-revelatory nature of much of it, Delaruelle expressed surprise that his complex psychological make-up had not been made the object of any really probing scholarly study. In his own non-theoretical way, McGuire may be said to have remedied that lack. In the course of his book he dwells, often at length, on most of the salient features of Gerson's public career, from his early and surprisingly unrestrained attack on the teaching of the Dominican theologian Juan de Monzon concerning the Immaculate Conception, down to the passionate but ultimately unsuccessful campaign he pursued at the Council of Constance (and in the teeth of Burgundian opposition) to secure a full-blown condemnation of Jean Petit's attempt to vindicate the legitimacy of tyrannicide. Thus he focuses, in the years intervening, on Gerson's unsuccessful attempt as dean to reform the chapter of the collegiate church of Saint Donatien at Bruges, on his leadership of the Parisian faculty of theology in its opposition to the attempt

(1409) of the Franciscan Jean Gorel to vindicate the alleged pastoral preroga-
tives of the mendicant orders, on his ongoing effort via sermon and tract to for-
ward on a broader front the reform of the universal Church in head and mem-
bers, and on the slow maturation of his position vis-à-vis the deepening scandal
of the Great Schism, his eventual embrace of the *via concilii*, his passionate
advocacy before and during the Council of Constance (1414-18) of the con-
ciliarist claim that general councils, acting without a pope, were under certain
circumstances superior in jurisdiction to the pope and possessed the power
to judge, condemn, and, if need be, depose a recalcitrant pontiff.

To all of those prominent moments in Gerson's public life McGuire pays
due attention, and the reader can certainly rely on his careful and well-
informed analyses of them. His scholarly heart, however, lies elsewhere, and his
central, driving concern in this book is less with Gerson the public figure than
with the psycho-spiritual dynamics of his inner moral and spiritual life. And
here he confronts something of a challenge. For though Gerson did much in
the course of his voluminous writings to expose the complexities of his inner
emotional and spiritual life and to make that life accessible even to the *gens
simples* for whom he wrote so often in French, McGuire is forced to concede
that that "inner life remains an enigma" (p. 196). And he is forced also to find
a precarious balance between the invitation to render an anachronistically
harsh judgment on his subject's odder and less attractive features and the
countervailing temptation to dwell more exclusively on what made Gerson so
compelling and attractive a figure, the features that subsequently led his edi-
tors to label him the *doctor consolatorius*—as Jacob Wimpheling put it, "a con-
soling and most Christian doctor" (pp. 325-326).

That balance, and to his great credit, McGuire does succeed by and large in
achieving. His Gerson may well have been obsessed with what he saw to be
the omnipresent perils of sexual attraction (lurking for him even in the con-
fessional) and he may have been careful to distance himself from the company
of women. But unlike so many of his clerical contemporaries he was no misog-
ynist and managed to be generous and sensitive in his extension of spiritual
counsel to members of the opposite sex. His Gerson may also have been some-
thing of an austere loner, in some ways frightened of human intimacy, anxious
to free himself of the bonds of friendship, capable of vindictive vilification of
his opponents and of being single-minded to a fault in his effort to vindicate a
matter of principle. But he was also a man capable of questioning "almost
everything . . . in his [own] life and career" (p. 60), one whose critical self-
knowledge ran deep and who was not too proud to describe himself as a hes-
itant fellow "full of scruples and fear" (p. 112). He was a man more interested
(he said) in living well than disputing well (p. 318), and one engaged, it seems
clear, in a lifelong struggle between his commitment to discipline and self-con-
trol and his yearning for the human warmth of affective bonds. And he was
also a man capable, perhaps accordingly, of responding to others with warmly
empathetic and generous instincts.

And so on. In coming to terms with the complex dynamic of Gerson's inner life, McGuire's careful balancing act is, I would judge, successful. Somewhat less successful, however, is the balance he achieves between the depth and rigor of his analyses of Gerson's own writings and his somewhat uneven handling of the contextual background against which they are seen. Thus it is impossible to grasp the full significance of Gerson's clash with Gorel on the matter of mendicant privileges without seeing it in the context of the great mendicant-secular controversy at Paris in the 1250's or the seventeenth-century struggle in France to vindicate the divinely-established hierarchical status of the parochial clergy. Nor can it convincingly be claimed that "Gerson's last contributions at Constance have for the most part been ignored" (p. 281). After all, the first blow struck in the great war of words surrounding the Venetian interdict of 1606 was the republication in Italian translation of two of Gerson's tracts from 1418—his *Resolutio circa materiam excommunicationum et irregularitatum* and his *De sententia pastoris semper tenenda*. That blow was struck by the acerbic Venetian theologian Paolo Sarpi, and it had the effect of drawing down on him (and on the memory of Gerson) the ire of none other than Cardinal Robert Bellarmine. Nor, again, is it altogether accurate to assert that after 1706 Gerson was to become something of a parochial figure, "celebrated by French academics and more or less forgotten elsewhere" (p. 318). He figures large, after all, in the *De statu ecclesiae* which the auxiliary bishop of Trier (writing under the pseudonym of "Febronius") was to publish in 1763 and which was soon to be a best seller, circulated all over Europe in German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese translations. Nor was Gerson unknown to the recusant "Anglo-Gallicans" of late-eighteenth-century England or, across the Atlantic, to their "Cisalpine" fellow-travellers in the newly-independent United States.

In connection, however, with a book of this scope, such shortcomings are minor ones and it would be churlish to make too much of them. McGuire is the first scholar in almost eighty years to have had the spirit to take on the formidable task of attempting a full-scale biography of Gerson. Going about that task with thoroughness, sensitivity, and good, calmly-balanced judgment, he has indeed succeeded in establishing the "benchmark" for future work on Gerson's life. And that has to be recognized as no mean achievement.

Williams College   FRANCIS OAKLEY

Ordensreform und Konziliarismus: Der Franziskanerprovinzial Matthias Döring (1427-1461). By Petra Weigel. [Jenaer Beiträge zur Geschichte, Band 7.] (Frankfurt am Main-Berlin-Bern-Brussels-New York-Oxford-Vienna: Peter Lang. 2005. Pp. 540.)

This well-researched and highly structured book, based on a doctoral dissertation defended in 2001, presents in three main parts the official policies of

a controversial and dynamic Franciscan figure in fifteenth-century Germany, friar Matthias Döring (ca. 1390-1469), provincial minister of the Franciscan Saxon province during the period of the Observant reforms.

Part One deals with the politics of Döring between his election to the position of provincial minister of the Saxon province (1427) and the election of the first Observant provincial vicar in same province in 1449, when the Observants started to implement their autonomous administrative structures in accordance with the papal bull *Ut Sacra*, issued by Pope Eugenius IV three years earlier.

Part Two treats as an interlude the conciliarist role of Döring at the Council of Basel, and his election by friars from the German provinces to the position of general minister during the Pentecostal chapter meeting at Freiburg in 1443, which led to a temporary divide within the order, due to the simultaneous election of Antonio Rusconi at the general chapter of Padua. With their choice of Matthias Döring, the German provinces not only chose a conciliarist supporter of Pope Felix V, but also an exponent of the Conventual faction within the order, who consistently opposed the autonomy aspirations of the leaders of the regular Observance (who by and large had received the support of Pope Eugenius IV). When Felix V abdicated in April 1449, Döring's position as minister general became so weak that he withdrew, concentrating his activities henceforth on the Saxon province.

The third part charts the policies of Matthias Döring as provincial minister until his resignation in 1461. This period was characterized by Döring's attempts to thwart the Observants' attempts at building a parallel organizational structure within the Saxon province under an Observant provincial vicar. The author rightfully indicates that Matthias Döring was not completely opposed to Observant reforms, as long as they enforced religious discipline and were performed *sub ministris*, that is to say, under acknowledgment of the authority of the provincial minister. Yet he loathed the systematic attempts by the Observants to undermine the authority of the provincial minister, claiming autonomy for all the Observant friaries along the lines of papal privileges granted to them. Döring saw these attempts as a threat to his own position, but even more as a threat to the unity of the Franciscan Saxon province.

Before 1449, Matthias had been able to regulate many reform initiatives within the existing provincial framework under his control. After that date he was faced by a growing congregation of Observant friaries under a semi-independent provincial vicar. In his opposition to the aspirations of the regular Observance, Döring developed a reform policy of his own that validated both Conventual and Observant viewpoints concerning the practice of poverty. He gave this a theoretical basis in his *Informatio de Regula Fratrum Minorum*, presented to the theological faculty of the University of Erfurt in October 1451, just at a time when the cardinal legate Nicholas of Cusa had confirmed the papal privileges accorded to the Observants in the Saxon province.

In subsequent decades, Döring was not able to stop the spread of the regular Observance. Yet he was able bring several Observant monasteries more or less within his obedience through their acceptance of a *visitator regiminis* answering to the provincial minister. Moreover, Döring was moderately successful in his support for the wished-for *reformatio sub ministris*, represented by the so-called Martinians (named after the order's constitutions approved by Pope Martin V in 1430), who from the 1450's onwards became a viable alternative to the regular Observance within the Saxon province.

Petra Weigel's command of the secondary literature is impressive, as is shown by the scope of her annotations and her exhaustive bibliography. Even more impressive is the way in which she has uncovered, used, and presented a wealth of primary sources. Readers will find in an appendix of ca. 150 pages references to and editions of many letters, statements, and administrative documents by Döring and other protagonists, including Döring's *Informatio de Regula Fratrum Minorum*. In short, this is an exemplary study, providing a different perspective on the struggle surrounding Observant reforms during the fifteenth century.

Groningen University   BERT ROEST

Early Modern Europe

Storia economica del clero in Europa: Secoli XV–XIX. By Fiorenzo Landi. [Studi superiori, Studi storici, 505.] (Rome: Carocci Editore. 2005. Pp. 209. €17.50 paperback.)

When a title promises four hundred years of economic history one is tempted to put the book down and steal away quietly. But Fiorenzo Landi has prepared a relatively short overview to the economic framework of religious life in the modern era. It has the flavor of an introductory course, acquainting the reader with the basic structures of religious life and the broad trends regarding their economic survival in Europe. In order to accomplish this task, Landi must provide sufficient background to religious life in general to acquaint those more familiar with economic history while spending the bulk of his attention on the broad sweeps of the economies of diverse religious orders. The task is made difficult by his treating every type of religious order, from monk to clerk regular, over a period that includes the Protestant Reformation with its dissolution of religious orders; the various reform governments in the age of Absolutism that appropriated the wealth of many of the orders for their own purposes; the liberal revolutions which proposed to replace religious social institutions with government sponsored care; and finally, the Napoleonic period, determined to accomplish all of the above and more.

One of the principal sources for Landi's work is the *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione Religiosa*, which he cites frequently in the preface and

introduction in outlining the structures of the religious orders. While this can be seen as a weakness, it underlines the value of this multi-volume work as the most comprehensive resource for the history of religious life. In such a brief overview as Landi gives, some inaccuracies are bound to creep in. In figure I (p. 16) *chierici regolari* are portrayed as both masculine and feminine, when the word "cleric" would indicate that branch of religious life as exclusively male. The line in the same figure connecting the Franciscans and Dominicans should be eliminated so as to indicate that they are two distinct mendicant foundations. More appropriate would be a line between the Dominicans and Augustinians to show the formers' adoption of the Augustinian Rule.

Landi's overview covers the British Isles, Portugal, Spain, Benelux, France, the imperial territories, Switzerland, the Baltic countries, Poland, and Italy. In Italy, where he gives the most complete development through all four centuries, he further divides his study into political regions: Milan, Venice, Calabria, and Sicily. Here he has a much better command of the primary sources available, indicating the area with which he is most familiar. In each of these chapters he identifies the key local elements of religious life and how they are treated by the state. In France, for example, he identifies the issue of Gallican autonomy in church affairs as the perennial factor in each distinct period.

In the end, 200 pages of economic history only whet the appetite. Early on (p. 24) Landi teases the reader with the assertion that religious orders had a strong impact on the development of accounting. Perhaps because this section is aimed more at economic historians who might already know the details (he cites three accounting innovators), he ends there. Later (p. 42) he introduces the compatibility of Protestantism with capitalism (via Max Weber), leaving the question of how this might relate to religious orders unanswered. Nevertheless, his bibliography is strong, indicating further directions for research. But this introduction to the economic history of religious orders in the modern era is by no means comprehensive. It acquaints and orients rather than exhausts.

Spring Hill College   MARK A. LEWIS, S.J.

Renaissance Monks: Monastic Humanism in Six Biographical Sketches. By Franz Posset. [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, CVIII.] (Leiden and Boston: E. J. Brill. 2005. Pp. xix, 196. $156.00 or €109,00.)

This book consists of expanded versions of biographical articles published in several *lexika* and *The American Benedictine Review*. The six monks, all but one of them active along the upper Rhine or Danube basin, are (1) Conradus Leontorius [Konrad Töritz of Leonberg] (ca. 1460-1507/1511), a Cistercian of Maulbronn; (2) Benedictus Chelidonius [Benedikt Schwalbe of Nürnberg] (ca. 1460-1521), monk of St. Aegidius in Nuremberg and then abbot of the Benedictine Schottenstift in Vienna; (3) Wolfgangus Marius [Lukas Mayer of

Dorfbach near Passau] (1469-1544), a Cistercian of the abbey of Aldersbach in Bavaria; (4) Henricus Urbanus [Heinrich Fastnacht of Orb near Gelnhausen] (d. after 1538), a Cistercian of Georgenthal in Thuringia; (5) Vitus Bild [Veit Bild] (1481-1529), a Benedictine of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg; (6) Nikolaus Ellebog (1481-1543), Benedictine of Ottobeuren in Swabia.

The chapters usefully explicate, with accompanying bibliographical citations in footnotes, the personal networks among the German humanists inside and outside the monasteries in the last decade of the fifteenth century through the first two or three decades of the sixteenth century. Posset rejects the model of late-medieval deformation yielding to Reformation, explaining the Protestant Reformation more as the product of late medieval reform and humanism than as a response to abuses.

We catch a glimpse, for example, of Leontorius trying to mediate between Jacob Wimpfeling and the prior of the Dominican friary in Basel after Wimpfeling debunked the belief that Augustine, the author of the rule the Dominicans followed, was a monk. Leontorius, having done all manner of editorial work for the Basel printer Amerbach, requested a gratis set of the eleven-volume Augustine edition in return, or, from the printer Froben, a set of spectacles. We follow Benedikt Chelidonius in his classical poetic collaboration with Albrecht Dürer's picture books on the Passion of Christ and the life of Mary and Heinrich Urbanus's midwifery on behalf of the Croatian humanist Marcus Marulus's *Carmen* on the crucified Christ. We learn about Veit Bild's careful preservation of 550 letters from and to the leading German humanists of his day but also of his studies in mathematics, astronomy and astrology, cartography, and hagiography, not to mention his pastime of turning the library catalogue of his monastery into Latin verse. And we observe Nikolaus Ellebog's efforts to learn Hebrew with the aid of Johannes Reuchlin.

The book could have used more rigorous editing. It alternates between writing down to a very basic level, on the one hand, and employing technical language and orthography that only a specialist could figure out, on the other. "Scholastic manuscript" on page 88 probably means "scholastic treatise." Sometimes Posset's prose reflects undigested Latinisms or Germanisms: the ablative-of-means use of *cura* and its variants, so common on Latin title pages, has put on English dress as "took care of" (p. 51) when "edited by" would make more sense to most readers; "six-liner" for "hexastichon" makes sense in German but not really in English (p. 81). Oddly enough in a book of biographies, we find no consistent treatment of birth and death dates for the six humanist monks. Indeed, in the chapter on Henricus Urbanus we learn only after plowing through three or four pages that his dates are unknown. Posset does not attempt a "ca." guess even in the running text of the chapter, but leaves it to the reader to figure out Urbanus's approximate birth date based on his university matriculation.

The book's reference value is clear; it offers in addition in some places glimpses of real human beings and their networks that would not so readily

emerge from entry after entry in a bio-bibliographical lexicon. The indexes are very thorough.

Loyola University Chicago   DENNIS MARTIN

Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450-1750. By Jodi Bilinkoff. (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 181. $45.00.)

The implicit question Jodi Bilinkoff addresses here is one that has been asked for decades now: How much power did women truly have in early modern Europe? When women's studies first began a half-century ago, the given was that they had none. It has taken two generations of scholarship to correct this initial erroneous assumption, but thanks to scholars such as Bilinkoff the task is nearly complete. The text is lean and well organized. It studies the relationship between women and their spiritual directors by examining forty-two *vitae* of women (twenty from Spain) written between 1450 and 1750. The first chapter provides the historical context, while the second places the hagiography in its literary context. Chapters three and four are the meat of the book where the texts are analyzed and five case studies presented. In the final chapter Bilinkoff examines women's reading habits and the influence the lives and *Lives* of other women had on them. In her conclusion she offers her interpretation of the effect these relationships had on early modern Catholicism.

Bilinkoff's book is the best kind, one that leaves you asking for more when you turn that last page. It is a book that leaves you with more questions than it answers—and that is what keeps historical investigation alive. For example, she comments in passing that these *vitae* also "provide a window into the lives and aspirations of that most neglected of social groups, Catholic priests" (p. 10). She is right; couldn't someone take these texts and re-examine them with clerical history in mind?

Of course, the answers Bilinkoff does provide are of utmost importance, and they are answers particularly close to my heart. In 1994 I wrote an article where I suggested that there was a correlation between women, their spiritual directors, and women's increasingly visible role in church life. I used broad-brush strokes and offered minimal documentation to support the thesis. But it rang true, and through the years others began supplying the missing documentation. I see *Related Lives* as the final word on the matter. It is the definitive study of how these "frequently reciprocal, if not equal in power" relationships between male confessors and female penitents provided "a key to understanding the persistence and perpetuation of Catholic culture throughout the early-modern period" (p. 11).

Now to the portion of the review where I criticize some obscure point; unfortunately, I fail this test because I really do not have any criticism. The best

I can do is to offer to debate a minor argument Bilinkoff makes in her conclusion. Bilinkoff blames the Jansenist-Jesuit conflict for the end of the confessor-female penitent relationship (Jesuits were popular hagiographers and confessors of women) and all the positive ramifications of those relationships. I do not deny that the controversy created havoc within Western society in general and for women in particular, but I think Bilinkoff stops short of identifying the real culprit: the Enlightenment. It is when the Enlightenment comes with its more secular, antireligious tenets that relationships grounded in religious tenets become less effective. From that point on, women needed to establish equal relationships in the secular realm to be effective, and confession was obviously not in the secular realm. Insofar as Jansenism contributed to the loss of prestige for Jesuits and thus confession, it was detrimental to women, but the Enlightenment was the hundred-pound gorilla. Response, Prof. Bilinkoff?

Central Michigan University Patricia Ranft

The Cambridge Companion to Raphael. Edited by Marcia B. Hall. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 416; 39 plates. $95.00.)

The recent exhibition held at the National Gallery, London, "Raphael: From Urbino to Rome," demonstrated that the artist continues to be attacked and defended within an essentially nineteenth-century intellectual framework. Remarkably, Raphael is still being framed alternatively as an academic pedant and enemy of modernism or a triumphal genius so singular as to render the investigation of broad, fundamental issues superfluous. *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael* is very much the product of the latter school, and its overall purpose is to refine and update a range of topics on which there already exists a massive scholarly literature: Raphael's early formation and patronage, his dazzling Roman career, his workshop and drawing practices, his role as a stylistic exemplar, and his critical fortunes from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. To readers from outside the discipline of art history or new to the study of Raphael, the volume's emphasis on summarizing and restating recent secondary literature may serve as a useful starting point. However, for those seeking a major reassessment of this pivotal but also elusive Renaissance painter, archaeologist, and architect, this collection of essays is a disappointment.

The opening essays by Jeryldene Wood and Sheryl Reiss offer two accounts of the artist's training and early career in Urbino. Both stress the significance of Raphael's father, Giovanni Santi, and his contacts at the Montefeltro court for establishing the young artist once he emerged from Perugino's workshop. Wood advances the counter-intuitive claim that the youthful Raphael's sweet, undemanding style appealed to his first patrons, particularly female religious, precisely because of its stylistic conservatism. Perugino's thriving practice, his harmonious workshop, and his eventual rejection in the urban crucible of Florence all had a formative impact on Raphael. Through detailed stylistic

analysis of the early altarpieces, Wood demonstrates just how profoundly Perugino shaped the young Raphael, making the artist's subsequent ability to throw off that influence and rethink his professional practices in response to intensively shifting demands appear all the more remarkable. Reiss provides a comprehensive list in prose form of Raphael's early commissions, including his very first Roman patrons.

While Urbino formed this promising maker of Madonnas, there is no question that Rome made Raphael. Linda Pellecchia provides a wide-ranging introduction to the urban fabric of a city rapidly transforming from the stench and chaos of the late fifteenth century to the wide streets and stately palaces envisioned and in some cases executed under the popes Julius II and Leo X, as well as Raphael's great patron, the banker Agostino Chigi. Here Raphael rose from his salad days to the princely velvet-clad figure promoted by Vasari; surrounded by his own large shop, colleague to intellectuals and humanists, beloved by popes and cardinals, and ardent admirer of female beauty in the abstract and in the concrete. Vasari's is a mythic image to be sure but one that vividly conveys Raphael's supreme contributions to the elevation of the artist's social status from artisan rooted in workshop practice to high-flying intellectual free agent. Ingrid Rowland returns to the commission that launched Raphael onto that elevated plane: the frescoes in the papal apartments known as the *Stanze* begun under Julius II and continued by Leo X. She reads the frescoes as a succession of straightforward, simplified theological illustrations and positions with Julius II as the driving intellectual force behind the original commission. Joanna Woods-Marsden focuses on Raphael's two celebrated papal portraits and lavishes attention on every detail, synthesizing a great deal of recent multidisciplinary scholarship on subjects ranging from Julius's beard to the treatment of papal corpses. The abysmal quality of the book's reproductions particularly undermines her essay, since Woods-Marsden locates her discussion in specific features of these luminous paintings that are totally illegible on the page. While her methodology is laudable, she shares with Rowland and other students of the artist a conception of Raphael as a mystical conduit. Any contemporary social, political, economic occurrence or intellectual, theological, and cultural discursive practice or artifact produced in Rome during the first two decades of the sixteenth century can, in this view, be safely assumed to have filtered through Raphael. Like Greenblatt's Will Shakespeare, Raphael is everywhere and nowhere. In Bette Talvacchia's account, Raphael's large workshop is yet another of his virtuoso performances. The crushing demands of multiple vast commissions are managed with Olympian detachment, an argument rooted in a hyper-idealized construction of the artist.

Patricia Emison acknowledges the seams in Raphael's collaboration with Marcantonio Raimondi on a famous series of engravings, correcting a long-standing disciplinary underestimation of the print medium. In these, the cheapest and most widely disseminated products of his craft, Raphael emerges at his most learned and antiquarian, assimilating knowledge gained on the job as Rome's

commissioner of antiquities. While the volume cries out for incisive work of critical historiography, an admittedly daunting task, contributions focused on prior scholarship tend to be superficial and tendentious, revealing the author's own *a priori* convictions and formative training. Linda Wolk-Simon decries recent studies of Raphael drawings that expand the corpus of widely accepted attributions but fails to secure the distinction between (good) reasoned arguments and (bad) subjective judgments. Marcia Hill roots her discussion in the warhorse debates of the 1960's over mannerism as a stylistic category in contradistinction to a classic style, of which Raphael is the ultimate champion. She looks to an undefined future when contextualist scholarship on culture and society informs definitions of style. The late John Shearman, to whom this volume is dedicated, reinvigorated Raphael studies precisely by navigating the transition from reductive stylistic debates to the penetrating contextualist scholarship that unraveled the false dichotomy between style and content Hall reasserts. His high standards of evidence and argument, his appetite for fundamental questions and brilliant problem-solving, his refusal to transmit passively the inherited intellectual paradigms of his own training still have a great deal to teach.

Trinity University   LAURA CAMILLE AGOSTON

Architecture for the Shroud: *Relic and Ritual in Turin.* By John Beldon Scott. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxxii, 443, 214 figures, 16 color plates. $75.00.)

It is always a great pleasure to have in one's hand a book from which one may learn a lot. That is the case with the new work of John Beldon Scott about the majestic Chapel for the Shroud behind the Cathedral of Turin. After the fire in the night of April 11-12, 1997, that destroyed a substantial part of this most important baroque architecture in northern Italy, this book has an invaluable importance, even for the restoration that will take still many years until it is completed.

The whole work is divided into three parts and ten chapters. The first part is dedicated to the peregrination of the Shroud from Lirey to Chambéry and from Chambéry to Turin, and to the pilgrims and the manner in which the Shroud was shown to them in the different places. The second part treats of the central object of the book: Guarini's Shroud Chapel and its meaning. The third section shows how the presence and showings of this most important relic had a very strong impact on the urban evolution of Turin as the residence of the Savoy family.

The role played by the "king of the relics" for the Savoy family in its efforts to distinguish itself from other noble families and become a royal house is the real aim and content of the whole book in all its three parts, so that the title of the whole work could be "the Savoy family and its relic" or "the Shroud and its

functions in a noble European family." Sometimes the reader encounters this theme a little overstressed and too often repeated.

The very heart and aim of the book is the second part: the history of the construction and the explanation of the meaning and the function of the architecture of the Shroud chapel that was built by the Theatine architect Guarino Guarini. The author shows how this extraordinary architect "operates on the perception of pilgrims . . . alike to expand visually the interior of the chapel as though that space were pressurized by the power of the relic pushing [it] outward to infinity. . ." (p. 133). With the means of the geometric structure of the equilateral triangle, Guarini has created a "high cupola with minimum weight and maximum fenestration" (p. 143).

The author observes for the first time that the introduction of the huge crystal window interrupted the view from the church to the chapel, so that the original thought of the concept of Guarini does not furthermore work on the observer's view. The original plan was to give with purely geometric patterns the same effect in the cupola as the visions of heaven have given the perspective frescoes of the domes since Correggio in Parma.

After all these positive aspects it is very curious to notice that the author sometimes speaks of the faithful only in terms of past times, as nobody "seeing the Shroud" today could have "a spiritually transforming experience" (p. 117). When he mentions the firemen who saved the Shroud in April, 1997 (cfr. p. 319), it is more precise to say that it was only one of them, Mario Trematore, who had the honor of risking his life to save the Shroud.

Besides this excellent and precise explanation of the effects of the Shroud on the architecture of its chapel and on the urban development of the residence town of Turin and of the impact of this relic on the noble Savoy family and millions of pilgrims, there remains one question not even mentioned by the author: could not all of these effects have been produced by a real relic of Christ?

Pontificia Università Gregoriana   HEINRICH PFEIFFER, S.J.

Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance: Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna By Nicholas Terpstra. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 123rd Series (2005), Nr. 4.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 349. $50.00.)

Historians of the Italian Renaissance, and those of the more general history of early modern Europe, will be pleased to know that Nicholas Terpstra has yet another fine book examining the intersection of state-building and religion in the development of social services. Previously, Terpstra has enlightened the subject of confraternities and the social order in Bologna; since 2000 he has

expanded his field of inquiry to include Florence. This recent volume is a truly superb, even magisterial comparison of the development of orphanages in Florence and Bologna in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

We have known for some time now that Europe's population in the early modern period was quite young—half under the age of fifteen, one third under the age of eight. With such a large percentage of children, given the combination of subsistence crises, economic dislocations, the regular occurrence of diseases, faced by all of society, the plight of abandoned children was recognized as a grave problem from the high Middle Ages on. In a family-oriented culture, it was logical that the creation of surrogate families would provide the model for coping with the numbers of orphaned children, charity the motivation. Initially, shelter was on a small scale, centered on a workshop or a woman's home, but by the sixteenth century these arrangements, as well as foundling hospitals, had given way to orphanages. Though these institutions could not recreate love, and although many children died within their walls, Terpstra elucidates a real and tenacious effort on the part of religious men and women, secular and clerical, princes and artisans, in these Catholic cities that saved vulnerable young lives.

Florence and Bologna both created networks of homes that co-ordinated a web of care but they did so differently. In the Medici grand duchy, the focus was on development of a statewide, rational, and efficient bureaucratic structure, under the authority of the grand dukes for the benefit of all subjects. Bologna, smaller and a part of the papal state, developed a less bureaucratic structure with a focus on helping citizens of the city. Finances were always problematic, with many Bolognese houses dependent on extremely small pledges, even from the wealthy, while in Florence, the grand dukes also tried to create a revenue stream through taxation on shops. The dispensing of charity was based on gender and class, both of nearly equal importance. Of greatest concern were abandoned girls who could be abused sexually, as prostitutes or otherwise. Orphanages for boys were also established, but the moral situation for girls grabbed more rhetorical attention. Terpstra takes us through the processes for admission to orphanages, different in each city, the internal regimes—largely the monastic one of work and prayer—to which the children were subject, through the various ways that children were released back into the world—largely marriage for girls, and apprenticeship for boys. Boys left as maturity and opportunity provided, while, if a girl did not leave within ten years, she usually stayed in the orphanage. Not unexpectedly, because of the efforts made to control their behavior, many children tried to escape or rebelled against authority in other ways. Enclosure and discipline were poor substitutes for the love of parents, but, on the other hand, despite barriers, many parents placed their children in these institutions because they believed they stood a better chance to survive.

Terpstra's research excavates in great detail the operation of many conservatories, *ospedali*, houses, and orphanages, combined with mature and subtly

structured interpretations leading to important conclusions concerning the differences between the Florentine and the Bolognese organizational approaches, identifying the Florentine model as one then used by much of the rest of Europe.

University of Cincinnati   JOHN K. BRACKETT

Scipione Borghese als Kardinalprotektor: Studien zur römischen Mikropolitik in der frühen Neuzeit. By Martin Faber. (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. 2005. Pp. x, 544. €51.)

This valuable volume belongs to the series of studies of the "micropolitics" of the early modern papacy undertaken by Wolfgang Reinhard and his students over the past thirty years. Many of them center around Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1579-1633), papal nephew of Pope Paul V, because of the rich documentation surrounding him that survives. The book follows upon and confirms in many ways the findings of Birgitte Emich, *Bürokratie und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605-1621)* (Stuttgart, 2001) (reviewed *ante,* 90 [January, 2004], 127-129), who showed that Borghese devoted most of his energy to the exercise of patronage with a view to the establishment of the Borghese as a leading family in Rome and the Papal States while leaving his nominal obligations in the secretariat of state and the government of the Papal States to others. But this volume goes well beyond the examination of Borghese's role as cardinal-protector; it also provides us along the way with a provisional overview of the development and function of the institution of the "cardinal-protector," about which little scholarship exists.

The author shows the difficulty that one encounters in attempting to define the role of the cardinal-protector; it varied greatly from instance to instance but nearly always was associated with a form of patronage and the exercise of influence. It did not bring direct financial gain. Faber divides Borghese's fifty-one protectorates, derived from a list that the cardinal drew up in 1625, soon after the death of his papal uncle, into three categories, on behalf of religious orders and congregations, of nations and cities, and the broadest category of all, of pious works (*luoghi pii*) which stretched from the Holy House of Loreto to the Pauline Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore to confraternities in Rome to the German College. Protectorates over religious orders dated back to the request of St. Francis of Assisi in the thirteenth century for a cardinal-protector. The protector was expected to represent the interests of the order in the Curia, but his role in the internal affairs of an order differed greatly. Generally speaking, Faber contends, it was the request or need of an order for assistance that led to the appointment of a cardinal-protector, not the desire of the cardinal to expand his influence. Faber discusses at length Borghese's exercise of this position with the Dominicans and with the Olivetans, an Italian Congregation of Benedictine monks founded in 1319. In

neither case was he concerned significantly with the policy of the order or movements for reform; this he left up to his uncle the pope or other authorities. He involved himself chiefly in personnel decisions on the basis of requests from inside or outside the orders, such as recommending that a member be moved to another house or awarded an academic title. In this way he built up his contacts and clients, to the benefit of the Borghese family. Faber contrasts sharply Borghese's activity with the Olivetans with his predecessor's as cardinal-protector, Paolo Sfondrati, himself the papal-nephew of Gregory XIV, who for many years virtually micro-managed the congregation.

The office of cardinal-protector for nations, as well as other political entities, had come into existence in the fourteenth century, and it involved the representation of the interests of a particular ruler at the papal court; it brought prestige to the cardinal. But already in the sixteenth century it was losing its significance with the development of diplomatic institutions. Faber looks in detail at Borghese's service as protector of the German nation which he began in 1611. The author points out the conflicts of interest which the office could create for a cardinal, and especially for a cardinal-nephew, whose first loyalty was to the pope, for example, when during the early years of the Thirty Years' War the emperor sought to obtain financial support from often reluctant popes. Furthermore, advocacy of the interests of one nation in Rome could elicit hostility from another nation, in this case, France.

The protectorate over pious works also offered opportunities to exercise patronage, though it would be a mistake to attribute Borghese's activity solely to this goal. He took very seriously his protectorate of the Holy House of Loreto, the principal goal of pilgrimages in Italy outside Rome and the destination of the only journey that Borghese himself undertook beyond Rome once he became a cardinal. But it also gave him a chance to oversee the appointments to both ecclesiastical and secular positions there and to make special provision for visiting dignitaries from church and state who would then remember him. There exist 1075 letters regarding Loreto in his archive for the years 1622 to 1632. Faber indicates that recourse to a cardinal-protector by Roman confraternities, many of which were archconfraternities with influence well beyond Rome, was often dictated by the desire to escape from the control of the diocesan bishop, in this case the pope himself or his vicar for Rome.

Faber draws on a rich variety of sources. Occasionally, the book makes difficult reading. But it constitutes a significant contribution to the history of the early modern papacy and has to be consulted by specialists.

Loyola University Chicago   ROBERT BIRELEY

La Biblioteca Ambrosiana tra Roma, Milano e l'Europa: Federico Borromeo Fondatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Atti delle giornate di studio 25-27 novembre 2004. Edited by Franco Buzzi and Roberta Ferro [Studia Borromaica. Saggi e documenti di storia religiosa e civile della prima età moderna, 19] (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana. 2005. Pp. 590. €30.00 paperback.)

This volume with different contributions not only on the Biblioteca Ambriosana and its foundation and development, but also on some of the most important European libraries, shows more than their history and their transformation up to the present time, it also depicts their cultural responsibility as protectors of humanity, art, and science and also of the exchange of ideas. Modern technology offers a new way into the future by the application of new technology and electronic information resources, such as CD-ROM editions or the internet. Three groups of themes have been discussed at this conference: the concept of the humanistic libraries in Europe and their organization, the foundation of the Ambrosiana, and the presentation of some libraries and their function in the papers of their directors. The praise of books of the English bishop Richard of Aungervly (*Philobiblon sive de amore librorum*) points the way forward for the humanists with their collections and shows at the same time the value and the beauty of books. This beauty was lost during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the book became a part of the architecture of the reading-room with its desks. The ideal of the classical library as a representative not only of the service of the knowledge but also of beauty and as an expression of the cultural sensibility too had been renewed in the rococo period in the Catholic areas, specially in Rome and that of the Empire. Humanists like Petrarca condemned the pure collectionism of some nobles. As bibliophiles their own collections were open to their friends and all scholars, a practice that preceded that of the public libraries, the first of which was opened in Rome in 1595 by Angelo Rocco who wanted the Angelica open to all interested people. Printing offered a greater opportunity for acquiring books to learned laymen such as Pico della Mirandola and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, whose collection later on was purchased by Cardinal Federico Borromeo. A network of intellectuals all over Europe was created through this collecting of books by changing information about books and catalogues of different collections. The French king Francis I intended to establish a library for scholars. On the one hand he bought or ordered copies of manuscripts and on the other hand the printer Robert Estienne prepared an edition of classical texts using the royal manuscripts. The Jesuits adapted for their library concept the program of Roman humanism, but they placed emphasis on the theories of the Counter-Reformation and on the anti-Gallicanism of Antonio Possevino (*Bibliotheca selecta*). The political situation in Germany caused the emergence of small collections by princes, sometimes also influenced by scholars of the university founded by them, such as the Bibliotheca Palatina of Heidelberg. The library situation in the Balkans is characterized by the Turkish war and occupation, except for some towns on the Adriatic coast of Croatia. During this period most monasteries had been destroyed, including their books. The whole coast was a part of the dominion

of Venice and stood under its cultural influence. Scholars and bibliophiles acquired their books mainly in Venice. There were ecclesiastical collectors, as the bishop Juraj Kružić, who had about 2,000 volumes accessible to everybody, which was to be given after his death half to the Franciscans and half to the Dominicans. There were also lay patrons, such as the orientalist Ivan Paštrić, who stayed for many years in Rome, and whose books ended up in the archiepiscopal seminary of Spalato.

The first library of modern times was the Escorial, founded by Philip II, with all books accessible to everybody and with its alphabetic catalogues and some subject catalogues too at its entrance. Cardinal Federico Borromeo wanted his library, the Ambrosiana, connected with the college of the Oblates and to become a center of knowledge. Twelve clerics, each with a doctoral degree, chosen by the cardinal had the responsibility for different sections. The cardinal tried to work out precise rules for his institution from the Foundation Act (Clement VIII, 1606) to the Notary's Act (1607), to the papal confirmation of the Ambrosiana (1608), to the first proofs of the Constitution of the college and the library (1610), and the Constitution itself (1616). The Ambrosiana was one of the first public libraries in Italy, the first being the Angelica in Rome.

In the presentation of some important libraries, their directors put their trust for the future in modern technology. The Marciana project handles all Cinquecentini (printed books of the sixteenth century) and all titles up to the letter H are just transferred on-line. The bibliographical database relative to manuscripts, realized in co-operation with forty other libraries, has plans to put 11,000 entries with 70,000 quotations of 50,000 manuscripts onto the net. The retrospective view of the catalogue of printed books is nearly finished. Therefore about 90% of the whole collection is accessible on the Internet.

In 1985 the Vatican Library, where it was possible to read only manuscripts until 1902, started the cataloguing on-line using the program of the French-Canadian society GEAC. Between 1994 and 1996 the old sheet-catalogue was transferred in a retrospective version into an electronic one; now the whole catalogue of printed books is accessible by Internet. Digitalized prints, designs, medals, and coins protected by the copyright are as well passed onto the Internet.

The Mazarine has also transferred its catalogue onto the Internet. But illuminations and decorations of medieval manuscripts have been prepared together with the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes using the iconographic base "Liber floridus" to be put on-line. The Herzog August Bibliothek intends not only to conserve and make its collection accessible also by modern techniques, but it is at the same time a center of research, giving grants to enable scholars from all over the world to study in the library. The Ambrosiana had from the beginning intensive contacts with other libraries and scholars, such as the Greek scriptor of the Vatican Library, Giovanni Santa Maura, with whom Federico Borromeo had close contact since his stay in

Rome. He copied several manuscripts for the Ambrosiana. The Ambrosiana is particularly interested in Borromeo's life and correspondence. Half of his letters have been transferred in the last years into the database: at the moment it includes 40,000 letters in 196 folders, the originals are spread all over Europe. Since 1993 the Accademia di San Carlo has begun to reproduce and catalogue this material in the form of a CD ROM in an analytic index in five volumes, and in the website of the library itself. A very illustrative introduction shows the four possibilities of research (place, names, civil or religious institutions).

This volume gives a varied presentation of European libraries from their foundation during the period of humanism until the present with their prospects for the future. Particularly the last part shows very well how some of the most important libraries are trying to protect their precious collections and how they use different databases and new technology to make the manuscripts, books, prints, etc., accessible while conserving them at the same time. Besides some small errors, such as the wrong indication of the call numbers of the Vatican manuscripts (pp. 120f.) as Cod. Pal. Lat. Vat. which means a mixing of two sections Pal. lat. and Vat. lat. and therefore creates confusion and anyway they are missing in the index of manuscripts, or transferring the Marciana to Florence (p. 193), this publication is a very instructive representation of the library system and of the integration of modern database systems to make the treasures accessible to a larger field of interested people and to make an important contribution to cultural development. The two indices at the end (personal names and manuscripts) make the volume very accessible.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana   CHRISTINE MARIA GRAFINGER

Juan van der Hamen y León and the Court of Madrid. By William B. Jordan. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. 336, 170 black and white and 75 color illustrations. $ 60.00.)

Juan van der Hamen y León (1596-1631) is the most influential Spanish still life painter of the seventeenth century. His still life paintings manifest the progression from a calculated reduced representation of objects mainly in their natural state and in rural settings, such as the one created by Juan Sanchez Cotan (1560-1627) around 1600, to an introduction of a rich and diverse range of motifs in which fruits, vegetables, flowers, and pastries, along with magnificent jugs imply the royal court of Madrid.

Although there also exists in Van der Hamen's still life paintings allusions toward Antiquity, pursued by early artists and elitist collectors of such works of art, it is precisely the variety of motifs and the great number of paintings that determine the creation of a genuine market for this new genre of painting. In the 1620's, this market was completely dominated by Van der Hamen and continued to be strongly influenced by him well up to mid-seventeenth century.

Forty years after having shown to a specialized, thus limited, audience his extensive knowledge of the painter through his doctoral thesis (published only in microfilm), William B. Jordan with this monograph which has accompanied both in English and Spanish versions Van der Hamen's exhibitions in Madrid (Palacio Real, October, 2005 to January, 2006) and Dallas (Meadows Museum, February to May, 2006), organized likewise by Jordan, presents the greatest compilation of information regarding this painter of Flemish roots, who died at the age of 35. However, the author not only limits himself to the still life output, a facet of Van der Hamen's works praised by many contemporaries of the period such as Francisco Pacheco or Lope de Vega, but he also aims to represent the artist in the complete extent of his artistic output and place him amongst the most important painters of the Spanish Baroque. For this reason, portrait and religious painting take up an important part of the book.

The extraordinary talent of Van der Hamen as a portrait painter is proven by the fact that there were no other painters during his lifetime as praised as he was by his contemporaries for his portraits. In this sense, it is very revealing that Cardinal Francesco Barberini preferred his portrait painted by Van der Hamen to the one Velazquez painted of him. Interesting also is that amongst the twenty portraits that are listed in the painter's inventory, carried out in 1631, portraits of intellectuals as well known as Lope de Vega, Francisco de Quevedo, and Luis de Gongora can be found.

For the patronage in Spain, extremely interesting is the identification—presumed by other historians but here explicitly mentioned for the first time—of a noblemen such as Jean de Croÿ, II Comte de Solre (Plate 28, private collection). The great vertical couple *Still Life with Vase of Flowers and a Dog* (Plate 29) and *Still Life with Vase of Flowers and a Puppy* (Plate 30), currently in the Prado Museum, can be found amidst the works carried out by Van der Hamen for this captain of the Royal Guard of Archers.

The *San Isidro* (Plate 1, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland) painted in the context of the beatification (1620) and the canonization (1622) of the patron saint of Madrid and the recently rediscovered *Saint John the Baptist in Prayer* (Plate 2, Madrid, private collection), are early examples of religious paintings in Van der Hamen's work. Only a few years later, between 1624 and 1625, paintings of the barefooted Augustinian nuns were completed for the Convent of the Incarnation, located in the immediate proximity of the Alcázar. The *Adoration of the Apocalyptic Lamb* (Plate 17) is worthy of mention as it reflects the exegesis of the Revelation of Saint John by the brother of the painter, the theologian Lorenzo van der Hamen. The painting that simultaneously serves for the glorification of Saint Augustine and the commemoration of the first prioress of the Convent, Mother Mariana of Saint Joseph, namely, the painting of Saint John the Evangelist, becomes prominent as the prophet of Revelations not only because of the frontal lighting of his reddish-green clothing but also because it may be a self-portrait of Van der Hamen.

His masterpiece of religious output is nonetheless the *Apparition of the Virgin Immaculate to Saint Francis* (Plate 52, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art) painted for the Convent of Holy Isabel of Kings in Toledo. The saint engrossed in his vision is perhaps one of the most refined figures of Van der Hamen's work. The exceptional realism is matched by the faces of the angels and flowers placed at the foot of the Immaculate, carried out with great expertise.

More than a simple monograph of the artist, the book seems to be a cross section of the society of Madrid in which the data collected during a task of investigation of more than four decades creates an exhaustive view of Spain in the first half of the seventeenth century. The abundance of information and its rigorous use lead one to await with great anticipation the detailed catalogue of Van der Hamen announced by Jordan for the year 2009.

Goethe-Institut, Madrid   FELIX SCHEFFLER

The King's Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church. By George W. Bernard. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 736. $40.00.)

The King's Reformation charts the religious twists and turn of Henry VIII's reign, beginning with Henry VIII's questioning of the validity of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. In the period 1527-1533 Henry consistently threatened the Pope with unilateral action in England to secure the divorce if the Pope did not comply: the Royal Supremacy, we are told, was a possibility from the beginning as the essential ideological framework was present. The visitation of the monasteries in 1535, and the subsequent dissolution of the less economically viable houses in 1536, stemmed from a genuine reforming impulse, not financial motivations. Henry's attitude toward monasticism in general only deteriorated as a result of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Although the King's reformation led to changes in doctrine and worship, it did not introduce continental evangelical reform, but was rather initially inspired by Erasmian humanism. The changes, however, were so substantial that the nature of religion afterwards cannot simply be characterized as an interpretation or rethinking of pre-1530's Catholicism, but should instead be recognized as partially radical and unique to Henry's kingdoms. In light of the opposition Henry VIII faced from conservative quarters, Bernard argues against the notion that English subjects complied with religious change because they negotiated the reformation for their own profit. Rather, it was Henry's tyrannical suppression of outspoken critics that silenced men across the religious spectrum. In contrast to historians who depict religious policy in the 1530's and 1540's as contingent upon the influence of competing factions on the King, Bernard instead describes a monarch in control of his church and episcopate, who assiduously pursued a considered *via media*. Even those assemblies which were ostensibly debates among the leading clergymen to determine doctrine, were, apparently, con-

ducted along lines prescribed by the King. The *King's Reformation* takes issue with interpretations that suggest that Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, and other leading evangelicals were attempting to influence Henry into a more reformist religious stance. Bernard's Cromwell was not continually pursuing his own, more evangelical agenda, but instead was emphatically a Henrician, while if Archbishop Cranmer influenced anything, we are assured, it was merely the details, not the direction of religious policy. Readers who are relatively unfamiliar with this area should be aware that Bernard assumes a large degree of background knowledge of both events and historical debate. The balance of Bernard's book is also somewhat problematic. While early opposition to the Divorce and Supremacy, and the Pilgrimage of Grace receive substantial attention, some areas which do not easily fit Bernard's picture of a king-driven and coherent *via media* are discussed only relatively briefly, most notably the debates in 1537 which led to the drafting of the *Bishops' Book* and the developments of the 1540's. The *King's Reformation* is undeniably an important contribution to the study of reformation in Henrician England, which will undoubtedly provoke much debate.

Pembroke College, Oxford   TRACEY A. SOWERBY

Lest We Be Damned. Practical Innovation and Lived Experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642. By Lisa McClain. [Religion in History, Society, and Culture, 6.] (New York and London: Routledge. 2004. Pp. xvi, 393.)

For a long time the historiography of Catholics in early modern England was dominated by debates about whether they were old-style, traditional Catholics, or the product of post-Tridentine missionaries. Lisa McClain has very usefully sidestepped that argument by asking what the Church meant to English Catholics in a world in which access to priests, sacraments, altars, pilgrimage sites, and all the other means of worship was banned, abolished, dismantled, and forbidden.

Her question is in keeping with current historiographical trends in English religious history, which see English Protestants creating their own new forms of personal faith in the post-Reformation period. McClain shows us that English Catholics were doing exactly the same thing. All English people were involved in the same process with similar roots. English Catholics saw themselves as the heirs and defenders of the true historical faith, linking themselves to the early Church in ways reminiscent of the way their Protestant neighbors were insisting that they were restoring the primitive Church. Moreover, Protestant separatists had an analog in English Catholics, whose Catholicism varied radically from that of their Continental co-religionists. They, too, were feeling their way toward new expressions of spirituality and worship that did not depend on the presence of ordained clergy or legal worship spaces.

McClain's book establishes a number of ways in which Catholics did this, and then explores Catholicism in Cornwall, London, and Northern England to illustrate how these new forms of Catholicism functioned in different settings. In doing this, she defines "Catholic" as anyone who believed in the sacraments and rituals of Catholicism. This sidesteps the definitions imposed by Protestant authorities and by Catholic purists, leaving a group with widely varying practices that helped them resolve some basic conundra: How does a Catholic worship without a priest to provide the sacraments? How does one function without sacred spaces? How does one maintain a spiritual life in the community of the saints when there is no visible community? Can one be a good subject of the English monarch or must one be obedient to the Pope in all things?

Using a wide range of sources, she reaches some stimulating conclusions. There were, she finds, several ways of being Catholic. The English Catholics maintained an historical identity with the martyrs and persecuted faithful of the past, drawing their strength from historical models of triumphant resistance. As the number of their martyrs grew, so did their identity with martyrdom as proof of their faithfulness. This way of thinking allowed them to see themselves as part of the whole communion of the saints. But what they did to stay in that communion varied. There were those who practiced a form of rosary-based mystical union, even, in some cases, arguing that the Mass was not necessary for communion with Christ. There were communities in which membership was maintained through prayer, and communities that shared Catholic books and catechisms. Prayers for the dead kept up their identity with the larger Catholic world, past and present. These communities, however, were English, and McClain demonstrates that the popes' refusals to understand the peculiar problems of English Catholics led the English faithful to distance themselves from obedience to Rome, relying on their own indigenous understanding of what it meant to be a faithful Catholic.

This is an important book that moves the study of English Catholicism into a new realm by insisting that its subjects be studied as they lived, not as an ideological subset. However, it prompts a desire for further work on the nature of Catholic communities. I suspect that the origins of English Catholicism are probably to be found in the intellectual and political confusion of the reign of Henry VIII and the compromises of the 1550's, rather than in the period after 1559.

Additionally, some of her players, like William Alabaster, moved between Protestant and Catholic faiths, and one suspects that they need to be put in their personal contexts if we are to understand what they really believed. Moreover, the communities she describes are not fully articulated, and their practices are sometimes very hard to nail down. Her question is one that she, and many others, will want to pursue further.

Utah State University   NORMAN JONES

Samuel Werenfels: Il dibattito sulla libertà di coscienza a Basilea agli inizi del settecento. By Camilla Hermanin. [Studi e Testi per la Storia della Tolleranza in Europa nei Secoli XVI–XVIII, Volume 7.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 2003. Pp. xii, 352. €33.00 paperback.)

Camilla Hermanin offers a broadly situated intellectual biography of the Basel theologian and professor Samuel Werenfels (1657-1740), concentrating in particular on his conception of the liberty of conscience within Reformed Protestant regimes. The book also includes Werenfels' *Epistola de iure in conscientias ab homine non usurpando* (1702) and thirteen letters from Werenfels' correspondence. Werenfels belonged to the triumvirate of Swiss "orthodox reformers" that included Turrettini in Geneva and Ostervald in Neuchâtel, who challenged the authoritarian approach to religious dissent they saw embodied in the *Formula Consensus Ecclesiarum Helveticarum Reformatarum*, which Basel imposed on all pastors and teachers between 1674 and 1723. In Hermanin's view, "the liberty of conscience was officially denied in Switzerland" (p. 12) through this document, which explicitly rejected seventeenth-century universalism, ecumenicism, and historical/philological approaches to the sacred canon.

Hermanin's first two chapters effectively introduce late seventeenth-century Basel and Werenfels' own life. Although the confessional views that ruled at the time might seem inhospitable to a moderate defender of consciences, Werenfels (scion of the Werenfels and Grynaeus dynasties) enjoyed an excellent education with the Cartesian Johann Jacob Hoffmann and the younger Buxtorff before completing his degree in theology under the influence of Johann Rudolf Wettstein, who had refused to sign the *Formula Consensus* but retained his chair. After formative journeys through Reformed Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, Werenfels joined the Basel faculty. Although Hermanin describes his career as restless, he successively occupied the chairs of Greek, Christian rhetoric, dogmatics, and the Old and New Testaments, as well as becoming rector of the university: his nonconformity and provocative publications may have caused awkward moments, but never interrupted his life. His first high-profile contribution set the tone by attacking the "logomachies" of religious controversialists of all stripes.

The remaining three chapters of Hermanin's book set Werenfels, and particularly his *Epistola,* in larger intellectual context. In Chapter 3, she argues that the irenic and humanist approach championed by Werenfels responded not only to external intellectual developments, but also had roots in Basel's own intellectual milieu reaching back to the era of Erasmus. Humanism and philology, as well as rationalism and natural law, shaped the way Werenfels and his reforming colleagues approached the problem of conscience and authority. In Chapter 4, Hermanin turns directly to the key question addressed in Werenfels's *Epistola:* the proper balance among power, law, and individual conscience. Although insisting on the ultimate sovereignty of the conscience, Werenfels fully recognized the authority of magistrates to preserve an ordered society in

which orthodox doctrine enjoyed public encouragement and protection. His position thus remained inside the cultural framework of early modern orthodoxy, even if his insistence that reason provided one foundation for true faith pointed toward the paradoxes that eventually undermined the entire system. He also remained consistently Erastian in his conviction that the magistrate might punish "professed Christians who act against the teachings of Christ" (p. 219), whereas theologians should play a limited role in such matters.

The book's final chapter addresses European responses to Werenfels' work by looking at two specific conflicts. During the Bangorian controversy in England, Werenfels' *Epistola* was translated by the Latitudinarian and Erastian thinkers supporting the Bishop of Bangor's defense of royal authority to tolerate dissent. In the Netherlands, ironically, the same work was republished (with a crucially modified title) to support the Reformed church's authority against alleged Socinians during the Stinstra affair, recently analyzed by Joris van Eijnatten. In both cases, the debate involved not traditional persecution of heresy, but rather the limits of clerical and state authority in the face of learned individuals' interpretation of Scripture. Hermanin's erudite study therefore helps characterize a distinctive phase of Reformed Protestant debates over religious toleration, though one soon marginalized by the very different approaches growing out of Spinozan and later Enlightenment thought.

University of California, Riverside   RANDOLPH C. HEAD

Ruś Restored: Selected Writings of Meletij Smotryćkyj 1610-1630. Translated and annotated with an introduction by David Frick. [Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature English Translations: Volume VII.] (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2006. Pp. lxx, 810. $32.50.)

In the seventeenth century, the Ruthenian Orthodox church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was split between those supporting and those opposing the Union with the Roman Church concluded by their metropolitan and bishops in 1596. As layman, monk, and archbishop, the grammarian and polemicist Meletij Smotryćkyj (Meletii Smotryśkyi) (1577?-1633) was among the most eloquent and prolific opponents of the Union. Then, around the age of fifty, he formally converted to Catholicism—first covertly, then openly—and became a leading proponent of the Union.

David A. Frick has published a number of articles on this enigmatic and controversial churchman as well the biographical-philological study *Meletij Smotryćkyj* (1995) and the introductions to the facsimile editions of his *Collected Works* and *Jevanhelije učytelnoje* (Homiliary Gospel) (Volumes I and II of the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, 1987). The present work comprises nineteen translations (mostly from Polish) of selected

works and selections from works, most of which appear in the aforementioned facsimile volumes, to which references are provided. In addition to several letters (two of them to Pope Urban VIII), a number of Smotrytskyi's writings are translated in their entirety: *A Verification of Innocence* (1621), *A Justification of Innocence* (1623), *Apology* (1628), *A Protestation* (1628), and *Paraenesis* (1629). In footnotes, Frick supplements incomplete biblical citations, supplies many that are missing, and provides historical and textual references. The 53-page introduction guides the reader through Smotrytskyi's life and works. A brief but useful glossary is followed by a list of cited works, an index of biblical references, and an index furnishing valuable biographical information.

Most interesting historically as well as psychologically is the period from 6 July 1627 to mid-August 1628, when the secret Catholic convert remained an Orthodox archbishop seeking to bring together the Uniate and Orthodox sides. Based on a close reading of the texts of this time, Frick speculates that Smotrytskyi may have felt most comfortable as "a man in the middle" (Introduction, p. lv). He is probably correct in suggesting that the hierarch "may have been pursuing a plan for a unified particular Ruthenian Church in somewhat looser union with Rome, perhaps under the immediate jurisdiction of a Ruthenian patriarch in Kyiv" (ibid.). Smotrytskyi's vision of East-West unity was to some degree shared by the Uniate metropolitan Iosyf Veliamyn Rutskyi as well as the Orthodox metropolitan Peter Mohyla, and in the twentieth century by the Greek-Catholic metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi. In Smotrytskyi's view, however, the Orthodox could only achieve union among themselves and with Rome by reforming their church and cleansing it of Protestant-inspired heresies. Without union, he feared, some might convert to Protestantism and the rest to Latin-rite Catholicism, leaving neither an Orthodox nor a Uniate Ruthenian church (see *Paraenesis* at p. 618).

Frick's translations flow easily and gracefully while preserving Smotryskyi's Baroque complexity and rhetorical verve. Perhaps the most absorbing reading is Smotrytskyi's lively and immediate account in the *Protestation* of the dramatic events surrounding the Kyiv Orthodox council of August 1628, when the crypto-Uniate hierarch saw his *Apology* publicly condemned and, after Cossack threats, was compelled to sign a revocation, which he promptly withdrew.

Smotryskyi's writings leave an impression of a truth-seeker committed to rescuing the Ruthenian church first through reform and then, after much reflection, through union with Rome. Or does this impression merely testify to the success of his rhetorical strategies? The publication of these translations invites the historian, as well as the theologian and the philologist, to explore these and many other questions.

Rockville, Maryland   ANDREW SOROKOWSKI

Religion and Royal Justice in Early Modern France: The Paris Chambre de l'Édit, 1598-1665. By Diane C. Margolf. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies 67.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2003. Pp. xx, 227. $36.00 paperback.)

Diane C. Margolf here offers the first archival investigation of the Paris *Chambre de l'édit*, most important of the courts established to protect the legal rights of French Protestants under the terms of the Edict of Nantes. The Edict, issued by Henri IV in 1598, aimed at ending more than thirty years of war between Catholics and Protestants in France.

The Edict of Nantes and the courts it established were not an unqualified success, however. Margolf's exploration of the *Chambre*'s records reveals several reasons why this was so. The courts were not independent but, rather, branches of the *parlements*, royal courts of appeal that dominated the judicial systems of the French provinces. Most of the *parlements*' judges were Catholics, which made it difficult for the subordinate Catholic-Protestant courts to act decisively in defense of Protestant rights. Just as the Paris *parlement* had the largest jurisdiction of any court in the system, so its *Chambre de l'édit* was the court of last resort for Protestants all over northern France. Yet it never had more than one Protestant judge.

Margolf divides the *Chambre*'s cases into three groups. The first covers lawsuits arising from actions taken during the wars of religion. The court had to decide what constituted religiously motivated crimes and what fell under the king's command that the violence normal in wartime should be forgiven, if not forgotten. Next come the numerous cases due to intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants and the familial disputes that resulted. Finally, Margolf considers slanders, violence, and judicial malfeasance caused by tensions between the two religions. In most situations, the *Chambre* did little to bring about genuine denominational reconciliation, but it did force both Catholics and Protestants to accept royal justice as the thread binding the French nation together.

Margolf has thoroughly explored the *Chambre*'s records. The book's greatest fascination comes from the stories of individual men and women trying to achieve justice with dignity in a world still riven by confessional prejudice. Most of the work focuses on the first two decades of the seventeenth century, and the author has made little effort to correlate the *Chambre*'s work with outside events. It would have been interesting to know if the number and nature of cases changed after the Protestant rebellions of 1621-1628 or the Fronde of 1648-1653. Nonetheless, this is important reading for any scholar of early modern French history and should certainly interest anyone concerned about the long-term effects of religious violence upon society.

University of Northern Iowa   CHARLOTTE C. WELLS

Les jésuites à Lyon XVIᵉ–XXᵉ siècles. Edited by Etienne Fouilloux and Bernard
   Hours. [Collection Société, Espaces, Temps.] (Lyon: ENS éditions. 2005. Pp.
   274. €32.00 paperback.)

The thirteen studies on Jesuit history presented here, papers given at a con-
ference held in Lyon in September 2002, all show a high level of scholarship,
offer a wealth of information drawn from extensive research, and are interest-
ingly written, from the introduction by Bernard Hours to the conclusion by
Etienne Fouilloux.

Part I, consisting of five studies on "L'ancienne Compagnie," the Society of
Jesus before the Suppression in 1773, begins with Yann Lignereux's "Une
implantation difficile: controverse religieuse et polémiques politiques (1565-
1607)." This first stage of Jesuit presence in Lyon, after a few years of tensions
mainly with King Henri IV, seems to have resulted in general feelings of esteem
among the Lyonnais for the Jesuits. Annie Regond's article tells of a very gifted
and famous Jesuit architect at the Collège de la Trinité, Brother Etienne
Martellange. Stéphane van Damme's insightful article, "Le corps professoral du
college," offers much information on the stress on scholarship and the way the
Jesuit province of Lyon consistently devoted resources to the school. Sophie
Roux offers a very interesting article on another very gifted individual Lyon
Jesuit, Father Honoré Fabri (1607-1688), who in his day was well known in the
field of philosophy of nature. Yves Jocteur-Montrozier's "Des jésuites et de la
bibliothèque municipale de Lyon," is an especially valuable report on the role
of the Jesuits in the building of their large, much-admired library, confiscated
by the city at the Suppression.

Part II, "Le temps des collèges," moves into the nineteenth and twentieth cen-
turies. Philippe Rocher very competently traces significant developments in
teaching in Jesuit education in Lyon from 1850 to 1950. Bruno Dumons, in
"Jésuites lyonnais et catholicisme intransigeant," offers an extremely interesting
study of the role of a number of Jesuits in supporting and inspiring Catholics of
the traditionalist, anti-liberal, anti-Third Republic viewpoint. The strongly anti-
clerical Republic outlawed Catholic schools in 1901, and Patrick Cabanel's arti-
cle tells how the Lyon Jesuits managed to re-create one of their schools in exile
in Bollengo, Italy. Bernard Delpal's study of Lyon Jesuit work in Lebanon focuses
on their major printing house and their Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut, both
of which became very influential in spreading not only Catholicism but also
French culture in the Near East. Both Jesuits and anti-Jesuit government offi-
cials, as he notes, wanted to advance French civilization there.

In the third part, "Les défis de la modernité," Lyon Jesuits are shown to have
been prominent in some social and religious controversies. Pierre Vallin, S.J., in
"Les jésuites à Lyon et la question sociale," offers much specific information on
the involvement of some Jesuits in inspiring activism for social justice from the
mid-nineteenth century on.

A most interesting and detailed article by Bernard Comte, "Jésuites lyonnais résistants," tells of some thirty Jesuits of Lyon who participated in the resistance to Nazi and Vichy rule during World War II. Henri de Lubac was prominent among them. In the longest (twenty-five pages) and most timely study in the volume, Claude Prudhomme and Oissila Saaïdia tell of Lyon Jesuit work in the Near East to promote understanding of the Arab Muslim world through research in Muslim literature and history. Both the French government and the papacy from Pius IX on supported these efforts. Also most interesting is Dominique Avon's article on the Jesuit theological school at Fourvière (Lyon) which in the 1940's-1950's incurred the suspicion of the Vatican. Would that there were more space here for the names (e.g., again de Lubac) and other specifics of this regrettable eve-of-Vatican Council II event. Etienne Fouilloux's concluding essay on the French Jesuits' progress in the last two centuries from anticlerical hostility to general esteem is full of insightful comment. This whole volume provides a wealth of specific information and very scholarly discussion of significant people and developments.

Loyola University of Chicago   RICHARD F. COSTIGAN, S.J.

Late Modern Europe

Souverain et Pontife: Recherches prosopographiques sur la Curie Romaine à l'Âge de la Restauration (1814-1846). By Philippe Boutry. [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 300.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2002. Pp. xviii, 785.)

This hefty volume is not for the casual reader. But it provides a wealth of information for researchers on nearly any subject dealing with the Papacy and the Roman Curia during the Restoration period of the nineteenth century. As the title indicates, the Popes of that period were not only pontiffs, but sovereigns as well, princes of the second largest of the pre-unification Italian states.

Boutry's work provides the reader with a highly detailed study of the Papal Government of that age, from the restoration of Pius VII in 1814 until the election of Pius IX in 1846. Because of the idiosyncratic nature of the Papal administration, the regime had both spiritual and political aspects, not always clearly distinguished from one another. One of the most troublesome issues that Pius IX faced was how to acquit his duties to his secular subjects in the Papal States, while still maintaining his position as head of the Universal Church.

Boutry sets out to present the details of this intricate organization in two phases. He portrays the Roman Curia in all its labyrinthine complexity, then gives a thumbnail biography of each cleric or layman who held one or more positions in those offices. Although the book appears at first to be just a complicated profile of an outdated bureaucracy, it also provides a fascinating glimpse of a unique ecclesiastical state which has vanished forever. Although

this society disappeared less than two centuries ago, the close blending of Church and State gives it an "other worldly" look to the modern reader. It is also a pleasant surprise that the author maintains a great deal of clarity in such a multifaceted study.

In the first section, the author describes the structure of the Papal government, with a capsule explanation of the history and function of each office, as well as a precise, dated list of all those prelates who served in those offices during the Restoration period. This section fills about 300 pages. In addition to the Sacred College of Cardinals, the list includes a large number of Congregations (permanent and temporary), Tribunals, Curial Secretariats, and such institutions as the Pontifical Chapel and Pontifical Family. The catalogue concludes with a detailing of the Legates and Delegates (who were the clerical governors of the civil provinces), and of the thirteen foreign Nunciatures.

It is in this first section that the careful reader will reap the most interesting reward. Some of the Congregations (State, Holy Office, Index, and Propaganda Fide) are familiar, but others reflect the secular side of the Papal States. There is a Congregazione di Buon Governo, resulting from a 1588 reform of Sixtus V to provide the communes near Rome with officials who were more interested in efficient government than political careerism. There are departments to oversee water supply and road maintenance, as well as the military administration for the Papal army. There were presidencies to supervise the grain supply and the oil and cooking fats for the city of Rome, which had more hungry mouths than the local farmers could easily feed. The administrative governors of the State's twenty-one provinces were all clerics. The five most important provinces were called Legations, each governed by a Cardinal Legate. The others were Delegations, governed by a Delegate, who had to be a bishop. The Pontifical Chapel included the Latin Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. But there were also the Prince Assistants to the Pontifical Throne, including hereditary members of the Orsini and Colonna families, as well as the ceremonial Senator of Rome. Finally, there were the appointments of Apostolic Preacher, always a Capuchin, the Confessor to the Pontifical Family, always a Servite, and the Sacristan of His Holiness, always an Augustinian Canon.

In the second section, the author provides a more detailed biographical portrait of each cardinal, prelate, or curial official who served in any capacity in those offices. These pages account for the remainder of the book, and contain over 800 personal stories. As mini-biographies, they are not extensive, but do contain meticulous references to each office the individual ever held. Among the names are not only future Popes, but major players in the religious and political struggles which make the Restoration period so fascinating. Secretaries of State such as Bernetti and Lambruschini rub shoulders with conservative *zelanti* Cardinals like Altieri and Della Genga, and semi-liberals like Cardinals Gizzi and Amat, and Monsignor Corboli-Bussi, who supported Pius IX in his early reforms.

The fruits of this exhaustive research might be especially useful to illustrate how the structure and functions of the Curia have changed from that time. There is a useful index of names for all the curial officials, but the table of contents is even more helpful as a detailed schematic for the entire work. All things considered, this work is a captivating insight into the final decades of the Papal States, which played a crucial part in Church History for well over a millennium.

Carmelite Institute   LEOPOLD GLUECKERT, O.CARM.
Washington, D.C.

Monseigneur Duchesne et les Bollandistes: Correspondance. Edited by
    Bernard Joassart. [Tabularium hagiographicum, 1.] (Brussels: Société des
    Bollandistes. 2002. Pp. 252. €50,00 paperback.)

Scholars of modernism are well aware of Monseigneur Louis Duchesne (1843-1922), a distinguished historian who introduced a generation of Catholic scholars in France to the methods and findings of professional history. Less well known to modernist scholars are the Bollandists, Jesuits dedicated to critical hagiography, but they, too, promoted modern historical methods at a time when many in the Catholic world viewed such historical work with suspicion.

The correspondence between Duchense and the Bollandists that is collected in this volume covers virtually all of Duchesne's professional life, from 1878, the year after he earned his doctorate, until shortly before his death in 1922. Over these years, he exchanged thirty-five letters with Charles De Smedt (1831-1911), twenty with Albert Poncelet (1861-1912), and fifty-seven with Hippolyte Delehaye (1859-1941), as well as a few letters with others, that remain extant. Unfortunately, parts of the correspondence are lost. For example, the first letter from Duchesne is dated December 29, 1889, eleven years after the beginning of the exchanges. De Smedt's sixteen letters to Duchesne from these years clearly indicate that the correspondence was mutual, and indeed his first letter implies that Duchesne was the one to initiate contact. Despite such gaps, the correspondence gathered in this volume allows the reader to follow Duchesne and his Bollandist friends through the tumultuous years of the modernist crisis as they faced suspicion and sometimes the condemnation of their efforts by ecclesiastical authorities.

In general, the correspondence reflects the professional interests of the participants, as Joassart notes in the introduction. Duchesne and the various Bollandists share their reactions to new books and to other scholars, and they offer suggestions and appraisals about the work that each other is doing. More interesting to contemporary scholars, however, will be their responses to the larger ecclesiastical, political, and theological developments of their day, particularly the condemnation of modernism. In his introduction, Joassart draws attention to a letter of November 9, 1907 from Duchesne to Delehaye. In this letter,

Duchesne distanced himself and Delehaye from (unnamed) modernists on the one hand and from the papal condemnation of modernism in the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* on the other. At the same time, Duchesne acknowledged that times were grim and that he and his correspondent were at risk.

In the most touching letters, Duchense and his various correspondents express their mutual esteem and support. For example, when De Smedt expressed gratitude to Duchesne for his work on De Smedt's behalf (in a letter now lost), Duchesne replied that he was only giving De Smedt his due. After all, the normally caustic Duchesne asked, "do you not believe that Bollandism is one of the greatest scientific causes of modern times" (p. 112)? De Smedt expressed similarly warm respect for Duchesne's work.

Joassart's presentation of this correspondence is outstanding. His twenty-three-page introduction provides background information for all of the participants in these exchanges, which is particularly helpful in the case of the individual Bollandists who are mostly unfamiliar even to scholars of the period. The annotations are exhaustive, offering brief biographical sketches of the various figures mentioned in the letters and, where possible, elaborating on otherwise obscure details. As a consequence, the reader can better appreciate the significance of the scholarly judgments the correspondents shared with each other. An index of names enables the reader to follow references to individuals of interest. Altogether, then, this collection is a welcome contribution to contemporary scholarship.

Berry College   HARVEY HILL

Catholic and French Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France. By Joseph F. Byrnes. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 278. $50.00.)

Joseph Byrnes argues that Catholicism has played an essential role in French self-identity, even during republican periods when state institutions forcibly erased the nation's religious past. In the *ancien régime*, religion was the nation's "foundation"; during and after the Revolution it served as "antithesis"; since the Great War it has been a "parallel force." Byrnes pursues his argument by means of seven chapter-long case studies (five previously published) arranged under three chronological headings: the "Divorce" between nation and religion during the revolutionary period; the "Defense" of religion from 1802 to 1914 (i.e., Concordat to wartime "Sacred Union"); and a postwar "Détente" enduring into the present. Each chapter stands on its own and may be read as such. The overall narrative is unified by an extended historical overview preceding each of the three chronological divisions. The combination allows readers to access the material in different ways: it offers unique micro-histories (some based on rare archival sources) allowing voices of the time to speak; and, for those who want or need more, a large narrative arc under which to situate those smaller stories.

In the first section, titled "Divorce," the first (and perhaps strongest) chapter presents first-person testimonies of revolutionary-era priests who signed the constitutional oath, those who later abdicated the priesthood entirely, and those who in the end retracted their oaths and returned to the fold. "In 1772," wrote one abdicator of his ordination, "I was forced to appear before a man who was dressed as a woman" (p. 30). A second chapter, utilizing documents expressing the frustration of authorities, argues that revolutionaries' attempts to transfer Catholic sensibilities of the "sacred" to festivals of "Reason" and "Nature" were "completely thwarted" (p. 55). A third chapter highlights Chateaubriand and Destutt de Tracy as binary prototypes of the conflict between post revolutionary "neo-Christian intellectuals" and rationalist *Idéologues*. In Chateaubriand's *Genius of Christianity* (1802) we have the first attempt at making "cultural Catholicism" palatable for a non-believing audience. As with Napoleon himself, although the nation might not practice religion, France could not be divorced from its religious patrimony.

In the second section, titled "Defense," chapter four narrates the mid-century invention of Chartres as a pilgrimage destination. It is striking to see just how political the religious pilgrimage was: a democratized form of travel made possible by trains and leisure, it was viewed as an act of "public and national reparation" in expiation for "public and national crimes" such as the Revolution (p. 96). Chapter five, one of the less successful studies, contrasts the effects of using (or not using) regional languages for catechesis in Alsace (German) and Roussillon (Catalan). As Byrnes acknowledges, the decline in Roussillonnais church practice might have had less to do with linguistic causes than with social and economic ones (pp. 137, 144).

In the third section, a period of "Détente" is inaugurated by the Third Republic's call for a "Sacred Union" (1914) against the German menace. Chapter six follows two bitterly opposed enemies into the trenches: religious priests and laicist teachers. Life in deadly close quarters shows each that they have more in common than they thought. As with the earlier century's pilgrimages, the language of "reparation" for national sins (used by priests to make sense of their own "sacrificial" deaths on behalf of the Republic) is striking (p. 160). A seventh chapter, on art historian Émile Mâle, complements the Chateaubriand chapter ending the "Divorce." Both writers appealed to France's religious artistic past to repair wounds of a preceding bloodbath. Once again, "cultural Catholicism" became palatable to a non-believing national public, allowing it to see religion as an integral part of its national identity.

However, ending the study this way leaves the work on unsure footing. Most of the chapter (twenty-two out of twenty-nine pages) deals with Mâle's works published *before* the war (in 1898 and 1908, i.e., during the bitterest years of the church-state conflict). If the war's "*union sacrée*" (1914) is proposed as the cause that initiated a "détente," one is left with a conclusion necessarily non-committal: "The political and social détente of World War I and the cultural reconciliation *before and after the war* represented a type of resolu-

tion of the Catholic and secular nationalist struggle. . . " (p. 209, emphasis added). One should note that the Act of Separation of church and state (1905) ended a century-old Concordat (1801-02), not one in effect for "more than two hundred years" (p. 152). (Note also that Jesuit Father Yves de Montcheuil was not one of the "liberal, engaged, Catholic theologians" after the war. He was shot by the Gestapo on 10 August 1944.)

If "détente" denotes a balance of "parallel forces," is it an accurate way to describe France today? A recent landmark poll conducted on behalf of the Catholic daily *La Croix* found that only 5% of the French population (2.8 million out of 60 million citizens) attends Mass at least once a month. *La Croix* attributes much of this collapse in religious practice to a rejection of the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (1968). The cultural Catholicism of Chateaubriand and Mâle might well have been integrated into French national identity "forever." However, if institutional Catholicism has lost the force that once threatened republics, one is tempted to call the outcome not a détente but rather a defeat.

Boston College   STEPHEN SCHLOESSER

Caritas: un siècle de charité organisée en Alsace. La Fédération de Charité du Diocèse de Strasbourg 1903-2003. By Catherine Maurer. (Strasbourg: Éditions du Signe. 2003. Pp. 157. €14,00.)

Works of charity are central to Christianity, and so, accordingly, one might expect that charity would figure at the center of historical studies of the Church. Histories of charitable institutions have, in fact, proliferated over the past generation, but the rationales for these works have not always been apparent. Since history is limitless, the story of an institution should not be recounted simply because it *can* be recounted, but because the institution made a difference in the cumulative history of its home society, culture, and nation. The subtitle of *Caritas* is–in English—"a Century of Organized Charity in Alsace." A historian might start on the drama of Alsace in the Europe of World Wars I and II (and, before that, in the era of the Franco-Prussian war) and then proceed to the charities that responded to the trials of the period. Catherine Maurer did this in her book, *Le Modèle allemand de la charité. Le Caritas de Guillaume II à Hitler* (Strasbourg, 1999). But the present book is really an album presenting the history of the essentially clerical administration of La Fédération de Charité—Caritas d'Alsace. Maurer brings the talent of a historian to bear on a series of administrative records and correspondence in a tribute to the institution. This work, then, was designed for admirers of the institution rather than for anyone, historian or interested lay person, who comes with substantive questions about the relationship of religious and national identity, of institutional progress and cultural products, or of political and religious authority conflicts—although these issues are adverted to along the way. It is a celebration of dedicated priests and nuns, especially of the founder and subsequent head, Father Paul Müller-Simonis, who, coming from wealth himself,

knew well how to make good use of it. Although internal tensions receive little attention from Maurer, they probably do not merit anything more. The year-to-year running of the institution is at the center of the narration here, but the resourceful reader can see how institutional life was buffeted, and then interrupted, by World War I and by the later Nazi conquest. As for the charitable works themselves, readers may wish that the Alsatian outreach to North Africans and other Muslims could be explored for detail and meaning. Printed on glossy paper, the study benefits from a large number of photos in a series of unnumbered pages at the end of the volume, which help to offset the dry statistics necessary to give solidity to the institutional history.

Oklahoma State University   JOSEPH F. BYRNES

The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850. By Emmet Larkin. (Dublin: Four Courts Press; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 298. $69.95.)

Professor Emmet Larkin has had a curious place in studies of the history of modern Irish Catholicism. His most significant contribution has been a pioneering article, published in 1972, on the origins of the exceptional piety of the twentieth-century Irish. Two generations of religious historians have debated Larkin's concept of a "devotional revolution" occurring roughly between 1850 and 1875, during which the Irish became, for the first time, "practising Catholics." Yet Larkin himself has offered no significant further contribution. Instead he has sought to build on the themes set out in a second early piece, from 1975, in which he analyzed the long-term development of the Irish political system in terms of the interaction of three entities that he labelled Church, State, and Nation. Here the years have been less kind. As detailed research has highlighted the sectional and ambivalent nature of successive nationalist movements in nineteenth-century Ireland, and the multiple accommodations and ambiguities that characterized the country's position within the United Kingdom, the quasi-Hegelian abstractions represented by Larkin's "State" and "Nation" have come to seem increasingly irrelevant. Yet Larkin himself has remained committed to his original design, elaborating it in no less than seven large volumes devoted to an exhaustive account of the high political correspondence of bishops and statesmen.

The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church promises, at first sight at least, to rectify this anomaly. It is the first of two volumes "conceived as history from the bottom up" (p. x) and intended to complement the political narrative by examining the Church's wider role within Irish society. Yet the actual focus of this first instalment is remarkably narrow. In effect the volume comprises four essays. Of these the most important traces the emergence of the distinctive Irish institution of the "station," whereby priests twice annually visited selected houses throughout their parishes to celebrate Mass, hear confessions, and administer communion. The station, Larkin argues convincingly, was essential to

the pre-Famine Church's impressive achievement in maintaining some level of popular belief and practice in the face of a debilitating shortage of manpower and church accommodation. The other three chapters are considerably more limited in scope. Two, on the ratio of priests to people and on church building, are devoted to an exhaustive discussion of already fairly familiar statistics. A fourth promises a "qualitative analysis" of the lower clergy. In practice, however, it is devoted mainly to a discussion of the mechanism for appointing bishops. Larkin's central argument, that a lay revolt against the Church's willingness to grant the British government a say in episcopal appointments weakened deference toward hierarchy, and that the delay in establishing a workable system promoted clerical faction, has some merit. But it is hard not to feel that the space devoted to this single issue is a reflection less of its real importance than of its prominence in the archival record. As for the devotional revolution, we are offered only two pages on the pattern of church attendance. These suggest that Larkin has moved away from his original suggestion of a transformation of religious attitudes to the alternative thesis that what took place was primarily a shift in the balance between social classes, as death and emigration among the laboring poor conferred numerical and cultural predominance on an already fairly pious farming class. But the point is not developed; in particular the crucial boundary between these two supposed social groups is only loosely sketched. We must hope that the second promised "bottom-up" volume, on the period 1850-1880, will elaborate on what remains Professor Larkin's enduring contribution to the history of Irish Catholicism.

Queen's University, Belfast   S. J. CONNOLLY

Archbishop Charles Agar: Churchmanship and Politics in Ireland, 1760-1810. By A. P. W. Malcolmson. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2002. Pp. xvi, 678. £60; $75.00.)

Charles Agar (1735-1809) came from a Kilkenny landowning family which controlled four to five seats in the Irish Parliament. As Bishop of Cloyne (1768-1779), Archbishop of Cashel (1779-1801), and Archbishop of Dublin (1801-1809), he was the most prominent political and administrative defender of the Church of Ireland's interests in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and a leading government manager in the Irish House of Lords. After the Anglo-Irish Union (which he supported on being reassured it would not endanger Protestant Church interests), he was an influential Irish representative peer at Westminster (he was created Baron Somerton in 1795 and Earl of Normanton in 1806). Deeply suspicious of Catholic relief legislation, Agar allegedly first instilled in George III the theory that royal assent to the admission of Catholics to parliament would breach the Coronation Oath.

Agar carefully publicized his achievements in his lifetime and left an extensive archive—in the Hampshire Record Office since 1957, heretofore neglected by historians of Ireland. His descendants, however, failed to sponsor a

biography, and Agar's historical reputation was left to the criticisms of his polit-
ical opponents, taken up and magnified by Victorian moralizers; he is thus usu-
ally seen as oppressing his country for political advancement, alienating dioce-
san property to enrich his family, and allowing the medieval cathedral on the
Rock of Cashel to fall into ruin.

Dr. Malcolmson draws on his unrivalled knowledge of eighteenth-century
Irish archives to challenge this assessment. This is not so much a conventional
biography as a series of interlocking essays – on Agar's family connections, his
diocesan activities, his role in the Irish administration at a time of war and
rebellion. Through extensive comparisons with the careers and attitudes of
other contemporary bishops, it becomes a cumulative study of the Church of
Ireland in the eighteenth century.

Malcolmson emphasizes that while Agar is remembered as a politician, he
thought of himself as a churchman first and foremost. In this role Agar showed
himself a capable administrator, legislator, and man of business, who far out-
shone his episcopal contemporaries. The accusation that Agar enriched himself
by alienating diocesan lands is wildly exaggerated (it derives from a lease
which unquestionably involved conflict of interest, but involved financial risk
and profited succeeding Cashel bishops as well as Agar's descendants; Agar
made his fortune on the stock market, unlike some asset-stripping episcopal
contemporaries). The medieval Cashel cathedral had been irretrievably ruined
by previous bishops; Agar, who was a scholar possessed of considerable musi-
cal and architectural taste, was zealous in building churches (including a
replacement cathedral) and glebe-houses, enforcing clerical residence, and
conducting visitations. While he did engage in nepotism (exhorting the bene-
ficiaries to higher standards of conduct, with mixed results) and was luke-
warm though apparently sincere in his religious sentiments, Malcolmson
robustly and convincingly argues that by the standards of his time he was a
"gentle reformer" who sought to reallocate the resources of the church to pro-
mote greater efficiency while minimizing reliance on state aid (since this
brought increased dependence on an Irish landed elite notoriously suspicious
of clerical aggrandizement).

Malcolmson argues that the eighteenth-century Church of Ireland was
fatally hindered by the extra-ecclesiastical responsibilities incurred by its place
in the system of government, by its financial system (which devoted the bulk
of resources to funding individuals rather than institutions, and encouraged
suspicions about financial malpractice), and by successive administrations'
appointments of politically-reliable English-born bishops over Irish clergy. (He
provides scathing vignettes of some colleagues and rivals, such as Archbishop
Robinson of Armagh—now revered for his building-work in Armagh city, but
presented here as a peevish valetudinarian primarily concerned with enrich-
ing his relatives.) Malcolmson suggests that if Agar had not been passed over
for the sees of Dublin (in 1778) and Armagh (in 1794 and 1800), he might have
provided his church with the energetic and effective Irish leadership it failed

to achieve until the early nineteenth century, and adjusted better to the challenges of the nineteenth century. No student of eighteenth- (and to a lesser extent nineteenth-century Ireland) can ignore this provocative book.

Dictionary of Irish Biography   PATRICK MAUME

Victorian Churches and Churchmen: Essays Presented to Vincent Alan McClelland. Edited by Sheridan Gilley. [Catholic Record Society Publication, Monograph Series, Vol. 7.] (Rochester, New York: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 387. $80.00.)

This volume of sixteen essays, honoring Vincent Alan McClelland, Emeritus Professor of Educational Studies at the University of Hull, who is internationally known for his writings on education, as well as on Victorians, especially Cardinal Manning, appropriately reflects these dual interests of the honoree.

The first four essays consider various aspects of Manning's life and ministry: his ambivalent attitude toward the Education Act of 1870 (Jeffrey von Arx), his pastoral attentiveness both to the sick, personified by Priscilla Maurice (1810-1854), sister of the Anglican theologian Frederick Denison Maurice (Peter Erb), and to the repentant in the person of Virginia Crawford (1862-1948), a socialite divorcée (Robin Gard), as well as Manning's promotion to the episcopate of a reluctant protégé, Henry O'Callaghan (1827-1904), who speedily resigned as Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle (Leo Gooch). The next two essays survey the work of religious communities: Randal Lythgoe (1793-1855) and the Jesuits in Victorian England and Wales (Maurice Whitehead) and the "partnership" of Benedictines with the British Empire and in the United States (Aidan Bellenger). An interlude is then provided by a well-documented, but rather stream-of-facts, account of "Varieties of Modern Scottish Catholic Conservatism" in the twentieth-century—the one essay that seems tangential to the Victorian theme (Bernard Aspinwall).

No collection of Victoriana would be complete without a bit of religious controversy—in this case the horrendous outcry over a reportedly "imprisoned" Polish nun, Sister Barbara Ubryk (1817-1891), who became a *cause célèbre* in the British press (Rene Kollar). More conventional studies are provided by the biographical sketch of the historian Bernard Ward (1857-1920), long-time president of St. Edmund's College, Ware, and short-time Bishop of Brentwood (Stewart Foster) and an examination of "conversion" in nineteenth- and twentieth-century English literature (Joseph Pearce). Of special theological interest is an essay that proposes a thematic correlation between the "interdependence" of the sciences in Newman's *Idea of a University* with a similar ecclesiological "interdependence," first between the *ecclesia docens* and the *ecclesia discens* in his "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine" and secondly between the triple offices—Prophetical, Priestly, Regal—in his 1877 preface to the *Via Media of the Anglican Church* (Wulstan Peterburs).

A bicentenary appraisal of the educational work of Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), the well- known Headmaster of Rugby (David Newsome), is followed by a discussion of Tractarian involvement in national education (1838-1843), which provides an often overlooked background to Newman's "Tamworth Reading Room" (1841) and *Idea of a University* (James Pereiro). Two companion portraits of influential but lesser-known educators follow: the work of Henry Kingsmill Moore (1853-1943) on behalf of the schools of the Church of Ireland (Susan Parkes) and the role of John Scott (1792-1868) in the development of the Wesleyan educational system.

The finale is a lengthy and extensively documented discussion of "the controversial use of the Caroline Divines in the Victorian Church of England," which shows that both Tractarians and Evangelicals were prone to selectivity in their appeal to seventeenth-century Anglican theologians, whose theology in fact possessed a "deep-seated ambiguity" (Peter Nockles). A list of selected publications of the honoree and an index complete this testimonial collection that has a wide ambit of articles, which, while varied in content, have the merit of being well researched and well written and so help expand the horizon of Victorian studies.

The Catholic University of America   JOHN T. FORD

Der Begriff des Politischen in der russisch-orthodoxen Tradition. Zum Verhältnis von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft in Rußland. By Konstantin Kostjuk. [Politik- und Kommunikationswissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Görres-Gesellschaft, Band 24.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2005. Pp. 409. €55.00 paperback.)

Kostjuk's ambitious goal is "the analysis of the specific political understanding of the Russian Orthodox cultural crisis" in post-Soviet Russia's "transition from the premodern to the modern social order" (p. 12). The book, originally a dissertation for the Catholic University of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, builds on the author's extensive earlier sociological, political, and philosophical studies of contemporary Russian Orthodoxy, but now from a broad historical perspective.

The first part of the book is a chronological survey of key ideas of church, state, and society from classical antiquity and the Old and New Testaments through the Church Fathers and the Byzantine Empire, to Russia from Kievan times until the present. Part 2 covers the same ground using systematic philosophical and theological categories, such as the image of man, the idea of freedom, the church and the world, the Byzantine concept of symphony, what the author calls the "theology of total power," and *sobornost'*, a uniquely Russian concept denoting at once community, unity, and universality. Parts 1 and 2 provide the basis for an extensive analysis in Part 3 of the Russian Orthodox Church's stance in the post-Soviet era, particularly as expressed in its Social Doctrine, officially adopted after extensive discussion in the summer of 2000.

Some comparisons are made with Western thinkers such as Augustine, Aquinas, and Montesquieu.

Kostjuk's broad historical perspective is impressive, and he effectively shows how Orthodoxy's ideas and attitudes were influenced by the political context, for example, how in Byzantium and Russia, church thought followed Eusebius of Caesarea's dictum that "the one God, the one king in heaven, the one royal Nomos and Logos corresponds to the one king on earth" (p. 225), or how the church's exclusion from the secular sphere after Peter the Great shaped the course of religious thought.

In addition to explaining the political implications of such key concepts as tradition, symphony, kenosis, and *sobornost'*, Kostjuk clearly summarizes the thought of a wide range of figures, from Church Fathers like John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa, to such Russian churchmen as Joseph of Volokolamsk and Feofan Prokopovich, nineteenth century Slavophiles, religious philosophers like Nikolai Berdiaev and Sergei Bulgakov, and, more recently, Fathers Aleksandr Men' and Aleksandr Schmemann. Presenting the material first chronologically, then systematically, entails, however, some repetition and means that the reader must look for the ideas of, say, Vladimir Solov'ev in several different sections.

Kostjuk argues that the Russian Orthodox Church should reject rigid traditionalism and its historical deference to state authority and instead endorse such positive features of modern society as individual rights, the rule of law, and civil society, much as the Roman Catholic Church did in the Second Vatican Council. Liberal thinkers like Bulgakov and Solov'ev and the concept of *sobornost'*, according to Kostjuk, provide a basis for the church to play an effective role today. He is hopeful that the 2000 Social Doctrine, with its comprehensive, and on the whole, openminded, analysis of politics and social issues, even a qualified endorsement of the right of resistance, can offer the "church a way into modernity" (p. 359).

Kostjuk's emphasis on ideas and concepts sometimes leads to questionable historical conclusions. While Alexander I's policies can be described as "mystical" and "universalist," they were not primarily "Masonic" (p. 84). To claim that "thanks to the influence of the Slavophils," Russia in 1880 was on the verge of a representative monarchy greatly exaggerates their impact. Nor did they "inspire . . . the Russian, Slavic oriented foreign policy in the Balkans" (p. 246). Also, are church-state relations in today's Russia really comparable to those in France, as he claims on page 346, since religion has some public role in the former but is totally excluded in the latter?

The book includes extensive footnotes and a comprehensive bibliography, particularly of recent Russian and German studies. While such important terms as *sobornost'*, *derzhavnost'*, *mir*, and *bogochelovechestvo* are carefully defined and discussed in the text, a glossary would have been helpful.

This thoughtful and comprehensive survey of the Russian Orthodox Church's political thought is particularly valuable as the church seeks its proper role in post-Soviet Russia and the world while remaining faithful to its tradition.

Saint Louis University   DANIEL L. SCHLAFLY, JR.

Edith Stein: The Life of a Philosopher and Carmelite. Authorized and revised biography by her Prioress Sister Teresia Renata Posselt, O.C.D; edited by Susanne M. Batzdorff, Josephine Koeppel, and John Sullivan. (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications. 2005. Pp. xx, 372. $15.95 paperback.)

In this new edition of the Reminiscences of Prioress Teresia Renata Posselt of the Cologne Carmel concerning Edith Stein, which she decided to write because of her shock at Stein's cruel death in the Shoah and the destruction of Europe's Jews, Edith Stein's niece, the author Susanne M. Batzdorff, translated the first six chapters of Posselt's memoir into English.

Father John Sullivan, Director of the Institute of Carmelite Studies in Washington, D.C., translated Chapters 7-12. He dealt mainly with Edith Stein's philosophy. Sister Josephine Koeppel, who long ago opened an Edith–Stein-Center in her Carmel in Elysburg, Pennsylvania, has become best known in Edith Stein research in Europe through her valuable translation of *Life in a Jewish Family.* She translated Chapters 14-21 of this book. This new edition differs from the earlier one in two important ways: First, the chapters are recast in a text that follows Posselt's German original more closely; second, the biographical data are amplified by notes, commentaries, and bibliographic information. A detailed chronology of Edith Stein's life, photographs of her times, and maps of the major locations she visited have been included. Gleanings offer comments and background information, and errors and misunderstandings have been corrected. Where passages have been removed, they are cited in the "take-outs," and the reasons for such alterations are explained. Examples of Koeppel's sober analyses are that Edith Stein lived in the so-called parental home on Michaelisstrasse only since 1910, since her mother, an able businesswoman in Breslau, frequently moved her residence in response to the growth of her flourishing lumber business. Prior to World War I, independent enterprise flourished as did the advancement of women. These trends were destroyed for the most part through the inability of the German emperor William II and Hitler. Edith Stein once mentioned that her mother experienced some trouble in her married life, but such things were not generally talked about at that time. Therefore, the translators omitted Posselt's description of a "very happy marriage with Siegfried Stein."

When I met Josephine Koeppel in Germany, I was amazed at her American independence with which she investigated all over Europe. For me she was a ray of hope in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, for which Edith Stein

and people like Teresia Renata Posselt helped to create a theological and spiritual basis.

On pages 347-353 passages are listed which could lead to misunderstandings, e.g. the religious philosopher Erich Przywara (who was not a Nazi) says that Edith Stein "did not look Jewish." Bibliographic footnotes and commentaries are meant to counter such ambiguities or explain them for today's readers, for example: "The Jews crucified Jesus, therefore they must now wander like Ahasver all over the world." Or such comments as "Edith Stein was very modest, something that was not usually the case with Jewish women." Such prejudices paralyzed many Germans, so that during the Nazi period they were hardly able to rescue their threatened fellow citizens. Such anti-Judaisms are omitted from the text but cited in the so-called "Take-Outs."

What was it that connected Posselt with Edith Stein in friendship? Surely the fact that both lost loved ones in World War I; surely that they were not sufficiently recognized as highly gifted, professionally active women in the German society of their time. Only the research of Theresa Wobbe, sociologist at the University of Erfurt, who investigated more closely the relationship of Edmund Husserl and Edith Stein, has shed new light on this topic. Many women in the Weimar Republic longed for an independent existence as women in a free democratic state, but their hopes were blocked for thirty years by Stalinism and National Socialism.

When I entered the partly destroyed Carmel in Cologne in 1953, my fellow novice Ilse Becker and I were drawn to the Order by reading Posselt's book about the fate of Edith Stein. We both were privileged to experience the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). Due to the efforts of Pope John XXIII, it developed into a reform council and addressed many concerns of Edith Stein, such as the greater spirit of brotherhood and sisterhood within the Church, respect for other churches, respect for the Jewish people, for Israel.

Teresia Renata Posselt said to me: "We Sisters have noticed that, after World War II, the churches did not ask about Edith Stein, but rather her Jewish relatives and friends, scattered throughout the world, her former colleagues, many of whom were not religious. They first posed the worried question, `Where is our beloved, revered Edith Stein?'"

Edith Stein not only enriched philosophy as a thinker, she not only advised many people as a highly qualified letter writer. She also contributed as a woman to the renewal of the Church through her clear discernment and her unbiased honest humanity which she learned particularly from her Jewish family and culture.

Edith Stein was admitted to Carmel in 1933 in order to participate in establishing a new foundation in Breslau. But neither Posselt nor Linke, the subprioress, ever considered letting her go.

Teresia Renata Posselt had the personality, the competence, to depict a fate such as that of Edith Stein, the philosopher, in writing and thus make it known worldwide.

Every page of this book shows something of the love and intelligence of Edith Stein, her friendship with notable people such as Archabbot Raphael Walzer, Vicar General Schwind, Speyer, Adolf Reinach, Anne Reinach-Stettenheimer, Hedwig Conrad-Martius, and many young students and colleagues, especially her last contacts with Dr. Meirowsky, the sisters Annemarie and Elfriede Goldschmidt, the Portuguese Sister Judith Mendez da Costa, and others.

These remembrances made concrete by Posselt were very important, especially in the postwar period, when, especially in Germany, but also in Europe, awareness of the crimes against the Jews was largely suppressed. The manner in which Posselt collected the documents concerning the last days of Edith Stein's suffering allows us to sense the terrible reality much stronger than any purely objective analysis of the deportations and gassings. Posselt's personal consternation that a human being whom she loved had to suffocate in the gruesome environment of Auschwitz at the hand of the Nazis can move people even today to take greater responsibility for politics and Church.

Edith Stein Karmel, Tübingen   Waltraud Herbstrith

Pie XII: Diplomate et Pasteur. By Philippe Chenaux. (Paris: Les éditions du Cerf. 2003. Pp. 462. €28 paperback.)

Chenaux was on the spot when the Vatican archives rendered accessible to researchers its holdings concerning relations with Germany during the pontificate of Pope Pius XI (1922-1939). Since the person most concerned with Vatican relations with Germany was Eugenio Pacelli, first as nuncio in Munich and Berlin, then as Pietro Gasparri's successor as Secretary of State, these archives enabled Chenaux to write the first rigorously scholarly biography of Pius XII, as the book cover boasts. It has one notable advantage over the many treatments of Pius XII and the Shoah: it alone to date can put the silence of Pius XII in the context of his earlier and later years, his formation, experiences, and conduct of office behind and around that silence.

The epilogue states the thesis about the two roles named in the subtitle, "diplomat and pastor." By training and experience a diplomat, with his pastoral orientation sidelined, he confronted the impotence of diplomacy as Hitler prepared his invasions. As pope, then, from 1939, he turned more to the pastoral mode of protecting his flock as best he could, in Rome and elsewhere under Nazi rule. He did this without abandoning for some time the policy of "impartiality" which he had imbibed as Benedict XV's envoy during World War I. He did not conceive his pastoral duties as broadly as Pius XI had, however, and in effect was willing to forgo moral denunciations for the sake of a more press-

ing *salus animarum* (p. 413). Only the war years brought him to opt for a Western victory, though he feared it would favor the Soviets as well.

A chapter (pp. 267-304) is devoted to the "Jewish question" and his silence in regard to the "final solution." This may seem like short shrift, but actually Chenaux seems to cover all the relevant bases, except that he does not wonder more about the failure of Pius to come back to the calamity after the war. When Jacques Maritain asked him to reprove anti-Semitic killings in Catholic Poland after the Nazis left, the pope told him that he had deplored all such acts in 1945, addressing a delegation of deported Jews who had come to thank him for his wartime aid. Chenaux asks, "The pontiff had the feeling that he had done his duty, but did he have much idea of the extent of the tragedy suffered by the Jewish people and above all of the possible partial responsibility of the Church in the unleashing of the Nazi horrors?" Postwar conditions and the imperative of defending Western civilization from Communism, it would seem, "dictated other priorities" (p. 304). Was he suffering any pangs of conscience for not having spoken out for Poland before the war? "The least one can say is that defending the territorial integrity of Poland did not figure among the aims of the Holy See's peace policy in the waning days of August 1939" (p. 237).

Chenaux acknowledges the quality of historical research on the pope's silence by such historians as Michael Phayer, Susan Zuccotti, Giovanni Miccoli, and Renato Moro. Beyond this prevailing question that besets the process for the pope's beatification, Chenaux lays out a wealth of information on the official life of Eugenio Pacelli in all its many ramifications and puts many an episode in a new light. This handsome volume is not a personal or spiritual biography, but a valuable account, based in large part on archival research, that in all likelihood will stand alone as such for a number of years.[1]

Marquette University, Emeritus   Paul Misner

Un Diplomatico Vaticano fra Dopoguerra e Dialogo: Mons. Mario Cagna (1911–1986). Edited by Alberto Melloni and Maurilio Guasco. [Santa Sede e Politica nel Novecento, 1.] (Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino. 2003. Pp. xii, 389. €32.00 paperback.)

This book consists of seven scholarly articles, two memorials, an archival list, and twenty-nine primary documents intended to illustrate the context of the life and career of Archbishop Mario Cagna as a Vatican diplomat. Cagna was born in Lu in Piedmont in 1911, was ordained in 1934, and studied at the Gregoriana before entering the papal diplomatic service in 1937. After short

[1]Readers of *The Catholic Historical Review* will note with chagrin that it is dubbed *The Historical Catholic Review* (HCR) and that Cardinal Stritch becomes "Stricht" (p. 376).

postings to Holland and Peru, he was assigned as the secretary to the apostolic nunciature to Italy between 1949 and 1962. Between 1962 and 1966, while the Second Vatican Council was in session, Cagna served as internuncio in Japan, being named pro-nuncio in 1966 just before his departure. He returned to Europe to become one of the facilitators of the new Vatican *Ostpolitik* as apostolic delegate to Yugoslavia. In 1970, after the restoration of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Holy See, he was appointed apostolic nuncio in Yugoslavia, becoming the first postwar nuncio in eastern Europe. In 1976, he transferred to Vienna as apostolic nuncio to Austria, where he served until his retirement because of ill health in 1984. He died in 1986.

The articles explain the context of the various periods in Cagna's life and career. Bruno Ferrero explores the history of the parish of Lu in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to determine why that parish produced a large number of clerical vocations, concluding that it was due to the effectiveness of the lay organizations, rather than to the inspiration of the clergy. Gianni LaBella discusses the situation in Peru in the 1940s and the impact on the Catholic Church of the replacement of a conservative government by a liberal secular government. Augusto d'Angelo writes of the apostolic nunciature in Italy under Archbishop Francesco Borgoncini Duca, the first nuncio, indicating that the preferred route for any business transpiring between Italy and the Holy See during the 1950s and the 1960s was between the Italian ambassador to the Holy See and officials in the Vatican Secretariat of State. The nunciature to Italy, consequently, had very little work to do. Nicla Buonasorte has studied the unique situation of the Catholic Church in Japan, where that church was very much in a minority and had to coexist with Shintoism and Buddhism to the extent that some Catholics practiced all three religions.

The last three articles deal with Vatican *Ostpolitik*. Andrea Riccardi offers a summary history of the relationship between the Holy See and the Soviet Union from the papacy of Benedict XV to that of Paul VI. After John XXIII had initiated an opening to the east, Paul VI continued this *Ostpolitik* through negotiations with the governments of eastern Europe in spite of the fact that these negotiations produced few benefits for the Church. Luigi Bianco writes of the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and the Vatican following the signature of the Protocol of 1966, which had been negotiated by Monsignor Agostino Casaroli as one of his first initiatives in the area of *Ostpolitik*. Bianco also describes the work of Cagna as the first nuncio. Alberto Melloni, in looking at "*Ostpolitik* and its Men," indicates that the Catholic Church was seriously divided over the program of *Ostpolitik*, with many of the opponents of that policy being found among the churchmen of eastern Europe and with many being willing to criticize the apparent doggedness with which the policy was followed by Paul VI in spite of minimal results.

In their own right, the articles are well conceived and valuable contributions to our knowledge, especially d'Angelo's work on the Italian nunciature,

Riccardi's effective summation of the development of *Ostpolitik*, and Melloni's discussion of church opposition to *Ostpolitik*. What, however, seems to be missing from virtually all the articles is any discussion of the personality, career, and role of Mario Cagna. Cagna's work is, in fact, really only mentioned at any length by Bianco in his article on Yugoslavia, and even there he provides little analysis of Cagna's personal impact on the course of history, quoting instead from speeches, such as the one that Cagna made in presenting his diplomatic credentials to President Tito, which is hardly a source of personal revelation. The reader finishes the book wondering why and how Cagna rose as he did in the Vatican diplomatic service and what influence, if any, he had on the course of events. The two memorials included deal with his time as nuncio to Austria and are laudatory reminiscences provided by friends. The documents also come from his time in Austria and include the texts of homilies, radio messages, and New Year's addresses to the President of Austria.

By providing a study of the context for Mario Cagna's life and career without examining his life and influence, the editors leave this reader completely puzzled. Without developing any explanation of the significance of Cagna's life and career, the individual articles are isolated studies of various topics without any apparent linking device or rationale. Instead of providing readers with a "life and times" of Archbishop Cagna, this book gives us only the "times" and none of the "life."

University of New Brunswick   PETER C. KENT

American

The Old Religion in a New World. The History of North American Christianity. By Mark A. Noll. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. 2002. Pp. xii, 340. $24.00 paperback.)

Finding out about a book on how European religion fared in the New World, one can safely expect a "must read" if the author is the one authority on evangelical Protestantism and has also published widely on American religious history as on the history of Christianity in general–and the reader will not be disappointed in his expectations.

What sets the book apart is the emphasis on what is American about religion in America to begin with but also the combination of comprehensive narrative and analytically reasoned treatment of such recurrent if not perennial issues like church-state relations, concepts of pluralism, or the relation, if any, of religious practice and theology.

The first one of these characteristics makes for good reading, because it focuses the story Noll is providing, whereas the second one leads to a book

divided or two books in one. The author was aware of this risk and took it deliberately. He "divided" the book as he says between some chapters "offering a sketch of developments in a specific historical period and others attempting a more general interpretation of a major theme or circumstance."

Therefore, one can read seven of the twelve chapters (jumping one that is interspersed and ignoring four others that follow) as a comprehensive but nevertheless wide-ranging description of how the old European forms of Christianity developed in and adjusted to America. One effortlessly follows the author from the period of colonization through the era of national formation that already showed distinctly American religious forms, the nineteenth century, when the Protestant influence peaked, the interwar period of the last century that saw the first cultural wars between Protestant fundamentalism and modernism, to the 1960's when Protestantism at first looked more like "a very rough general category for non-Catholic Christians than a cohesive religious force," and finally the years since, which witnessed "a shifting balance of power among the churches, several new movements of spiritual renewal, and increasing antagonism with some secular elements in the broader culture."

Then there are the other chapters on the "Separation of Church and State" or on "Theology" which Noll may have set aside because he felt they would not lend themselves to the same easy, flowing narrative style, because he was relying more on and referring to the work of other scholars or for whatever undisclosed reason.

In fact these chapters provide excellent summaries of specialized literature and could serve as an introduction to the research on specific issues. They show a remarkable range of knowledge which, for example, allows Noll to summarize Philip Gleason's in-depth study on Catholic higher education and intellectuality in a few strokes of a brush.

But the same can be said of the way in which Noll summarizes Nathan Hatch's work in one of the historical chapters, when he is dealing with "The American Revolution." On one hand Noll's whole book, in the more historical chapters as well as in the others, is so much a masterly condensation of all the relevant literature, that any author not mentioned must feel bad and on the other hand the more theoretical chapters are also written in very accessible style.

In short the subdivision fails to convince, but even this is a minor deficiency in this eminently learned, lucid, and enlightening book.

Universität Bayreuth   MICHAEL ZOELLER

The Penitente Brotherhood: Patriarchy and Hispano-Catholicism in New Mexico. By Michael P. Carroll. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 260. $45.00.)

A gifted, lucid writer and a great narrator of fiction, the Canadian sociologist Michael Carroll takes a revisionist orientation in examining an often misunderstood group, the Penitente Brotherhood of New Mexico. Notoriously characterized for "public flagellation," the Penitente Brotherhood's practices have been sensationalized, objectified, and labeled deviant. Revisiting history by using secondary sources of data, Carroll presents the Penitentes anew; a final chapter is devoted to a psychoanalytic interpretation of masculinity, repressed desire, and angst among the Brotherhood.

While most researchers acknowledge that the Penitente Brotherhood, a community of Hispano men who gathered based on common religious interests, arose out of the lack of priests in the Southwest during the 1800's, Carroll challenges this finding. Carroll asserts the emergence of Penitente activities reflect a search for patriarchal authority in response to changes brought about by Bourbon Reforms. In this vein, he contradicts the long-standing view that the Penitente Brotherhood either emerged as a product of Spanish Catholic settlers or was a carryover of the Franciscan Third Order. Suggesting the Penitente Brotherhood spontaneously emerged from economic and social changes, this compelling political-economic perspective contradicts existing literature, and boldly claims that Penitente rituals were not deeply religiously motivated and further, that Penitentes were not particularly religious at all. Carroll claims that moral guilt has prevented other researchers from attaining the same finding.

Perhaps the biggest shocker in the colorful text comes toward the end. Carroll warns readers prior to embarking on that final chapter: "Anyone for whom a good cigar is always and under all circumstances only a good cigar might want to skip the next chapter. . ." (p. 188). Here, Michael Carroll suggests that what fuels the behaviors of the Penitente Brotherhood is a latent homoerotic urge, and that Padre Jesus is the paternal figure in the Freudian analysis of oedipal guilt and rage. The perspective recalls Carroll's theoretical addiction (evidenced by Carroll's former books): psychoanalytic interpretations of religiosity. Given that Carroll makes such suggestions of those Penitentes from generations past, and does not utilize primary sources of data to support such assertions, his ideas can only be interpreted anecdotally, as they are both non-verifiable and lacking substantiation. Carroll acknowledges this limitation and also states, ". . . I am not suggesting that Penitente males were predisposed to overt forms of homosexual behavior involving genital penetration" (p. 205).

Presenting his interpretation as "a story" (akin to "ethnographic fictions" popular among some contemporary cultural anthropologists), Carroll's approach refreshes the literature. In this case, however, and different from

other contemporary scholarly writing which attempts to hear the perspective of the subaltern, the Penitente Brotherhood has no voice in the text. Given the lack of empirical evidence, and reliance on conjecture, the story reads as flamboyant melodrama. The consequence of such a textual approach positions the Penitente Brotherhood as a monolith, in precisely the same exoticized terms Michael Carroll claims to challenge in the Epilogue.

University of San Diego   MICHELLE MADSEN CAMACHO

The Columbia Guide to Irish American History. By Timothy J. Meagher. [The Columbia Guides to American History and Cultures.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 398. $47.50.)

The distinguished historian of Irish America Timothy Meagher has produced the first ethnic volume in the Columbia guides to American history. This volume is divided into five parts. The first examines the history of Irish America chronologically from colonial times to the present. In part two Meagher examines separately four major themes in Irish American history, respectively, gender and family, politics, nationalism, and race. The final three sections are a descriptive list of "people, organizations, events, and themes," a detailed chronology, and an annotated bibliography. In the process, Meagher and his research assistants, Henry Meagher, Joseph Turrini, Mary Elizabeth Fraser Connolly, and W. John Shepherd, have produced a succinct and a valuable synopsis of the Irish American experience which will be a must for the shelves of all those interested in the subject.

Meagher, however, moves beyond a mere synopsis to produce a very analytical account. This book is full of analysis, interpretation, and historiography. In the introduction he describes the historiography of Irish America, but also puts the Irish American story in the context of various ethnic theories. He dismisses the traditional model of counting immigrant versus natives traits "on some measuring stick of assimilation" and concludes that "plotting the changes in Irish American culture, therefore, is a messy business" (p. 9). The danger is that it becomes so "messy," because of the variance in Irish origins, religion, and region of settlement, that one may ask whether there is such a thing as "Irish America" at all? Meagher avoids this pitfall by acknowledging the commonalities in Irish American history. For example, he correctly accepts the "Scotch-Irish" as part of the story, even though their Irishness was sometimes very ambiguous. In the chronological section one sees similar themes emerging among the various groups of Irish in America. Through the generations then one can see their continued interest in Ireland, their participation at the lower and middle parts of the American economy, and their active involvement in American politics. Meagher highlights the exceptions to these rules, such as the new immigrants of the 1980's' disdain for traditional Irish American politics, but he still recognizes these usual themes.

Meagher recognizes this reality more explicitly in the second section, where he has a chapter devoted to Irish nationalism in America and one on the Irish in

American politics. From the United Irishmen to NORAID and from the Paxton Boys to the Daley machine the Irish have shown a keen interest in Irish and American politics respectively. But, he also acknowledges other less noticed themes. His chapter on gender and family is very important, not only because of his fine description of its historiography, but also because he highlights how much more needs to be done on the subject. Similarly, his chapter on the Irish and race is comprehensive in its examination. Here, in particular, Meagher provides a very sharp analysis of the whiteness debate and challenges what he describes as "the [axiomatic] notion that the non-white Irish became white" (p. 216).

Part three on people, events, and so forth is also excellent. Meagher and his assistants cover all the major figures and events, but also include less familiar Irish Americans such as Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, who emigrated to North America from County Cork in 1841. Although it is difficult to criticize such a comprehensive section, the one glaring omission here is Bishop John England, who although mentioned in one chapter, does not receive a biographical sketch. Indeed to broaden this criticism, Meagher could have had a whole section dedicated specifically to the Irish involvement in organized religion in the United States, an area, like politics, where Irish engagement continued across generations and denominations. Nonetheless, this work will take its place among studies by historians such as Kevin Kenny, Lawrence McCaffrey, and Kerby Miller as the first references given to those who ask for recommendations on the best histories of the Irish in America.

College of Charleston   DAVID T. GLEESON

All Things Human: Henry Codman Potter and the Social Gospel in the Episcopal Church. By Michael Bourgeois. [Studies in Anglican History.] (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. 299. $34.95.)

A graduate of Virginia Theological Seminary, where he was a classmate of Phillips Brooks, Henry Codman Potter (1835-1908) was rector of Grace Church, in New York City, from 1868 to 1883, and then bishop in the Episcopal diocese of New York from 1883 to the end of his life, serving the last 21 years as diocesan. His father was Alonzo Potter, the third bishop of Pennsylvania. Henry Potter is known for transforming Grace Church—widely regarded at the time as the most fashionable Episcopal parish in Manhattan—into an early example of an "institutional church." He built Grace House in 1877 as a headquarters for mission programs on behalf of the residents—mostly Germans—who lived in the surrounding neighborhoods. Soon Grace House was recognized as a vital social center, and its programs were carried on and developed by Potter's successor, William Reed Huntington. Henry Potter is also known as a representative of the Broad Church movement and as an advocate of the social gospel. He supported the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor (CAIL), labor unions and the fair arbitration of labor disputes, and better living and working conditions for laborers.

Bourgeois focuses on Potter as a representative of those Episcopal leaders who prodded the white establishment toward a greater social awareness during the years from the end of the Civil War to the beginning of the Great War. He sees Potter as a nineteenth-century evangelical liberal who "helped to institutionalize the social gospel within the Episcopal Church" (p. 21). Potter's theological liberalism was reflected in his acceptance of the higher criticism of the Bible and specifically in his ordination of the controversial biblical scholar Charles A. Briggs, who, as a professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York, had fallen afoul of that institution's conservative board of directors. This book, the eighth volume in the distinguished series Studies in Anglican History, sponsored by the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church, is based on Michael Bourgeois's doctoral dissertation. It is not a biography of H. C. Potter but an analysis of his moderately progressive social views on such topics as labor, international and domestic politics, temperance, and women. Regrettably, this book's origins as a doctoral thesis are all too apparent. The writing is wooden, repetitive, devoid of any sense of rhythm or style. The paragraphs are long and tedious. The indented quotations are long (like many of the author's sentences) and too numerous. Some background statements are of questionable value: "The conflict over slavery reached its peak in the Civil War. . ." (p. 5). Sometimes when one is reading the main text it is hard to know who is uttering the words of a particular quotation, and even the endnote may provide little help in identifying the author of the quoted statement (e.g., p. 28, n. 11). Some word choices are infelicitous: e.g., "utilize" (p. 88). This book would have benefited from more careful editing.

A chore to get through, this study does not overflow with compensatory rewards. A better approach would have been to take the dissertation and use it as the basis of a fully fleshed-out biography: one that offered an engaging account of this man's personal and professional story—its problems, its motivations, its trials and triumphs. Thereby some life could have been injected into the narrative, even some drama, and the book would consist of more than the quoting and analysis of a bishop's statements, which, then as always, tend to be too bland and general to really bite. In this book there is no rhythm at all; instead, the sound of the prose becomes a constant thrum, like that of heavy machinery.

Hood College   DAVID HEIN

To the End of the Earth: A History of the Crypto-Jews of New Mexico. By Stanley M. Hordes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 348. $39.50.)

More than twenty years ago, historian Stanley Hordes announced to the press and media that a substantial number of "secret-" or crypto-Jews who fled the Spanish Inquisition were among the founders of today's New Mexican Hispano community. His doctoral work of 1980 had previously compiled and organized existing documentation of a tragically ill-fated Portuguese crypto-

Jewish settlement in Old Mexico, from ca. 1500 to the mid-1600's. His book on New Mexico therefore has merit in its opening chapters, but only to the extent that he repeats his dissertation. It falls from grace in (1) conflation of America's indisputably Portuguese crypto-Jews with the indisputably Spanish founders of New Mexico, (2) egregious misrepresentation of work that disconfirms him, and (3) mislabeling of twentieth- century Adventist, Apostolic, and "Messianic" Protestant folkways (e.g., six-pointed stars on cemetery crosses, Saturday observance of the Sabbath, giving Old Testament names to children, etc.) as both "colonial" and "crypto-Jewish."

Hordes' historical violation of scholarship norms led to a first disconfirmation in 1996 (the article won First Prize for best publication by a graduate student from The American Folklore Society); the work was subsequently developed into a doctoral dissertation at The Folklore Institute at Indiana University, 2001. Hordes' pseudo-ethnographic claims have also been disconfirmed in the new edition of the *Encyclopedia of American Folklife* (in press for 2006), and most recently, in an article I was asked to write for *Patterns of Prejudice* (in press for 2006) concerning his pseudo-scientific use of disease as a Jewish ethnic marker, published as an appendix in this book.

To grasp the extent to which the book distorts New Mexico's historical, cultural, and genetic heritage, it is important to note that claims of crypto-Jewish descent preceded Hordes in the region, surfacing circa 1975 when previous claims to descent from Spanish conquistadors were finally disconfirmed. Claims to a prestige lineage—whether Spanish, or crypto-Jewish—have historically been used to assert an overvalued line of white ancestral descent throughout the multiracial Spanish Americas, a preferred phenotypical line of ancestry assumed in New Mexico for all conquistadors (and all Jews), but not for all Hispanos. Hence, when local claims of aristocratic white descent were disconfirmed, the notion of unbroken descent from (ostensibly monogamous white) Spanish Jews, hiding out among the neighbors, became the best, and perhaps the last, means of denying non-white admixture and restoring a local prestige lineage.

Hordes' 1980 arrival as a Jewish State Historian excited a spate of rumor, gossip, and hearsay surrounding "crypto-Jewish" (and therefore, ostensibly white) folkways. He thereby announced that a substantial number of Hispanos were in fact descended from crypto-Jews, their origins effectively forgotten. A physically small but vocally large group of Hispanos, their memories thus "restored," came forward to claim publicly the new prestige lineage. A similarly small and vocal group of academics—none of whom is a folklore specialist— also came forward to endorse the highly celebrated folk canon.

Except for greatly fortuitous timing, it is unlikely that this book of 2005 would ever have seen the light of print. That is, in January of 2006, Sutton *et alii*, out of Stanford University, published the first biogenetic study of New Mexican Hispanos in *Annals of Human Biology,* 33, no.1, pp. 100-111. This study found that for all relevant Y-chromosome markers, paternal ancestry of

New Mexican Hispanos is identical (except for 2.2 percent American Indian admixture) to that observed in modern, post-exilic Spain, and is highly significantly different from that of all Jewish populations, including Iberian Jews. Had Hordes' claims been based on solid research, there would be a higher rate of Iberian Jewish ancestry in New Mexico, reflecting a component of post-exilic Jews among the region's Spanish settlers. The evidence from New Mexican Hispano males is unequivocal; Hordes' claims are refuted by the genetic profile of this population.

The unsuspecting reader will certainly be misled by this book—not only on the history, culture, and genetic heritage of Spanish New Mexico, but on the nature and practice of scholarship norms.

Case Western Reserve University   JUDITH S. NEULANDER

The Early Works of Orestes A. Brownson. Volume VI: *Life by Communion, 1842.* Edited by Patrick W. Carey. [Marquette Studies in Theology, No. 46.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2005. Pp. iv, 532. $47.00 paperback.)

This is the sixth in Patrick Carey's projected seven-volume collection of Orestes A. Brownson's *Early Works.* The first volume appeared in 2000 (see *ante* 87 [July, 2001], 530-531.) All but the last of this volume's twelve selections were published in 1842, two years before Brownson was received into the Catholic Church on October 20, 1844. Carey takes the title *Life by Communion* from a philosophical doctrine of the French socialist Pierre Leroux (1797-1871).

As Brownson explained life by communion in the volume's central essay, "Leroux on Humanity," "the ME can never manifest itself, that is live, save in communion with the NOT-ME" (p. 276). This "metaphysical principle" helped Brownson to think his way out of the subjectivism of modern philosophy. Brownson's language—he speaks of the subject and object as "so to speak *soldered* together, or amalgamated as the acid and the alkali in the formation of neutral salt" (p. 254)—suggests that he may not have been entirely successful in dissolving modern philosophy's subject-object dichotomy. Nevertheless, life by communion incited in him "a theological revolution" (p. 189) that restored him "to the great household of believers," (p. 276), "touched his heart," and instilled in him "a love [for preaching] I never felt before" (p. 216).

Such is the language of religious conversion and Carey's fifty-four-page introduction argues that, during 1842, Brownson experienced a real religious conversion, one that he later explained as a discovery of God's freedom. This conversion enabled him to turn Leroux's life by communion to his own theological purposes and transcend the naturalism and subjectivism of Transcendental and Unitarian theology. The selections in this volume, arranged chronologically, take the reader through Brownson's intellectual and religious

odyssey from Transcendental theology to a kind of Romantic traditionalist theology that enabled him to save and reaffirm both the supernatural character of special providence and the ordinary workings of human nature understood according to life by communion. Carey's introduction, an expansion of Chapter 4 of his recent biography of Brownson, offers the reader an excellent guide. "The Mediatorial Life," Brownson's open letter to William Ellery Channing, and "Theodore Parker's Discourse" are the most theologically substantive of these essays, but in other essays Brownson applies life by communion to politics and society as well.

Brownson's son, Henry, reluctantly included some of these essays in his edition of *Brownson's Works*, four in a volume he entitled *Heterodox Writings*. Nevertheless, Carey's introduction, his arrangement of the essays, detailed editorial footnotes, and twenty-page index of names and subjects illustrate why this series belongs in all libraries with serious collections in the area of American religious history. This volume is particularly valuable. Not only does it make available key contributions of an often neglected participant in the debates of New England theology in the 1830's and 1840's, but it also gives the reader a sometimes touching glimpse into an expansive and brilliant Christian soul.

University of Dayton   WILLIAM L. PORTIER

Vale of Tears. New Essays on Religion and Reconstruction. Edited by Edward J. Blum and W. Scott Poole. (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 265. $49.95 clothbound; $25.00 paperback.)

In a series of twelve essays, Edward Blum and Scott Poole have presented various aspects of social religion and belief in the American Southland following the dismantling of Reconstruction in 1877. The focus is on religion as institution, culture, and religious thought. The major themes are (1) the religious basis of violence and race, sexuality, and segregation; (2) the religious thought and racism in the oppression of American blacks both North and South; (3) religious rhetoric and moral reform in the political arena; (4) Post-reconstruction thought in the Catholic South; and (5) religion and religious cultures during Reconstruction and beyond.

The articles present the framework of violence like the mythological framework of the Ku Klux Klan. The religious sentiment is Protestant. Politics and political power are dominated by religion and religious rhetoric. The authors present many of the well-known and lesser-known demagogues who were clerical leaders in the late nineteenth century.

On the other hand, David Gleeson in his article on the Catholic Church, both South and North, looks at the emancipation of the slaves. Prior to the Civil War, the Catholic Church was in many cases Southern in sentiment. After the war, the Church was paternalistic and inept toward the freed slaves.

Augustin Verot, bishop of Savannah and Vicar Apostolic of Florida and a passionate supporter of the South, had called for a new and sanitized slave system. With a complete reversal after the war, he called for the bishops to follow the lead of the Roman Curia and create a nationwide bishop or vicar to care for the spiritual needs and evangelization of four million freed slaves. In a handwritten document in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, never published or made public, the bishops in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore laid aside the Roman proposal after an angry discussion in an extraordinary session in 1866. Verot, almost alone, called for its adoption and related his plans for education for the former slaves in his diocese.

Kent McConnell in his article "Betwixt and Between" uses the cemetery at Mount Saint Mary's College near Emmitsburg, Maryland, as a geographical marker of Catholic sentiment by the Union and Confederate troops buried there some thirty miles from Gettysburg. The cemetery can be seen as a text revealing the feelings and sentiments of the priests, seminarians, students, and sisters in this small enclave in Maryland.

Regrettably one section of the Catholic community in the South has been overlooked. Stephen Ochs has written in *A Black Patriot and a White Priest* (Louisiana State University Press, 2000), the story of the Louisiana Native Guards.

At the beginning of the Civil War, the Native Guards—free people of color successors of the black militia of the Spanish Regime—were mustered into the Confederate Forces. With the fall of New Orleans in 1862, the Confederate army withdrew; but the Native Guards remained and joined the Federal troops under General Benjamin Butler, forming three regiments of Louisiana Native Guards. These troops, French in language, Catholic in religion, mostly free people of color and a few slaves formed the first black troops in the Union Army. On May 27, 1863, André Cailloux, captain of a company in the first regiment, led his troops in the assault on the Confederate stronghold of Port Hudson, where he and the ranks of black troops were mowed down, and the remnants of the company were forced to withdraw. Unlike the white soldiers, the bodies of Captain André Cailloux and the other black soldiers were forcibly left on the field of battle for over thirty days. Despised and rejected by the white Catholics, including the priests in New Orleans, the black soldiers were buried without Catholic services. One priest in New Orleans, Claude Pascal Maistre, originally from France, an abolitionist, censured by Archbishop Jean-Marie Odin, officiated at the funeral. From this same black Catholic community another voice emerged after Reconstruction. Adolphe Plessy, an Afro-Creole, was arrested for refusal to enter the segregated railroad car on the train from New Orleans to Covington, June 7, 1892. The case ended up in the Supreme Court. In 1896 the judgment of the Supreme Court in Plessy v. Ferguson upheld the constitutionality of racial segregation as long as the accommodations were "separate but equal." From this same milieu, black and Catholic, Sister Bernard Deggs of the Sisters of the Holy Family wrote down (1894-96) how God had worked in her community when he called them to use an aban-

doned house, one time a holding place for slaves, now used for the working of the community, a place "to expiate the crimes that had been committed there." (*No Cross, No Crown. Black Nuns in Nineteenth-century New Orleans,* eds. Virginia Meacham Gould and Charles Nolan. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.) To expiate the sins and crimes of slavery is a sentiment peculiarly Catholic and at the same time truly black.

St Meinrad Archabbey   CYPRIAN DAVIS, O.S.B.

Thomas Merton: Prophet of Renewal. By John Eudes Bamberger, OCSO. (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. xii, 132.)

A wise person once said: "When the student is ready, the teacher will appear." A basic theme of *Merton: Prophet of Renewal* is the timeliness of Merton's appearance on the monastic and ecclesial scene in the mid-twentieth century. It was a providential moment in the history of the Church and of the Cistercian Order, marking the end of a four-hundred-year era dominated by the spirit and theology of the Council of Trent with its tendency toward rigidity, legalism, clericalism, and defensiveness. It ushered in a new era: that of the Second Vatican Council. The Council witnessed a development in the life of the Church unparalleled in modern history. It was a pastoral Council seeking to update the Church and make the Gospel of Jesus Christ once again an influential force in a world that seemed to be leaving it behind. Thomas Merton embraced the Council wholeheartedly and, in his concern to see its directives implemented, placed at the service of his monastic Order and the Church his considerable gifts as a writer and a spiritual guide. His wisdom and insights helped many people (maybe more lay people than monks?) to grasp the crucial importance of the renovation envisioned by the Council: new ways of thinking and speaking about Christian Faith and the way we live it.

The eight chapters of this book represent the published version of eight conferences that Dom John Eudes gave to a Cistercian monastery in France in the late summer of 2000. The book leaves no doubt of the strong conviction Merton had that he was called by God to the prophetic role. His mission was to open up "new horizons for an old journey," as he expressed it in *No Man Is An Island.* It was an "old journey," for it respected the past, but it also searched for new horizons that would make that past grow and mature through living dialogue with the issues and concerns of contemporary life.

While written for monks, this is a book that reaches far beyond a monastic audience. Dom John Eudes makes clear that Merton's reflection on renewal of monastic life spills over into an understanding of the renewal that is needed in the Church. "[Merton] has had a large effect beyond the cloister and continues to fill an important reforming function in regard to the whole Church" (p. 13). Merton once described himself—in a letter to Pope John XXIII—as "a progressive with a deep respect and love for tradition." Authentic tradition, he

believed, must be faithful to the wisdom handed down to us, yet at the same time open to the insights and intuitions of the contemporary world.

If there was a wonderful timeliness in Merton's appearing on history's screen, I would want to add that there is a certain timeliness about the appearance of *Thomas Merton: Prophet of Renewal*. It is now nearly forty years since Merton's death and nearly sixty since his best-selling autobiography appeared. Over those years much has been written about Gethsemani's famous monk, too much, perhaps. Some of it is good; a lot of it mediocre. Dom John Eudes's book deserves a hearty welcome. Without question it belongs among the best. It abounds in refreshing insights into Merton that emerged from the author's relationship to Merton, first as one of his students, then as a fellow-monk, and finally as a collaborator in evaluating the young men who came seeking admission to the monastery. In the light of that unique relationship, this book offers helpful hints for getting the most out of reading Merton's writings. It is not that he writes of new topics. The themes he discusses (the writer, the reformer, the prophet, the contemplative self, the self-giving love so essential to contemplative living) are themes familiar to anyone with some acquaintance with Merton's writings. What Dom John Eudes has done is to place such familiar themes in new contexts that yield new understandings. It is a book that enables us to appreciate Merton's creative contribution to a much-needed and long overdue renewal of the Cistercian tradition as well as the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. This book deserves a wide readership.

Nazareth College   WILLIAM H. SHANNON
Rochester, New York

Canadian

Michael Power: The Struggle to Build the Catholic Church on the Canadian Frontier. By Mark G. McGowan. [McGill-Queen's University Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two, Vol. 27.] (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 382. Can. $49.95.)

Mark McGowan grabs and holds the attention of his audience, from beginning to end, in this important biography of Michael Power, first bishop of Toronto, Ontario. Born in Halifax in 1804, Power went to Montreal and Quebec City for studies. He never returned to work in Halifax but, ordained at twenty-two, stayed in the Montreal region. His education and early ministry gave him experience and knowledge of French such that, at age thirty-seven, he was nominated bishop of the newly-created diocese in 1841. Ontario was pioneer territory when Power was consecrated. Despite the lack of personnel, resources, and the basic amenities of life, Power accomplished a great deal in a mere six years, as McGowan reports. It is no surprise that he was universally mourned at his untimely death in 1847, resulting from typhus contracted while caring for sick diocesans.

Presenting the story, McGowan serves the local and national Church but also a much larger audience, as this really is a "Life and Times" biography. McGowan gives the reader a picture of the man who was devout in faith, loyal to the Church and Magisterium, and rigorous in application of church law, while utterly pastoral, a tireless worker, truly humble and far-reaching in his thinking and planning for the nascent diocese.

Just as important, McGowan paints a larger picture giving context to Power's story. From his background in Nova Scotia, to the province of Quebec, to Ontario, McGowan provides a picture of the Church with its various accomplishments, tensions, and "growing pains." This was when Canada was moving toward nationhood, with the colony itself experiencing "growing pains" as a result of imperial rule and tensions leading to various rebellions. The universal Church figures prominently through Power's loyalty to the pope and with the influence that ultramontanism had in Quebec and on Power himself.

Such things and more allow the reader to see the man and the environment that shaped him. McGowan makes it eminently possible for the historian to gain the significance of events by seeing them in their context. Further, as he did in his earlier work, *The Waning of the Green* (1999), he weaves together the institutional, sociological, and popular history, giving a complete picture. Among other benefits, the reader will find maps, illustrations, and tables. These will appeal to all who appreciate a good biography. For other researchers, there are a useful index and copious notes. It is difficult to find any work with footnotes these days, since publishers have a penchant for saving space and money! However, these notes are easy to follow, being set out in a manner that makes them accessible merely by using a second bookmark.

A few errors are found: McGowan makes reference to the Penal Laws which were used to persecute Catholics in the British empire, stating they were implemented by the Stuarts in 1701 (p. 15), but which began much earlier under Elizabeth I in 1560. The Stuarts made things worse, for sure, with the plantations of Ulster and Connaught (1603-1649) during which time many Catholics lost their homes and land there. Two other errors reflect Vatican II theology before its time. Power was not ordained to the episcopacy, but rather consecrated a bishop (pp. 137, 186). He uses both terms, but "ordination" reflects a more developed theology of Orders not seen in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. The same would be true of reference to the Easter Triduum (p. 241). "Triduum" would only surface in the reforms of Vatican II. These are minor in the face of the whole work.

Dr. McGowan provides not only a great story, but a wonderful resource for students of religious and secular history alike, in and outside of Canada. This work should be found in every library attached to universities, colleges, and seminaries.

St. Peter's Seminary   JOHN P. COMISKEY
London, Ontario

*Eternal Memory! Father Achiel Delaere (1868-1939): The First Eastern Rite
Redemptorist and Canada's Ukrainian Catholic Church.* By Jozef De Vocht,
CSSR. Translated by Christian Roy. (Yorkton, Saskatchewan: Gravelbooks, dis-
tributed by Laverdure & Associates. 2005. Pp. xxvii, 325. Can. $29.95.)

In 2006, the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) cele-
brates the centenary of its Eastern Rite branch. This is due almost single-handedly
to the tenacity of Achiel Delaere, who was born in Belgium in 1868, professed
his vows in the Redemptorist Congregation in 1889, and was ordained a priest
in 1896. Desirous of being a missionary in Western Canada, he began studies of
Slovak and later Polish to equip himself to serve the many immigrants. Soon after
his arrival in 1899, he realized that the Ukrainian immigrants were in greater
need of spiritual support and pastoral care than the Polish.

His pastoral zeal led him to seek special dispensation to study and work in
the Ukrainian-Slavonic rite, celebrating his first divine liturgy in 1906. Realizing
his inadequacy in caring for these members of the Church, he encouraged his
Congregation to send more missionaries who could assist in the work and even-
tually petitioned Rome for the establishment of a Ukrainian eparchy in Canada.

All the while he battled with Orthodox priests, false priests, and strident
Protestants intent on winning the hearts and minds of these Catholics in order to
break their ties with Rome. In this tense climate, he suffered abuse from the
detractors, misunderstanding from the people he attempted to serve, as well as
difficulties within the Congregation that had him move in and out of positions of
responsibility, often to his chagrin and disappointment. In the end, the eparchy
grew and prevailed, the Orthodox returned to their own flocks, the "sheep-steal-
ing" renegades and Protestants faded away, and Delaere's work prospered. Delaere
died a much-beloved and appreciated priest, working to the end, in 1939.

It is to the credit of another Redemptorist from Belgium, Jozef De Vocht,
that this story has seen the light of day. A contemporary of Delaere, De Vocht
wished to show the decisive influence that Delaere had on the Ukrainian
Catholic Church in Canada (p.xxi). De Vocht leaves an edifying testimonial to
Delaere's courage and fidelity, and to the many faithful and priests who worked
with him allowing this rite to thrive outside Ukraine. De Vocht lavishes praise
on these pioneers and, when heaping scorn on those who were hostile to
Delaere, he does not mince words.

This current translation is very readable, making a wonderful story but also
giving insight into the history of the Church in Western Canada. There are an
overview of Delaere's life, an index and fifty illustrations, mostly photographs
of the main characters in the story. If there is any problem for a historian, it is
the lack of notes or citations of any primary documents. De Vocht quotes
extensively from letters and reports (nicely shaded in the current edition)
found in the archives of the Flemish Redemptorists; so it would not be impos-
sible to find the actual sources—perhaps a future project for a student to
research and record. The publisher does provide a list of sources for further

reading on the subject, but none less than fifty years old. The publisher has done a great service to make this volume possible.

St. Peter's Seminary   JOHN P. COMISKEY
London, Ontario

The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970. By Michael Gauvreau. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion.] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 501. Can. $85.00.)

At this time, several scholars in Quebec are researching the cultural development that led to the Quiet Revolution of the early 1960's. In their *Sortir de la 'grande noirceur'* E.-Martin Meunier and Jean-Philippe Warren and in her *L'Affaire silicose* Suzanne Clavette focus on the resistance to the conservative provincial government and the struggles for social justice initiated by Catholic activists in the name of the Church's social teaching. These authors argue that the social democracy introduced by the Quiet Revolution was prepared by social struggles carried on by Catholic organizations beginning in the 1930's.

In his new book, Michael Gauvreau does something quite different. Social justice issues do not interest him. He focuses on the cultural transformation of Quebec society, by which he means changes in the structure and ethos of the family. He argues that the family is the institution where humans learn to be members of society, respect authority, discover their social roles as men and women, and work selflessly for the common good. Gauvreau's social analysis reminds me of the work of the nineteenth-century French sociologist Frédéric LePlay, who saw in the family the principal institution sustaining society and who argued that the destabilization of the family produced by the French Revolution threatens the well-being of France.

In his first four chapters, Gauvreau documents that specialized Catholic Action in Quebec, beginning in the 1930's, undermined the traditional understanding of the family, produced a conflict between generations, young and old, weakened the sense of authority and democratized the relations between family members. The new emphasis, which Gauvreau attributes in part to the influence of French "personalism," fostered the search for personal happiness. Gauvreau assigns some of the blame for this development to Pius XI's encyclical *Casti connubii* of 1930 which—despite the condemnation of birth control—weakened the institution of the family by shifting the emphasis from social reproduction to personal fulfillment, thus eroticizing the relation between the spouses.

In chapter 5, on marriage in the 1960's, the author changes his tone. The values fostered by a minority movement in the 1930's now define the dominant culture. Gauvreau argues that the women, whose erotic desire had been stimulated by Catholic Action, personalism, and the Church's teaching, now sought personal happiness in married life and therefore refused to accept Paul VI's encyclical *Humanae vitae* of 1968, which condemned the use of the birth

control pill. Here the author accuses the ecclesiastical leadership of internal inconsistency and holds it responsible for the massive exodus of women from the Church of Quebec.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with the efforts of the Church to exercise a public function in the new pluralistic society—a topic of universal interest that pre-occupied Vatican Council II. The author focuses especially on Quebec's new school system. He argues that the secular society and the Church arrived at a viable compromise between 1960 and 1965, but that in the subsequent five years, the liberal idea of the State as directly responsible for the well-being of the citizens minimized the Church's role in the educational system and thus fostered the secularization of Quebec society.

This is a fascinating book that will provoke many debates. Readers will be surprised by the author's barbed writing style: he seems to be angry with the new ideas that emerged in Roman Catholicism. The reader wonders why the author never offers an adequate account of Emmanuel Mounier's personalism and why he interprets a renewal movement in the Church as elitist, fostering heroic behavior and contempt for the masses. Gauvreau fails to notice that the interpretation of Catholicism that arrived in Quebec from France was one of the main theological currents that influenced Vatican Council II. He offers quotations from speakers in Quebec without recognizing that they are citing texts from the Vatican Council.

Gauvreau's definition of culture is too narrow. He never mentions that the Quiet Revolution produced conditions that allowed Quebecers to work and do business in their own mother tongue, a change with important cultural consequences. Nor does he recognize a point made repeatedly by John Paul II that the organization of labor, the place where people spend most of their energies, has a profound effect on the culture of society. I have argued in my own writing that the Quiet Revolution was a major cultural event, a social phenomenon called "effervescence" in the sociology of Émile Durkheim. To this lived experience Gauvreau makes no reference at all.

Still, I regard Gauvreau's book as an important contribution to the study of Catholicism in Quebec because his work draws upon reports, reviews, bulletins, newspapers, and archival material until now neglected by historians. His book is also important because it will provoke new research and many interesting responses.

McGill University (Emeritus)   GREGORY BAUM

Lonergan's Quest: A Study of Desire in the Authoring of Insight. By William A. Mathews. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. x, 564. $100.00.)

Mathews, a Jesuit philosopher at the Milltown Institute, Dublin, offers an intellectual biography of his Canadian fellow-Jesuit Bernard Lonergan (1904-1984) through the publication in 1957 of the latter's *Insight: A Study of*

Human Understanding. In Mathews' account the Kantian mind-reality prob-
lematic first grasped Lonergan's attention in the course of his philosophic
training at Heythrop in 1926. Upon his return to Toronto to teach high school,
however, the experience of the Depression diverted him to questions of eco-
nomic theory that eventuated, fourteen years later, in a manuscript of which,
Mathews remarks, "few, to date, have made sense" (p. 53) and to which
Lonergan would return much later, in his declining years. Meanwhile
Lonergan's arrival in Rome in 1933 to complete the seminary course in theol-
ogy vividly impressed on him the need for a philosophy of history that could
account for the collapse of European culture at the hands of Stalin, Hitler, and
Mussolini. His superiors decided that Lonergan should stay on in Rome for doc-
toral studies in theology, not philosophy, in preparation for a teaching post at
the Gregorianum, but events supervened to force Lonergan's abrupt return to
Canada in 1940 with his thesis on St. Thomas' developing thought on grace
undefended. That investigation had, however, awakened for him the question
of method in theology. Once back in Canada a light teaching load allowed
Lonergan to plunge into a six-year study of Aquinas with the Kantian prob-
lematic in mind, the results of which he further developed in preparing
courses on "Thought and Reality" and then "Intelligence and Reality" for the
Thomas More Institute in Toronto.

The reception of the latter moved Lonergan to begin writing *Insight,* and
Mathews devotes the second half of his study to the composition and publi-
cation of this work, a process that, on his account, comprised four movements.
Lonergan spent two years writing a protoversion of the work, which he then
reworked into what would be the central section (chapters 9-13) of the final
product, devoted to articulating the positions on cognitional structure, being,
and objectivity with which he resolved the Kantian problematic. These con-
stitute the horizon for the analysis of the subject-object relation in mathemat-
ics, the natural sciences, and common sense that he undertakes in chapters 1-
8, and they underpin the considerations of metaphysics and its method, ethics,
and religion with which Lonergan, with his long-delayed Roman assignment
now impending, hastened to conclude the work. That conclusion, of course,
would itself prove to be but a steppingstone, a way station toward the publi-
cation of *Method in Theology* after another decade and a half of arduous
research and reflection.

Given the nature of his subject, the bulk of Mathews' narrative is perforce
occupied by analytic summaries of what Lonergan wrote, books he read,
courses he took, and courses he gave. In these Mathews proves himself an
astute, not uncritical reader and a highly skilled pedagogue from whom no stu-
dent of Lonergan's thought will fail to learn. At the same time these works-in-
context provide the data for Mathews' chief interest, namely, the intellectual
desire that evoked them, the course of its unfolding, and the term at which
what he conceives as Lonergan's vision quest arrived. His narrative gives full
recognition to the role of the contingent and fortuitous (fate/providence) in
the development it traces. Still, focused austerely on an intellectual biography,

and with invaluable result, Mathews leaves to others the further project of fleshing that venture out in the broader drama of Lonergan's life.

The Catholic University of America   WILLIAM P. LOEWE

Latin American

Natural and Moral History of the Indies. By José de Acosta. Edited by Jane E. Mangan, with an Introduction and Commentary by Walter D. Mignolo. Translated by Frances López-Morillas. [Chronicles of the New World Order. Latin America in Translation/En Traducción/Em Tradução.] (Durham and London: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 535. $74.95 cloth; $24.95 paperback.)

The first edition of José de Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, in the author's native Spanish, was published in Seville in 1590. It is a compact and elegant volume, conjoining discussion of the natural history of the New World, the "works of God" in Acosta's words, with a discussion of human history, "the works of free will." The book was an immediate success, and several more Spanish editions soon followed, along with translations into Italian, Latin, French, Dutch, and English. Excerpts appeared in the ninth volume of Theodore De Bry's celebrated *America* (Frankfurt, 1601). Among the several early modern historians and scholars who discussed the *History* the best-known would seem to be the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), and the book remained influential until the eighteenth century and beyond. The revised version of the English translation of 1604 that was published in 1880 by the Hakluyt Society signaled the dawn of Latin American studies as we know them today, and has in its turn been reprinted several times. But despite the book's fame, the translation by Frances López-Morillas is the first modern translation into English. It is beautifully done, a felicitous combination of translating accurately and idiomatically, while also giving the reader some sense of Acosta's stylistic idiosyncrasies and of his simple, straightforward immediacy. Among the scholarly editions of the Spanish text of the *Historia*, the most important remains that by Edmundo O'Gorman (Mexico, 1940). O'Gorman's identifications of the biblical, Greek, Roman, patristic, and later texts that Acosta cited have therefore been incorporated into this translation as footnotes. In addition, throughout the text of the *Historia* Jane E. Mangan has added explanatory notes dealing with Central American and Andean history, archaeology, and anthropology, and with Acosta's own cultural world. In places, these notes amount to a full-scale commentary that even experts will find helpful. For students, the notes are likely to prove invaluable for years to come. The *History* is pervaded by a certain ambivalence. On the one hand, Acosta found much to love and admire in New World nature and culture. On the other hand, he thought that Amerindian religions were the work of the devil and had to be replaced by Christianity, the sooner the better. At another level, he found the strangeness and difference of the New World and its people appealing and admirable, while yet

viewing the European past as the yardstick of all human achievement. Mangan regularly draws attention to these dichotomies and finds Acosta wanting in his ability to understand and appreciate American nature and culture in their own right and on their own terms (see e.g. pp. 45, 89, 133 with 221, 336, 349, etc.). This theme occupies center stage in the introduction and concluding commentary by Walter Mignolo, who encourages the reader to peruse Acosta's text for "what is constantly absent and silenced in the narrative, that is, Amerindians' descriptions and conceptualizations of their lives" (p. xxvii; further, pp. 467 ff.). By way of explaining what Acosta should have known and written, Mignolo refers to the work of scholars of our own time as exemplifying an "episteme" that does greater justice—as he sees it—to "Amerindian intellectuals." Perhaps. But it is difficult to get away from the conclusion that Mignolo accuses Acosta of the very sin he commits himself, that is, of imposing his own form of enquiry and understanding not only on the readers of his own time, on us, but also on the Andean and Central American indigenous peoples of the past whose cause he endeavors to defend.

Seeing that this new translation is likely to be consulted for years to come, I add some suggestions for a revised edition. Tumbes is in Peru, not Ecuador (p. 65). One might regret that the opportunity was not taken to update and expand O'Gorman's notes on the classical, biblical, and patristic sources Acosta cited by referring to the relevant recent editions and translations, e.g. p. 257, where mention of Brian Copenhaver's translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (Cambridge, 1992) would help the reader. Elsewhere, the relevant editions and translations especially of patristic texts, which are not always easy to find could usefully be cited. Acosta's departure from Peru is described misleadingly on page 145 and elsewhere; see correspondence on this topic in *Monumenta Peruana* II-III ed. A. de Egaña (Rome, 1958-1961).

University of Notre Dame   Sabine MacCormack

Missions and the Frontiers of Spanish America: A Comparative Study of the Impact of Environmental, Economic, Political, and Socio-Cultural Variations on the Missions in the Río de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain. By Robert H. Jackson. (Scottsdale, Arizona: Pentacle Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 568. $44.95.)

This ambitious books sets out to provide a synthesis of recent scholarship on mission history in the Río de la Plata (present-day Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay) and on New Spain's northern frontier (northern Mexico and the southwestern United States). The basis of this study is the work of other scholars, Jackson's own considerable contribution to the historiography of the mission experience, and his examination of archival materials not used in earlier studies.

This work in set squarely in the context of historical ecology and demonstrates how the experience of particular missions was influenced by the natural environment in which they operated. This meant that missions established among indigenous peoples, who traditionally had no fixed settlements but

were gathered together and taught environmentally inappropriate agricultural techniques, were destined to struggle or fail. In the desert of northern New Spain, this was a common occurrence.

In order to Christianize the native peoples of the more remote areas of the New World, the Spanish government and the Catholic Church pursued a policy of relocating indigenous populations at newly created communities, variously called *doctrinas*, *misiones*, or *reducciones*, or they founded missions at established populations centers. This book uses a comparative analysis of the activities of missionaries from various groups within the Catholic Church, such as the Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans, in two distinct geographical areas. In comparing mission work in the Río de la Plata with what took place in northern New Spain, the emphasis is placed on Alta and Baja California. This concentration permits a thorough comparison between the adaptations that Jesuits made in arid Baja California and the more favorable environmental conditions their brethren in the Río de la Plata enjoyed.

One of the driving forces of this study, and indeed of much of the author's published research, is demographics. Chapter 5 presents demographic data and analysis from both study areas and draws interesting conclusions about how population dynamics varied in Río de la Plata and northern New Spain and about the implications of these differences for the success of the mission program. Native populations on the northern frontier suffered catastrophic decline as a result of epidemic disease and other health issues. In the Río de la Plata region, by contrast, indigenous populations generally did not face disastrous, unrecoverable losses. Jackson convincingly argues that congregating small populations of hunter-gatherers into missions disrupted the social order and exposed them to greater risk of the spread of disease. The small size of the population made recovery less likely. In the Río de la Plata, the *reducciones* included many more people, and the Jesuits pursued a less disruptive policy that preserved existing social structures.

Pentacle Press, which owns California Missions Resource Center, has targeted this book at the university undergraduate, general reader, or traveler to mission sites. Certainly the specialist will not find much new in this work, but it is a very useful synthesis of current scholarship on mission history. Readers familiar with the author's more clearly scholarly work will note the absence of anticlericalism that features in many of his earlier mission studies directed at the academic audience. Although he correctly points out the detrimental effects of missionization among Native Americans, the tone is measured. An optional CD-ROM that is with PowerPoint presentation is available from the publisher for an additional $12.00 and is described as being for personal study or classroom use. The CD promises to deliver high resolution copies of maps and photographs used in the book. This would be a definite improvement on the modest production values of the printed illustrations.

New Mexico State University, Las Cruces   RICK HENDRICKS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

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Conferences, Meetings, Lectures

On October 13-14, 2006 the Thirty-Third Annual Saint Louis Conference on Manuscripts was held at the Saint Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri. Among the panels of papers were "Outside the Book of Hours: Alternative Forms of Devotion in Manuscript Illumination ca. 1300," "The Bible in the Thirteenth Century: Beyond the Paris Bible," and "New Studies in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts." For more information, please consult http://www.slu.edu/libraries/vfl/events.htm.

On October 19, 2006 a conference was held in the Aula des Schlosses of the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster on the theme "The Return of Religions? Position Finding and Open-Minded Questions/Wiederkehr der Religionen? Standortbestimmung und Fragehorizonte." The speakers were drawn from the fields of church history, the press, television, law, business, politics, banking, and pastoral care. For more information, please see fboz.uni-muenster.de/mnkg/ .

On November 20-22, 2006 at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan a series of lectures were presented by a group of prominent professors from France: Bernard Dompnier, "Per una storia culturale della pietà cattolica"; Louis Châtellier, "Cristianesimo e scienza nell'età moderna (XVI—inizio XIX secolo)"; and Nicole Lemaître, Bernard Dompnier, Daniel-Odon Hurel, and Jean-Louis Quantin, "Religione, cultura, società: il clero in epoca moderna."

On November 24-25, 2006 the Accademia di San Carlo held a *Dies Academicus* at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan on the theme "Milano borromaica, atelier culturale della Controriforma." Among the papers given were: "Produzione e circolazione delle edizioni bibliche" by Edoardo Barbieri; "La Bible dans le monachisme bénédictin en France à l'époque moderne" by Odon Hurel, "Filologia e teologia: i testi patristici nelle controversie religiose del XVI e XVII secolo" by Jean-Louis Quantin; "La tradizione teologica milanese tra Cinque e Seicento" by Franco Buzzi; "La formazione ecclesiastica dei seminari e dei collegi di istruzione" by Simona Negruzzo; "La formation des prêtres en France dans la première modernité (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)" by Nicole Lemaître; "Le modèle milanais et le monde rhénan" by Louis Châtellier; "La 'filosofia cristiana' di Valier e la scuola borromaica" by Marzia Giuliani; "Caratteri della predicazione in età federiciana" by Erminia Ardissino; "'Il Predicatore' di Francesco Panigarola" by Rita Bramante; "Cornelio Musso, vescovo e predicatore frances-

cano dell'età conciliare" by Maria Teresa Girardi; "La via 'devota.' Doni mistici e carisimi intorno a Isabella Berinzaga e Achille Gagliardi" by Sabrina Stroppa, "Letteratura devota tra Carlo e Federico" by Claudia di Filippo; and " 'Chi sei tu?' Imparare ad essere cristiani: la produzione catechistica in età borromaica" by Miriam Turrini.

On November 27-29, 2006 an international conference was held in the Konuk Evi building at the "Aya Sofya" Hotel in Istanbul on the theme " Modes of Communication between Rome and Constantinople through the Centuries." Among the papers given were "The Roman *Apocrisiarii* at Constantinople" by Robert Markus; "The *Concilium Quinisextum*: A Case Study of Communication at the End of the Seventh Century" by Heinz Ohme; "The Correspondence between Hadrian and Tarasius" by Erich Lamberz; "Unity in Peril: The Issue of the Cyrilomethodian Mission" by Charalambos Papastathis; "The Communication of the Thrones in the Twelfth Century" by Constantine Pitsakis; "The Roman-Byzantine Relationship in the Register of Innocent III" by Werner Maleczek; "Modes of Communication in the Palaeologan Era" by Symeon Paschalidis; "Roman Initiatives for Contacts between Constantinople and Rome in the XIII and XIV Centuries" by Luca Pieralli; "The Orthodox Presence at the Councils of Constance and Pavia-Siena" by Walter Brandmüller; "The East Meets the West in Ferrara and Florence" by Evangelos Chrysos; "Modes of Dogmatic Discourse at Ferrara and Florence" by Alexandros Alexakis; "Contacts between the Two Thrones in the Early Ottoman Time" by Kreiton Chrysochoidis, and "Experiencing the Meetings of Popes and Patriarchs in Recent Times." For further information, please contact pcss@scienstor.va.

From November 29 to December 1, 2006 a conference was held in Rome sponsored by the German Historical Institute and the University of Zurich on the papal idea of the liturgy over the centuries. For more information, please see http://www.dhi-roma.it/.

On December 2, 2006 the Twentieth Barnard Medieval and Renaissance Conference was held at Barnard College in New York with the theme "War and Peace in the Middle Ages and Renaissance." Among the papers presented were: "Jerusalem and Jihad: 1100-1300" by Carole Hillenbrand; "The Sacredness of Violence: Why Even Artists in the Middle Ages Supported the Death Penalty" by Samuel Edgerton; and "Reconsidering the Evidence for the Peace of God, ca. 970-1036" by Thomas Head. There was also a panel on the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre with papers by François Rigolot, Kathleen Long, and Jan Miernowski.

On December 11-12, 2006, on the occasion of the publication of the five hundredth volume (*Cyprien de Cathage: L'unité de l'Église*) in the series *Sources Chrétiennes*, a conference entitled "Les patrologues humanistes du XXe siècle" was held in various places in Rome: the Cultural Center Saint-Louis de France, the Pontificia Università Gregoriana, and the office of *La Civiltà Cattolica*. Among the speakers were: cardinals Walter Kasper, Paul Poupard, and Georges-Marie Cottier; bishops Claude Dagens (Angoulême) and Vincenzo

Paglia (Terni-Narni-Amelia); and professors Aimable Musoni, S.D.B., Michel Fédou, S.J., Monique Alexandre, Theresia Hainthaler, Luis Ladaria, S.J., Paolo Siniscalco, Enrico dal Covolo, S.D.B., Angelo Di Berardino, Jean-Noël Guinot, Emanuela Prinzivalli, Giovanni Maria Vian, and Sergio Zincone. For further information, please see http://www..saintlouisdefrance.it/I-patrologi-umanisti.html.

On February 16–18, 2007 the annual conference of the California Mission Studies Association will be held at Mission Dolores. For further information about the conference, please consult www.ca-missions.org or email chochenyo@aol.com.

On April 9-13, 2007 an international conference is scheduled to be held on Corfù with the theme "Motivi e strutture di divisioni ecclesiali." Four panels are envisioned with the titles: "Da Calcedonia (451) a Costantinopoli II (553)," "La Cristianità medievale (orientale e occidentale): Medioevo," "Cristianesimo diviso: età moderna," and "L'Europa dei tempi moderni e contemporanei." For further information, please contact the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche at pcss@scienstor.va.

On May 3-5, 2007 the XXXVI Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana will be held at the Agustinianum Istituto Patristico in Rome with the theme "Motivi e forme della poesia cristiana antica tra Scrittura e Tradizione classica." The conference organizers seek the proposal of papers treating such themes as the poetic *genera* (autobiography, medleys, elegies, epigraphy, metric epistles, hymn writing, biblical paraphrase, hagiography, didactic and moral poetry and theology), Christian poetry examined from its origins and developments and in their medieval and Byzantine outcomes, individual poetic personalities, the analysis of programmatic and poetic declarations, and a review of recent literature. Proposals should have been sent by December 15, 2006 to incontri@aug.org.

On May 10-17, 2007 an international conference on "Christianity, Culture, and Moral Value" to be held in Kostroma, Russia is in the planning stages. For further information, please contact the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche at pcss@scienstor.va.

The seventy-fourth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will be held at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon on May 28-29, 2007. The theme of the meeting is "Bridging Communities." Proposals for papers and entire sessions are invited and should be sent by e-mail by January 31 to the program committee: Linda Wicks (lwicks@csj-to.ca); Heidi MacDonald (heidi.macdonald@uleth.ca); and Peter Meehan (peter.meehan@senecac.on.ca).

On June 2-24, 2007 an annual conference will be held at the Marriott Westfields Conference Center in Reston, Virginia sponsored by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. The conference organizers are seek-

ing papers in all areas of diplomatic history, foreign relations, and international studies. Special funding to help cover travel expenses is available to qualified graduate students. To be given full consideration, proposals should have been sent by December 15, 2006 to the conference organizer, Douglas Little at Clark University, email SHAFR2007@clark.edu.

On November 24-27, 2007 an international conference will be held in Vienna with the theme "The Ottoman Turks in Eastern Europe and in the Balkans: Expansion, Presence, and Heritage (XIV – XX Centuries)." Among the topics to be treated are: chronology and stages, effects on the administrative-institutional level, effects on the religious level (conversions to Islam, conservation of Christian identity), political and diplomatic aspects, military aspects (in treatises and in the effected reality), the image of the Christian in testimony of the Turks (literature, iconography, etc.), the image of the Turk in Christian texts (literature, iconography, etc.), the Islamic community, the Christian community, relations among Catholics, Orthodox, Jews, and Muslims, and other topics. For further information, please contact the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche at pcss@scienstor.va.

On April 10-13, 2008 a conference will be held on "Sacred Violence in Early North America" to be sponsored by Yale University and Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture. The papers will treat how violence was sacralized in seventeenth- to early nineteenth-century North America among Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans and how religious beliefs and practices were used to mitigate and redirect violence in less destructive channels. The conference organizers are soliciting paper proposals that address such questions as the role of religion in colonial wars, the legal prosecution of heterodox beliefs and practices, the creative uses of violence within religious cultures, the destruction of religious objects, buildings, or communal sites, the violent reordering of cosmologies, the role of print in fostering or mitigating religious violence, theologies of pain and suffering in cultural context, the psychological rupturing of notions of self and other in the act of conversion, etc. Written proposals together with a curriculum vitae should be sent to Kim Foley at kawahl@wm.edu using the subject line "Religion and Violence Conference" and questions may be sent to Christopher Grasso at cdgrass@wm.edu.

On August 3-9, 2008 the Thirteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law will be held in Esztergom-Budapest, Hungary with the theme "Eastern Influence in the West." The conference organizers are interested in receiving proposals for papers that address such issues as the direct or indirect influence of the Eastern ecclesiastical discipline on the Western canonical collections and the scholarly interpretation of this, councils and local ecclesiastical law, ecclesiastical institutions, and canon law as "jus sacrum." For further information, please contact Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, Kánonjogi Posztgraduális Intézet, 1088 Budapest, Szentkirályi u. 28, Hungary; tel. (36) 1-429-7217.

Workshops

A workshop in editing philosophical and theological texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will take place at Georgetown University from July 9 to August 3, 2007. It is open to students, graduate and undergraduate, and others in the early stage of their academic careers who have some skill in medieval Latin and in paleography; ten to twelve participants will be admitted. The directors of the workshop will be Dr. Girard Etzkorn and Dr. Gordon Wilson, distinguished editors whose publications include volumes in the *Opera Omnia* of Henry of Ghent, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham.

The deadline for application is February 15, 2007, with final selection and notification by March 15. Applications should include: (1) a one-page statement indicating how the workshop fits into one's career goals, including any present or future projects, and evidence of skill in medieval Latin and paleography (e.g., courses taken or studies with a tutor); and (2) two letters of recommendation to be sent directly to the address below.

The following expenses will be paid by funds from the Martin Chair of Medieval Philosophy, Georgetown University: air fare, room and board for a month in a Georgetown University residence hall, and a licensed copy of Classical Text Editor (a software program for editing texts). In addition participants will receive $100 a week for incidental expenses. They must, however, supply their own laptop computers.

Topics to be treated include: choosing a project; locating codices: libraries, archives, and catalogues; the critical edition: text, apparatus of variants, and apparatus of citations; description and dating of manuscripts; introduction to Classical Text Editor; establishing a basic working text; stemma codicum: its use and limits; text collation: common and unique variants. Other topics include: common paleographical abbreviations in philosophical and theological literature and orthography. In addition, topics of wider interest will be treated, as the question of literary genre, e.g., ordinary questions and questions *de quolibet* and problems peculiar to editing a text distributed by an exemplar in pecia. Guest speakers will lecture on special topics.

Application materials should be sent to: Mark G. Henninger, S.J., at mgh7@georgetown.edu or to Neil T. Lewis at lewisn@georgetown.edu.

On June 25 to July 6, 2007 the first of two summer institutes will be held at the Stanford Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences; the other at the Collegium Budapest, Hungary, in 2008, on the topic "The Vision Thing: Studying Divine Intervention," that is, visionaries or visions, broadly defined, with social recognition and social consequences. These summer workshops are sponsored by a consortium of institutes in Europe (Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, Collegium Budapest, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, and the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences)

and in the United States (Center for the Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences of Stanford, Institute for Advanced Study of Princeton, National Humanities Center of Research Triangle Park, Radcliffe Institute at Harvard, and the Russell Sage Foundation of New York). Led by Gábor Klaniczay of Budapest and William A. Christian, Jr., of Las Palmas, the Canary Islands, a group of twenty recent (2002 or after) recipients of doctoral degrees and doctoral candidates studying at European or American institutions of higher learning will study visions from the viewpoints of anthropology, history, art history, psychology, and neuroscience, using primary source materials that are studied in their broader contexts, with attention to their conditionants and their real world consequences. Funding will cover travel, meals, lodging, and texts for both the European and American meetings, plus a stipend of €600 for the workshop in Europe and $600 for that in the United States. The deadline for application is February 28, 2007 with application forms available online at the National Humanities Center's web site: <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us/sias/index.htm>. Please address inquiries to Richard R. Schramm at rschramm@ga.unc.edu or to Petria Saleh at petria.saleh@wiko-berlin.de.

Awards

The Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche has announced a competition for a "journalistic prize" for published articles in newspapers or periodicals of elevated distribution that appeared between October 31, 2006 and April 30, 2007 and promote the teaching and appreciation of the study of the classical languages of Greek and Latin as ways to approach the classical and Christian roots of the countries of the European cultural area. For more information, please see the web site: http://www.vatican.va/roman curia/pont commit-tees/scienstor/it/default.htm under the heading "Concorsi."

Archives

The Archives of the Catholic University of America has put at the disposal of secondary and college teachers and students a web site dedicated to American Catholic history. It seeks to establish a collaborative network of Catholic religious orders, diocesan, and college and university archives across the country in support of this web site and to become the film and video archives of the Church in America. As part of its educational outreach program, it has developed virtual Catholic history classroom web sites (accessible through the home page of the archives http://libraries.cua.edu/achrcua/index.html) that makes primary documents in Catholic history more accessible to high school and college teachers. Among the topics treated are: "Catholic Patriotism on Trial: The Oregon School Case in the 1920s," "The Federated Colored Catholics," "How Much is Enough? Catholics and a Living Wage," and "Catholic Responses to Industrialization." A collection of 111 images dating from ca. 1927 and ca. 1942-1946 created by the National Catholic Welfare

Conference of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops that highlight the NCWC's work with veterans of both World Wars I and II are available online at www.aladin.wrlc.org/dl/.

Exhibition

An exhibition of images, objects, manuscripts, and ephemera that documents the construction of the Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Baltimore, the first Catholic cathedral in the United States, designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe, opened in Baltimore on November 8, 2006 at the H. Furlong Baldwin Library Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore. The cathedral has recently undergone a major renovation. For further information, please see www.mdhs.org.

Cause of Saints

By a decree of the Congregation for Saints' Causes of October 23, 2006 Margaret Occhiena (1788-1856), the mother of Saint John Bosco, was recognized for heroic virtue. Widowed early on, she raised her own two sons and her youthful brother-in-law and took care of his mother-in-law, and then joined her son John in his mission among the poor and abandoned boys of Turin. Although illiterate she was known for her wisdom and became with John the co-founder of the Salesian family.

For information on the Spanish Jesuit missionary martyrs of Virginia, especially Juan Bautista Segura, who attempted to set up a mission at Ajacán, some thiry-seven years before the English settlement at Jamestown, please see the following web sites: http://newsaintswisprov.org/news/julyold.html ("Sainthood sought for slain 16th century Jesuit missionaries); http://newsaints.faithweb.com/year/1571/htm (with engravings of the martyrs); and http://www.catholicherald.com/cns/jesuits.htm ("Richmond Promotes Cause of Jesuit Martyrs").

Publications

The issue of the *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* for July-August-September, 2006 (Volume 152), publishes the papers presented at a colloquium held at Montpellier on May 15-17, 2003, on the theme "L'architecture des temples réformés (XVIe –XVIe siècles) en Europe et notamment en France." The last of the fourteen articles is "Les conséquences de la Réforme sur la distribution intérieure des églises catholiques" by Bernard Chedozeau (pp. 513-519).

Seven articles in the *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento—Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient*

for 2005 (Volume XXXI) are devoted to the theme "Il dibattito storiografico sulla figura di Pio XII. Punti di arrivo e problemi aperti," as follows: Giovanni Miccoli, "Santa Sede, guerra, e Shoah: una proposta di discussione" (pp. 227-259); Philippe Chenaux, "Il cardinale Pacelli e la questione del nazismo dopo l'enciclica 'Mit brennender Sorge' (1937)" (pp. 261-277); Emma Fattorini, "Pio XI, Mussolini, Hitler e Pacelli (1937-1939)" (pp. 279-317); Anna Foa, "Le due leggende. Riflessioni sulla storiografia su Pio XII e gli ebrei" (pp. 319-331); Hubert Wolf, "Pius XII. als Nuntius in Deutschland. Pacellis Schlussrelation vom November 1929" (pp. 333-353); Heinz Hürten, "Die Briefe Pius' XII. an die deutschen Bischöfe zur Kriegszeit. Eine zentrale Quelle für seine Amtsauffassung?" (pp. 355-365); and Matteo Luigi Napolitano, "I documenti diplomatici come fonte per il dibattito storiografico su Pio XII" (pp. 367-394). An abstract in English is printed at the beginning of each article.

The theme of the third issue for 2006 of *Erde und Auftrag* is "Mönchtum in Nordamerika." The following four articles are here published: Joel Rippinger, O.S.B., "Pioniere in der Neuen Welt: Benediktiner in Nordamerika von den ersten Gründungen bis zum 2. Vaticanum" (pp. 246-253); Maria Magdalena Zunker, O.S.B., "Ein weitverzweigter Baum. Die Gründungen der Benedikterinnen von St. Walburg/Eichstätt in den Vereinigten Staaten" (pp. 254-264); Ephrem Hollermann, O.S.B., "Liebe, stark wie der Tod: Benediktinerinnen und Zisterzienserinnen in Nordamerika" (pp. 265-281); and Hugh Feiss, O.S.B., "Abbruch, Umbruch, Aufbruch: Mönche in Nordamerika 1965-2005)" (pp. 282-293).

The issue of *Istina* for April-June, 2006 (Volume LI, Number 2), is devoted to "Le Métropolite André Szeptyckyj et Vladimir Soloviev, Prophètes de l'unité," with the following articles: Patrick de Laubier, "Le Métropolite André Szeptyckyj et l'unité (1900-1914)" (pp. 116-124); Augustyn Babiak, "André Szeptyckyj, Métropolite ukrainien (1900-1944)" (pp. 125-145); Andrzej Zięba, "André Szeptyckyj. Actualité et mystère d'un grand prélat ukrainien" (pp. 146-163); Konstantin Sigov, "Vladimir Soloviev, penseur du Bien" (pp. 164-170); and Vladimir Zielinsky, "L'Antéchrist de Vladimir Soloviev et l'histoire de la Russie" (pp. 171-179).

The centenary of *Römische Quartalschrift für Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* is celebrated in the first two numbers combined of Volume 101 (2006). Following an introduction by the editor, Erwin Gatz, "Zum 100. Jahrgang der Römischen Quartalschrift," are articles by Stefan Heid, "Der christliche Archäologe Joseph Wilpert und das Römische Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft" (pp. 4-49); Claus Arnold, "Joseph Sauer (1872-1949) in Freiburg und Rom" (pp. 50-59); Christoph Weber, "Der päpstliche Hausprälat Dr. iur. Dr. theol. h.c. Paul Maria Baumgarten und das deutsche Rom. Eine Skizze aus dem goldenen Zeitalter der Archivforschung in der Epoche Leos XIII." (pp. 60-74); Erwin Gatz, "Das Römische Institut der Görres-Gesellschaft und die Römische Quartalschrift von der Auflösung der Gesellschaft durch das NS-Regime (1941) bis zum Jahre 1975)" (pp. 75-87); Andreas Kraus, "Eine Heimat in Rom. Erinnerungen eines ehemaligen Stipendiaten" (pp. 88-97); Ernst Dassmann, "Römische Jahre. Erinnerungen an die Studienzeit im Priesterkolleg am Campo

Santo Teutonico" (pp. 98-112); and Dominik Burkard, "Diözesansynoden und synodenähnliche Foren sowie Kirchenvolksbegehren der letzten Jahrzehnte in den deutschsprachigen Ländern" (pp. 113-140).

Two issues of *U.S. Catholic Historian* have appeared in the last three months. Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., was the guest editor of the issue for summer, 2006 (Volume 24, Number 3), which has the theme "Missionary Thought and Experiences in the Late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." The contributors and titles are: Paul Kollman, C.S.C., "The Promise of Mission History for U.S. Catholic History" (pp. 1-18); Robert Carbonneau, C.P., "Resurrecting the Dead: Memorial Gravesites and Faith Stories of Twentieth-Century Catholic Missionaries and Laity in West Hunan, China" (pp. 19-37); David J. Endres, "The Global Missionary Zeal of an American Apostle: The Early Works of Daniel A. Lord, S.J., 1922-1929" (pp. 39-54); Frank Hoare, S.S.C., "The Influence of the Crusade Symbol and War Metaphor on the Motivation and Attitudes of the Maynooth Mission to China, 1918-1929" (pp. 55-74); Edward T. Brett, "African-American Missionaries in Central America: The Sisters of the Holy Family in Belize" (pp. 75-94); Stephen P. Judd, M.M., "A Journey of Immersion into Liminality: Forty Years of the Maryknoll Language Institute, Cochabamba, Bolivia" (pp. 95-110); Susan Fitzpatrick Behrens, "Knowledge Is Not Enough: Creating a Culture of Social Justice, Dignity, and Human Rights in Guatemala: Maryknoll Sisters and the Monte María 'Girls'" (pp. 111-128); Regina Siegfried, A.S.C., "'The Great Mission Work': The Influence of the China Mission on the Adorers of the Blood of Christ" (pp. 129-148); Elizabeth Kolmer, A.S.C., "The Death of Five Adorers of the Blood of Christ and the Changing Meaning of Martyrdom" (pp. 149-164); and William R. Burrows, "From a Roman Catholic 'Mission Church' to a Catholic 'World Christianity' Paradigm: A Personal Pilgrimage" (pp. 165-179).

The issue for fall (Volume 24, Number 4) is focused on "Catholics in the South" with the following articles: Dennis C. Rousey, "Catholics in the Old South: Their Population, Institutional Development, and Relations with Protestants" (pp. 1-21); R. Bentley Anderson, "Pride and Prejudice in New Orleans: Joseph Fichter's *Southern Parish*" (pp. 23-46); Justin D. Poché, "The Catholic Citizens' Council: Religion and White Resistance in Post-War Louisiana" (pp. 47-68); Cecilia A. Moore, "'To Serve through Compelling Love': The Society of Christ the King in Danville, Virginia, 1963" (pp. 83-103); Andrew S. Moore, "The Beloved Community and the People of God: The Community of Christ Our Brother in the Archdiocese of Atlanta, 1967-1969" (pp. 105-123); and Michael Pasquier, "Medjugorje in the American South: Our Lady of Tickfaw and the Politics of Devotion" (pp. 125-148).

The Società Editrice "Il Ponte Vecchio" (Via Caprera 32, I-47023 Italy; email ilpontevecchio@libero.it) announced the publication of the *Monumenta bor-romaica*, I: *L'Archivio di un principe della Chiesa, Le carte segrete di Carlo Borromeo*, edited by Angelo Turchini, that surveys various projects to publish the epistolary of Saint Charles Borromeo.

Personal Notices

John Conway has recently published a paperback entitled *To Saint James—with Love: Reflections on History and Faith*, a collection of essays Dr. Conway has published in the magazine of his parish, St. James (Anglican) Church in downtown Vancouver, that is celebrating its 125th anniversary. His book is available through Regent College Bookstore at breimer@regent-college.edu.

The Reverend John W. O'Malley, S.J., has been appointed a university professor of Georgetown University.

James M. O'Toole has been appointed to the Charles I. Clough Chair of Religious History in the History Department of Boston College.

Msgr. Francis Weber has published another book, *The California Missions,* that surveys twenty-one famous mission sites and seeks to answer the most common questions in a simple and straightforward manner regarding the missions' founding, legendary friars, missionary activities, and their treatment of the Native Americans. It is available through Barnes and Noble Bookstores.

Obituary

The Reverend Francis J. Murphy, a priest of the Boston Archdiocese and Associate Professor Emeritus of the History Department of Boston College, died of cancer on August 28, in Wellesley Hills. Born in Boston on July 11, 1935, Father Murphy was a graduate of the College of the Holy Cross. He was ordained to the priesthood on February 2, 1962. He served in several Boston parishes, most recently, Sacred Heart in Newton. Since 1986 he was Chaplain of the Sisters of Charity, Mt. St. Vincent Community, in Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts.

In 1971 he earned a doctoral degree in European history from The Catholic University of America, with a dissertation on "French Catholics and the *main tendue.*" In 1972 he taught one course in summer school at Boston College, which so impressed his students and colleagues that he was invited to join the History Department faculty. Father Murphy soon became one of the most respected and popular teachers in the department. The main focus of his teaching was twentieth-century France, but he also offered courses in other aspects of twentieth-century European history, especially the post-World War II period. He also enthusiastically taught the freshman Western Civilization course in every semester, despite the large number (250) of students involved. He took his teaching duties very seriously, and won a reputation as an enthusiastic and stimulating lecturer. He was deeply concerned for the welfare and the intellectual development of his students, devoting much time and energy to counseling them; the corridor outside his office was usually lined with students waiting patiently to have their personal time with Father Murphy.

Like his teaching, his scholarship revolved around twentieth-century French history. In addition to numerous articles and papers, he published two monographs. The first was *Communists and Catholics in France, 1936-1939: The Politics of the Outstretched Hand* (University of Florida Press, 1989). It dealt with the policy adopted by the French Communist Party toward Catholicism in 1936, of the *main tendue*. This policy was ordered by Stalin, who, alarmed by the rise of Nazism, directed western Communist parties to form a Popular Front with other parties to resist it. The French Communist Party therefore sought to bring Catholics into this policy by offering an "outstretched hand" to them, a startling shift from its former militant hostility.

Father Murphy examined, on the basis of impressively thorough research, the evolution of this policy, the Catholic response to it, and what effects it may have had. It is hardly surprising that the attitude of the French hierarchy and the Vatican was largely negative, since the long-term hostility of French Communists and the persecution of Catholicism in the Soviet Union suggested, correctly, that the *main tendue* was simply a temporary tactic, not a genuine change of attitude. Most French Catholics reacted similarly, though a few marginal Catholics may have been affected. The policy was therefore a failure, without lasting effects.

His second book appeared in 1998: *Père Jacques: Resplendent in Victory* (Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1998). It is the biography of a Carmelite friar, Father Jacques de Jésus, who became more widely known as "Father Jean," the hero of Louis Malle's film, *Au revoir les enfants*. Born Lucien-Louis Bunel in 1900, he entered the Carmelite order in 1931. As headmaster of a Carmelite preparatory school in Avon, he made it a refuge for those fleeing persecution by the Vichy regime, especially Jews. Though the Nazi occupation of Vichy France in November, 1942, made his activities far more dangerous, he redoubled his efforts, in particular by finding Catholic families with whom Jews could be hidden. In January, 1944, he was arrested and sent to the concentration camp at Mauthhausen. He survived that brutal experience until liberation in May, 1945, but his health was broken and he died on June 5, 1945. Like his first book, his second is based on solid research, both published and archival.

Father Murphy was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association from 1972 until his death. He also belonged to the Society for Italian Historical Studies, the Society for French Historical Studies, the Western Society for French History, and the American Historical Association.

A funeral Mass was celebrated in Mt. St. Vincent Chapel in Wellesley on August 31, 2006. He was a great teacher, a fine scholar, an exemplary priest, and a good man. He will be greatly missed.

Boston College   ALAN J. REINERMAN

Letters to the Editor

Patrick J. McGeever's review of my book, *Harry, Tom and Father Rice*: *Accusation and Betrayal in America's Cold War* in your April 2006 issue (pp. 298-299) misrepresents how I present a key element of the book. Noting that my uncle, Harry Davenport, went into a steep decline after losing his Congressional seat in 1950, McGeever comments that the book fails to "shed some light on why he [Davenport] betrayed his friends or walked away from his family. The nephew, despite spending much time in bars with his subject, was too embarrassed to ask."

McGeever is referring to my conversations with Harry mostly in the late 1960s, often in bars but also at holiday dinners in my home (p. 4). It is true that at first I was "reluctant" to ask him what had gone wrong during his one term in Congress (1949-50). As I say on page 4, "How do you ask a man, what caused you to fall apart?" But I could not have asked him about the first act of betrayal, his failure to speak up for his friend Tom Quinn when he was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1949. I learned about this incident only in 1999, by which time Harry had been dead for 22 years (p. 12).

A second betrayal of sorts occurred in April 1950 when Harry publicly denounced one of his principal supporters, the United Electrical Workers (UE), as a "puppet of Moscow" during the UE's battle with a rival union to represent Westinghouse Electric workers. Harry did tell me about this incident in response to a question, and I later essentially confirmed the story in my research for the book. Harry turned against the UE because David Lawrence, the Pittsburgh mayor and Democratic Party boss, made this a condition of continued party support. In retaliation, the UE helped defeat Harry in November 1950 (pp. 190-199).

Why did Harry act as he did? I could not plumb his heart for the deepest reasons, but I described his troubled boyhood, his craving for the public spotlight and political success, his broken marriage, and his excessive drinking. Is this not "some light"?

Teaneck, New Jersey   JOHN HOERR

"Mr. Davenport, why did you turn your back on the people who got you elected to Congress, almost as soon as you arrived there? Was it out of genuine conviction, or sheer political opportunism? Are you ashamed of what you did?" "Mr. Davenport, are you a homosexual and was your marriage more or less a sham that you walked away from when it no longer seemed likely to pay political dividends?" These are some of the lines of questioning that a tough, thorough, independent investigator might have pursued with Harry Davenport in trying to make sense of his brief political career and subsequent life. Of

course, Davenport might not have responded candidly, or at all. But it's a pity such questions were never asked, because the answers just might have explained, better than references to his troubled childhood, love of the limelight, or alcoholism, why he behaved as he did.

As I said in my review, I found other parts of John Hoerr's *Harry, Tom and Father Rice* quite rewarding, but not the ones dealing with his Uncle Harry. At the end of the book, Davenport and his motivations remained a mystery to me. They still do.

Indiana University (Emeritus)   PATRICK J. MCGEEVER

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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General and Miscellaneous

Propheten und Märtyrer im Gedächtnis der Kirche. Zur ökumenischen Bedeutung von Märtyrern und Heiligen. Lukas Vischer. *Ökumenische Rundschau*, 55 (July, 2006), 306-340.

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