

GENERAL INDEX

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ABBREVIATIONS:

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biog.	biography	p.n.	personal notice
b.n.	brief note	rev.	review

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BISHOP LUCAS OF TÚY AND THE LATIN CHRONICLE TRADITION IN IBERIA

BY

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Lucas, bishop of Tuy, was a canon of the shrine of San Isidoro in León, protégé of Queen Berenguela, and figure at the court of her son, King Fernando III, of Leon-Castile. He was also the compiler and author of a world chronicle, Chronicon Mundi, finished about 1238. This study is particularly directed to the final nineteen chapters of his work that treat his own times, between 1188 and 1236. It is an analysis of his attitudes toward the medieval Iberian kings and kingship of that period, toward those monarchs' activities in the reconquista directed against Muslim Iberia, and toward the contemporary Church and churchmen.

Lucas' Chronicon, together with the De Rebus Hispaniae of Archbishop Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada finished in 1243, and the Cronica Latina Regum Castellae, completed after 1238 probably by the chancellor of the realm and later Bishop Juan of Soria and Burgos, form part of a remarkable contemporary trilogy of Latin historical works associated with the court of Fernando III. All have also been given a modern critical edition just recently, 2003, 1987, and 1997 respectively, putting their study on a new and more reliable scholarly level. While earlier scholarship had tended to be somewhat dismissive of the Chronicon of Lucas, it here emerges as a robust contribution to the very lively Latin historical compositions of the early thirteenth century in León-Castile.

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The third and fourth decades of the thirteenth century saw the production in Castile of three major Latin historical works, Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae* (1243), Bishop Juan of Osma and Burgos' *Chronica Latina Regum Castellae* (c. 1240?) and Bishop Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon Mundi* (c. 1237-1238?), the earliest. This sudden spate of compositions is ordinarily regarded as all the more remarkable in that it is usually held that there had been no such general, Latin historical works produced during the preceding seventy years.

Archbishop Rodrigo's *De Rebus* has received the greatest scholarly attention because it was central to the later elaboration of the vernacular historical tradition and therefore, not surprisingly, was the first of the trio to benefit from a modern, critical edition.¹ Bishop Juan's *Chronica Latina* has latterly been rendered into an adequate critical text but awaits a fuller treatment of both its difficult manuscript transmission and its enigmatic literary form.² Most recently of all, Bishop Lucas' *Chronicon Mundi* finally found a thorough and most competent editor.³

All three of these clerical historians knew one another personally and their careers, at the court of Fernando III, king of Castile (1217-1252) and then of León as well (1230-1252), were intertwined professionally, as we shall see below. That royal court, like all royal courts of

¹Roderici Ximenii de Rada, *Historia De Rebus Hispanie sive Historica Gotbica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde (Turnholt, 1987) is Volume 72 of the *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis* (hereafter cited as CCCM). The *De Rebus* is the simplest of the three to date, since the best manuscripts bear the notice that it was finished on March 31, 1243. It is hereafter cited as DRH.

²*Chronica Latina Regum Castellae*, ed. L. Charlo Brea in *Chronica Hispana Saeculii XIII*, eds. Luis Charlo Brea, Juan A. Estévez Sola, and Rocío Carande Herrero (Turnholt, 1997), pp. 9-118. The latter forms Volume 73 of the CCCM and is hereafter cited as CLRC. Even more recently a most useful English translation with notes has appeared: *The Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile*, trans. Joseph F. O'Callaghan (Tempe, Arizona, 2002). The date of the *Chronica's* completion has not, and perhaps never will be, finally established for the most obvious fact about it is that we, almost certainly, do not have the original text in its complete form. The last, abrupt notice that it provides is of Fernando III's entry into Burgos in November of 1236. This notice is followed by the enigmatic, "Hoc opus explevi tempore, credo, brevi. Laus tibi, Christe" (p. 118). This statement refers to the copyist's completion of the particular manuscript, a collection of earlier works, in which the CLRC is found.

³*Lucae Tudensis Chronicon Mundi*, ed. Emma Falque (Turnholt, 2003), as Volume 74 of the CCCM. The chronicle ends with the description of the capture of Córdoba by Fernando III in 1236. It must have been finished before 1243 for the *De Rebus* is so massively dependent upon it. The *Cronicon Mundi* is hereafter cited as CM.

the period in Western Europe, was relatively small, perhaps two hundred persons in all excluding servants and minor military personnel, and it was peripatetic.⁴ It is indubitable from the documents of the period that our authors were in contact for the long periods in which they were in attendance on the king, even if they had not attested that fact themselves in their chronicles.

More pertinently here, it is unlikely that Archbishop Rodrigo's *De Rebus* could have found its actual literary form, and so achieved the massive influence that it was subsequently to exert, without its wholesale reliance upon Bishop Lucas' *Chronicon Mundi*. The modern editor of the former says simply that the latter constituted the spine of all but the initial two of the nine books of the Archbishop's chronicle.⁵ On the other hand, dependence of the *Chronica Latina* upon the *Chronicon Mundi* seems to have been non-existent. From the *De Rebus* it may have taken only the general form of two chapters.⁶ In this light, the centrality of the work of Bishop Lucas for both the transmission of the earlier tradition of the Latin chronicle in the peninsula and its culmination in the vernacular historical products of the later thirteenth century becomes clear.

The world chronicle as a genre that utilized the Hebrew scriptures, these latter accepted as a more or less literal account of the progress of humanity from creation forward, then combined with the products of the classical historians, and culminating in the acceptance of the Roman Empire as the providential vehicle for the universal spread of the Christian Church and cult, originated in the eastern Mediterranean

⁴For a brief description of its customary itinerary through the realm, see the synopsis of José Manuel Nieto Soria, "La monarquía fundacional de Fernando III," pp. 44-45 in *Fernando III y su tiempo, 1201-1252* (León, 2003), pp. 31-66.

⁵DRH, p. xxix.

⁶A serious shortcoming of Charlo Brea's edition is the near-complete absence of any discussion of the *Chronica Latina's* sources or methods. I have such a consideration presently in hand. The work was composed over some considerable time and, on the basis of internal evidence, was likely to have been completed sometime after 1239. O'Callaghan, *Latin Chronicle*, pp. xxviii-xxx, gives a handy introduction to the current state of that particular problem. The narrative similarities in the respective accounts of the brief reign of Enrique I of Castile (1214-1217), DRH, pp. 281-85, and CLRC, pp. 73-76, suggest dependence. The direction of that influence is related to the deducible time of their composition which, in turn, is ultimately related to the presently insufficiently explored questions of the various redactions of the CLRC. There are other parallelisms that raise further questions of dependence, or the utilization of a common source. Nor, at this point, can the simple effect of describing the same events with largely the same Latin vocabulary be entirely discounted.

with the fourth-century Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea. This genre was translated from the Greek by Saint Jerome and Rufinus and domesticated in the Latin west above all by the immensely popular work in the Middle Ages of the Iberian protégé of Saint Augustine, Paulus Orosius, whose history was completed in A.D. 418. In the Iberian Peninsula the genre received its predominant form with Bishop Isidore of Sevilla (c. 601-636), whose *Chronicle* became the foundation for subsequent continuations there. Naturally the gradual disappearance of the Roman political order in the western world created obvious problems for the continued coherence of the world chronicle as a genre everywhere in the west. That difficulty was eventually solved by linking various Germanic kings and dynasties, in Iberia the Visigoths, to both the Christian Church and the Roman imperial authority.

The modern study of the complexities of this development has proceeded more slowly in Iberia than in the remainder of western Europe and has been peculiarly bedeviled by the particularisms, not to say separatisms, of the peninsula, whose passions and rivalries persist even to the present day. Historical data has been appropriated to serve religious, political, regional, linguistic, and social agendas by both Iberian and non-Iberian historians. The rather more modest and circumscribed attempts of the past chroniclers of the peninsula themselves to comprehend their own heritage have often been neglected, or overshadowed, by more modern pre-occupations.

In English a most valuable survey of the general course of Iberia's reflection upon its own history has recently been provided by Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain*.⁷ In Spanish, the similar account is to be found in the older work of Benito Sánchez Alonso and in the more recent account of Juan Gil.⁸ A closer examination of the very early medieval development of the Latin historiographical tradition in the peninsula has been provided by Eloy Benito Ruano.⁹ An intensive critical survey of the Latin historiography of the period of the High Middle Ages in Iberia has yet to be written, but the basis for one is currently being provided in the most welcome editions of the particular works mentioned above.

⁷*History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993).

⁸*Historia de la historiografía española*, 2nd ed. (Madrid, 1947) and Juan Gil, "La historiografía," in *Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, Vol. XI, ed. José María Jover Zamora (Madrid, 1997), pp. 3-109.

⁹"La historiografía en la Alta Edad Media española," *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 17 (1952), 50-104.

In this context, to date, the usual verdict of the Iberian historiographers on the *Chronicon Mundi* has been generally severe and, in some measure, mistaken. But then until the recent edition of Profesora Emma Falque no one had done a comprehensive examination of Lucas's sources or his use of them. However her work illustrates in detail that his *Chronicon Mundi* was, in its first three books, primarily a compilation, combination and emendation of the earliest major works of the Latin Chronicle in the peninsula.¹⁰ In her analysis of the sources of the Fourth Book, particularly relevant to the study here in hand, and their use, Falque followed closely my own earlier examination of that subject.¹¹ Consequently, that material needs to be repeated only when it bears upon the practices of Bishop Lucas in what must be styled his own composition proper of the history of the years immediately prior to his own times and of contemporary events. It is largely on these latter materials that a fuller evaluation of the achievement of Bishop Lucas as a historian may be effected.

When Lucas was born is of course unknown. We hear of his status in the royal monastery of San Isidoro of León as a canon and deacon.¹² He also became something of a protégé to Queen Berenguela, daughter of Alfonso VIII of Castile, who from 1197 to 1204 had been married to Alfonso IX of León, gave birth to the future Fernando III, king of Castile (1217- 1252), then of León as well (1230-1252). Berenguela was regent of Castile from 1214 and subsequently queen-mother of the reunited kingdoms down until her death in 1246. At her behest Lucas compiled and composed his *Chronicon Mundi*. That request was made, in all probability, after the year 1230 when the hitherto warring kingdoms of León and Castile were reunited under Fernando III. The task was completed after the fall of Córdoba in 1236 and certainly

¹⁰CM, pp. xxii-xxiii and xxxiii-lxix. Scripture aside, Lucas's only presently identifiable major non-peninsular source was Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, but he depended upon this Parisian schoolman (+ c. 1179) and that work, completed about 1170, quite heavily. CM, pp. 358-362.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. lxx-c. Bernard F. Reilly, "Sources of the Fourth Book of Lucas of Túy's *Chronicon Mundi*," *Classical Folia* 30 (1976), 127-137.

¹²CM, pp. viii-xii provides the essentials of his known biography and the literature thereon, relying especially on the recent and close readings by Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 1993) as well as the latter's "On further thought: Lucas of Túy, Rodrigo of Toledo, and the Alfonsine Histories," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 27 (1997), 415-436, and his "Dates and doubts about don Lucas," *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales*, 24 (2001), 201-217.

somewhat before the Archbishop Rodrigo completed his own work in 1243.¹³ Lucas died in 1249.

This study will be concerned primarily with the narrative, methods, and concerns of Lucas, beginning in Chapter Eighty-two with the accession of Alfonso IX of León in 1188 and forward through the reigns of his contemporary Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), the brief reign of Enrique of Castile (1214-1217), and the ultimate successor of both, Fernando III of Castile. That was the period about which the bishop may be presumed to have had access to the information of companions and contemporaries in the royal court, or near contemporaries. At the same time, the presumptive lack of alternative written accounts forced him to compose rather than just to compile, continue, and emend.

As was customary in the Latin chronicle tradition, his history was the history of kings. The kings of León had also had an imperial past, of course. As recently as Alfonso VII, one of them had been crowned, in 1135, as emperor and his diplomas thereafter asserted a dominion over the entire peninsula. His son, Fernando II, and his grandson, Alfonso VIII, employed the title *rex Hispaniarum* sporadically in their documents. Nonetheless, the title of "imperator" in the *Chronicon* appears almost exclusively in the language borrowed from his predecessors. In Lucas' preface he sometimes speaks the classical language of "princeps" and "ducibus" but, here as elsewhere in those sections of the text that may be confidently be ascribed to his personal composition, the contemporary terminology of "rex" and "regnum" predominate in his language as it does in his thought. "Imperator" and "imperium" do not appear in it at all, though they may be employed when Lucas is simply repeating the language of his sources.¹⁴

To be sure, this is "Christian" kingship. It is incumbent upon kings to acknowledge the triune god of Christianity, to follow the "Catholic

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xxi. Profesora Falque reviews the literature and comes to the same conclusions that I had advanced in 1976. A most recent study of the manuscript tradition would support a date from late 1237 to 1238. Enrique Jérez, "El Tudense en su siglo: transmisión y recepción del *Chronicon Mundi* en el Doscientos," in *El relato historiográfico: Textos, y tradiciones en la España medieval*, ed. Francisco Bautista (London, 2006), pp. 19-57. See particularly pp. 32-35.

¹⁴CM, pp. 3-4. Of Alfonso VI of León-Castile he copies "Qui ad tantam devenit gloriam, ut imperatorem Yspanie faceret se vocari." *Ibid.*, p. 304. On the latter's grandson, Alfonso VII, Lucas is similarly faithful to his source as he renders "Ab illa die vocatus est imperator Ispanie. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 311.

faith" in word and deed, to protect the peace of the realm, to execute justice without regard to persons, and to defend the realm against its enemies without counting the sacrifice entailed. Moreover, the king must preserve himself from fleshly indulgences, wine, women, and luxuries are singled out, which render him unfit for war or lead to eternal damnation. He must guard as well against the lies and intrigues of those around him. He is to rule for the benefit of the ruled.¹⁵

Nevertheless, Lucas was constructing a history, not a theology, of political life. His approach to peninsular kingship followed the pragmatic tradition of the established chronicle tradition. That is, despite the residual sense that Iberia was one entity, already from the early chronicles written in the mountain redoubt of Asturias of the ninth century, the plurality of kingship within it was recognized as a given. Empire and the assertion of hegemony might sometimes briefly have been noted as one of the preoccupations of particularly fortunate individual monarchs, and their chanceries, but historians need must recognize the practical fragility of such pretensions.¹⁶

A plurality of kings flowed easily from his pen; "reges Yspanie," "Yspanie regibus," "omnibus Yspanie regibus," and "reges hispanos,"¹⁷ Notwithstanding, that does not impede his characterization of individual potentates of subsidiary realms. Surely the "kings" of León and the "kings" of Castile constitute a counterpoint on virtually every page of his narrative. These were the two great monarchs of the central *meseta* of Iberia and any of its contemporary historians could not but recognize that fact in their accounts. But lesser players, a "rex Portugalie,"¹⁸ a "rex Navarrie,"¹⁹ as well as a "rex Aragonum,"²⁰ find their appropriate place in his history without any hint that they are somehow subordinate in their proper kingship as such. The same matter-of-fact acceptance is reflected in the mention of "regem Legionensem et regem Castelle et omnes Yspanie reges Christiani et Sarraceni."²¹ Though Lucas's narrative moves through the great peninsular battlefields of his

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶The subject is a traditional preoccupation of Iberian medieval scholarship. Those pursuing it can still hardly do better than to begin with the contrasting approaches of Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos* (Madrid, 1950) and of José Antonio Maravall, *El concepto de España en la Edad Media*, 2nd ed. (Madrid 1964).

¹⁷CM, pp. 322, 324, 331, and 336.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 320, 321, 331, 335, and 336.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 321, 322, 328, and 329.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 321, 328, and 329.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 326.

times at Alarcos (1195), Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), and culminates with the relation of the fall of Córdoba itself (1236), though his routine characterizations of the major foe are the “Sarraceni,” or the “Mauri,” or the “barbari,” and their opponents are just as routinely described as “Christiani,” there is no implication that the “kings” of the enemy are of any lesser rank or dignity.

But it was with the kings of León and Castile, with whom he was chiefly concerned, that his characterization became specific. Alfonso IX of León (1188-1230) at his accession Lucas described as “comely, eloquent, clement, manly, energetic on the field of battle, and of reliable Catholic faith.”²² His nephew and frequent antagonist, Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), Lucas portrayed similarly as “great in wisdom, adept in counsel, energetic in battle, most generous, and strong in the Catholic faith.”²³ The successor of both, son of the first and grandson of the latter, Fernando III of León-Castile (1217-1230-1252), the bishop painted as “pious, prudent, humble, Catholic, and graced with a character good beyond his years during his minority. When the boy became king in his own right he boasted the adult virtues of “severity in justice, punishing the guilty, but merciful and clement to enemies once overcome . . . never grasping in spirit, but wise after the fashion of his grandfather and of a sturdy and clement spirit after that of his father.”²⁴

Apparently these several virtues did not become vices even during some three years of incessant warfare between León and Castile when Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso IX of León contended with one another like “two ferocious lions.” Even though the apparition of the Virgin and her divine son outside the royal city of León warned against the cruelty of that continuing warfare, it took some considerable further time to patch up a peace between the two.²⁵ It may be that the relationship of the two contenders to Lucas’s own patroness had an inhibiting effect here, even though the protagonists themselves were

²²CM, p. 320. “pulcher, eloquens, clemens, fortis viribus et armis strenuus et in fide catholica solidatus.”

²³*Ibid.*, p. 321. “sapiencia magnus, consilio providus, armis strenuus, largitate precipuus et fide catholica roboratus.”

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 332-333. “in humilitate iusta severitas, qua reprobos puniebat, et in severitate iusta misericors et clemens humilitas, qua prostratis inimicus parcebat. Eius regalis animus avaricia numquam potuit inflammari . . . requieverit super eum spiritus sapientie, qui fuit in Adefonso rege Castelle auo suo, et spiritus fortitudinis et clemencie, qui erat in Adefonso rege Legionensi patre ipsius.”

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 323-324. “Duo ferocissimi reges quasi duo ferocissimi leones. . . .”

deceased by the time of this writing. However, the author's abstention from judgment is striking.

The most proper direction of these warlike predilections, however, was the struggle against the "barbari," the "Sarraceni," the "Mauri." Lucas celebrated the "reconquista" like a proper man of his time, even though he never employed that term itself. The expansion of one's realm was one of the callings of kingship. The celebration of the repopulation of localities such as Plasencia, Beja, Moya by Alfonso VIII of Castile not only aggrandized the realm but constituted victory over the enemy of the faith as well.²⁶ Indeed these repopulations are described as the cause of the end of the truce between Castile and the Almohads that led to the campaigns that culminated in the climactic battle and Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212.²⁷ So too, Alfonso IX of León was praised not just for his repopulations in Christian Galicia, in Asturias, in the Bierzo but also in Estremadura where he advanced the frontier at the expense of the Muslim.²⁸ As for Fernando III, the *Chronicon* concludes with a virtual hymn of praise for his restoration in 1236, after his capture of Muslim Córdoba, to the great pilgrim church of Santiago de Compostela of those bells carried off from it three centuries earlier by the Muslim warlord, al-Mansur.²⁹

Important as the function of war chief was to kingship, and the chronicle celebration of it in the period, it never entirely obscured the parallel importance of the royal contributions to the works of peace. Chief among these was the exercise of the royal justice, the control of the over-mighty, and the repression of brigands and evil-doers of all types. Already in his preface and his description of the virtues of several of his monarchs, Bishop Lucas had attended to this aspect of the royal activity, but he was conspicuous in his rich elaboration of this established chronicle tradition.

For example, after the marriage of the Princess Berenguela to Alfonso IX of León in 1197, when peace broke out between the latter and the father of his bride, Alfonso VIII of Castile, Lucas immediately turned his narration to the celebration of the positive results that it allowed. He describes the construction of the monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos, where Berenguela was eventually interred, with its

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 321.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 327.

²⁸*Ibid.* pp. 326-327.

richness in gold, silver, and precious stones, the royal palace that was built adjacent to it, and the hospital erected nearby on the public road for pilgrims on their way to Santiago de Compostela. But he also notices the royal foundation in Palencia of a university, or *studium generale*, with its masters in theology and the liberal arts, in the time of the bishop of that city, Tello Téllez de Meneses (1208-1247).³⁰

Bishop Lucas also turned his attention to the ameliorations and improvements in the Leonese realm of Alfonso IX during the same peaceful respite. He noted reform of the mores and laws of the citizens of León and the satisfaction of their grievances. He mentioned that the queen saw to the construction of a royal palace in the city and the extensive works that she carried out on the royal monastery and pantheon of San Isidoro there. Like everyone else, one thinks, the good bishop was struck by the wave of construction in the new Gothic style that was then occurring almost everywhere in Christian Iberia, in good measure replacing the older Romanesque architecture. At León he cited the new cathedral that had been begun by Bishop Manrique de Lara (1181-1205)³¹ and the new church dedicated to Saint James of Compostela and later consecrated by Archbishop Pedro (1207-1224) of that shrine see. Archbishop Pedro had been dean of the cathedral chapter, then briefly bishop of León (1205-1207) before being translated to the church of the apostle. Finally, Lucas adverted to the massive and learned works on Holy Scripture compiled by San Martín (d. 1203), a canon of the monastery of San Isidoro in León.³²

Once again, during the reign of Fernando III, Bishop Lucas focused his narrative on the works of peace. Bishop Maurice of

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 341-342.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 326. The bishop's name was rendered as "Mauricius" in the Latin text and the editor has cited no variants.

³²*Ibid.*, Lucas had also included a brief biography of San Martín in his own collection of stories and *miracula* concerning the relationship of Saint Isidore of Sevilla and the Leonese shrine devoted to the latter saint. Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, "El biógrafo contemporáneo de Sancto Martino: Lucas de Túy." *Isidoriana, I. Ponencias del I Congreso Internacional sobre Santo Martino en el VIII centenario de su obra literaria (1185-1985)* (León, 1987), pp. 303-335. The former work cannot be confidently dated as either prior or subsequent to the CM itself. It must also be distinguished from the anonymous *Translatio Sancti Isidori*. Falque, CM, pp. xii-xv. It seems from the letter to him that precedes the former in the manuscript that Lucas was at least acquainted with Suero Gómez de Madrid, the first provincial of the Dominican province in Iberia. Fernández Conde, "Biógrafo," p. 304, n. 5.

Burgos (1213-1238) was mentioned for his initiation of the great Gothic cathedral there. Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1209-1247) was similarly praised for making the same sort of beginning on a Gothic cathedral in Toledo. Moreover, the chancellor of Fernando III, subsequent Bishop Juan of Osma (1231-1240) and finally bishop at Burgos (1240-1246) was lauded for his extensive rebuilding of the cathedral in Osma as well as well as the reconstruction of the collegiate church of Valladolid, where he had earlier been abbot, in the Gothic style.³³ At Astorga he cited the extensive building program of Bishop Nuño (1226-1241) that repaired the massive walls of that city along with its episcopal palace and the cloister of the cathedral. Farther west the attention of Bishop Martín Rodríguez (c.1217-1238) to the erection of bridges and hospitals in the Zamora district was noted.³⁴ Yet farther west, in Galicia, Lucas gave similar praise to Bishop Lorenzo (1218-1248) of Orense for the latter's restorations in the cathedral, the episcopal palace, and the bridge over the Miño River outside that city and to Bishop Esteban at Túy, Lucas's immediate predecessor as it happened, for the completion and consecration of the cathedral there.³⁵ More generally the latter also mentioned the building of monasteries and the preaching of the gospel throughout the peninsula by the new Dominican and Franciscan orders.³⁶

In fact, in the opinion of Bishop Lucas this period was a sort of golden age. It was a blessed time in which the Catholic faith was honored, heresy was repressed, and the cities and castles of the Saracens were ground down. The Christian kings battled for the faith and everywhere triumphed. The clergy threw up churches and monasteries. The peasantry improved their fields, husbanded their stock, enjoyed their peace, and no one dispossessed them.³⁷

³³Falque, CM, p.334. It is noteworthy that Lucas was most probably acquainted with all three at court and that, strikingly, both Archbishop Rodrigo and Bishop Juan were contemporary historians.

³⁴*Ibid.* Bishop Martín had been translated to the bishopric of León (11/24/1138-1/16/1142) possibly just during the time when Lucas was composing his *Chronicon*.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 334-335. "per totam Yspaniam."

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 334. "O quam beata tempora ista, in quibus fides catholica sublimatur, heretica praeuitas trucidatur et Sarracenorum urbes et castra fidelium gladiis devastantur. Pugnans Yspani reges pro fide et ubique vincunt. Episcopi, abbates et clerus ecclesias et monasteria construunt et ruricole absque formidine agros excolunt, animalia nutriunt, pace fruuntur, et non est qui exterreat eos."

Altogether, this marked expansion of the traditional, mainly political, preoccupations of the Iberian chronicle continued nevertheless to be set within the typical methodology and eclecticism of that genre. Bishop Lucas's modern editor has demonstrated exhaustively his dependence upon the seventh-century *Chronica* of Bishop Isidore of Sevilla, which latter work had indeed been fundamental to the entire subsequent development of the chronicle tradition in the peninsula, as well as upon the ninth-century chronicles of Asturias, the eleventh-century chronicle of Bishop Sampiro, and the twelfth-century chronicles of Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, on the *Historia Silense*, roughly contemporary with Bishop Pelayo, and upon the *Chronica Naierensis* of the latter part of the twelfth century. Historical works that fell outside that familiar framework, the twelfth-century *Historia Compostelana*, the *Las crónicas anónimas de Sabagún*, and even the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* were perhaps unknown or perhaps rather ignored since they fell rather within the genre of *gestae* rather than chronicle. It may well be, as I have suggested elsewhere, that Bishop Lucas had at his disposal two other chronicles of the traditional type, presently unknown to us, that better suited his needs and his format.³⁸

However that may be, Lucas also made use of popular, or epic, literary pieces as had the chronicle tradition already from its beginnings in the ninth century in the mountains of Asturias.³⁹ For example, the story of the eight-century battle of Pelayo with the Muslims at Covadonga clearly reproduced popular elements.⁴⁰ The accounts given of the early history of Castile in the *Chronica Naierensis* still were heavily interlarded with materials drawn from the same type of popular sources.⁴¹ Lucas accepted and repeated these earlier materials and

³⁸Reilly, "Sources," pp. 132-135. As to these suggestions, Profesora Falque, in CM, pp. c-ciii, expresses polite reserve, while Professor Linehan, "On Further Thought," pp. 415-416 is more robustly skeptical. Given the strength of the tradition of borrowing verbatim, I incline to let the arguments then stated on literary and terminological bases stand. In light of my present researches, however, I would withdraw the accompanying suggestion that some alternative bases might be found in the *Chronica Latina*.

³⁹Ramon Menéndez Pidal, *Reliquias de la poesía épica española* (Madrid, 1951), p. xxxiv had already pointed this out in this classic work He had made his case in more detail in his earlier *Historia y épopeya* (Madrid, 1934), pp. 35-38 and 44-45.

⁴⁰Juan Gil Fernández, José L. Moralejo, and Juan I. Ruiz de la Peña, eds. *Crónicas asturianas* (Oviedo, 1985), pp. 125-129. While generally students of literature are delighted by these survivals, modern historians tend rather to continue to be slightly embarrassed by them. See *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

⁴¹Juan A. Estévez Sola, ed., "Chronica Naierensis" in *Chronica Hispana Saeculi XII* (Turnholt, 1995). It is Vol. 71A of the CCCM. More particularly, see H. Salvador Martínez,

added to them other tales that subsequently became part of the chronicle canon. For example, with his *Chronicon* the first notice of the legend of Bernardo del Carpio appears, as does a popularized account of the pilgrimage of King Louis VII of France, and there is good reason to suspect he depended as well on epic materials that had grown up around the embattled relationship of Sancho II of Castile and Alfonso VI of León in the period 1065-1072.⁴²

This use of literary materials affected the form as well as the content of the Latin chronicle. Specifically, protagonists other than the royal persons and their opponents were sometimes introduced and dialogue was employed to dramatic effect. Here too Lucas was docile to the lead of his sources, usually repeating their dialogue verbatim.⁴³ While Lucas is the first source for the episode that recounts the visit of Louis VII to Iberia, we may be reasonably sure that he is doing the same thing. There, for instance, the French king speaks directly to Alfonso VII and is answered by him. The drama is further widened when Ramón Berenguer IV of Barcelona intervenes verbally and Louis of France responds to him in turn.⁴⁴ In another scene King Afonso I of Portugal, after having been captured by Fernando II of León in 1169, verbally confesses his aggressions against Fernando's kingdom while the latter responds that he may keep his Portuguese kingdom if he will surrender the lands he has unlawfully seized.⁴⁵ In yet another instance, the very words of intercession of Fernando III of Castile, addressed to Saint Isidore of Seville, requesting the latter's assistance in the wars against the Muslims, and the words of the same monarch requesting rather more material assistance from the men of Benevente and Zamora are also recorded.⁴⁶ The very infrequency of this use of dialogue, however, sets it off from the usual practice of Lucas and indicates, almost infallibly, his borrowing from popular materials.

Hagiographical materials found their way into Lucas's history as well. Again that was an already established tradition in the Latin chron-

"Tres leyendas heroicas de la Najarense y sus relaciones con la epica castellana," *Anuario de Letras, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Centro de Linguistica Hispanica*, 9 (1971), 115-177.

⁴²CM, pp. lxxvii-lxxx; Reilly, "Sources," pp. 128-129 and 136.

⁴³For example, see Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla, eds., *Historia Silense* (Madrid, 1959), p. 133; and CM, p. 225.

⁴⁴CM, pp. 314-315.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 340-341.

icle and one that Lucas duly accepted, copying the testimony of his sources in this regard as well. He also re-employed one of his own works of hagiography, an account of the translation of the relics of San Isidore from the then Muslim kingdom of Seville to the royal city of León in the time of Fernando I (1037-1065), in which dialogue was briefly employed as well.⁴⁷ This employment of hagiographical material presupposed the acceptance of the occasional miraculous historical event as literally true, but here again that convention and standpoint had long been typical of the chronicle tradition.

Finally, Lucas is the first historian in the tradition of the Latin chronicle in Iberia to insert a royal document as such into his narrative. That was the so-called "Privilegio de los Votos," or the diploma issued to the shrine church of Santiago de Compostela by the Asturian monarch Ramiro I subsequent to his fabulous victory over the Muslim at Clavijo. Unfortunately the document was itself quite as spurious as the battle.⁴⁸ It might be noted that in another genre, the *gesta*, i.e., the *Historia Compostelana* of the first half of the twelfth century, literally hundreds of documents were employed to supplement the narrative. Nevertheless that practice largely remained foreign to the Latin chronicle.

Modern assessments of Bishop Lucas' *Chronicon*, even given that a critical edition has only just become available, have been unfortunately partial and even unrealistic. He has been assailed not only for having been unduly credulous and superstitious, but also for simply incorporating the language as well as the information of his predecessors into his own work without systematically acknowledging his debt to them.⁴⁹ In short, most of this criticism overlooks the simple fact that

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp. lxxxv-xc and 289-292. A more extensive consideration of this particular work and its relationships is Raymond McCluskey, "The Genesis of the *Concordia* of Martin of León," in *God and Man in Medieval Spain*, eds. Derek W. Lomax and David MCKenzie (Warminster, 1989), pp. 19-36. On the more general subject see Patrick Henriët, "Hagiographie et historiographie en Péninsule Ibérique XI-XIIè siècles: quelques remarques," in *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales*, 23 (2000), 53-86 and his "Sanctissima patria: points et thèmes communs aux trios oeuvres de Lucas de Tuy," *Ibid.*, 24 (2001), 249-278.

⁴⁸CM, pp. lxxxi-lxxxiv and 237-241.

⁴⁹Rafael Ballester y Castell, *Las fuentes narrativas de la historia de España durante la Edad Media* Palma de Mallorca, 1908), pp. 74-75, is fairly typical of a twentieth-century attitude that was only grudgingly modified as that century progressed. See Sánchez Alonso, *Historia*, I, 126, in 1947 and more soberly Fernández Conde, "Biógrafo," pp. 309-10 in 1987, and Gil, "Historiografía," pp. 88-95, with more to come below.

Lucas, like his contemporaries, Rodrigo of Toledo and Juan of Osma, was not a professional historian in the twentieth-century sense at all but rather was a cleric by vocation and occupation whose historical work was an avocation at best. In the spare time available to him, within formidable limitations of access to previous historical works and materials, he seems to have performed as a thoroughly creditable amateur, sifting and combining extant information to the best of his abilities, in a fashion and measure that Profesora Falque has made clearer than heretofore.

The application of modern canons, of historical writing, of perspectives, or even of political morality, to him is both anachronistic and faintly absurd. Clearly this thirteenth-century cleric believed in the possibility of miracles as he did in the divinely ordained rule of kings, as moderns ordinarily do not. He believed that the ultimate triumph of Christians over Muslims was desirable, that Christian heretics were abominable, and that Jews were only tolerable on pragmatic grounds, offensive as such beliefs may be to modern, historical canons. Such views are unlikely to persuade us or to seduce us and once noted are, therefore, largely irrelevant to our interests in his achievement.

A more serious concern has recently been raised by Professor Linehan who sees Lucas as systematically and deliberately tampering with his sources in order to promote the interests of his beloved church of León against those of its rival, the primatial see of Toledo.⁵⁰ Lucas's modern editor has a long and detailed consideration of the materials that the author employed in Book Three in which she also rehearsed much of the history of the question and suggested her deference to the deductions of Linehan.⁵¹ It does appear to me, however, that the latter's hypotheses depend in considerable degree on inspired hunches as to the probable motives at work in the admitted dependence of Archbishop Rodrigo upon the *Chronicon* of Lucas and on the assumption of a sort of clairvoyance on the part of the latter that allowed him to prejudice the work of the Toledan archbishop before it had even been written.

In addition, I would suggest that we are, collectively, still dependent upon a less than complete knowledge of Lucas sources, particularly for

⁵⁰*History*, pp. 357-377. He pursues the argument with formidable scholarship and considerable erudition.

⁵¹CM, pp. xlix-lxix.

these centuries.⁵² There is, and long has been, a scholarly consensus that the so-called chronicle of the pseudo-Alfonso, archbishop of Toledo, made its first appearance in the CM.⁵³ This former is a tangle of materials that purports to be a chronicle of the years 633 to 648 in Visigothic Iberia and includes, among other matters, a series of confused references to the prophet Muhammad and the rise of Islam. Professor Linehan has seen in it an original composition of Lucas as part of the latter's defense of the status of Saint Isidore of Sevilla, whose relics had long been resident in Lucas's own collegiate church of San Isidoro of León, in a contemporary situation in which the possible re-conquest of Sevilla by Fernando III inevitably would raise questions as to the latter's ecclesial status relative to Toledo, then primate of the peninsula.⁵⁴

Immediate difficulties with such speculation are that the pseudo-chronicle obviously has wider concerns than a Toledo-Sevilla rivalry and that the linking of the Isidorian shrine of León to such a rivalry borders on the gratuitous. To be sure, the southward expansion of the Christian kingdoms of Iberia after the tenth century raised all sorts of problems as to the restoration of the ecclesiastical order of antiquity in the newly recovered lands and these were marked by episcopal rivalries and, not infrequently, forgeries that taxed the ingenuity of Rome to mediate between competing assertions and claims. But the bishopric of León was involved in this struggle only in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to maintain its own status as a see exempt from any metropolitan and the shrine of San Isidoro in that city was even more peripheral to such contests.

Most recently the evaluation of Lucas's *Chronicon* has become further entangled in the analysis of the secular politics of the reign of Fernando III. Several scholars have sought to identify more closely the

⁵²Latterly Bautista, "Tudense," pp. 35-41, has revisited the particularly tangled question of the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicon Mundi* and those related textual questions that affect judgments as to its various early redactions, their dating, and their intent, as well as important textual variants related to them.

⁵³CM, pp. 161-71.

⁵⁴See his *History*, pp. 357-377, and more recently his "On Further Thought: Lucas of Tuy, Rodrigo of Toledo and the Alfonsine Histories," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 27 (1997): 415-436, where he suggests that Lucas was a sort of literary "terrorist" and his world chronicle a "Chronicle against Toledo," pp. 425-27. More recently still his "Dates and Doubts about don Lucas," *Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispanique médiévales*, 24 (2001), 210-217, where he suggests that Lucas was a schizophrenic and speculates that he might not even have been a native of Iberia, pp. 202 and 204-06.

factions at play at that time and, in the process, have sought to select one or the other of the three major chroniclers of the age as spokesmen or even partisans of this or that cabal. Georges Martin has produced a study that examines the attitude of each toward the queen-mother Berenguela and her role in the reign.⁵⁵ He finds Lucas to be a firm partisan of Berenguela and her joint rule with her son, but Juan de Osma a supporter rather of the fully independent rule of the son and dismissive, when possible, of the mother, while he credits Archbishop Rodrigo as a more sophisticated manipulator than either who played the magnates and the queen-mother, sometimes even against the king, in the interests of the archbishopric of Toledo.⁵⁶ Such delicate interpretation requires much resort to “in all probability,” “perhaps more objective,” “perhaps more disposed,” when Martin moves from the events actually described to the motives and the sensibilities involved in their description by the chroniclers. Especially where it concerns the *Chronica Latina*, for instance, it suffers from the misconceptions for instance, that both Lucas and Juan de Osma completed their histories in 1236 and that the latter’s account of the events of Pentecost of 1224 was the composition of Juan himself rather than a borrowed set-piece, as I suspect.⁵⁷ Certainly Martin has demonstrated real differences in attitude of these several authors to the proper role of women in royal political life but that they were the spokesmen, or even members, of one or the other political faction depends on inferences and implications over which reasonable historians will differ.

The same sort of utilization of the chronicles of the period marks the very valuable study by Francisco Javier Hernández of the reign of Fernando III, particularly with regard to its continuing relationships with the court of France. He assembles documents not ordinarily employed to demonstrate a continuing and intimate connection between the two royal courts and to add body to the generally laconic narrative of the chronicles.⁵⁸ In that process he compares the narratives of the three chroniclers with respect to the participation of the French in the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 in the time of Alfonso VIII, the rebellion of the nobility in 1223-1224 early in the

⁵⁵ “Berenguela de Castilla (1214-1246) en el espejo de la historiografía de su época,” *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina*, ed. Isabel Morant, 4 vols in 2 (Madrid, 2005), I, 569-594.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 585-86.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 569-70 and p. 581.

⁵⁸ “La corte de Fernando III y la casa real de Francia. Documentos, crónicas, monumentos,” *Fernando y su tiempo, 1201-1252* (León, 2003), 103-156.

reign of Fernando III, and the resumption of the wars against the Muslims of Andalucía in 1224.⁵⁹ In general Hernández finds Lucas largely non-committal or equivocal, Juan of Osma a partisan of the king, and Archbishop Rodrigo a sympathizer if not an ally of the nobility and sometimes of the queen-mother over against the king himself.

In this latter endeavor there are the perhaps inevitable problems. The dubious assertion that Juan's account is earlier than that of Archbishop Rodrigo is one, though it is critical for his argument. Another is the failure to take into consideration the necessary differences that must arise from the fact that while the latter was assembling a history of the world, the former was rendering merely a history of the past eighty years. Finally, it has to be said that, for this student at least, the very passages from the chronicles that Hernández adduces to demonstrate dependence or partisan motives are, at best, more ambiguous than he allows, both as to the direction of the former and the studied intent of the latter.

Of this attempt at closer analysis Peter Linehan is an enthusiastic partisan. Particularly in his "Don Rodrigo and the Government of the Kingdom" he argues not only that the archbishop, and his sometime ally Queen Berenguela, may be detected losing political influence as they aged, particularly after 1240, but in some measure as early as the year 1230.⁶⁰ As evidence he emphasizes the importance, in this regard, of the passage of the chancery of the realm of Castile from Archbishop Rodrigo to Juan of Osma in 1230-1231, which process he rightly considers to have originated as a royal initiative, related as well to the subsequent transfer of the chancery of the realm of León in 1231 to the same Juan of Osma. As he points out, what was at work here was the necessary consolidation of a central instrument of royal civil government at the time. However, that, as he illustrates, the royal decision was made in each case before the subsequent and individual agreements over the specific terms of those transfers between the parties, hardly implies the mutual animosities he attaches to those facts.⁶¹ Of course the initiative was King Fernando's and the details and mutual satisfactions were worked out later with the affected parties. How else should such significant decisions have been made?

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 108-109, 111-118, and 120-124.

⁶⁰*Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales*, 26 (2003), 87-99.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, pp. 88-90.

Professor Linehan also raises these and other matters elsewhere, in particular the delay in the recognition of Juan of Osma's appointment to the latter see after 1230 and the abortive attempt to secure the transfer of Juan to the bishopric of León in 1237.⁶² The relative clarification and documentation of all of these complicated issues is a most welcome service. Nor would anyone care to dispute that change is the constant of political life in all ages and that, for actors in the process, aging itself is ordinarily the solvent of political influence. Neither would anyone imagine that such a process is or was ever without its strains, tensions, and rivalries. Notwithstanding, there remains the very real question whether the rise of Juan of Osma was not rather the result of Archbishop Rodrigo's success in advancing the career of a protégé rather than evidence of a younger man supplanting an older rival. In such a question it will not do simply to disregard the "formal" evidence in favor of reliance upon suspicions as to the non-retrievable "realpolitik" behind them⁶³

What may be known with fair certainty is that all three of the major historians of the second quarter of the thirteenth century in Castile probably were figures of the court of Fernando III, well known to one another in the peripatetic life of that institution which was their likely common milieu for at least most of each year. One thinks that they could not have been unaware of the historical endeavors of one another, even as those works were in process. Nonetheless, to my mind, there is no convincing, demonstrable rivalry or animosity among them in this regard. The then royal chancellor, Juan, appears initially simply to have chosen to disregard the format of the world chronicle, in favor of a straightforward *gesta* and, although he may have been the first actually to begin to write and almost certainly was the last to finish, later suffered some doubts about his chosen format and, correspondingly, modified it erratically.⁶⁴ Though Juan largely ignored the

⁶²Peter Linehan, "Don Juan de Soria: unas apostillas," in *Fernando III y su tiempo, 1201-1252* (León, 2003), pp. 375-394.

⁶³For example, Linehan, "Don Rodrigo," pp. 87-89, dismisses Julio González's reading of the "formal" record of the agreement between the archbishop of Toledo and the chancellor Juan at the outset of his study and then the latter's having "shrewdly" appointed the former as an executor of his estate at the conclusion of it. *Ibid.*, p. 99. Gratuitously and anachronistically, he also characterizes the archbishop as "Prince of plagiarists" who "elevated the black art to a level unsurpassed until our own time." *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶⁴There is an unresolved, and so-far unaddressed, tangle of intents and genres reflected in the manuscript. I shall attempt to resolve them in full in a subsequent article.

work of his contemporaries he certainly did not suffer for it, at their hands or those of others at court.

In large outlines his career, from abbot at Santander, to abbot at Valladolid, to chancellor of the realm, first of León, then of Castile as well, and then bishop of Osma, and finally bishop of Burgos, is unimaginable without the active support of Archbishop Rodrigo. These positions were politically and ecclesiastically sensitive posts of the highest order, as well as the most desirable of financial plums.⁶⁵ There is reason to believe that Juan was a native of Soria and of a family related to Archbishop Rodrigo.⁶⁶ He may also have been a canon of Burgos when the future archbishop was himself a member of the chapter there. There is the further possibility that Juan may have, early on, been a member of the cathedral chapter of Toledo, for his praise of Archbishop Rodrigo's predecessor there is fulsome.⁶⁷ At any rate, he early had as one of his patrons Bishop Maurice of Burgos, the latter former dean of the cathedral chapter at Toledo and another associate and collaborator of Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo.⁶⁸ Then too, as noted above, Juan entered into legal agreements with the archbishop over their relative rights to the chancery of Castile and finally made Rodrigo one of the executors of his own estate. The dozen notices of the archbishop in Juan's *Chronica* are properly sober and respectful of Rodrigo's outstanding role in the life of the realm.⁶⁹

As already mentioned, the relationship between the chronicles of Lucas and of the archbishop of Toledo was so close as to be almost incestuous, both in time of composition and in construction. We cannot be sure of the inner-most feelings of Lucas at Rodrigo's near-appropriation of his opus. Nevertheless, Lucas explicitly praised the

⁶⁵Luciano Serrano, "El canciller de Fernando III de Castilla," *Hispania*, 1 (1941), 3-40. Juan himself describes how he presided at the celebration of the liberation and rededication of Córdoba in 1236 in Rodrigo's stead. CLRC, pp. 116-117. The archbishop mentions the same incident in DRH, p. 299.

⁶⁶Serrano, "Canciller," 4. Serrano's study has the advantage of fullness and a clarity afforded by its separation from the question of the authorship of the CLRC.

⁶⁷O'Callaghan, *Latin Chronicle*, p. xxxvi, referring to CLRC, p. 44: "felicis recordationis, virum discretum, benignum et largum, qui adeo ab omnibus diligebatur quod pater omnium putaretur" called attention to this quite warm reference in the CLRC to the then long deceased Archbishop Martin of Pisuerga (1192-8/28/1208), Rodrigo's immediate predecessor at Toledo.

⁶⁸Serrano, "Canciller," p. 5.

⁶⁹Although Hernández, "Corte," pp. 108-109, finds an implied criticism of the archbishop by Juan in the first of them.

archbishop of Toledo for his evident learning, virtue, and generosity, and for his defense of Catholic truth and for his great work toward the raising of a new cathedral in Toledo.⁷⁰ Archbishop Rodrigo himself never referred to Lucas, but one thinks that the latter could never have been preferred to the see of Túy without the Toledan primate's acquiescence at least. It may be remarked, of course, that the bishopric of Túy was humble enough and far removed from the center of political and religious life at the time. It was, even so, a financial "living" well worth having and bishops were hardly required to take up continuous residence in their dioceses in thirteenth-century Iberia.

One cannot speak of a similar literary relationship between Lucas and the chancellor Juan. There is no evidence of borrowing detectable in the chronicles of the two. Certainly Lucas was aware of the career of the latter and spoke of him with favor in Juan's many roles as chancellor and as a clerical builder and patron as abbot at Valladolid and again as bishop at Osma.⁷¹ Juan of Osma, to the contrary, has nothing to say of Lucas in his *Chronica Latina*; but as chancellor and courtier himself most certainly knew the Leonese cleric as Queen Berenguela's protégé, in all likelihood prepared the documents that effected Lucas's appointment to the see of Túy, and would have been consulted in advance as to the suitability of that particular designation.

Finally, though Lucas has properly been assumed to be a partisan, not only of San Isidoro but of that saint's monastery and shrine, on the wider scene it is to be noted that his own compositions in the *Chronicon* are quite remarkably balanced. If anything, in the allocation of space, he inclines to favor Castile. Even the roughest of counts finds that Alfonso IX of León secured but two hundred and twenty-four lines of text. Alfonso VIII of Castile merited three hundred and twenty-four lines and to that number another one hundred and ninety-one lines were assigned to Fernando III. Moreover, as indicated above, Lucas was quite as likely to mention works of art and architecture, public works, and even the pursuit of learning in Castile as in his putatively-preferred León. On the face of things, one might even suspect that many Leonese and Castilians alike appear in the main to have been ready, if not

⁷⁰CM, p. 328, "sciencia et moribus eruditus atque omni bonitate conspicuus. Tactus nimio cordis dolore intrinsecus, tamquam catholicae fidei filius se non recusavit subdere laboribus et discriminibus pro defensione catholicae veritatis" and 334, "reverentissimus pater Rodericus archepiscopus Toletanus ecclesiam Toletanum mirabili opera fabricavit"

⁷¹CM, p. 334.

anxious, to put the roughly three-quarters of a century of strife between the two kingdoms behind them and to celebrate the new unity of the times of Fernando III.

Obviously not all strains were resolved and local preferences continued to be operative. Politics, then as ever, were a constant. But there appears to have existed sufficient good will to allow the quite remarkable, if one thinks of it, assimilation and utilization by Archbishop Rodrigo of the great mass of the literary and historical achievement of his contemporary and relatively humbler fellow churchman and historian, Lucas.⁷²

⁷²Not that Rodrigo's own judgment ceased to have effect in determined particulars. See the individual touches and modifications that I indicated, in some particulars, in an earlier study: "Rodrigo Giménez de Rada's Portrait of Alfonso VI of León-Castile in the *De Rebus Hispaniae*: Historical Methodology in the Thirteenth Century," in *Estudios en homenaje a D. Claudio Sánchez Albornoz en sus 90 años* (Buenos Aires, 1985), III, pp. 87-97.

GIACOMO ANTONIO MARTA:
ANTIPAPAL LAWYER AND ENGLISH SPY, 1609-1618

BY

PAUL F. GRENDLER*

Giacomo Antonio Marta (1557/58-1629) of Naples was a distinguished legal scholar and professor at several Italian universities. His education, warm feelings for the Jesuits, and career should have made him a papal defender in an era of church-state jurisdictional conflict. But in a legal work of 1609 he limited papal temporal rights and became a spy for James I of England. He published an anonymous pamphlet which excoriated the papacy for its alleged sins and called for a general council to depose Paul V. But not even his enemies believed that he was anything but a Catholic.

The most important and hardest fought political and legal battles in Europe in the first years of the seventeenth century were struggles over the jurisdictional claims of church and state. Popes and civil governments quarreled bitterly over which had jurisdiction in certain kinds of criminal cases and in other church-state matters. These clashes occurred because Europe's civil governments were expanding their control over the inhabitants and institutions in their states at the expense of the powers and rights of the Church and, ultimately, the papacy. Outside of war, church-state jurisdictional clashes became the most important political issue in Europe, because the matter was fundamental: would the Church or the state exercise authority and jurisdiction over some of the most important areas of civil, religious, and institutional life? Secular rulers, jurists, theologians, cardinals, and polemicists of all persuasions argued the issues in virulent pamphlets and measured legal treatises. And some participants took unexpected

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positions. The distinguished legal scholar and university professor Giacomo Antonio Marta was such a person. His upbringing, education, and career should have made him a papal defender. Yet, Marta opposed papal jurisdictional claims and excoriated the papacy for its alleged sins. He wrote a pamphlet calling for a general church council to depose Paul V. And he spied for the Protestant James I of England. Marta's actions and views illustrate unexpected turns found in this period of church-state conflict.

1. Civil and Ecclesiastical jurisdiction

Giacomo Antonio Marta was born in Naples in 1557 or 1558, perhaps of affluent parents, and he probably grew up in Naples.¹ In his will Marta stated that the Jesuits raised him from the age of ten, and that he had come under the protection of Father Alfonso Salmerón (1515-1585), one of the original Jesuits and the provincial of the Jesuit Province of Naples from 1558 to 1575.² In other words, Marta was probably orphaned and Salmerón looked after the little boy. In these circumstances it is very likely that he attended Jesuit schools. As a young adult he wrote several short philosophical works which coincided with Jesuit views. At the age of twelve he began legal studies.³ But the details of his legal education are unknown.

In or about 1583 Marta went to Rome, where Cardinal Luigi d'Este (1538-1586), a philo-French cardinal, initially supported him. Marta probably spent most of the years between 1583 and 1597 in Rome. At this time and in later publications Marta called himself an "advocate [i.e., lawyer] at the Roman Curia."⁴ Because some of the agencies that made up the Curia also functioned as courts to resolve disputes involving assignment of clerical offices and benefices, taxes, marriage disputes, dowries, the granting of favors, and much else, they needed

¹Marta in his works, and his contemporaries in their comments, gave various answers for his age, which coalesce around a birth date of 1557 or 1558.

²Enrico Paglia, *Il Dottor Jacopo Antonio Marta giureconsulto napoletano giusta i documenti inediti mantovani* (Mantua, 1886), p. 8, for the text of Marta's will of 1628. Paglia's study is a separate printing of his article in *Atti della R. Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova* (Mantua, 1885-1886). There is no reference to Marta in Salmerón's published correspondence.

³Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols. (Naples, 1787-1788), vol. 2, p. 233.

⁴See the title page of his *Decisionum novissimarum Almi Collegii Pisani . . . doctoris Martae iurisconsulti Neapolitani in Romana Curia Advocati* (Venice: Apud Ioan. Antonium & Iacobum de Franciscis, 1608).

lawyers to represent them. It is likely that Marta was accredited to represent clients who had cases before the Curia. He was acquainted with some prominent figures in the papal legal establishment. He acquired an insider's knowledge about legal, jurisdictional, and political actions at the papal court. In 1597 he left Rome to become ordinary professor of civil law at the University of Pisa, during which time he published three legal works.⁵ Marta left the University of Pisa in 1603, possibly to return to Rome in some capacity.

Marta's next legal publication was a very large treatise on ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction: *Tractatus de iurisdictione per et inter iudicem ecclesiasticum et secularem exercenda in omni foro et principum consistoriis versantibus maxime necessarius Doctoris Martae, iuris consulti Neapolitani, in alma urbe Advocato*. (A most necessary treatise concerning the exercise of jurisdiction through and between the ecclesiastical and secular judge, in every forum and for princely consistories so occupied, by Doctor Marta, Neapolitan jurisconsult and advocate in the kind city). Mainz: Typis Ioannis Albini, sumptibus vero Hulderici Rewall, MDCIX (1609).⁶ Marta dedicated volume one to Pope Paul V and volume two to Cardinal Ottavio Pallavicino.

Anything written about ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction was guaranteed to attract attention in Italy and Europe after the bitter struggle over the Venetian Interdict of 1606 and 1607. In December 1605 Pope Paul V issued an ultimatum: if the Republic of Venice would not hand over for trial in a church court two clergymen accused of crimes, whom the Republic intended to try in civil courts, and revoke a law asserting civil jurisdiction over clergymen accused of crimes, and other laws sharply limiting the rights of church organizations to receive land bequests, to build churches, and to regain control of lands leased to laymen, he would excommunicate the Venetian Senate and impose an interdict on the Republic. Venice refused, and the pope acted on his threat in April 1606. The interdict forbade clergymen to exercise almost all priestly duties, such as celebrating Mass and administering the sacraments. In response the Republic ordered Venetian

⁵Danilo Barsanti, "I docenti e le cattedre dal 1543 al 1737" in *Storia dell'Università di Pisa*, Vol. 1 in 2 parts: 1343-1737 (Pisa, 1993), part 2, pp. 524, 547 (whole article pp. 505-566).

⁶Although usually bound as a single large volume, it is divided into two volumes with separate title pages and pagination. The British Library copy has been used.

clergymen to disobey the papacy under pain of death. The majority probably obeyed willingly; others were coerced, some fled, and the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Theatines, who refused to obey, were expelled from the Venetian state. Both the Republic and the papacy applied diplomatic pressure and made ostentatious preparations for war.

Within a few months the Republic and the papacy reached an impasse and began to extend peace feelers. Paul V softened his position, and divisions appeared in Venetian ranks. In February 1607 the Venetians accepted mediation by a French cardinal, and on April 21, 1607, the pope lifted the interdict. A compromise favoring Venice was reached. The Venetians handed over to the French king the clergymen sought by Rome but retained the laws restricting the rights of the Church.

For the rest of Italy and Europe the church-state issues publicly debated were more important than the interdict itself, because the rights and powers of Church and state were the most disputed governmental issues of the times. Venetian and papal advocates defended their respective positions, and soon James I of England, French Gallicans, German Jesuits, and Huguenot theologians joined the paper war. Jurists burrowed into precedents, arguments, and citations. The reasons were obvious: governments everywhere, Catholic and Protestant, were seeking to expand their control over the subjects and institutions in their states, while churchmen saw their traditional rights and liberties threatened or revoked.

Marta produced a huge legal work discussing jurisdictional issues in the broadest legal and historical context and in hundreds of precise, although theoretical, legal circumstances. The book had four parts. Marta presented his historical and theoretical views on jurisdiction in the first nineteen chapters.⁷ He began by recognizing the pope as God's vicar on earth and the source of all jurisdiction. He defined jurisdiction as dominion over temporal things. Because God conceded jurisdiction to Adam and then to men, it followed that God was the master of all temporal things and the source of all authority. Dominion over earthly things came from God, and no king had power over temporal things without the will of God. Marta made considerable use of

⁷For what follows, see the first nineteen chapters in Marta, *Tractatus de jurisdictione*, vol. 1, pp. 1-39. Francesco De Paola, *Il carteggio del napoletano Jacopo Antonio Marta con la corte di Inghilterra (1611-1615)* (Lecce, 1984), pp. 17-20, 246-250, provides a useful summary of this material.

the Old Testament, especially the books of Judges and Samuel in which God granted jurisdiction to priests, who then chose or denounced rulers. God wanted His people to be governed by priests, such as the prophet Elias. Marta noted that the Israelite judge Samuel, a ruler over temporal things, was first a priest. Marta then extrapolated from the Old Testament to argue that even the Holy Roman Emperor was a feudatory of the Church.

But then Marta narrowed and subdivided jurisdiction, by dividing it into the office of jurisdiction and the authority of jurisdiction. The former meant the faculty or means of administering justice and ensuring equity. The second form of jurisdiction was the power of governing the people by right and with laws. This was subdivided into spiritual jurisdiction, which Marta further defined as ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and temporal jurisdiction. Both came from God. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction meant the divine power delegated to Moses and ordinarily guided by Christ for the purpose of governing the faithful according to the Gospel in supernatural things and, when necessary, also in temporal matters. Temporal jurisdiction was the divine power conceded to Moses the priest to enable men to live well according to natural precepts. It was also given to usurpers and confirmed in their successors according to the natural laws of peoples.

Because God conceded also to usurpers the faculty of legislating, it followed that one must obey unfaithful princes, because they also drew their power from God. In so far as he raised issues of political philosophy, Marta endorsed the divine right of kings, probably the dominant position of the day, and rejected constitutionalism. Since the ruler's power came from God or from the Church, rather than from the original consent of the people, no argument to limit or depose the ruler could be made. Subjects must obey even a bad ruler because his power came from God. The most important principle espoused in the treatise may have been this one, that the power of temporal princes came directly and immediately from God.⁸ In particular, Marta seemed almost eager, if legal prose can ever be described as eager, to affirm the rights and importance of the Holy Roman Emperor. The empire was a transmitter of divine power; indeed, the emperor was the father of all.

The pope and the emperor were the ordinary judges of men, because God delegated to them power, and they have the consent of

⁸De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 18, also makes this point.

provinces and peoples. Such power eliminated dissent and violence. Marta then passed in review authorities such as St. Augustine who argued that there were two authorities governing the world. He noted that the pope's temporal jurisdiction in Italy was founded on the Donation of Constantine and cited it as a reminder that the world was ruled by two powers, king and priest.

Having established that there were two authorities on earth, pope and emperor, Marta separated their spheres in ways that sharply limited the authority of the pope and Church in temporal matters. He cited St. Ambrose's dictum that emperors have competence over palaces, and priests over churches. He introduced the juridical principle that if the pope were superior in all temporal jurisdictions, the law would give him authority in the appeal of sentences, which was not the case. Marta cited popes Alexander III (1159-1181) and Clement V (1305-1314) to support the principle that popes do not have jurisdiction beyond the papal state and may not participate in appeals from civil judges. He noted that St. Peter ordered Christians to obey kings, even the pagan kings of those times (1 Peter 2:13-14). There cannot be two conjoined masters. Consequently, the emperor, not the pope, was master of the world.

Marta adduced a long series of references from the Old Testament, the New Testament, and authorities from the Middle Ages in support of the separation of the two and the temporal power of the emperor. Because the spiritual monarchy and the temporal monarchy have two distinct functions, they cannot be combined in one person. In spiritual matters Marta noted with approval that Cardinal Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (1460-1534) had argued that the pope had the most ample authority over every temporal jurisdiction and could use it when necessary for supernatural ends. He had the power to create new princes, to remove others, and to divide empires. But then Marta added that the Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) had argued that the pope was not the master of all the world, but only of his own sheep, which Peter had entrusted to him. Infidels were not the pope's sheep.

Despite the complexities, to this point Marta basically argued for separation of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction, and he tended to deny to the Church the authority to intervene in temporal matters. But then in the next chapters, Marta reversed direction and argued that popes had jurisdiction in temporal matters, citing in support a vast number of mostly medieval authorities.

However, the book was fundamentally a legal reference work, not a theoretical treatise. The rest of the huge tome dealt with precise legal questions. Some fifty-five chapters discussed mixed church and state jurisdiction.⁹ On the whole, Marta favored the rights of the Church more often than the state in the examples presented. For example, Marta defended interdicts and excommunication but set limits on their use. But he never referred to the recent papal-Venetian conflict. The fourth part of the book, which comprised volume two, consisted of some two-hundred chapters dealing with every possible potential situation in which civil judges presumed that they had jurisdiction over ecclesiastics. Marta did not discuss actual cases. Rather, he presented one theoretical example after another in order to determine whether lay courts might try clergymen and the legal paths to be followed. While it is difficult to generalize from theoretical examples, it appears that most of the time Marta insisted on ecclesiastical jurisdiction over clergymen. But under some circumstances he permitted civil courts to try clergymen, a principle that Paul V rejected. In one example he argued that the secular court might punish a clergyman who committed murder if the ecclesiastical court first passed sentence.¹⁰ To some extent he restricted the actions of clergymen in the civil sphere. Perhaps the strongest overall message of the book was to narrow the practical applicability of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The book was a legal treatise and reference work lacking a political philosophy. Marta probably enjoyed giving references and examples supporting both sides of the issue, a tradition stemming from the *sic et non* nature of scholastic legal reasoning. Legal scholars and political theorists probably found the book a storehouse of distinctions and references which could be used to support either civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, depending on the particular dispute or the point of view. This was one reason for writing the book; the other was to boost Marta's reputation as a legal scholar. The four additional printings of the work that appeared between 1616 and 1620, plus reprints in 1669 and 1709, suggest that he succeeded in both goals.¹¹

⁹Marta, *Tractatus de jurisdictione*, vol. 1, pp. 156-292; the material on excommunication and interdict is found in vol. 1, pp. 295-344.

¹⁰Marta, *Tractatus de iurisdictione*, vol. 2, pp. 222-223, *casus* 129. See also *casus* 126 and 127, pp. 218-220. In general, cases 150 to 200, pp. 184-314, present a minority of theoretical examples in which clergymen may be tried in lay courts under certain conditions.

¹¹It was reprinted in Cologne, 1616; Turin, 1620; Mainz, 1620; Avignon, 1620; Avignon, 1669; and Avignon, 1709. See Giustiniani, *Memorie*, vol. 2, p. 237; Paglia, *Marta*, p. 12; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 14-15 n. 20, 243 n. 1; and various library catalogues.

Despite dedications to the pope and a cardinal, and many pages supporting ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the papacy was not happy with the book. On April 2, 1610, the Congregation of the Index placed the book on the Index of Prohibited Books for its “many errors” in matters of faith.¹² Possibly Marta’s argument that a ruler’s temporal authority came directly from God was what the Congregation of the Index found objectionable. But it is not clear that Marta viewed his book as challenging papal jurisdiction; he may have seen himself as simply presenting a non-partisan scholarly analysis of complicated legal issues. As a scholar Marta pursued legal arguments to their logical conclusions without necessarily realizing how popes and rulers in the real world might react to his words.

What the papacy found objectionable in the *Tractatus de iurisdictione*, the Republic of Venice welcomed. Marta came to the attention of Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), theologian to the Republic and intellectual leader of the antipapal party in Venice. Sarpi and Marta probably met in Venice in 1611 or 1612. Most important, Sarpi knew Marta’s *Tractatus de iurisdictione*, because he referred to Marta as one of many jurisconsults who supported Venetian claims.¹³

Thanks to the *Tractatus de iurisdictione* and support from Sarpi and like-minded Venetian nobles, Marta obtained one of the highest prizes in the Italian academic world, a professorship at the University of Padua. In 1611 the man who had filled the position of first afternoon professor of canon law at the University of Padua since 1582 died. Thanks to the support of Paolo Sarpi and several influential Venetian patricians with fervent antipapal views, Marta obtained the position in the fall of 1611. Marta received a four-year contract at a salary of 650 Paduan florins. It was a good salary, but far from the highest among the professors of law.¹⁴

¹²See *Index librorum prohibitorum 1600-1966*, ed. J. M. De Bujanda with the assistance of Marcella Richter (Sherbrooke, Montréal, and Genève, 2002), p. 592, for the date of the decree, but not the text of the decree, which has not been located. See also the letter of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the papal secretary of state, to Berlinghiero Gessi, the papal nuncio to Venice, of September 20, 1614, Rome, which gives as a reason the “molti errori etiam in cose di fede.” Pietro Savio, “Il nunzio a Venezia dopo l’interdetto,” *Archivio veneto*, Serie 5, vols. 56-57 (1955), p. 63, n. 2 (entire article pp. 55-110). The condemnation was reaffirmed on July 3, 1623, and repeated in subsequent Indices.

¹³Paolo Sarpi, *Opera*, eds. Gaetano and Luisa Cozzi (Milan and Naples, 1969), p. 627. Sarpi also named Marta as one of twenty-three jurisconsults who supported Venetian claims on p. 630.

¹⁴For the Senate action appointing Marta, see Gaetano Cozzi, *Il doge Nicolò Contarini: Ricerche sul patriziato veneziano agli inizi del Seicento* (Venice and Rome,

2. A Spy for James I

At this time Marta began the most unusual and controversial episode of his life. On June 19, 1612, Marta offered to provide James I with secret information on what was transpiring in Rome.¹⁵ James I listened, because he wished to forge a grand alliance of Protestant and Catholic states against Spain and the papacy, which he saw as a Spanish ally. If his scheme were to succeed, the king needed information about papal intentions. He accepted Marta's offer.

The conduit for Marta's intelligence reports was the English ambassador to Venice, Sir Dudley Carleton (1573-1632).¹⁶ In 1604 Venice and England had restored diplomatic relations broken off in the reign of Elizabeth I. Each now had a resident ambassador at the other's court to present the home government's views. But this was only part of an ambassador's duties; he was also expected to gather information. Since England, a Protestant state, had no diplomatic ties with the papacy nor resident ambassadors in other Italian states, the English ambassador to Venice gathered information for the entire peninsula. Like all other ambassadors at the time, Carleton employed informants and spies for this purpose.

Marta fulfilled his commitment. From June 19, 1612, through May 28, 1615, the surviving correspondence between Marta and the English government amounted to 122 letters: eighty-one from Marta to Carleton and one to Carleton's secretary, seven from Marta to James I, five from Marta to the secretary of James I, twenty-two from Carleton to Marta, and four letters of Marta and Carleton to other parties.¹⁷ The vast majority of the letters, including those of Carleton to Marta, were written in Italian, a few in Latin. Sections of some letters were written in a simple code in which a two-digit number represented individuals or states. Carleton's gondolier and sometimes his secretary carried the letters back and forth between Padua and Venice.

1958), pp. 131 n. 2 and 132 n. 1; see also Wolfgang Reinhard, "Papst Paul V. und seine Nuntien im Kampf gegen die 'Supplicatio ad Imperatorem' und ihren Verfasser Giacomo Antonio Marta 1613-1620," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 60 (1969), pp. 213-214 (whole article pp. 190-238); and Jacopo Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, 3 vols. (Padua, 1757; reprinted in one volume Bologna, 1978), part 3, pp. 82-83, 94.

¹⁵Marta's letter to James I of June 19, 1612, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁶For Carleton, see L. J. Reeve, "Carleton, Dudley," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004), vol. 10, pp. 105-108.

¹⁷The correspondence from the Public Record Office in London is printed in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 58-215.

Much of the intelligence that Marta delivered consisted of reports about the actions and intentions of governments and their leaders, including comments about the personal habits, lives, and health of rulers; the comings and goings of diplomats; the number of soldiers in the pay of a ruler; the destination of armies; rumors of future appointments and elevations to the College of Cardinals; and anything else that seemed relevant. Some of the information was clearly important; other items did not rise above gossip.

The first major issue about which Marta provided intelligence from Rome was the proposed marriage between Prince Henry, the oldest son of James I, and Caterina de' Medici (1593-1629), sister of Cosimo II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany. For some time James had been seeking a marriage alliance with a major Catholic ruling family. The Medici were such a family, not least because Marie de Médicis (1573-1642) at that time was the regent of France. A Medici marriage would be a huge step toward his dream of becoming the mediator between Protestant and Catholic Europe. In addition, a marriage alliance with one of the reigning Catholic houses would yield more prestige and considerably more money than marrying Henry to a daughter of the king of Sweden or Denmark or to a German Lutheran princess. Most important, the proposed marriage had the potential to change the dynastic, diplomatic, and religious map of Europe because, in the normal course of events, Henry Stuart and Caterina de' Medici would become king and queen of England and produce children. It might be the first step toward bringing England back into the Catholic fold, an outcome for which the papacy and others on the continent hoped, and many in England feared.

On July 15, 1612, Marta summarized papal opinion for Carleton. He reported that the cardinals were divided on the proposed marriage. Some favored it, believing that Caterina might be permitted to remain Catholic in such a union. On the other hand, canon law prohibited marriage between spouses of different religions, and Cardinal Bellarmine had written against such unions. And the cardinals wondered about the religion of their children. In Marta's opinion the majority of the cardinals did not think that Paul V would grant the necessary papal dispensation for the marriage to take place.¹⁸ In the end,

¹⁸Marta to Carleton, July 15, 1612, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 67-68. See also Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, translated by F. I. Antrobus et al., 40 vols. (London and St. Louis, 1891-1953), vol. 26, pp. 190-191.

no decision was needed. Prince Henry, born on February 19, 1594, and never strong, suddenly died on November 6, 1612, and the issue died with him.

Soon thereafter war broke out between Piedmont-Savoy and Mantua over the Mantuan territory of Monferrato. The marquisate of Monferrato was a discontinuous part of the Mantuan state located some 200 kilometers west of the city of Mantua. It included the fortress town of Casale Monferrato, a coveted military position that was the key to control of northwestern Italy and gateway to any invasion of northern Italy. On December 22, 1612, Francesco IV Gonzaga (1586-1612), duke of Mantua for only six and a half months, died, leaving only a three-year old daughter. Next in line was his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando Gonzaga (1589-ruled 1613-1626). Ferdinando immediately started proceedings to get the necessary dispensation to shed his cardinal's robes in order to become the duke of Mantua and marquis of Monferrato and to marry. However, Francesco IV had been married to the daughter of Carlo Emanuele I (1562-ruled 1580-1630), duke of Piedmont-Savoy. Carlo Emanuele immediately claimed Monferrato for his granddaughter on the basis of a feudal claim through the female line. And he took military action.

On April 23, 1613, Carlo Emanuele invaded the marquisate of Monferrato, and Gonzaga troops fought back. Spain objected to the aggression of Piedmont-Savoy because, if Casale Monferrato fell, the door would be open for the French to invade Spanish-held Lombardy. So, Spain attacked Piedmont-Savoy. Carlo Emanuele responded by loudly proclaiming a war of Italian liberation against the Spanish tyrant. Both Mantua and Piedmont-Savoy sought papal support, and France and Venice became diplomatically involved.¹⁹ The struggle soon became more diplomatic than military, and Rome, where Marta had contacts, was a good listening post.

From May 1, 1613, through May 1615, Marta sent the English ambassador letter after letter with information about the actions and stances of the parties involved in the crisis.²⁰ He frequently reported on the

¹⁹For a brief military and political account, see Romolo Quazza, *Preponderanza spagnuola (1559-1700)* (Milan, 1950), pp. 408-419. For papal policy during the War of Monferrato, see Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 25, pp. 420-422.

²⁰See Marta's letters to Carleton of May 1, 1613, through May 28, 1615, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 111-112, 114-116, 118, 129-130, 139-140, 155-156, 168, 191-193, 196, 197, 200, 203-212, 214. It appears that other letters from Marta have not survived.

number and disposition of troops available to the various parties, information gathered by his informants in Mantua and Milan. Marta wrote that the papacy wished to remain neutral, that the governor of Milan would not let Mantuan troops pass through Lombardy to attack Piedmont-Savoy without permission from Spain, and that the new duke of Mantua lacked money to fight the war.

Marta also gave James I unsolicited advice. In a letter to the king of June 6, 1613, Marta combined information with strategic counsel.²¹ He began by announcing that the outbreak of war in Italy offered the opportunity for an alliance of all Christians, Catholics and Protestants alike, against the barbarous tyrants and perverse and vicious ecclesiastics. The barbarous tyrants were the Spanish, and the perverse and vicious ecclesiastics were the pope and cardinals. Marta saw Spain and the papacy working hand in glove, an assessment not shared by modern scholars. Marta described nefarious deals that the Spaniards and the pope allegedly had made. He assured James that, in order to escape Spanish rule, the people of Naples, his native city, would be happy to become subjects of England.²² Above all, he urged James to assist the duke of Piedmont-Savoy. Then with the king's help, a church council with authority over the pope could be convoked to deal with the Roman thieves, while the barbarous tyrants would be extirpated, he concluded.

As might be expected, Marta advised what the king desired. James I sought to forge a grand anti-Spanish alliance consisting of England, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the German Protestant union of Halle, three Protestant Swiss cantons, and the Catholic states of Piedmont-Savoy and Venice. But it did not come to pass. All that James I could produce for Piedmont-Savoy was a little money. After a while Carlo Emanuele could no longer afford to keep troops in the field, and the war sputtered on at a reduced level, as the sides engaged in protracted peace negotiations.

Marta provided information to the English on a variety of other matters as well. He reported on the pope's diplomatic leanings and rumors about elevations to the College of Cardinals. He reported every illness

²¹Marta's letter to James I of June 6, 1613, Venice, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 131-134.

²²The idea was not as far-fetched as it sounds. In their anti-Spanish revolt of 1647 the Neapolitans declared Naples a free republic under a Frenchman, Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise. Quazza, *Preponderanza spagnuola*, pp. 505, 507-511.

and rumor of illness of Paul V.²³ On January 31, 1615, the father general of the Society of Jesus died. Marta reported that France wanted the Jesuits to choose a Frenchman as successor, and Spain wanted a Spaniard.²⁴ The astute Jesuits elected an Italian, Muzio Vitelleschi.

Because he lived in Padua, Marta could not personally act in Rome, Milan, and elsewhere. Instead, he organized and directed a network of people living in these cities who gathered intelligence and submitted it to him. Marta evaluated the intelligence, then gave Carleton a summary with commentary. The only informant whom Marta named was his “secret correspondent” in Rome, Francesco Visdomini, whom he described as a most noble Milanese gentleman.²⁵ According to Marta, Visdomini had served two influential curial cardinals, and was currently a courtier to Cardinal Scipione Borghese. Paul V’s nephew and secretary of state, Borghese (1578-1633) was the second most important person in Rome. In other words, Visdomini was not only an experienced papal hand, but he was probably part of the *familia* and possibly lived in the house of the person who oversaw papal diplomacy. Marta also had contacts in Milan, ruled by Spain, who provided intelligence from that city.²⁶ And on one occasion a Paduan priest who spent time in Mantua passed on information from Mantua and Casale Monferrato.²⁷ Others may also have worked for Marta. It was an extensive network of informers.

²³See, for example, Marta’s letter to Carleton of May 28, 1615, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 213.

²⁴Letter of Marta to Carleton, February 19, 1615, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 208.

²⁵“Io scrissi in Roma per haver un corrispondente secreto, e con 400 scudi l’anno, quanti V(ostra) E(ccellenza) mi disse, s’haveria il Secretario Visdomini, gentilhuom nobilissimo Milanese, il quale fù secretario del Cardinale di Como [Taddeo Galli, 1526-1607] e poi è stato secretario del cardinal Tonto [Michelangelo Tonti, created cardinal 1608, d. 1622], e poi ch’il cardinale Tonto fù disgratiato, esso si licentiò della sua servitù, et hor non stà con nissuno, ma corteggia il card.le Borghese.” Letter of Marta to Carleton, April 6, 1614, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 170; Marta gave Visdomini’s first name as “Francesco” on p. 173.

²⁶“Io hò inteso per lettere d’amici di Milano. . . .” And “Di Milano anco si scrive. . . .” Letter of Marta to Carleton, May 8, 1613, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 114, 115.

²⁷“Qui è gionto un prete padovano che litiga in Mantova innanzi al vescovo, che è mio cliente, il quale hà havuto copia di questo capitolo qui incluso, scritto da Casale ad un corteggiano di Mantova, per il quale V(ostra) E(minenza) vedrà in che stato si stà, et anco m’hà detto in voce, che in Mantova il duca senza dinari si tiene per perso, e che molti nobili di là, così dicono.” Letter of Marta to Carleton of May 10, 1613, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 116.

At a time when individuals in courts across Europe passed on information to foreign diplomats, it can be difficult to draw a distinction between espionage and the more innocent act of writing and sending information letters. Marta's actions should be seen as espionage for several reasons. He secretly gathered information about the papacy and passed it on to England, which was hostile to the papacy. Although not at war with each other, England and the papacy lacked diplomatic relations, and the two powers normally adhered to opposed diplomatic alliances. Above all, they were on opposite sides of the religious fence. Indeed, James I persecuted English Catholics at various times in his reign and forbade them from contacts with the pope. For these reasons, the papacy certainly viewed Marta's spying as a hostile act. In addition, Marta's actions were unlawful in the eyes of the Venetian government, which punished severely its subjects, even Venetian senators, who passed on information to foreign powers or had unauthorized contacts with foreign rulers. If the Venetian authorities had discovered Marta's activities, they probably would have punished him. At the minimum, they would have forced him to stop. Finally, Marta relayed to James I military information in a time of war. Governments then and now take a dim view of the gathering and passing on to foreign governments information about the numbers and movements of troops.

Marta's espionage was obviously useful, although it is difficult to judge how useful from a distance of nearly four hundred years. Nevertheless, the English thought highly enough of Marta's product to pay him 50 ducats per month, a total of 1,200 ducats for the period October 1, 1612, through September 30, 1614.²⁸ This was fourteen per cent more than his academic salary, and law professors were paid well.²⁹ But Marta may not have realized much profit, because he had to pay his informants. He paid Visdomini 400 scudi per year, some of

²⁸For the letters concerning payments, see Marta to Carleton, January 8, 1613, Padua, which established the payment as 600 scudi per annum; Marta to James I of January 15, 1613, Padua; plus other letters. De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 87, 92, 175-176, and 188-189.

²⁹Marta received 650 Paduan florins (worth 5 lire each) annually for teaching. He received 600 scudi annually for spying, a total of 1,200 scudi for two years. A scudo was worth about the same as the Venetian ducat of account, which was pegged at 6 lire, 4 soldi (20 soldi = 1 lira). Thus, Marta's academic salary yielded 3,250 lire (650 × 5) annually, while spying for the English earned 3,720 lire (600 × 6.2), which was 14 % more. To be sure, law professors often earned additional income through private tutoring, examining degree candidates as members of colleges of doctors of law, and writing *consilia* (legal opinions) for private clients.

which Visdomini may have dispersed to others.³⁰ In other words, two-thirds or more of what Marta received from the English crown went to members of his network.

Marta provided intelligence to Carleton at the rate of three to six letters per month through January 1615. But Carleton gradually cooled toward Marta. In June 1614 he complained to Marta that while much of his information from Rome was “good and authentic,” some of it was simply “talk and inventions.” Moreover, Carleton did not like Marta writing directly to the king and his minister in London.³¹ In late January 1615, James I ordered Carleton to go to Turin in order to try to negotiate peace between Piedmont-Savoy and the Spanish governor of Milan, and he left Venice in February.³² Marta continued to write to Carleton, but the letters dwindled to one in February, two in April, and two more in May, after which the correspondence ceased.³³

Marta’s spy career continued with the next ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton (1568-1639), famous for his pun, “An ambassador is an honest man sent to lie [which also meant ‘reside’ in contemporary English] abroad for the good of his country.”³⁴ He arrived in Venice on June 9, 1616.³⁵ Marta went to Wotton with a new scheme. He had a plan for a

³⁰Letter of Marta to Carleton of April 6, 1615, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 170.

³¹“Quanto a gli avisi di Roma sono sicurissimo per molti argomenti, che Ella me ne fara parte quando sono buoni et autentichi. Però s’ella gli indica più tosto discorsi et inventionj che cose sode e realij, fa meglio assai di non mandarli, perche di robba cosi fatta non ci è mai carestia in Venetia.” Carleton to Marta, June 8, 1614, Venice, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 177. See also Carleton’s letter to Lord Somerset of June 24, 1614, Venice, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 178-179.

³²One may follow Carleton’s movements in the notes to the Sarpi-Carleton correspondence in Sarpi, *Opere*, pp. 691-694.

³³De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 207-215.

³⁴Wotton’s famous quip was a pun, because “lie” at that time had two meanings: to reside and to tell a falsehood. Indeed, Wotton used “lie,” meaning “reside,” many times in his correspondence. See, for example, Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1907), vol. 2, p. 98. But in 1604 he wrote it for a friend in Latin, in which the pun disappears: “Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad mentendum rei publicae causa.” “Mentior” has only one meaning, to tell a falsehood. When Wotton’s quip (in Latin) was relayed to James I, the king was not amused, and Wotton’s career suffered a temporary halt. A. J. Loomie, “Wotton, Henry,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 60, pp. 379-380 (entire article pp. 377-382). For Wotton, in addition to Smith and Loomie, see Gerald Curzon, *Wotton and His Worlds: Spying, Science and Venetian Intrigues* (n.p., 2003). This was Wotton’s second posting to Venice; he had been ambassador to Venice from 1604 to 1610.

³⁵Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 1, p. 147.

council of Greek bishops and he wished Wotton to meet two Greeks, one a bishop in the Greek Orthodox Church. The proposed council of Greek bishops would transfer much papal authority to the Patriarch of Constantinople. It would also re-examine canon law, the decisions of the councils of Florence (1438-1445) and Trent (1545-1563), “where the suffrages [votes] were not free,” and papal claims that it had the power to depose kings. In other words, it would be a church council that would revisit the decisions of Florence and Trent and sharply restrict papal authority. Marta gave Wotton a list of more than a hundred Greek bishops who were prepared to attend such a council.³⁶

Wotton told Marta that he would have to consult with the king. Instead, he talked to Sarpi and his follower, Fulgenzio Micanzio. They were skeptical of the plan, and Wotton relayed their doubts to James I.³⁷ Sarpi and Micanzio may or may not have been correct in their assessment of Marta’s scheme and the capability of action of the Greek bishops. Nevertheless, James and some Greek bishops wished to bring the Greek Orthodox Church and the Church of England closer together, always in opposition to the papacy. As part of the effort James brought several Greek clergymen and students to England and supported them in their studies at Oxford and Cambridge.³⁸

Although he dismissed the idea of a council of Greek bishops, Wotton told the king that he expected to be able to use Marta “in some things” and would keep him on the payroll. Since Wotton paid Marta 300 ducats in September 1616, and more money in June 1618, it is very likely that Marta continued to gather intelligence for England, at least until Wotton left Venice in May 1619.³⁹

3. The *Supplicatio ad imperatorem . . . contra Paulum Quintum*

In addition to spying, Marta, with the help of Carleton and James I, published in London a strong attack against the papacy. In October 1612 Marta wrote to James I about a new book by an unknown author

³⁶Letter of Wotton to James I, August 9, 1616, Venice, in Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 2, p. 98. The Old Style date, which was then ten days behind, has been converted to New Style.

³⁷Letter of Wotton to James I, August 9, 1616, in Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 2, p. 99. Micanzio (1570-1654) was Sarpi’s follower, friend, and eventual biographer.

³⁸W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 196-219.

³⁹Letters of Wotton of September 2, 9, 1616, and June 11, 1618, in Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 2, pp. 101, 104, 141.

which called for a general council of the Catholic Church. It was his own work. In December he gave the manuscript to Carleton, who forwarded it to London where James read it. The king was very pleased with the work and instructed Carleton to put Marta under his protection. In April 1613 Marta was happy to learn that the book had been published in London.⁴⁰ The book was *Supplicatio ad imperatorem, reges, principes, super causis generalis concilij convocandi. Contra Paulum Quintum* (Supplication to the emperor, kings, and princes, concerning the reasons for calling a general council. Against Paul V) London: Excudebat Bonham Norton, Serenissimae Regiae Maiestatis in Latinis, Graecis, & Hebraicis Typographus, 1613. It is a small octavo of 30 pages of text plus introductory matter.⁴¹ The dedicatory letter to James I was signed by “Novus Homo,” who was Marta.

The expanded title of the English translation of 1622 gives a better idea of the contents and tone of the work: *The New Man, or a supplication from an unknown Person, a Roman Catholicke unto James, the Monarch of Great Brittain, and from him to the Emperour, Kings, and Princes of the Christian World. Touching the causes and reasons that will argue a necessity of a Generall Councell to be forthwith assembled against him that now usurps the papall Chaire under the name of Paul the fifth. Wherein are discovered more of the secret Iniquities of the Chaire and Court, then hitherto their friends feared, or their very adversaries did suspect. Translated into English by William Crashaw, Batchelour in Divinity, according to the Latin Copy, sent from Rome into England.* London, Printed by Bernard Alsop, for George Norton, and are to bee sold in Distaffe-lane, at the signe of the Dolphin. 1622.⁴²

⁴⁰Letters of Marta to James I of October 1, 1612, Padua, and no date but December 1612, no place; Carleton to Marta, January 5, 1613, Venice; and Marta to James I, April 24, 1613, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 71, 83, 84, 109.

⁴¹The copy in the Rare Book Room of the Library of Congress has been examined. De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 215-242, also provides the complete text. Some library catalogues attribute the book to other authors, such as Martinus Becanus (1563-1624). Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 25, p. 69 n. 3, mentioned the *Supplicatio* with its “violent attacks against Paul V and the papacy in general” and guessed that it came from “Sarpì’s milieu.”

⁴²The copy used comes from Harvard University and is available through Early English Books Online, STC 1705/5. It is a small duodecimo book of 16 pages of introductory matter, including table of contents, and 40 pages of text. There were two printings of the 1622 edition with very minor differences which do not affect the content. In the discussion that follows, references are made to all three versions: the 1613 Latin edition; the reprint of the text in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*; and the 1622 English translation.

In the dedicatory letter, Marta, in the disguise of “Novus Homo,” addressed the king, saying that it was now clear that the Church of Rome suffered greatly from simony and other crimes of the current pope. But no one in Rome was willing to rectify matters. Hence, God had stirred up the New Man to write down all the reasons why a general council of the Church should be summoned to purge the Church of Rome. “Novus Homo” was sending the king this supplication, which he should give to the emperor and the kings and princes of Europe.⁴³

The sweeping argument of the pamphlet was that Sixtus V, Clement VIII, and Paul V, who ruled from 1585 through 1613, were not true popes because they were fraudulently elected. (Marta did not mention four short-lived popes, Urban VII, Gregory XIV, and Innocent IX, who succeeded one another from September 15, 1590, through December 30, 1591, and Leo XI, who lasted seventeen days in April 1605.) Since they were not true popes, the cardinals whom they created were not true cardinals. Moreover, Paul V had engaged in nepotism and simony on a grand scale. Only a general church council could set the Church right. Because the pope and the cardinals were illegitimate, they could not summon it. But the emperor had the power and the duty to call a general council to deal with the corrupt papacy. The pamphlet combined conclave stories, detailed accusations of simony and nepotism, personal attacks against Paul V and Cardinal Scipione Borghese, conciliar history and theory, and legal arguments and citations.

Marta began with an account of the election of Sixtus V in 1585, alleging that he had bought the papacy with the aid of Cardinal Luigi d’Este, Marta’s early patron, and a promise to make a key supporter a cardinal. Marta argued that Clement VIII (1592-1605) and Paul V also became popes as a result of conclave misbehavior by them and their supporters. He argued that canon law authorities had ruled that the crime of simony invalidated papal elections. Marta next turned to the simony and nepotism of Paul V. He charged that the pope auctioned off church benefices while retaining part of their revenue; he described the procedures used and gave examples with monetary figures. Paul had diverted a great deal of church income to his nephew, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, according to Marta. Elsewhere in the pamphlet Marta accused unnamed contemporary cardinals of incest, of having

⁴³*Supplicatio*, 1613, sigs. A3r-v; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 217-218; *The New Man*, sigs. B1r-B2v.

sexual relations with their brothers' wives, and of sodomy, meaning homosexuality.⁴⁴

The remedy for a corrupt papacy was to call a general council to set matters right, including deposing the pope, Marta continued. But an illegitimate and sinful pope and his cardinals could not sit in judgment on themselves. Because the power of the people resided in the emperor, he could and must convoke a council. Marta offered examples from the early Christian era of emperors who convened church councils, beginning with Constantine the Great, who called the Council of Nicaea in 325. Marta then rejected the argument that emperors did not have the authority to convene councils. A general council of the Church had its power and authority immediately from God without the mediation of the pope; the council represented the whole Church whose head was Christ. Only it could make the Church right, Marta concluded.⁴⁵

Several aspects of the treatise were noteworthy. As in his letters about papal politics, Marta demonstrated an insider's knowledge of conclave politics and the techniques and personalities involved in the buying and selling of benefices.⁴⁶ He placed enormous importance on the rights and powers of the Holy Roman Emperor, a theme that ran through his legal writing. The emperor was the most important civil ruler, one whose authority rivaled the pope's. Finally, although the pamphlet included personal attacks, it was mostly a legal treatise full of legal citations and references to previous councils. Marta the polemicist remained a legal scholar.

The call for a general council was not new. The most prominent recent proponent was James I, who, through emissaries, proposed a general council to Pope Clement VIII in 1603 and spoke of it publicly in 1604. However, James wanted to invite representatives from the magisterial Protestant churches, and his goal was religious union between Catholics and Protestants under the diminished authority of

⁴⁴*Supplicatio*, 1613, p. 21; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 235-236; *The New Man*, p. 40.

⁴⁵*Supplicatio*, 1613, pp. 26-30; De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 239-242; *The New Man*, pp. 51-56.

⁴⁶A comparison of the accounts of the conclaves of 1585, 1592, and 1605 in the *Supplicatio* with those of Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 21, pp. 8-22; vol. 23, pp. 6-18; and vol. 25, pp. 28-37, demonstrates that Marta had a good knowledge of some of the major events in these conclaves. Of course, his interpretation was different from Pastor's.

the pope. Clement VIII imposed conditions that James would not accept, while James played a double game of paying respectful homage to the pope, while denouncing him elsewhere and punishing English Catholics for practicing their religion. Nothing came of the king's call for a council.⁴⁷

Marta had different aims. He never raised the issues of restoring unity among Christians or inviting Protestants to attend. Marta was not sympathetic to, or very interested in, Protestantism at any time in his writings. Rather, he saw a general council as a means of deposing a corrupt pope and purifying the leadership of the Catholic Church, a goal close to that of fifteenth-century conciliarists. Marta's *Supplicatio* gives evidence of the continuing importance of conciliarist ideas in the works of antipapal writers of the early seventeenth century.⁴⁸

But calling on the emperor to convene a general council to deal with papal corruption was unrealistic. Emperor Matthias (ruled 1612-1619) had more pressing matters on his mind as Europe lurched toward the Thirty Years' War. Most important, a church council would have been divisive within Catholicism at a time in which the papacy and Catholic rulers had recovered the initiative in the struggle against Protestantism. Marta's plea that the emperor must and can convene a church council evinced nostalgia for a bygone era.

Marta's motives for writing the *Supplicatio* were probably mixed and not always lofty. A whiff of opportunism emanates from the book, because Marta wrote something of which James I approved, even though the king's idea of the purpose of a council was different. Marta certainly was angry with Paul V, possibly because of the condemnation of his *Tractatus de jurisdictione*, perhaps for other reasons stemming from his years in Rome. He expressed himself in hyperbole and overstatement, which was common in early seventeenth-century church-state polemical works. Nevertheless, it is likely that he was genuinely outraged by the grand-scale nepotism and simony of Paul V and Cardinal Borghese, by the conclave bargaining that produced popes,

⁴⁷Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 24, pp. 54-62, 70-80, esp. 78; D. Harris Willson, *King James VI and I* (New York, 1956), pp. 219-222; Patterson, *James and the Reunion of Christendom*, pp. 35-43.

⁴⁸Francis Oakley, *The Conciliarist Tradition: Constitutionalism in the Catholic Church 1300-1870* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 141-181, demonstrates that supporters of the English Oath of Allegiance, defenders of Venice in the Interdict crisis, and French Gallicans used conciliarist ideas as they defended civil jurisdiction and attacked the papacy.

and perhaps by other papal maneuvers.⁴⁹ His passion for the law and its observance led him to criticize popes when, in his opinion, they violated the law.⁵⁰

The book's strong criticism of the papacy found appreciative readers in northern Europe. In late 1613 and early 1614 a Jesuit in Mainz wrote to Cardinal Bellarmine in Rome that the *Supplicatio* was widely read.⁵¹ An expanded French translation appeared in Leyden at the end of 1613, and reprints of the Latin edition appeared in Augsburg and Heidelberg in 1614.⁵² The papacy tried to stop its circulation by writing to inquisitors in Italy and papal nuncios in Venice, Graz, Luzerne, Paris, Cologne, Vienna, and Spain ordering them to get the work banned. The results were not very satisfactory. Then the nuncio in Cologne had an agent buy all available copies on sale at the Frankfurt book fair, and he managed to get about 650 copies of various editions.⁵³

By June 1614 the papacy had concluded that Marta was the author of the *Supplicatio* and that he was spying on the papacy for the English, although it could not determine the identity of his Roman informant(s). Cardinal Borghese, whom Marta criticized very strongly, thought that disappointment turned into rage had motivated Marta to

⁴⁹For an exhaustive study of nepotism and papal financial practices during the pontificate of Paul V, see Wolfgang Reinhard, *Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605-1621); Studien und Quellen zur Struktur und zu quantitativen Aspekten des päpstlichen Herrschaftsystems*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1974). See also Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, vol. 25, pp. 59-72.

⁵⁰The *Supplicatio* was not Marta's only polemical work at this time. In 1613 and 1614 he began to write two works, one in Latin, the other in Italian, defending the Oath of Allegiance that James I imposed on English Catholics in 1606 in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot. Letters of March 27 and April 24, 1613, and March 2, 1614, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, pp. 45, 107, 109-110, 166. But they have not come to light, which suggests that Marta never finished them.

⁵¹Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," pp. 207-208.

⁵²Nicolas de Marbais, who had left Catholicism to become a Protestant, produced the expanded French translation, which added more alleged crimes of popes and cardinals and criticized papal temporal pretensions. See Patterson, *James I*, p. 120; and Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 206 n. 108. For the Augsburg, 1614, Latin edition, see Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 208 n. 129. Marta reported that German students at the University of Padua had told him that the book had been reprinted in Heidelberg under a slightly different title: *Novus et Magnus homo per extinctionem sedis apostolicae romanae*. Letter of Marta to Carleton, August 8, 1614, Padua, in De Paola, *Il carteggio di Marta*, p. 185. Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 226 n. 242, also mentions this edition but under the authorship of Adamo Multei at Heidelberg.

⁵³Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," pp. 190-210.

attack the papacy. He had expected a reward for publishing the *Tractatus de jurisdictione*, but the Congregation of the Index had prohibited the book. So Borghese told the nuncio to Venice to drop hints to Marta that major honors and rewards, such as a professorship at the University of Rome, would be his if he returned to Rome. The nuncio doubted that Marta would come and he was right.⁵⁴ As time passed the papacy switched tactics. It instructed the nuncio to keep Rome informed of Marta's movements, especially if he decided to leave Padua for Germany or another Italian state. The papacy may have hoped that it could have him arrested if he ventured into a state where it had influence.⁵⁵

Spying for a Protestant monarch and attacking the papacy raise the questions, was Marta a secret Protestant? Was he angling for a handsome offer from James to come to England where he would change religion in return for a court appointment or a regius professorship at Oxford or Cambridge? The answers are "no" and "very unlikely." Denouncing papal corruption and policies did not make Marta a Protestant. Nor did his opponents and associates think that he was. Papal representatives did not believe that Marta was a secret Protestant and only briefly entertained the idea that he would move to Germany or England.⁵⁶ Other negative evidence comes from the fact that the strongly Calvinist Carleton and Marta never discussed apostasy, religious matters, or a move to England in their correspondence. It was strictly politics. Marta certainly loved being a spy and self-appointed councillor to the king; he avidly sought the king's favor and took his money. But why would he want to move to England? What role could he play at the English court, so far from Rome and Italy? Nor would a regius professorship attract him, as continental scholars viewed Oxford and Cambridge as minor provincial universities. A professorship in England did not begin to compare with one at Padua.

It is more likely that Marta dreamed of a purged papacy through the agency of emperor and council. His excellent knowledge of the medieval legal tradition and respect for the rights of the emperor suggest nostalgia for the Middle Ages, a time in which emperor and pope shared authority in such complicated ways that only a brilliant scholar

⁵⁴Savio, "Il nunzio a Venezia," p. 63 n. 2, with a quote from a letter of Cardinal Scipione Borghese of September 20, 1614, Rome.

⁵⁵Savio, "Il nunzio a Venezia," pp. 63-65, 73-74 n. 3; Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," pp. 214, 217-218, 221, 225, 228, 235.

⁵⁶Reinhard, "Paul V. und Marta," p. 220.

such as Marta could give legal guidance. Marta showed himself to be a learned, combative, self-confident, and opportunistic legist pursuing a dream.

Marta continued to teach and to publish important legal works. In 1615 the Venetian Senate raised his salary from 650 florins to 800. When the holder of the first-position afternoon ordinary professorship of civil law died in the spring of 1617, Marta was appointed second-position afternoon ordinary professor of civil law beginning in the autumn of 1617. Despite receiving the same salary as before, this was a promotion, because civil law ranked higher than canon law in Italian universities.⁵⁷ Marta continued to publish legal works. When Paul V died on January 28, 1621, papal anger over the *Supplicatio* died with him. Marta no longer needed the protection of the Republic of Venice and he moved. In the fall of 1621 or sometime in 1622, Marta became first-position afternoon professor of civil law at the University of Pavia.⁵⁸ This was a more prestigious position than he held at Padua.

Marta moved again to the new University of Mantua in 1625. After spying for a Protestant monarch and sharply criticizing the papacy, Marta joined a university that was half-Jesuit. The Society of Jesus had founded a college in Mantua with a pre-university school in 1584. With the encouragement and financial support of Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga, the Jesuits in 1624 began to teach university-level subjects. In the following year Duke Ferdinando added professors of law and medicine in order to create a new university that was half-Jesuit and half-civic. The University of Mantua opened its doors on November 5, 1625, as Marta delivered the traditional inaugural lecture with professors, students, and dignitaries in attendance. The Jesuits taught theology, logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, moral philosophy, Scripture, moral philosophy, mathematics, rhetoric, and poetry. Another seventeen professors, almost all laymen, taught civil law, canon law, and medicine. Marta was the star civil law professor at this university and received the highest salary. Acceptance of an appointment at a half-Jesuit university erased any doubts about Marta's loyalty to

⁵⁷Facciolati, *Fasti Gymnasii Patavini*, part 3, pp. 94, 142.

⁵⁸See *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia e degli uomini più illustri che v'insegnarono*, 2 parts (Pavia, 1877-78; reprinted Bologna, 1970), part 1, p. 88. The brief notation confirms his position and adds that he taught at Pavia from 1622 to 1625 "con grosso stipendio."

Catholicism. By the academic year 1627-28, the University of Mantua was a flourishing university with thirty-six professors.⁵⁹

Everything went well for two and one-half years. Then Duke Ferdinando died in October 1626, leaving no legitimate heir. His brother and successor, Duke Vincenzo II, died on December 26, 1627, at the age of thirty-three, without heirs or close male relatives. Two claimants to the duchy of Mantua and marquisate of Monferrato arose from cadet branches of the family. One of them, Charles Gonzaga, Duc de Nevers, a long-time resident of France, and his supporters made a pre-emptive strike. Gonzaga-Nevers dashed to Mantua and took over the government in mid-January 1628. He then rejected offers to negotiate a compromise that would have divided Gonzaga lands with the other claimant, Ferrante Gonzaga, duke of Guastalla, who had the support of the Holy Roman Emperor. Indeed, all Gonzaga holdings were imperial fiefs. Emperor Ferdinand II sent an army to support Ferrante's claim, the French responded in kind, and the War of the Mantuan and Monferrato Succession began in 1628.⁶⁰

As always in such conflicts, the two rival Gonzaga princes asked legal scholars to write *consilia* (legal opinions) supporting their claims. Marta was convinced that Ferrante Gonzaga had the better claim, and wrote to that effect, even though Charles Gonzaga-Nevers ruled in Mantua and paid his salary. Given Marta's enormous respect for the rights of the Holy Roman Emperor and the fact that Mantua and Monferrato were imperial fiefs, this was not surprising. However, Gonzaga-Nevers was not amused at the behavior of his star professor and threw him into prison in April 1628. There he died on September 22, 1629, at the age of seventy-one or seventy-two.⁶¹

Marta, who did not marry and had no known children, left all his possessions to the Society of Jesus and wished to be buried in the

⁵⁹This is based on my research in progress on the University of Mantua. For now, see Paul F. Grendler, "The Attempts of the Jesuits to Enter Italian Universities in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in Paul F. Grendler, *Renaissance Education Between Religion and Politics* (Aldershot, 2006), Study VI, pp. 13-14 (entire article pp. 1-21).

⁶⁰There is considerable biography. Romolo Quazza, *La guerra per la successione di Mantova e del Monferrato (1628-1631): da documenti inediti*, 2 vols. (Mantua, 1926), remains fundamental. See also the thoughtful re-evaluation of David Parrott, "The Mantuan Succession, 1627-31: A Sovereignty Dispute in Early Modern Europe," *The English Historical Review*, 112 (1997), 20-65.

⁶¹Paglia, *Marta*, pp. 6, 22-23. Although no copy of Marta's *consilium* expressing his views about the Mantuan succession has been located, opponents referred to it.

Jesuit church of Santissima Trinità in Mantua.⁶² Whether his wish was honored is not known. When he died the Jesuits and the people in Mantua were more concerned about the outbreak of plague and the imperial army, which blockaded the city in October 1629. After a long siege, the army broke through the city's defenses and brutally sacked Mantua for three days, July 18-20, 1630. Those who could, fled, and the university died, never to be resurrected. The Jesuit church survived but later suffered a fate similar to that of the university. In 1773 the Society of Jesus was suppressed, and the church of Santissima Trinità passed into other hands. During the Napoleonic period, it was deconsecrated and turned into a warehouse and stable. The Austrians used it as a barracks and altered it in the nineteenth century. Part of the former church now houses documents for the adjacent State Archive of Mantua. Although plans to restore the sacristy have been drafted, little has happened, and the church remains closed.⁶³ If Marta is buried under the floor of the former Jesuit church, he rests undisturbed.

4. Conclusion

When Wotton asked Sarpi and Micanzio their opinion of Marta, the answer was mixed. They judged Marta to be a man of "experience and capacity, and applicable . . . to some good uses." But they also saw him as even more vain than most Neapolitans, greedy, and seldom content with his lot.⁶⁴ Despite this typically condescending north-Italian view of Neapolitans, they were probably right about his personality. Marta was vain, restless, quick to take offense, and opportunistic. It was likely that personal pique played a role in his decision to write against the papacy and spy for England. But there was more to Marta than vanity, volatility, and opportunism. He sincerely disapproved of papal nepotism and simony.

Marta was a talented, industrious, and perceptive legal scholar, and this was the key to his views and actions. Marta looked to the law to tell popes and kings how to resolve their conflicts. His *Tractatus de iurisdictione* offered legal advice for resolving church-state jurisdic-

⁶²See Paglia, *Marta*, pp. 7-10, for his will.

⁶³See *Il Palazzo degli Studi. Appunti per una storia dell'istruzione superiore a Mantova. Luoghi e vicende dal Collegio dei Gesuiti al Liceo Ginnasio "Virgilio,"* eds. Ugo Bazzotti and Daniela Ferrari (Mantua, 1991), pp. 32-35.

⁶⁴Letter of Wotton to James I of August 9, 1616, Venice, in Smith, *Life of Wotton*, vol. 2, p. 99.

tional issues case-by-case. He followed the logic of the law as he saw it, whatever the consequences. At times he seemed oblivious to the reality that rulers and governments in all centuries mostly want the law to legitimate their actions, whether fair or foul. And Marta was a nostalgic conciliarist. Having concluded that the papacy had become hopelessly corrupt, and that the current occupant of Peter's chair was illegitimate, he looked to the Holy Roman Emperor to call a church council to make things right. He still believed in a world in which the Holy Roman Emperor possessed supranational authority respected by all. But his perception of the purpose of a council remained that of fifteenth-century conciliarists: he wanted the emperor to call a council to discipline the papacy. Marta criticized the papacy and spied on it for a Protestant monarch. But not even his enemies seriously considered that he might be a Protestant or have Protestant leanings. Marta was a distinguished Italian Catholic legal scholar who took controversial stands and contributed to the debates on some of the most important legal and political issues at a rancorous moment in European church-state relations.

COLLEGES, SCHOOLS, TEACHERS:
BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IN NORTHERN ITALY
(XVI–XVII CENTURIES)

BY

MAURIZIO SANGALLI*

This study investigates the network of secondary education in northern Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Citing specific examples, the Republic of Venice, the State of Milan, the Duchy of Savoy, it brings into the discussion new information as well as recent research, showing how the Church used education to re-establish its position in society. By providing a sample of individual establishments from different social and political settings, the author tries to promote a “history of comparisons” among the schools (or rather, a “correlated history of schools”) and provide information for an atlas of Italian scholastic institutions, that a group of national universities is now in the process of preparing. It is not the scope of this study to investigate the transition from medieval to early modern school systems. Rather, this article charts the response to a profound crisis that affected education in the mid-sixteenth century: the political impact upon the educational system, demonstrating the unifying role of the Catholic Church but also the ways in which each school system responded to the social and political needs of the local state. This work examines seminaria nobilium, colleges, and seminaries directed by the Society of Jesus, the Barnabites, and the Somaschans, connecting history and geography, social and economic factors.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw significant changes in western Europe: the development of confessional churches, the cen-

*Dr. Sangalli is associate professor at Università per stranieri di Siena. The notes to this article will not provide an exhaustive overview of the scholarship on the topic; rather, they will identify the most important works and those which have proven most important for this study. Obviously, much of it will be local scholarship written by Italians. Special thanks to my colleague and dear friend John Alexander, assistant professor of architecture at the University of Texas in San Antonio, who has helped me in revising this article as far as the language is concerned; and also to Wietse de Boer, professor of history at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, who has attentively read the article and recommended it for publication.

tralization of nation-states, the growth of concepts of nationhood, and the rise of a bureaucratic class all are symptoms of a radical shift in religion and politics. The situation in Italy was particularly complex; splintered into small states, many of them subject to foreign domination, with the theocracy of the Papal States impacting not only the religious allegiances on the peninsula but also the political allegiances,¹ Italy suffered from a complicated context. The role of education in this situation illuminates the context on various levels. Almost always allied to (if not actually run by) the organizations of the Catholic Church, educational establishments responded to a variety of political and social needs. Thus, a study of educational systems demonstrates the goals for religious orthodoxy and unity, the need for educated men to run the professions, society, and the state, and the desire either to enable socio-economic advancement or to consolidate socio-economic standing. Considering only northern Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, the historian has to confront a varied political situation: without enumerating the smaller states, the main strongholds were the Republic of Venice and the Duchy of Savoy, the Duchy of Milan (under Spanish rule), and the northern extension of the Papal States, centered around Bologna. Consequently, there were four different educational systems that had to accommodate four different political situations.

Prior to the period under investigation, during the medieval period, there were purely local institutions that provided an education: almost every city, as indeed, many villages, had its own school system. Aside from the universities, there were municipal teachers, monastic schools or episcopal schools that responded to local needs. During the sixteenth century, a larger network of educational establishments replaced the early ones, the new schools being often affiliated with religious orders of the Catholic Church that crossed over political boundaries. It is not the scope of this study to investigate the transition from medieval to early modern school systems. Rather, this article will chart the response to a profound crisis that affected education in the mid-sixteenth century: the political impact upon the educational system. Padua, perhaps the most important university city on the peninsula, lacked teachers who would prepare students for higher education. The Venetian Republic (which ruled Padua) relied upon the adequate network of schools in the city of Venice to educate the young

¹Paolo Prodi, *Il sovrano pontefice. Un corpo e due anime: la monarchia papale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna, 1982).

men that it sought to privilege, and concentrated on university-level education in Padua rather than on its secondary schools. Contrasting with this was the contemporary situation in Siena: public funds continued to support a good primary and secondary school system. This was largely a legacy from former times, when the independent city-state established its own schools, but it was a legacy that the Sieneese sought to maintain, especially after coming under Florentine domination in 1555. This article will chart out the various educational systems in northern Italian cities, demonstrating the unifying role of the Catholic Church but also the ways in which each school system responded to the social and political needs of the local state.²

While addressing the transition from medieval to early modern educational systems is not appropriate here, it is still necessary to chart out the continuities and the transformations. As Marino Berengo has recently shown for the history of European cities,³ the state of any period can only be understood in terms of the historical circumstances that shaped it. For late-medieval/early modern Italian schools, Paul F. Grendler has charted the developments for a number of educational subjects: teachers and students, organization of studies, educational programs, and the basic conception of the disciplines all changed during this period. Humanist teachers (such as Guarino Veronese, 1370-1460; Vittorino da Feltre, 1378-1466; Gasparino Barzizza, 1360-1431) changed education; the emergence and growth of municipal *maestri condotti* (teachers payed by the community's money) impacted the institutions. Education, in general, responded to new requirements. Grendler also dealt with the schools that arose from reform movements within the Catholic Church, the *riforma cattolica*, and also the late-sixteenth-century developments that followed the conclusion of the Council of Trent.⁴

This brief study will investigate the network of secondary education in northern Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Citing specific examples, it will bring into the discussion new

²Maurizio Sangalli, "Maestri, preti-maestri e scuole a Siena e Venezia nel secondo Cinquecento," in Maurizio Sangalli, ed., *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano. Clero, cultura, società. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 27-30 giugno 2001, Siena* (Rome, 2003), pp. 373-403.

³Marino Berengo, *L'Europa della città. Il volto della società urbana europea tra medioevo ed età moderna* (Turin, 1999), *passim*.

⁴Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1989) (Italian trans.: *La scuola nel Rinascimento italiano*, Bari, 1991).

information as well as recent research, showing how the Church used education to re-establish its position in society. This will not be an exhaustive study; not all of the Italian states in the region will be examined, nor each establishment of every teaching order. By providing a sample of individual establishments from different social and political settings, this article will promote a “history of comparisons” between the schools (or rather, a “correlated history of schools”),⁵ and provide information for an atlas of Italian scholastic institutions.

The Catholic Church was the main protagonist in educational endeavors of the period; its institutions and personnel founded and staffed most of the institutions. However, it was not the only protagonist in early modern education; Christopher Carlsmith has recently demonstrated that there were other proponents or “deuteragonists” or secondary players of schools—town councils, the nobility, urban aristocracy, family groups, and wealthy individuals—that also must be considered.⁶ Nevertheless, the ecclesiastical appropriation of this endeavor ensured the Church’s influence in building the ruling class, disciplining the rest of society, and controlling intellectual life.

Entering into the education of the young was not a clear choice of the Church’s, at least not until the middle of the sixteenth century: according to the original constitutions of the Society of Jesus (1540), the order had other goals, as John O’Malley has recently demonstrated in his scholarship. The initial “*Formula*,” enshrined in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*, listed “the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine” and “the propagation of faith” among the Society’s purposes. The 1550 version of the same “*Formula*” adds “defense and propagation of faith,” but neither of them cites education as a primary endeavor of the order. Originally, the principal purposes of the new order were preaching, lecturing on sacred subjects, missions, and spiritual direction. The Paduan community of the order, formed in 1542, sent their members to the local *Studio* (university) to receive their higher education. Ignatius Loyola understood this practice to be beneficial: “*li nostri haveranno conversatione con più scolari in diverse schole, et così potrebbero guadagnar più d’alcuni scolari di bono*

⁵Maurizio Sangalli, “Università, scuole private, collegi d’educazione, accademie a Padova tra Cinque e Seicento: alcuni spunti per una storia ‘integrata’ delle istituzioni scolastiche,” *Annali di storia dell’educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*, 3 (1996), 93-118.

⁶Christopher Carlsmith, “I vescovi e le scuole: la situazione a Bergamo nel ‘500,” in Sangalli, ed., *Per il Cinquecento religioso italiano*, pp. 405-412.

*ingegno per la Compagnia.*⁷ It was only in the middle of the sixteenth century, with the decision to found the first college of lay students at Messina, that the Jesuits demonstrated education to be one of their vocations. Following that, “their vocation as itinerant preachers was overwhelmed by that of resident schoolmasters.”⁸

Much more belatedly, the order of the Clerics Regular of St. Paul (popularly known as the Barnabites), founded some years prior to the Society of Jesus,⁹ declared its scholastic vocation only in 1605. During the order’s general chapter of that year, public teaching was added to the traditional religious activities of the order.¹⁰ Nevertheless, in 1677 the order’s General, Father Gabriele Fanti (1674-1680), declined the direction of a *seminarium nobilium* in Treviso, which the Jesuits had run since 1670.¹¹ A *seminarium nobilium* was a boarding school especially dedicated to upper classes, often with a complete *curriculum studiorum*.

With regard to the Clerics Regular of Somasca, founded by the Venetian patrician Girolamo Emiliani (1486-1537) in the 1530’s, their initial vocation of caring for orphans allowed them—by the very creation of orphanages—to enter the domain of education.¹² In the second half of the sixteenth century, in Venice and in other cities of the Venetian *Terraferma* (Padua, Verona, Vicenza), Somascans accepted responsibility for colleges and seminaries. A college could have internal and external schools and had the aim of preparing for university studies. With regard to the Jesuits, a college is not a school: it is a Jesuit residence in a town, the center of Jesuit life; colleges normally had

⁷Letter of Ignatius Loyola. Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Ven. 116 II, fol. 266r-v: “our students have to talk to other pupils in different classes, so that they could acquire some clever subjects for our Society.”

⁸John O’Malley, S.J., *I primi gesuiti* (Milan, 1999), pp. 26-27 (original English edition: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993).

⁹Elena Bonora, *I conflitti della Controriforma. Santità e obbedienza nell’esperienza religiosa dei primi barnabiti* (Florence, 1998), *passim*.

¹⁰Angelo Bianchi, *L’istruzione secondaria tra barocco ed età dei lumi. Il collegio di San Giovanni alle Vigne di Lodi e l’esperienza pedagogica dei Barnabiti* (Milan, 1993), p. 20.

¹¹Maurizio Sangalli, “Gesuiti senza università. Fortune e sfortune della Compagnia di Gesù nella Repubblica di Venezia 1657-1700,” in Gian Paolo Brizzi and Roberto Greci, eds., *Gesuiti e università in Europa (secoli XVI-XVIII), atti del convegno di studi, Parma, 13-15 dicembre 2001* (Bologna, 2002), pp. 76-77.

¹²See *San Girolamo Miani nel V centenario della nascita*, atti del convegno, Venezia 29-31 gennaio 1987 (Venice, 1989), in particular the essay in that volume by Francesco De Vivo, entitled “I somaschi: dall’orfanotrofio al collegio,” pp. 122-137.

schools, but not always. Seminaries were structures for the formation of Catholic priests, but they also taught lay students who paid a boarding fee or *dozzina*. Most important among them were the two Venetian seminaries—ducal and patriarchal—which they governed from 1579 and 1591, respectively. Considering them to be good opportunities for the order (especially after Jesuits declined to run the ducal seminary),¹³ the Somascans readily accepted responsibility for seminaries. This distinguished them from the Jesuits, who preferred *seminaria nobilitum*, spread out across Europe. However, the responsibilities associated with administering seminaries (along with other factors) also had the unfortunate result of condemning them to less brilliant success on the scholastic level than the Jesuits enjoyed.

These opening remarks on Italian geography, politics, and foundations of religious orders demonstrate how closely connected were education and local conditions, including the previously mentioned history of the territory. It was not a coincidence that the Barnabites founded their first schools in the Duchy of Milan; it was not a coincidence that the Somascans had close ties with the Republic of Venice. Obviously, the origins of the respective founders played an important role in the development of the religious orders. Only the Jesuits achieved a very pan-European expansion (indeed, a world-wide expansion) because of a rigid structure, the large number of members, and good intellectual training. The fact that the other important scholastic orders (the Barnabites and the Somascans, leaving aside the Piarists for the time being) were founded in northern Italy was perhaps not a cause for the larger abundance of schools in that part of the peninsula. Indeed, any quantitative comparison among the regions of Italy needs to consider a variety of factors: in central and northern Italy, from the medieval period onward, there was a greater demand for instruction and a stronger tradition of secular schools; furthermore, there was a stronger tradition of funding schools as acts of charity by the nobility and the middle classes.

The context is more complicated than what one might imagine. *Seminaria nobilitum*, colleges, and seminaries were not the only educational institutions, but they became the most important ones for the nobility and the middle classes. Xenio Toscani has shown in a masterful way the variegated scholastic context in the Duchy of Milan before

¹³Maurizio Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento. Gesuiti e somaschi a Venezia* (Venice, 1999), pp. 385-418.

the eighteenth century. Local communities, religious congregations, and parishes, as well as individual aristocrats, priests, merchants, and immigrants were all important patrons of educational institutions. Toscani has also opportunely connected schools to the locale, showing them to be more numerous in mountainous areas, less so in the irrigated plains. Consequently, one can connect schools to the local economy: small property-holdings, share-cropping, and immigration, exactly the most important features of the mountainous regions, emerge as motivating forces for the creation of a school because of the needs to rule these properties on your own and to manage the relationships with other landowners and tenants.¹⁴ Toscani demonstrated the importance of constructing not only a history of educational institutions, but also a geography of them: during a forty-year period in which the governments in northern Italy employed a strong public policy toward schools (1775-1815, under the successive regimes of the Austrian emperors and Napoleon), the goal was to ameliorate the discrepancies between the areas that had schools and those that did not. They were not able, however, to alter the correspondence between the map of "ancient" schools and that of the levels of literacy in 1815-1820.¹⁵

History and geography, social and economic factors are so closely connected to the history of education that this field of study must account for them when charting the slow yet profound changes that occurred over different historical periods. Within this continuum, the brief decades between the late-sixteenth and the early-seventeenth centuries formed a crucial era that demands closer attention. In the post-Tridentine period, Toscani identified two important characteristics of the schools: (1) the charitable nature of their foundations (in many cases, specifically for the benefit of the poor) and (2) their moral and doctrinal goals.

Gherardo Ortalli has pointed out a trend in the Venetian schools that carried over from the late medieval period: beginning with the municipal councils but continuing under the *condotti*, teachers were requested to combine instruction with moral formation.¹⁶ Contemporary humanism involved a specific attention to *boni mores* in the quest to form a new kind of man. While the *boni mores* were

¹⁴Xenio Toscani, *Scuole e alfabetismo nello Stato di Milano da Carlo Borromeo alla Rivoluzione* (Brescia, 1993).

¹⁵Toscani, *Scuole e alfabetismo*, pp. 103-104.

¹⁶Gherardo Ortalli, *Scuole e maestri tra Medioevo e Rinascimento. Il caso veneziano* (Bologna, 1996).

taught under the auspices of fifteenth-century secular schools,¹⁷ catechism and Schools of Christian Doctrine become increasingly prominent through the following century. If the earlier humanists relied upon ancient authors such as Cicero and Seneca to teach good behavior and to prepare the reception of Christian teaching, in the early sixteenth century secular and ecclesiastical teachers alike used catechism for a double purpose: to instill the fundamentals of the Christian religion and to teach reading and writing.

The enormous diffusion of the Schools of Christian Doctrine coincided with this juncture; indeed, it was due in large part to this transition. Castellino da Castello (1470/80-post 1536) founded this educational system in Milan in 1536.¹⁸ The following year other Schools were organized in Venice, and soon thousands of pupils were attending them around the Venetian lagoon and in many other Italian cities and towns.

The colleges run by the religious orders joined religious instruction to the humanities, catering especially to the requirements of the upper classes to train their sons to meet contemporary demands for socialization and intellectual development. These sons required training in order to maneuver in society, which included maintaining the correct relationship to secular and ecclesiastical authorities. In fulfilling these contemporary needs, the religious colleges were the ecclesiastical counterpart to the secular humanistic schools, which were no longer acceptable to the Church. The religious colleges were not, however, uniquely a consequence of hegemonic goals. There was certainly a progressive decrease in the number of secular teachers, due both to the poor remuneration and to a lack of secular institutions to train them. With the increasing demand for education, the Catholic Church was almost the only institution able to provide good educational systems and an adequate staff to run them.

Colleges and secondary schools proliferated around western Europe, especially in centers of government administration and uni-

¹⁷Gherardo Ortalli, "L'insegnamento di base e l'invenzione della scuola laica," in Maurizio Sangalli, ed., *Chiesa e scuola. Percorsi di storia dell'educazione tra XII e XX secolo* (Siena, 2000), pp. 13-28.

¹⁸Miriam Turrini, "Riformare il mondo a vera vita cristiana": le scuole di catechismo nell'Italia del Cinquecento," *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, 8 (1982), 407-489; and Xenio Toscani, "Le 'Scuole della dottrina cristiana' come fattore di alfabetizzazione," *Società e storia*, 7 (1984), n. 26, 757-781.

versity towns. Both of these venues were favored by the Society of Jesus for their colleges, and the Jesuits enjoyed unparalleled popularity because of the education and formation that they could provide. However, these religious orders also (sometimes initially, occasionally primarily) had a mission of social apostolate: they sought to help the great number of underprivileged people in large urban centers. Thus, schooling was only part of a larger and more ambitious project, although it may have been for many orders the greatest part.

The historiography of the topic has privileged some orders over others: historians have accorded the Society of Jesus increasingly close scrutiny. The history of the Jesuits provides the most ample collection of projects and achievements, all of which concur with more general trends within the Catholic Church. In relation to the Society of Jesus, all other contemporary religious order fall into “second place.” Nevertheless, these observations do not release historians from the obligation of studying the other orders in order truly to appreciate the substance and the peculiarities of a phenomenon deeply related to the intellectual and social life of early modern Europe.

The most remarkable feature about recent scholarship in this field is the abandonment of apologetic and prosopographical studies. Scholars have substituted inquiry into social and intellectual histories, or the history of science and pedagogy. “An increasing number of researchers—especially young researchers—seemed to label as unfocused, or at least monotonous and unsatisfying, the assumptions and usual categorizations. The impressive documentation on the presence of the Society [. . .] demonstrates the emerging events as factors of complex dynamics to rebuild without revising the preliminary arguments,”¹⁹ as Ugo Baldini appropriately underlines in a recent study. In the history of science, Baldini provided an important contribution by studying the professors at the Collegio Romano—Christoph Clavius *in primis*. He demonstrated that they had a degree of freedom in astronomical observations, far beyond what one would expect from the unfortunate example of Galileo Galilei.²⁰ Furthermore, his analysis of the *censurae librorum et opinionum* has permitted an understanding of the truly variegated nature of the intellectual and scientific endeavor.

¹⁹Ugo Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù (secoli XVI-XVIII)* (Padua, 2000), p. 11.

²⁰Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù*, in particular the chapters “Cristoforo Clavio insegnante e teorico di astronomia (1563-1593),” pp. 17-48, and “L'accademia di matematica del Collegio Romano (1553-1612),” pp. 49-98.

ors of the Jesuits. They were less bound to the prescriptions handed down from the Society's administration than what one might expect, but more responsive to the revolutionary changes occurring in the secular scientific world.²¹

This article will attempt to synthesize a range of recent scholarship on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe with new information. Within the limits of selected locations, it will investigate some scholastic institutions (governed by a variety of religious orders), the history of individual teaching congregations, a range of political structures, and also social and educational aspects that were larger phenomena of early modern Europe. This article will contribute to recent efforts to reconstruct a crucial element of Italian and European social history.

Venice: The Two Seminaries

Generally speaking, Venice was at its height during the second half of the sixteenth century. Venice was traditionally the bridge between the Occident and the Orient; it was the location in which several religious groups had contact: Catholics, Protestants, the Orthodox and Jews. Venetians had long regarded their city as the heir of great cultures: Venice as "New Jerusalem," "New Rome," and "New Byzantium." It seems inevitable that the initial steps of the Catholic resurgence should have begun there: Ignatius Loyola and his first companions landed in Venice in 1537 with the dream of evangelizing the Holy Land. Thwarted in that effort, they first turned to their social apostolate in Venice and nearby Padua.²²

When the Jesuits arrived, however, there was another new religious order that had recently undertaken a social apostolate: the Clerics Regular of Somasca, founded by Gerolamo Emiliani in 1534. The Somascans managed a number of orphanages and thus necessarily had begun educating the young. Nevertheless, the *Procuratori di San Marco de supra*—the three civil servants attending to the management of the Basilica of Saint Mark—decided in 1578 to invite the

²¹See Ugo Baldini, *Legem impone subactis. Studi su filosofia e scienza dei gesuiti in Italia 1540-1632* (Rome, 1992), in particular the chapters "Uniformitas et soliditas doctrinae. Le censure librorum e opinionum," pp. 75-119, and "La scuola di Clavio e la crisi della teoria astronomica," pp. 121-281.

²²On the presence of the Jesuits in the Venetian Republic, see the articles in Mario Zanardi, ed., *I Gesuiti e Venezia. Momenti e problemi di storia veneziana della Compagnia di Gesù*, atti del convegno di studi, Venezia 2-5 ottobre 1990 (Padua, 1994).

Jesuits to administer their projected ducal seminary. The reasons for overlooking the Somascans remains unstated but perhaps was due to the renown of the Jesuits as teachers, their successes in the Paduan college, and to the superior internal structure of the order.

Francesco Allegri, a resident of the local Jesuit *casa professa*,²³ undertook the direction of the new seminary. He did so not as a Jesuit, however, but as a canon of the Basilica of S. Marco. Allegri did not take his final vows with the Jesuits and was dismissed from the Society. Since the basilica was under the jurisdiction of the doges, Allegri's administration put the seminary directly under the control of the secular government. For their part, the *Procuratori* did not want to leave the direction of the institution to the General Father of the Society of Jesus in Rome; the Jesuits, on the other hand, did not want to be locked into the responsibility of training the Venetian clergy. In other contexts (such as the Paduan college of nobles, for example) the Jesuits accepted the external management of an educational institution, fulfilling a role as consultants; they could have similarly accepted such a role at the Venetian seminary. However, they chose not to submit to the direction of secular authorities, a decision that one had to consider carefully during this period.

Once the *Procuratori* had engaged Allegri as rector of the seminary, they then had to assemble a teaching staff. They asked the bishop of Verona, the Venetian patrician Agostino Valier (1531-1606), for two teachers. He responded that “*un subdiacono del seminario [veronese] et uno degli acoliti*” were already traveling to Venice, suggesting that they occupy some of the posts. Valier also suggested that educated members of the secular clergy be called upon to teach: “*sacerdoti di lettere et di valore aspettano haver beneficii et quando pigliano questi charichi d'insegnare si satiano facilmente e tuttavia aspirano a qualche vacanza de' benefici [...] et soglion servir bene quelli che servono con speranza di andar inanti.*”²⁴

²³The *casa professa* was a Jesuit institution located almost exclusively in the most important cities. It was a religious house dedicated especially to the cure of souls; engaged there were Jesuit priests, but also temporal and spiritual coadjutors. Like other Jesuit institutions, it was without an economic foundation and thus had to survive on donations.

²⁴Letters from Agostino Valier to Giacomo Soranzo, March 11 and April 18, 1580. Venice, Archivio di Stato (A.S.Ve), *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, busta 156, fasc. 2: “a subdeacon of the Veronese seminary and one among the acolytes”; “cultivated and skilful priests are always waiting to have an ecclesiastical benefice and when they decide to

The appearance of the new teaching orders antedated only slightly the Tridentine decree prescribing the erection of seminaries. The difficulties in finding teachers for the Venetian seminary testify to the insufficient preparation of the secular clergy in the sixteenth century. Bishop Valier's previously mentioned letter demonstrates just how undesirable the profession was: minor clerics (acolytes, subdeacons, and deacons) accepted teaching posts; once a man was a priest, he generally sought to obtain benefices in order to secure an income. In fact, the two Veronese clerics that Valier mentioned remained in Venice only a few months before returning to their diocese. Resulting from this situation, the new religious congregations often staffed the seminaries, thereby arising from and simultaneously fulfilling contemporary goals within the Catholic Church.

Throughout the 1580's, the *Procuratori* had chronic difficulties finding a teaching staff for the seminary. The Society of Jesus confined itself to pedagogical purposes and to hearing the confessions of the seminarians but systematically declined several offers to actually run the ducal seminary. In 1588, fulfilling the words of Valier as if they were a prediction, the rector of the seminary, Giovanni Maria Piatti, resigned his position after four years "*per attendere alla cura d'anime.*"²⁵

The international situation in 1589 brought the relationship of the Venetians with the Jesuits to a close. Venice supported Henry IV as the legitimate king of France, while the Jesuits had worked in favor of Rome and the Catholic League. Consequently, the *Procuratori* had increasingly strained relations with the direction of the Jesuits in Rome. As a result, the Jesuit college in Padua closed its doors in 1591. The Somascan fathers, on the other hand, were a local religious order with Venetian roots: the *Procuratori* considered its founder to be "*nobile nostro* [one of our patricians]."²⁶ Furthermore they found themselves less embroiled in political affairs. The *Procuratori* began contacting the Somascans about running the seminary on September 10, 1589. The negotiations continued until July 12, 1591, the day that

teach, they do it for a brief period of time, paying attention to every new free benefice [...] they discharge their duty in a correct way only if you can assure them the possibility to have a benefice."

²⁵*Terminazione* of November 7, 1588. A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco di supra*, A.S.Ve: "to practise the sacerdotal duties."

²⁶"*L'auttor della qual religione fu m.o Gerolamo Miani nobile nostro* [the founder of this order was Mr. Gerolamo Miani, a Venetian patrician]." A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, reg. 137, fol. 179v.

the order solemnly accepted responsibility for the ducal seminary. Although less prestigious than the Jesuits, the Somascans were also less pretentious.

At the ducal seminary, the Somascans had to accept the intrusive direction of the *Procuratori*. As the articles granting them the administration of the seminary state, “*che l’ellegere li figliuoli nel detto seminario, giusta la bolla papale, resti sempre secondo il solito al ser.mo principe, r.mo primicerio et essi ill.mi procuratori, ai quali resti la medesima superiorità del detto seminario.*” In other words, the *Procuratori* retained the authority to admit and dismiss students. However, the Somascans enjoyed the possibility of “*tenere fino a quindici figlioli convittori.*”²⁷ Typical of many such institutions, the Venetian ducal seminary supplemented its income with the *dozzina* (board and lodging) paid by boarders.

However, the congregation of Girolamo Emiliani had the privilege of directing a similar institution in the “Dominante”: more than ten years previously, the patriarch of Venice, Giovanni Trevisan, had engaged the fathers to administer his diocesan seminary, popularly known as S. Cipriano di Murano.²⁸ In 1579, as the Somascans undertook responsibility for the diocesan seminary, they had been more wary:

*si accetteranno tutti li ministri che dal rev.do preposito saranno mandati [...] se ancora vorranno mutare alle volte alcuni delli maestri che saranno qui, sicome portano gli accidenti et uso delle religione, sia in poter loro di farlo [...] et se li governatori voranne farne mutare alcuno, ricorreranno sempre al r.do padre preposito.*²⁹

The patriarch was only able to appoint four lay governors as directors of his seminary, “*che nelle cose importanti conferiscano con lui e che*

²⁷A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, busta 155.3, fols. 6-7: “choosing boys in this seminary, as the Papal bull says, will always be a traditional duty of our doge, the *primicerio* and the *procuratori*; the *procuratori* will maintain the management of this seminary”; “it is allowed to have up to fifteen boarding students.”

²⁸Antonio Niero, “Le scuole dei somaschi a Venezia,” in S. *Girolamo Miani e Venezia nel V centenario della nascita* (Venice 1986), pp. 55-58.

²⁹Genoa, Archivio storico dei padri somaschi, *Venezia-Patriarcale*, Ven. 1826: “We will accept all the fathers their general will send here, [...] if sometimes it will be necessary to remove some teachers, in relation to the needs of the order, they will be able to do it, [...] but if also the lay superintendents will wish to change one of the teachers, they will be obliged to ask to the general father.”

*per turno ogn'uno visiti la casa ogni settimana.*³⁰ This was a way of controlling the Somascans, but also of obtaining the support of the Venetian patriciate.

After a precarious settlement in the parish of S. Geremia, in 1592 the patriarch Lorenzo Priuli transferred the seminary to the abbey of S. Cipriano di Murano. During this same period, the ducal seminary arrived in its final location in S. Antonio di Castello. These peripheral locations signify the marginality of the institutions, at least at the beginning: while the Jesuits operated in the very heart of the city, the Somascans were relegated to the most plebeian area or an island. Only when the patriarchal seminary was installed in its subsequent location, beside the site on which the church of S. Maria della Salute would be built after the plague of 1630-31, would the Somascans be counted among the first-rate teaching congregations.

To the great fortune of twentieth-century historians, the ducal seminary was governed by a public institution (*Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*). This ensured that the documents would be preserved, allowing a great deal of information about the daily life of the seminarians to be known. The lowest level classes were the most well-attended, as many of the students came from families of humble origins who sought to improve the lot of their sons; this is a common phenomenon, seen also in Barnabite schools. As of 1606, there were fewer boarders than permitted, suggesting that the patricians did not consider seminaries to be at the same level as the Jesuit schools. Obviously, the seminaries and colleges were microcosms of the larger social context, and social barriers were still very strong. The boarders at the ducal seminary became professional men: merchants and government employees. Since an ecclesiastical career continued to represent a means of advancement, the sons of craftsmen and retailers studied there to become clerics.

A report of the procurator Federico Contarini informs us on the curriculum of the seminary:

Nella prima scuola si lege Horatio, Valerio Massimo, Vergilio e l'orationi di Cicerone et si dà ogni giorno l'epistola et se le fa componer versi. Nella seconda scola, Vergilio et l'epistole di Ciceron et se le dà ogni giorno un latino lungo, che è poco differente da l'epistola. Nella terza scuola si lege

³⁰Venice, Archivio della Curia patriarcale, *Mensa patriarcale*, busta 4: "They have to talk to the patriarch before deciding important subjects and every week one of them in turn has to visit the seminary."

il Vives [the *Colloquia sive linguae Latinae exercitatio* by Juan Luis Vives, 1492-1540, used as an introductory Latin textbook in all kinds of schools in sixteenth-century Italy], *si esamina sopra le regule et se le dà ogni giorno un latino*.³¹

Thus, the instruction was similar to that of the fifteenth-century secular schools, with the exception of Vives. Similar, but more detailed information came from the students, themselves: “*vien letto Ciceron, Catechismo, Despauterio* [Ioannes Despauter, 1460-1520, was author of three important grammar handbooks] *ogni giorno, si disputa il sabbato*.”³² Such discussions and repetitions are pedagogical methods common to both the Jesuits and the Somascans, as is the formation of an academy among the students to stimulate another method: emulation. These institutions also recreated among the students the contemporary society-in-miniature, with its hierarchies, distribution of offices, opportunities, and enforcement of conformity.

The ducal seminary did not present an easy responsibility for the Somascans: there were heated quarrels among the *Procuratori*, the *Primicerio* (parson) of S. Marco, and the fathers. The students were unruly and often slipped weapons into the seminary. The teachers rotated continually, resulting in the abandonment of the higher-level classes that students stopped attending. As a result, responsibility was lifted from the Somascans in 1612, and they were able to recover their post only after a number of years had passed, in 1627.³³

The Somascans were more successful in the patriarchal seminary. In 1599, Lorenzo Priuli signed a new convention with the fathers allowing them to take on additional boarders but requiring them to increase the number of clerics running the institution and to engage two new teachers, one for Greek and one for Hebrew. When the seminary moved to the center of Venice from Murano one year later, the convention was revised.³⁴ In the new location, there would likely be more

³¹A.S.Ve, *Procuratori di S. Marco de supra*, busta 156, fasc. 8, fol. 7v: “In our first class, we read Horace, Valerio Massimo, Virgil and Cicero’s orations; we write letters and verses. In our second class, we read Virgil and Cicero’s letters and we write a long Latin essay, not so different from a letter. In the third class, we read Vives, learning the Latin rules and writing a Latin essay.”

³²*Ibidem*, fol. 34r: “We read every day Cicero, the Catechism, Despauterio and on Saturday we discuss and repeat all the week lessons.”

³³Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione nella Repubblica di Venezia*, pp. 401-406 and 414-418.

³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 406-409.

families asking to board their sons. The new articles limited the number of boarders to not more than twenty-four and required the consent of the patriarch; the goal was to ensure that the clerics received the same treatment as the paying boarders.

The Society of Jesus was banished from the *Serenissima Repubblica* in 1606, but the Somascans were not able to substitute for them adequately. The medieval monastic orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, etc.) had schools, but probably only members of their own orders attended them. There is evidence which demonstrates that the Somascans were not merely an arm of the secular government: hiatuses in the courses, changes in decisions, and violent opposition all indicate that the administration of the order operated independently of the will of the state. Nevertheless, it provided a needed service (indeed, it was the only teaching order still operating in the Republic after the Interdict); this seems to have been the reason for its success.

Milan: The Support of the Jesuits

Initially, there was only one province of the Society of Jesus in northern Italy; only in 1578 would the Lombard province and the Venetian province be separated. So during the first decades of the order's history, there was common direction and common personnel in the north. In both Venice and Milan the Jesuits attempted to follow the directives established by the superiors in Rome: ideally at least twelve Jesuits running each college or school, that is to say that each Jesuit college was expected to have at least twelve Jesuits (priests, novices, and temporal coadjutors); this was a cautious approach to founding new institutions, and avoiding responsibility for diocesan seminaries. Furthermore, each institution would maintain control of its own finances, be directly subordinate to the order's central authority in Rome and autonomous from the local bishop. However, from 1564 to 1584 the archbishop of Milan was Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584).

Perhaps more than was the case in Venice, Milan had a well-functioning collection of municipal schools that served and were supported by the social context.³⁵ The Jesuits would not serve an immediate need in Milan and consequently did not establish a college as

³⁵See the important essay by Angelo Turchini, *Sotto l'occhio del padre. Società professionale e istruzione primaria nello Stato di Milano* (Bologna, 1996), *passim*.

early as in other locations in Italy. In the meanwhile, the Jesuits worked to establish links with the most important Genoese families in Milan, thereby creating a nexus between the Spanish administration of the Habsburg crown, the Genoese merchants and bankers who provided financial support, and the Jesuit representatives of the Roman Church. This alliance would allow the Jesuits to penetrate deeply into the nerve-centers of government and society, thereby ensuring their impact.³⁶

In Milan, the new orders of the Catholic Reform had been operating for several years prior to the arrival of the Jesuits. The Barnabites had been founded in Milan, and remained active and independent despite the failed attempt of the vice-legate to Bologna, Archbishop Girolamo Sauli, to unite them with the Jesuits in 1552.³⁷ The Santa Corona fathers, belonging to a charitable institution in Milan, ran the Schools of Christian Doctrine, working in collaboration with the Somascans. With these endeavors firmly established, the Jesuits required several years to identify their niche and to maneuver their way into it. A conflict within the order changed this strategy: Italian Jesuits accused their Spanish confreres (backed by Philip II of Spain) of reserving to themselves the direction of the order.³⁸ In Milan, the Jesuits backed the anti-Spanish party, and this in turn garnered the support of many Milanese families who were attempting to augment their limited autonomy from Madrid.

Some of the families sympathetic to the Jesuits were aristocrats: the Rainoldi, Marliani, Odescalchi, Casati. These families rose to their highest prominence in the 1560's and 1570's, and the earliest foundations of the Jesuits were exactly contemporary. Having obtained responsibility for the church of S. Fedele, the Jesuits established a college in the vacated monastery of S. Maria di Brera in 1572. The Jesuits were ever more strongly linked to the urban patriciate,³⁹ to the detriment of their relationship with Archbishop Borromeo, who championed a moralizing campaign among the nobility that the Jesuits did not always support. While the Jesuits were falling out of favor in Venice, in Milan a synergy was growing with the local aristocracy, in spite of Madrid and Borromeo. The Jesuits sought to promote their mission within a particular social context, and sometimes the local interests would run counter to the instructions coming from Rome.

³⁶Flavio Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano. Religione e politica nel secondo Cinquecento* (Rome, 1992), pp. 21-34.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 43-56.

³⁹*Ibid.*, *passim* in the whole work.

In cities with a strong tradition of civic and private schools, the new religious colleges coexisted with those older institutions, at least through the middle of the seventeenth century. This was the case in Venice, Milan, and Siena, where public scholastic institutions, private schools, and corporately supported schools (such as those founded by specific guilds) had previously met the educational needs of the cities. Thus, the new religious colleges had to make inroads into this context by carving out a particular niche for their instruction. The process of this phenomenon would result in an entirely altered educational context.⁴⁰

What the Jesuits succeeded in avoiding in Venice, however, they had to undertake in Milan: they could not deny the wishes of Carlo Borromeo, the young yet determined archbishop, who was furthermore the nephew of Pope Pius IV. Upon Borromeo's insistence, the Jesuits undertook responsibility for the diocesan seminary, which opened in 1565 in the parish of S. Giovanni Battista di Porta Orientale. Problems arose immediately: unceasing interference from Borromeo, difficult relations with the "Deputies' Committee," representing the secular clergy, disputes with the secular clergy about traditional if less than desirable customs all contributed to difficulties that the Jesuits had to face. Nevertheless, Borromeo was adamant about engaging the Jesuits in the formation of the secular clergy.

Flavio RURALE has demonstrated that Borromeo considered the Jesuits to be his chosen collaborators: they taught in his seminary, sat on the tribunal for the local Inquisition, visited monasteries, and examined members of the secular clergy to determine if they deserved benefices. RURALE also pointed out that the Jesuits strove to meet the expectations of the aristocracy, as well. Thus, in Milan as elsewhere, the Jesuits were involved in a delicate balancing act between ecclesiastical obligations and social goals.⁴¹

Milan, however, had a particular situation in higher education; according to a report by a Jesuit in Milan, "*Il maestro che quest'anno [1569] ha cominciato il corso di filosofia [al collegio a S. Fedele] ha 50 scolari non solo di Milano, ma di altre città dello Stato, i quali benché potessero andare a studiare all'università di Pavia, non di*

⁴⁰Simona Negruzzo, *Collegij a forma di Seminario. Il sistema di formazione teologica nello Stato di Milano in età spagnola* (Brescia, 2001), *passim*.

⁴¹RURALE, *I gesuiti a Milano*, especially the chapter "Il collegio a S. Fedele (1567-1572)," pp. 89-136.

*meno sono più tosto voluti venire qui.*⁴² The Milanese State, like Venice, had its state university located in a nearby town: Padua for the Serenissima, Pavia for Milan. Perhaps more than Venetians, however, the Milanese were building a network of higher education in Milan in the sixteenth century which drew students from Pavia. Sons of the Venetian patriciate continued to attend the philosophical courses at the university in Padua;⁴³ in Milan, the aristocrats attempted to create a series of courses in the humanities that would provide an alternative to those offered in Pavia.

The principal promoter of these endeavors was the Society of Jesus. In 1579—the same year that the Somascans undertook the administration of the patriarchal seminary in Venice—the Jesuits were released from their responsibility in the Milanese seminary. Borromeo entrusted the seminary to a new order of priests that he had founded, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, and thus the Jesuits were freed from entanglement with the seminary *and* from the jurisdiction of the archbishop. For the *seminarium nobilem*, the Jesuits provided instruction as external teachers, and perhaps also spiritual support as confessors, but nothing more. As in similar cases in other cities, the Jesuits chose to concentrate their efforts.⁴⁴

The Jesuits developed their Collegio di Brera into a philosophical and theological university in everything but name.⁴⁵ Thus, the Milanese aristocrats were able to achieve what their Venetian counterparts were

⁴²Quotation from Rome, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Med. [Mediolanensis] 75, annuae* of 1569 and 1570. Found in Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, pp. 113-14: “the teacher starting this year [1569] the philosophy course [in the college of Saint Fedele] has 50 students not only from Milan, but also from other towns of the Milanese State, although this boys could study in the University of Pavia, but they prefer to come here attending our schools.”

⁴³Gino Benzoni, “Un Ulpiano mancato: Giovanni Finetti,” *Studi veneziani*, 25 (1993), 35-71.

⁴⁴In Milan, a Jesuit “*ogni dì, sera et mattina*” [every day, in the afternoon and in the morning] went to the college “*ad insegnare i putti*. [to teach the children]” Quote found in Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, p. 141. The Jesuits had a similar arrangement with Bishop Federico Corner’s *seminarium nobilem* in Padua; see Sangalli, *Cultura, politica e religione*, pp. 54-61, 68-72.

⁴⁵Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, pp. 137-167; and also Simona Negruzzo, “Per “gustare de’ frutti spirituali de’ Padri Jesuiti’.” L’università di Brera nel sistema educativo borromaico,” in Gian Paolo Brizzi, Jacques Verger, eds., *Le università minori in Europa (secoli XV-XIX), atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Alghero 30 ottobre-2 novembre 1996*, (Soveria Mannelli, 1998), pp. 383-403.

not: the capital had its own institution of higher learning. Why did Milan succeed where Venice failed? Both the Milanese and Venetian aristocracies were comprised, for the most part, of a merchant class. During the sixteenth century, merchants in both cities engaged in “re-feudalization,” seeking to immobilize their liquid money in land. In Milan, however, the aristocracy had to contend with the Spanish rulers; a university was a point of autonomy vis-à-vis the foreign administration. In Venice, the patricians were masters of their own politics and economy; there was no need to provide an alternative to the state university. Indeed, it was not even necessary to take a university degree: a decent humanistic formation (and the required familial status) was all one needed to enter the Venetian political arena. The Venetians did not see the need for another university; after all, as one Jesuit put it, Venice “*non è tera de studii* [is not a place suitable for universities]!”⁴⁶

Louis Châtellier has illuminated how the Jesuits used Marian congregations to forge closer links with the ruling classes. These congregations were founded in their colleges but open to individuals from outside the academic environment.⁴⁷ Milan was no exception: to cite only one example, a number of Milanese aristocrats banded together to form the *Congregazione Maggiore* in 1584, in part to fund the construction of the Collegio di Brera. The close rapport between the Society and the urban patriciate once again demonstrated itself beneficial to both parties.

Ponte in Valtellina: The Opposition of the Jesuits

If the threat of heresy was soon eliminated from Milan (unlike Venice, Tuscany, or the kingdom of France), the boundaries of the Duchy were nonetheless dangerously close to the Swiss Protestant Cantons. Furthermore, the boundaries of the Milanese archdiocese extended in the Valtellina, which—since 1512—was in the Grisons. In this case, we see the opposition of the Jesuits: their opposition to heresy, to its spread across the borders into a Catholic state, to the formation of an overwhelmingly Protestant ruling class. The Society of Jesus made several attempts to establish themselves in Ponte in Valtellina specifically to oppose these trends.

⁴⁶Maurizio Sangalli, “Venetia non è tera de studii? Educazione e politica nel secondo Cinquecento. I Gesuiti e i Procuratori di San Marco de Supra,” *Studi veneziani*, n.s. 34 (1997), 97-163.

⁴⁷Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots* (Paris, 1987).

As a modern scholar rather emphatically assessed the situation, “the small Ponte college had a particular importance because of its symbolic value as outpost and bulwark of faith in a diocese swarmed around by heresy; besides being the first among the anti-Lutheran [*sic*] frontier college in Northern Italy, it represented the most daring attempt of Catholic penetration in a Protestant land.”⁴⁸

The fortunes (or rather misfortunes) of the Jesuits in Valtellina in the second half of the sixteenth century are bound to a local family, the Quadrio. Cavaliere Antonio Quadrio was the Emperor Charles V’s surgeon; he was living in Vienna, but like all emigrants he did not forget his native land. His cousin, Marcantonio Quadrio, was the parish priest in Ponte.

The importance of education in Valtellina is documented by a request that the *Consiglio di Valle* made to the Grigioni authorities in 1556: they asked that no more Protestant teachers or preachers be sent into the valley. The request was apparently rejected,⁴⁹ but the emergence of a teaching order like the Society of Jesus allowed for the possibility of educating in order to maintain orthodoxy. Father Nicolás Bobadilla, S.J., initiated the mission there in 1558, stating from the start the different possibilities: sending Jesuit schoolmasters to the valley from the college in Como, or the creation of an independent institution. A year later, Father David Wolf, S.J., replaced Bobadilla, but the situation remained equally desperate: the Jesuit Superior General, Father James Laínez, decided to disregard the required twelve Jesuits for the founding of a college and to open one in Ponte.

The desired result occurred only in 1560, with the direct intervention of Cavaliere Quadrio. The Jesuits began teaching in their college, but after only a few months the first expulsion occurred. Not even the intervention of Pope Pius IV, the Milanese governor, or Carlo Borromeo could diminish the opposition of the governing authorities. More than fifty years passed before there was another opportunity to open a Catholic college. It was the continuing efforts of the local Catholics—opposed by the Grisons authorities bent on imposing Protestantism—that brought this to pass.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Nicoletta Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, (Sondrio, 2001), p. 13. See also Rurale, *I gesuiti a Milano*, in particular the first appendix, “Ponte di Valtellina, Como e Milano,” pp. 283-292.

⁴⁹Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, p. 21.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 74-95 and pp. 125-145.

The often-cited reason why families desired a local college—the expense of sending sons away to study—was but one reason why the Valtellinese desired an educational institution. They desired to educate their sons in the precepts of their own faith. They hoped to engage one of the several educating religious orders to do so locally, “*essendo che non tutti li padri di detti figlioli sono atti con le lor facultà di far educar detti figlioli et mantenerli alli studi, fuora di detta valle.*”⁵¹

Once again the Jesuits found themselves at the intersection of various interests and jurisdictions. Furthermore, as seen in the situation of the Jesuits in Venice, international politics came into play. In the Valtellina, the Jesuits sought to fulfill the Tridentine mission of preserving the Catholic faith, but they also participated in realizing the Spanish political goal of religious uniformity in the face of a Protestant threat at the border. The converging aims of those two spheres ensured a successful resolution. Certainly, this was specific to the Milanese case; elsewhere too Jesuits had quarrels with the Spanish Monarchy. The so-called “Sacred Massacre” of 1620, a real pogrom perpetrated by the Catholics on the Protestants, opened the way toward the definitive establishment of the Society of Jesus in Valtellina. In 1621 four Jesuits established a *residencia*, or a religious house dedicated to apostolic endeavors including education, in the expectation of eventually opening a college.

After a series of setbacks in the valley which translated into the *residencia* being downgraded into a simple mission, Spain and the Grisons signed the *Capitolato di Milano* in 1639. According to that treaty, the Valtellina would continue to be ruled by Protestants, but the official religion of the valley was Catholicism.⁵² This provided the impetus for the Jesuits to plan anew their college in Ponte. During its contentious history, the Jesuits sought autonomy for the foundation, even from the episcopal authority in Como, notwithstanding the threat of Pope Innocent X to close the college in 1652. In the newly acquired peace, the Jesuits added other apostolates to education, including preaching, visiting prisons, and conducting *visite diocesane* of monasteries. Through this long period, the Jesuit opposition to the spread of Protestantism engaged their great adaptability to achieve their goals despite overwhelming odds.

⁵¹Quote found in Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, p. 130: “because not all the fathers of these boys are able to get the money so that they could maintain them in education outside the valley,” the communities of the Valtellina speaking.

⁵²Moretti, *Il collegio dei gesuiti di Ponte in Valtellina*, p. 155.

Lodi: The Formation of a New Order

Why would a small provincial town which is not a territorial capital, has no university, and houses neither an administrative center nor commercial center be of interest to this study? Lodi is a pleasant agricultural center in the Po valley, thirty kilometers south of Milan. It was in Lodi that the Barnabites, a religious order that officially undertook education only in the early seventeenth century, initiated that vocation.

Intentionally or not, the Barnabites sought to distinguish themselves from the Jesuits in two fundamental ways: (1) they refused to operate boarding schools (a refusal expressly addressed to both the ruling class, in general, and also for specific, famous *seminaria nobilium* in Parma, Bologna, and Siena)⁵³ and (2) they specially ran schools in urban centers of minor importance (the so-called “piccole città” or “borghi grossi”). Such was the case in Lodi, where both the rural and the urban middle classes demanded not only primary but also secondary schools, and where they sought intellectual instruction and moral formation for their sons.

Perhaps the most important transition for the Clerics Regular of St. Paul occurred in 1608 when they founded the Arcimboldi schools in Milan. During the following decades, they founded a number of colleges in Italy and abroad (in France in particular). In Lombardy, they founded colleges in Casalmaggiore (1638), Vigevano (1644), and—the first one after the Milanese college—that in Lodi (1629). Yet this diffusion was concentrated in northern Italy, in the Duchy of Milan, the Savoyard State, and the Republic of Venice principally. In a census of the order conducted in 1650, it was revealed that out of the 465 members, 68% lived in the northern part of the Italian peninsula.⁵⁴ This was a medium-sized order, obviously significantly smaller than the contemporary Society of Jesus; the Barnabites fit well within the context of Lodi.

During the early seventeenth century in northern Italy, but not only there, there was a second wave of school foundations, with the appearance of other religious orders like the Barnabites, Somascans, Piarists,

⁵³Gian Paolo Brizzi, *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento. I seminaria nobilium nell'Italia centro-settentrionale* (Bologna, 1976), *passim*.

⁵⁴Bianchi, *L'istruzione secondaria tra barocco ed età dei lumi*, p. 25.

and—to a minor degree—the Theatines.⁵⁵ The Barnabites made their official entrance into the college of S. Giovanni Evangelista (alternately known as S. Giovanni alle Vigne) in Lodi in 1605. Initially, the local bishop entrusted them with preaching, catechism, conducting *visite diocesane*, and acting as professors of moral theology (*casi di coscienza*) for the diocesan priests. In short, they conducted the ecclesiastical endeavors that one might expect of clerics regular. Like the Somascans in Venice and elsewhere, their first educational responsibilities involved the formation or the improvement of the diocesan clergy. The Jesuits had almost always declined such responsibilities, even though it was precisely in that area that their influence (via their treatises) was most strongly felt. Until the end of the seventeenth century, other religious orders might be administering the seminaries, but the Jesuits impacted the formation of priests most strongly.

In Lodi, Archdeacon Paolo Dunieri made a bequest in his will that would finance an educational institution. He died in 1629, and the following year the Barnabites began offering courses in philosophy and theology. Lodi offers a clear example of trends that characterized education in the seventeenth century. In 1615, in Lodi, the custom of entrusting education to teachers *condotti* from the town council was definitively abandoned. No public instruction was offered in the 1620's and 1630's because of the great economic crisis. Only a considerable legacy, which became available in 1650, funded courses in the humanities and rhetoric, open to a large number of people from all backgrounds. To whom did the council of Lodi entrust this responsibility? Following current trends, and also indicating the local esteem for particular religious orders, they first asked the Jesuits, then the Barnabites, and finally the Somascans.

These endeavors in education on the part of the town council had social effects: families were no longer constrained to send their sons off and support the high cost of food and lodging in distant cities. Additionally, the urban patriciate of Lodi had the opportunity to exert influence over the areas from which the students came, whether from the surrounding countryside or other urban centers. The success of these endeavors was demonstrated by the advancement achieved by the lower classes. In distinction to the practices of the sixteenth cen-

⁵⁵Maurizio Sangalli, "Dell'educazione, tra teoria e prassi. Paolo Sarpi e i teatini a Bergamo (1615)," in C. Pin, ed., *Ripensando Paolo Sarpi, atti del convegno internazionale di studi nel 450° anniversario della nascita di Paolo Sarpi* (Venice, 2006), pp. 439-460.

ture, the Barnabites ran a less elitist institution, meeting the increasing demands of the entire spectrum of society. It was a fortunate intersection between a religious order's mission to provide an education to the middle and lower classes, the social and economic need for basic instruction in order to prepare sons for gainful employment, and a populated center that welcomed education.

As Angelo Bianchi correctly and recently stated, it would be a mistake to take the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum*, published in its definitive form in 1599, as the educational model for all contemporary religious orders.⁵⁶ Because of different teachers, students, and aims, the Barnabites (like the Somascans and the Piarists) produced their own handbooks and theoretical treatises, although partially influenced by the Jesuit ones; by the end of the eighteenth century, they relied almost exclusively on their own texts for educating their pupils. These texts included *De grammatica institutione* (Milan, 1609) by Father Vincenzo Gallo, and *Eloquentiae preludia* (1694) and *Semita Parnassi* (1698), both by Father Demetrio Suppensio.⁵⁷ Demonstrating their autonomy from the Jesuits, the Barnabites published their own *ratio studiorum* in 1666: *Exterarum scholarum disciplina apud clericos regulares S. Pauli in provincia Mediolanensi*.⁵⁸

The trajectory of the order was clear: in the eighteenth century, the Barnabites rivaled the Jesuits, who were still focused on providing a humanistic education to the ruling classes. The success of the Barnabites was in the sciences, including the new approaches and fields of the period, and also in the social promotion of the middle and lower classes. Additionally, they continued training priests. For the entire Age of Enlightenment, the formation of the clergy occurred only partly in seminaries: parishes, private schoolmasters, and religious congregations were all participants. Thus, there still existed a difference between theory and practice, or the seminaries called for by the Council of Trent and the typical eighteenth-century training of priests.

Teaching Orders in a Principality: The Savoyard State

Thus far, this article has illuminated the methods and means of the teaching orders in various contexts. Venice was a republic, even

⁵⁶Gian Paolo Brizzi, ed., *La 'Ratio studiorum.' Modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Rome, 1981).

⁵⁷Bianchi, *L'istruzione secondaria tra barocco ed età dei lumi*, pp. 82-83.

⁵⁸Mediolani, ex typographia Francisci Vigoni.

though only the oligarchy participated in it. Milan was under Spanish rule, although the upper classes did have some room to maneuver. How did the same orders operate in an absolutist state? Obviously, with only one governor, the strategy for success was much more straightforward. In such cases, the Jesuits usually sought to establish links with the monarch and the royal family. They sought to occupy any one of a number of offices: court preacher, missionary, counselor, public agent, court historian, or—perhaps most importantly—private confessor to the prince.

In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy, a number of families ruled their own states: the Gonzaga in Mantua, the Este in Ferrara, and then—from 1598—in Modena and Reggio Emilia, the Farnese in Parma and Piacenza, and the Savoia in Piedmont. Some of the individual relationships between these families and the Jesuits have already been examined: Gian Paolo Brizzi headed a group of scholars that studied the relationship between the Farnese and the Jesuits in Parma⁵⁹; Flavio Rurale and Antonella Bilotto, headed by Cesare Mozzarelli, conducted a similar study for the Gonzaga and Mantua.⁶⁰

The Savoyard state, however, presented a different context: it was perhaps the most independent state on the Italian peninsula, certainly so with regard to foreign interference. The most important studies on education in Piedmont were conducted by Marina Roggero. More recently, a group of architectural historians has investigated all of the Jesuit foundations in the state, extending their research to ecclesiastical and educational histories, as well.⁶¹

The history of the relationship between the Jesuits and the seminary in Turin is highly idiosyncratic. In 1567, Archbishop Gerolamo della Rovere opened the diocesan seminary next to the Jesuit college in S. Stefano. Ten years later, the Society took over the seminary build-

⁵⁹Gian Paolo Brizzi, Alessandro D'Alessandro, Alessandra Del Fante, *Università, Principe, Gesuiti. La politica farnesiana dell'istruzione a Parma e Piacenza (1545-1622)* (Rome, 1980). See also Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù*, especially the chapter "I Gesuiti nelle corti padane (1600-1650)," pp. 171-211.

⁶⁰Antonella Bilotto and Flavio Rurale, eds., *Istoria del collegio di Mantova della Compagnia di Gesù scritta dal padre Giuseppe Gorzoni, Parte prima* (Mantua, 1997).

⁶¹Bruno Signorelli and Pietro Uscello, eds., *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese. Le fondazioni del Piemonte orientale*, atti del convegno, Vercelli 16 ottobre 1993 (Vercelli, 1995). Bruno Signorelli and Pietro Uscello, eds., *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino dagli anni di Emanuele Filiberto a quelli di Carlo Alberto* (Turin, 1998).

ings, offering the Archbishop in substitution new room in S. Agnese. At most, the Jesuits provided spiritual direction to the seminarians.

An additional concern in Piedmont was the existence of a long-standing Protestant community within its borders. The valleys peopled by the Waldensians provided an arena for missionary activity by the Jesuits, starting with the famous Antonio Possevino. In Turin, the fathers concentrated on apostolic offices, especially Schools of Christian Doctrine:

*La dottrina christiana ancora tutta si riposa su le nostre spalle, poi che ogni festa per cinque schole che sono in questa città si compartono dieci e più de nostri ad insegnarla tanto a fanciulli, quanto a fanciulle [...] essendo in duomo dove è la prima schola, qualche volta più di 500 scolari che la imparano.*⁶²

Turin came into competition with Milan for the first *seminarium nobilium*, which opened in the Savoyard capital in 1574. The first Torinese college for poor nobles had in fact been founded a few years prior by the Compagnia di San Paolo, a local lay confraternity devoted to the defense of the Catholic faith and support for the so-called “*nobili vergognosi*,” or impoverished nobles. Their college was a charitable institution, in nature and scope much like the Venetian Accademia della Giudecca, founded fifty years later. The ruling classes understood that supporting the nobility was important to maintaining social order. The colleges for the sons of impoverished noblemen would treat the young men as members of the nobility, and allow them to enter noble professions and thus maintain the family’s status. The young men could therefore participate in the system rather than become potentially disruptive elements in society. The Compagnia di San Paolo and the Society of Jesus developed ever closer relations in Turin, and in 1574 they jointly opened a *seminarium nobilium* in the Beccuti palace, a generous bequest having been made specifically for this purpose.⁶³

⁶²Quote found in Maria Franca Mellano, “Attività controriformistica dei gesuiti in Torino nel secondo ‘500,” in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino*, p. 37: “We teach all the Christian doctrine in this city, because every Sunday more than ten of our teachers are going to teach it in the five existing schools both to boys and girls [...] in the cathedral, where there is the most important school, we have sometimes more than 500 students attending.”

⁶³Rosa Anna Grassi, “I rapporti con la Compagnia di Gesù nelle carte dell’Archivio storico della Compagnia di San Paolo,” in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Torino*, pp. 133-144.

After the Jesuit provinces of Milan and Venice were split in 1578, the Milanese one still covered a large territory, including several independent regions: besides the Spanish state of Milan, it included the Republic of Genoa (which included Corsica), the Valtellina (ruled by a Protestant Swiss canton), and the Savoyard State. Nevertheless, the Jesuits were able to adapt to the political and social situation of Piedmont. Over time, there was an increasing distaste for Spain, an appreciation of the Duke of Savoy, Carlo Emanuele I (who ruled from 1580), and respect for his efforts to build Piedmont into a centralized state. The Jesuit colleges in the territory ruled from Turin (including Turin, Arona, Mondovì, Vercelli, Alessandria, Novara, and others) did not face a lack of native religious, as did the colleges in Milanese or Venetian territory. Nevertheless, the teaching staff at those colleges rotated regularly, and often the new teachers were Jesuits originally from foreign states, sometimes states hostile to Savoy. The dukes, therefore, found minor disagreements with the Jesuits: the “foreign” Jesuits were objects of suspicion, and in 1614 Carlo Emanuele I wrote to the Jesuit Superior General in Rome, stating that he did not “*gusta[re] nel suo stato de’ forestieri*.”⁶⁴ Furthermore, there were differences in pedagogical methods and concerns about money being sent abroad (which was not a minor matter in the age of mercantilism).

Flavio Rurale has discussed these issues in terms of the “geopolitics” of the Society of Jesus.⁶⁵ This is undoubtedly a valid approach, and it must be added that such politics had a direct impact upon the Jesuit educational institutions and where they were located.

What the Jesuits found to be opportune, however, was not always to the advantage of other religious orders. In Vercelli, the Barnabites were replaced by the Jesuits in the seminary of S. Pietro-La Ferla in 1581. Canon Giovanni Battista Modena described the event in his *Istoria di Vercelli*:

furono introdotti i pp. Gesuiti in Vercelli, e mentre loro si preparava il luogo, stavano in vescovato, ma confessavano, predicavano in S. Eusebio

⁶⁴Med. 23, II, fol. 360, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. Quoted in Flavio Rurale, “La provincia milanese della Compagnia di Gesù tra Cinque e Seicento. Struttura organizzativa e problemi politico-finanziari,” in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese*, p. 54: “he doesn’t want foreigners in his State.”

⁶⁵F Rurale, “La provincia milanese,” p. 47.

*cattedrale, fintanto, che gli fu dato S. Pietro con la casa et i pp. Barnabiti furono mandati a S. Cristoforo.*⁶⁶

However, the Jesuits could also execute their mission in a co-ordinated way with members of other religious orders. The bishop of Novara, the Barnabite Carlo Bascapè, engaged the Jesuits from the order's center in Arona in pastoral offices such as evaluative visits to monasteries, missions to Alpine valleys, catechism, and preaching. Like his model, Carlo Borromeo, the determined Bascapè was able to persuade the Jesuits to administer and teach in his seminary; that was an exception for the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits influenced the diocesan clergy in Novara by imparting their model of the apostolic priest, based upon "the practical character of [Ignatian] spirituality, on the narrow relationship between asceticism and action."⁶⁷ Bascapè, although belonging to a different religious order, appears to have admitted the better training of the Jesuits as both educators and pastoral assistants, at least during the period under discussion. Furthermore, they were more numerous and more readily available for these offices than the clerics of any similar religious order. Another factor may have been the spirituality of the Jesuits: Ignatius Loyola codified his "Spiritual Exercises" before his death, and those practices quickly became an important, popular spiritual path. The contribution that the Jesuits could make with the "*Exercises*" may have added to their other attractions.

To conclude with an observation by Marina Roggero, it is important to recognize the strategy behind Jesuit foundations. Their colleges were a bulwark for the faith and structure for otherwise malleable states; they promoted public peace and supplied well-educated men for the professions and for public employment.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Giovanni Battista Modena, *Istoria di Vercelli*, ms. in Vercelli, Biblioteca arcivescovile, C: 229/22, p. 547, as quoted in Mario Capellino, "Itinerari di ricerca per una futura storia dei gesuiti a Vercelli," in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese*, p. 205: "the Jesuits arrived in Vercelli and they stayed in the bishop's residence before having their own house; in the meanwhile, they hear confessions and preach in the cathedral of Saint Eusebius till they can establish in Saint Peter and the Barnabites move in Saint Christopher."

⁶⁷Pier Giorgio Longo, "Carlo Bascapé, vescovo di Novara e i gesuiti," in Signorelli-Uscello, *La Compagnia di Gesù e la società piemontese*, p. 370; and also *Carlo Bascapé sulle orme del Borromeo. Coscienza e azione pastorale in un vescovo di fine Cinquecento, atti del convegno di studio di Novara, Orta e Varallo Sesia, 1993* (Novara, 1994).

⁶⁸Marina Roggero, *Scuola e riforme nello Stato sabaudo* (Turin, 1981).

In the seventeenth century, the number of Jesuit establishments diminished in Piedmont; this was due to economic crises, wars, the opposition of the diocesan clergy, and the expansion of other teaching orders. Additionally, there was a demand for a different sort of education: the humanities were no longer as important as other subjects that were more useful for the professions, such as mathematics, economics, and foreign languages.⁶⁹ The Jesuits were apparently unprepared to accept the challenges inherent in that shift in demand, but the Barnabites and the Piarists were, and thus they became the successful religious orders in the eighteenth century. The *coup de grâce* occurred in 1729 when the Savoyard duke, Vittorio Amedeo II, decided to close the schools run by the religious orders and open in their stead state and public institutions. This was the first event in a profound crisis that led up to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. Additionally, it was the first step in a rising consciousness that education should return to public domain, administered by the government.

⁶⁹Marina Roggero, "La crisi di un modello culturale: I gesuiti nello Stato sabaudo tra Sei e Settecento," in eadem, *Insegnar lettere. Ricerche di storia dell'istruzione in età moderna* (Alessandria, 1992), pp. 23-47.

PROFESSION AND FAITH:
THE NATIONAL GUILD OF CATHOLIC
PSYCHIATRISTS, 1950-1968

BY

ABRAHAM NUSSBAUM*

In the early 1950's, Roman Catholics in America were underrepresented as psychiatric patients and practitioners, and a group of lay Catholic psychiatrists organized a National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists and published the Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists as a first step towards establishing an institutional Catholic presence within American psychiatry. From 1952 to 1968, the members of the Guild taught Catholic clergy to adopt psychiatric methods both for the selection and training of their members, and for the pastoral counsel with which they succored the laity. The Guild successfully introduced psychiatry into the Catholic experience, but they failed to create a thriving subculture within American psychiatry; the Guild is an exemplary failure in the efforts of Roman Catholics in America to create distinctly Catholic institutions.

In the late 1940's, Roman Catholic psychiatrists in America found themselves at the margins of their professional and faith communities. Many Catholics believed psychiatry a secular imitation of the faith, while many non-Catholic psychiatrists feared that Catholics were so dogmatic that it was deleterious to their mental health.¹ In April 1950, a small group of lay male Catholic psychiatrists, seeking a concord between their faith and their profession, placed a small notice in the back-pages of the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, their profession's journal of record, asking "Any Catholic psychiatrist who is a member of the American Psychiatric Association" to write to Dr. Edward L. Brennan.² The notice did not explain why a reader

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¹For the Catholic response to psychology, see C. Kevin Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism: From Confession to Therapy?* (New York, 2001). For the tension between psychoanalysis and Christianity in America, see Jon H. Roberts, "Psychoanalysis and American Christianity, 1900-1945," in *When Science and Christianity Meet*, edited by David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (Chicago, 2003), pp. 225-244.

²Edward L. Brennan, "Catholic Psychiatrists to Organize," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 106 (1950), 794.

ought to write Brennan: the unexplained invitation implicitly assumed that Catholic psychiatrists would recognize the need for such an organization.

Perhaps the intended readers of this notice still heard, ringing in their ears, the 1947 Lenten sermon that Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen had preached at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, a sermon publicized by *The New York Times*. Sheen, the most charismatic and popular Catholic preacher of the era, had unfavorably compared psychoanalysis to confession and analysts to confessors, implying that psychiatry was a wan imitation of the true faith of Catholicism.³ Some Catholic psychiatrists received the homily as a grievous insult. When Sheen refused to retract or clarify his statements, four prominent Catholic psychiatrists denounced Sheen and angrily insisted that no conflict existed between psychiatry and Catholicism, a denunciation also reported by the *New York Times*. One of these four psychiatrists, Frank J. Curran, resigned in protest from his position as the chief psychiatrist at St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City and told a reporter that his some of his patients had ceased psychiatric treatment for fear that it constituted a sin.⁴ Another of the four psychiatrists, Leo H. Bartemeier, responded to Sheen's provocation in 1949 by inveighing upon Pope Pius XII to embrace psychiatry as licit. During his audience, Bartemeier found the Pope receptive to psychiatry, and in 1953, Pius XII made the first supportive, if qualified, papal statement on psychiatry.⁵ Men like Bartemeier and Curran were the peers whom Brennan sought, Catholic psychiatrists making inroads into a Catholic culture which perceived psychiatry as a threat to the faith, while publicly embracing their faith at some risk to their professional careers.

Eighteen such men responded to Brennan's notice, and in 1952, they formed the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, the first reli-

³Sheen's fear was in no way exceptional, as many contemporaneous Catholics feared psychiatry would displace the practice of confession; see James M. O'Toole, ed., *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America* (Ithaca, New York, 2004), pp. 175-177.

⁴In response to Curran's resignation, Cardinal Spellman's office released a statement that left no doubt about the Archdiocese's loyalties. The statement, as excerpted in the July 27, 1947 issue of the *New York Times*, read, in part, that "Dr. Curran's services are not required in any institution of the Archdiocese of New York."

⁵The best account of Bartemeier's actions is found in Francis J. Braceland, "Leo H. Bartemeier, M.D. 1895-1982," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 140 (1983), 628-630.

gion-based psychiatric society recognized by the American Psychiatric Association (APA). Like Brennan, the Guild and its members sought both to make psychiatry licit for Catholics, and Catholicism acceptable to psychiatrists. They enjoyed scant success on the latter front, as their meetings and publications attracted only passing notice from most of their secular colleagues in the APA. To be sure, there were exceptions, Catholic psychiatrists like Francis J. Braceland who were both active in the Guild and prominent within the APA, but the Guild found its greatest success not in influencing non-Catholic psychiatrists, but in teaching ordained Catholic clergy, both members of religious orders and congregations and diocesan priests, to adopt psychiatric methods for the selection and training of their members and for the pastoral counsel with which they succored the laity. Instead of making Catholicism acceptable to psychiatry, as many of its members hoped to do, the Guild was most successful at integrating contemporary psychiatry into the lives of Catholics in America.

In this paper, I examine The National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, and its associated *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, during the period 1952-1968. When the Guild began its work, Catholics were underrepresented in psychiatry as practitioners and as patients. During this period, the Guild introduced psychiatric services into the lives of both lay and clerical Catholics in America, yet the Guild's guiding force, John R. Cavanagh, believed the Guild a failure because it never organized Catholic psychiatrists into a viable adjunct to the secular psychiatric guild, the APA. The Guild's leaders attributed their failure to create a thriving Catholic psychiatric community to their inability to interest more than a handful of Catholic psychiatrists to commit to the Guild itself; the Guild began as the dream of a small number of men and, in most respects, it receded into history on the same scale. This paper contributes both to the study of religious and cultural difference in the history of psychiatry and offers an example of a Catholic subculture in America that was not sustained. Catholics in America are famous for creating thriving subcultures—alternative educational, medical, and social institutions—that create and reinforce a distinct identity.⁶ However, Catholics in America have not been able to sustain a similar subculture of psychiatric facilities and services. The leaders of the Guild hoped their organization would flourish into a Catholic alternative to secular psychiatry. In this light, the Guild was an exemplary failure because the Guild was unable to attract enough

⁶Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1992).

Catholic psychiatrists to sustain itself, but it was able to make psychiatry licit for the lives of lay and clerical Catholics alike.⁷

Organizational History of the Guild

Dr. Edward L. Brennan founded the Guild as what the *Bulletin's* longtime editor John R. Cavanagh once called "a small appendage of our parent organization," the APA.⁸ The Guild sought its first members from the readership of the APA's journal in 1950. It sought additional members from psychiatrists attending the APA's annual conferences, and held annual meetings alongside the APA from 1952 in Atlantic City until 1956 in Chicago. While the Guild was initially content to exist as an affinity group that met at the APA conference, its leaders eventually sought a separate conference. In the December 1956 issue of the *Bulletin*, the Guild asked its members if they would rather hold Guild meetings separately from the APA so that Guild members could focus solely upon the particular concerns of Catholic psychiatrists. They apparently received an affirmative reply, because in February 1958, the Guild held its first separate annual meeting at The Catholic University of America.⁹ The presidents of the Guild hailed the first few

⁷I was unable to locate historical accounts of the Guild or substantive archival material relating to the Guild from the American Psychiatric Association, The Catholic University of America, Georgetown University, Yale University, or the Institute of Living, among other institutions. In a personal communication, Dr. Thomas K. Ciesla, who served in several Guild administrative positions including President and Editor, disclosed that he once possessed the Guild's archives, but disposed of them as trash several years ago. The Guild is also not discussed in the histories of twentieth-century American Catholicism, see Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*; or in treatments of American Catholic medicine, see Christopher J. Kauffman, *Ministry and Meaning: A Religious History of Catholic Health Care in the United States* (New York, 1995); Richard A. McCormick, *Health and Medicine in the Catholic Tradition: Tradition in Transition* (New York, 1984); and Ralph O'Connell, "The Church and Psychiatry," *America*, July 30 (2001), 15-18, or in discussions of American psychiatry, see Edward Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1998). No history of twentieth-century American Catholic psychiatry has been published, but C. Kevin Gillespie published a history of American Catholic psychology in which the Guild and Cavanagh are briefly discussed, Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism*. In a personal communication, Gillespie confirmed that he had no additional information beyond his published comments. In the absence of significant archival material, this history draws chiefly upon the published accounts in the *Bulletin* itself.

⁸John R. Cavanagh, "Editorial: To Be or Not To Be," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 13:3 (1966), 135.

⁹John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Message," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 5:2 (1957), 3. From 1958 to 1968, the *Bulletin's* editorial headquarters

independent meetings as successes, but within three years, the *Bulletin* routinely published editorials pleading for better attendance at their meetings, often complaining of attendance below thirty members.¹⁰ In 1962, the Guild returned to the practice of holding its meetings in conjunction with the APA, and subsequent editorials noted an increase in attendance. The failure to sustain independent annual meetings implies that most of the Guild's members experienced the meetings as an adjunct to the APA's conferences rather than as a Catholic replacement.

At the Guild's meetings, lay psychiatrists, ordained priests, and male and female religious tried to make room within psychiatry for Catholicism. The implications of that call to arms varied; but on the whole, the participants seem to have applied psychiatry chiefly to distinctively Catholic practices, without addressing the real tensions between Catholicism and psychiatry. They limned the psychoanalytic value of the confessional and the psychological implications of the rhythm method rather than reforming psychiatry in light of, say, Catholic anthropology, devotional practices, liturgy, or moral theology. Consider the Guild's tenth meeting, held at The Catholic University of America from February 2 to 4 in 1959, which shows the extent to which APA concerns set the Guild's agenda, even during the years the Guild held its meeting independent of the APA. The theme was "The Catholic Psychiatrist and His Church," and the speaker at each morning's plenary session was a nationally prominent lay psychiatrist, including a prominent Jewish psychiatrist who had converted to Catholicism, the current president of the APA, and a past president of the APA. Following the speakers, in every sense of the phrase, were the seventeen afternoon seminars, of which over half were delivered by clerical and religious non-psychiatrists, such as Mother Rose Elizabeth, C.S.C., on "The Psychiatrist and Vocations for the Convent" and Rev. Wilbur Wheeler on "Psychiatric Training for Religious." These Catholics applied the insights of psychiatry to the practices of their parishes, seminaries, convents, and monasteries rather than applying the prac-

were at The Catholic University of America, a university hospitable to psychiatry at least since 1939, when the psychiatrist and Benedictine monk Thomas Verner Moore established the first American Catholic psychiatric teaching facility at the university. Although Moore retired in 1947, he influenced and trained many of the Guild's members. See Benedict Neenan, *Thomas Verner Moore: Psychiatrist, Educator, and Monk* (New York, 2000).

¹⁰See Hayes, "Chaplain's Page," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 7:2 (1960), 66.

tices of Catholicism to psychiatric services. At their meetings and in their published essays, members of the Guild rarely discussed the social justice teachings of the Church, and did not appear to challenge substantively contemporary psychiatry's attention to middle-class ailments.¹¹ Likewise, members of the Guild did not significantly challenge the ontology of mid-century psychiatry, but instead showed how to apply psychiatry to the specific needs of Catholics. The Guild trained Catholics, mostly members of the clergy, how to apply contemporary psychiatry to annulment proceedings, pastoral counseling, seminarian training, alcohol abuse, and the like. Instead of caring for the mentally ill as a practice of Christian charity, as mid-twentieth century Catholics famously attempted to do for the physically ill,¹² or teaching the mentally ill faithful to seek divine assistance through the intercession of the saints, the Guild opened the Catholic market to secular psychiatry by applying psychiatry to the particular concerns of Catholics in America.¹³

The structure of the annual meetings implies that lay psychiatrists established the Guild's program while clerical and religious non-psychiatrists implemented the program. As an organization, the Guild

¹¹See Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry*.

¹²See Guenter B. Risse, *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls: A History of Hospitals* (Oxford, 1999) and Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry*.

¹³For example, from 1952 until 1968, the *Bulletin* published only a single article on Saint Dymphna, the patron saint of the mentally ill. The article, replete with a holy card image and a devotional prayer, was an uncharacteristically self-conscious promotion of Dymphna's cult; see Arthur Mulka, "St. Dymphna—Gheel's Angel of Hope," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 9:3 (1962), 157-162. A year later, the *Bulletin* reprinted a recent letter from the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of Rites that permitted the celebration of May 15 as the Feast of Saint Dymphna; see Henricus Dante, "Saint Dymphna Honored," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 10:2 (1963), 126. Saint Dymphna appeared in the Guild only once more, in the front pages of the ill-fated twentieth-anniversary issue: Cavanagh trotted out the infrequently invoked patroness of the mentally ill only when it was time to say his goodbyes. Perhaps Saint Dymphna was usually absent from the *Bulletin* because its editors were implicitly drawing their readers away from a devotional culture of images and into a modernist culture of texts. The historian Robert Orsi writes incisively about the extravagant devotional culture of physical suffering within mid-twentieth-century Catholicism; see Robert A. Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them* (Princeton, New Jersey, 2005). In the *Bulletin*, devotional culture makes only fleeting appearances. The saints are invoked infrequently by the authors, and pastoral counselors are not routinely advised to form their parishioners in devotional practices to the saints. This suggests that the members of the Guild belonged to the class of Catholics whom Orsi identifies as diminishing their devotion to the saints as they embraced modernity.

embodied this division, distinguishing “regular” members who identified themselves both as practicing Catholics and as trained psychiatrists from “associate” members who were practicing Catholics but not psychiatrists. Members of both kinds completed application forms that were available at meetings and published in the back of many issues of the *Bulletin*. Applicants aspiring to regular membership supplied their name, address, medical education, APA membership status, publications, manner of psychiatric practice, and the name of their parish and pastor. Applicants aspiring for associate membership supplied the same information without the details specific to practicing psychiatrists. Applicants were elected at the following annual meeting, by an approval process that appears to have been perfunctory so long as the applicant agreed to pay the Guild’s modest annual dues. For example, in July 1959 a regular member paid \$15.00 annually while an associate member paid \$8.00; readers could subscribe to the *Bulletin*, the annual cost of which was \$4.00 in 1953 and \$7.50 in 1968. While I could not locate distinctions in the privileges and responsibilities between the two kinds of membership, the division suggests the extent to which the Guild was a voluntary association of professionals who shared the same religious identity, but in which the secular identity is foregrounded. Since the Guild’s structure reinforced the clinical privilege of their professional identities, psychiatrists eligible for regular membership appeared to hold a privileged place in the Guild in relationship to the other Catholics eligible for associate membership: while both regular and associate members could publish in the *Bulletin* or make presentations at meetings, only regular members held offices in the Guild.¹⁴ The Guild enforced the APA’s distinction between the “ordained” and the “not-ordained” rather than the hierar-

¹⁴Although all its named leaders are laymen, the Guild prominently featured in an advisory role Catholics who were members of the clergy and of religious orders and congregations. Throughout the period 1948 to 1968, the Guild had a chaplain, first the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John J. Hayes from Hartford, Connecticut from 1948 until his death in 1961, and then Rev. Wilbur F. Wheeler, chaplain at St. Elizabeth’s, a federal psychiatric hospital in Washington, D.C. Then in July 1964, a Jesuit named Rev. Francis P. Rowley who worked at the Hudson River State Hospital in Poughkeepsie was named the Guild’s chaplain. The chaplains wrote often in the *Bulletin*; indeed, Wheeler and Rowley contributed more articles to the *Bulletin*, twenty-three and nineteen, respectively, than any other authors than Cavanagh, the editor himself. While the Guild was operated by and for lay Catholic psychiatrists, the constant invocation of clerics and religious constituted at least an implicit appeal to their special authority. For example, during the late 1960’s, the Guild listed, on the inside front cover of the *Bulletin*, an advisory panel of eleven “Consulting Editors,” ten of whom were men and seven of whom identified themselves by clerical or religious titles.

chy specific to Catholicism; they substituted medical training for sacramental difference.

Over time, however, the Guild's regular members, mostly male psychiatrists, became outnumbered by the associate members, mostly male religious, so the clinical privilege of a medical degree eroded within the Guild. It is difficult to document completely this trend, because the Guild did not publish membership rolls until 1959. However, when the membership rolls published from 1959 until 1968 are summed, it becomes clear that lay men dominated the regular membership, while clergy dominated the associate membership. In 1953, the Guild claimed eighty-three members.¹⁵ In 1959, in its tenth anniversary issue, the *Bulletin* claimed 219 regular members from forty-one states, with only three male religious and nine laywomen. In contrast, its associate members comprised 128 people from twenty-three states, of whom 105 were male religious, eight were female religious, and six were laywomen.¹⁶ Ten years later, in 1968, the regular membership of the Guild showed a net loss of two, at 217 from thirty-six states and Canada, with one male religious member, eight female lay members, and one female religious member. In comparison, the ranks of the associate membership grew to 186 members, thirty-three laymen and 107 clergymen, with eighteen laywomen and twenty-eight

¹⁵A. Vincent Gerty, "Report of the Secretary," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 1:4 (1953), 3.

¹⁶Cavanagh, "Membership List—March, 1959," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 6:2 (1959), 29-48. I arrived at these numbers by counting the membership roles. First, I counted a member as cleric or religious if their name was preceded or followed by an ecclesial abbreviation (e.g. S.J., O.F.M., Rev.). Members could conceivably have elected not to publish their ecclesiastical credentials, or the Guild could have neglected to publish them, so my numbers can only be approximations that, if anything, underestimate the number of clerics and religious. Second, it is more difficult to determine the gender of the members. Women who belong to religious orders were identified by ecclesiastical abbreviations, and some other women were identified by a gendered title (Miss, Mrs.), but since both male and female psychiatrists were simply identified by their medical credentials, I had to guess at the gender of the non-clergy physician members. The vast majority of the physicians were identified by their first names, and most of these readily revealed their gender. However, some non-clergy physician members identified themselves by their initials or had an ambiguous first name. Based on the general trends of the membership roles, I assumed that one out of fifteen such members was a woman, but this assumption may underestimate the number of female members. Regardless, the general trend stands—the Guild's regular membership was dominated by laymen, and no religious or female members served as Guild offices during this period, but its associate membership was dominated by clerical and religious members.

religious women.¹⁷ With a net gain of fifty-six members in the span of a decade, the Guild grew modestly, and grew only because Catholic clergymen and religious became members.

As its membership roster suggests, the Guild was most successful at recruiting clergy and members of religious orders and congregations. Eugene N. Boudreau, then-chairman of the membership committee, wrote plaintively in 1964, "It is apparent that we have not secured for membership all the Catholic psychiatrists of the country since there are some 1,000 Catholic psychiatrists in the membership of the APA."¹⁸ Boudreau does not name the source of his estimate, and I cannot verify it in published APA documents, but we can compare it to a contemporary survey conducted by the APA. In 1965, an APA survey found 18,740 psychiatrists in the United States, 69 per cent of whom belonged to the APA.¹⁹ While this survey did not include information on religious identity, it implies that the Guild's membership constituted approximately one per cent of American psychiatrists, which certifies the Guild as a statistically marginal enterprise within the house of psychiatry.

A different survey from this era suggests that the Guild was small both because Catholics were underrepresented within American psychiatry and because non-practicing Catholic psychiatrists rarely joined the Guild. In light of the APA survey described above, Boudreau claimed that approximately one in five Catholic psychiatrists belonged to the Guild. While this may have been a motivational tactic to inspire more memberships, an independent 1966 survey of psychiatrists in New York City roughly corroborates Boudreau's claim. That survey suggests that non-practicing Catholic psychiatrists saw little need for a distinctively Catholic psychiatric group. John Jerome Lally surveyed 960 New York City psychiatrists in 1966, and seven percent of his respondents identified themselves as Catholics in a city where Catholics constituted about twenty-five percent of the general population.²⁰ In his survey, Lally found that about twenty percent of Catholic psychiatrists

¹⁷Cavanagh, "Membership List—October 1, 1968," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 15:4 (1968), 227-232.

¹⁸Eugene N Boudreau, "Membership Committee Report," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 11:3 (1964), 170-172.

¹⁹Donald R. Jones and Carolynne Seeman, *Nation's Psychiatrists* (Chevy Chase, Maryland, 1969), p. 3.

²⁰John Jerome Lally, *Interrelationships of Statuses in Status-sets: The Case of Catholic Psychiatrists* (Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1968), pp. 2, 40.

in New York City belonged to the Guild, which means that approximately 1.4 per cent of all the psychiatrists in the five boroughs belonged to the Guild. More specifically, half of all Catholic psychiatrists in New York City who identified themselves as professionally active and religiously practicing belonged to the Guild.²¹ Lally's survey confirms Boudreau's claim that most American Catholic psychiatrists did not join the Guild. Yet Lally's survey further suggests that Catholic psychiatrists were more likely to join the Guild if they identified themselves as practicing Catholics. The APA and Lally surveys allow us to reach a broad conclusion, confirmed by the Guild's stagnant membership roster, that the Guild constituted a professional subculture only for those Catholic psychiatrists who identified themselves as practicing Catholics.

If publishing in the *Bulletin* can be taken as a surrogate for commitment to the Guild, and the editors frequently published pleas for more members to submit articles, the Guild maintained a Catholic psychiatric subculture only through the efforts of a small number of dedicated members. Based on the index of articles published in the October 1968 issue, the *Bulletin's* editor published 449 articles by 209 different authors between 1952 and 1968. Yet the vast majority, 182, of these authors published only one or two articles during this period. The other seventeen authors published 244 of the articles. That is, approximately ninety per cent of the authors published one or two articles during an eighteen-year period; together they published forty-five per cent of the articles in the *Bulletin*. Approximately ten per cent of the authors published three or more articles during the eighteen-year period; together they published fifty-five per cent of the articles.²²

No member was more dedicated than John R. Cavanagh, the lay psychiatrist who edited the *Bulletin* throughout this era. While it was Brennan who placed the note in the APA's journal, Brennan died unexpectedly in September 1953, forcing the Guild to search for a replacement.²³ Throughout the 1950's, a new president was elected almost

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 121.

²²I generated these numbers by counting the index. Because of the task's tedium, I counted only once, so I admit that errors are likely, but am certain that the general trend would remain: the *Bulletin* was sustained by a small number of members.

²³Cavanagh eulogized Brennan in the *Bulletin* as a devoted Catholic physician and family man who saw the relationship between psychiatry and Catholicism as a special attention to the indigent and as a kind of apologetics, proving the experiences of the faith by scientific principles; see Cavanagh, "Edward L. Brennan, M.D.," *Bulletin of the*

annually to lead the Guild. In the 1960's, the presidency of the Guild was stabilized under the tenure of four laymen: Francis A. O'Donnell, Anthony D. Maniscalco, George A. Constant, and Robert Buckley.²⁴ While the Guild's presidents came and went, Cavanagh was the only constant, authoring 107 of the *Bulletin's* 449 articles during the period. No Guild president published more than fifteen *Bulletin* articles; Cavanagh's prodigious output, and frequent pleas for more submissions, sometimes made the *Bulletin* read more like a newsletter than a journal. Launched as a forum for publishing addresses and papers presented at the Guild's annual meetings, along with news items and book reviews, the *Bulletin* eventually became a kind of echo chamber for John R. Cavanagh.

Publication History of the *Bulletin*

In October 1968, the *Bulletin* marked the twentieth anniversary of the Guild's inception with a discouraging announcement: the resignation of Cavanagh, as both the only editor the *Bulletin* had ever known and as the Guild's treasurer. In "A MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR," Cavanagh wrote that serving as Editor

has been a disappointment in two ways: the small number of articles contributed by the membership and its small circulation. To those who did contribute and who did subscribe I am most grateful. It is a poor commentary on my Editorship that for this special issue only one article has been submitted. . . . there are a few things I would like to say. First, the Guild needs some young blood. Second, we need some members with enthusiasm and energy. Third, we need money and fourth, in six months the *Bulletin* will need an Editor.²⁵

Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, 1:4 (1953), 4-5. In Brennan's absence, the Guild seemed to have reflected mostly the latter of his concerns. A fellow member of the Guild, Francis J. Braceland, wrote Brennan's professional obituary for the journal *Connecticut Medicine*; see Braceland, "Edward L. Brennan, 1900-1953," *Connecticut Medicine*, 18:1 (1954), 91.

²⁴The presidents of the Guild published frequently in secular medical journals. Using PubMed, I identified the publications from each of the five Guild presidents. Although I have not read these articles, I take their existence in secular medical journals to indicate that the Guild's presidents belonged to a religious subculture within their profession, but not a separate, parallel profession. Most of them did not publish articles specifically addressing Catholic populations. It is also noteworthy that back issues of the *Bulletin* itself are not cataloged in PubMed, and therefore, today's psychiatrists are unlikely to read them.

²⁵Cavanagh, "A Message From The Editor," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 15:4 (1968), 207.

On the following page, under the title, "A MESSAGE FROM THE TREASURER," Cavanagh wrote

I debated whether or not I should include my resignation as Treasurer of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists in the same letter as that which contained my resignation as Editor. I decided against it. They are two separate and distinct jobs so that they warrant two letters of resignation. . . . I urge you not to consider either my resignation as Editor or as Treasurer to indicate any loss of interest in the Guild or its objectives. I desire to retain my membership in the Guild and hope that I will be called upon from time to time to make a modest contribution.²⁶

Neither of Cavanagh's messages imply that the Guild was a thriving organization by 1968. While Cavanagh decorated his last issue of the *Bulletin* with the trappings of success—including a letter of approval from a then-young Senator Edward M. Kennedy and snapshots of Guild members fraternizing with nuns, priests, bishops, and Pope John XXIII—the issue looked less like a success than the closing night of a poorly-received play, and Cavanagh, as he promised in his messages, subsequently closed the curtain on his editorship, and effectively on the *Bulletin* itself.²⁷ A diminished version of the *Bulletin* resumed publication under the editorship of Edward G. Colbert, a California psychiatrist, but the attempt to integrate Catholicism into American psychiatry was never reattempted on this stage.

While archival material is unavailable, we can infer the decline of the Guild and its *Bulletin* on the basis of library holdings. According

²⁶Cavanagh, "A Message From The Treasurer," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 15:4 (1968), 208.

²⁷The *Bulletin* projected modern professionalism rather than the ornate iconography of the saints found in many contemporaneous American Catholic publications. It signified its Catholicism, like a modern church, by its carefully chosen adornments, like the Latin motto *Si Deus Nobiscum Quis Contra Nos*, "If God is with us, who can be against us," that appeared in each issue. Each issue also featured the Guild's logo, a circle the size of a quarter circumscribing a cross, rather than a crucifix, whose longest axis is intersected by an upturned crescent, in order to form the Greek letter *psi* (ψ). The *Bulletin* often included an explanation of the logo: the cross represents religion, the *psi* represents psychiatry, and their union is bounded by a complete circle to represent the completion of the truth: "The Symbol, therefore, means that a union of religion and psychiatry is necessary to obtain the whole truth about man and his problems." The implicit assumption was that religion was equivalent to Catholicism, and that Catholicism was equivalent to religion. In its graphic layout, the *Bulletin* belongs firmly to the twentieth-century modernist shift from image to word that Robert A. Orsi has observed in American Catholicism; see Orsi, *Between Heaven and Earth*, p. 157.

to the WorldCat database, sixty-six libraries house a collection of *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, published first biannually and then quarterly, from 1952 to 1968 over fifteen volumes. However, most secular libraries lack any issues of the subsequent publication *The Bulletin of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, a quarterly published from 1968 to 1977, and an annual from 1977 until it ceased publication in 1988. WorldCat identifies only forty-four libraries collecting this later publication, most with incomplete collections, and almost all of the libraries collecting the later publication are Catholic institutions. Columbia, Harvard, North Carolina, Ohio State University, Pittsburgh, University of California at San Francisco, and the National Library of Medicine are some of the secular libraries that collect the earlier but not the later publication.²⁸ Cavanagh's messages suggest a publication sustained by a single man, and the *Bulletin* struggled after his resignation. For example, in the *Biographical Directory of the American Psychiatric Association*, members list the honorary and professional societies in which they claim membership. The Guild first appears as an approved abbreviation in 1958, and maintained its appearance in the next two editions, but does not appear in the 1973 edition or any subsequent editions even though membership in other religious groups, like the Christian Medical Society, were eventually listed.²⁹ Initially in conversation with the main body of American psychiatry, the Guild and its later publication was in conversation only with the meager percentage of Catholic psychiatrists who belonged to the Guild.³⁰ The irony is that the *Bulletin*

²⁸In 1953, the Guild reported circulation figures of 2000-2500 copies per issue, and distributed copies "to all the Chanceries of the United States, to all the Catholic college libraries, and to the libraries of all the medical schools of the country"; see Hayes, "A Message From The Chaplain," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 1:3 (1953), 2. So it is likely many medical schools received their subscription, at least initially, through the Guild's complimentary institution distribution.

²⁹See American Psychiatric Association, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of October 1, 1957* (New York, 1958), p. xxii; APA, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of May 8, 1962* (New York, 1963), p. xviii; APA, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of October 1, 1967* (New York, 1968), p. xix; APA, *Biographical Directory of Fellows & Members of the American Psychiatric Association as of July 31, 1973* (New York, 1973).

³⁰I have been able to identify only one book which began as an article in the latter run of the *Bulletin*, and it was published by an obscure confessional press with ecclesiastical permission, further suggesting the extent to which the Guild became a place for applications of psychiatry to Catholic practice; see John Allan Loftus, *The Integration of Psychology and Religion: An Uneasy Alliance* (Whitinsville, Massachusetts, 1981). In contrast, the earlier publication featured authors who published books on psychiatry

after Cavanagh became more theologically liberal and less specifically committed to Catholicism. For example, Cavanagh published a five-point purpose statement in each issue of the *Bulletin*. The new editors initially used essentially the same statement of faith, but omitted the purpose "To assist the ecclesiastical authorities in the diffusion of the knowledge of Catholic medicine and psychiatric ethics." By the end of the *Bulletin's* publication in 1988, the purpose statement no longer made mention of Catholicism at all, but spoke instead of a Jamesian shared "belief in the spiritual dimension of human experience" and a mission "to further the integration of psychiatry and religion."³¹ The Guild failed to reformulate psychiatry as a practice of Catholic charity, as Catholics had long ago learned to do so with other medical disciplines, but instead it became an organization of psychiatrists who were Catholics interested in religion and spirituality.

"The Case of Catholic Psychiatrists"

The members of the Guild also failed to convince their fellow Catholic psychiatrists that they needed a professional association of their own. This is remarkable because the best available evidence, the survey data embedded in Lally's 1968 dissertation, *Interrelationships of Statuses in Status-Sets: The Case of Catholic Psychiatrists*, suggests that most Catholic psychiatrists in the late 1960's perceived themselves as marginalized members of their profession. In Lally's survey, Catholic psychiatrists were not only underrepresented, they were also far less likely to be employed as analysts, which was then the most prestigious psychiatric practice. Catholics, more often than their professional peers, were employed in institutions like asylums, clinics, and hospitals, rather than in the more prestigious and lucrative setting of analytical institutes or analytical private practice. Among the psychiatrists Lally surveyed, Catholics were significantly more likely to practice their religion and to perceive tension between faith and profession than their non-Catholic peers. Finally,

and religion with prominent secular presses; for example, Braceland, ed., *Faith, Reason, and Modern Psychiatry: Sources for a Synthesis* (New York, 1955).

³¹The Cavanagh-era purpose statement can be found in any issue, see for example Cavanagh, "Purpose," *The Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 13:1 (1966), 1. For the initial modification of the statement by omission, see Edward G. Colbert, "Purpose," *The Bulletin of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 18:1 (1972), 1. For the later purpose statement, see Anna Polcino, "Purposes," *The Bulletin of the National Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 32 (1988), 3.

Lally noted that many Catholics perceived psychiatry as a liberal, secular, and sexually permissive threat to the faith. All of these factors, Lally concluded, provided Catholic psychiatrists with ample motivation to form a guild of their own.³²

Yet Lally conducted his research precisely as a frustrated Cavanagh had grown weary of cajoling and begging his fellow Catholic psychiatrists to participate in the Guild, and at the end of two decades when at least some American Catholic psychiatrists had risen to tremendous prominence within the profession. Perhaps Catholic psychiatrists had assimilated more than Lally's survey discerned. In 1952, the secular publisher McGraw-Hill issued *Psychiatry and Catholicism*, in which its authors, under the seal of the imprimatur, taught pastors when to refer parishioners to psychiatrists.³³ The book was an indirect rejoinder to Fulton J. Sheen's *Peace of Soul*, in which Sheen again declared aspects of psychiatry illicit for Catholics.³⁴ During the 1950's, Leo H. Bartemeier, one of the psychiatrists outraged by Sheen, became the first psychiatrist, Catholic or otherwise, to head the APA, the American Psychoanalytic Association, and the International Psychoanalytic Association.³⁵ From 1944 until 1969, six Catholics who served as presidents of the APA felt secure enough in their profession to publish articles in the *Bulletin*, many of them during their APA tenure.³⁶ One of them, Francis J. Braceland, published numerous books on psychiatry and religion and later edited the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, from 1965 to 1978.³⁷ At least some Catholic psychiatrists achieved great success within their profession, while still publicly identifying as Catholics.

They must have received most of the era's Vatican statements with some relief, because both Pius XII and Paul VI supported psychiatry, and, with qualifications, psychoanalysis. In 1952, Pius XII said that psychiatric care could be a boon to a patient's soul and that psychoanalysis was not necessarily opposed to Christian morality. In 1953, he sup-

³²Lally, *Interrelationships of Statuses in Status-sets*.

³³James Herman Van der Veldt and Robert P. Odenwald, *Psychiatry and Catholicism* (New York, 1952).

³⁴Fulton Sheen, *Peace of Soul* (New York, 1949).

³⁵Braceland, "Leo H. Bartemeier."

³⁶The six Catholic APA presidents were Karl M. Bowman, Leo H. Bartemeier, Francis J. Braceland, Francis J. Gerty, Harvey J. Tompkins, and Lawrence C. Kolb.

³⁷See Braceland, *Faith, Reason, and Modern Psychiatry*, as well as Braceland and Michael Stock, *Modern Psychiatry: A Handbook for Believers* (Garden City, New York, 1963).

ported psychotherapy but reminded Catholic therapists that they must always call their patients out of material sin. In 1958, he reiterated his cautious approval, but warned psychiatrists not to delve too deeply into the psyche, especially with regards to sexuality, as he tried to reserve such speech acts for the confessional.³⁸ Paul VI continued the papal support with a December 1963 address that the Guild reprinted in its entirety.³⁹ During the 1950's and 1960's, the Church received psychiatry more favorably, but continued to resist psychoanalysis as a secular threat to the theology of sin and the authority of the confessional.⁴⁰ The Church's suspicion of psychoanalysis, when taken together with the resistance of analytic institutes to accept Catholic psychiatrists, suggest why Lally's Catholic psychiatrists more often found employment as physicians than as analysts. In the 1950's and 60's, Catholic psychiatrists and administrators found themselves at the margins of their faith and their profession: a few ascended to prominent positions within American psychiatry, but most, due to internal, external, and personal factors, struggled to integrate their Catholicism into their professional life.

The *Bulletin's* Synthesis of Profession and Faith

Reading the *Bulletin* strongly suggests that the members of the Guild were more successful at introducing psychiatric services into the lives of Catholic clergy and members of religious orders and congregations than they were at introducing Catholicism into American psychiatry. The tension can be inferred by the numerous articles and

³⁸For a contemporaneous appraisal of these events, see Robert P. Odenwald, "Psychiatry, Papal Pronouncements On," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11 (Washington, DC, 1967), pp. 951-2. In the midst of these announcements, the Vatican issued a *Monitum* on July 15, 1961 that prohibited priests from practicing psychoanalysis without an indult. However, priests needed an indult to engage in any form of medicine; the Church reserved priests for positions that the laity could not perform. Priests could not be psychiatrists or psychoanalysts without an indult, because the positions required a medical license that laymen could receive. Priests likewise needed an indult to practice pediatrics or surgery; see Ellsworth Kneal, *Medical Practice by the Clergy: Medicine, Irregularities, Indults, Psychiatry* (Rome, 1967).

³⁹Pope Paul VI, "Pope Paul VI Speaks to Psychiatrists," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 9:3 (1964), 166-168.

⁴⁰Sheen insisted that his criticism was limited to psychoanalysis, especially Freudian analysis. Indeed, most of the ecclesiastical Catholic resistance to psychiatry centered upon psychoanalysis, but since psychoanalysis was the dominant theory and practice in mid-century American psychiatry, it was perhaps to be expected that many Catholic psychiatrists believed Sheen's distinction inadequate; see Sheen, *Peace of Soul*.

comments in the *Bulletin* in which the Guild's leaders returned to the theme of how non-Catholic psychiatrists initially feared that the Guild would be "divisive," but found it rather to be a "uniting" force within American psychiatry.⁴¹ The authors in the *Bulletin* characterized themselves as reuniting psychiatry to the more complete account of humanity afforded by the Catholic faith, and claimed the American people hungered for such a rapprochement between faith and psychiatry. For example, the Guild's chaplain announced that after publishing an article in a women's magazine, he received "1,431 letters and post cards seeking information about psychiatry and religion; and 812 of these correspondents expressed varying degrees of surprise that Catholics could have anything to do with psychiatry!"⁴² The presumed opposition between Catholicism and psychiatry was illusory, because, he continued, "[w]hatever opposition may be expressed in religious circles towards psychiatry is opposition not to the profession as a whole, but to those schools of psychiatry which make atheism and materialism their basis."⁴³ The Guild sought to convince pious Catholics that psychiatry, rightly understood, was no threat to a well-formed Catholic conscience, and simultaneously argued for the necessity of theology for a fully realized psychiatry.

While the *Bulletin's* authors earnestly desired this synthesis, reading the index to all previous issues the *Bulletin* published in 1968 shows that the *Bulletin's* articles chiefly addressed specifically Catholic themes, offering apologetics for disputed Catholic sexual and medical ethics or suggesting applications of psychiatry for religious life. In my analysis, I found that while the former were published throughout the *Bulletin's* run, the latter articles eventually dominated the *Bulletin*. This is in some respects a surprise, because Cavanagh preferred apolo-

⁴¹For exemplary expressions of this sentiment, see two articles by Guild chaplains, John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Message," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 2:2 (1954), 2-4 and Wilbur Wheeler, "Chaplain's Message," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 8:3 (1961), 128.

⁴²John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Letter," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 3:2 (1955), 2

⁴³John J. Hayes, "Chaplain's Message," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 4:1 (1956), 2. The "schools of psychiatry" denigrated by Hayes is a thinly veiled reference to analytic techniques that derived from the work of Freud. However, Hayes makes a somewhat disingenuous claim here, because American psychiatry was then very much dominated by analytic techniques derived from Freud; see Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry*, and Roberts, "Psychoanalysis and American Christianity." Hayes, like most Guild writers, avoids the difficult question of how exactly to ground psychiatric practice in Catholicism rather than Freudianism.

getics. In the index, Cavanagh is the only author credited with addressing the Church's teaching on abortion; he wrote four lengthy articles supporting the Church's teaching. He also wrote frequently on marriage and homosexuality and later published several books on the subject.⁴⁴ More than any author, Cavanagh consistently used psychiatry and psychology to defend the Church's sexual mores.⁴⁵ While Cavanagh addressed issues specific to Catholic laypeople, his presumed audience was often the clergy: instead of teaching laypeople the psychological rationale for Church teachings, he often taught the clergy how to counsel laypeople.⁴⁶ During his tenure, the bulk of the *Bulletin's* articles were not directed to the major pathologies of psychiatry—psychosis and mood disorders—but to the needs of a religious audience, teaching counseling skills, advocating psychiatry for selecting candidates for the religious life, and ministering to the mental health needs of the religious. Recall that Lally's survey found Catholic psychiatrists working in institutions; the pages of the *Bulletin* show that the institutions that most interested the Guild were convents, monasteries, seminaries, and the psychiatric institutes and sanitariums established to minister to Catholic clergy.

The Influence of the Guild and Further Questions

The Guild acclimated its members and the readers of its *Bulletin* to the practice of psychiatry, but it apparently failed to draw its readers and members into Catholic psychiatry as a subculture unto itself. Reading Cavanagh's editorials today makes the Guild seem so small and struggling as to be irrelevant, a group vainly organizing on the margins of mainstream psychiatry. The Guild strove to reintroduce faith into psychiatry and to convince the Catholic faithful they could safely avail themselves of psychiatry, but with their small numbers and absence from the historical record, did the Guild actually affect either situation? I propose that the

⁴⁴Cavanagh, *Fundamental Marriage Counseling: A Catholic Viewpoint* (Milwaukee, 1957); Cavanagh, *Sexual Anomalies and Counseling* (Washington, 1969); and Cavanagh and John F. Harvey, *Counseling the Homosexual: John R. Cavanagh, in Theological Collaboration with John F. Harvey* (Huntington, Indiana, 1977).

⁴⁵Cavanagh notably dissented from the encyclical *Humane Vitae*, because he concluded from his survey work that the Church-advocated rhythm method would have deleterious effects on the psychological health of women; see Cavanagh, "The Rhythm of Sexual Desire in the Human Female," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 14:2 (1967), 87-100.

⁴⁶In addition to editing the *Bulletin*, Cavanagh taught psychology and counseling skills to seminarians at The Catholic University of America, see Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism*, p. 120.

Guild and its members influenced at least three aspects of the relationship between Roman Catholics in America and psychiatry.

First, the Guild was a platform for prominent lay Catholic psychiatrists, and none was more prominent than Francis J. Braceland. Braceland was at once a publicly committed Catholic admitted to the Knighthood of St. Gregory by Pius XII in 1951 and an esteemed psychiatrist who taught at Yale and Harvard, edited the *American Journal of Psychiatry*, and presided over the APA.⁴⁷ Braceland published five articles in the *Bulletin* between 1959 and 1965, and gave a presentation on its tenth anniversary at the February 3, 1959 meeting.⁴⁸ In his books, Braceland identified psychiatry as the most likely site for a rapprochement between religion and medicine.⁴⁹ From 1954 until 1968, he helped run summer workshops to train religious in psychiatric techniques for pastoral care at the Benedictine Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota; the list of participants in these Collegeville workshops include many officers of the Guild and many authors published by the *Bulletin*, but also the names of prominent psychiatrists unaffiliated with the Guild, including several self-identified Jewish psychiatrists.⁵⁰ Braceland certainly influenced mid-twentieth century American psychiatry, and did so self-consciously as a Catholic, insisting both that psychiatry liberates the soul so that it may realize its religious ideals and that theology provides the unified anthropological vision psychiatry lacks while accounting for the operation of grace in humanity.⁵¹ Braceland was a personal physician to Franklin Delano Roosevelt and an advisor to the Vatican, a prominent Catholic psychiatrist during the era of Pius XII's favorable 1953 address to the International Society of Psychotherapists, and Vatican II's "Constitution on the Church in the Modern World" which applauded advances in psychology.⁵² With Braceland as an example, Catholic psy-

⁴⁷Howard P. Rome, "Francis J. Braceland, M.D. 1900-1985," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 142 (1985), 1206-1209.

⁴⁸See Braceland, "Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists."

⁴⁹Braceland, "Contributions of Medicine and Theology to the Health of Man: A Dialogue," in *Dialogue in Medicine and Theology*, edited by Dale White (Nashville, Tennessee, 1967), pp. 19-38.

⁵⁰For a contemporary account, see Dana L. Farnsworth and Braceland, *Psychiatry, the Clergy, and Pastoral Counseling: The St. John's Story* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1969). For a historical perspective, see Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism*, p. 168.

⁵¹Braceland, *Faith, Reason, and Modern Psychiatry*, p. 27.

⁵²Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism*, pp. 116-119, 200 n. 9. Cavanagh also attended the Third Session of Vatican II, but only as a spectator; for his account of Vatican II, see Cavanagh, "Notes from the Editor," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 6:4 (1964), 232-236.

chiatrists saw that they could achieve international prominence within their profession and their faith.

Second, the Guild's members embraced an institutional model for psychiatry. When Braceland addressed his fellow Catholic psychiatrists at the Guild's 1959 meeting, he quoted Erasmus and Lincoln but never any saint, pope, or theologian; he spoke of changes in the American community mental health system, but never the particular roles of Catholics within it. What Braceland did say was that psychiatry must become an ever more medical discipline: he called Catholic psychiatrists further into the roles in which Lally saw them, away from psychiatrist as analyst and toward a conception of psychiatrist as physician and institutional administrator.⁵³ Today, Braceland's vision is the dominant practice model for American psychiatrists; it would be intriguing to study further the influence American Catholics exerted toward the development of the current medical and institutional psychiatric model.⁵⁴

Braceland and the members of the Guild also helped American Catholics form institutions that, for good or ill, attended to the mental ailments of its clergy. The *Bulletin* published numerous articles on how to evaluate and care for clergy, translating psychiatry into a discipline suitable for ordained Catholics. Following the recent Catholic clergy sexual abuse scandal, these institutions richly deserve scholarly scrutiny, because while they presumably succored thousands of ailing clergy, they also appear to have shielded sexual offenders. For example, the Reverend Thomas Kane, who served on the Guild's Board of Directors for two decades, founded the House of Affirmation in Worcester, Massachusetts as a treatment center for mentally ailing clergy. The ponderously-named House of Affirmation was certainly a place where a priest could dry out and recognize himself as an alcoholic, but it also became one of the chief clinical sites to which bishops assigned sexually abusive clergy. In 1987, Kane was fired for embezzlement. Two years later, the House of Affirmation closed and Kane fled to Mexico trailing rumors of financial and sexual impropriety behind him.⁵⁵ The role of these institutions, and the Guild, in the mental health care of the clergy warrants further exploration.

⁵³Braceland, "Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists, 1959-1969, The Future of Catholics in Psychiatry," *Bulletin of the Guild of Catholic Psychiatrists*, 6:2 (1959), 10-18.

⁵⁴Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry*; see also Tanya M. Luhrmann, *Of Two Minds: The Growing Disorder in American Psychiatry* (New York, 2000).

⁵⁵Jason Berry, *Lead Us Not Into Temptation* (New York, 1992).

Third, the Guild and its members helped American Catholics, especially members of the clergy and of religious orders and congregations, accept psychiatric care. Perhaps the impact of the Guild is best illustrated by returning to Fulton J. Sheen. On February 3, 1959, twelve years after the Lenten sermon that infuriated and demoralized Catholic psychiatrists, Sheen spoke at the Guild's annual meeting in Washington, D.C. While his speech was not printed in the *Bulletin*, the Catholic psychologist Eugene C. Kennedy reports that Sheen said, "As I cannot speak of a great Catholic left fielder, but only of a great left fielder who is a Catholic, so I cannot speak of a great Catholic psychiatrist but only of a great psychiatrist who is a Catholic."⁵⁶ The crowd laughed in approval: Sheen had come around, in a decade's time, to embrace psychiatry as a licit discipline for Catholic patients and physicians alike. The members of the Guild must surely have counted Sheen's conversion as part of their legacy. While the Guild's Catholic psychiatrists may not have transformed American psychiatry, they made terrific inroads into the most redoubtable of Catholic cultures, the enclosures of the clergy and religious and the pulpits of its pastors.

⁵⁶Quoted in Gillespie, *Psychology and American Catholicism*, p. xii.

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Religious Foundations of Western Civilization: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Edited by Jacob Neusner. (Nashville: Abingdon Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 686. Paperback.)

With *Religious Foundations of Western Civilization*, Jacob Neusner has assembled a substantial volume of writings, from a dozen contributors, on the three monotheistic religions of the West—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The essays in this book cover historical, theological, and philosophical topics, and consider each religion in itself as well as the historical interaction of the three religions in the context of Western civilization. Shaded sections include excerpts from important primary sources, from antiquity to the recent past.

Neusner has navigated a sensitive topic with brilliance and sensitivity: each of these religious traditions is treated fairly and respectfully, yet without omitting the historical blemishes on each tradition's record.

Students doubtless think of these three religions as inveterate antagonists, or at least inherently unfriendly. But in his discussion of Averroes, Maimonides, and Aquinas, Seymour Feldman reminds readers that “during the medieval period there existed a continuous and mutually profitable conversation amongst some of the intellectual giants of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam” (p. 209). (The essay is followed by excerpts from Averroes' *Decisive Treatise*, Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, and Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*.) At a stroke, Feldman addresses the myth—still widespread among students and the general public—of the intellectually moribund Middle Ages and demonstrates the possibility of fruitful intellectual exchange among representatives of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

A section on “Zionism, Imperialism, and Nationalism” includes essays entitled “Zionism,” “Christian Imperialism,” and “Political Islam.” Of particular note is Neusner's sound and dispassionate overview of Zionism, a phenomenon that initially attracted the opposition of Orthodox and Reform Judaism, both of which viewed the Zionist program as a secularization of the divine promise that the Jews would one day be restored to the land. Neusner concludes that there is “no more probative evidence” of the ongoing significance of religion in Western civilization than this fact: “Much of the history of the West from World War II to the present would be written in the conflict between Zionism and the State of Israel and Arab nationalism and the state of Palestine” (p. 388).

Toward the book's close we are treated to three worthwhile studies regarding the "modernization"—an unfortunate, ideologically loaded term—of each of these religions over the past several centuries. Islam comes under particular scrutiny here, largely by way of the primary sources for this section, which include an eighteen-page excerpt from the writings of Fazlur Rahman, the Islamic modernist who was forced to flee Pakistan in 1968 because of the hostility his views incited.

Finally, we conclude with a discussion of modern ecumenism. In Bruce Chilton's essay, subtitled "Christianity Meets Other Religions," we have the book's weakest contribution. Caught outside his area of specialty, Chilton discusses nineteenth-century economic history as if the great standard-of-living debate had never occurred and R. M. Hartwell had never taken up his pen, and his coverage of Vatican Council II, necessarily brief, is superficial.

Worse, we do not actually read anything in the essay about Christianity's meetings with other religions—quite an interesting topic, that—apart from a couple of throwaway lines in the concluding paragraph and a brief reference to "militant Islam" as allegedly "a direct consequence of Christian policies of war and oppression" (p. 616). Although Islamic anger today may be attributable, at least in part, to Western and particularly American foreign policy, that policy is neither presented nor conceived of as expressly "Christian." And if Chilton is instead making oblique reference to the Crusades, they were such a minor event in Islamic history that as recently as the eighteenth century hardly any Muslim at all would have heard of them.

Still, the excellent essays, well-chosen primary sources, and useful discussion questions make *Religious Foundations of Western Civilization* ideal for course adoption. We are indebted to Professor Neusner for this instructive volume, which fills an important gap in the world of religious-studies texts.

Ludwig von Mises Institute

THOMAS E. WOODS, JR.

Introduction to the History of Christianity. By George Herring. (New York: New York University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 370. \$70.00 cloth, \$22.00 paperback.)

If you are looking for an introduction to church history that gives a balanced overview of 2,000 years, this is not the book. If, however, you are looking for an introduction to church history that looks at representative periods, written with passion and commitment, then Herring's volume is for you. George Herring, author of *What was the Oxford Movement?*, has written a book that he wanted to write, focusing on three, two-hundred-year periods that were critical for the development of Western Christianity and which, Herring says, are "things which particularly interest me" (p. xiv). It is clear that as he discusses these three historic periods (300-500; 1050-1250; 1450-1650) Herring writes about material he has traversed many times and about issues he greatly values.

Why focus on only three periods in a book that purports to be an "Introduction?" Herring is concerned to understand how Christianity, as a religion that both embraces and insulates itself from culture, develops authority, relies upon tradition, how it reforms and expresses authority. He does not ignore traditional historical categories, but he has special concerns about the Church's authority and its ongoing reform. One example should make this clear. His section on reformations ("Grace and Authority: Western Christianity c. 1450-1650") is a delightful interplay arguing that there were ongoing reformations in Western Christianity up to 1517. But then he states clearly that both Protestant reformers and the Council of Trent were of a completely different order. Although the Church goes through reforming movements every century, there was something great, dramatic, and final about "The Reformation," as we call it.

In terms of style, Herring writes for the most ill-informed historiographic neophyte, but then leads one quickly to see the major academic arguments concerning the material. In his section on the Crusades (pp. 165-171) he tells the story of the Crusades focusing on the various explanations: economic, political, religious, spiritual. He pauses in the discussion and takes a little side-trip to explain two interpretations of 1054. Then he says that the Runciman and Chadwick view, which sees 1054 not as an institutional break, but as personal excommunications, is the view to be preferred. In many places throughout the book Herring introduces material, gives contrasting interpretations, and then analyzes how best to understand the event or period.

The volume has two other very helpful components. An appendix of twenty-four short documents helps the reader enter into some of the actual material of history. Of course it is very cursory, but it does whet the appetite for further primary-source reading. Secondly, there is a forty-three page introduction to the first centuries of Christianity. This section, titled "Making all Things New," is a wonderful stand-alone introduction to earliest Christianity that could be used to introduce some of the unique features of Christianity and some of the themes that should be followed. I found this whole volume a wonderful read and would encourage its use, but now I am not sure how to encourage its use. Unless someone is teaching a class on themes or periods of pre-modern Christianity, it would be difficult to use this as an introductory text. As a supplemental text it would be excellent, but it discusses only the European church, as church history, rather than as Christianity. The writing style is engaging and accessible; the material is covered in a fair manner, and many of the presentations are creative, covering well-worn territory with a freshness seldom seen in an introductory volume.

Renewed by the Word: The Bible and Christian Revival since the Reformation. By J. N. Morris. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers. 2005. Pp. 160. \$16.95.)

The tension between structured organization and changing circumstances has been particularly acute in Christian history. Jeremy Morris, Dean of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, suggests in this volume that the attempt to adapt to the changes of the modern world gave rise to revivalism, which therefore holds a central place in the recent story of the faith. The theme of revival is treated broadly, encompassing not just the revivalism associated with the Great Awakening and Pentecostalism but also the Reformation and the Catholic resurgence after the French Revolution. The renewal of the church is the fruit, Dr. Morris claims, of attention to the Bible, which is why "the Word" finds a place in the title. Painting with a broad brush, he presents an outline of the Protestant Reformation and the ensuing wars of religion, suggesting that by the eighteenth century toleration and pluralism were in place. The revivals of that century, he contends, were deeply rooted in the continental world of Pietism and Moravianism. He depicts the Evangelical Revival of Britain as part and parcel of a larger international movement that found expression in America's Great Awakening. The Evangelical movement, he argues, had triumphed in the English-speaking world by the mid-nineteenth century and was largely responsible for the missionary expansion of that era. Roman Catholic revival, by which Dr. Morris means the whole process of the nineteenth-century reinvigoration of the church spearheaded by the religious orders and fostering ultramontaniam, was as much a sign of adaptability as what was passing among contemporary Protestants. The author goes on to point out the transformation of worship, and especially its setting, over the last two hundred years. He also shows the novelty and success of Pentecostalism, which he does not distinguish sharply from charismatic renewal, justly remarking that it deserves to be recognized as a third wave of revivalism as mighty as its Evangelical and Catholic predecessors. The book amounts to a brief overview of modern Christian history organized around the theme of revival. It is evidently designed for a broad public with little previous knowledge of the field: on one page the word "theology" is explained. This is not a book for those the author calls at this point "the specialists" (p. 105). Naturally it cannot be comprehensive, but it is a pity that in a book on movements of revival no room was found for even a mention of the Anabaptists of the Reformation, who, after all, survive as a vigorous Christian tradition in parts of the contemporary world. Nor, oddly, do the Jesuits put in an appearance until the nineteenth century. The treatment of missions could have benefited from fuller use of recent scholarship. It is doubtful whether the missionary enterprise was bound up with national ambitions to the extent that is assumed here; and there is no hint that most evangelization was undertaken by indigenous people. There are also a number of imprecise comments: Dissenters, for example, enjoyed no "rights" under the English Toleration Act of 1689, which merely exempted them from certain penalties under existing legislation (p. 32). So this is an introductory

work for beginners, and as such it is to be welcomed. Basic themes in Christian history, made readily intelligible to non-historians, need to be disseminated in this way.

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D. W. BEBBINGTON

The Petrine Ministry: Catholics and Orthodox in Dialogue. Academic symposium held at the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. Edited by Walter Kasper. (New York and Mahwah, New Jersey: The Newman Press, Paulist Press. 2006. Pp. vi, 257. \$24.95 paperback.)

This symposium was organized by the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity (PCPCU) and held on May 21-24, 2003, as an attempt to further respond to John Paul II's call for an ongoing fraternal dialogue on the question of how the Petrine ministry can be of service to the unity of the Church (see his encyclical *Ut unum sint*, par. 95). In addition, this academic gathering was preparing for the continuation of the dialogue with the Orthodox on the theological issues which had been suspended since Emmitsburg in 2000. There were five speakers from each side. Other experts were present as well.

The range of topics covered in this symposium centered around the specific question of primacy in the first millennium of the Christian era as it related to the role of the Bishop of Rome. Two particular issues were treated by three speakers: one by Metropolitan John Zizioulas, which was a summary of recent discussions on primacy in the Orthodox theological tradition and the other by Kasper and Hermann Pottmeyer, who explored questions of Catholic hermeneutics around the teachings of Vatican I on the question of primacy, collegiality, and infallibility.

This work represents solid historical and exegetical research from both sides. After a preliminary, introductory article by Kasper, to which I wish to return at the end, the book is organized in an historical fashion beginning by biblical studies, then by patristic studies, and finally canonical explorations. The book ends with two presentations: "Recent Discussions on Primacy in Relation to Vatican I" and "Recent Discussions on Primacy in Orthodox Theology."

Some important information may be gleaned from these chapters. First in relation to biblical studies there seems to be a common consensus that the New Testament will not provide answers to all the questions that we pose concerning a special role of Peter and primacy that are transmitted. This agrees with the major work already done by Lutherans and Catholics. In all of the patristic studies a very interesting fact is affirmed by both Orthodox and Catholics, namely, the importance of the bishop of Rome as patriarch. This is interesting in light of the fact that the title "patriarch of the West" has recently been dropped from the *Annuario Pontificio*. The importance of this title is

seen in the fact that it preserves the Bishop of Rome from assuming universal jurisdiction over all churches.

Kasper offered a very punctual reflection on the touchy issue of the re-reception of the teaching of Vatican I, especially the teachings on papal primacy, jurisdiction, and infallibility. Two important points are to be retained from his presentation. First, the necessity to think about going beyond the teaching of Vatican II incorporating a synodical structure to that of episcopal collegiality. Secondly, the necessity to interpret the teaching of the Vatican I on the primacy and infallibility of the Pope according to the 'normal' and common rules of dogmatic hermeneutics. According to these rules, dogmas should be abided by in the sense in which the Church once declared them. In terms of the question of the Petrine ministry and the unity of the Church this means that the unity of the Church is the *raison d'être* and the context of interpretation of the Petrine ministry. The truth of the first millennium needs also to be received in the second since what was true in the first may not be untrue in the second. This principle of hermeneutical interpretation of dogmas needs to be applied to the re-reception of Vatican I's teaching on the papacy.

This book merits serious study and reflection not only for ecumenism but for its value in method of doing systematic theology.

Centro Pro Unione, Rome, Italy

JAMES F. PUGLISI, SA

Rereading Paul Together: Protestant and Catholic Perspectives on Justification. Edited by David E. Aune. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic. 2006. Pp. 272. \$24.99 paperback.)

This collection of essays derives, in part, from a symposium that the University of Notre Dame and Valparaiso University cosponsored in February of 2002: "Rereading Paul Together: A Colloquium on the Modern Critical Study and Teaching of Pauline Theology in Education and Ecumenical Context." The special focus of that Pauline colloquium was the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* that Lutherans and Catholics had ratified on October 31, 1999. That declaration came into being, in large measure, because Catholics and Lutherans had engaged in a process of rereading Paul together.

The first three essays of this volume deal most directly with the Joint Declaration. Dale G. Truemper rehearses how the Joint Declaration came about, summarizes some of its key features, and describes those habits of the mind and heart that made it possible. Susan K. Wood recounts the Catholic reception of the Declaration, giving special attention to the concept of merit, the Lutheran understanding of *simul justus et peccator*, the importance of justification as a criterion for all other doctrines, and the effect of the Declaration on church identity. Michael Root then summarizes the Lutheran reception of the Declaration, noting that whereas the Declaration pursues a way of media-

tion, Lutheran theology has tended to be more contrastive in nature. Root concludes that a theology built solely on contrasts is not sufficient to interpret the full meaning of the Gospel.

The remaining essays deal more specifically with Paul. Focusing on Romans and Galatians, Joseph A. Fitzmyer summarizes the Pauline notion of justification by faith from a Catholic perspective. John Reumann does the same from a Lutheran perspective, giving his attention to Philippians. While they essentially agree on Paul's understanding of justification, Reumann is more inclined to interpret justification as the core of Paul's theology whereas Fitzmyer emphasizes that, as important as justification is, it is one of many ways Paul describes the effects of the Christ event. In his response to Fitzmyer, Richard E. DeMaris warns that newer approaches in Pauline exegesis may make it more difficult to read Paul together in the future. In her response to Reumann, Margaret M. Mitchell suggests that if Catholics and Lutherans are to continue to read Paul together, they will have to draw upon a tradition of interpretation that consciously preserves alternative points of view in reading the text.

The essays of David M. Rylaarsdam and Randall C. Zachman are more historical in nature. Rylaarsdam summarizes three interpretations of Paul in the early church: those of Origen, Chrysostom, and Augustine. Zachman then contrasts the medieval reading of Paul that was indebted to Augustine—who focused on how we are to love God—with Luther's reading of Paul that asks how sinners can know with certainty that God loves them. David E. Aune, the editor of this volume, concludes with a masterful overview of recent readings of Paul as they relate to justification by faith.

The essays of this volume are uniformly good, indeed excellent. On the one hand, they show how Lutherans and Catholics were able to agree on an issue that once divided them by making use of an historical-critical method and reading Paul *together* rather than in isolation from each other. On the other, this volume suggests that it may be more difficult to read Paul together in the future, given the proliferation of so many new readings of Paul and the disparagement of the historical-critical method by some.

The Catholic University of America

FRANK J. MATERA

The 33 Doctors of the Church. By Christopher Rengers, O.F.M. Cap. (Rockford, Illinois: Tan Books and Publishers. 2003. Pp. xxx, 692. \$33.00 paperback.)

Since Benedict XIV, a pope with a penchant for bringing order to disorder, laid out three criteria for those considered a "doctor" for the entire Church: *eminens doctrina* (eminent learning), *insignis vitae sanctitas* (distinguished holiness of life), and *Ecclesiae declaratio* (declaration by pope or council), the number has more than doubled. Together they constitute a fairly diverse group: a married man, eight from the East, three Africans, six from Asia, and

since 1970, three women. The title *doctor ecclesiae* conveys an official judgment that a certain man or woman is a trustworthy resource from which the entire Church can draw to better understand the faith. One might, therefore, expect a plethora of information concerning their lives and teachings available to the educated Catholic. Unfortunately, this is not the case, with many of these figures unknown to all but specialists. When did you last hear someone refer to St. Peter Chrysologus, or St. Lawrence of Brindisi? This problem is not insignificant. If the title “doctor” is to be more than a mere honorific, those so entitled must be widely known.

Christopher Rengers, O.F.M. Cap., in a final act of a life devoted to sharing the fruits of scholarship with the public, provides his readers with a needed and fascinating tour of the doctors of the church. Each is explained in the light of his or her historical context as well as the ongoing relevance of their life and work. The prose is clear and crisp, and befitting an introductory work, no prior knowledge of the figures or church history is required. A generous selection of quotations enables the reader to encounter the figure directly. To my knowledge, it is the most extensive treatment of all thirty-three doctors in a single volume currently available.

Not surprisingly, Rengers’s scholarly interests in mariology and hymnody color his treatment. The contributions each has made to Catholic thought and practice in these areas are highlighted. The average reader will be surprised to find out just how much of what the Church sings, prays, and believes derives from these figures. In addition, the writer does justice to the fact that the designation of *doctor ecclesiae* is inseparable from doctrinal controversy and a polemical style jarring to contemporary sensibilities. In refusing to shield his readers from the infamous aggressiveness of such figures as Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, and Bernard of Clairvaux, Rengers rightly insists that taking the doctors seriously requires taking their passion for the truth with equal seriousness. Apart from such a connection they can have little contemporary relevance. Ultimately, he argues that much can be forgiven in the defense of Catholic truth, even to the point of defending Bernard’s treatment of Abelard: “the gesture of truth sometimes has to be not a pointing finger, but a mailed fist” (p. 284). While this statement is problematic, to say the least, it serves to highlight the crucial issue of appropriation. In an effort to inspire his readers to treasure these men and women, Rengers downplays the need for critical discernment. This task is necessary, however, not only because of historical and cultural distance but the fact that the ecclesial designation of doctor ensures only a *general* reliability; even here the wheat needs separating from the chaff. It would have helped if the book contained a more thorough introduction, tracing the history of the ecclesial practice of singling certain saints to honor as teachers of the whole Church. Even so, readers looking for a reliable and interesting introduction to *doctores ecclesiae*, their lives, teachings, and influence, will find it here.

Spirituality and Mysticism: A Global View. By James A. Wiseman. [Theology in Global Perspective Series.] (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books. 2006. Pp. xiv, 242. \$20.00 paperback.)

The author of this book is a Benedictine monk of St. Anselm's Abbey in Washington, D.C., and a long-time professor of theology at The Catholic University of America. It is part of the "Theology in Global Perspective Series" (Peter C. Phan, General Editor). This series emphasizes the interconnectedness among all people and nations and thus has a strong ecumenical, intercultural, and interreligious thrust. This volume seeks to present the topic of spirituality and mysticism in that global context. This broad context and the constraints in length dictated by the series itself understandably force the author to be highly selective in his treatment of Christian spirituality. He meets this challenge in a creative manner.

The first two chapters present various introductory material dealing with the meaning of spirituality and mysticism, as well as various aspects of biblical spirituality. Although the author clearly summarizes a great deal of information on these topics from various contemporary sources, these two chapters may seem somewhat overloaded with introductory material.

The following five chapters are devoted to a chronological treatment of selected persons and themes from the history of Christian spirituality from the second to the sixteenth century. Individual chapters are devoted to the martyrs and other witnesses in the Early Church (chap. 3); the beginnings of the monastic movement (chap. 4); the Patristic era (chap. 5); the spiritual renewal in the medieval West and East (c. 6); and Reformation Spirituality, Protestant and Catholic (chap. 7). Many of the familiar figures and movements from these centuries are treated, but mindful of the global perspective of this book, the author takes care to broaden the investigation and be inclusive of other traditions. There are sections, for example, devoted to such figures as Saint Ephrem from the Syriac spiritual tradition, Pachomius, the Coptic monastic founder, and Dhuoda a ninth-century Frankish laywoman. The contributions of women spiritual writers are also highlighted in these chapters.

The final three chapters focus exclusively on aspects of Christian spirituality that developed on the continents of Asia, Africa, and the Americas after the Age of Discovery in the sixteenth century. The chapter on Asian Christian spirituality has representatives from various countries. Christian spiritualities in India are represented by Abhishiktananda (Henri LeSaux) and Bede Griffiths. Japanese Christian spiritualities are represented by the Lutheran theologian, Kazoh Kitamori, and the Catholic novelist, Shusaku Endo. Filipino Christian spirituality is illustrated by the Benedictine religious woman, Mary John Mananzan.

Topics treated in the chapter on African Christian spirituality include African traditional religion; examples of liturgical inculturation in Ghana and

Zaire; and the struggle for justice as illustrated by the work of Archbishop Bakole wa Ilunga in Kananga and Archbishop Desmond Tutu in the Republic of South Africa.

The final chapter has to be more selective since it covers Christian spirituality in both North and South America. The areas chosen include the liberation spirituality of Gustavo Gutierrez; the feminist spirituality of Sandra Schneiders, Jacquelyn Grant, and Ada Maria Isasi-Diaz; the affective spirituality of Jonathan Edwards and Pentecostalism; and the contemplative prayer of Thomas Merton.

The scope of this book forces the author to range far and wide and to be highly selective in the material chosen. He is, however, a very clear and insightful writer, and he proves to be a very competent guide. Each chapter concludes with helpful questions for reflection and suggestions for further reading and study.

Blessed John XXIII Seminary

CHARLES J. HEALEY, S.J.

The Origin and Development of the Christian Liturgy According to Cultural Epochs: Political, Cultural, and Ecclesial Backgrounds: History of the Liturgy. By Attila Miklósházy. 5 volumes. (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 1174. Vol. 1: \$119.95. Vol. 2: \$139.95. Vol. 3: \$119.95. Vol. 4: \$129.95. Vol. 5: \$149.95.)

Written by the Hungarian Jesuit teacher and bishop Attila Miklósházy, known especially for his 2001 publication *Benedicamus Domino! The Theological Foundation of the Liturgical Renewal* (Ottawa: Novalis, 2001), this massive five-volume collection of liturgical materials, called by the author, a "compilation and thesaurus of liturgical data from the origin and of development of Christian worship" (Vol. 1, p. iii), is truly remarkable on several levels. First, Miklósházy always presents texts in context, taking note of how the overall political, cultural, and ecclesial contexts are not only shaped by the liturgy but how the liturgy is itself shaped by those contexts. Second, in addition to the general bibliography offered at the beginning of the first volume (pp. xi-xvii), each historical section and topic covered in each volume contains more specific additional and helpful bibliographies. Third, Miklósházy provides a veritable wealth of short biographical and liturgical source entries, as well as lists and charts of various liturgical rites and important events in the overall historical contexts of each period studied. And, finally, each volume has its own helpful index thus making each volume an independent study: Volume 1 treats the "antecedents" of Christian worship in Judaism and paganism as well as the New Testament; Volume 2 is concerned with the Patristic period up to the year 800; Volume 3 covers the eighth through the fifteenth centuries; Volume 4 offers an overview of the period from the sixteenth-century Reformations through the Romanticism of the nineteenth century; and Volume 5 offers a study of contemporary liturgical renewal, especially in Roman Catholicism.

Written especially “for the use of those, priests and laypeople, who want to know how the present Christian liturgy has arrived at the point where it is today” (Vol. 1, p. vii), this work does provide a helpful *outline* of that story. Those expecting an historical narrative, however, will find instead a collection of very expensive (\$600 plus!) lecture notes, many of which will certainly serve the teacher in the preparation of lectures on various periods of liturgical history as well as charts and lists that may also serve as suitable handouts for students in classes in liturgical history. But as a narrative history, priests and laypeople, teachers and students alike, would be better served by studies such as the recent *Oxford History of Christian Worship*, edited by Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen Westerfield-Tucker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), and/or Frank Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), which does not appear in Miklósházy’s general bibliography, and his more recent *The People’s Work: A Social History of the Liturgy* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006).

Because I received only Volumes 1-3 of this work I cannot comment on Miklósházy’s treatment of liturgical history from the Reformation period to the present, and, as such, my comments are limited necessarily to his presentation of liturgy in the patristic and medieval/Renaissance periods. And here I cannot but be rather critical. While I find his treatment of Greco-Roman religion helpful, Miklósházy has not sufficiently integrated his own bibliography, with entries by Lawrence Hoffman and Paul Bradshaw, into his presentation of Jewish liturgy, and does not cite the important studies of Joseph Heinemann or Ruth Langer. Similarly, with regard both to Jewish and New Testament worship, the author tends to assume anachronistically that Jewish liturgy in the time of Jesus was relatively stable and that there is a kind of mono-linear link between the *Birkbat ba-mazon* and the early Eucharistic prayer, and even here one looks in vain for the scholarship of the likes of Thomas Talley, Enrico Mazza, Paul Bradshaw, or Cesará Giraudó.

His treatment of the Patristic period in Volume 2 is clearly better than his presentation of Jewish and New Testament liturgy in Volume 1. Even here, however, in spite of recent studies to the contrary, and certainly available before publication, Miklósházy’s view of early Christian documents, such as *The Apostolic Tradition*, in particular, remains unaffected by much of modern scholarship with the lone exception of Alistair Stewart-Sykes’ controversial study. And, together with this, while clearly noting that Easter initiation was but a preference for some in the first three centuries, he assumes nevertheless that the extant sources all refer somehow to Easter Vigil baptism. And, with regard to Christian initiation in general in the entire volume one looks in vain for the significant scholarly studies of Gabriele Winkler, Sebastian Brock, and, again, Bradshaw’s *Search for the Origins of Christian Worship*, the second edition, which offers a helpful summary of the current scholarly picture. Hence, the story of early liturgy is not quite told completely, something that gets expressed by the use even of the traditional categories of a liturgical “diversi-

fication" in the fourth century which came to replace an essential "unity" in the first three. No one in the field of liturgiology today quite speaks of it that way any longer but rather sees historical development leading *from* variety and diversity to uniformity and unity.

Lest I seem unduly critical, let me note that I find his presentation of the various rites of the non-Roman west in Volume 2, including the charts and diagrams he offers, to be a helpful overview, including his overview of the liturgical year in Rome, though even here it is not all that evident that scholarship such as that of Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (only the *first* edition is listed) has been considered seriously. Similarly, Miklós-házy offers a somewhat helpful overview of the origins and development of the Roman Canon, but again one wonders where the more recent studies on the Canon are.

The same sorts of strengths and weakness appear in the third volume. Here, in addition to the useful charts and diagrams, Miklós-házy puts the later medieval period and the Renaissance of the whole of Western and Eastern Europe, including that of the papacy from 1049 to 1303, into helpful context. In addition, he provides useful information on the various monastic orders and their liturgical usages as well. But, with regard at least to Christian initiation rites, he again makes some assumptions that will not stand up in the light of more modern approaches (cf. On "Visigothic" baptism, p. 900 and on Gallican baptism and confirmation, p. 919), and, once again, the work of Gabriele Winkler and others would have been helpful here.

As a library resource for teachers and students, *The Origin and Development of the Christian Liturgy According to Cultural Epochs: Political, Cultural, and Ecclesial Backgrounds: History of the Liturgy* is truly a helpful work, especially for the contexts and overall outlines it provides for the in-depth historical study of liturgy. As a study of *liturgical history* itself, however, I find the first two volumes to be rather deficient, especially in the use made or not made of the bibliographies provided. Indeed, much of this study could easily have been written before the past twenty or thirty years or so of modern Jewish and Christian historical-liturgical scholarship, since it tends to assume that those views are still relatively current. Such is a problem, I suspect, for anyone today trying to provide a comprehensive history of just about anything. Attila Miklós-házy certainly has my admiration and respect for making this attempt.

University of Notre Dame

MAXWELL E. JOHNSON

Histoire des curés. By Michel Lagrée, Nicole Lemaitre, Luc Perrin, and Catherine Vincent. (Paris: Fayard. 2002. Pp. 523. €23,00.)

The four authors of this work have set themselves a formidable task. Drawing on a vast body of scholarship, most of it published in the last thirty years, they describe and analyze the history of the Roman Catholic Church

from the fourth century until the present, focusing, as much as possible, on the perspective of the parish priest, the person placed in charge of the “care of souls” in a specific territorial space within a diocese.

Catherine Vincent is the author of the introduction and the first section, which in a little over a hundred pages covers the period from the fourth century until the fourteenth. It is a remarkable achievement. Vincent draws on a wide range of studies, most of them in French but including a respectable number of works in Italian and English as well. She emphasizes that our knowledge is still fragmentary and that much of the written record reflects the ideal and not the reality of parish organization and priestly conduct.

Adapted from the structures of the Roman Empire, the organization of the Church into dioceses and parishes was the distinct contribution of the church based in Rome. It was not present in the Eastern Church or in Celtic Christianity, which until the Middle Ages was essentially autonomous. The establishment of the parish system was a process of centuries, articulated by Carolingian and Gregorian reformers but not firmly in place until the thirteenth century.

The second section, on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, is the work of Nicole Lemaitre. A central theme is that from the perspective of the parish clergy, the period reflects two contrasting notions of the nature of the Church, both of which had had their advocates in the previous millennium. The reformers, at least those of the mainline Reformation, rejected the notion of hierarchical authority within the clergy and the special calling of the clergy, living within communities but set apart from them, to embody spiritual and moral perfection. Those who adhered to Roman authority were equally committed to reform, but only within the traditional structures of authority. The Council of Trent, Lemaitre argues, was a genuine work of reformation, addressing the concerns of the past and resolving many of them. Especially crucial for the future, she demonstrates, was the decision to create seminaries in which the clergy would receive an education as little concerned with the material, secular world as possible.

The third section, on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is by the noted scholar Michel Lagrée. It is difficult to summarize. Lagrée notes that despite their training, many clergy, at least in France and Italy, were deeply involved in the social and intellectual transformation that was the Enlightenment. The French Revolution thus presented a tragic dilemma, because so many priests, some of them influenced by the pervasive movement of Jansenism, welcomed it as a divinely sanctioned opportunity to transform both Church and state. The chapters on the nineteenth century are somewhat fragmentary, perhaps because Lagrée attempts to cover too many topics and as a result loses sight of the central theme of the evolution of the parish clergy.

The final section, on the Church since World War I, is the work of Luc Perrin. It is the least satisfactory part of the book, but then recent develop-

ments, especially since Vatican Council II, are the least amenable to historical analysis. Perrin emphasizes the enormous impact of the World War I on the clergy—fourteen per cent of Frenchmen killed in the war were priests, monks, or seminarians. The role of the Church in occupied Europe in World War II is treated without much depth or analysis, although it is still a topic of enormous controversy. The section on Vatican II is fuller and more balanced, especially concerning its impact on the Church in France.

The excellent conclusion (also by Michel Lagrée) explores the possibility that the era of the parish priest, after over a thousand years, may be in the process of disappearing. The responsibilities that once belonged to the parish priest alone are now increasingly taken over by laity, including women. In the future, Lagrée asks, will decisions as to spiritual leadership be “conditioned by the choice of the faithful rather than by that of the ecclesiastical authorities?”

Dickinson College (Emeritus)

CLARKE GARRETT

Satan: A Biography. By Henry Ansgar Kelly. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. xiv, 360. \$ 65.00 hardback; \$19.99 paperback.)

There is no shortage of recent interest in the Old Enemy. A study of his “birth” appeared in 2005, and the English translation of a well-known French scholar’s study of him as a heretic appeared simultaneously with this work.¹ Doubtless, more books about him (for, despite all the misogyny in Western literature, its personification of evil remains unshakably male) will soon follow. Besides this work, Kelly himself has also contributed to the recent renaissance of Satan by re-issuing two of his earlier books about the Devil; one of them, originally published back in 1968, adds an appendix giving an English version of Kelly’s entry on ‘*Teufel*’ published in 2001 in a German theological encyclopedia.² Does anything distinguish the work under review from such surrounding *tutti frutti*? Here, Kelly refurbishes the argument that the Biblical Satan was a very different figure from the personification which began to be fabricated by his “new biographers” among early Christian intellectuals. This newer image of Satan has persisted, with further embellishments, down to the present. Kelly’s approach explains why he devotes over half of this book to what he considers the “correct” English translations of key passages in Hebrew and Greek Biblical texts, supplemented by a few passages from the Apocrypha and the Dead Sea scrolls (pp. 32-50). This essentially Protestant procedure also explains why the most recent work Kelly chooses to discuss at any length (pp. 308-315) is Friedrich Schleiermacher’s dogmatic synthesis of 1830.

¹T. J. Wray and G. Mobley, *The Birth of Satan* (London: Palgrave, 2005); Alain Boureau, *Satan the Heretic* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006; French original, 2004).

²H. A. Kelly, *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft* (Eugene, Oregon, 2004). Kelly’s *The Devil at Baptism*, first published in 1985, was also re-issued in 2004.

By turns pedantic and *faux*-chatty, the work reads like the script for a Power-Point lecture which takes its visual illustrations primarily from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, supplemented by a few from William Blake and Gustave Doré; once again, Kelly avoids the twentieth century. While Kelly argues a case made by others, he makes no claims to be either comprehensive or systematic and can be extremely cavalier when discussing Satan's "new" biographers. However, the book is not without its virtues; readers can learn a few things here, including the medieval origins of an iconic rock group (p. 287 and n. 6). There is even an occasional bit of modesty, as when Kelly admits (p. 237) that he cannot explain how Satan got put in charge of Hell and promises to make it a future research project.

Readers of this journal seeking information in English about Satan's post-biblical transformations should therefore still begin by consulting Jeffrey B. Russell's now-classic volumes,³ which Kelly makes no claim to have replaced. Instead, the author has created something stranger, a genuine curiosity of early twenty-first-century ecumenicism. In conceptualizing Satan, an avowedly Catholic scholar, fully aware of recent papal pronouncements affecting this topic (e.g., pp. 315-316, 321-322, 326), has proposed a kind of *aggiornamento* based on two fundamental guidelines taken from someone who is never mentioned: Kelly has borrowed not only Martin Luther's quintessential principle of *Sola Scriptura*, but also Luther's burning desire to make "correct" (if idiosyncratic) translations of Scripture into the dominant vernacular.

Northwestern University (Emeritus)

WILLIAM MONTER

Antisemitism: Myth and Hate from Antiquity to the Present. By Marvin Perry and Frederick M. Schweitzer. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2002.) Pp. x, 309. \$35.00.)

Two professors, respectively at Baruch College and Manhattan College, collaborate on a topic on which they have previously edited a similar volume, *Jewish-Christian Encounters over the Centuries: Symbiosis, Prejudice, Holocaust, Dialogue* (Peter Lang, 1994). Capable of good historiography, they largely desert its canons for a prose that regularly employs terms such as "vicious," "vitriolic," "violent," "satanic," "irrational," and "lethal." Normally, the material thus described is such as to require no verbal qualifiers. Another technique is the quotation of contemptuous remarks of some highly placed person that are then cited in notes "as found in." This is distressing enough if the source is a newspaper or magazine article but if it is a quotation from someone like Josephus or Eusebius, it cannot be checked in the original. Elsewhere the citation scheme is all that one could ask, but the ambivalence is an indication of the uncertainty as to whether the authors have a scholarly or a popular readership in view.

³See especially *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981).

One regrets having to make these observations because of the book's importance as a compendium of Christian antipathy to Jews and Judaism over the centuries. As such it is probably not suitable for use in college, seminary, or graduate school courses, where such a volume is badly needed. Professors are likely to know either too much or too little about the subject to be at ease with portions of the presentation. Thus, while the first chapter on "The Trial and Death of Jesus" correctly describes the gospel narratives as *kerygma*, the proclamation of religious faith, rather than as a chronicle of historical events, there is the assumption that four writers not themselves Jews were laying responsibility for Jesus' death on the Jewish people. Any speculation as to why the evangelists who wrote from within the people of Israel like the prophets of old chose to exculpate a pagan outsider and charge the pilgrims in Jerusalem with responsibility for Jesus' death, as in Acts, would have been at least helpful. With the writings of Origen, Chrysostom, and other Church fathers, the problem is the same. Their position as gentiles in a religious minority relative to the religious majority of Jews, both engulfed by the pagan populations around them, could have been explored societally and not solely religiously. The book consistently opts for religious motivations, if only because these are the only ones the chosen texts provide. This is not a plea for psychohistory but for a better type of history. In the authors' defense, the many early texts cited are what led to the anti-Judaism of the subsequent Christian ages. It remained for two popes in 1247 and 1272 to identify the myth of the blood libel (Jewish infants' blood mixed with the dough of matzoth at Passover) as rooted in covetousness of the possessions of Jews and thirst for their blood.

A chapter on "The Diabolization of Jews" explores the medieval peasant outlook, the creation of the Aryan myth, and the variety of uses to which the fictitious plan of *The Elders of Zion* for world domination has been put. The treatment of "The Jews as *HomoEconomicus*" is better researched than much that went before, recording fully among other matters Henry Ford's active career as an anti-Semite. A chapter on deniers of the Holocaust contains some solid information on how the death-camp killings were carried out based on documents that the SS were not successful in destroying. There is a brief account of the anti-Semitism of the Nation of Islam of which Wallace Muhammad assumed leadership at the death of his father Elijah (Poole) in 1975. Having learned what Islam really taught, he terminated the movement's anti-white and anti-Jewish stance, leaving the vacuum of leadership on those terms to be filled by Louis Farrakhan (Walcott). There is a necessarily unsatisfactory summary of "Jewish-Muslim Relations in History" in an appendix of four pages, another on the activities of a German-born Canadian anti-Semite, Ernst Zündel.

The volume's content can be summarized, perhaps equally unsuccessfully, as providing large measures of information on the sorry tale of Christian verbal persecution and worse of the Jewish people. At times its historical method is

flawless, at other times flawed in the authors' zeal to multiply details they have culled from other authors as well as from primary sources.

Temple University (emeritus)

GERARD S. SLOYAN

Kingship: The Politics of Enchantment. By Francis Oakley. (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. 2006. Pp. xiv, 193. \$34.95.)

This is an ambitious undertaking which considers kingship as a form of government over a period of five thousand years. Of necessity, it follows a comparative approach ranging over cultures in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Professor Oakley starts from the assumption that, historically, kingship in its various forms is the most common form of human government. For him it is part of the "political commonsense of mankind." He rejects any notion that modern secular concepts are the norm for political discourse and that the study of monarchy has to be justified as a proper subject for political enquiry. Monarchy he sees as the wisdom of most ages of mankind.

The book ranges over all the major topics and significant periods. It begins with a survey of archaic patterns of kingship and then considers the seminal contributions of Hellenistic, Biblical, Roman, and Islamic conceptions. The main strength of the book lies in its treatment of Christian rulership. Emphasis is given, where it must be, to the Eusebian accommodation of Christian ideas with Roman imperial conceptions and then to the Carolingian combination of Christian notions with Germanic ideas of kingship. Oakley is at his best in dealing with the high and late Middle Ages into the early modern period. He ends by tracing the overall decline of the admittedly tenacious institution of monarchy in the modern period.

At the core of his approach is a treatment of the interplay of sacral and secular elements in kingship, following a complicated process of decay and partial reappearance of religious elements. Two moments stand out: the downgrading of kings to the status of laymen by the eleventh-century papal reform movement and the paradoxical reassertion of sacral notions in the coronation service of Queen Elizabeth II of England. Overall, Oakley sees the general trend of modern secularism as part of Max Weber's "disenchantment of the world."

Considerable attention is given to ways in which people sought to explain and understand the enduring institution of kingship with an acute appreciation of Hegel's view that the philosophical understanding of an historical phenomenon comes at the end of a process—too late: "The owl of Minerva spreads its wings only with the falling of the dusk." As regards method, Oakley is unrepentant in his disagreement with many historical approaches in that he is happy to argue from anthropological models without firm historical evidence.

So, what is the value of this book? It is without doubt a most useful and informative survey of the theme: a huge subject is condensed into a short space. The juxtaposition of so much diverse material is certainly thought-provoking and demands changes in historical perspectives. The notes are helpful, and the bibliography is useful for providing guidelines for further reading. The question remains in the reader's mind of whether there is much that is new in this book. But anyone interested in kingship should certainly read it.

University of Wales

JOSEPH CANNING

Covenant Marriage in Comparative Perspective. Edited by John Witte, Jr., and Eliza Ellison. [Religion, Marriage, and Family.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xiv, 342. \$34.00 paperback.)

The term "covenant marriage" has acquired two widely accepted definitions. The first is the historical sense, derived from Calvinist theology. John Calvin, who rejected traditional Catholic notions of the sacramentality and indissolubility of Christian marriage, wished to ground his new vision of Christian marriage on a fresh interpretation of biblical texts. In the revolutionary sixteenth century, he sought marital stability even while rejecting the old theological and canonistic understandings. He found that stability in the emphasis he placed on the biblical notion of "covenant." God made a covenant in the Book of Genesis with the people of Israel, and he renewed this covenant with the Christian people through the atoning acts of Jesus Christ and the heartfelt conversion every Christian must experience as the first step toward salvation. Marriage, Calvin argued, should replicate, in the terrestrial world, this grand and transcendent vision of God's relation to His creation. Man and wife should bind themselves as lovingly and irrevocably toward one another as God has bound Himself to those He lovingly brought into being and whose welfare He continues to look after.

If this is the generally accepted theological meaning of the term "covenant marriage," it has acquired a second sense also, in recent American debates over no-fault divorce. Thanks to the tireless efforts of the Louisiana legal scholar Katherine Shaw Spaht, covenant marriage has acquired in those American states that have adopted such statutes the general legal sense of a binding relationship that requires greater formality and commitment than other forms of legal marriage. Parties to a covenant marriage must, as a matter of state law, undergo premarital counseling to gain a deeper sense of marital permanence and fidelity; they must pledge to take measures to preserve the marriage in the face of difficulties; and they agree in advance to abide by narrowly drawn grounds of divorce and not seek divorce under the state's no-fault provisions.

The contributors to this collection of essays take these two senses of covenant marriage as basic and seek to accomplish two further goals: A number of contributors seek to expand the ambit of "covenant" marriage by finding analogues to this tradition outside the Calvinist and the American legal

experiences. Other contributors, meanwhile, seek to explore in greater depth and detail the significance of covenant marriage to the reformed Protestant tradition and to American law. Edited by John Witte, one of the most prodigiously creative and versatile members of the American legal academy and by Eliza Ellison, the Projects Director for the Emory University Center for the Study of Law and Religion, this book achieves both ambitions. The result is an interdisciplinary work of great originality and skill.

Several essays stand out as especially significant for the readers of the *Catholic Historical Review*. These include, first, Michael Lawler's article "Marriage as Covenant in the Catholic Tradition." Aside from some ambiguous references in Hosea and Malachi, Lawler finds little support for an explicit biblical understanding of marriage as covenant. Similarly, he finds that, aside from a reference to marriage as a *foedus* in the fourth-century Arnobius and again in the letter of the ninth-century Pope Nicholas I to the Bulgarians, the medieval writers eschewed the language of covenant in favor of *sacramentum*. This tendency became fixed with the twelfth-century rise of scholasticism and the Council of Trent's subsequent inclusion of marriage as one of the seven sacraments. And yet, Lawler continues, the Catholic tradition is not hostile to the ideal of covenant marriage. Indeed, Lawler stresses that the Second Vatican Council has spoken approvingly of the concept.

If Lawler succeeds in reconciling the Catholic sacramental tradition of marriage with the reformed covenantal perspective, two essays treat explicitly of the history and significance of covenant marriage to the Protestant tradition. James Turner Johnson, in "Marriage as Covenant in Early Protestant Thought: Its Development and Implications," traces the growth of this way of thinking and talking about marriage from its continental roots in the works of John Calvin through the English Puritans of the seventeenth century and on to early American writers like Anne Bradstreet. Max Stackhouse, for his part, looks to the implications for modern Protestantism of the Protestant reformers' "more expansive view of covenantal relationships as the model for organizing the common life" (p. 155).

Lest one conclude that this work is narrowly focused on Catholic and reformed traditions, however, attention must be called to its broad ecumenical sweep: Important essays by Michael Broyde and David Novak discuss the Jewish foundations of covenant marriage, while Azizah Y. al-Hibri and Richard C. Martin look at its Islamic analogues. Stanley Harakas, for his part, examines the Orthodox tradition to conclude that "[t]he mutuality inherent in the idea of covenant marriage is reflected in the Orthodox tradition's understanding of the purposes and goals of marriage" (p. 95).

The American legal treatment of covenant marriage is the subject of an important study by Katherine Shaw Spaht. Professor Spaht, whose work places her in the first rank of American family law scholars, both reviews the late-twentieth-century legislative history of covenant marriage, which she sees as a

response to the radical autonomy of 1970's divorce reform, and explains how covenant marriage works in practice. She defends covenant marriage against common criticisms and concludes that these statutory experiments seem to have resulted in "qualitatively better marriage[s]" (p. 263). Peter Hay then provides a lawyerly coda to Spaht's work by reviewing the extraterritorial implications of legally regulated covenant marriage in his study entitled "The 'American Covenant Marriage' and the Conflict of Laws." He concludes that covenant marriage may possess only limited applicability in divorce cases brought outside the state where the parties contracted their union. Margaret Brinig and Stephen Nock, finally, make the case that "covenant relationships are more likely to be successful than contract-governed or less formal alternatives" (p. 293).

The book also features a sweeping scholarly introduction authored by John Witte and Joel Nichols. Witte and Nichols review the theological dimension of covenant marriage from its biblical antecedents to more modern documents, and also consider the strong commitment to marriage found in many American legal sources of the nineteenth century. They conclude that "[i]n the American common law tradition, marriage has long been regarded as a natural if not a spiritual estate, a useful if not an essential association, a pillar if not the foundation of civil society" (p. 6).

In closing it must be reiterated that this work is both highly creative and comprehensive. It reviews the history of covenant marriage in its legal and theological dimensions. It offers a rich tapestry of sources and insights for those who have grown dissatisfied with the thinness of the claims that marriage should be explained as rooted in the radically autonomous individual. It should prove itself an indispensable starting point for further research for many years to come. The editors are to be greatly commended for their singular intelligence and inexhaustible thoroughness.

University of St. Thomas
Saint Paul, Minnesota

CHARLES J. REID, JR.

Historiam perscrutari: Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. Ottorino Pasquato. Edited by Mario Maritano. [Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose, 180.] (Rome: Editrice L. A. S. 2002. Pp. 882. €50,00 paperback.)

Ottorino Pasquato, S.D.B., is professor emeritus in the Università Pontificia Salesiana, where for nearly a quarter of a century he taught ancient and medieval church history and related subjects. The *Festschrift* under review presents over fifty studies that make contributions to the many domains to which Don Ottorino has himself contributed over his long and fruitful career. (His numerous publications are detailed in the bibliography; see pages 31-39.) To give a sense of the scope of this book, it may be helpful to say a word about Pasquato's academic formation: he completed a laurea in ecclesiastical history at the Gregorian University with a thesis on paganism and Christianity in

Antioch and Constantinople with reference to the works of St. John Chrysostom (1973), and a second laurea in philosophy at the University of Padua with a thesis on Christian historiography in the writings of Henri-Iréné Marrou (1979). Accordingly, the major themes in this book include history, theology, and Christianity (Part I), religious historiography (Part II), catechesis in history (Part III), and finally the Fathers in ecclesiastical tradition (Part IV).

The contents are so rich and varied as to resist satisfactory summarization. It may suffice instead to mention a sample of the noteworthy chapters. In Part I, there are insightful contributions on Christology in different cultures (M. Bordoni), de Lubac's historiography (G. Coffele), and the ecumenical "reconciliation of memories" as a historiographical issue (L. Sartori). Two chapters on ancient historiography—monasticism and episcopacy in late antiquity (M. Forlin Patrucco) and late antiquity in Italian scholarship (G. Penco)—as well as two on H.-I. Marrou (P. Chenaux and J.-I. Saranyana) stand out in Part II. M. Dujarier's analysis of terms used to describe the process of becoming Christ's disciple is a typically wide-ranging example of the close textual work displayed throughout Part III. And in the fourth and final section, there are excellent chapters on broad themes (e.g., M. Spanneut on divine *apatheia*) and on particular fathers (e.g., P. Allen on Severus of Antioch), as well as ten chapters on John Chrysostom in particular (among which I. Oñatibia's chapter is especially good).

There is a great deal to be admired in the chapters of this book. For instance, I have only alluded to the direct treatment of contemporary theological concerns, such as ecumenical engagement and the transformations of Christianity in Africa, Asia, and South America. But what I found most important in the book was its balanced representation of scholarly research into antiquity and scholarly reflection *on* that research. Both of these elements enrich the theological project as a whole, and it is gratifying to seem them so well integrated here. *Festschriften* sometimes lack coherence, but that is not a problem that affects this collection, which is unified by the emphasis on history, theologically considered. As Cardinal Poupard rightly claims in his foreword to the book, it offers an "invitation to understand the past better in order to live a fuller and more balanced life in the present" (p. 23). It is recommended.

University of Wales, Lampeter

AUGUSTINE CASIDAY

Ancient

The Cambridge History of Christianity. Volume 1: *Origins to Constantine*.

Edited by Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xlviii, 740. \$180.00.)

The Cambridge "histories" often include hefty articles on religion, but this is the first time Cambridge University Press has launched a series devoted solely to the history of Christianity. The entire project will include nine vol-

umes and extend the story from the beginnings until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with two volumes on "world Christianities." It is an ambitious and welcome undertaking.

The aim of the series is to reap the harvest of the scholarship of the last several generations on the history of Christianity, and the first volume, "Origins to Constantine," does that well. There are, for example, articles on the "Jewish Diaspora" and "The Roman Empire," essays on Marcion and on Irenaeus, a series of chapters on the growth of Christianity in distinct geographical areas, e.g., Egypt, Syria, Gaul, chapters on Christian institutions and theology, good articles on persecution and on Constantine, and a chapter on early Christian art and architecture.

Because of the way the two disciplines have developed, New Testament studies and church history are often viewed as separate fields. But here the New Testament writings and the historical epoch they reflect are seen, as they should be, as part of the history of Christianity. Accordingly, the editors include an introductory chapter on Jesus and Christian beginnings as well as essays on Jewish-Christianity, Christianity, and Johannine Christianity.

The essays are written, in the main, by recognized scholars in the several areas, e.g., Wayne Meeks on social life of early Christian communities, Harry Gamble on Marcion and the "canon," Birger Pearson on Egypt, Susan Ashbrook Harvey on Syriac-speaking Christianity, W. H. C. Frend on persecutions, A. M. Ritter on church-state relations. It is a book one can take in hand with confidence that it offers an up-to-date account of the current state of scholarship in the many areas it treats.

I think, however, that the volume will be more useful to scholars than to the general reader. One reason is that it is hard to get a sense of the whole by reading the individual essays. In works of this sort it is always a challenge how to tell the big story and it would have been helpful to have at least one essay that offers a narrative account and helps the reader to put the individual essays into context.

In a final essay the editors do step back to view the whole, but the chapter is too sketchy and too tentative. Though they recognize that these early centuries laid the foundation for the form of Christianity that was to create the new civilization built on the foundations of ancient Israel, Rome, and Hellenistic culture, varieties of life and expression hold greater interest than commonalities. Of course, the penchant to favor diversity over unity and continuity is one of the interpretive clichés that has dominated the scholarship of the last generation. And that is not all bad. As a result of the researches of the last several generations, e.g., on conflicting views and rival communities, we have a much clearer picture today of the social and religious world of early Christianity.

But it is surely not enough to say that what early Christianity bequeathed to its descendants "was a set of tensions or problematics that would preoccupy each generation of followers of Jesus for the next millennium." One does not

win the hearts and minds of millions of people and change the face of societies from the British Isles to Persia and beyond on the basis of tensions or problematics. Nor is it adequate to say that the early Church provided the “raw materials,” as the editors would have it, for future generations. Such things as the office of bishop, Baptism and Eucharist, the canon of Scripture were not raw materials; they were the stuff of Christian life and were firmly in place long before the conversion of Constantine. And it was the institutions, teachings, and practices forged in the first three centuries that were transmitted to the next generation, not the raw materials.

Still the value of this volume is considerable, for it pours forth a rich bounty of data and interpretive ideas to help scholars and students in the ongoing task of understanding the formative years in the history of Christianity.

University of Virginia

ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN

The Biblical Canon: Its Origin, Transmission, and Authority. By Lee Martin McDonald. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers. 2007. Pp. xlii, 546. \$29.95 paperback.)

Anyone with an interest in the development of the Christian biblical canon is familiar with the work of Lee M. McDonald. He is the author of numerous books and articles on the subject, the most well known of which include *Early Christianity and Its Sacred Literature* (co-authored by Stanley Porter and published in 2000), and *The Canon Debate* (co-edited with James A. Sanders and published in 2002). The text currently under review is a thoroughly revised and expanded edition of *The Formation of the Christian Biblical Canon* (1995), which was itself a revised and expanded edition of a book by the same name published by Abingdon Press in 1988. Needless to say, the magisterial sweep of the current edition represents the culmination of a lifetime of investigative work on the historical production of the Christian Bible. More than that, it is a sensitive exploration of the manifold hermeneutical and theological concerns such an investigation inevitably raises for people of faith. For both the scholarly wisdom and pastoral insight evident in this current book, we are in the author's debt.

This volume attempts to offer a thorough summary of the origin of both testaments of the Christian Bible. The first part identifies the issues at stake in such an exploration, and establishes the working difference between “scripture” and “canon” presumed throughout the book. The second part explores the origins of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Canon, including a helpful survey of the differing collections of scripture maintained by various Jewish communities in the first century B.C., as well as a consideration of the scriptures used by Jesus and earliest Christianity, and (in an excursus by R. Timothy McLay of St. Stephen's University) the use of the Septuagint in the New Testament. The third and final section of the book turns to the New Testament

Canon, tracing the process by which early apostolic writings were received, first as authoritative documents, then as scripture, and finally as canonical texts in their own right. The book concludes with nearly a hundred pages of useful appendices identifying primary sources and questions in canon research, ancient catalogues of canonical collections, citations of and allusions to apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings, and ending with a final essay on the work of Brevard Childs.

The unavoidable risk of such a wide-ranging introductory examination, of course, is the need to resort on occasion to unsupported (and therefore potentially inaccurate) summarizing. Despite his stated concern to carefully avoid assumptions that could not be backed up by primary evidence (p. xvi), one often finds that issues of ongoing scholarly debate are summed up in ways that may lead the reader to conclude the matter is settled. To cite but one example, on page 395 one encounters the largely unsubstantiated claim that the letter of James was cited or alluded to by nearly every major early to mid-second-century patristic source, including Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, and the authors of *The Didache*, the *Letter of Barnabas*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. While many contemporary James scholars support the possibility that *1 Clement* or *Hermas* is dependent on James, very few would consider the others real possibilities.

Given the introductory scope of the work, McDonald is to be forgiven if specialists find particular gaps in what is ultimately a very useful survey. The book is highly recommended for students and scholars alike as an excellent introduction to the central issues at stake in the formation and reception of Christian scripture.

Seattle Pacific University

DAVID R. NIENHUIS

Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity. By Denise Kimber Buell. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 257. \$45.00.)

In *Why This New Race*, Denise Kimber Buell offers a theoretically sophisticated analysis of ethnoracial discourses in early Christian writings before the legalization of Christianity in 313 A.D. She employs a “prismatic approach” for dealing with the ideas of race *and* ethnicity as a strategy for avoiding the essentializing discourse that pervades many discussions about these concepts and as a means for bringing together three historical vantage points: the present, the recent historical past, and the ancient historical period (p. 33). Central to her analysis is the premise that race and ethnicity are characterized by a “double-sided discourse” of both fixity and fluidity. By focusing on the dynamic interplay between these two phenomena, Buell complicates and rethinks assumptions about early Christian self-definition, especially with respect to its claims about universalism and inclusiveness.

The book is organized as follows: an introduction, which develops a theoretical foundation for understanding four strategic uses of ethnic reasoning for early Christians; five chapters that examine in detail various examples of the ethnic reasoning in early Christian writings and the rhetorical situations that produced ideas of “peoplehood”; and an epilogue, which discusses the implications of this study for both ancient and contemporary interpretations of race, ethnicity, and religion. A bibliography of ancient and modern sources and two indexes (ancient sources and general) are also included.

Throughout the book, Buell analyzes a wide range of texts generated by writers such as Clement, Origen, and Justin Martyr to illuminate the four strategic uses of ethnic reasoning: (1) defining ethnicity through religious practices, (2) viewing ethnicity as mutable even if “real,” (3) universalizing ethnicity and religion, and (4) using ethnic ideas as polemic. She also exposes the “messier” interpretive process that would result if scholars examined (and articulated) the “motives behind and implications of the historical mappings and reconstructions we produce.” In this regard, her book engages ethnic reasoning in order to offer insights into the historical legacy of both contemporary racism and Christian anti-Judaism. Though her arguments are persuasive and grounded in a wealth of scholarship dealing with the ancient and contemporary intersections of Christianity, race, and religion, Buell leans more toward the ethnoracial discourses embedded in ancient texts than toward the contemporary methodologies and interpreters that are used to interpret these texts. Thus, her claims regarding “race/ethnicity” are more general and suggestive when it comes to assessing modern scholarly discussions about ethnoracial discourses. Despite this limitation, all who utilize this book will be delighted with the sources provided and the eloquent manner in which Buell encourages scholars of the New Testament and early Christianity to examine the interconnections “among our own commitments and values, the ways we have been trained to think and interpret, and the goals and ideologies of ancient texts” (p. 167).

Buell’s study is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature dealing explicitly with race and ethnicity in biblical and extra-biblical writings: Robert Hood, *Begrimed and Black: Christian Traditions on Blacks and Blackness* (Fortress, 1994); Mark Brett, *Ethnicity and the Bible* (Brill, 1996, 2002); Gay L. Byron, *Symbolic Blackness and Ethnic Difference in Early Christian Literature* (Routledge, 2002); Shawn Kelley, *Racializing Jesus: Race, Ideology and the Formation of Modern Biblical Scholarship* (Routledge, 2002); and Rodney Sadler, *And They Were All Gathered Together in One Place: Minority Biblical Criticism* (Society of Biblical Literature, forthcoming). All of these studies isolate the need for interpreters of ancient Jewish and Christian literature to engage the conceptual categories of race and ethnicity as integral to understanding the origins of Christianity; Buell’s analysis of ethnoracial discourses in *Why This New Race* demonstrates why such scholarship is no

longer the exception, but the rule for contemporary biblical scholarship and historical reconstructions of early Christianity.

Colgate Rochester Crozer Divinity School

GAY L. BYRON

Kissing Christians: Ritual and Community in the Late Ancient Church. By Michael Philip Penn. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. viiii, 186. \$42.50.)

Michael Penn begins his study of the ritual kiss in early Christianity with a quotation from Clement: “There are those who do nothing but make the church resound with the kiss, while not having love within them. This, the unrestrained use of the kiss, also causes shameful suspicions and slander...” Hidden among discussions of fashion, gambling, and the racetrack, this prohibition against unrestrained and passionate kissing in the church gave the author—as I suspect most others who have read Clement—quite a shock! But unlike most of us, Penn followed his instincts and stopped, and listened, and saw anew the importance of ritual, especially the physical act of kissing in early Christian worship. This discovery led Penn to re-evaluate, as he confesses, his image of the ancient Church.

The result is an insightful study of ritual, power dynamics, community formation, and the setting of boundaries that identify the community first to itself and then to those outside. Though not the first study to explore the role and value of the ritual kiss in Christian worship (the work of L. Edward Phillips, Nicolas J. Perella, and others informs much of the historical and liturgical background), Penn brings a fresh and truly interdisciplinary approach to his study on ritual and its meaning. Interacting with the works of Mary Douglas on purity and boundary formation, Catherine Bell on ritual formation, and Pierre Bourdieu on distinction, among others, Penn shows how the ritual kiss functioned as a performative identifier of difference and community demarcations for the initiated and, at the same time, those outside the community.

Having consulted over a thousand ancient references to kissing (p. 6), Penn in his first chapter, titled teasingly, “Kissing Basics”, examines how this common and expected public (and of course also private) gesture of kissing family members, friends, lovers, and so forth was distinguished, transformed, and ritualized into a socially productive gesture “within the kiss’s larger cultural context” (p. 17). In the growing context of the Christian community, new definitions of “common” and “ritual” were now necessary.

In “The Kiss That Binds: Christian Communities and Group Cohesion,” (chap. 2) Penn tells us how kissing emphasized the bonds of the new community, as both Christian and non-Christian authors “viewed kissing as a way to promote group cohesion” (p. 28). To make the point, Penn traces these bonds of social and group cohesion and difference within its Greco-Roman

milieu and structures of social stratification, and then moves to a discussion of kissing as a spiritual exchange to show how Christian communities transformed the popular understanding of the physical exchange of souls (or spirit) through the act of kissing and “employed this pneumatological model...to transfer Christ’s spirit between community members, to express the community’s solidarity, and to reenact a mythical time of original unity” (p. 39). As such, kissing was not simply a boundary forming gesture, but a ritual that promoted reconciliation and restored peace.

In chapter three, “Difference and Distinction: The Exclusive Kiss,” Penn shows that by refusing to kiss pagans, Jews, and heretics, Christians differentiated between those who were not like us, too much like us, and claiming to be us, respectively. Of course, then, the catechumens were also established as different from the baptized, the confessors, martyrs (and their relics), from the rest of us, men from women, and, finally, clergy from the laity (and among their own ranks).

So what happens when boundaries are transgressed? And how exactly are they transgressed? That is the focus of the last chapter, “Boundary Violations: Purity, Promiscuity, and Betrayal.” Here Penn examines how Christians struggled with the consequence—real or potential—of such an intimate physical act as kissing. Michel Foucault and Mary Douglas are strong voices in this chapter, guiding the discussion on purity, power, promiscuity, and transgression. In this chapter Penn proposes that the resultant refinement of ecclesiastical rhetoric on “purity” and basic “bad” kissing was an attempt to create and enforce community norms.

This is a fascinating study that invites students of the early Church to take Christian *liturgia* seriously. At the same time, Penn reveals the need for specialists to cross our own disciplinary boundaries and receive the insights of others. Penn’s thematic approach may frustrate a bit those who may wish for a more chronological study. Though this book is divided into four chapters, it ought also to be seen as divided into two parts: the chapter narrative forms one part, but the endnotes are not to be neglected at all—they are the second part of the book: the part where the lively discussion with other scholars is brought to life. If I have one qualm with this book, it is not with Penn’s excellent study, but with the editors who insist on separating the narrative of the chapters from the notes that give the narrative its soul.

The Life of Antony by Athanasius of Alexandria; *The Greek Life of Antony*, *The Coptic Life of Antony*, and *Encomium on Saint Antony* by John of Shmūn, and *A Letter to the Disciples of Antony* by Serapion of Thmuis. Translated by Tim Vivian and Apostolos N. Athanassakis with Rowan A. Greer. [Cistercian Studies Series: No. 202.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2003. Pp. lxxvi, 290. \$27.95 paperback.)

The influential Egyptian ascetic Antony, made famous by Athanasius in his *Life of Antony*, served also as the subject of two additional early Egyptian narrative texts: a letter of consolation sent by Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, to Antony's disciples shortly after his death in 356 A.D., and a florid encomium filled with metaphors praising the saint attributed to John, Bishop of Shmūn, dated ca. 600 A.D. The present volume offers English translations of all three texts, including both the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Life of Antony*, an extensive introduction, and a good selective bibliography. Serapion's letter and John's encomium appear here for the first time in English.

The volume is constructed around the translations of the *Life*. As such, the extensive introduction to the volume is, in fact, an introduction to the *Life*, illustrating once again its role in shaping most portraits of the saint. The introduction is separated from the translations of the *Life* by the translations of John's encomium and Serapion's letter, each with its own separate brief introduction. As such, the two shorter texts seem to intervene in the flow of the volume, though not seriously.

The Greek and Coptic translations of the *Life* are set on facing pages, allowing the reader to compare the two and see to some degree how the Coptic translator worked. Vivian offers some exploration of the differences in the introduction, most notably perhaps the alteration of the famous line in the Greek *Life*, "the desert was made a city by the monks," to "the desert filled with monks" (so too the Syriac version). While numerous English translations of the Greek *Life* exist, this is the first based on Bartelink's new and much improved 1994 critical edition (*Sources chrétiennes*, 400) and as such important. The translation of the Sahidic Coptic version of the *Life*, based on Garitte's 1949 edition, improves on Vivian's earlier 1995 translation (San Francisco: International Scholars Publications).

The authors present these texts not only for those interested in the late antique world of early Christian Egypt, but also as spiritual guides still relevant today. The introductions and notes are useful for both purposes, referencing in particular biblical citations and allusions. The more critical, language-oriented notes in Vivian's earlier translation of the Coptic *Life* are, however, reduced in the current edition. Scholars will naturally want to consult the critical editions. Nonetheless, the present volume offers easy initial access to the texts in translation.

While the authors set the individual texts in their appropriate historical setting, they understand and interpret Antony's quest in terms of the human

predicament. The texts become thereby forever relevant. They make this point explicit at the end of their introduction, noting that “since we are probably not going out into the desert, we need to bring the desert home to us. . . . we need to see enough of Antony’s landscape in our own (and ours in his) to make his journey recognizable.” As such, this volume continues Vivian’s impressive effort, here aided by Athanassakis, not only to make the Coptic accounts of the desert fathers available in English, but to encourage their broader reading both for historical study and individual growth.

University of Mary Washington

JAMES E. GOEHRING

Psalmody and Prayer in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus. By Luke Dysinger, O.S.B. [Oxford Theological Monographs.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 245. £55.00.)

Within months of his death, and possibly earlier, Evagrius Pontikos became a figure of controversy, and that controversy has rarely died down. It is generally blamed for the Origenist controversy that erupted in the late fourth century, and provoked the condemnation of some of the Egyptian monks by Pope Theophilus of Alexandria, though, by the time of the condemnation, Evagrius was already dead (on Pope Theophilus, see now Norman Russell’s *Theophilus of Alexandria* [2007], in Routledge’s alas doomed series, “Early Church Fathers”). Evagrius was certainly among the “Origenists” condemned at the Fifth Ecumenical Synod of 553, though the nature of this “Origenism” is far from clear. As a result of these condemnations, Evagrius’ works struggled to survive in their original Greek, though they were more successful than one might have expected owing to the peerless wisdom they contained, especially for ascetics pursuing the monastic life. However, several important works were lost in Greek and survive only in Syriac and Armenian, mostly, the languages of those independent of the imperial conciliar tradition from Chalcedon onwards (in Armenia, Evagrius receives veneration as a saint). Evagrius once more became controversial in modern times, especially after Antoine Guillaumont discovered in the British Museum Library (as it was then) a Syriac manuscript of the Evagrius’ *Kephalalaia Gnostica*. Guillaumont argued that this manuscript contained a more faithful translation of the Greek original than the text already known, and was, moreover, the source of the “Origenist” opinions condemned by the council of 553. He then proceeded, in a book which transformed Evagrian studies (*Les «Kephalalaia Gnostica» d’Évagre le Pontique et l’histoire de l’origénisme chez les grecs et chez les syriens* [1962]), to reconstruct the “Evagrian” system on the basis of the anathemas, supported by passages from Evagrius’ authentic works, especially the newly discovered manuscript of the *Kephalalaia Gnostica*. Guillaumont’s reconstructed Evagrianism has been widely accepted in the scholarly world, despite the fact that using anathemas as a blueprint for heresy seems methodologically quite unsound, and the further fact that these anathemas date from more than a century and a half after

Evagrius' death; his disciples must have been remarkably faithful, for Guillaumont's reconstruction to be valid.

Guillaumont's views did not pass without challenge, notably from the scholar-hermit, Father Gabriel Bunge, who has done more than anyone to rehabilitate Evagrius, producing translations and commentaries on his works, as well as sharply argued articles dismantling various aspects of Guillaumont's reconstruction, and in general presenting Evagrius as a great master of the spiritual life, whose wisdom needs to be heard today. If Bunge's impact on Western scholarship has been limited, his reception in the Orthodox world has been much more enthusiastic. Parallel to Bunge's work has been the rediscovery of the importance to Evagrius of the Scriptures. Although much of his scriptural commentary is lost, it seems that Evagrius devoted a great deal of time to the genre of commentary called "scholia," brief comments on individual verses, and indeed words. His scholia on Proverbs and Ecclesiastes have been published in *Sources Chrétiennes*, and there has been available for some years now in electronic form to those with persistence enough to track it down a working edition of his scholia on the Psalms, prepared by Marie-Josèphe Rondeau on the basis of a manuscript in the Vatican Library. The *Scholia on the Psalms* emerges as one of Evagrius' longest works. Luke Dysinger's book is the first attempt to approach Evagrius through what, on the face of it, has a good claim to be his most important work.

It is a wonderful book, opening up whole new vistas in our understanding of Evagrius. Like most great works, it all seems so obvious: why has no one done this before? Psalms were, and to some extent still are, the bedrock of the monastic life. As Dysinger, himself a Benedictine monk, shows, Evagrius entered into a tradition of monasticism in which the heart of the life, when not distracted by visitors and the pressing demands of disciples, consisted of reading or chanting the psalms, meditation on the Scriptures, all this interspersed by periods, probably quite brief periods, of prayer. The bedrock of such monastic practice was recitation of the psalms. Dysinger then looks briefly at the way Evagrius interpreted Scripture, his use of allegory and numerology, and also examines passages in Evagrius' other works, where he expounds the significance of psalmody for the spiritual life. There follow three chapters that explore the value of psalmody. Firstly, psalmody as a spiritual remedy, largely, though not exclusively, as a way of calming the *thumos*, the "spirited" or "incensive" part of the soul, which, when aroused, can form one of the principal obstacles to the prayer of the *nous* or intellect. Dysinger draws attention to the pervasiveness of medical imagery in the Fathers, and argues that Evagrius commands a much more developed medical knowledge, which he uses in his exposition of the healing of the soul. The next chapter deals with the use of verses of the psalms as spiritual weapons to repel the attacks of the *logismoi*, obsessive trains of thought that enslave the *nous* and deprive it of attentiveness. In this chapter Dysinger makes good use of Evagrius' often neglected *Antirrhetikos*. A final chapter deals with the contemplative vision disclosed in

the Psalms, which covers the place of Christ in the Psalter and discusses (with rare clarity) what is meant by the contemplation of the *logoi* of judgment and providence. Dysinger also looks at those passages in Evagrius that have been used by Guillaumont and others to support the allegation that he embraces an Origenist Christology. In an appendix, Dysinger looks specifically at the evidence Guillaumont used to support the existence of a *nous*-Christology in Evagrius, and finds it wanting. Dysinger's conclusion here is that, while Evagrius does indeed work within an Origenist framework, in which pre-existent intellects fell and became souls provided with bodies in a material cosmos, his respect for Orthodoxy is such that he hesitates on the very brink of the *nous*-Christology this seems to entail, and preserves a cautious silence on the question of Christ's *nous*. This seems to me as close to the truth as we are ever likely to get.

In short, this is an exceptionally fine piece of scholarship, distinguished by a rare clarity of exposition, sureness of touch, and carefully weighed judgment. Without ignoring Evagrius the intellectual—the “philosopher of the desert,” as Guillaumont dubbed him—it focuses on Evagrius the monk, which is surely how Evagrius would have seen himself, and is certainly the reason why he exercised such a profound influence over the Byzantine ascetic tradition.

University of Durham

ANDREW LOUTH

Medieval

A Sociophilological Study of Late Latin. By Roger Wright. [Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 10.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2002. Pp. viii, 389. €65,00.)

Roger Wright's scholarly work has focused on a single problem: when and how did the Romance languages become distinct from Latin? His answer was articulated at length in his *Late Latin and Early Romance* (1982). Until roughly the year 800, as Wright puts it, “late Latin was early Romance.” The difference between the two is simply the difference between the written and spoken forms of a language. Just as English-speakers write *boatswain* but say [bo'sun], so early medieval Latin speakers wrote *quattuor*, but pronounced it [katt'r], [kwattro] or what-have-you. This “complex monolingualism” first changed under Charlemagne with the educational reforms of the English scholar Alcuin. Henceforth the clergy were to pronounce Latin words as they were written (and, not coincidentally, as they had always been pronounced in Alcuin's Britain). *Quattuor* was no longer to be [katt'r] or [kwattro] but [kwa-too-ore]. As a result, “Latin became . . . a foreign language for everybody,” just as contemporary English would if its speakers were suddenly forced to pronounce *tough*, *nation*, and *Leicester* phonetically. Since written *quattuor* now had a new pronunciation, a new written form had to be devised for the ordinary pronunciation [katt'r]: such a system is first attested in the Strasbourg Oaths of 842—generally regarded as the first example of written Romance.

The “Wright thesis” has not convinced everyone, but it is undeniably provocative. Even most skeptics would agree that it has reframed the debate in interesting ways. The twenty-five pieces collected here defend the basic model, while developing its implications or exploring particular aspects in more depth. With the exception of one 1981 article, all were originally published between 1993 and 2002. Many have been revised or updated, and ten pieces originally published in other languages have been translated by the author.

On the one hand Wright is concerned to restate and bolster the argument against any Latin/Romance differentiation before c. 800. Here he finds welcome support in Michel Banniard’s *Viva Voce* (1992), an extended review of which appears as Chapter 4. But the weight of the collection falls on the post-800 period, with special attention to Ibero-Romance. While Wright still regards the Carolingian reforms as initiating the split, he now sees a “more nuanced process,” in which consciousness of the Romance languages as distinct from Latin and (later) from one another may have taken firm hold only in the twelfth or thirteenth century. In the mid-800’s, Wright argues, a Spaniard traveling along the “dialect continuum” from Cordoba to Strasbourg would have recognized almost every word in the Strasbourg Oaths (chap. 12). Tenth- and eleventh-century glosses from San Millán and Silos, sometimes regarded as the first written “Spanish,” in fact show no conceptual differentiation between Latin and (Ibero-)Romance (chaps. 14-16). It is only around 1200, under figures like Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, the Paris-educated archbishop of Toledo, that the two are clearly distinguished. The subsequent division of Ibero-Romance into “Castilian,” “Galician,” “Portuguese,” etc., may reflect political more than linguistic developments.

Wright’s observations will be of interest to both Latinists and Romance linguists. But they also open the door to more general issues: the arbitrary nature of linguistic periodization (chaps. 3 and 13), the role of textual evidence in historical linguistics (chap. 23) and the perplexing question of “What Actually Changes During a ‘Sound-Change’” (chap. 24). The central thesis lends the collection a substantial unity (even if it does not quite justify the singular “study” of the title); some repetition is inevitable, and forgivable. Few university libraries will own all of the original pieces—my own institution scores only eleven out of twenty-five—and it is useful to have them accessible in one place.

University of Virginia

GREGORY HAYS

Saint Mary of Egypt: Three Medieval Lives in Verse. Translated and introduced by Hugh Feiss and Ronald E. Pepin. [Cistercian Studies Series, 209.] (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. x, 159. Paperback.)

This volume adds three translations of medieval narrative poems on Mary of Egypt to the considerable literature of that saint. Mary of Egypt is something

of an anomaly in the annals of sainthood, since she was neither virgin, martyr, nor queen: as her original *vita* had it, she was a working-class nymphomaniac. Her story may be linked with a small group of early Byzantine lives of penitent harlots, but unlike those of her fellow-sinners such as Pelagia and Thais, her story was widely told and re-told in the Latin-speaking West after having been translated by the ninth-century Paul the Deacon. The numerous versions in Latin, French, Spanish, and other Western languages have been the subject of an extensive modern literature which includes translations of most of the versions: the notes to Feiss and Pepin's introduction give details.

In their introduction, Feiss and Pepin do an excellent job of putting together the background and first context of the story. A slight tendentiousness in their approach is suggested by their describing the story of a hermit called Mary told by Cyril of Scythopolis as "the earliest mention of the story of Saint Mary of Egypt." The life outlined for Mary of Jerusalem has, obviously, points of contact with that told a little later by Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem, about Mary of Egypt, but there is no actual way of telling whether we are looking at a developing tale-type or a revised biography.

Subsequently, the translators round up the Latin redactions and the translation history, in order to context the three metrical versions which are their particular concern: two Latin poems by Flodoard of Rheims and Hildebert of Lavardin (tenth and late eleventh centuries respectively), and a Spanish poem based on medieval French redactions from the first half of the thirteenth century. In keeping with the usual practice in the "Cistercian Studies" series, the highly readable translations are given without parallel texts, and annotation is minimal.

Flodoard stays extremely close to the original story. Hildebert is somewhat more prolix, and introduces extraneous minor themes, notably the role of alcohol in Mary's youthful folly, which was generally a concern of his. The Spanish version is the most digressive from the original narrative. In it, the narrative begins with Mary rather than Zosimas, and Mary's story is modified to bring it within the conventions of vernacular romance. Thus pre-conversion, she is a young noblewoman, her personal beauty and her clothes minutely described from her white brow to her shoes of cordovan leather decorated with gold and silver, and most surprisingly of all, "the son of the emperor took her as his wife." In her penitent wanderings, her beauty is systematically undone, feature by feature, by her privations, just as that of François Villon's "belle Heaulmière" was undone by age.

Thus the last of these three versions may be of interest to anyone interested in Christian romance, but otherwise, only those very deeply concerned with the minutiae of the development of the Mary legend will find themselves interested in the minor adjustments which Flodoard makes to his prose source, the *Life of Paul the Deacon*. As an introduction to the life of Mary of Egypt, the book is readable, accessible, and attractive, but there are few readers likely to

find it of more use than Benedicta Ward's *Harlots of the Desert*, also in "Cistercian Studies," and still in print.

University of Aberdeen

JANE B. STEVENSON

Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500. By Diana Webb. [European Culture and Society.] (New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xvii, 185. \$69.95.)

Pilgrimage, defined as a religiously motivated journey to a sacred place, is practiced in most of the world's religious traditions. Diana Webb's book on *Medieval European Pilgrimage* deals with a particularly important period of pilgrimage in the Christian tradition. The book, which is sparsely referenced and intended primarily for students, follows Webb's more comprehensive study on *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (1999).

An introduction places Europe's medieval pilgrimage tradition in context and introduces some of the problems with interpreting a complex phenomenon taking place over the approximate twelve hundred years between the Emperor Constantine and Martin Luther. Chapter One outlines the evidence for changes in shrines and objects of pilgrim devotion that took place during broadly defined historical periods. Motives for making pilgrimage are dealt with in the second chapter. Some pilgrimages were purely penitential whereas others were devotional. Seeking a cure or fulfilling a vow were common reasons for traveling to a shrine, as indeed they still are. The section on indulgences sheds light on a reason for pilgrimage that was probably more significant in medieval times than at present. Then, as now, critics suspected that some people traveled in the guise of pilgrims for reasons not especially religious in nature. In an age when there were relatively few opportunities for travel, especially for women, it seems likely that vows to make pilgrimage were sometimes made to justify a desired trip.

Chapter Three explores the variety of pilgrims. There is ample evidence that people of all social classes made pilgrimages, although relatively more is known about journeys made by churchmen and members of the nobility, including kings and queens. The section on female pilgrims is especially interesting and provides insights into the extensive mobility of at least some European women of the times.

The geography of pilgrimage provides a theme for Chapter Four. The author uses pilgrim accounts, court records of pilgrimages imposed as sentences, guide books, itinerary lists, miracle records kept at shrines, letters of recommendation, wills, and collections of souvenirs to reconstruct a rough idea of the network of shrines and pilgrim routes. Far more is known about pilgrimage to such major destinations as Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela than to the many regional and district shrines scattered throughout Europe. A series of maps, in addition to the map provided on page vii, would have made a useful addition to this chapter.

The final chapter explores the impact of pilgrimage on the evolution of European culture. These journeys played an important role in the spread of music, dance, art, and architectural traditions throughout Europe. Images became increasingly important after about 1300 and were important in the shift toward increasing proportions of shrines dedicated primarily to Christ and the Virgin Mary rather than to the saints. The section on pilgrimage narratives and the growing popularity of travel writing provides insights into the impact of pilgrimage on literature.

In general, this book provides a good overview of the significance of medieval European pilgrimage and the kinds of sources that scholars use to gain insights into the phenomenon. In some sections the text seems more like a literature review than an interpretive account of the theme under discussion. However, each chapter includes many interesting details about particular shrines and pilgrims and should encourage further reading and research.

Oregon State University, Corvallis (Emerita)

MARY LEE NOLAN

The Making of Christian Malta: From the Early Middle Ages to 1530. By Anthony T. Luttrell. [Variorum Collected Studies Series.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2002. Pp. viii, 342. \$105.95.)

Dr. Anthony T. Luttrell has over the past forty-odd years given an outstanding contribution to the study of the medieval past of the Maltese Islands. The rigors of his inquisitively analytical study of the written and unwritten evidence have been a major driving force in the demythologizing process of a seminal period in the history of the small Central Mediterranean archipelago. Together with, but independently of, the Maltese medieval specialist, Godfrey Wettinger, he has in this way been responsible for the opening of new approaches that have been pursued and consolidated by the research of other academics, among them Stanley Fiorini, Charles Dalli, and the present reviewer. The great breakthrough came in 1975 when he edited for the British School at Rome a book of collected essays by an international team of scholars, *Medieval Malta—Studies on Malta before the Knights*, to which he contributed the introductory and most substantial study, that was subsequently published separately as *Approaches to Medieval Malta*. It is also reproduced as the second essay in the collection of studies under review.

Strategically located at the cultural crossroads of Christian South Europe and Muslim North Africa, the Maltese Islands have played a role in history disproportionate to their physical limitations of space and natural resources. International scholarly attention has focused largely on the Knights of St. John, who ruled them between 1530 and 1798, and, to a lesser extent, on their subsequent role as the most important British naval base on route to the Middle East and India. Their interest as a microcosm of the social, economic, religious, and linguistic realities, that shaped the emergence of a multifaceted Central

Mediterranean identity in the millennium between the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and the dawn of the modern age was largely ignored. It is in this regard that the true significance of Anthony Luttrell is best appreciated.

Luttrell's first interest in Malta were the archives of the Knights of St. John, particularly those relating to their origin and early history. His introduction to the Maltese Middle Ages came through Professor Lionel Butler, a Fellow of All Souls and principal of Royal Holloway College, who in 1962 delivered a brilliant series of lectures on the subject at the British Council in Valletta, that unfortunately remained unpublished and he passed away tragically in 1982.

Luttrell's meticulously researched studies on Malta are scattered in an impressive number of specialized books and learned journals, foremost among them the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, and *Melita Historica*, the annual publication of the Malta Historical Society. The merit of the book under review is to gather in a manageable and easily accessible volume some of his more significant contributions. There are some notable omissions, such as the seminal important "Girolamo Manduca and Gian Francesco Abela: Tradition and Invention in Maltese Historiography" (*Melita Historica*, vol. VII/2, 1977) which puts in a meaningful political context the distortions and fabrications that since the seventeenth century fueled the myth of a Maltese national identity rooted in an uninterrupted Christian and Latin tradition, but the choice is otherwise admirably comprehensive.

The first essay, contrary to the twenty other studies in the volume, is being published for the first time; it has a special interest. Called "Medieval Malta: Approaches and Reproaches," it puts under the lens the research and publications that have in Luttrell's own words "revolutionised medieval Malta" since the publication of his benchmarking volume of essays in 1975. Most of this revolution he himself engineered, thus ensuring an outstanding and lasting contribution to Maltese historiography.

University of Malta

MARIO BUHAGIAR

Im Zeichen von Kirchenreform und Reformation: Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit. By Heribert Smolinsky. Edited by Karl-Heinz Braun, Barbara Henze, and Bernhard Schneider. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, Supplementband 5.] (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2005. Pp. vi, 469. €59,00.)

Heribert Smolinsky has been one of the towering figures in the late-twentieth-century interpretation of Early Modern Catholicism. A careful reader of Reformation-era dogmatic treatises and an original researcher in the area of Catholic confessionalization, Smolinsky has over three decades helped shape our understanding of political and religious history during the sixteenth century. Since much of his work appeared in collected volumes and is not avail-

able in digital form, this collection by three former students of twenty-two (from a total of over a hundred) of his papers is especially welcome.

Organized in four sections representing the distinct research areas to which Smolinsky has contributed (Humanism and Educational History; Reformation History and Church Reform; the Reformation in the Upper Rhine; and History of Theology and Scholarship), these articles taken together demonstrate a mastery of detail combined with a methodological acuity that is instructive for church historians of any era or region. For many American historians of Early Modern Catholicism, Smolinsky's 1983 essay on Reformation History as Church History stands alongside the contributions of Hubert Jedin and John O'Malley for its clear grasp of the religious aspects of the Catholic response to the Reformation. Whether elucidating Thomas Murner's polemical use of satire (1987) or analyzing in 1991 the ecclesiastical diplomacy of Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg, Smolinsky is careful to set his findings within the extended Reformation narrative that includes late-medieval thought and Catholic Reform. Historians of late-medieval theology will find in the 1976 essay on Jean Gerson a detailed account of that chancellor's reform initiative at Paris. This was Smolinsky's first statement of the thesis that university reform was a precursor to religious reform, an argument supported in this volume by a 1994 survey of reformist tendencies in the universities and a close reading (first published in 1990) of Johann Eck's lectures on Genesis at Ingolstadt in the 1520's and '30's. These investigations expand our understanding of the role humanism played in religious reform; and Smolinsky's contributions also include wide-ranging essays from 1990 and 2002 on humanism in the Catholic theological faculties during the Reformation period and in the Rhineland, as well as a 1996 revision, using Jodocus Clichtoveus as the test-case, of the view that the Romanist controversialists were as opposed to humanism as they were to Protestantism. Popular religion also comes under scrutiny in studies of educational and catechetical reforms in Jülich-Cleve-Berg (1989); of literary forms of popular piety in Freiburg and its environs (1996); and (from 1998) of the "language controversy" of the immediate post-Tridentine decades, in which vernacular translations of scripture and liturgy were promoted in the interest of pastoral care. Smolinsky's 1995 essay on literary "Mirrors of Marital Life" (*Ehespiegel*) offers an illuminating glimpse of early-modern moral theology in vernacular form; and his depictions of the Jewish convert Paulus Weidner and of Jakob Feucht, the bishop of Bamberg who described in detail the 1577 conversion of two Jews, add little-known figures to a controversy long associated with the names of Johann Eck and Andreas Osiander. Two final essays, on patristics and exegesis in the Catholic controversialists (1999) and on the concept of apostolic succession (2004, originally for an ecumenical working group of German theologians) display a rare constructive subtlety and are likely to be especially influential in coming decades.

As the dates of original publication indicate, all but two of these essays were no more than twenty years old in 2005, and many remain the latest con-

tributions on their topics. Heribert Smolinsky's work remains influential, and the editors are to be lauded for bringing it to the attention of a wider range of historians.

University of Iowa

RALPH KEEN

Medieval Allegory and the Building of the New Jerusalem. By Ann R. Meyer. (Rochester, New York: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer Ltd. 2003. Pp. x, 214. \$70.00.)

This is a book with an ambitious agenda: the correlation of architectural form, allegory, and revelation to link the artistic, intellectual, and religious cultures of medieval Europe. Linking mechanisms are provided by the author's concern with allegory as a means of communicating the relation between human experience of the divine world and the image of Heavenly Jerusalem. "Allegory" is understood as a language capable of "saying other things": cloaking hidden meaning behind palpable form. The image of the New Jerusalem is derived, above all, from chapters 21 and 22 of the Revelation of Saint John: "And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."

The material is organized in three parts. The first part deals with the reworking of Hellenistic ideas on art and the sensible world by Plotinus—whose ideas were then further developed by Saint Augustine, whose concept of the relationship between visible and invisible worlds echoed down through the Middle Ages. Particularly important in Augustine was the eschatological image of the Church as the New Jerusalem reunited with Christ at the end of time with the understanding of the Church as the community of the faithful. There appears to be nothing controversial here—the reader will find a useful summary of a stream of thought that certainly illuminated the mentality of medieval thinkers.

In the third part of the book the author builds upon her own earlier research on the fourteenth-century account of the late-fourteenth century dream-vision known as *Pearl*, where the author describes "the spiritual progress of a man grieving over the death of a beloved young daughter." Professor Meyer focuses upon the account of the vision of the celestial City, New Jerusalem—an account that occupies a substantial portion of the text. What begins to be troublesome is the desire on the author's part to construct very close links with contemporary architectural forms, comparing the "private New Jerusalem" of the text with the specific forms of English Decorated and Perpendicular architecture, particularly chantry chapels.

But it is the second part of the book that is most provocative. Based upon two case studies, the author seeks a global understanding of the meaning of medieval church space as an eschatological landscape. The key text is found in the liturgy of consecration so dramatically described by the Abbot Suger of

Saint-Denis. As Stookey demonstrated many years ago, the liturgy of consecration made extensive use of the image of the Celestial City described by Saint John. Although the author claims to be building upon art historical scholarship of recent years, in fact her account of the dependency of the abbot upon the writings of the Pseudo Dionysius is heavily based upon the canonic work of art historians such as Erwin Panofsky and Otto von Simson—work which has been repeatedly challenged in the art historical scholarship of the last thirty years by scholars such as Peter Kidson, Willibald Sauerländer, and Christoph Marksches, none of whom find their way into the bibliography.

Despite these reservations (and some editorial problems) there is, nevertheless much to like about the book. Particularly important is the author's insistence upon the idea that the church edifice is not a static thing but a *medium* providing the possibility of a transformative experience and her concern with the *integumentum*—overlaid form that partially both conceals and reveals underlying truth. Architectural historians could gain much through the application of such ideas to the understanding of medieval buildings.

Columbia University

STEPHEN MURRAY

The White Mantle of Churches. Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium. Edited by Nigel Hiscock. [International Medieval Research, Volume 10: Art History Subseries 2.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2003. Pp. xix, 283. Paperback.)

One intriguing issue facing medieval historians is whether the passing of the millennium in the year 1000 had any connection with the birth of Romanesque architecture. Nobody can deny that the early years of the eleventh century brought a new and more ambitious approach to building, something that the contemporary chronicler Rodulf Glaber appeared to sense in his famous comment about the world “shrugging off the burden of the past” and “cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.” But was the chronicler providing a literal description of church building or was the phrase “white mantle of churches” merely a metaphor for a new world order, brought about by monastic reform and political stability? The interpretation of Glaber's comments lies at the heart of several of the essays in this impressively produced collection, nine out of fourteen of which were delivered as papers at the Leeds medieval conference in a session designed to mark the year 2000.

Several contributors review the nature of architectural activity on either side of the year 1000, the general thrust of the arguments being to emphasize continuity rather than sudden change. But the arguments are not really conclusive either way. Most of the key monuments have been destroyed or reconstructed, and precise evidence for building chronologies is rare. We are reminded that evidence is “elusive,” problems are “notorious,” interpretation is “difficult,” and questions are “complex.” It is perhaps inevitable, therefore, that

the conclusions reached in some chapters are not as impressive as the display of learning (of 264 pages of text and illustrations, some fifty-nine are occupied by footnotes).

Refreshing in its clarity is Carolyn Malone's study of St. Benigne at Dijon, that extraordinary building designed by Glaber's mentor, William of Volpiano, around the year 1000-01. As well as providing a succinct account of the design, the author deconstructs Glaber's text in a subtle and plausible way. The three levels of the rotunda, she argues, "afforded access to God, expressed as light descending through its oculus" while at the same time providing an anagogical framework for worshipers ascending upward through the various storeys to the light and altar of the Trinity. Equally memorable is the final essay in the book, by Richard Landes, who depicts an alternative view of the millennium, one which subverts assumptions made by some of his fellow authors. Far from being a non event, the millennium may have been regarded by William of Volpiano (and his acolyte Rodulf) as a dramatic turning point in history, inaugurating an era in which a renewal of the Church "brought the saving grace of God to earth, transforming it from a world of war and injustice to one of peace and prosperity." At a "popular" level, Landes suggests, the millennium had a profound impact, producing a more inclusive approach to Christianity, one that encouraged the development of pilgrimage and the building of new churches. Architectural historians would do well to study the implications of this thought-provoking study.

Other chapters are somewhat removed from millennial concerns. There is an excellent analysis by Kristina Krüger of the Burgundian *westwerk*, though the author prefers the more neutral term *avant-nef*. This is a lucid and measured essay in which the architectural layout is related to liturgical practices at Cluny, in particular to the commemoration of the dead. The word "galilee," Krüger explains, was used to describe this part of the church, the term being derived from Christ's warning to his disciples that he would re-appear to them in Galilee, just as the monks would be united with Christ at the time of death. Less convincing, perhaps, is the sharpness of her distinction between the Burgundian *avant-nef* and the Carolingian *westwerk*: while functions may have differed, the formal relationships are hard to ignore. Burgundy is the focus of a second essay, this time devoted to the archaeology of Autun, where recent excavations around the former cathedral brought to light the ancient cloister. Erected in the ninth century with timber framed galleries around a square garth, the cloister was twice rebuilt in subsequent centuries.

One of the merits of the volume as a whole is its geographical range, providing a snapshot of recent thinking on architectural matters in Germany, Italy, France, and Spain. The essay on Ottonian building by Richard Plant is especially useful in this regard, highlighting recent discoveries that might not otherwise be familiar to an English-speaking audience.

The Nave Sculptures of Vézelay: The Art of Monastic Viewing. By Kirk Ambrose. [Studies and Texts, 154.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. 2006. Pp. xiv, 148; Plates 26, Figures 110 capitals. \$95.00.)

This study, the author's dissertation, of the nave capitals in the Benedictine church of Vézelay, argues against the thesis that churches of ample dimensions were built mainly for the pilgrimage trade and not for the monks' own devotions. Ambrose argues that Vézelay's nave was constructed as a setting for the regular orthopraxis of the *opus Dei*.

Ambrose focuses on a few themes, such as decapitation and hair-pulling (his attention to the theme of hair—tonsured among the holy, wildly flying among the demons—is particularly lively), the saints' lives featured in the narrative capitals, and the use of gesture and gesticulation. This latter he identifies as peculiarly twelfth century, and analyzes in terms of speech-act, performance, and theatricality. He notes that forty percent of the nave capitals "feature speech." These represent "carved gestures with communal meaning [which] encourage the viewer to engage in a process of contemplation. . . . The images mimetically reproduced performances within the cloister." "[T]he repetition of a variety of speeches throughout the sculpture of the nave encourages the viewer in a process of comparison and contrast that delimits proper speech" (pp. 33-34). Trying to apply such a fundamentally literary analysis to visual material is a challenge that Ambrose is not quite up to. Much of what he terms "theatricality" and "speech act" is better accounted for using the terms of rhetoric, dialectic, and grammar which lay at the heart of monastic compositional analysis, of buildings and music as well as words.

He is more persuasive in a chapter on the little-studied foliate capitals of the nave, to which he applies an Oleg Grabar-inspired analysis of their role as "the syntactic structures that govern the production of meanings.... The significance of a given ornamental motif resides not within an object, but is performed largely by its audience" (p. 65). In Ambrose's analysis, the viewer's "performance" consists mainly in someone noticing for himself repetitions and variations on themes (such as hair-pulling). He gives short shrift to any notion of pre-planned program in the disposition of the capitals, observing that the masons constructing the nave did so seriatim, placing on the columns whatever pre-formed capitals were at hand rather than carving them *in situ*. "This representational strategy, which encourages constant metamorphoses in meanings, is particularly suited for the life-long ruminations of a monk" (p. 85). Well maybe. But the formal strategies described, of repetition, amplification, and variety, are not representational but rhetorical. The meaningfulness they convey is not wholly dependent on an individual's mental activities or "performances." The forms incorporate disposition and ductus, those signals and strategies within a rhetorically conceived work which conduct a viewer (or listener) through itself.

This is a thought-provoking book by a gifted young scholar. It deserved better treatment from PIMS press. The reproductions vary greatly in quality, some so muddy that the detail is lost. There are absurd copy-editing errors, many from evident failures to integrate prior corrections. A helpful iconographic catalogue, with bibliography, of the nave capitals is marred by a running head in which “catalogue” is misspelled on the odd-numbered pages. On page 69 we read of “waddle and daub” technique (though the phrase appears correctly on page ix). Earlier on this page a dog is said to “bray” to warn its master—howl perhaps, bark for sure—but bray? And in my copy one bifolium had escaped the binder; fortunately it was still with the book.

New York University

MARY CARRUTHERS

The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp: Fécamp, Musée de la [Palais] Bénédicte, Ms 186. Edited by David Chadd. [Henry Bradshaw Society, Vols. 111-112.] (Rochester, New York: Published for the Henry Bradshaw Society by the Boydell Press. 1999, 2002. Pp. xii, 378.; viii, 379-885. \$65.00 each.)

These beautifully produced volumes contain Professor David Chadd's (Department of Music, University of East Anglia) edition of the liturgical directory of the great Norman monastery of La Trinité of Fécamp, now MS 186 in the museum of the Palais Bénédicte in Fécamp (home of the collections of Alexandre le Grand, who founded the firm that produces the liqueur *Bénédictine* in 1863). A number of features indicate that this manuscript was copied in the later years of the abbacy of Raoul d'Argences (d. 1219), and the editor suggests that the completion of the rebuilding of the abbey church by Abbot Raoul was the likely occasion for the redaction and careful execution of this ordinal suited to the new church building.

The core of an ordinal, according to Chadd, is “essentially a collection of rubrics and accompanying incipits, which acts as an explanatory directory to the texts (prayers, chants, lessons, and so on) contained in the various service books of a particular church,” and its basic function was to provide “the codification of current practice where that was found to be satisfactory; and the incorporation into a main text of elements which had been introduced as additions or modifications to a previous edition.” But in his discussion of “The Fécamp Ordinal as a Liturgical Book” (pp. 5-11) he observes that the conventional distinction between ordinal, which tells what is to be done, and customary, which tells who is to do it, is routinely blurred in ordinals from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and that in the case of ordinals produced to regulate local practice (rather than to propagate it to another locale or community), the particular mélange of contents will suggest a function and even the figure to whom that function was entrusted in a particular community. This is the basis of Chadd's hypothesis that this manuscript was a compendium of the duties of the cantor in the monastic community of Fécamp.

The monks who created this manuscript were conscious that their work represented only one stage and one version of the liturgical observances of their community, for they were guided by a “libellus quem usus uocant” and what they call *antiqua consuetudo* and *prisca consuetudo* (see p. 3 n. 10), but also provided for the adaptability of their work to generations to come. Chadd sees this in the peculiarity in the page-design of this ordinal of having the line-rulings of the written space extended into the margins as if to accommodate glosses, and the insertion into the margins of supplementary and explanatory notes by contemporary hands and corrections and revisions by hands from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries attest to the serviceability of this manuscript over more than 400 years.

The conspectus of the liturgy of Fécamp which the edition of the ordinal provides is supplemented by an apparatus which contains variants, corrections, and supplements drawn from seven additional liturgical manuscripts from Fécamp (twelfth through fifteenth centuries) and by seventeen appendices drawn from the same sources. The utility of this edition is enhanced by a thorough *Repertorium liturgicum* (incipits of liturgical texts, pp. 791-875) and an *Index nominum, verborum et rerum* (pp. 876-885), the latter particularly welcome because of the number of *termini technici* of monastic liturgical life which it contains. The toil of the monastic community that produced MS 186 has found a modern complement in the work of Professor Chadd and the Henry Bradshaw Society.

University of Notre Dame

DANIEL J. SHEERIN

Aelred of Rievaulx: On Love and Order in the World and the Church. By John R. Sommerfeldt. [The Newman Press Significant Scholarly Studies.] (Mahwah, New Jersey: The Newman Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 232. \$24.95 paperback.)

John R. Sommerfeldt's new book on the thought of Aelred, the great twelfth-century abbot of Rievaulx, complements his 2004 book, *Aelred of Rievaulx: Pursuing Perfect Happiness*. That book's theme, Aelred's confidence in God's infinite love, also underlies this one. But whereas the earlier book focuses on the experience of the individual called to happiness by God, this one explores Aelred's treatment of the four orders of Christian life—cenobites, solitaries, priests, and lay people.

The book begins with three chapters on Aelred's cosmology and anthropology, his conviction that God created and ordered the world in love, that after the world became disordered through sin God reordered it by grace, and that humankind can recover the divinely ordained happiness through humility, love, and *affectus* (attachment, or friendship). These chapters establish the theoretical lens for all that follows while also clarifying the book's title, which concerns order understood theologically as the opposite of chaos—the chaos

that preceded creation as well as that which resulted from the Fall and still rages through the world today.

After a chapter on the community of the saints, the order of all Christians, Sommerfeldt devotes six chapters to the four discrete orders. Numerous passages from Aelred's sermons and treatises demonstrate that men and women have many ways of responding to and living in God's love. Significantly, Sommerfeldt begins these chapters with two on monasticism and ends with two on "the order of lay folk," emphasizing Aelred's judgment that monasticism is only one authentic way of coming to God and that secular life is also a vocation, complementary and equal to that of the monk.

Finally Sommerfeldt turns from Aelred's treatment of the individual orders to consider the relationship among them, examining internal hierarchies and the roles of action and contemplation, conventionally allegorized in the persons of Mary and Martha. An appendix on Aelred's treatment of Jews and heretics concludes with the inference that Aelred foresees the eventual gathering together of Christians, Jews, and heretics in the great banquet of God's love.

Throughout the book Sommerfeldt uses Aelred's own words to show that Aelred views all Christians, whether male or female, religious or lay, as equally part of the Church and God's kingdom. The extensive quotations reveal the elegance of Aelred's prose and the incisiveness of his thought.

Sommerfeldt's consistent enunciation and demonstration of Aelred's teaching on the way God's love guides and preserves all creatures will be particularly valuable to readers unfamiliar with Aelred or with twelfth-century Cistercian theological optimism. Consciousness of the needs of new readers probably also explains the interpretive glosses within many quotations. These phrases thoughtfully anticipate readers' difficulties by expanding or clarifying individual phrases or ideas, although they sometimes blunt Aelred's metaphorical phrasing or over-determine his meaning. Two such phrases appear in a sentence allegorizing the Church as a cow with a calf: "It will not give milk unless its own [calf] is there [at the udder]" (p. 165). Such insertions may deprive the reader of the opportunity to read exactly what Aelred wrote (although in translation) and wrongly imply that he writes clumsily. They also subvert Sommerfeldt's excellence as a translator, diluting the crisp clarity that otherwise characterizes his prose.

The book is in fact consistently clear, well written, and full of wonderful passages from seldom-read works; it is rich in its analysis and articulation of Aelred's theology. With the exception of Sommerfeldt's previous book, only two others—both in French—offer real theological insight into Aelred's thought; this volume beautifully conveys Aelred's teaching, simplicity and clarity of explanation, and wide-ranging textual exemplification. It also has a fine bibliography of primary and secondary sources and a useful index and thor-

ough notes. These tools, along with the book's extensive quotations, offer a treasure house of materials, giving an Aelredian overview otherwise available only to those who read Aelred's thirteen treatises and five volumes of sermons—as Sommerfeldt himself has clearly done. Anyone interested in Aelred or twelfth-century views of human experience should celebrate the publication of this book and keep it close at hand.

Ohio University
Athens, Ohio

MARSHA L. DUTTON

Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220. By Elizabeth Freeman. [Medieval Church Studies, 2.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2002. Pp. x, 245.)

The twelfth and the thirteenth centuries witnessed a blossoming of historical writings in England from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum anglorum* to local historians of a monastery such as Jocelin of Brakelonde's *Chronicle of the Abbey of Saint Edmund's*. Elizabeth Freeman's book offers new readings of the somewhat less studied historical narratives written by English Cistercian monks between 1150 and 1220. Informed by recent historiographical studies, the author brings tools typical of literary criticism to shed light on the meaning, goals, and audience of the texts in question.

Freeman divides her book in four parts with a total of six chapters, and each part focuses on a specific historical narrative or type of narrative: Aelred of Rievaulx's *Relatio de Standardo* and *Genealogia regum Anglorum* (Part 1), the recording of history in English Cistercian monasteries of the twelfth century (Part 2), two works written at least in part by Hugh of Kirkstall (the *Fundacio abbatie de Kyrkestall*, and the *Narratio de fundatione Fontanis monasterii*) (Part 3), and finally on Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum* (Part 4). The four parts are tied together by a theoretical introduction, where Freeman introduces the themes and goals of her inquiry, even though the different parts had been originally conceived as relatively independent entities (p. 15).

Freeman's emphasis on aspects such as audience reception and manuscript dissemination allows her to take a fresh look at some familiar texts. If, for example, Aelred's *Relatio de Standardo* seems little more than a traditional description of a single medieval battle, a close reading of the text shows his interest in creating a national identity and the role of the monastic foundations in it. Aelred's success in this goal is paradoxically witnessed by the limited dissemination of the work, read and copied only in the monasteries of northern England. In chapter 2 (Part 1), Freeman enters into a dialogue with Benedict Anderson's ideas on nationalism and community, but also concentrates on the intended audience for the *Genealogia regum Anglorum*, showing it to be a manual for a king who in himself would represent a strongly male-gendered nation.

After a clear and useful survey of historical writings in medieval England in Part 2, the author investigates in Part 3 the goals of Hugh of Kirkestall's histories from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and especially the presence of the description of the negative and difficult moments of the early story of the monasteries. Freeman convincingly explains the writing of these histories in terms of the creation of the tradition of the Cistercian order. In this context, the pitfalls of the early history of the monastery simply help to confirm the trend toward a resolution of internal conflicts. Also of particular interest is the discussion in chapter 5 (Part 3) of the use of short narrative texts, or *exempla*, in Hugh's *Narracio*. Cistercian *exempla* are a different brand from the later, thirteenth-century *exempla* used by friars in their preaching, and Freeman argues persuasively that Hugh's use of those short narratives in his *Narracio* was meant "to speak to individual monks" (p. 165).

The final chapter (Part 4), with the captivating title of "Meanings in the Borders," is devoted to Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*, and in particular to the way Ralph created his work, what she calls how "the *process* of narrativization occurs," and not on the work as a finished, polished piece of work (p. 177). In particular, Freeman concentrates on the insertion of fictional and wonder tales into the historical narrative, stressing how, if they do not conform to our modern view of how history should be written, they place Ralph squarely in the tradition of medieval Cistercian writing. The wonder and miracle stories would complement the historical narrative with useful moral teachings, but also show the conviction that "a history would never gain readers if it was not interesting to read at its most basic level—the literal" (p. 207).

Freeman's book is not only a clear and penetrating analysis of the role of historical writing in the creation of the identity of the idea of the nation and of the ideals of community inside the Cistercian order, but it is also full of stimulating analysis and will be read fruitfully by all interested in historiography, church history, and narratology.

Middlebury College

STEFANO MULA

The Franciscans in the Middle Ages. By Michael Robson. [Monastic Orders.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 239. \$47.95.)

Author of a favorably reviewed book on Saint Francis, Michael Robson here attacks the larger subject of the Franciscans in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. He brings to the task an impressive command of the primary and secondary sources. The book is brimming with data, all of it relevant to the story of how the order developed as well as how it affected and was affected by medieval society as a whole. Robson traces his topic over a long period and throughout western Europe as well as in the east. (The second and third orders play a relatively minor role in his story, however.)

If Robson is generous with data, he is less so with analysis. For example, he devotes a chapter to Bonaventure and in the process summarizes a number of his works. He includes a three-page summary of the *Legenda maior* but makes no serious attempt to describe how it resembles or differs from earlier writings on the saint and what those differences suggest. Robson comments that “historians now shy away from the concept that he was the second founder of the order” but does not explain why they ever thought of Bonaventure as such or why that view is now questioned.

Again, Robson gives a five-page summary of Angelo Claren’s chronicle, which he describes as providing “a solid foundation for the historical development of the reform movement among the friars.” He qualifies this judgment by citing some of its more obvious errors, but the question of Angelo’s reliability goes much deeper than that. Indeed, it is arguable that throughout the chronicle, Angelo is artfully bending the facts to turn Franciscan history into a rather simplistic morality play.

Again, Robson devotes substantial attention to the Observants, and that is all to the good; but how, precisely, did their goals compare with those pursued by earlier reformers like Angelo Claren, Ubertino da Casale, and Olivi? The point here is that Franciscan history is not simply the story of lax elements in the order diverging from a generally static view of what Franciscan life entailed, while reformers sought to bring the order back into conformity with that view. On the contrary, even the greatest of reformers—indeed, even contemporaries like Angelo, Ubertino, and Olivi—differed in their sense of what Franciscans should be doing. Reform was their goal, but they meant different things by it, and the same could be said of the Observants. Franciscan history was characterized by a continuing debate as to what fidelity to the Franciscan ideal really involved, a debate influenced not only by individual participants’ reading of Francis’ original intention but also by their sense of how that intention should be weighed against changing circumstances. The debate was not only among those we normally label “reformers,” like the spirituals and later the Observants. Others whom we too easily categorize as “the community” or “the conventuals” also had varying positions to defend, and they too need to be heard.

Asking Robson to address these matters in addition to doing what he does so well is probably asking more than one should expect of any human being, but I would certainly like to know what he has to say.

Virginia Tech (Emeritus)

DAVID BURR

The Privilege of Poverty: Clare of Assisi, Agnes of Prague, and the Struggle for a Franciscan Rule for Women. By Joan Mueller. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2006. Pp. x, 182. \$40.00.)

With Clare of Assisi, it is practically obligatory to identify her as the first woman to write a monastic rule for other women. This achievement, the

culmination of a decades-long battle with the papal curia to secure the right for a female monastic community to live without endowments, is Joan Mueller's subject. As a Franciscan herself, Mueller writes sensitively about what it meant for these women to choose radical poverty following the model of the Poor Christ. For historians, her main contribution is that of bringing Clare together with the Bohemian princess, Agnes of Prague, to show how some women could negotiate effectively with the papacy to define how their institutions developed.

When Francis of Assisi died in 1226, Clare realized that her community at San Damiano needed ecclesiastical recognition of their commitment to radical poverty. However, papal efforts to monasticize San Damiano and like-minded communities with endowments provoked a crisis. Mueller characterizes Pope Gregory IX as moving from sympathetic regard for the sisters' evangelical vocation, to an adversarial role in which the commitment to radical poverty became "mere rhetoric" (p. 36) and "pious flourishes" (p. 48). Apparent victories, such as the *Privilege of Poverty* granted to San Damiano in 1228 (and a few other houses at later times), were rather temporary compromises offered in the hope that the women eventually would accept possessions. By 1230, Clare and the pope were at "loggerheads," and Mueller asserts rather dramatically that "her soul, her identity, and the quality of the monastery were at stake" (pp. 51-52).

Enter Agnes of Prague, whom Mueller casts as Clare's collaborator and "soul mate." These chapters, drawing on her earlier studies, represent the book's most original contribution. The women and their allies used diplomacy to achieve their goals, while invoking spiritual authorities for their commitment to evangelical poverty. Agnes also secured exemptions that allowed her community to live without possessions, but the papacy remained determined to secure their welfare. In 1247 Pope Innocent IV issued a new rule designed to unify standards within female Franciscan communities. It required endowments, a situation that was not unwelcome to many houses. This constitution provoked Clare to compose her rule, which Innocent approved on her deathbed in 1253. Mueller identifies its historical significance in recognizing radical poverty as a legitimate, but exceptional, vocational choice for women. Only a few other houses beyond San Damiano requested and were allowed to adopt it. Mueller suggests that the rule, combined with the lived experiences of both Clare and Agnes, further indicates that some Franciscan women saw radical poverty as a spiritual ideal with a social dimension. In response to Kenneth Baxter Wolf's claim that Francis' conversion hurt the medieval poor, she argues that these Franciscan women valued their commitment to being "poor among the poor" (p. 106).

Shortly before her death, Clare wrote a final letter to Agnes of Prague which Mueller reads as a practical guide for Agnes to protect and promote apostolic poverty (pp. 118-121). This idea is intriguing, but also problematic in the broader context of understanding Clare's role in the nascent female Franciscan

Order. Throughout the book, Mueller casts her as a leader of a movement for apostolic poverty. Recent scholarship carefully distinguishes between the pious identification of Clare as an active founder and her more limited influence revealed in thirteenth-century documents. Mueller remains somewhat vague about how she understands Clare's involvement in the broader female penitential movement and whether communities founded in poverty are meant to be connected to her, rather than papal efforts to regularize female religious life. The connection with Agnes of Prague offers an example of Clare's influence; however, there were other contemporary models of female Franciscanism, such as those advocated by Douceline of Digne or Isabelle of France (another worthy diplomat, as Sean Field has shown), which she does not address. By focusing on Clare and Agnes' negotiations with the papacy, Mueller also does not discuss the significant role played by certain friars in developing and promoting the spiritual authority of Clare of Assisi, a topic that is the focus of recent debate among European scholars of the medieval Franciscan Order. Mueller has laid out an important part of the story, but there are other pieces that complicate this story and deserve to become better known to Anglophone readers.

Marquette University

LEZLIE KNOX

Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan Identity in the Thirteenth Century. By Sean L. Field. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 288. \$35.00 paperback.)

Isabelle of France (d. 1270), daughter of Louis VIII and Blanche of Castille, sister of Louis IX, devoted virgin of Christ, founder of the Franciscan female convent of Longchamp, pious, ascetic, and princess, was never formally canonized. This, despite the fact that she fit the ideal of pious royal women in the thirteenth century so often sainted (in a pattern of late medieval sanctification now clarified by Gábor Klaniczay), and despite an early and co-ordinated effort, including the writing of an important vita and the backing of her brother, the indomitable Charles of Anjou. Successful canonizations might founder on a myriad of institutional, political, or devotional rocks, but in this case must largely be attributed to Louis IX's own canonization in 1297, overshadowing his sister's fame and filling whatever appetite existed for a Capetian royal saint. In recent years, Sean L. Field has recovered Isabelle. First, in his edited edition of Agnes of Harcourt's *Life of Isabelle of France*, written in the 1280's (Sean L. Field, *The Writings of Agnes of Harcourt: The Life of Isabelle of France and the Letter on Louis IX and Longchamp* [Notre Dame, Indiana, 2003]), and now in his new biography of Isabelle herself (under review here), Field has explored Isabelle's career. As he indicates in his introduction (pp. 5-8), the life of Isabelle of France relates to three central themes in late medieval history—the power of women, sanctity and sanctification, and the development of female Franciscan spirituality and institutions. It is also a fascinating exploration of an extraordinary woman—from her rejection

of the putative heir to the imperial throne (Conrad, son of Frederick II), to her commitment to lifelong virginity, to her deft negotiations with popes and kings, to her ability to quietly translate her moral authority as a consecrated virgin into political influence, to the veneration shown her after her death. Field argues that in the 1250's Isabelle was seen as a budding saint whose fame and renown was spreading beyond the court, who was recognized as such by contemporaries like Pope Alexander IV and Thomas of Cantimpré, and who was able to translate this reputation into effective power. The dual attributes of virginity and royalty were the defining features of Isabelle's identity for contemporaries.

The book is structured chronologically. The first chapter examines Isabelle's childhood and negotiations for a political marriage. Her refusal to marry, and a subsequent illness, led to a vow of virginity which shaped her vocation and her life. Chapter two chronicles her cultivation of an independent (virginal) identity within the politics of the court, and her attraction, in the 1240's and '50's, to the Franciscan Order. Chapters three and four discuss her foundation of Longchamp, and, in Field's words, the "process by which she parlayed her royal status and religious renown into a role as co-author of a new form of life for Franciscan women" (p. 61). It is notable that Isabelle chose to found a Franciscan convent, rather than the hospital for the poor that she first considered (and in which she would have emulated existing models of female royal sanctity found in Agnes of Prague and Elizabeth of Hungary). Field traces the driving role Isabelle played in the composition of a rule in 1259, and then a revised rule of 1263 in which she won the right to call her nuns *Sorores Minores*. Field argues that although politicized considerations downplayed explicit record of Isabelle's contributions, her hand and her influence are evident, as with, for example, a move to strengthen the abbess's institutional power. The rule was subsequently adopted by Franciscan convents in France, England, and Italy, making Isabelle central to the early history of female Franciscan institutions and ideology. Chapter five, drawing on the evidence of the hagiographical life written by Agnes of Harcourt, deals with the abbey itself, Isabelle's life there, and the way in which she straddled life "between court and cloister." Field puts to bed the question of whether Isabelle ever took the veil (the answer is no). The final chapter discusses contemporary belief in her sanctity, efforts to prepare a canonization dossier for her, and the relationship between the developing cults of Isabelle and her brother, Saint Louis, in these same years. Here, Field also sketches out the later history of the cult, which was eclipsed in the later fourteenth century only to be revived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A short conclusion summarizes his major findings.

The result is an exploration of the development of Franciscan ideology and identity in the middle thirteenth century and a nuanced perspective on the culture and religiosity of the Capetian court. The audience for this book will range from those interested in medieval women, to those who work on saints and sanctity, the Capetians, or Franciscan institutional history and spirituality.

What is extraordinary is that Isabelle has not before received the attention Field shows she so clearly deserves. And we are fortunate that Field, with his careful and discerning eye, has focused his attention on her.

Dartmouth College

M. C. GAPOSCHKIN

Women, Men and Spiritual Power: Female Saints and Their Male Collaborators. By John W. Coakley. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. Pp. xii, 354. \$45.00.)

Ever since medievalists rediscovered holy women a generation ago, the men who chronicled them have occupied a peculiar niche. In the idealizing mirrors of saints' lives, we glimpse not only female ascetics and mystics, but also the clerics whose fascination with them enables our own. As feminist historians in the 1980's and '90's debated the extent of women's agency, two sharply differing images of such hagiographers emerged. Portrayed by some as humble, self-effacing conduits to charismatic women, they were seen by others more as barriers—men bent on delimiting women's access to authority and, by extension, our own access to women's voices. In a series of influential articles from the 1990's, John Coakley struck a welcome balance, weighing the specific desires, anxieties, and goals that governed friars' involvement with religious women and their promotion of saint cults. The present, long-awaited book is the culmination of that project.

Building on the work of Caroline Bynum, Dyan Elliott, and Catherine Mooney, Coakley argues that high-medieval clerics perceived a complementarity between their own priestly, institutional authority and the unofficial but compelling powers of holy women. The female mystic's raptures, revelations, and ascetic feats betokened a direct access to God that priests admired and envied, while at the same time fearing potential delusion and abuse. Thus at the center of every *vita* stands a triangle comprised of Christ, a priest-confessor, and a charismatic woman. Coakley focuses unapologetically on the priest's role, asking how each perceived his relationship with the woman and her own relationship with Christ. His nine case studies begin in the mid-twelfth century with Ekbert of Schönau and his sister Elisabeth, and end in the late fourteenth with John Marienwerder and Dorothy of Montau. All the accounts ring changes on a now-familiar theme of spiritual partnership, sparked by awe yet tinged with caution.

Coakley's great merit is that he has no axe to grind, no grand theory to prove, so he is free to explore the subtleties of each case. As a result, we see not abstractions or caricatures, but the complex interplay of personalities in their concrete worlds. Despite commonalities, all the women and their hagiographers emerge as distinct individuals. At times we can even surmise the shared traits that brought two people together in collaborations lasting sometimes a year or two, sometimes decades. On one end of the spectrum we find

Raymond of Capua and Catherine of Siena, two enormously forceful, confident personalities. Coakley stresses the polemical edge in Raymond's *vita*: knowing that he needed to defend Catherine the political activist against her critics, Raymond deliberately emphasized Catherine the mystic, creating a larger-than-life portrait that would set hagiographic standards for centuries. At the opposite pole, Coakley introduces another Dominican, Peter of Dacia, who longed for a holy woman so desperately that he all but invented one. Left unfulfilled by his scholastic training, Peter's soul caught fire only when he met the beguine Christine of Stommeln. In a series of hagiographic texts, Peter insisted on representing Christine as a bridal mystic, though the experiences she reported herself tell a different story. When we read of the joy Peter felt on seeing Christine pelted with excrement flung by invisible demons, we can sense the intensity, if not the precise nature, of their psychological bond.

As the capstone of a well-established scholarly edifice and a spur to further research, Coakley's elegant study belongs in every medievalist's library.

Northwestern University

BARBARA NEWMAN

The Medieval Court of Arches. Edited by F. Donald Logan. [The Canterbury and York Society, Volume 95.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. xlviii, 240. \$49.95.)

The metropolitan appellate court of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Court of Arches (or the Arches, for short) that met in St. Mary le Bow church in central London, was the most important medieval English ecclesiastical tribunal. Logan's study of the court ranges from its creation sometime in the mid-thirteenth century until the early sixteenth century, when Henrician statutes prohibited legal recourse in ecclesiastical matters from England to the pope.

The volume contains an excellent lengthy introductory essay, wherein Logan not only offers a summary history of the Arches, but also provides an analysis of the court's structure, personnel, administrative routine, and trial procedures. He has collected and carefully edited an impressive range of Latin documents, which he has grouped in three sections after his introduction: archiepiscopal statutes concerning the Arches, the customs of the court, and procedural treatises designed for practitioners in this tribunal. Two further sections follow the edited texts. One lists the names, ordered chronologically and by office, of several hundred court personnel (*officiales Cantuariensis*, deans of the Arches, examiners general, registrars, scribes of the acts, apparitors, proctors, and advocates). The other briefly describes the court's calendar of sessions.

While the existence of the Court of Arches dates at least from 1251, Logan suggests that disputes concerning appeals could have spurred Archbishop Boniface of Savoy after his 1245 consecration to establish a provincial appel-

late tribunal fixed at St. Mary le Bow. By the end of the century the Court of Arches had presiding officers (the archbishop's *officialis* and the latter's commissary-general, the dean of the Arches) as well as a professional—and probably already closed—group of sworn practitioners, namely, the advocates and proctors who functioned roughly in the same manner as modern barristers and solicitors. Several archbishops had already issued statutes; the customs of the court had been redacted in written form, and several procedural treatises had been composed.

During this early period the Arches heard three kinds of cases: appeals from diocesan courts, direct complaints, and so-called tuitorial appeals, whereby a litigant appealed the main issue in dispute directly to the pope, while requesting protection (or tuition) from the archbishop in the interim. The second and third kinds of cases periodically caused friction between the archbishop and his suffragans. In the early 1280's the latter charged that direct complaints to the Arches bypassed their own diocesan courts, and that the appellate court's summary procedure of granting tuition permitted frivolous appeals. Arbitration settled this conflict in 1282; apart from intermittent disputes, Canterbury archbishops and suffragans managed to co-operate in the smooth functioning of the court.

Direct appeals to the Arches could be made from a diocesan court's sentence, and by a grievance or expected grievance regarding the lower court's proceedings. Direct appeals could also result from a complaint regarding an actual or expected administrative act. Tuitorial appeals were possible at any time, and procedure for such was summary and could be completed within several days. During these proceedings the parties could even agree to have the main issue determined definitively in the Arches, in effect bypassing the bishop's court. In direct appeals the procedure was more complex and protracted.

The first section of Logan's edited texts contains archiepiscopal statutes concerning the court, most of which can be found in the official court copy, the Black Book of the Arches. Logan presents not only Winchelsey's (1295) and Stratford's (1342) general sets, but also ten other individual statutes from 1273 to 1423 dealing with single subjects. The general sets and individual statutes legislated all manner of procedural detail, regulation of personnel, and court authority. Five other statutes edited by Logan are not found in the Black Book, but elsewhere; they range from 1280 to 1528, and also concern individual subjects. In the second section of texts Logan presents the *Consuetudines curie de arcubus*, the written customs of the court that complement the statutes and were of equal juridical value to them. Here court procedure provides the main focus. The longer and earlier version was composed early 1280's x 1295, while the shorter and later version was written 1342 x 1371.

Five procedural treatises make up the final section of texts. The existence of these tracts indicates that some form of legal instruction at the Arches probably occurred as early as the 1290's. Logan avers that this material provides

perhaps the richest body of procedural literature of any medieval provincial court of Western Europe. One tract (*Modus procedendi in tuitoriis negociis*) offers a guide to correct forms of action, while a second (*Iste est modus prosequendi causas in curia Cantuariensi*) provides for lawyers a practical guide on how to proceed in the Arches. A third treatise (*Hic calumpniatur processus curie Cantuariensis*) concerns calumnies in the narrow sense, i.e., unjust, unfair, inappropriate court practices. The fourth and fifth works are academic handbooks for advocates. While *Quia cause ad curiam Cantuariensem* is straightforward, the *Tractatus super appellacionibus tam directis quam tuitoriis secundum consuetudinem curie Cantuariensis* presents the longest and most developed procedural treatise on the court. Composed in stages by several authors, this last-named treatise evidences no principle of organization after a short initial summary section.

This volume is now the indispensable starting point for all future discussion, research, and translation of texts regarding the Court of Arches.

Lander University

ROBERT C. FIGUEIRA

Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages. By Amnon Linder. [Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Volume 2.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2003. Pp. xx, 423. \$113.00, €90.00.)

In the renaissance that is now crusade studies, scholars have increasingly turned their attention to the wider implications and expressions of the movement. Once relegated to the periphery of medieval history, new studies have demonstrated that the crusades existed at its very core, animating events and dynamics across Europe. Modern studies no longer view the crusades as mere military campaigns, but as intensely religious activities incomprehensible outside of religious history. The crusades were the barometer of Europe's soul. For medieval Christians, success in the crusades meant spiritual health and the favor of God. Defeat, which was the norm, was clear evidence of a sickness in Christendom and general divine disfavor. That is why "home front" crusade activities, such as prayers, processions, and fasts were seen as integral to success as the mustering of troops and the fighting of wars.

It is all the more surprising then, that virtually no scholarly attention has been paid to the ways in which medieval Christians sought to win victories abroad through prayers at home. In that respect, this book is the first spade full of dirt in what promises to be a large and fascinating excavation. It is the first study to gather together and examine crusade-related prayers within medieval liturgy. Specifically, Linder looks at five kinds of liturgical prayers: the Holy Land Clamor, a genre of prayer that appears after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 that was usually injected into the Mass or the Office; the Holy Land Mass, identified by distinctive prayers in the Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion; the

dedicated war Mass, which weaves together the triple prayers along with additional supplications and appropriate Scriptural readings; the Gregorian Trental, a series of Masses—usually thirty as the name suggests—for the deliverance of Christians or Christian lands held in bondage or (as was much more often the case) the deliverance of souls from Purgatory; and the Holy Land bidding prayers, which were vernacular petitions read at Mass.

Perhaps it is due to the ground-breaking nature of this book, but the organization is unlike anything I have encountered before. Historical narrative is woven together with meticulous textual analysis, detailed charts, and extensive manuscript catalogs. It is almost a reference work, not so much to be read as to be mined. Nevertheless, in so doing the reader would miss some of Linder's important insights which are sandwiched between ponderous discussions of textual evolution. For example, when one reads of the entire population of Rome taking part in a religious procession as a symbolic crusade in 1212 (p. 10) one cannot help but be struck at the awareness and anxiety at all levels of Christian society with regard to the success of the crusades. A review this brief cannot begin to describe the sophisticated level of textual and source analysis which Linder undertakes.

My only criticism of this remarkable work of scholarship regards the larger implications that Linder seeks to draw. At the outset he contends that the liturgy and rites were "effective channels of information and propaganda for the knowledge they imparted was perceived by the faithful as authoritative. . . . Rites, furthermore, addressed the entire community as well as each individual. . ." (p. xv). At the book's conclusion he returns to this theme, noting that "one faces the question of effectiveness: how successful was this liturgy in implanting its values and aims on late medieval society?" (p. 364). While it is certainly true that bidding prayers, which claim the smallest portion of this study, were a means of communicating to the faithful, could Mass or Office prayers often said quietly or silently and always in Latin have really acted as a means of "information and propaganda"? Linder thinks so, arguing that most people would get the "gist" of these prayers. Yet he ultimately closes the question (and the book) by declaring it "beyond the scope of the present study" (pp. 365-366). Surely, though, the people who crafted these rites and those who performed them would have measured their effectiveness not in modern terms of communicating to people, but in medieval terms of communicating with God. Like carved sculptures on the roof of a medieval church, the audience of these liturgies was Heaven, not Earth. If the prayers were answered with victory, then the liturgy, like the faraway crusade, was effective.

Theology, Rhetoric, Manuduction, or Reading Scripture Together on the Path to God. By Peter M. Candler, Jr. [Radical Traditions: Theology in a Postcritical Key.] (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2006. Pp. xii, 190. \$26.00 paperback.)

Do not be put off by the unfortunate title of this thought-provoking book. Candler's aim is to reorient theology by recovering the medieval practice of reading. Unlike post-Reformation, post-print, post-Cartesian reading, understood as a transfer of data from the page to the reader, medieval reading leads the reader by the hand (hence, "*manuductio*") along an itinerary toward the wisdom that is the Son of God (p. 48), a journey that repeats the *exitus / reditus* pattern of Scripture. This practice of reading is learned in liturgy, where the Book of Scripture is carried in procession into the congregation, so that the people draw near to it. Likewise, the readings pass from Old Testament to Psalm to Epistle to New Testament, drawing toward the center and aim, Jesus. Theology nurtured on such reading does not aim to produce systematic, complete, closed, encyclopedic structures of propositions but rather participates in the ongoing community of interpretation that is the church (p. 125). Past masters are engaged in a continuing conversation that leads along an itinerary to knowledge of God that is not cognitive, but moral, an apprenticeship in divine love (p. 124).

Candler terms this practice of reading a "grammar of participation" (in contrast to a modern "grammar of representation"), and he analyzes its operation chiefly in Augustine's *Confessions*, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*. Augustine reorients rhetoric from persuasion to conversion, centering reading and preaching Scripture on memory (not recollection of the past but remembrance, keeping in mind, as when we speak of "remembering where you came from"). Memorial reading leads to the right relation to God, *caritas*, joining the individual to the Church's peregrination through the world back to God.

The *Glossa*, he argues, is misread if seen as bringing the biblical text into relation with the text of commentary. Rather, Scripture echoes in memory as heard in liturgy. In the pages of the *Glossa*, the voice of Scripture gathers voices that respond to it, forming an icon of the indivisibility of Scripture and tradition while keeping them distinct (p. 82). Tradition here is no deposit of knowledge but an activity, the ongoing interpretive conversation that is the life of the Church. By contrast, the Reformation principle of *sola scriptura* silenced this conversation, clearing Scripture's margins of exegetical accretions and loosing the text directly on the reader (p. 75), isolated from the body of the Church.

Thomas' *Summa* resituates moral teaching within a theological itinerary of the soul's return to God (p. 91). *Sacra doctrina* aims not at irrefutable arguments but at a contemplative way of life (p. 135). The reduction of the *Summa* to an encyclopedic tabula of propositions distorts its real nature as a dialecti-

cal narrative that brings together the continuing community of interpretive voices so as to manifest truth more clearly (p. 106). Candler rejects Derrida's claim that "the book" is totalizing (applied by Jesse Gellrich to the medieval book). Such a view of the book is a product of printing and the Reformation. The Council of Trent unfortunately modeled tradition on this reification of the book, turning it into a "container" of truth, a second book "alongside" the Gospel, itself a thing to be interpreted instead of being the continuing practice of interpretation.

Candler writes eloquent pages describing liturgy as "a peripatetic passage through the great halls and storehouses of the church's memory, along whose way are placed the *imagines* which recall the story of the church as the tale of God's love for his people" (pp. 155-156). The supporting evidence is strained or speculative, but the general idea seems persuasive.

Candler's book is a dissertation revised for publication; it is an acorn that falls not far from the tree of radical orthodoxy and appears appropriately in the series *Radical Traditions* edited by Stanley Hauerwas and Peter Ochs. The contrast of a medieval "grammar of participation" and a Reformation and modern "grammar of representation" has about as much truth as usual in such broad generalizations. The invention of printing with related changes in reading practice is too narrow as the ground of so massive a cultural shift. While Candler's main aim is a polemical theological intervention, the book is nevertheless rich in suggestive insights and analyses that historically-minded readers may find fruitfully thought-provoking.

Pepperdine University

DONALD G. MARSHALL

Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000-1200. Edited by Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein. [Studies in the Early Middle Ages, Vol. 8.] (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 2006. Pp. xxii, 362. €60.00.)

The editors of this volume, urging that monastic schools remained important between 1000 and 1200 despite historians' focus on cathedral schools and nascent universities, assert that its contents collectively correct that imbalance. Given the essayists' limited attention to monastic libraries, biblical exegesis, chronicles, and music theory and praxis; their omission of monastic theology, art patronage, and female education; and the fact that they treat thinkers and schools not affiliated with monasticism almost as much as those that were, the collection itself is unbalanced. Readers are thus advised to ignore the editors' introductory claims and simply to welcome the book's contributions to medieval intellectual history, some quite original.

Contributors vary on whether "education" means schooling *stricto sensu*, the generic objectives of writers of didactic or prescriptive literature, or affective commitment to shared cultural values. The latter notion informs Mia

Münster-Swenson's essay on bonds between teachers and students ca. 970-1200, some familiar and others less so, unique here in citing German materials. Elsewhere in this book, "northern Europe" means England and France north of the Loire. The editors each reprise their own earlier publications, Vaughan discussing Lanfranc and Anselm as teachers and Rubenstein Guibert of Nogent on the Anglo-Normans. Michael E. Moore and Jason K. Glenn treat authors, especially historians, from the school of Reims, between ca. 800 and 950 and the tenth century, respectively, accenting their site-specific interests. Priscilla D. Watkins' essay on Lanfranc as a teacher at Saint-Etienne, Caen, actually documents his administration as its first abbot. Bruce C. Brasington, observing that we know nothing for sure on where Ivo of Chartres gained his legal education, then pinpoints Ivo's key traits as a canonist. The freshest contributions are those of William C. North on Richard of Préaux as a biblical exegete (with seven appendices printing prefaces to Richard's works), John S. Ott on hagiographers' portrayal of bishops in twelfth-century Soissons, and John L. Snyder on Theinrad of Dover's music theory. These three papers draw substantially and creatively on unpublished manuscripts. And, working with well-known texts, John D. Cotts offers a revisionistic and convincing rereading of Peter of Celle's educational advice to John of Salisbury.

The editors include some thirty illustrations of art objects or texts connected more or less to the essays. Oddly, rather than using current photographs, they reprint nineteenth-century drawings of most of them. Also included is a map of dubious value since it does not locate most of the centers associated with the figures and institutions which this volume treats.

Yale University

MARCIA L. COLISH

Peter Lombard. By Philipp W. Rosemann. [Great Medieval Thinkers.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 272. Paperback.)

With this volume, Philipp Rosemann has produced a very readable introduction to Peter Lombard, master of theology and then Bishop of Paris (d. 1160), and his *Four Books of Sentences*, a work that became the central textbook of Christian theology for several centuries. He argues perceptively and persuasively that the genius of the Lombard's work lay in its method, its organization, its completeness, and in its humility in addressing the mysteries of the faith.

Rosemann opens with a brief overview of the development of Christian thought, starting from the story presented in Scripture to the canonical and philosophical elaborations of it at the beginning of the twelfth century. He then turns to the Lombard himself, providing a comprehensive account of Peter's biography, together with a description of his works apart from the *Sentences*, notably his glosses on the Psalms and the Letters of St. Paul.

As Rosemann approaches the main focus of his book, he addresses briefly the date of the composition of the *Sentences* (1154/1158), the Lombard's

sources (largely Augustine in all his works), the structure of the work (a more “rationalized” order than that of Hugh of St. Victor’s *De Sacramentis*, and a more biblically “narrative” order than that found in the works of Peter Abelard), and the method of reconciling authorities that so predominates medieval (as well as modern, one might add) academic theology. With this prolegomenon, he plunges into a consideration of the contents of the *Sentences*. Book 1 treats of God, the Trinity of persons and the unity of essence. Book 2 addresses Creation: angels, the “six days,” the creation of man and woman, the Fall, and Sin both original and actual. Book 3 is given over to a consideration of the Incarnation: how the Son of God could “be made flesh,” the union of the divine and human natures in Christ, and Christ’s saving work, including the virtues of his human nature. Book 4 discusses the Sacraments (the seven that became fixed: Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Unction, Ordination, and Marriage) and Last Things, namely, the Resurrection and Last Judgment. Rosemann gives lucid descriptions of Peter’s text, making it come alive through the glimpses we get of his classroom teaching from his students, exposing the dynamism of the debate that did not always produce an unambiguous resolution, and highlighting the Lombard’s essentially conservative approach, with respect both to doctrine and to contemporary innovations in philosophical methods.

As he proceeds through the *Sentences*, Rosemann touches on a few controversial issues: in Book 1, the Lombard’s conclusion that “the human love of God and neighbor is nothing other than the unmediated presence of the Holy Spirit in the human soul” (p. 87)—a position that could claim strong, conservative, Augustinian support—was already being debated as theological anthropology came to be informed by a more positive assessment of human capacities, and was eventually rejected by later scholastic tradition. As he recounts the Lombard’s Christology in Book 3, he discusses the charge of Christological Nihilianism, that Christ *qua* human person was not a something (*aliquid*)—a charge leveled against Peter after his death (though, as Rosemann notes, it is not clear that Peter held a firm opinion on the matter).

Peter’s discussion of penance in Book 4, a controversial topic in his own day, leads to further controversy in Rosemann’s treatment: was a sinner’s contrition sufficient for the sacrament and were confession and satisfaction unnecessary? Rosemann says “no” against Marcia Colish’s “yes” (pp. 163-165). As a matter of fact, throughout his discussion of the *Sentences*, Rosemann carries on a running dialogue with Colish (*Peter Lombard*, 1994), generally approving of her work, but sometimes rather critical, as here. The criticism is largely prompted by what he calls her “overinterpreting,” that is, her tendency to read the Lombard through the lens of Aristotelian thought. In his discussion of Book 1, he critiques her analysis of the Lombard’s “ways” to God as proofs derived from a framework of Aristotelian causality (p. 75), and takes her to task for trying to square Peter’s words about the Holy Spirit’s unmediated presence in the human soul with an Aristotelian view of created human virtues (p. 88).

But his dispute with her over the Lombard's position on penance reverses the poles: he wants to claim for Peter a position that gives equal weight to priestly sacramentality, a consensus view which was only satisfactorily elaborated with the help of Aristotelian notions of causality in the thirteenth century.

Nonetheless, Rosemann strives in his presentation to keep as close as possible to the language of the Lombard—an important achievement when dealing with an author who himself went to great pains to be precise in his terminology—without overanalyzing the Lombard's motives or speculating about the impact of his teaching on the broader ecclesiastical dynamics of the twelfth century. In all, Rosemann's *Peter Lombard* is a book that will reward the reader not only with a lively, entertaining and informative read, but also a good basic grasp of the content and character of the *chef d'œuvre* of one of the leading thinkers of the medieval Church.

San Francisco

MARK ZIER

The Dominicans and the Pope: Papal Teaching Authority in the Medieval and Early Modern Thomist Tradition. By Ulrich Horst, O.P. Translated by James D. Mixson. [The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies, 2002.] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 132. \$28.00 paperback.)

For many years Ulrich Horst has published enlightening studies of historical ecclesiology. We are fortunate that he delivered the 2002 Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies at the University of Notre Dame and that they have been published in English. Like all public lectures, these are brief, depending on cross references and annotations to address related topics and add depth. In this case, Professor Horst has focused on Dominican viewpoints on papal teaching authority. Related topics like the struggle over papal privileges permitting friars to hear confessions must be pursued elsewhere. One topic necessarily covered, however, is the place of the Franciscans in late medieval controversies about papal power. The first lecture focuses on Thomas Aquinas; the second, on medieval Thomists from Herveus Natalis to Cajetan; the third, on the School of Salamanca.

The discussion of Thomas Aquinas is the more interesting for highlighting less-studied works. Thomas began writing on papal power when combatting the secular masters of Paris who resisted the coming of the friars. His teachings are compared with those of Bonaventure, including attitudes toward the founders of their orders. Thomas made little of Dominic, while Bonaventure made Francis of Assisi into an *alter Christus* whose example of absolute poverty was crucial to the Church. Thomas is shown as having several ideas about papal power in doctrinal matters. The most novel is concerned with canonization, an area in which the pope might be argued to have divine guidance preventing error. This would reassure the faithful that they were invoking men and women who indeed were enrolled in heaven.

The discussion of medieval Thomists focuses on the generation that saw Pope John XXII canonize Thomas. John was engaged in a series of struggles with the Franciscans, both the Spirituals and the Conventuals. Dominicans supported the pope, but they offered only qualified teachings on papal power in matters of doctrine. Their teachings were more geared to the reliability of the Roman Church or the papal office than to that of the reigning Roman pontiff. Horst concludes this section with a carefully nuanced discussion of Juan de Torquemada's reply to conciliarism and a less satisfying discussion of Cajetan's controversy with the doctors of the University of Paris over the powers of pope and council. Horst rightly points to Cajetan's change in emphasis, assigning reliability to the individual pontiff, not just to the Roman see, but he fails to address that theologian's qualification, that the link of pope to office could be judged and even severed.

The School of Salamanca was most distinguished for the work of Francisco de Vitoria and his Thomist successors. Vitoria, who had studied in Paris, was more convinced of the reliability of a council than that of the pope in matters of doctrine. Domingo de Soto made similar arguments. With Melchior Cano the doctors of Salamanca began moving toward an emphasis upon the doctrinal reliability of the pope himself. Cano was responding not just to conciliarism but to the Reformation. The reliability of the pope, not just of the Roman see, triumphed in Salamanca eventually, but only after the Dominicans had ceased being the most significant theologians in Spain.

These lectures on the Dominican view of papal authority can be read with profit by anyone interested in historical ecclesiology. Note, however, that the medieval popes were not usually teachers of doctrine. The Dominicans expected Rome to resolve theological disputes, clarify the Creed and canonize saints, usually with learned advice. As Horst shows in connection with Melchior Cano, the Reformation evoked a different response from many in the order, one emphasizing the reigning pope, not a council or a university, as the inspired guardian of orthodoxy.

Johns Hopkins University

THOMAS M. IZBICKI

Schule und Universität. Bildungsverbältnisse in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters: Gesammelte Aufsätze. By Klaus Wriedt. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Volume 23.] (Leiden/Boston: Brill Academic Publishers. 2005. Pp. x, 267. \$149.00; €110.00.)

Studieren an mittelalterlichen Universitäten. Chancen und Risiken. Gesammelte Aufsätze. By Jürgen Miethke. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Volume 19.] (Leiden/Boston: Brill NV. 2004. Pp. xiii, 517. \$30.00.)

The history of education, of schools and universities in the Middle Ages, has been and still is in the focus of German-speaking historical research.

Nevertheless, questions and subjects depend on methodological mainstreams, as, for instance, that initiated by Peter Moraw, viz. the constitutional history of universities as part of the development of territories and the beginning of the modern "state." Sociological studies (Rainer Stichweh) argued nearly in the same way but concentrated on the early modern period. Recent historical studies, published and initiated by Rainer C. Schwinges, are dealing with the social history of learned men, the regional and social background of students, and the possible careers of "academics" in contemporary society. Another mainstream changes the focus from the institutional or social history to the cultural history and from school and university to the interdisciplinary subject of a history of knowledge (*Wissengesellschaft*), as does Johannes Fried. The changing of subjects causes a difference of terminology; history of schools (*Schulgeschichte*, *Bildungsgeschichte*) and even of universities (*Universitäts-geschichte*) in contrast to social history of learned people (*Sozialgeschichte der Gelehrten*), or the history of knowledge (*Wissensgeschichte*) may nowadays possibly be misunderstood as old-fashioned. If it is no longer necessary to prove that the institutional history of school and university is not at all uninteresting and can in contrast be seen as an actual basic condition for further interdisciplinary research, credit should be given to two German historians: Jürgen Miethke (professor emeritus of the University of Heidelberg) and Klaus Wriedt (professor emeritus of the University of Osnabrück). Together with other European historians such as Jacques Verger or Nicholas Orme and their American colleague William Courtenay, Miethke and Wriedt advanced current historical research on schools (Wriedt) and universities (Miethke). It therefore is highly important and useful to have a collection of the most important articles of these scholars collected in the widely known series "Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance." Both publications will no doubt help to keep the subjects of their study in discussion, as part of historical research as well as of general interest to the public.

Under the title "*Studieren an mittelalterlichen Universitäten*" sixteen articles of Jürgen Miethke are collected. He is known as one of the outstanding specialists on the history of political theory in the Middle Ages as well, but in this volume only his articles on the history of medieval universities are presented. In his introduction (pp. vii-xiii) the author provides some notes on the history of research on his subject, which he defines as social and real life within the institutions. Formal and juridical aspects and the organization of everyday life at universities, therefore, are in the focus, as well as the motivations and hopes of those who decided to start studying at a university. Miethke is careful not to underestimate the role and influence of the Church, whose controlling of the formal correctness of knowledge could lead to severe conflicts between research, academic liberty, and traditional order. Finally the communication at the universities and their contribution to communication in society, as for instance the spoken word as instrument of academic communication, is one of the most important subjects Miethke has brought into discussion.

The presentation of the sixteen articles reprinted here, first published between 1975 and 2001, follows the above cited topics: I. Foundation and constitution of universities (1-4), II. Life and career of students (5-8), III. Ecclesiastical control (9-13), IV. The University of Heidelberg (14-15), V. University and communication (16). Some of the most famous publications of Miethke can be met again ("Die Welt der Professoren und Studenten an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit," „Zur sozialen Situation der Naturphilosophie im späteren Mittelalter," „Die mittelalterlichen Universitäten und das gesprochene Wort") and others might be newly discovered by the readers. Actual research will no doubt derive great profit from his reprinted articles.

The necessary bibliographical information indicating where the articles reprinted here have been published first is given at page 493. A thorough index about persons, places, and most important topics (pp. 495-517) helps one to find individual items and once again proves the intellectual richness of the research of Jürgen Miethke.

The collection of eleven articles of Klaus Wriedt, first printed between 1975 and 2003, are entitled *Schule und Universität. Bildungsverhältnisse in norddeutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters*. As the author explains in the introduction (pp. vii-ix), his publications on the history of schools, especially in late medieval northern German towns, and the academic studies of citizens are to be understood as a contribution to social history and prosopography in particular ("*Personenforschung*"). As a leading scholar in German medieval historical research, Wriedt had pointed out that independent schools in late medieval towns did not primarily follow the intention of a "civic knowledge," as had been claimed in older studies, but followed the juridical interest of urban independence against ecclesiastical dominance. In recent collaboration with Rainer C. Schwinges, Wriedt has edited the *Registrum baccaliorum* of the University of Erfurt. He has reprinted his articles into the following order: I. History of education and schooling in late medieval towns, concerning Latin as well as vernacular knowledge and including the testimonies of urban administration (articles 1-4), II. Studies of citizens at universities and their later career chances within contemporary society (articles 5-8), III. Institutional history of medieval universities and of their internal organization (articles 9-11). A short list of recent literature on these subjects and an index of persons, places, and (unfortunately only some) topics give additional information to the reader. The collection contains three of the best-known articles of Wriedt concerning the connection between urban civilization, university knowledge, and professional, learned administration ("Schulen und bürgerliches Bildungswesen in Norddeutschland im Spätmittelalter," „Bürgertum und Studium in Norddeutschland während des Spätmittelalters," and "Gelehrte in Gesellschaft, Kirche und Verwaltung norddeutscher Städte").

Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570. By Eamon Duffy. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 202. \$35.00.)

In his *History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, after discussing books designed for emperors, for missionaries, for aristocrats, for monks, and for students, Christopher de Hamel comes to books of hours, which he calls “books for everybody.” Because of their abundance and their prettiness, as de Hamel observes, these books have always been loved by collectors and slightly sniffed at by scholars. In the twenty years since de Hamel published his magisterial work, books of hours have become, if possible, even more strongly a focus of interest—now, as tokens of cultural history from which we hope to recover the emotional and personal realities that the past is usually so successful in concealing from us.

This is of course the approach of Eamon Duffy’s new work, which is intended for an educated general readership, and its lavish production values and elegant layout are splendidly attractive. It is most unusual to have so many color photographs (120) for such a modest price (\$35). Duffy’s interest is summed up in his description of books of hours: “unexpected windows into the hearts and souls of the men and women who long ago had used these books to pray” (preface).

Recently this humane focus has been complemented by a general realization that books of hours are economically interesting as well, since they give evidence of the development of a luxury-goods market considerably earlier than the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century date most historians would think likely. Duffy summarizes the work of others, including this reviewer, in order to provide some economic context, relying, for instance, on a market-based analysis of Francois Regnault’s printed primers that distinguishes two primer lines—smaller, with more English, vs. larger, with more Latin. But it should be noted that because we have little information about the actual price for which these primers sold, the frequent use of terms like “mid-price” or “cheap” is an extrapolation from size and gives a rather misleading impression of certainty.

Case histories provide the opportunity to analyze the character of these inscriptions. In a chapter on the Roberts family’s book, Duffy’s thesis is that its added prayers are “in no sense otherworldly...done properly, they are guaranteed to work” (p. 96). Here he is aiming at the view of Colin Richmond, that books of hours may be connected to a “reclusive frame of mind” and perhaps were part of a trend toward privatization of religion. Both here and in the following chapter, whose title, “Sanctified Whingeing,” [complaining] will be opaque to most American readers, Duffy engages with surprising energy the views of other scholars which are neither recent nor widely accepted. In “Whingeing,” Jonathan Hughes’s provocative description of medieval prayers as speaking in a vindictive voice comes under attack. For Duffy, the prayers in books of hours are pragmatic and often evidence of a communal connection.

Thus he reads Holbein's famous drawing of Thomas More's family, for instance, as illustrating their recitation together of the book of hours.

The complexity of religious belief after the Dissolution is strikingly illustrated in the author's work on primers of the 1540's, 1550's, and 1560's, whose annotations show that Catholics used Protestant books, Protestants used Catholic ones—and that well beyond the middle of the sixteenth century, everyone found in this form a satisfying vehicle for personal prayers and hopes.

Despite this volume's sophisticated visual appeal, the text itself is not delivered at such a high level of polish, or indeed of correctness. On pages 24-25 we read about the Wegge family, then subsequently "an Egge daughter... Egge obits." Capitalization practice is idiosyncratic: "the Monastic round. . ." (p. 5), "a Humanist household" (p. 58). Traditional copyediting is not much in evidence: "the principle Catholic prayer" (p. 9) and "the principle focus" (p. 104), while on page 157 we have "the shark pool of Henry's court" and four lines later, "the shark pool of the Tudor court." Importantly, the photographs make it apparent that the transcriptions are not always accurate. Some examples: on page 76, for instance, the inscription does not say "Space me" but "Spare me," and on page 117, the prayer should read "take . . . prosperyte mekely" not "merely."

Fordham University

MARY C. ERLER

Art and Devotion in Late Medieval Ireland. Edited by Rachel Moss, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, O.S.B., and Salvador Ryan. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. xxii, 234. €55.00.)

The later Middle Ages in Ireland were described by the late Robin Flower as the "Franciscan centuries," a fitting comment given that there were over a hundred Franciscan houses in the country (far more than in England) and, as this book makes clear, popular devotion was to a large degree shaped by the teaching of the friars. This era of Irish art and religious history has attracted little attention from scholars outside the country, the visual culture of the time not infrequently dismissed as peripheral or debased. Even that doyen of Irish art, Françoise Henry, resorted to the word "brutal" (on no less than two occasions) when describing illuminations in one sixteenth-century manuscript. But despite a lack of artistic sophistication, surviving images have much to tell us about the nature of Irish spirituality, a key question being the extent to which devotional practice in Ireland followed that elsewhere.

This volume consists of ten essays by scholars drawn from a variety of disciplines—art history, archaeology, history, and conservation—the first time that such a multi-disciplinary approach has been adopted in the context of late Gothic Ireland. Most of the papers were presented at a conference held at Glenstal Abbey in September 2004 (the location no doubt explains the inclusion of the Catherine Yvard's study of the Glenstal Book of Hours, an

English manuscript that otherwise does not fit within the Irish theme). Although “late medieval” is never explicitly defined, it is clear that many of the authors accept that medieval practices flourished at least until the Great Rebellion in 1641, something that emerges clearly from the essay on Marian imagery by Clodagh Tait.

The volume opens with an outstanding contribution from Salvador Ryan, who examines a private “book of piety” commissioned in 1513 by a Gaelic noblewoman, Máire Ni Mháille. Máire’s devotions offer a remarkable glimpse of the nature of “popular” religious practice, and Ryan’s essay should be required reading for anyone seeking to understand the sculpture of the time. This chapter provides a fitting prelude to the essay by Rachel Moss, who examines the contexts of stone carving and the ways in which sculpture functioned in an ecclesiastical setting. The third editor, Colmán Ó Clabaigh, uses his unrivaled knowledge of the documentary evidence to provide a masterly account of the Irish cult of St. Francis. Other essays are less analytical, providing instead surveys of different types of material, including wall painting, manuscript illumination, wood carving, and stained glass. Amongst them is a review of diverse material from Waterford (including little-known wooden figures and some quite stunning imported vestments), many of which deserve further examination. No Irish medieval stained glass survives intact and in view of this it is good to have Josephine Moran’s survey of what is known both from the archaeological and the documentary record. One would have welcomed more discussion of metalwork, though the book does conclude with a lively essay from Raymond Gillespie on the political ramifications behind the making of the shrine of St. Caillin of Fenagh. Not all the authors are familiar with the (extensive) literature on art and devotion in Europe as a whole, and in terms of European scholarship the essays might be considered a fairly “mixed bag.” Nonetheless, the book points to a new approach in the study of late Gothic Ireland and this is a most welcome development.

Trinity College, Dublin

ROGER STALLEY

Painter and Priest: Giovanni Canavesio’s Visual Rhetoric and the Passion Cycle at La Brigue. By Véronique Plesch. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 2006. Pp. xxix, 488. \$55.00.)

Véronique Plesch’s study of Giovanni Canavesio’s Passion cycle in Notre-Dame des Fontaines, a pilgrimage church just outside the town of La Brigue in the southern Alps, might appear to be of limited interest even to a scholarly audience. The painter, who was active toward the end of the fifteenth century, cannot be considered a pivotal figure in the history of late medieval art. The region in which he worked, the duchy of Savoy, is similarly peripheral. But Plesch draws the reader in with her lively account of the fresco cycle and its larger cultural contexts. The frescoes are beautifully illustrated, with a generous allotment of color photographs, many taken by the author. And the images

are quite striking: Canavesio was a priest as well as an artist—a critical point for Plesch's argument—and his vivid, expressive figures must have engaged their audience as thoroughly as a charismatic preacher's words engaged the congregation.

The book opens with a painstaking overview of the painter's oeuvre, then turns, in the second chapter, to the church of Notre-Dame des Fontaines and its extensive iconographic program. Virtually every available inch of the church is frescoed. The early life of the Virgin and the infancy of Christ appear on the triumphal arch, the later life of the Virgin in the choir, the Last Judgment on the entrance wall; on the walls of the nave is the surprisingly comprehensive Passion cycle, twenty-six episodes in all—the subject of this study. Chapters three and four focus on art-historical concerns—a characterization of the painter's style, his pictorial sources and method. Plesch next takes up the program of the Passion cycle, noting that the cycle is unusual in several respects, in particular its emphasis on the torments of Christ and on the role of Judas in the Passion. This, she argues persuasively in chapter six, suggests a preoccupation with sin, repentance, and despair—a topic to which she will return in the concluding chapter. In chapter seven, Plesch introduces some of her most interesting material: the Latin *tituli* that, exceptionally, accompany the Passion scenes. As she notes, these texts refer repeatedly to the Jews, insistently ascribing Christ's suffering and death to Jewish malevolence.

The conclusion is less a summing up of previous arguments than an amplification of ideas introduced earlier and an introduction of new material, much of it quite compelling. Plesch returns to the theme of penitence, noting its aptness for a pilgrimage church and arguing that several frescoes function as a kind of visual call to repent. She then turns to a fuller examination of the anti-Semitic polemic she noted earlier, offering visual evidence that corroborates her thesis. She also suggests one local context for the hostility to the Jews: the establishment of the *monti di Pietà*, banks intended as an alternative to Jewish moneylenders, in this region during the second half of the fifteenth century, when the church was frescoed. Plesch concludes with provocative thoughts on preaching, medieval religious theater, memory, and visual images. This study, then, ultimately rewards the reader with a broad contextual reading of these frescoes and a thoughtful analysis of issues that reach far beyond late medieval Savoy.

Hood College

ANN DERBES

Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy. By Alison Knowles Frazier. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 527.)

Alison Knowles Frazier's *Possible Lives: Authors and Saints in Renaissance Italy* is a scholarly "twofer": it is both a monograph on the important and ground-breaking subject of humanist hagiographers and their literary production of saints' lives, as well as an invaluable research tool, a hand-list of

texts dating ca. 1420-1520 in both manuscript and printed editions, which by itself is an impressive piece of scholarship that comprises approximately one-third of the book's length.

Frazier's intent is to recover and explore the variety and significance of this ignored aspect of Renaissance scholarship, which by virtue of its uncomfortably close relation with the medieval hagiographical tradition no doubt explains in part why this literature has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. Happily, however, Frazier is a scholar of Renaissance humanism who is well trained in the discipline of medieval hagiography and sympathetic to its concerns. Consequently, this serendipitous meeting of mind and material has produced a study that reveals the refashioning of the hagiographical genre according to Quattrocento preoccupations and taste, but is always mindful of continuities with the Middle Ages.

The erudition and scholarship upon which *Possible Lives* is built is formidable, but lightly worn. Indeed, the author's tone is refreshingly modest, but no mere humility topos— it is instead the welcome frankness of a scholar who recognizes and wishes to share with her readers the limits of her material, analyses, and generalizations. Her method is the case study whereby each chapter presents problems that engaged hagiographers of the period. Topics include the Renaissance treatment of martyrdom; Bonizio Mombrizio's *Sanctuarium*, a celebrated legendary whose compositional circumstances remain problematic; saints' lives as humanist teaching texts; the representation of female sanctity, exemplified in Giacomo da Udine's *Vita Helenae utinensis*; and the hagiographical works of Raffaele Maffei, *quondam* scriptor of the papal chancery. Before turning to the textual problems that each of these topics presents, Frazier first situates the matter at hand in its proper bio-historico-political context which perforce shaped the text itself. That context is often revealing. For example, Frazier suggests that the simmering fear of Islamic expansion, fear that became all too concrete after the events at Constantinople, Negroponte, and Otranto in the second half of the Quattrocento should not be overlooked as shaping forces at work in texts such as Tommaso d'Arezzo's *Tractatus de martyrio sanctorum*. Equally telling is the context for the creation of Mombrizio's *Sanctuarium*, which Frazier dates ca. 1477 (based on the dedication and the inclusion/exclusion of certain *vitae*), a date marking the interim regime in Milan that followed the assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza.

Close attention to historical context is only one aspect of her finely nuanced approach to the texts; as is fitting, she is equally attentive to the rhetorical technique and invention of her humanist hagiographers. One of the most inventive was Giacomo da Udine (d. 1482), canon of the cathedral of Aquileia, who composed a saint's life in the form of a symposium to honor his compatriot, Elena de Valentinis (d. 1458). Giacomo's narrative conceit is that God has invited fourteen esteemed orators—pagans and Christians alike—to offer eloquent speeches to mark the occasion of Elena's advent in heaven. Among those commanding the speakers' rostrum to laud the impending saint's

virtues are Plato, Cicero, John Chrysostom, Jerome, and Leonardo Bruni. It was a learned hagiographical experiment, one which would not be repeated. Indeed, Frazier ultimately concludes that many of the texts that she has analyzed seem to be no more than “a sheaf of failures” (p. 316). That may be true insofar as the humanists neither produced a better or more enduring template for hagiographical production than had the Middle Ages. Nor did they devise a critical method for editing historical *vitae* such as the Bollandists would do in the seventeenth century. But her “sheaf of failures” might have been fruitfully contrasted against a contemporary case of hagiographical “success”; namely, the cottage industry devoted to the composition of lives of Savonarola which flourished around the turn of the century, a success-story that Frazier herself acknowledges.

Even without a bibliography (the absence of which does not go unnoticed), *Possible Lives* is itself a remarkable achievement. By italicizing the humanist production of hagiography, Frazier invites us to rethink the entire scholarly enterprise known as the *studia humanitatis*. No more is it possible to envision humanist literary endeavors focused narrowly on pre-Christian literature. Now we must re-imagine that enterprise to include writings about the saints, a body of texts that until now has not generally been regarded as offering exemplars of Latin style or models of critical historical scholarship. It is quite a feat, to say nothing of no small irony, that Frazier has employed a quintessential medieval genre of literature to illuminate so admirably the world of Renaissance humanism.

The Catholic University of America

KATHERINE L. JANSEN

Renaissance Siena. Art in Context. Edited by A. Lawrence Jenkens. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, Volume 71.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 208. \$39.95 paperback.)

In the opening line of his Introduction to *Renaissance Siena*, editor A. Lawrence Jenkens asks a significant and seldom-posed question: did the Tuscan city of Siena experience a Renaissance, particularly in regard to art and architecture? The answer, evidenced by this anthology’s nine essays, is a resounding yes; taken as a whole, the volume stands as testament to the recent revival of Siennese studies, one with a focus on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries rather than the much-considered Trecento Golden Age. What is new in this collection is an attempt to consider Siennese art entirely within a local context, free from the traditional negative assessment engendered by comparison with Renaissance Florence, and in many cases within a social-political framework that contrasts with earlier, more conservative methodological approaches.

In particular, there is much here that will be of interest to scholars of the history of architecture and urbanism. Judith Steinhoff examines the rise of a new artistic genre, the contemporaneous cityscape, relating several examples

symbolically to specific political issues and moments of crisis for the Sieneſe commune. In his contribution, Matthias Quast demonstrates that the fully articulated palace façade emerged in Renaissance Siena only after the systematic removal of balconies and cantilevered additions and in one of three forms that stemmed from Gothic, Florentine, and ancient inspiration. Fabrizio J. D. Nevola's essay on the Palazzo Spannocchi situates that palace within the context of competing public and private interests in urban space, tracing the process by which the patron systematically acquired prime real estate along the Strada Romana, the city's most important thoroughfare and a target of commune-sponsored renewal. Similarly concerned with the conflict between the public and the private, Mauro Mussolin explores the architecture of the church of Santo Spirito and its monastic complex in light of the often-rocky relationship among the Sieneſe, the local observant Dominican community, and the fiery Florentine preacher Savonarola.

Other essays address a range of issues, including civic religion, humanist influence on the visual arts, and the connection between workshop practice and the reading of narrative. Susan E. Wegner charts an increase in Sieneſe intercessory images of Saint Catherine of Siena and the decline of those of the Virgin, linking the phenomenon to the political strategies of the despot Pandolfo Petrucci. The dynastic and patriotic significance of the frescoes in the Piccolomini Library is addressed by Stratton D. Green, who views the room's painted biography of Pope Pius II as a form of epideictic rhetoric based on the idea of an ancient funerary oration. In his discussion of Francesco di Giorgio's painted scenes on Sieneſe *cassoni*, David Benjamin unravels the complicated relationship among artists, patrons, literary sources, and the development of visual narrative.

The book's one lamentable exclusion is the study of Sieneſe sculpture. Although Jenkins partly explains this absence in the Introduction by referring to vital scholarly work yet to be carried out, the anthology would have greatly benefited from at least one exploration of this medium. Regardless of this lacuna, *Renaissance Siena* represents an important contribution to the field and one that will rightly challenge lingering misconceptions about the city and its art beyond the Black Death.

Birmingham-Southern College

TIMOTHY B. SMITH

Early Modern European

Madness, Religion and the State in Early Modern Europe: A Bavarian Beacon. By David Lederer. [New Studies in European History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xx, 361. \$90.00.)

This challenging book makes a significant contribution to the study of madness in early-modern Europe, an area of rising scholarly interest of late; it pro-

vides as well a suggestive examination of the links between early-modern psychology and the emergence of the modern medical discipline of psychiatry, a lineage long identified by psychological practitioners, including Freud, and given a controversial interpretation, redolent with troubling images of power by Michel Foucault in more recent times.

Lederer's work, though, is not one of grand theory spinning, like Foucault's. Instead it explores "on the ground" the various permutations that developed in early-modern Bavaria in the practice of "spiritual physic," the religious discipline that aimed to treat the psychologically afflicted. The chief mechanisms used to care for troubled, possessed, and senseless people in the early-modern territory were penance, pilgrimage, and exorcism. The application of these remedies increased in the counter-reforming decades at the end of the sixteenth century, with encouraging directives issued from the Wittelsbach duke's Privy and Aulic Councils downward. This book has at least four aims, and thus is difficult to summarize here except in the briefest way. Lederer examines the intellectual foundations of spiritual physic, as explicated in the works of late-medieval and early-modern Catholic theologians and state officials. Secondly, he explores this religious therapy as it developed in Bavaria's villages and towns, but more frequently at the territory's numerous saints' and Marian shrines, which, in the confessionally-charged atmosphere of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, became symbols of Catholic identity, but also places noteworthy for treating the mentally ill. In these chapters Lederer ranges broadly across the lush landscape of Bavarian pilgrimage, although he comes to concentrate most significantly on two places —Benediktbeuren and Pürten—which were recognized at the time for their effectiveness in curing the mentally ill. The third aim of *Madness, Religion and the State* is to chart the increasing disaffection of state officials and learned theologians in the later seventeenth century from the practices of spiritual physic. As the centrifugal and disorderly potential inherent in treatments of mental illness rooted in penance, pilgrimage, and exorcism became increasingly obvious to Bavaria's officialdom, confinement emerged to replace spiritual physic as the treatment of choice. The rise of the Holy Spirit Hospice in Munich as one of the primary asylums for those with mental disorders exemplified this trend. And finally, the fourth focus of Lederer's study examines the legacy of these practices and their similarities and dissimilarities to modern psychological praxis.

It is impossible in a short review to capture the richness of Lederer's work. Nearly everyone will find something in it that fascinates, from the case histories he presents of men and women who were made to atone for their maladies in sackcloth and ashes, to the comparisons Lederer makes between practices in Bavaria and those championed by state officials and intellectuals elsewhere. Not everyone may agree with all of Lederer's conclusions. I found his frequent invocation of an early-modern "crisis" reminiscent of the chimerical anxiety of Jean Delumeau's works, even as it appeared too accepting of the labored rhetoric many early-modern advocates of spiritual physic used to

describe their craft. But with this substantial study David Lederer establishes himself as a major historian of psychology and piety, and he takes his place alongside Michael Macdonald, Erik Midelfort, and Lyndal Roper, as a scholar who has set a new high standard for those who choose to explore the discontents of the mind in the early-modern world.

University of Maryland, College Park

PHILIP M. SOERTEL

Angels in the Early Modern World. Edited by Peter Marshall and Alexandra Walsham. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 326. \$99.00.)

In the post-medieval period, angels were very nearly erased, both literally and figuratively, from the spiritual landscape of Europe in the wake of the purges of Catholic devotional practices and iconography by Protestant reformers. And yet devotion to angels persisted in the popular imagination through the Enlightenment and well into the modern era; indeed, to this day angels remain immensely popular.

Professors Peter Marshall (Warwick University) and Alexandra Walsham (University of Exeter) have edited an excellent volume which charts the fate of angelic guardians and messengers from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. The thirteen essays in this volume represent original research from a variety of perspectives on the persistence of angelic devotions in this period across confessional and intellectual landscapes from Western Europe and the British Isles to Puritan New England and the Spanish Americas.

The veneration of saints had been rejected by Protestant reformers as being an unacceptable remnant of Catholic superstition. Met with vehement skepticism, devotions to angels were often associated with witchcraft and magic. Indeed, the cult and intercession of saints and angels were among the first casualties of the Reformation. Accounts of angelic apparitions were prohibited. The Book of Tobit, which recounts the interaction of the archangel Raphael and Tobit's son, Tobias, was excluded from the Protestant Bible. Artistic representations of angelic beings were equated with idolatry. By the end of English civil war, a new wave of iconoclasm swept across the British Isles and Europe, and the defacement and destruction of images of angels in churches was widespread.

As many of the essays in this volume demonstrate, however, angels continued to appeal at a popular level. Although the Reformation thinkers had a fundamentally different understanding of salvation from that of their Catholic antagonists, one which precluded the intercession of both saints and angelic beings, there was a split between theological elites and local populaces on the issue of the efficacy of angelic devotion. In general, Protestant theologians accepted the existence of angels and that they had manifested themselves visibly and actively in the Old Testament era, but they were far more reluctant to

accept the active agency of angels in their own day. As a whole, they insisted that angels were not to be adored or worshiped as idols.

Nonetheless, after the iconoclasm of mid-sixteenth century in England, angelic iconography was reintroduced in the mid-seventeenth century. As one might imagine, images of angels were particularly prevalent on funerary monuments. Indeed, it is at the moment of death, or in the contemplation of it, that the Protestant reformers found popular belief in angelic intervention the most tenacious. And although this general acceptance of angels and their ministrations at the moment of death ran the risk of diminishing divine omnipotence, Protestant writers in fact found it useful in their efforts to recast death and salvation from an occasion susceptible to human intervention to one dependent entirely on divine prerogatives.

The essays in this volume are cogent and painstakingly researched. They explore aspects of the early modern period that have not been widely examined. The essays uncover the ways in which angels negotiated and were implicated in the religious, intellectual, and cultural upheavals of the period. Surprisingly, the essays demonstrate that the Protestant reformers permitted angel devotions to flourish through a nuanced theological stance as opposed to outright condemnation. This volume will without a doubt appeal to scholars of early modern religious and cultural history as well as those of art history and literary studies.

Harper College

RICHARD F. JOHNSON

Beyond the Reformation? Authority, Primacy and Unity in the Conciliar Tradition. By Paul Avis. (New York: T and T Clark. 2006. Pp. xx, 234. \$120.00.)

The times are not long since gone when, for church historians, the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were of interest mainly because "they were the age which nursed the [Protestant] Reformation" (William Hunt). With the abject humiliation of Pope Boniface VIII at Anagni in 1303, one simply embarked on the tides of destiny, to be swept forward with irreversible momentum over seas scattered with the wreckage of thirteenth-century hierocratic ambitions, to arrive at one's destination on October 31, 1517, with the banging of Luther's hammer ringing in one's ears. And one of the required ports of call on that providential voyage was the scandal of the Great Schism and the sharp challenge posed by the Conciliar movement to the high pretensions of the papal monarchy.

It is, of course, no longer fashionable to write history in that way; nor, in this interesting and informative essay on the role played by "conciliarism" and/or "conciliarity" in the Roman Catholic Church and the churches of the Reformation, is Paul Avis moved by any nostalgia for the old preoccupation with the providential role played by the "Forerunners." Nor, beyond that, is he

quite willing to endorse J.T. McNeill's later (and more complex) argument that the Reformers were "in a large sense the heirs of the Conciliarists" (p. 107). Instead, in this well-informed and "first full-length study" of the matter, while acknowledging obvious discontinuities, he is concerned to describe, probe, and draw renewed attention to the widely-ignored strands of continuity that link the conciliarist ecclesiology hammered out during the Great Schism with the subsequent ecclesiological commitments of the Lutheran, Reformed, and, above all, Anglican churches. An eminently worthwhile project, and he is to be commended for undertaking it.

General Secretary to the Council for Church Unity of the Church of England, Avis acknowledges that his "motive in undertaking this study ... is ... not purely historical" (p. xiii). Having himself come to the conclusion that "the Continental and Anglican Reformers adhered in slightly different ways to a modified conciliarism and that they should be understood against that background" (*ibid.*), he expresses the hope that "closer acquaintance with the conciliar contribution to Reformation thought" will foster among members of all Christian denominations the "sense of a tradition that bridges the Roman Catholic-Reformation divide and holds promise for the future unity of the Church" (p. 107).

In an effort, then, to promote that sort of closer acquaintance Avis presents here a careful, descriptive analysis of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century conciliarism and then proceeds to an examination in the light of the conciliarist legacy of the ecclesiological preoccupations and practices of the churches of the Reformation. The account he gives is solid and informative, though marred in its medieval phase by the assumption (p. 87) that "there was no true pope" when the Council of Constance enacted its celebrated superiority decree *Haec sancta* (an assumption that would have surprised most of the council fathers who, even as they moved to depose him, viewed John XXIII as *verus papa*), and, still more, by the inexplicable transposition of the *Summa de ecclesiastica potestate* of Augustinus Triumphus (d. 1328) to the year 1473 "in the period of papal resurgence after the abortive reforming councils" (p. 100). That slip notwithstanding, the more taxing problem dogging the case he sets out to argue lies elsewhere. It lies, instead, in a disabling fluidity in the meanings he attaches across time to the vexing term "conciliarism." While he is certainly persuasive on the point that a preoccupation with "conciliarity" is common to the histories of both Roman Catholicism and the churches of the Reformation, I do not believe that the same can be said of his further claim that there was also some sort of continuing commitment to the specific type of "conciliarism" that rose to prominence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

"Just as in the Time of the Apostles": Uses of History in the Radical Reformation. By Geoffrey Dipple. (Kitchener, Ontario: Pandora Press. 2006. Pp. 324. \$30.00 paperback.)

This book examines the ideas about history of different individuals and groups in the Radical Reformation. Since history was such an important element in Reformation discourse and appeals to history were as important to Radical Reformers as to magisterial Reformers, it was important for Reformers to ask the question: where had the true church been throughout most of Christian history? In answering this question the Radicals were led into arguments about history to justify their reforming programs.

Since the pioneering work of Franklin H. Littell, historians have assumed that the Radicals, and especially the Anabaptists, wanted to restore and follow the model of the primitive church of the apostles in their own day. It was their dedication to a restitution of the primitive church that set them apart from other Reformers and reforming agendas. To this hallowed view Dipple adds a number of important nuances, for all practical purposes reformulating our understanding of the Radicals' view of history. While Dipple sees the late medieval and early modern periods as characterized by a primitivist outlook that gave the past greater authority than the present, a view reinforced by the Renaissance humanists who enshrined the authority of the ancients and by magisterial Reformers with their Biblicism, the Radical Reformers were not simple restitutionist thinkers. They did share a common sense of the Church's historical deterioration, and many began by blaming medieval scholasticism for this decay, but there was great variation among groups and individuals on questions such as when the Church had originally fallen—some placed this fall very near the Church's actual beginnings—what period or part of the apostolic Church was to be considered pristine, and to what extent the ancient Church could or should become a model for contemporary reform activity? In fact, Radical visions of the past Church were less driving forces in their reform agendas than mirrors to reflect contemporary religious abuses. Radical historical visions thus evolved as more of the teachings and practices of contemporary churches came under attack.

Oftentimes the Radicals' appeal to a true way of belief or practice in the apostolic Church was more Biblicist than historical: it was primarily based on the activities of Christ and the apostles as related in the Bible then on some perceived historical golden age of the Church. And different Radical groups were more oriented to history and appeals to the past than others: while the Spiritualists and Spiritualizing Anabaptists were perhaps the most historically-minded in their arguments, the Swiss Brethren were by far the least. Dipple points out that involvement in religious controversies with other Radical groups or even with magisterial Reformers was a primary force pushing Radicals to develop historical arguments and appeals, although even in these cases the historical appeals were often made to legitimize particular Radical practices such as believers' baptism or the Lord's Supper. Dipple also points

out that what counted for restitution of the apostolic Church for one Radical group would not be understood in the same way by other groups: thus the Spiritualists wanted to restore the Church of Pentecost and saw the true Church as one populated by individuals filled with the Spirit. Other groups, such as many Anabaptists, believed in the importance of the structure and practices of the apostolic Church in establishing a template for the true Church in their own day. Many Anabaptists therefore tended to put considerably more importance on the visible Church than did the Spiritualists.

It was a complex picture of differing views of the past, and Dipple does a fine job of making this picture clear for the reader. He deals first with the views of Renaissance humanists and magisterial Reformers and then moves on to the Saxon Radicals Karlstadt and Müntzer. He discusses Anabaptist ideas of restitution, historical visions of the Evangelical Anabaptists, the views of the Spiritualists and those of Anabaptist Spiritualizers (Denk, Bänderlin, and Entfelder), the Melchiorites and Münsterites, and the process of confessionality among Anabaptist groups in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To this process he sees the elaboration of historical visions as intimately related. In the end an admirably drawn picture emerges that will act as a revision to the Littell thesis and which will help readers understand the historical ideas of many Radical Reformation figures.

Lafayette College

ANDREW FIX

Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura: Meaning and Invention. By Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 267, 12 color plates, 31 figs. \$75.00.)

Anyone who writes a book on the meaning of the most famous works of Renaissance art and especially of the Roman works which were executed for a pope should know a lot of medieval and Renaissance theology and philosophy in order to appreciate and to explain the full content of the frescoes done by Raphael or by Michelangelo. The new book on the *Stanza della Segnatura* presents as its fundamental thesis a repetition of that of the article of Monsignor Künzle and affirms that the principal man who gave advice to Raphael was the papal librarian Fedro Inghirami.

The book is divided into twelve chapters. The first reaffirms the meaning and function of the *Stanza* as the library of Julius II. The second deals with the problem of identifying the designer of the program. The third presents the person of the papal librarian. The fourth gives a good explanation of the composition of the ceiling decoration and of the meanings of the four inscriptions on the tablets of the four personifications of the disciplines of poetry, law, philosophy, and theology. The fifth chapter describes the relation of the paintings with the geographic situation of the *Stanza* on the Vatican Hill and with the four directions on the terrestrial globe. The next four chapters are dedicated to

the great wall paintings, the “*Disputa*,” the “School of Athens,” the “Parnassus,” and “Jurisprudence.” The last chapter describes for the first time the pattern of the pavement. In the conclusion the author presents her thesis of the exclusive collaboration between the painter Raphael and the poet Inghirami.

Now we have to ask ourselves, “Is this construction not a little bit simple?” There was surely not only one adviser for Raphael. He had always a considerable number of intellectual friends. On the other side, if we find a lot of correspondences in the works of Giles of Viterbo and of the Venetian Cristoforo Marcello, especially for the “School of Athens,” and in the works of Petrus Galatinus for the colors of the clothes of the three virtues on the “Jurisprudence” wall, and the explanation for the golden rays in the upper part of the “*Disputa*” in the *Vexillum fidei* of Georgius Benignus, the composition of the program is not to be attributed to one of these outstanding personalities, even less to Tommaso Inghirami, but to a subordinated, still anonymous person, who brought together his knowledge using the works and ideas of the above-mentioned persons. The author gives no proof that Inghirami knew all these more important contemporary theologians and writers. In the pontifical librarian’s works there are not to be found traces and quotations of the thoughts and formulations of these personalities.

The value of the book of Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier lies in her treatment of the whole humanistic culture with its many significant quotations of antique authors. The notes are a treasure where you will find many indications of thorough investigation, and other indications of the research that the author often not has done. Thus, she can write a statement that can be easily challenged, “no single work provides a blueprint for the plan of its frescoes...” (p. 153). You will find for the *Stanza della Segnatura* the essential program of the “School of Athens” in the *Politeia* of Plato, as Matthias Winner pointed out, and almost literally the same system of platonic education, on which is based the fresco of Raphael, quoted in the book of Cristoforo Marcello on the tradition of the doctrines on the soul. This book was dedicated in 1507 to Pope Julius II. Surely it was to be found in his library. The Augustinian idea of the *conversio ad lucem*, which stands behind the group on the left side of the “*Disputa*,” could come only from Giles of Viterbo, if not directly from him, then from one of his pupils. The most important of them was Girolamo Seripando.

If the author has assembled a lot of material good for further investigations, her fundamental thesis, that Inghirami, the papal librarian, was the composer of the program, cannot be accepted without modifications and corrections. What is needed is a profound study of very rare Renaissance books and manuscripts, for instance those of Petrus Galatinus in the Vatican Library.

Heresy, Culture, and Religion in Early Modern Italy: Contexts and Contestations. Edited by Ronald K. Delph, Michelle M. Fontaine, and John Jeffries Martin. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies Series, 76.] (Kirkville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 265. \$49.95.)

This handsome volume is a *Festschrift* in honor of Elisabeth Gleason. As such, one might expect essays reinforcing her fairly traditional approach to early modern Italian religious history, but it contains some surprises in the introduction and twelve collected essays.

In the opening pages, John Martin abstracts the contributions, but adds the argument that an intellectual “tyranny” of traditional monolithic images about early modern Italian history, not to mention the radical oversimplification they require, has now been overcome. The images are well known: victimized *spirituali*, proto-totalitarian *intransigenti*, 1542 as the history turning point, *et cetera*. Instead, historians have found and adopted a “complexity,” Martin suggests, for which there was “little room” in early histories of the Counter-Reformation. Part one, “Reformers and heretics: new perspectives,” then follows with pieces by Massimo Firpo, Michelle Fontaine, and Paul Murphy. These hold together nicely, showing three different reasons why old categories about who was or was not a heretic, when heresy grew or was repressed in Italy, and when it was not, simply no longer work. In his essay, Firpo speculates—in the absence of evidence—on the reasons behind Lorenzo Lotto’s entry, just before his death, into an oblate community at the Holy House of Loreto. Readers of Firpo’s other works will likely find his insistence that “overly rigid categories” don’t work in explaining Lotto more than a little remarkable. Fontaine’s study on the rapid weakening of heretical thought in Modena after 1550—well before the so-called *intransigenti* allegedly seized control of the direction of the Church—is excellent. This piece, plus Murphy’s treatment of inconsistent supervision over preachers in Mantua under Ercole Gonzaga, a bishop considered an “iron” ruler even by Ludwig von Pastor, will leave readers craving more.

Part two, on the cultural contexts of reform, which features contributions by Ronald Delph, Frederick McGinness, Paolo Simoncelli, Paul Grendler, and Marion Leathers Kuntz, is less coherent. These essays show the broad context of reform action, but the subjects are disparate. Delph illustrates the attractiveness of humanist notions of restoration among supporters of dredging operations on the Tiber, where ideological motivations mixed with more mundane economic concerns. Grendler shows why the standard notion of early modern universities as bastions of traditional learning resistant to change needs revision. Students driven to attend the University of Padua by tradition, like Gasparo Contarini, later took part in decidedly non-traditional reform, promoting new learning. Kuntz delineates the union of ideal political and religious justice in the doge of sixteenth-century Venice, returning to the written works of Guillaume Postel, which, over the years, she has mined so thoroughly. The essay that seems most out of place in this section is the one by Paolo Simoncelli: it is all about political tension in the Florentine exile community in

Venice, rather than heresy, culture, or religion. Still, brilliance also appears in this section, when McGinness displays the reliance of council fathers at Trent upon pastoral ideals and preaching recommendations derived from none other than Desiderius Erasmus, no matter what thumping Tridentine *anathe-mae* and innumerable Index entries otherwise suggest.

The third part, appropriately entitled “The Vicissitudes of Repression,” includes contributions by Silvana Seidel Menchi, Gigliola Fragnito, Elena Bonora, and Anne Jacobson Schutte. Seidel Menchi provides an excellent piece on the inquisitor as mediator, showing the combative approach of some facing inquisitorial proceedings, the culture shared by inquisitors and accused alike, and the attempts of tribunal members to appeal to reason with the accused, especially in the middle decades of the century. The meditative action must not be confused with toleration, she adds, especially considering prosecutions pursued later in the era. Both Fragnito and Bonora show disconnection between plans for repression and their implementation. Fragnito argues here, as she has elsewhere, that the rules for the expurgation of written works were too ambitious to be implemented, resulting in the effective disappearance of many suspended texts. Bonora uses the case of Filippo Mocenigo to show that heresy investigations targeting bishops were not simply adjudicated by the pope, as the Tridentine decrees dictated. Instead, for elite ecclesiastics like Mocenigo, political considerations came into play, and the definition of heresy—not to mention his own guilt or innocence in 1583—turned on determination by the Congregation of the Inquisition, not by pope, church fathers, or council decrees. In the final contribution, Schutte debunks one of the most dearly held myths about early modern social history. Records on forced monachization from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, suggest, she explains, that children remained subject to the will of others, and no shift in family organization away from a patriarchal model occurred. In the end, these essays show that the contemporary bureaucracy of repression operated with limited effectiveness, accomplishing only a portion of the religious, cultural, and social changes we associate with the age of reform. Indeed, the volume beautifully shows that late sixteenth-century religion was complex, incomprehensible via simple characterization. It is a shame, however, that Eric Cochrane, one of the first, strongest voices to make this argument—and one whose commitment to the interpretation far exceeded that of Elisabeth Gleason—is mentioned nowhere within these pages.

Bloomsburg University

WILLIAM V. HUDON

Vainglorious Death: A Funerary Fracas in Renaissance Brescia. Translated and annotated by J. Donald Cullington. Edited and introduced by Stephen Bowd. (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. 2006. Pp. lxx, 232. \$48.00.)

This volume, an edited, facing-page translation of two pamphlets written by humanists in Brescia in the early sixteenth century, reveals the intense concern

with funeral customs that prevailed among laypeople and religious alike in that period. The pamphlets were written in support of a statute passed by the civic government some years earlier, curtailing funeral expenses, the number of mourners, and the services held after a death. The statute was met with derision by local Dominicans, who claimed that these limits on funeral rituals violated the freedom of the Church, since part of the statute involved a restriction on the number of clerics and religious who could attend a funeral. The two pamphlets were then written in response to the Dominicans' own statement against the statute, which is also included in the volume (as appendix 2).

Stephen Bowd's introduction to the texts of the pamphlets spans the historical context in which they were created, including the individuals involved in the dispute as well as the themes of Christian humanism and sumptuary legislation. He also locates the dispute within the history of Brescia itself, discussing the impact of the prevailing political regime (Brescia had been under Venetian governance since 1426) on the religious and social climate in the city. Furthermore, Bowd argues that the pamphlets, which both sustain that social rank should not be taken into account in the organization of funeral ceremonies (since, as one author stated, ". . . all bodies equally . . . rot and decay. . ." (p. 127), nevertheless reflect a growing "backlash against any loosening up of the social hierarchy" (p. lxxviii) in Brescia, as elsewhere on the peninsula at this time. The pamphlets are therefore valuable sources for an understanding of the religious and social culture of an often overlooked Renaissance city.

The two texts translated here are, first, one pamphlet produced anonymously (although the humanist Elia Capiolo is the presumed author) entitled "A defense of the Brescians' statute for reducing the rivalry and the expenses of funerals." The second pamphlet is by Carlo Valgolio, and was published with the title "That the Brescians' statute about funeral expenditure with perfect logic makes no distinction of rank among citizens, and that what are commonly regarded as honors are not so." Two appendices are included in the volume, the first, "General regulation for funerals of the dead" and the second, "An enquiry as to whether the statutes about death disbursements quoted below go against church freedom." Both texts are substantially and appropriately annotated with footnotes explaining the sources of the writers' quotations, and with references to the historiography. The appendices are, first, the civic statute in question, "General regulation for funerals of the dead," and second, the Dominicans' response to that statute, "An enquiry as to whether the statutes about death disbursements quoted below go against church freedom." The volume includes an index but no bibliography.

The texts raise issues ranging from the role played by members of religious orders in the Renaissance city to the status of the Jews (plans for their expulsion from Brescia are mentioned), to the idea of honor in the early sixteenth century. Certainly, as Bowd argues, the texts display the continuing idea of the funeral as a "public ritual designed to reflect prevalent civic mores and reinforce the social status and solidarity of the corpse's family" (p. xv). It would

also be most interesting to compare these texts to testamentary records from the same period to see whether testators followed the instructions in the statute, which specifically forbade the organization of feasts to commemorate the anniversaries of one week and one month after a death. Such feasts were a significant part of the commemoration of the dead in Lombardy and elsewhere from at least the fourteenth century, and their disappearance would have created a significant void in the lives of those left behind when a family member or friend died.

University of Manitoba

ROISIN COSSAR

La geografia celeste dei duchi di Savoia. Religione, devozioni e sacralità in uno Stato di età moderna (secoli XVI-XVII). By Paolo Cozzo. [Istituto trentino di cultura: Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Monografie, 43.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2006. Pp. 370. € 22.00 paperback.)

This absorbing study examines the religious policies of the two dukes, Emanuel Filibert and Charles Emanuel I, who ruled the Savoyard state (straddling the Alpine borderland between France and Italy), between 1559 and 1630. It does not deal with their struggle against Protestantism—a subject that has long attracted intensive scholarly research—but pursues a novel kind of inquiry: how they harnessed the Catholic Reformation to underpin their policies of absolutist state-formation and dynastic self-promotion. The author does not fall into the trap of portraying their faith reductively, as simply an *instrumentum regni* manipulated for secular purposes. He is not interested in their private devotional life (a field well plowed by earlier scholarship), but in the public practice of their faith. As they refashioned their domains into an avowedly confessional state, their religious and political agendas converged and reinforced one another.

In 1562 Duke Emanuel Filibert transferred the capital across the Alps to Turin from Chambéry, in the old heartland of Savoy. But this move did not simply involve shifting the court and the government to a new site. Turin had a long tradition of urban autonomy, embodied in the cults surrounding its patron saints—its “civic religion.” This the dukes systematically undermined, in order to control their new capital. They appropriated some civic saints, notably St. Maurice, who metamorphosed into a dynastic patron; they intruded into civic rituals; they introduced new cults centering on the dynasty. The most important was that of the Holy Shroud, owned by the dynasty since the mid-fifteenth century. It was conveyed to Turin from Chambéry in 1578 in a solemn *translatio* that made the city a consecrated space, at once the political and the spiritual heart of the monarchy. Similarly, the dukes promoted veneration of the Virgin, as a devotion that transcended civic cults—and civic autonomy—and co-opted a pre-existing form of popular devotion, the *Sacri Monti* (hilltop shrines modeled on the original one at Varallo, designed by its Franciscan

founder in the 1490's as a symbolic representation of Jerusalem). They founded *Sacri Monti* of their own, re-imagined as centers of Marian devotion, at Vico, Oropa, or the Monte dei Cappuccini just outside Turin. The first of these was also designed as a sumptuous dynastic mausoleum, neatly identifying devotion to the Virgin with devotion to the ruling family.

The ideological foundations for this program were provided by the court clergy, based in the expanded ducal chapel, and by members of those new religious Orders that attracted the dukes' favor, notably the Jesuits, Capuchins, Barnabites, and Theatines. They extolled the dukes as the bulwark guarding Italy against the infection of heresy from Geneva and France, perilously close at hand. They designed the ceremonies that dramatized the new devotional forms the dukes were promulgating, and elaborated the strategies for subordinating local cults and promoting those that exalted the dynasty. They aided the dukes in amassing a vast collection of relics that advertised their piety. Some of them functioned as diplomats promoting their masters' interests at foreign courts, especially the Papal curia, the focus of perpetual competition for primacy among the princes of Italy, conducted in the coded language of their shared Catholic values. Here the Savoyard clerical envoys strove to enhance the dukes' prestige by exalting their spiritual merits as rulers of an exemplary state imbued with all the vigor of Tridentine orthodoxy. Externally as well as internally, therefore, resurgent Catholicism underwrote the growing political and dynastic power of the dukes of Savoy.

University of California, Los Angeles

GEOFFREY SYMCOX

The Spanish Inquisition: A History. By Joseph Pérez. Translated by Janet Lloyd. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 248.)

After writing on political rebellions, monarchy, humanism, and the Jewish expulsion in early modern Spain, noted Hispanist Joseph Pérez has now turned his attention to the Spanish Inquisition. His objective is to "set the record straight on the form taken by the Inquisition in Spain" (Preface) by evaluating it within the peninsular kingdoms of Castile and Aragón. His assessment is arranged along traditional lines: the first two chapters examine the Inquisition's victims, the next two describe administrative and legal processes, and the final pair question the Inquisition's impact on Spanish society and the ways in which its operations were affected by political authorities. For Pérez, the Spanish Inquisition was founded to persecute racial difference as part of a larger quest toward uniformity: Ferdinand and Isabella wanted a modern state (p. 35); modernity was at odds with heterogeneity, and hence any "Semites" in Castile and Aragón had to be converted or expelled. Much time consequently is spent charting the development of anti-Semitism in Castile, explaining the connections between the Inquisition and the 1492 Expulsion, and linking the Inquisition's prosecutions of Jewish and Muslim converts to Christianity. Once trials of Jewish converts or *conversos* began to decline about 1520, the

Inquisition had to find other targets. Its officials subsequently turned on Lutherans, followers of Erasmus, witches, and especially illuminists who favored an interiorized, free-thinking sort of piety.

Pérez then enumerates the powers and procedures that sustained the Inquisition's operations. His vision of the institution's structure is profoundly hierarchical, whereby the king, who named the inquisitor-general, indirectly controlled the Inquisition, and the inquisitor-general in turn controlled the workings of the district tribunals. His portrait of the inquisition trial is equally cohesive: here, what mattered most were the edicts of grace and the *autos de fe*, the public acts that bookended a prosecution. As for the trials, their outcome was basically inevitable, since defendants were presumed guilty, torture was designed to elicit a confession, and no one was allowed to dispute the ideology that put the Inquisition in place (pp. 167-168). Finally, though Pérez expresses some caution about the Inquisition's larger effects, his conclusions are dire. If the Jewish Expulsion of 1492 produced only an economic slump, not a catastrophe, indices of prohibited books "eventually put [Spaniards] off reading altogether" (p. 187), Spaniards were shut out of the Scientific Revolution because they were unprepared for theoretical thinking (p. 189), and "research and thought . . . were eventually sterilised" (p. 195). Such consequences demonstrate that the Spanish Inquisition was not just another example of religious intolerance in early modern Europe. The sheer scope and power of its bureaucratic, policing, and judicial apparatus made it extraordinary (p. 174).

For this reviewer, at least, this is a puzzling book. Pérez makes some suggestive points about the implications of legal training for inquisitorial procedure, and the "levelling" effects of the Inquisition on Spanish society (p. 169). He also writes persuasively about the financial, social, and legal privileges that came with being part of the staff of an inquisition tribunal. But by and large, his theses are outdated or unsubstantiated: calling the Inquisition a mixed political-religious institution is not new, while arguing that the crisis of 1558-59 owed more to anti-mysticism than fear of Protestantism is perplexing. Though Pérez stresses the efficiency of the Inquisition's top-down administration, scholars of individual tribunals have demonstrated repeatedly that inquisitors functioned in a local environment and were prone to misadventures; while Pérez prefers to make Tomás de Torquemada the guiding force of this institution, most historians would highlight instead Fernando de Valdés. Other gaps are perhaps even more troubling: recent works on moriscos, Portuguese conversos and Count-Duke Olivares, literacy, the effects of the Council of Trent, scientific culture in Catholic countries, and Spanish Erasmianism appear not to have been consulted. Reading seminal studies by Edward Peters would have prevented a number of significant misstatements on the relationship between inquisition and Roman law. Finally, religion is given too little attention here, to the point that it is possible to forget that inquisitors believed they were prosecuting heresy. No one would deny that the Inquisition served polit-

ical purposes, even on the village level. But attention to its religious objectives allows us to gauge the ways in which it mixed pastoralism and punishment, and encourages us to treat it in its own historical environment. Pérez is more interested in twentieth-century analogues, but though he ties the Spanish Inquisition to Soviet psychiatric hospitals (p. 167), he hesitates to follow the implications of his analysis. If the Inquisition came about through a drive for modernity and parallels other modern strategies for persecution, does that make Spain regressive or progressive in the sixteenth century?

College of William and Mary

LU ANN HOMZA

The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources. Edited and translated by Lu Ann Homza. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company. 2006. Pp. xlvii, 272. \$37.95 clothbound; \$12.95 paperback.)

Those of us who teach the history of early modern Spain to undergraduates have long lamented the lack of primary sources in English translation. Lu Ann Homza has gone a long way toward filling that gap with this excellent anthology of sources. Homza provides a judicious selection of documents that chronicle the Spanish Inquisition from its establishment by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1478 to root out crypto-Jews to the expulsion of the Moriscos carried out under Phillip III between 1611 and 1614. She recovers many voices from late fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and early seventeenth-century Spain, of defendants, witnesses, politicians, and the ecclesiastical judges whose zeal for religious orthodoxy and correct legal procedure rendered this one of the most famous, if often misunderstood, judicial institutions in European history.

Homza begins the volume with a helpful, clearly written introduction that explains the inner workings of the Inquisition and traces its Roman and medieval antecedents. The idea of an ecclesiastical court of inquiry was hardly new to late fifteenth-century Spain, she rightly points out. What was unique to the Iberian context was the imperative toward religious and ethnic uniformity after many centuries of continuous, if often fraught, coexistence between Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Moreover, the Catholic Monarchs were highly effective at utilizing religious orthodoxy in their efforts to consolidate power in the crowns of Castile and Aragon. Thus, as Homza notes, the Spanish Inquisition was an instrument of monarchical power and state-building, as well as of religious instruction and correction, right from its inception.

It is too bad that limitations of space and chronological range prevent Homza from exploring further this complicated interplay between religion and politics. She does not discuss how political authorities could deploy the Holy Office for blatantly political purposes, as Philip II attempted to do against his former minister Antonio Pérez in 1590-91. Tracing the Inquisition's later history, up to its abolition in 1834, would have enabled Homza to include the prosecution of Pablo de Olavide, condemned in 1778, for what scholars gen-

erally regard as reasons of political and intellectual censorship, not doctrinal error. Cases such as these, that lay bare the potential for corruption and politicization, led many contemporaries, not just modern-day historians, to doubt that inquisitors' motives were always purely religious in nature.

Nevertheless, LuAnn Homza has succeeded in compiling an anthology that is both erudite and accessible, and available at a refreshingly low price. Thus, students as well as teachers and scholars will welcome this significant contribution to the religious and legal history of early modern Spain.

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

JODI BILINKOFF

Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain. By Andrew W. Keitt. [The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, Volume 25.] (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005. Pp. viii, 229.)

Too much of a good thing, as everyone knows, can be bad. Such was the case in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, where one of the most difficult tasks faced by the Catholic clergy was that of dealing with excessive fervor among some of the most intensely devout members of their flocks. This conundrum is the focus of *Inventing the Sacred*, an exploration of several cases of feigned sanctity processed by the Spanish Inquisition in the mid-seventeenth century. Cases of feigned sanctity were fairly numerous at this time, and normally involved women and men who claimed spiritual revelations and ecstasies, and often passed judgment on current affairs, prophesying in the name of God. Discerning the difference between a genuine saint who engaged with the sacred, such as Teresa of Avila, and an impostor who "invented" the sacred—as the inquisitors put it—was seldom easy, for the very process of discernment involved scrutinizing some of the most distinctive teachings of the Catholic Church, and especially those that distinguished it from Protestantism, such as the value of asceticism and prayer, the possibility of mystical encounters with the divine, the accessibility of the miraculous, and the permeability of the boundaries between the spiritual and the material, and the demonic and the divine. Andrew Keitt does a marvelous job of dissecting several such cases, and of explaining how every one of them perched the inquisitors on the edge of a slippery slope.

By the mid-seventeenth-century, the criteria for discerning who was "inventing" the sacred were well established. More often than not, they were found guilty, but it is well known that many who were later canonized as saints also passed through the same ordeal, including John of the Cross, Teresa of Avila, Ignatius Loyola, and Joseph of Cupertino. Maintaining certain standards was deemed necessary, not just as a question of authority or as a concern with charismatic claims outside of the church hierarchy, but also as a pastoral issue. Those accused of feigned sanctity were examined for signs of delusion, excessive pride,

mental illness, or demonic influence. They were also screened to prevent the spread of false teachings and social disorder. Questioning the authenticity of popular holy men, however, was sometimes the same as questioning belief itself.

Andrew Keitt has achieved a remarkable feat at various levels. First, he has plumbed the archival sources and the printed literature very thoroughly and judiciously. Second, he has engaged with all of the scholarship on a broad range of related subjects: Inquisition studies, mysticism, social disciplining, and gender studies, to name a few. His engagement with the scholarly literature is so thorough, in fact, that it turns the book into a very serviceable annotated bibliography. Third, he has made these cases come alive for the reader, not just by crafting an engaging narrative, but also by placing all the individuals and events within their proper context, and giving each of them as much flesh and bone as any microhistory is capable of giving. Finally, he has also brought a keen intellect to bear on questions of analysis and interpretation. Not satisfied with any reductionist thesis, Keitt takes various approaches into consideration, and refrains from privileging any of them. The result is a balanced and very convincing analysis of the larger questions that lurked behind this phenomenon, including that of how the boundaries of belief were drawn in a contentious age. What the reader ends up with is a study that pays equal attention to the negotiation of status, the relation between elites and subalterns, questions of gender, and even the social and political dimensions of metaphysical questions, such as where the line is to be drawn between the world of the senses and that of the spirit, and what difference it makes to draw it one way rather than another.

Keitt's final argument is sharp-edged and should give rise to further discussion. As he sees it, these cases of feigned sanctity are not a sideshow at all, but rather the main event, at street level. The relative obscurity of the cases matters little. In the end, they prove that questions of discerning the difference between genuine and false, or spiritual and material—what he calls “boundary issues”—were of immense concern for Catholics and at the heart of their religious life. Keitt also makes a daring leap beyond these Catholic cases, and proposes that boundary issues were also of immense concern for Protestants, and, that a complex set of dialectical relationships was engendered by these issues, pitting believers against one another, and giving rise to all sorts of skeptics. Keitt also argues that when all is said and done, Catholics and Protestants were closer to each other than it might seem and that Max Weber was wrong in arguing that Protestantism had “disenchanted” the world. Whether or not one can agree with this thesis is immaterial. Keitt has written an impressive book that gets at the heart of early modern Catholicism, and proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Catholic Reformation was immensely complex, and that the seventeenth century was “a period in which rationalism was employed as often to shore up belief in the miraculous as to challenge it” (p. 7). From now on, this book should become required reading for anyone seriously interested in early modern religious history.

Lutherforschung im 20. Jahrhundert: Rückblick—Bilanz—Ausblick. Edited by Rainer Vinke. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz: Abteilung für abendändische Religionsgeschichte, Beiheft 62.] (Mainz: Verlag Phillip von Zabern. 2004. Pp. x, 290. €34.80.)

One often hears the claim that more books have been written about Martin Luther than about any other figure in western history, Jesus Christ excepted. Whether that is true or not, surely a very great deal has been written about Luther. Anyone who has had the experience of trying to get his bearings in the vast and meandering secondary scholarly literature about the man will be grateful for books like this one. Moreover, while there are helpful works that introduce Luther scholarship in a general way, none of them brings together particular aspects of that scholarship in quite such a wide ranging and informative way as does the present volume.

The book consists of a dozen essays originally presented as papers at a conference in Mainz at the Institute for European History, and each of them is written by a prominent Luther scholar. These essays are of a very high caliber. Typically they offer a historical survey of significant areas of research, and they are marked by a keen awareness that scholarship in the last century generally took place within an increasingly ecumenical milieu. In the first essay, for example, Martin Brecht presents some of the challenges laid down by Catholic research on the young Luther in the early twentieth century by Heinrich Denifle, O.P., and Hartmann Grisar, S.J. He then reviews the responses to those challenges from Protestant scholars like Adolph Harnack, Reinhold Seeberg, Walther Köhler, and Gustav Kawerau. The following chapters take the story forward chronologically. Martin Ohst examines the work of Karl Holl and his students Emanuel Hirsch and Erich Vogelsang. Eberhard Busch presents the Luther research of theologians identified with dialectical theology. Thomas Kaufmann moves nearer the present with an examination of Ernst Bizer's work on Luther's "evangelical breakthrough," while Albrecht Beutel sets out Gerhard Ebeling's Luther research. Three essays then look at aspects of Luther's theology that have elicited intensive examination: Joachim Ringleben writes on Luther and the Word of God; Oswald Bayer sketches out research on Luther's use of philosophical thought forms; and Antti Raunio examines Luther's political ethic. Scott Hendrix then offers a chapter on American Luther research. The book's final three chapters are dedicated to ecumenical topics. Jos Vercruyse surveys Catholic Luther scholarship in the twentieth century. Rolf Decot then examines from a Catholic perspective the question of Luther's significance for ongoing ecumenical dialogue. Decot's essay is answered by a chapter contributed by Simo Peura, who examines the same question from the Protestant point of view. The volume concludes with a lengthy but somewhat eclectic and far-from-exhaustive bibliography.

Naturally, these essays do not say everything that might be said about twentieth-century Luther research. One could easily wish, for example, for a solid chapter on the development of the so-called "Finnish School" of Luther

research (a planned contribution from Tuomo Mannermaa had to be left out due to the author's illness), even if several of the books chapters are written by Finnish scholars and many others refer to prominent Finnish studies. Still, the volume is marked by a clear sense of progress in Luther research. Luther's medieval roots and his continuity with western Catholic tradition are now clearly recognized. If the fine contributions of Catholic scholars standing here alongside those of their Protestant counterparts are any indication, then Luther has already become what many have long hoped: a "common doctor" who speaks to those on all sides of our continuing ecumenical divides.

Marquette University

MICKEY L. MATTOX

Protestants and the Cult of the Saints in German-Speaking Europe, 1517-1531. By Carol Piper Heming. [Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies Series.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 170. \$48.95.)

The rejection of the cult of the saints was one of the distinguishing features of the Protestant Reformation; yet, to this day, relatively little attention has been paid to the subject. Although Catholic and Protestant polemicists were all too aware of the significance of the topic up until the nineteenth century, modern historians have tended to skirt the issue, or to consider it a superficial symptom of sorts, or a mere side-effect of greater social, economic, and political changes. In many ways, the modern historiography of the Reformation has followed closely the judgment of the Protestant Reformers themselves, who tended to look upon the cult of the saints as nothing more than superstition and an unsightly sign of the errors of Catholicism. However, as historians turn their attention increasingly to the way religion was lived in early modern times, and at the way in which symbols and rituals were inextricably woven into the social, economic, and political fabric of early modern communities, the once-neglected subject has begun to gain prominence.

Carol Piper Heming's *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints* is proof of this change in interest, not just because it happens to be the first broad survey in English of the subject, but also because, as a survey, it brings together much of what has been said about the topic in the past two decades, and engages with it. This book poses two questions. The first question takes up the bulk of the text: why did the early Protestant Reformers unanimously reject the cult of the saints? The answer to this question is largely a theological one, and not at all complex: First and foremost, the veneration of saints and their images and relics was rejected on biblical grounds, as contrary to the Christocentrism of the New Testament. The second question is one that involves social rather than intellectual history: did the cult of the saints disappear from Protestant communities? The author herself admits that this question has no simple answer, but does offer evidence that the veneration of the saints did not simply vanish overnight in German-speaking Protestant lands. Zwingli's Zurich, for instance,

retained many of the traditional holidays that had once honored the saints—as days off from work, not as feasts for the saints. Lutherans retained images of the Virgin Mary and the Apostles. Church court records and visitation transcripts also show that secret veneration of the saints continued to be a problem for Protestant pastors into the late sixteenth century. In the end, however, what remained of the cult of the saints was quite different, and perhaps summed up best by Luther: “real saints,” he said, “must be good, stout sinners. . . . They are saints not because they are without sin or have become saintly through works . . . but . . . through the Lord Christ” (p. 49).

This excellent survey is more of a synthesis than a revisionist thesis, and it focuses most intensely on the early years of the Protestant Reformation, and on the theological questions raised in the texts of major Reformers, in public disputations, and in popular pamphlet literature. Its command of the printed texts and of the scholarship is excellent, making the book a wonderfully thorough introduction to the subject. The second question posed by the author concerning the endurance of the cult of the saints cannot be fully answered by such a survey, not just because of the sources tapped and the approach taken, but also because of the chronology. In order to address that question fully the study would have to stretch into the seventeenth century and delve into stacks and stacks of archival material. But this limitation does not really matter much: simply raising the question and teasing out some conclusions from partial evidence is a great step forward, and a road sign of sorts for future research, pointing in the right direction.

Three extremely useful appendices are also included: one on all of the relevant disputations, diets, and colloquies; one that lists all the pertinent sixteenth-century texts; and one that cites all of the biblical passages used by Protestants to attack the cult of the saints.

Yale University

CARLOS M. N. EIRE

The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615). By Eric Nelson. [Catholic Christendom, 1300-1700; Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, Volume 58.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company; a co-publication with the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. 2005. Pp xiv, 275. \$94.95.)

The revision of generally accepted positions in the historiography of France during and after the period of the Wars of Religion has gained considerable momentum in recent years. Alongside the “spectacular” works of Natalie Davis and Denis Crouzet, we now have a considerable body of scholarship which attacks topics perhaps less vast than religious violence, but whose careful sifting of surviving evidence and challenge to established arguments make it no less valuable and welcome. It has been possible to throw new light on subjects as essential as Henri III’s rule, the Catholic League (especially in the provinces),

the Guises, the conversion of Henri IV, and the return of political stability during the 1590's. Eric Nelson's book is all the more welcome in that it tackles an even more contentious topic, which has been almost immune to revision up to now—the role of the Jesuits during the Catholic League, their subversive political teachings, their condoning of regicide, their expulsion from and return to France under Henri IV, and the uproar which followed the king's assassination in 1610 by one of their former students. The "black legend" of the Jesuits as dangerous subversives has endured, picking up additional dimensions over the centuries and entering the common discourse of French politics, especially under the Third Republic. Efforts by the Jesuits' own historians did not really make much of an impact on historical judgments, leaving the field open to later historians who did not share the "French passions" of an earlier age. Nelson has benefited from the research of historians like A. Lynn Martin and Pierre Blet, both of whom brought scholarly detachment to their studies of the Jesuits before and after the reign of Henri IV. But Nelson's is the first fully researched and properly documented study of the problem of the Jesuits in France from the latter phases of the religious wars to the Estates General of 1615. Its subtitle is important, since this is not so much a study of the Jesuits themselves as of the evolution of the Society's relationship with the French crown—one that underwent dramatic and unforeseeable transformation in less than a generation. This is a study of the politics of exclusion, banishment, restoration, and return to royal favor in the face of often considerable opposition from within powerful and articulate segments of the French socio-political elite.

The first virtue of Nelson's approach is not to think of the *dramatis personae* in terms of preconceived "blocs." Martin had already shown how divided the French Jesuits themselves were as the religious wars developed, with Gallicans as prominent among them as ultramontanes, and that Jesuit political supporters of League were quite few. Likewise, their patrons and supporters were not of a single stripe, and they were to be found among magistrates of the parlements as much as among the aristocracy and the urban notables. But the Jesuits' position in France throughout the religious wars was legally and politically weak, and they did not yet enjoy the royal patronage that would be such a feature of their later history. Other religious orders had far cosier and long-standing relations with the crown, while the Jesuits' educational activities made enemies of the University of Paris from the outset, an enmity which was still alive and well into the 1590's and beyond. Yet it took exceptional circumstances for these weaknesses of the Jesuits' position to do them real damage. Until Chastel's attempt on Henri IV's life in 1594, the idea that the Jesuits were the "real" subversive force—because they were of Spanish and papal sympathies—within the Catholic League was confined to a small hardcore of enemies like Antoine Arnauld and Etienne Pasquier. The attempted regicide changed all that, at least temporarily, and Henri IV, who was keen to rally the Jesuits to his side after his conversion as a means of winning badly needed support in Rome, judged it better in 1594 to give the parlement of Paris a free hand in expelling them from its jurisdiction. The king's policy of reconciliation, forgiving, and for-

getting would have to wait for a more propitious moment. The recall of the Jesuits under the terms of a royal edict (Rouen, 1603) is the subject of an excellent and finely nuanced chapter by Nelson. Henri IV's readiness to part company on particular issues with the Gallican magistrates who advocated the rigor of the law against political enemies is well brought out in this account. So too are the Jesuits' own internal differences, and the possibility of "local" (i.e., French) Jesuits adopting positions which were strongly at variance with those of the papacy or their Roman superiors. Nelson's study confirms the thesis of Robert Bireley about the conduct of local Jesuits during the Thirty Years' War, and the virtual impossibility for the Roman superior-general to impose a general set of guidelines on Jesuit confessors to rulers at the time. Thus the terms of the edict of Rouen, which made the Jesuits' return to France conditional on concessions by them (all Jesuits in France to be French subjects, an oath of loyalty to the king, etc.), placed France's Jesuits in a legal-political position that was *sui generis* in comparison with other European states. Realists, like the king's future confessor, Pierre Coton, accepted it as the best deal on offer, one that would permit the Jesuits to return in force and engage in the work of Catholic reform; in Rome, opponents of such an exception spluttered and protested, but were powerless to oppose it once the papacy had accepted it. The realists' victory was complete when Pierre Coton was officially named the royal confessor in 1608, itself an act which showed how far Henri IV himself had "la suite dans les idées."

Nelson's account culminates with the shock of, and fallout from the king's murder in 1610. What seemed at first like something that the Jesuits could not survive at all did eventually die down, despite the enormous controversy that followed, and which once again saw the finger pointed at the Jesuits as the ideological begetters of regicides. By paying closer attention to what actually happened than to what was said and written against the Jesuits at this point, Nelson comes up with a more credible account of how the crisis was overcome. Once more, Coton and the local Jesuits plumped for making concessions and compromises in order to protect their position, even if it meant, once again, offending Rome. Despite the ideological heat engendered by the 1610 regicide, and the examination of the political writings of Mariana and other Jesuits by the Paris parlement, there was little support at this point for a campaign to render the Society responsible for the king's murder. It was the University of Paris rather than the parlement which was most hostile to the Jesuits at this juncture, since its fears over the Jesuits' educational ambitions had not been allayed by developments since 1603. Even Louis Servin, the most notorious anti-Jesuit magistrate, took care to criticize authors like Mariana without using his critique to build a case against France's Jesuits on it! Nelson concludes his analysis here by arguing that for all the discussion of regicide and the papal power to dispense subjects from their allegiance to their rulers, there was no real campaign to eject the Jesuits from France as in 1594. He closely examines the debates surrounding the Estates General of 1614 and finds relatively little evidence of interest in the Jesuits; insofar as there was

some interest, it concerned how the Jesuits should conduct themselves in the future rather than whether they should remain within France.

Nelson's main contribution to revising this key chapter in the Jesuits' history *tout court* lies, as already intimated, in his readiness to focus his attention upon what German historians would call *Handlungsspielraum*, namely, the scope for continued negotiation and compromise in critical situations which on the surface seem to exclude it. Only once did hostility to the Jesuits reach such intensity that there was no such scope, and that was in 1594. At all other moments, solutions were found which in the long term bound the Jesuits so closely to the French monarchy that their survival in France depended on its protection. In both 1603 and 1610-12 that seemed a price worth paying, given the benefits it promised in the meantime. Insofar as Nelson's book has a broader theme, it is Henri IV's determination to gain—or regain—royal control over the French church. Success in pinning down the Jesuits with the Edict of Rouen was meant to show the way, to create a precedent which could be used, *mutatis mutandis*, in dealing with other elements of the French church. On the question of Catholic reform, Nelson has less to offer, partly because there was a limit to what even the Jesuits could do in the decade after 1603. However, this carefully constructed and well-written study will be indispensable to anyone wishing to understand a key development in relations between monarchy and religion in early Bourbon France.

University of Manchester

JOSEPH BERGIN

La bure et le sceptre: La congrégation des Feuillants dans l'affirmation des États et des pouvoirs princiers (vers 1560-vers 1660). By Benoist Pierre. [Histoire Moderne—47.] (Paris: Publications de La Sorbonne. 2006. Pp. 590. €35,00 paperback.)

This book began as Benoist Pierre's *thèse d'état*, which means that it is a highly detailed work based on a vast number of manuscript sources. In this case the subject so thoroughly examined is an obscure religious order (defunct since 1790) known as the Feuillants, which was an austere branch of the Cistercians. It received its name from the Cistercian monastery of Notre-Dame de La Charité de Feuillant (from Latin for "leaf") near Toulouse.

As of 1563 discipline in the monastery had slipped badly, and the abbot had become a Protestant. When Charles IX named Jean de La Barrière, the scion of a local noble family, as commendatory abbot, no one had reason to expect better things for the monastery. When he returned from his studies at Paris in 1573, however, the young abbot was determined to reform his abbey. Most of its monks quickly departed for other Cistercian houses, and only four stayed on with him to implement an extraordinarily rigorous rule, which, for example, required that their diet consist of barley bread, greens, and porridge made of flour and water that they ate while kneeling. Despite such extreme asceti-

cism, the Feuillants attracted many eager postulants. They also attracted patronage from the high and mighty. Pierre shows how they caught the attention of Henry III as part of his effort to appease God's wrath against his realm by supporting the "penitential ideal." He built a monastery for them in Paris in 1587, the same year Sixtus V gave them one in Rome.

Once ensconced in Paris, the Feuillants split into supporters of the king and the Catholic League after the Leaguers drove Henry III out of Paris in May 1588. A royalist, La Barrière was also forced to flee, while Bernard de Montgaillard, known as Petit-Feuillant, became one of the most outspoken Leaguer preachers. The Leaguer Feuillants were part of what Pierre calls "the Monastic League," which was vehement in its defiance of both Henry III and Henry IV until the latter's victory in 1594. Petit-Feuillant was one of the Leaguers whom Henry IV exiled, but the Feuillants quickly overcame the embarrassment of their support for the League and became, as the author puts it, "a congregation under high protection." He enumerates the range of patrons and the size of their gifts to the order, which was composed of thirty male and two female houses by 1630; those numbers demonstrated the attraction of the ascetic ideal to the seventeenth-century French.

In the second half of his book, Pierre deals largely with the major issues affecting religious life in early seventeenth-century France and how the Feuillants responded to them. They advocated a moderate Gallicanism, accepted "catholicisme d'Etat" and the king's place as head of religion, opposed Jansenism, and mostly remained loyal to the monarchy during the Fronde, while they took little notice of the Huguenots. Their close ties to the French monarchy created tensions with the Italian Feuillants, and in 1630 two distinct congregations were sanctioned. After 1630, however, the French branch began to lose its solid footing. Donations from the grands and the order's influence on them declined, as did its membership, partly because a new rule of 1634 reduced the original rigor.

In his conclusion the author argues that the example of the Feuillants provides strong support for the concept of "confessionalisation" of the French religious orders. Most of the orders put themselves at the service of the absolute monarchy and manifested a royal religion in their cloisters. Pierre suggests that this left the Feuillants less capable of attracting zealous new members and doomed them to be permanently disbanded during the French Revolution.

This is a work that requires a great deal of the reader, but it gives keen insights into the workings of an order that for a time was one of the more popular and influential in seventeenth-century France. It also provides understanding into how French Catholicism of the sixteenth century, which produced only one saint, transformed the next century into the *Siècle des saints*.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute
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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

Local Politics in the French Wars of Religion: The Towns of Champagne, the Duc de Guise, and the Catholic League, 1560-95. By Mark W. Konnert. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2006. Pp. ix, 300. \$109.95.)

This book is an extension of the author's previous study of the town of Châlons-sur-Marne during the French Wars of Religion. In that work, published in 1997, Konnert focused on the political choices made by the urban elites in Châlons to try to understand how and why they ultimately chose in the 1590's not to side with the Catholic League Guise family, who had numerous holdings and strong ties in the region, unlike every other major town in Champagne. In the work under review here, Konnert offers a comparative study, comparing and contrasting the fortunes of Châlons with the two other largest towns of the region, Troyes and Reims, as well as several much smaller towns in the province. This might seem an odd choice, given that his own monograph on Châlons and the recent monograph on Troyes during the religious wars by Penny Roberts would seem to have already covered much of this ground. Nevertheless, despite some overlap with those two books, Konnert's comparative work still has something worthwhile to offer.

Konnert's argument is that the success and failure of the League in Champagne depended much less on the patronage network of the Guise family than on the local political choices made by the municipal elites in the region. He goes on to add that the Guises' neglect of urban elites "irreparably damaged their cause in urban Champagne . . . [and] played a large part in the failure of the Catholic League and of the Guises' ambitions in the towns of Champagne" (p. 265). The author is right to stress that politics were indeed localized and each town dealt with national issues such as the rise of the League in its own way. Indeed, the strength of the book lies in the archival research that has uncovered the local dynamics of political power as negotiated by the urban elites in the towns under discussion. It is very useful, for example, to know how and why three largely similar towns in the same region came to very different religious and political decisions when faced with the same choices and options.

The downside to this approach, however, is an overestimation of the importance of urban elites *vis à vis* the nobility. Is it in any sense true that "the noble factions and religious parties were *only* as strong as their base in local communities allowed them to be" (p. 4)? The italics are mine, as I question the word *only* in that sentence. Surely, the Guises' strong patronage ties among the local nobility in Champagne more than made up for their paucity of clients on city councils in Châlons, Troyes, and Reims. This is exactly the conclusion drawn by Laurent Bourquin in his study of the *noblesse seconde* in Champagne, as well as Stuart Carroll in his study of the Guise clientele in Normandy. Controlling fortifications, arms, and munitions, entities usually in the hands of local nobles, was equally as important as having the political support of urban notables. Thus, it seems odd to use terms such as "weakness" (p. 263) and "failure" (p. 265) to describe the Guises' patronage networks among

the urban elites in Champagne, especially as Konnert admits they made no real effort to create strong patronage networks in the towns. Where Konnert is more convincing, it seems to me, is in sketching out the local political negotiations between the towns and the local nobles in Champagne, many of whom were Guise clients. If the urban notables in Champagne were not quite as powerful as the author implies, they nevertheless played a significant part in the Wars of Religion.

George Mason University

MACK P. HOLT

Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France. By Keith P. Luria. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xl, 357. \$69.95.)

This new book by Keith P. Luria on religious coexistence and conflict in seventeenth-century Poitou is one of the most original and refreshing books to come out recently on confessional relations in early modern France. Using new approaches and non-traditional sources, he opens up new doors to confessional coexistence outside of traditional conflictual frameworks. From the very beginning of the book, Luria sets himself against the commonly held view that "religion breeds loyalties so deep and feelings of particularism so strong that enmity between faiths comes to seem inevitable and natural" (p. xiii). He attempts to reverse this paradigm, arguing that a close examination of societies that appear ridden by confessional conflict often shows that coexistence is not exceptional and that "people of competing faiths can and do get along in daily life" (p. xiv).

To test this hypothesis, Luria looks at Poitou from the 1598 acceptance of the Edict of Nantes to its revocation in 1685. Turning his back on the long historiography of Catholic and Protestant conflict, he follows in the footsteps of Bernard Dompnier, Gregory Hanlon, Robert Sauzet, and Elizabeth Labrousse.⁴ But going even farther methodologically, *Sacred Boundaries* shifts its focus from examining opposed religious cultures to see how group identities were constructed and reconstructed. Using a structuralist sociological model, the book concentrates on how boundaries were created between the different religious groups, defining who they were and separating them from those they saw as different. He sees this boundary building as an "oppositional process" in which people "think themselves into differences" and as a result of proselytising, preaching, and internal church discipline, they set themselves off from "the others."

⁴Bernard Dompnier, *Venin de l'hérésie: images du protestantisme et combat catholique au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Le Centurion, 1985). Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). Robert Sauzet, *Contre-réforme et réforme catholique en Bas-Languedoc: Le diocèse de Nîmes au XVII^e siècle* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1979). Elisabeth Labrousse, 'Une foi, une loi, un roi?': *Essai sur la revocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1985).

Luria identifies three different types of boundaries that were constructed: first, a blurred religious boundary crossed over for intermarriages, for shared cemeteries, for assistance or participation in baptisms or marriages; second, a negotiated boundary demarking the confessions of the type that the Edict of Nantes envisaged with distinct special and operational divisions recognized and negotiated by members of both religious groups; third, a complete separation of the groups, often by force, with villages becoming exclusively Catholic or Protestant as the minority group was evicted or converted.

These three models are explained in detail in Luria's introduction, and they are at the base of his succeeding six chapters. The chapters do not follow a strict chronological order and each one explores a different theme. They look at community relations, the construction of ritual, the role of family histories, the discourses of missionary rhetoric, the gendered religious polemics, and conversion accounts. They all work to explain the fluidity of the boundaries that separated the two religious groups, at times showing the permeability of the boundaries, at other times showing the way a town, a group, or an institution slid from one form of boundary to another.

These chapters demonstrate the long and delicate negotiations over sharing institutions and carving out representative political and social spaces that were begun under the Edict of Nantes. The work of the local commissioners extended these negotiations down to the grass-roots level and provided the basis for what Luria sees as the second boundary. But the assassination of Henri IV and the accession of Louis XIII to the throne marked the beginning of the process of confrontation. Simultaneously, the state intervened more and more frequently to exacerbate religious divisions, and the Catholic Church launched its efforts to reconvert French Protestants. Using case studies of local communities and of particularly active individuals, Luria's chapters explain how these local groups played a part in this double attack upon "religious coexistence" (the heated theological debates between Catholic priests and Protestant ministers, the Capuchin missions in Poitou, forty-hours devotions, Catholic processions, judicial enquiries, the *dragonnades*). At the same time, he shows how they reacted to the efforts to separate forcibly the two religious groups, initiatives that led to the eventual conversion or eviction of the Huguenots (creating the conditions for the third boundary).

Despite the dynamic that led to the 1685 Revocation, Luria remains very attached to his idea that in daily life, the two confessional groups could and did "get along." Even after 1685, he does not see the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes as a "victory" for total separation (the third boundary). Rather, he suggests that the Revocation was a defeat for the long and difficult negotiations that had led to the creation of the second boundary. For him, the many examples of Catholics hiding their Protestant brethren from the *dragonnades*, helping them to escape the country, or of Protestants superficially abjuring, but continuing the clandestine practice of their religion show that elements of coexistence remained present even after the heavy-handed oppression of Louis XIV's troops.

This is a first-rate study of the question of changing forms of religious coexistence in a period that has often been seen as increasingly intolerant and arbitrary. Based upon careful and nuanced research, it uses sociological and anthropological models to reverse the hypotheses that have led to previous conclusions. In so doing, Keith Luria provides new interpretations of both the question of religious coexistence and of the events that shaped the province of Poitou in the seventeenth century.

Université de Moncton (Canada)

DANIEL HICKEY

The Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century: Erasmus, Religion and Politics, Trade and Finance. By James D. Tracy. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 808.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xii, 346. \$124.95.)

One of the most prolific, versatile, and creative historians of the sixteenth-century Netherlands, and more generally of Renaissance and Reformation Europe, is undoubtedly James Tracy. Having begun his long career with a dissertation, and then a book, on *The Politics of Erasmus* (1978), he became interested in the history of the Habsburg Netherlands as the backdrop to the great humanist's thinking, which eventually resulted in a monograph on the political and religious history of the county of Holland before the Revolt, *Holland under Habsburg Rule* (1990). While working in the archives at The Hague, he became interested in Holland's public debt system, which apparently predated England's famous "Financial Revolution" of the 1690's by at least one century and a half. This resulted in a long article (republished in the volume under review) and another book, *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands* (1985). Professor Tracy's interest in financial matters was broadened in a study of *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War* (2002), which focuses on the ways the emperor paid for his wars in Europe and North Africa. As director of the University of Minnesota's Center for Early Modern History he also became involved with the history of long-distance trade, editing two volumes on the rise, and the political economy, of merchant empires in the early modern world (1990, 1991). In the meantime he continued to publish on Erasmus (*Erasmus of the Low Countries*, 1996), and produced a textbook on *Europe's Reformations 1450-1650* (1999). He is presently working on a project on "The Founding of the Dutch Republic," focusing on how the province of Holland largely on its own paid for the initial stages of the Revolt, thereby safeguarding its own vital interests at the expense of the peripheral Dutch provinces. In between, he dabbles with fields as diverse as the correspondence of Justus Lipsius (thus combining his interests in early Dutch Humanism and sixteenth-century Dutch politics), and relations between the Low Countries and the Ottoman Empire.

Unsurprisingly, James Tracy's research over many years has resulted in a great number of articles in various journals and volumes of conference papers.

Fourteen of these have been published in the present volume of essays. Its structure reflects the author's interests: there is a section on "Erasmus" (five essays), a section on "Religion and Politics in the Low Countries" (four essays), and a section on "Finance and Trade: Netherlands Perspectives" (five essays). Two essays have been published previously in *The Catholic Historical Review* ("Erasmus and the Arians" and "With and Without the Counter-Reformation"). Since many of these essays have been published in various journals and volumes not readily available, this volume will undoubtedly find a wide readership. All papers in this volume have retained their original pagination, as is customary in Ashgate's Variorum series. While this practice undoubtedly facilitates the retrieval of references, the bewildering variety of lay-outs and type-sets has resulted in a volume less handsome than the author deserves, for a price that may be called rather stiff.

University of Amsterdam

HENK VAN NIEROP

Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England. By Peter Marshall. [St. Andrew's Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2006. Pp. x, 291. \$114.95.)

Ever since Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago, 1980) appeared more than a quarter-century ago, historians and scholars of English literature have been engrossed by the subject of the formulation of identity in the early modern period. For the Reformation, in recent work by Patrick Collinson, Eamon Duffy, and Diarmaid MacCulloch, to name only a few, religious experience has been essential in the creation of identity: for the individual believer, as well as for the culture of a society. Mimesis, as it was taught by the Greeks and introduced by the Renaissance into the educational practices of the West, or the great Pauline ideal of edification, have been vital, and influential in their actions on hearts and institutions well beyond the religious inspiration in which they traced their origins.

Now the subject is the focus of another new and important collection of essays: *Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* by Peter Marshall, who is among the most prolific of the present generation of younger historians. He is the author of two well-received monographs: *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), and *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2002). Most of the eleven essays in *Religious Identities* have appeared elsewhere, but two chapters (as well as the introduction) are new: chapter 4 on the mysterious shooting of Robert Packington; and chapter 11 on Catholic exiles.

Among the achievements of Marshall's work is to explore what identity meant in the uncertain years after Henry VIII removed his realm from communion with the Roman Church, but before confessionalization provided the means to assess the failures and successes of the doctrinal upheavals, and to

categorize them by the examples offered by real lives. As religion was “fluid and indeterminate” during Henry’s reign (p. 4), so were identities, Marshall argues, more often than has always been recognized heretofore. The identities of many of England’s evangelicals were “forged rather than inherited” (p. 19). Readers of this journal may be intrigued by chapter 9, “Is the Pope a Catholic?” Could there have been “Catholicism without the Pope,” and was this what Henry’s Church endeavored to be? “Was Henry then a Catholic,” Marshall inquires, “and was Henricianism” a species of Catholicism? (p. 170). At the time, Edward Powell thought not. Writing in 1523 to repel the threats that Martin Luther posed, Powell maintained in *Propugnaculum summi sacerdotii euangelici, ac septenarii sacramentorum* (STC 20140) that Catholicism was inseparable from the papacy, and his adherence to his opinion led him to a martyr’s death in 1540. But Marshall demonstrates, by exploring “the textual landscape” (p. 171) from the 1520’s to the end of the 1550’s, that the word “Catholic” was too valuable to go unclaimed on any side of the widening theological divides. Henry VIII’s own opinions might be difficult to define with any certainty, but “Catholic” was both booty for building up the royal supremacy, as it was also an “unstable” identifier (p. 196) in the polemics of the day.

Marshall’s thinking is likely to stimulate further work on this vital issue. *Religious Identities* is not exhaustive, not in the nature of the topics raised, nor in the range of its author’s work, for Marshall has not chosen to reprint his entire harvest. He has written other pieces, like his study of the “Geographies of the Afterlife” in *The Place of the Dead* (which he co-edited with Bruce Gordon, Cambridge, 2000), which are not included here. Nevertheless, scholars and students working in this field will welcome the opportunity to have so many of his essays between a single set of covers.

Fordham University

SUSAN WABUDA

Catholic Collecting, Catholic Reflection, 1538-1850, Objects as a Measure of Reflection on a Catholic Past and the Construction of Recusant Identity in England and America. Catalogue of the exhibition edited by Virginia Chieffo Raguin. (Worcester, Massachusetts: College of the Holy Cross; distributed by the Catholic University of America Press. 2006. Pp. x, 214. \$35.00.)

This is the catalogue of a loan exhibition mostly of material from England and mostly dating from English recusant Catholics’ troubled times between the Henrican schism and the gradual restoration of their civil rights from the later eighteenth century onwards. The majority of the objects exhibited come from the stupendous collections of the Jesuit foundation in the Catholic heartlands of northwest England, Stonyhurst College in Lancashire.

Stonyhurst is an extraordinary treasury, one of the most distinctive and extraordinary museums in England. Its collections contain medieval manu-

scripts and objects conserved by Recusant piety, but their overwhelming focus is Jesuit and internationalist, a baroque museum complemented by a superb anthropological collection encompassing the world. The Stonyhurst collection also contains Jesuit high art from the Spanish Netherlands, particularly a sequence of flower paintings by Seegers. Its highlight to many modern sensibilities is the set of vestments made by the recusant gentlewoman Helena Wyntour, a life's work and an act of devotion to the Society of Jesus and its saints and martyrs which has also a real claim to be considered the most significant work in the visual arts of any early-modern Englishwoman.

This catalogue illustrates altar plate, alabasters, textiles, and manuscripts mostly from the Stonyhurst collection, but drawing also on other museum collections in England and North America. The result is a fine and moving bringing-together of many objects and works of art which furnished the underground Catholicism of post-Reformation England. There is also a quantity of material on the specifically Catholic Gothic Revival in nineteenth-century church building and church furnishing. Certainly this particular assemblage of works of art has never been brought together before in so convenient a form for North American readers.

It must be said, however, that in many respects this catalogue represents a tragic missed opportunity. The work as a whole is confused and confusing: there are some essays of real scholarly value, particularly the contributions by A. I. Doyle, Janet Graffius, Robert Scully, S.J., and Rory O'Donnell. But these are almost overwhelmed by a welter of indifferent exposition which seems essentially aimed at an undergraduate audience with little or no knowledge of the matters under discussion. There is, however, a strong central thread to the collection although that very unifying thread seems puzzlingly anachronistic. The central focus on medieval survival and mediaeval revival is presented as uncontextualized as it might have been at the enthusiastic height of the nineteenth-century Catholic "second spring." While baroque works—Antwerp paintings from the Shireburn chapel, devotional prints, and objects from the Jesuit Colleges—are indeed present, the whole emphasis is medieval and medievalist. As such it cannot possibly represent the realities of that internationalist Counter-Reformation Catholicism within which the English Catholics perforce operated. (Scottish and Irish Catholics appear, for the purposes of this work, simply not to have existed.) The emphasis and omissions are inexplicable in the light of the burgeoning recent scholarship on Recusant Catholic culture and literature in Ireland, Britain, and Europe, a corpus of scholarly work of which this collection makes perversely infrequent use.

University of Aberdeen

PETER DAVIDSON

The Battle for the Bible in England, 1557-1582. By Cameron A. MacKenzie. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Group. 2002. Pp. xi, 338. \$69.95.)

"The Bible says so." That should end the argument, but truth and certainty are not that simple today nor, as Cameron A. MacKenzie shows, were they that simple during the English Reformation. His stated purpose is to examine early English Bibles to see "what we can learn about the religious and theological commitments of the communities that produced them" (p. 1). He argues that the Geneva Bible was essentially adopted and domesticated by the Anglican Church in order to temper the separatistic impulses of English Puritanism. Then he describes how the Rheims text was a Catholic attempt to turn the Protestant arguments against their creators without sacrificing what it meant to be Catholic in the sixteenth century.

By limiting his scope to the period between the publication of the Geneva Bible and production of the Rheims New Testament, he fills in details omitted by the broad outlines drawn by other authorities. There have been several significant works that have provided the big picture. David Daniell's *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence* (2005) and Alister McGrath's *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible* (2001) are but two recent, readable examples. By narrowing his inquiry, MacKenzie fills in the significant steps between William Tyndale's New Testament (1526) and the King James Bible (1611). MacKenzie has focused on the cultural, political, theological, and social forces that influenced the three major Bible translations (the Geneva Bible, the Bishops Bible, and the Rheims New Testament) of this twenty-five-year period.

The Geneva Bible was, of course, the voice of opposition not only to the Catholic politics of Mary Tudor but also against the "settlement" of her half-sister Elizabeth. He correctly shows the weakness of speaking of "the" Geneva Bible because it appeared in many editions in both Europe and in England. Each edition of the Geneva Bible had a distinctive preface, different introductions to the various sections, explanatory notes, marginal readings, liturgical calendars, and noted textual variants. Each set of editors was guided by religious, not to mention political, values that informed their presentations. Their understanding of the Bible's message and its perspicuity influenced not only their choice of words in translation, but also their choice of what was needed to make the message evident. MacKenzie points out that what first had been produced as a work of opposition to the English throne was, in the end, printed by the British establishment to consolidate Anglicanism and provide a united front against the threat—which was both real and exaggerated—of Catholics destabilizing the fragile Elizabethan settlement.

By employing arguments from philology, the church fathers, and textual criticism, the Rheims translators of the New Testament reversed the Catholic opposition to an English text. Their translation relied fundamentally upon the authority of the Catholic Church expressed, in this instance, by the decrees of the Council of Trent and showed that an English Bible could support orthodoxy as

well as heresy. Like its Protestant counterparts, the Rheims New Testament was partisan and polemical in its notes, chapter summaries, tables, and explanations. It was Latinate, even obscure; English was a deliberate choice rather than simply taking issue with Protestants regarding the clarity of the text.

MacKenzie's work is thorough with extensive explanatory endnotes, a solid bibliography, and a useful index. Just as his work is strongest when dealing with the religious and political issues of the Anglican Church, it is weakest in describing the ecclesiastical and theological changes in Roman Catholicism that allowed the Rheims project to become a reality.

Eastern Mennonite University

DONALD DEAN SMEETON

Edmund Campion: Memory and Transcription. By Gerard Kilroy. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Co. 2005. Pp. xii, 262. \$89.95, £45.00.)

Over the past decade Edmund Campion has assumed quasi-iconic status in Elizabethan studies. Executed for treason in December of 1581, Campion has benefited from cross-confessional interest in martyrs and martyrologies. Literary critics excavate his writings as they recover the long-lost voice of English Catholics. More important for Campion's international renown is his alleged association with William Shakespeare, an association that remains nothing more than fanciful conjecture despite repeated unsubstantiated insistence. One suspects that despite contemporary concern for coded language and historical criticism, confessional issues often lay not far beneath the surface. An Hilaire Bellocesque autumnal pastoral, nostalgic for by-gone days and melancholic for what might have been, permeates many of these works. Kilroy's monograph must be seen in this context: it may have evolved out of his reading Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992), Philip Caraman's edition of John Gerard's *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London, 1951), and Richard Wilson's "Shakespeare and the Jesuits" (*Times Literary Supplement* [December 19, 1997], 11-13), but the Campion that emerges is the traditional, martyred saint out of Robert Hugh Benson's *Come Rack, Come Rope* (London, 1912).

How many literary critics and historians, perhaps deterred by the difficult Latin, passed over Campion's so-called Virgilian epic? But the language may have been what attracted the author. Kilroy has not only transcribed for the first time *Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi* [The Birth of the Sacred Seeds of the Salvation-bringing Word], but also has provided an English translation. This important theological poem, composed between 1566 and 1570, illuminates Campion's state of mind as he pondered the next step: should he remain in the Established Church and proceed to orders, or return to the Roman Church. He juxtaposes the permanence of the Roman Church with the transitoriness of the Roman Empire in his *apologia* for papal primacy: "the sure barque of Peter, never to sink, sailed bravely forward despite the tyrant;

sure it always was, unbroken by tempests or force of arms, and never to perish by the wiles of devils" (p. 193).

Campion dedicated the poem to Anthony Browne, Viscount Montague. This was not the first time that Campion had presented something to him: "you have shown to me personally, above all others, such a token of your splendour and glory in accepting my rough and loquacious little works of literature" (p. 177). Hitherto we had been unaware of any contact between the two and their relationship should be explored. Montague was one of the few Catholics who retained Queen Elizabeth's favor despite his religion. Was he in some way influential in the decision to send Campion on the mission?

Kilroy's reading of Campion's role on the English mission follows traditional hagiographical lines. Accordingly, Campion's resolve faltered only once, upon hearing of the collapse of negotiations for the Anjou match and of the landing of an Hispano-papal army in Ireland. Admittedly it is difficult to ascertain tone in the printed text, but his remark to Allen, "Do you think that my labours in England will countervail all this travail, as well as my absence from Bohemia, where, though I did not much, yet I was not idle nor unemployed, and that also against heretics?" suggests more than a "moment of hesitation" (p. 56). Unlike his more notorious colleague Robert Parsons, Campion had apparently turned his back on his homeland, never demonstrating any eagerness to return. He may even have dragged his feet about leaving Prague. In such a scenario, news of the attack may have reinforced earlier reluctance. Similarly the author refuses to take seriously the so-called confessions of Campion. Sir Thomas Tresham's manuscript accounts may help resolve doubts regarding their authenticity, but we cannot dismiss official versions as government propaganda and assume that Catholic manuscripts, written and preserved clandestinely, are more accurate and less rhetorical.

Although the monograph's title highlights Campion, arguably the subtitle is more important: *Memory and Transcription*. The Catholic community operated within strict laws and oppressive conditions. Earlier studies investigated secret printing presses. Only recently, however, have scholars concentrated on the "paperchase" (to use Professor Nancy Pollard Brown's term) of manuscripts. Kilroy follows in their footsteps. Through a comparison of watermarks and handwriting, he provides fascinating new insights into the manner in which Catholics preserved and shared their memories, the roles played by collectors such as Sir John Harrington, and the convergence of circles devoted to the transmission of recusant writings and the poems of Sir Philip Sidney. "Why doe I use my paper, ynke and pen, And call my wyttes to counsell what to say?" asked Henry Walpole in his poem on the execution of Campion. Kilroy does not neglect the "why," but his explication of "how" the products of paper, ink, and pen circulated is to be commended.

James II: The Triumph and the Tragedy. By John Callow. [English Monarchs: Treasures from the National Archives.] (Kew, Surrey: The National Archives, 2005. Pp. xii, 116. £14.99, \$22.95 paperback.)

This brief, lavishly illustrated, but un-annotated book is not intended to revolutionize our view of James II. Despite evident sympathy for his subject, and the insight gained from his two previous books on James's early military career and late years in exile, John Callow's verdict on Britain's last Catholic king is much the same rather depressing one current for the last three centuries: "Unable to brook dissent, or to heed timely advice, James's utter inflexibility of character and steely purpose turned all his many gifts and advantages to dust, effectively retarding the cause of full religious toleration by one hundred years. . . ." etc. (p. 1). Rather, this volume tells in brief the familiar story of the most frustrating of Stuart kings, while illustrating the collections of the National Archives, all for a general audience. Readers are encouraged to pursue their studies at the National Archives: full instructions are given for ordering reader's tickets and the like on page viii.

Though supplemented by a time-line, two pages of brief biographies and judicious suggestions for further reading, the brief span of the narrative itself does not leave much room for in-depth analysis. At times, Dr. Callow must skim over complex issues, like the causes of the British Civil Wars, the negotiations at the Restoration, or precisely how the Dutch fleet escaped James at Lowestoft. The 1677 marriage of James's daughter Mary to William of Orange, which James opposed, is mentioned only in passing, but the explanation of the Exclusion Crisis is well done. The author's insight that James's leadership suffered from never having experienced independent command in youth, and that he worked best in a subordinate position (to Marshal Turenne as a young man, to his brother as an older one) is valuable.

The documents are beautifully reproduced on pages separate from the main narrative. First, each is placed in context. These sections produce some of Dr. Callow's most enlightening observations (for example, pages 98-99 on James's religiosity). One page of each document is then reproduced in a beautiful color photograph. Finally the full text of the document is given. But the document selection is odd, perhaps because of the need to highlight the holdings of the National Archives. Missing are any political or religious pamphlets, official documents such as the Declaration of Indulgence, William's replies to James's letters, or excerpts from contemporary diaries or memoirs by Pepys, Evelyn, Reresby, Aylesbury, or, most surprisingly, James himself. Rather, the volume draws on the king's own letters in the State Papers. While this might appear to be the obvious course to take, it runs aground on two shoals: first, a king's eye view is anything but inclusive, and may not be the best guide to his own reign or even life. Worse, James II was among the least interesting or reflective letter writers of the early modern period: for example, in Letter 8, the execution of Algernon Sidney receives one sentence, as does a fox-hunt. Letters 10 and 11 are detailed but matter-of-fact accounts of Monmouth's

Rebellion. The king makes no attempt to come to terms with why so many of his subjects could not abide his rule. This does have the virtue of confirming the traditional view of James's character and why he lost his crown: he comes across as a rather plodding and unreflective man, unable to place himself in his opponents' shoes even for the purpose of defeating them.

In conclusion, this is very much a gift shop book. It is a pleasure to read and to own, not least because of its beautiful illustrations but also because its author knows his subject. It is not intended for scholars, but it might work in an undergraduate course. Dr. Callow has fulfilled his brief well, given his rather unpromising subject matter.

Loyola University of Chicago

ROBERT BUCHOLZ

Gunpowder: The Players behind the Plot. By James Travers. (Richmond, Surrey, UK: National Archives. 2005. Pp. 192. \$36.00.)

The accession of James I to the English throne in 1603 raised the hopes of several of the various religious factions within the realm. On one hand, English Puritans hoped that James would be the Moses ready to deliver them to a godly paradise. On the other, English Catholics also saw reason for hope. James was the son of the Catholic martyr, Mary, Queen of Scots, and had expressed support for religious toleration.

James, however, dashed the hopes of both groups by proclaiming his steadfast allegiance toward moderation and the compromise embodied in the Thirty-Nine Articles. No serious reform in either direction would take place. Catholics, with perhaps the highest expectations, were the most disappointed. Moreover, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Spain in 1604 removed the possibility that they could be rescued from the throes of heresy by foreign intervention.

Believing that they were in desperate straits, a small band of disappointed Catholics resolved to deliver a master stroke by which their faith could be restored. Like modern Mafiosos who knew that if they eliminated one of their enemies, they must eliminate them all, they concocted a plan to blow up the king and members of both Houses of Parliament at the opening of the session in 1605. As the session neared, however, the plotters began to have reservations, among them the realization that the explosion would also kill Catholic peers. They decided to warn them ahead of time, but, to their dismay, the peers informed the government instead. The plotters were easily rounded up and in most cases died horribly for their indiscretion.

James Travers' book is not a conventional history of the plot, although one can learn most of what is known about it from reading it. Rather, Travers' book is an interesting and nicely executed narrative experiment, where he treats the event as a high drama with a prologue and three acts, and pays particular atten-

tion to the roles and personalities of the leading figures. Another attractive feature of the book is that Travers' incorporates analysis of original documents and art work into his text. While the result will not reveal much that is not already known, the book is well-conceived, smoothly written, handsomely produced, and of particular interest to persons who are not specialists in the period.

Marshall University

WILLIAM PALMER

The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England. By Peter Lake with Michael Questier. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xxxiv, 731. \$45.00.)

In his vivid title, Peter Lake refers to the denunciation of fashionable attire by the Dutch Puritan Ananias in Jonson's satiric comedy, *The Alchemist* (cf. 4.7.55). Lake's extensive survey of religious attitudes in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature is virtually two books in one. Lake scrutinizes sixty murder-pamphlets in Chapters 1-5. With Michael Questier, he examines Catholic martyrologies in Chapters 6-8. These chapters are flanked by two excellent historiographical essays: the Introduction, and Conclusions to Sections I and II. Lake peruses a total of twenty plays: less well-known domestic tragedies in Section I, and dramas by Shakespeare and Jonson in the last half of the book. Lake includes twenty-two woodcuts or engravings to illustrate murderers (sixteen in Section I), Catholic martyrs (four in Section II), and preachers (two in Section III).

Lake determinedly avoids the polarizations of A. G. Dickens (Reformation inspired by biblical translations and sermons) versus Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy (Reformation imposed by monarchs). He follows the nuanced scholarship of Patrick Collinson (godly Puritans: whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Congregational) and even draws Catholics from the backwater into the mainstream of Early Modern English history. Lake examines many of the pamphlets and plays studied by the feminist Frances Dolan and the cultural materialist Lena Cowen Orlin, but to their insights he adds the religious concerns of Tessa Watt and Alexandra Walsham.

Lake's analysis of the sixty murder-pamphlets is a challenge to follow because he treats his murderers like a pack of cards to be shuffled and dealt under successive headings. Lake describes "a chain of sins" (p. 47) leading to murder: drunkenness, gambling, theft, and adultery. Next he categorizes the murders according to the position of the victims: husbands, wives, children, masters, and clergy. Given his primary interest in the religious dimension of his material, Lake notes which murderers were moved to repentance by the promptings of their own conscience or by the preaching of the clergy, which ones spoke contritely in prison and on the scaffold, and which refused to admit their guilt. Pamphleteers usually claimed that murderers who were Catholic or Puritan had been led into crime by their religious beliefs. It is not easy to trace the murderers from one topic to another because some names

are not listed in the Index, e.g., the historical Mrs. Brewen (p. 66) and the fictional Thomas Merry (pp. 24-26). All pamphlets are listed in the index, but not all give the name of the murderer or the victim in their titles. A bibliography, if only of secondary sources, would have been helpful.

Lake's treatment of English Catholic martyrs and Renaissance drama is more immediately rewarding. Catholic readers will be pleased to learn how much pastoral activity Jesuits and secular priests were able to exercise from Elizabethan and Jacobean prisons. Lake finds Protestant preaching and scaffold speeches to be similar in form, though different in content, for both repentant murderers and persevering Catholics. As an historian of religion, Lake illuminates the themes of sin and repentance in tragedies based on murder-pamphlets as well as the lack of repentance in Hamlet's uncle and Macbeth. Lake connects the anti-Puritan satire in *The Alchemist* and *Bartholomew Fair* to the anti-Marprelate tracts. In Shakespeare's problem-play *Measure for Measure*, Lake suggests that Angelo is doctrinally Calvinist, first thinking himself one of the elect, then one of the reprobate after his abuse of power is unmasked.

Peter Lake is to be commended for highlighting analogous forms in the vast repertoire of murder-pamphlets, Catholic martyrologies, tragedies, and comedies. This gargantuan work will repay the effort required to digest and assimilate it.

The Catholic University of America

ANNE M. O'DONNELL, S.N.D.

Religion and Reformation in the Tudor Diocese of Meath. By Brendan Scott.
Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 174. \$65.00.)

This short book forms part of an increasing body of local and regional studies which collectively are bringing about a transformation of our understanding of early modern Ireland. This developing preoccupation with the lesser political and administrative units of the island—its lordships, counties, and dioceses—is in large part a reflection of continuing dissatisfaction with the attempts of previous generations of scholars to provide an adequate account of the major historical developments of the period through wide-ranging and general lines of interpretation. As political and administrative historians failed to identify fundamental forces underlying the process of the Tudor conquest and its consequences across the country as a whole, so they turned to intense analysis of particular regions in order to uncover and assess specific factors hitherto obscured in the broad canvass of historical explanation. And similarly, as there is no agreed account as to why the Protestant Reformation failed and the Counter-Reformation succeeded, religious and cultural historians have begun to undertake intense studies of the primary units within which the great confessional struggle took place. Already important original work informed by these concerns has been completed for the archdiocese of Armagh, the archdiocese of Dublin, and the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin by

Henry Jeffries, Colm Lennon and James Murray, and Mary Anne Lyons respectively, and further research on other dioceses is well underway. And it is in this context that Brendan Scott's study of the diocese of Meath is best seen.

In his choice of topic Scott has been singularly fortunate. As part of the archdiocese of Armagh and as a county of the Pale, Meath has been relatively rich in surviving primary materials, and Scott has been able to exploit important work on the diocese already published by the nineteenth-century ecclesiastical historian Anthony Cogan, and by more recent scholars including John Brady, Gerard Rice, Helen Coburn Walsh, and Hubert Gallwey. What he offers himself is a not unsubstantial contribution to this corpus. An opening chapter provides a topographical and social survey of the diocese which will prove highly informative to those unfamiliar with the internal characteristics of the area. A second chapter develops an interpretative narrative of the course of the Reformation, and its decline from the 1530's to the 1590's.

Three analytical chapters follow. The first conducts a detailed examination of the economic and social status of the diocesan clergy. A second investigates the course of the dissolution of the diocese's religious orders and the distribution of monastic lands. A third supplies a social survey of the laity, reviewing the genealogical history of the leading noble and gentry families, and providing solid evidence of the drift toward recusancy which was such a marked feature of the later sixteenth century. Of these the first is the most successful and valuable. Combining a wide variety of difficult and hitherto underused sources, and applying a well-informed comparative perspective, Scott supplies convincing evidence both for the extremely perilous financial state of the diocese at the start of the Reformation and for its subsequent deterioration as the century advanced. The analysis is concluded by a case study of one egregiously offending clergyman which, while making due allowance for the exceptional features of the case, Scott uses to cast fascinating light on the conditions of the parish clergy as a whole. In the following two, however, the author is less imaginative. Though he carefully traces the early stages of the sale of monastic lands and throws some light on the subsequent fate of the disposed religious (most continued to draw on relatively generous pensions), he does not consider the subsequent course of the monastic estates on the land market. This is unfortunate as so much of the property was distributed not by outright grant but by leases, many of which were to fall due in the later sixteenth century at a time when competition between the old colonial community and New English adventurers for the profits of land and office was beginning to intensify. Insecurity over land title may have been a significant factor in alienating the local gentry from the royal government, which Scott does not consider in the following chapter; and in this regard he might have given time also to a consideration of the larger cultural implications which the Reformation entailed for the descendants of the original conquerors (the dominant ethnic group in Meath), whose very legitimacy was being undermined by the promise to absorb Gaelic Irish priests, practices, and observances in a common Church of Ireland.

In the absence of such deeper enquires it is not perhaps surprising that both in his narrative chapters and his conclusions Scott does not stray very far from the prevailing orthodoxy: that the success of the Counter-Reformation was due to the failure, weakness, and incapacity of those charged with the enforcement of the Reformation. This has always been plausible enough in so far as it goes. But it leaves unresolved crucial questions as to why such weakness and incompetence should have persisted so chronically amidst an increasingly effective political and military presence, and why it should have provoked such a forceful reaction. But while it may have not supplied answers to these problems, the evidence produced so copiously and clearly in this book makes a substantial contribution toward their better appreciation.

Trinity College, Dublin

CIARAN BRADY

South Tipperary 1570-1841: Religion, Land and Rivalry. By David J. Butler (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2006. Pp. 336. \$65.00.)

David J. Butler's book *South Tipperary 1570-1841: Religion, Land and Rivalry* explores and analyzes the relationship between Protestants and Catholics in South Tipperary from the time of the Reformation to the achievement of Catholic Emancipation. It is an excellently researched book. Butler covers an extensive period in the history of South Tipperary (1570-1841), during which period the themes of religion, land, and rivalry were real and emotive issues in the county and in the country in general. Butler writes in a style that is engaging and accessible. It is evident from the outset that Butler has an empathy with his subject area, and both the vastness of his knowledge regarding this period and his attention to detail are evident in every chapter.

The book is divided into three judiciously entitled parts. Part 1: "Carving out Spaces of Dominion: Reformation, Re-conquest and Rebellion, 1570-1649"; Part 2: "Consolidating Territorial Control: Power, Identity and Difference, 1650-1730"; and Part 3: "Contesting Hegemony: Confrontation and Resistance 1731-1841," which give a flavor of the topics covered in this volume. A fine conclusion forms the final chapter. The appendices, bibliography, and index are worthy of this publication.

At the beginning of the book, Butler includes the following quote from R. Miliband: "hegemony is actually a process of struggle, a permanent striving, a ceaseless endeavour to maintain control over 'hearts and minds' of subordinate classes. The work of hegemony, so to speak, is never over." In the last line of his concluding chapter Butler states: "It may be seen in this study that on the one hand, even to the end, the ruling Protestant minority establishment never ceased to struggle to retain the hegemony to which it had grown accustomed and without which it could see no purpose for itself: on the other hand, the Roman Catholic majority continually strived for the religious, social and economic ascendancy it saw as its God-given right" (p. 268).

Throughout his book, Butler uses many examples to flesh out Miliband's thesis on hegemony. For example, one of the instruments used by the minority establishment in its pursuance of hegemony was tithes which Catholics were required to pay to the Established Church. Catholics viewed this tax as exorbitant and unfair. Commenting on tithes, Butler says: "These extractions were inflated by the machinery of collection, which constituted a corps of tithe-protectors and tithe-farmers who at a price administered the system on behalf of the clergy" (p. 220). The Whiteboys dealt with these middlemen and often did so in a violent manner. The Government of the day enacted the Whiteboy Act of 1765 to deal with the Whiteboy menace. It could be argued that Parliament colluded with the established minority in its hegemonic agenda. This was a period when Catholics lost their lands, did not have their rights vindicated in law, and felt their religion being belittled by a minority who believed it was their God-given right to govern as they saw fit.

Early on in his book, Butler states a sound rationale for his area of study: "The study of an Irish county, such as South Tipperary, opens up many interesting perspectives and aims to contribute to the literature by combining geographic concepts with archival work and interdisciplinary material" (p. 17). This methodology subtends his whole approach to his field of study. Butler's work will be of interest to Tipperary people, to historians, to students of Irish history, to ecumenists, and to anyone interested in understanding the impact of religion, land, and rivalry between the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth century in South Tipperary. Dr. Butler is to be congratulated on this fine piece of research which has established him as a *bēgemōn* in this area of expertise.

Carlow College
Carlow, Ireland

CONN Ó MAOLDHOMHNAIGH

Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645-1649. By Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp xiii, 324. £48.)

The mission of Gian Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, to Ireland as papal nuncio in the later 1640's has long been recognized in scholarly circles as important in terms of its political and diplomatic effects. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's study represents a major advance in its contextualizing of Rinuccini's Irish sojourn in the post-Tridentine European Catholic milieu. This approach affords him the opportunity to reassess the progress made by the Counter-Reformation in Ireland in the three decades between the establishment of a resident episcopacy in Ireland in 1618 and the nuncio's arrival in 1646, and also to examine the personal values and preconceptions that he brought to bear from the center to the periphery of the Catholic world of Europe.

One of the principal contributions of the author is his clear demonstration that the Catholic reforms initiated by Trent had been successfully imple-

mented in many of the dioceses ruled by Gaelic Irish bishops, in spite of difficulties such as their problematic jurisdiction within the Stuart kingdom of Ireland, the shortage of ecclesiastical resources due to the confiscation of diocesan and monastic property, and the internal rivalries within and between the regular and secular clergy. It is cogently argued here that Rinuccini found much to admire in the disciplinary rigor of the Gaelic bishops' regime and their reverential attitude to worship. The nuncio's own writings on the subject of the place of religion in the state and the proper conduct of bishops and clergy are very effectively adduced to explain both this reaction, and also the vehemence of his rejection of any diminution of the Roman Church's position during the political imbroglio at the heart of the peace negotiations between the Kilkenny confederates and Ormond, the lord lieutenant.

Rinuccini's ideal of the public, self-confident expression of Catholic belief and worship and his insistence on the full restoration of church property brought him into conflict with the Old English confederates who wished to come to terms with the royalist cause in England and Ireland as a means of ensuring toleration. Ó hAnnracháin's analysis of the nuncio's formation in the Roman and civil law elucidates his forensic examination of the history of the breakdown of relations between the Italian and the peace-making coterie within the confederation of Kilkenny. This explains, for example, his exasperation with the constitutional and common law milieu in which those whom he disparagingly called the "Ormondites [*Ormonistí*]" operated. Mutual distrust and incomprehension were crystallized in the parties' diametrically opposed views on the efficacy of private worship. Interestingly, the author posits a "Jansenist or seigniorial" version of Catholicism among the Old English elite, though this concept is not really elaborated upon here.

The title of the book, which seems odd if applied only to the period, 1645-1649, is fully justified as it brilliantly measures the Catholic renewal in Ireland against the benchmark of continental Tridentine reform. Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin's extensive researches in a range of archives in many countries and in documents in many languages represent a scholarly *tour de force*. Using the prism of Rinuccini's Italian Catholic perspective, the author's comparison of the work of the Counter-Reformation missionaries in the island with that of their counterparts in many other parts of Europe, brings the subject into the historiographical mainstream.

National University of Ireland, Maynooth

COLM LENNON

Late Modern European

Imperial City: Rome, Romans and Napoleon, 1796-1815. By Susan Vandiver Nicassio. (Welwyn Garden City, UK: Ravenhall Books, Linden Publishing Limited. 2005. Pp. 255. \$34.95.)

This book is evidently intended for a broad readership intrigued by the recreation of a picturesque and occasionally dramatic past. The author surveys the life of the inhabitants of Rome in the extraordinary decades when the Eternal City experienced traumatic events such as the short-lived Jacobin Republic of 1798, the restoration of papal government, the French hegemony in Italy, absorption into the French Empire in 1809, and the fall of Napoleon's reign in 1814-15. The book does not pretend to offer any particular analysis of these events; rather, they serve as the background for a skillful evocation of what life in Rome was like at that time. The look of the city, the character and social organization of its inhabitants, their daily and ordinary experiences, are recreated with the help of travelers' accounts, occasional vignettes of specific well-documented individuals, memoirs, and some visual sources. Though the striking developments of those years receive attention, the emphasis is on what the ordinary lives of ordinary Romans were like, and on how they survived the disruptions caused by the French.

A first chapter recounts the overall historical narrative of these decades. Then follow chapters on the city and its appearance, the society and mores of the Romans, the "joys" and "sorrows" of their lives (from marriages and popular entertainments to violence and dirt), the features and feasts of the Catholic ritual year, and the economy, education, and work. Two late chapters more closely track the deteriorating relationship between French occupiers and resisting Romans, which mirrored the increasingly bitter fight between Napoleon and the papacy. A final chapter surveys the restoration of papal government and ends the book with an overview of the fate of Napoleon's family, many of whom ended up in Rome.

The book is enjoyable to read, and its larger story and individual vignettes are often captivating. None of it adds up to much in the way of interpretation, although Professor Nicassio affects a tone of nostalgia for the happiness of old-regime life, which appears for instance in a constant—and eventually, to this reviewer, grating - sarcasm toward reform attempts: suffice it to say that the Jacobin Republic is almost always referred to as the "Ridiculous Republic," an epithet apparently used at the time, but obviously far from an unbiased one.

Even when writing an engaging book for a general audience, a professional author ought to be more careful with her facts and editing. The book is quite simply riddled with errors and typos. There are many instances in which little facts or details are repeated, sometimes in the same few pages (e.g., pp. 45-46); many, many of the numerous terms and expressions in Italian, French, or Latin are misspelled; often the same foreign names or words appear with different spellings

even in the same two or three lines (e.g., in the “cast of characters,” p. 10, where the name of one of Napoleon’s brothers-in-law is also misspelled, or on pp. 99-100), or events are dated to different years (such as the death of Napoleon’s mother, pp. 226 and 232); and the bibliography, which includes a useful introductory essay, is filled with misspelled names of authors and mistaken titles, including one of the classics on the topic, David Silvagni’s *La corte e la società romana* (a single footnote on p. 160 includes five typos in Italian names and titles). The book has no full index (only proper names); a few quotes have no references, and many of the pretty illustrations are not identified or credited.

Then, there are errors of fact: the dates of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (p. 17) and of the Treaty of Amiens (p. 27) are off by one year, and the imperial proclamation of Napoleon III is dated to 1850 instead of 1852 (p. 228). Winckelmann was not murdered in Rome (p. 144), but in Trieste, and Raphael (who died in 1520) did no work for Sixtus V (who ruled 1585-1590) (p. 35). It is perhaps picayune to point out such errors, which in themselves are of small import. But the overall sloppiness undermines even an engagingly written and conceived book like this. All audiences deserve more care and attention than this book grants them.

Georgetown University

TOMMASO ASTARITA

Don Bosco, His Pope and His Bishop. The Trials of a Founder. By Arthur J. Lenti, S.D.B. [Centro studi Don Bosco: Studi Storici—15.] (Rome: LAS [Libreria Ateneo Salesiano]. 2006. Pp. 251. €15 paperback.)

Arthur J. Lenti teaches at the Institute of Salesian Spirituality in Berkeley, California. His impressively researched book, *Don Bosco, His Pope and His Bishop* is a study of Saint Giovanni Bosco (1815-1888), the founder of the Salesian Order and a key figure in Catholicism’s approach to poverty and industrialization in the mid-nineteenth century. Don Bosco struggled to save impoverished boys from the streets, first in Turin, and launched his famous Oratory, which enjoyed the patronage of the King of Piedmont. He also enjoyed good relations with Turin’s archbishop Luigi Fransoni, whose death in 1862 left the see vacant until Lorenzo Gastaldi replaced him in 1871. Don Bosco was also a good friend of Gastaldi and had nominated him first for the see of Saluzzo and then that of Turin. A Rosminian progressive, Gastaldi, however, distanced himself from Don Bosco, and each ultimately considered the other as an enemy. Lenti’s work examines the nature of the struggle between the two antagonists. The story of the bad blood between the two occupies the bulk of the text. Much of it was a turf battle. That some young men, for example, preferred to enter the Salesian houses over life in the diocese led Gastaldi to charge that Don Bosco was stealing his seminarians. Clearly inflated egos on both sides worsened the situation, and in December of 1874 Gastaldi “issued a decree abrogating all favors, faculties and privileges granted to the Salesians by him and by his predecessors” (p. 163). While Pius IX was

alive Don Bosco had an ally in Rome, and the pontiff, in turn, relied on him for advice from Piedmont, the crucial engine of Italian unification. Lenti notes, however, that Bosco lost his advantage when Leo XIII came to the throne of St. Peter in 1878. The new pope courted the archbishop, and Gastaldi “finally prevailed,” a victory confirmed in a forced *Concordia* which ordered Don Bosco to apologize in writing.

Lenti devotes his volume to Church administration rather than to the better-known story of Don Bosco’s efforts regarding the social and spiritual demands of the nineteenth-century poor, the work that led to his recognition as a saint. Each of the three chapters are reprints of articles first published in *The Journal of Salesian Studies*. Taken together, however, they tell a coherent tale. Some minor typographical errors dot the text; an awkward transition to “Section Two” of Part One may cause some confusion; Gastaldi is referred to as Lawrence and as Lorenzo in various parts of the book; and the work suffers from the lack of an index. Lenti’s study, on the other hand, is laudably even-handed and refrains from tarring Gastaldi. Some of the most appealing passages of the book, in fact, treat him humanely and even with admiration. Almost a century and a half later, however, the squabbles often appear petty and arcane. The book, nevertheless, provides valuable insight into the occasionally sordid nuts and bolts of church politics. Perhaps Lenti’s treatment of the controversy between Don Bosco and Lorenzo Gastaldi will lead some readers, active in their own parish politics, to ask themselves, “How much has really changed?”

The University of Scranton

ROY DOMENICO

Fear and Trembling. By Søren Kierkegaard. Edited by C. Stephen Evans and Sylvia Walsh. Translated by Sylvia Walsh. [Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2006. Pp. xxxviii, 115. \$55.00 clothbound; \$16.99 paperback.)

Kierkegaard’s *Frygt og Bæven*, the author’s meditation on the Genesis 22 narrative, has now been translated into English six times. Several years after the work’s original publication, Kierkegaard proposed that, being widely read and translated into foreign languages, the text would become something of a modern classic. Hindsight fully establishes the merit of this forecast. In addition to being far and away the most translated of Kierkegaard’s texts, *Fear and Trembling* continues to be the text through which a disproportionate number of readers are introduced to Kierkegaard, as well the text about which a disproportionate amount of scholarly literature has been and continues to be written. *Fear and Trembling* is also the first of Kierkegaard’s works to merit inclusion in the series of Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy.

Structurally, this latest edition of *Fear and Trembling* compares favorably with previous editions. The editor’s introduction—although it, like those of

previous editions, bears the unmistakable mark of its author in a number of places—is really the first to do justice to the manifold of openings that precede the advent of the three *Problemata* (problems regarding the teleological suspension of the ethical, the absolute duty to God, and the ethical defensibility of Abraham's silence, respectively). Calling attention to the peculiar problems attested already in the subtitle of the work, the name of the pseudonymous author, the motto, the preface, the attunement, the tribute to Abraham, and the preliminary expectationation, Evans succeeds in bringing the reader much closer to the point at which a reading of *Fear and Trembling* may verily be said to begin. Additionally—and while the supplied chronology and suggestions for further reading are merely adequate—the running footnotes and appended index are quite simply superb, and manage to facilitate the entire range of readings to which earlier editions had been variously catered.

As to the translation itself, the translator would presumably call the reader's attention to the work's subtitle, according to which the text is a "dialectical lyric." Such a qualification borders on the oxymoronic and subsequently appeals to two divergent sensibilities on the part of any would-be translator: the technical and the poetic. Add to this the advent of the ostensive problem of (Abraham's) "translatability" in the text itself and one has all the makings of a translator's nightmare. Accordingly, one may as well amend Kierkegaard's forecast to say not only that *Fear and Trembling* will be translated into, e.g., English (by Payne, 1939), but that it will be translated again (by Lowrie, 1941), and again (by Lowrie, 1954), and again (by Hong and Hong, 1983), and again (by Hannay, 1985), and then, now, again. Admittedly borne upon the successes and failures of these precedent endeavors, as well as the wealth of subsequent commentary and the newly designed Danish edition, the translation supplied by Walsh is arguably the best yet—so long as this qualification is not taken to imply the ideal of the eventual "impeccable" translation daringly anticipated by Lowrie on the occasion of his significantly revised second translation. Indeed, although progressing at a markedly and appropriately slower pace than the commentary thereupon, it would seem that the translation of *Frygt og Bæven* is a comparably interminable endeavor. Suffice it to say, however, that the reader who thinks to wait for the next "better" edition and translation of this remarkable text will almost certainly be waiting for quite some time.

South Texas College

CHRISTOPHER NELSON

The War Against Catholicism. Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany. By Michael B. Gross. [Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.] (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 354. \$70.00 hardback; \$25.95 paperback.)

Did sexual anxiety cause the *Kulturkampf*? So one might conclude after reading Michael B. Gross's provocative study of the anti-Catholic imagination in nineteenth-century Germany. German liberals coded the Church as female.

When a women's movement in the late 1860's produced "dramatic pressures for change" (p. 239), liberals responded with a virulent anti-Catholic campaign. Within a decade they had succeeded in expelling the religious orders, depriving parish clergy of their role in schools, giving the state control over the education and appointment of pastors, and jailing bishops and banishing priests who refused to comply.

The picture invites skepticism. Could three new vocational associations, with "assiduously" unpolitical agendas and a modest, overwhelmingly non-Catholic membership (the latter unmentioned by Gross), really trigger such liberal panic as to precipitate an earthquake in church-state relations? If the political, social, and sexual order were so deeply unsettled by this "resurgence of the women's movement," would not conservatives—and Catholics—have been even more alarmed? If sexism was "typical of the liberal middle class" (p. 186), were the upper and lower classes more enlightened? Yet it was middle-class liberals whose imaginations were "tortured" (p. 206) by fantasies of Catholicism.

Gross argues that the incessant invocation of their own masculinity and repeated representation of the Church as female served to defend German liberals' monopoly on public space against the invasion of women. One could also argue the reverse: antagonistic masculine/feminine tropes aimed at barricading the public space against the Church. Was woman the target and religious invective the weapon, or was Catholicism the target and misogynist invective the weapon? Different passages of *The War Against Catholicism* suggest different answers.

But such queries are beside the point. The New Cultural History has never set its sites on anything so positivistic as causation, on distinguishing dependent from independent variables. It seeks, rather, to unravel tangled skeins of meaning. In this task Gross excels. In exploring what the Catholicism *meant* to liberals, Gross is at his most innovative and most persuasive. When he argues that "at the center of liberal anti-Catholicism was ... not merely religious intolerance but a more fundamental sexism" (p. 203), that the *Kulturkampf* reflected a "more fundamental contest between men and women" (p. 205), one might question his judgment as to which element is really "more fundamental," but not his nose for new and interesting historical evidence. Gross has grounded his case for the gendering of anti-Catholicism on a much fuller empirical base than I (having also searched for such connections, mostly in vain) would ever have thought possible. His resourceful investigation of images, recurring metaphors, and verbal tics lays bare the filiations of liberal identity in ideas of independence, rationality, and masculinity, demonstrating powerful connections (although perhaps not causal ones) between liberal anti-Catholicism and what academics call "misogyny." Language that likened piety to nymphomania and offered prophecies of metaphoric castration if the Church remained unchecked betrays, Gross tellingly observes, a "deep-seated fury" (p. 239). Surely this was (forgive the misogynist term) hysteria.

The phobic dimension of liberal identity is Gross's most memorable contribution, as convincing as it is astonishing; but it by no means exhausts the riches of this stimulating book. Guarding against reductionism in accounting for the *Kulturkampf*, Gross pays his dues to "hard" empirical social and political history, shedding light on the legislative fallout of the anti-Catholic campaign as well as on the sources of Catholicism's conspicuous vitality. A particularly fine chapter explores the movement to invigorate Catholic piety through missions, arguing in passing that Catholic missionary successes spurred a competitive Protestant revival. His evidence is anecdotal and fragmentary, but if confirmed by further research his suggestion would significantly revise our picture of German Protestantism in decline. Unpersuasive, however, is Gross's explanation for Catholic success: having "*pounded* audiences with the threat of infernal damnation, hellfire, and brimstone, the missions were instruments of psychological and *public terror; traumatizing* their audiences and *driving them back* into the church" (p. 25; emphasis mine). Melodrama has always been popular and never more than in the nineteenth century. There is no impartial evidence, however, of its "traumatizing" its consumers, any more than horror movies do today—despite the dark forebodings of critics. The notion that the nineteenth century's richly articulated Catholic piety was the product of trauma hardly accords with the explosion of vocations, which (thought liberals) "exceeded the requirements" of the population (p. 131). For two decades after 1850, more than two convents, on average, were founded in Prussia *every month*. Is it reasonable to attribute these remarkable commitments to terror?

If some of Gross's interpretations outrun plausibility, others exaggerate his differences from predecessors like Jonathan Sperber, Helmut Walser Smith, Ronald J. Ross, David Blackbourn, and myself (all generously cited). On such matters, for example, as the duration of the missionary campaign, the explanation and timing of the *Kulturkampf*, whether or not anti-Catholic legislation was a betrayal of liberal principles, the differences are a matter of emphasis.

After having given us a powerful description of febrile anti-Catholicism through the early 1870's, Gross unaccountably sees it declining at the century's turn. Had he looked at the kinds of evidence that he exploits so brilliantly for earlier decades, he might have concluded otherwise. In a 1903 *Simplicissimus* for example, little Michel, the elfin symbol of Germany, is pictured steering his fragile rowboat of state between the multi-headed Scylla of socialism and the monstrous mouth of Charybis, whose biretta reveals this leviathan as Catholicism. In 1909, a sinister Jesuit, a plague of rats swarming around his heels, offers a visual argument against the Center Party's motion to repeal the society's expulsion. Compared to such nightmares, those roly-poly monks quaffing beer in monastic cellars that Gross reproduces from *Gartenlaube* seem innocuous. Regardless, however, of one's demurs here and there, Gross's study is a notable addition to the history of anti-Catholicism and a methodological landmark. The "New Cultural History," whose apostles have

promised so much, has at last found a subject worthy of its program and a historian with the imagination and skill to deliver on it.

The University of California, Berkeley

MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON

Volksfrömmigkeit und Katholisches Milieu: Marienerscheinungen in Heede 1937-1940 im Spannungsfeld von Volksfrömmigkeit, nationalsozialistischem Regime und kirchlicher Hierarchie. By Maria Anna Zumholz. [Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte und Historische Landesforschung, Band 12.] (Cloppenburg: Verlag und Druckerei Runge. 2004. Pp. 746.)

In this interesting study, a slightly revised dissertation, Maria Anna Zumholz analyzes a series of Marian apparitions which occurred in Heede, a small village in the remote northwestern German Emsland region. She uses her analysis to offer a nuanced picture of the interplay between popular piety, Catholic milieu, ecclesiastical authority, and National Socialist repression.

In a 200-page introduction, Zumholz provides a detailed history of the Emsland and its predominantly Catholic population. The Emsland changed hands repeatedly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, always between states with Protestant rulers. Repression of their faith, combined with government neglect of this poor rural region, led the Emsländer to form a high level of suspicion of any state authority.

Zumholz argues that this population was particularly prone to beliefs in supernatural occurrences and in special gifts of certain individuals. The author also provides a thorough review of Marian apparitions in Germany and elsewhere in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She points out that, in contrast to circumstances in other countries, no Marian apparition in Germany received ecclesiastical approbation. Zumholz believes that German bishops were not only "Germanically thorough" and strict in their review of these events, but they also feared the condescension of the Protestant majority, which considered Marian devotion in general and apparitions in particular to be proof of Catholic backwardness. In this context, Zumholz points to David Blackbourn's study of the supposed apparitions at Marpingen, events which German bishops remembered only all too well.

The Marian apparition in Heede occurred over the course of three years in a village cemetery. Four adolescent girls claimed to have seen the Mother of God appearing between two trees. They continued seeing the image, although not on a regular basis. The girls claimed to have spoken with the image, whose presence nobody else, even those present, could perceive. While the local priest soon supported the young women in their claims, the Bishop of Osnabrück as well as state authorities of the Third Reich were alarmed by the claims and even collaborated in banning pilgrimages to the cemetery. The bishop's decrees and the draconian measures taken by the Gestapo and the

Sicherheitsdienst (the intelligence branch of the SS), however, failed to stop people, even those traveling considerable distances, from coming to Heede.

Zumholz uses these events to engage current debates about the formation and strength of both popular piety and the Catholic milieu. She argues convincingly that, at least in the Emsland, the milieu was deeply rooted in the community and that it had originated among the laity. She thus rejects the arguments of Olaf Blaschke and others who argue that the church hierarchy created the milieu as an instrument of social control or even a way of resisting modernity. Similarly, Zumholz shows that while the Church encouraged Marian devotions specifically and expressions of popular piety generally, this particular expression grew in defiance of the bishop's explicit instructions. Thus, popular piety, too, was not something engineered from above. Zumholz shows how the laity were and are quite powerful in insisting on forms of devotion acceptable to them and how this challenged and challenges bishops to find compromises between their own authority and the demands of the laity.

Zumholz also shows that the laity's adherence to the milieu strengthened during times of crisis, such as during the repression of the National Socialist regime and the trauma of World War II. She has marshaled a large body of evidence to demonstrate the failure of the National Socialist regime to penetrate the Catholic milieu. Quite the contrary, the milieu appears to have strengthened under pressure from the outside. Zumholz believes resistance to external pressures to be one of the most important contributors to milieu formation, more important than socioeconomic change—largely absent in the Emsland—, modernization, or hierarchical instrumentalization.

There are only few substantive criticisms to raise against this work. Zumholz is too generous in her treatment of Wilhelm Berning, Bishop of Osnabrück during the Third Reich. While she attributes his accommodation of the regime to his desire to maintain adequate levels of pastoral care in his diocese, other bishops cared for their flocks without instructing their clergy to use the Hitler greeting and without instructing one of their aides to maintain regular informal meetings with the local Gestapo representative to resolve issues of common concern. Also, this volume would have benefited from additional editing before publication. For example, most readers who engage this work will not require a sixty-page description of the anti-Catholic views of National Socialists such as Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich or of the organizational structure of the Gestapo and the *Sicherheitsdienst*. Finally, 200 pages of introductory material, even if it sets the scene carefully, are more than enough.

These criticisms, however, should not detract from the value of this work. More than the study of a particular Marian apparition, this is an excellent, detailed, and well-differentiated analysis of the way in which laity, an inimical regime, and church hierarchy interacted in mid-twentieth century Germany. Too often, the history of Catholicism during the Third Reich is the story of

extremes of resistance and collaboration. This study shows Catholics who were used to being a neglected if not oppressed minority doing what they had always done: rejecting the outsiders and maintaining their faith.

Rivier College

MARTIN MENKE

Consciences épiscopales en exil (1789-1814): À travers la correspondance de Mgr de La Fare, évêque de Nancy. By Bernard de Brye. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2004. Pp. 517. €59.00 paperback.)

Anne-Louis-Henri de La Fare was a pre-eminent leader of the Catholic Church in France during the Restoration. Aside from becoming Archbishop of Sens in 1817 and a Cardinal in 1823, he served as an assistant to Talleyrand when the latter led his government's administration of *cultes*. Monseigneur La Fare never would have amassed such ecclesiastical cache, however, had it not been for his earlier intransigence toward the Revolution, Napoleon, and the religious legislation enacted by both. Becoming the bishop of Nancy while the Old Regime was in its last throes, La Fare went into exile shortly after passage of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. He remained outside of France until 1814, refusing to recognize the Napoleonic Concordat and not submitting his episcopal resignation before 1816. It is this earlier part of La Fare's pastoral career that is the subject of Bernard de Brye's book.

Much of Brye's study reads like a conventional biography. Like many high prelates of his time, La Fare was groomed from an early age to become a prominent clergyman. Before becoming the bishop of Nancy, La Fare proved himself as a *syndic* of the clergy in the diocese of Dijon, a member of the Estates of Bourgogne, and a participant in the General Assembly of the Clergy in 1782. Shortly after becoming bishop in 1788, La Fare was one of the relatively few (forty-five) bishops sent to the Estates General to represent the clergy. He quickly aligned with the far right in the Constituent Assembly and vehemently opposed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which when passed led to his resignation from the assembly in July 1790 and his subsequent exile six months later.

Monseigneur La Fare first found refuge in Trier, but remained there for less than a year. By November 1791 La Fare was in Vienna, where he spent the balance of his exile. Aside from keeping tabs on his diocese, which was no easy task, he also directed efforts whereby expatriated French priests were sent into Hungary to minister and evangelize. La Fare also assisted other exiled bishops who lacked proper passports and came to the material aid of the exiled clergy from his diocese. This study is at its best when Brye describes La Fare's attempts to administer his diocese from afar; one finds subtle depictions of relationships that La Fare forged with the vicars general of his diocese, who clandestinely acted on his behalf in Lorraine. Also significant here is Brye's explanations for why La Fare not only rejected the latter clerical oaths during the Directory period but also the Concordat of 1801 throughout the Napoleonic regime.

As welcome as this book is, especially since it provides valuable glimpses of the refractory Church both in France and beyond it and is generally well researched, one is hard pressed to see how Brye's work differs from the outdated polemical historiography of the Catholic Church during the French Revolution that casts the refractory clergy as right and the constitutional clergy wrong. What does Brye say about the Constitutional Church in and around Nancy? Hardly anything. To cite one example, the Constitutional bishop of the Meurthe, Luc-François Lalande, is mentioned only once in the book, in an obscure footnote, no less (p. 250). That Brye obviously considers the Constitutional Church illegitimate is beside the point; the greater issue here is his obfuscation of the institution's relevance by omitting it from the narrative. Scholars yearning for a comprehensive view of the Catholic Church in France during the Revolution deserve better, even in a book about a counterrevolutionary cleric.

Western Illinois University

EDWARD J. WOELL

Henri-Dominique Lacordaire's Re-Establishment of the Dominican Order in Nineteenth-Century France. By Peter M. Batts. [Roman Catholic Studies, Volume 21.] (Lewistown, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 129. \$99.95.)

Among the understudied (and thus underappreciated) figures of nineteenth-century French Catholicism (which is itself also understudied) stands Henri-Dominique Lacordaire, who channeled his considerable talents and faith into the successful postrevolutionary restoration of the Order of Preachers in France.

The author, Peter Batts, suggests that Lacordaire's Dominican vocation provides a case study of the role that religious "Romanticism" in a variety of forms, played not just in the postrevolutionary restoration of this venerable order, but also of the wider influence of French Catholic Romantic thought on the restoration/establishment of other orders and congregations in France and on the evolution of nineteenth-century Catholicism.

Batts greatest strength lies in his description of the nature and role of this Catholic religious Romanticism as it emerged in France and captured the hearts, minds, and imaginations of a generation of young men and women like Lacordaire.

The author also clearly identifies the fault-line that emerged within the restored Dominican order between the positive, ultramontanist vision represented by Lacordaire, which sought an authentic adaptation and accommodation of the Dominican charism to evangelize effectively a startling new world order, and a rigid, more traditionalist ultramontanist vision, represented by Alexandre Janel (the restorationist Master General), who felt that an uncompromising resistance to change in any form was the most effective means for restoring the primitive evangelistic spirit and thus effectiveness of the Order of Preachers.

In the end, however, this study reads more like a prospectus for a needed modern critical biography of Lacordaire and his life and times. The present study is also limited by its exclusive use of secondary and published primary source materials, and no apparent independent archival research. A more thorough job of editing may have also led to a helpful annotation of the text by the judicious use of explanatory footnotes.

Among the study's contextual flaws is an inadequate presentation of the very nuanced relationship between the Church and an increasingly anticlerical State from the 1801 concordat through the various regime changes of the century. Also absent is a serious consideration of the battle in France in this era between a temporarily revitalized Gallicanism and an ultimately ascendant ultramontaniam.

More importantly, absent from this study is any real discussion of pre- and post-revolutionary Dominican history in France and elsewhere that would enable the reader to understand the context of the Dominican restoration and particularly the state of the order that led to the extraordinary intervention of Pius IX into the governance of the Order of Preachers.

Finally, the author presents the outline of a worthwhile argument that an understanding of Lacordaire's theology of religious life might today yield fruitful insights for Dominican life and ministry, as well as the Church's response to the challenges of the postmodern world.

DePaul University

EDWARD R. UDOVIC, C.M.

Saint Thérèse of Lisieux: Her Family, Her God, Her Message. By Bernard Bro. Translated by Anne Englund Nash. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2003. Pp. 253. \$15.95 paperback.)

St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus is an important saint. Bernard Bro, O.P., is one of her most important interpreters. In *Saint Thérèse of Lisieux: Her Family, Her God, Her Message*, he takes up and expands on many of the themes of his popular 1974 book *The Little Way*. Bro incorporates insights of scholars with whom he had collaborated as editor at Editions du Cerf in the preparation of the centenary edition of the works of the saint and of studies of her doctrine. These include Conrad de Meester, O.C.D., and Guy Gaucher, O.C.D., later auxiliary bishop of Lisieux, and Emmanuel Renault, O.C.D. Most significantly, he draws on his intimate knowledge of the saint's writing and his contact with the living tradition of the Carmel of Lisieux to present the *meaning* of Thérèse's life and doctrine. And with the help of literary quotations, he does so for a world in which men and women are increasingly isolated and alienated. Bro writes both as a man of letters and as pastor who understands the basic issues of human life.

Bro notes that many who write about Thérèse approach her by placing her in opposition to someone else or by analyzing her in the light of psychology, semantics, or structuralism. In contrast to such a “reductive” hermeneutic, he proposes a hermeneutic that “builds up” by striving for an “authentic connaturality and sympathy with the reality being studied” (p. 248). Consequently, his interest is in revealing the dynamic of the life of St. Thérèse from within, from what actually motivated her and gave meaning to her life. We are not surprised to learn that he discusses love, confidence or surrender, mercy, zeal for souls, hope, suffering, and silence, for they are key concepts in her life and writings. Bro eruditely explores the meaning of these questions for the world. Then, by presenting them as St. Thérèse experienced them, he reveals the profound fidelity of her life and doctrine to the saving work of Christ. As a consequence, he is well able to establish her theological originality and (as a kind of running bass note) to suggest that she deserves her title of doctor of the Church.

Bro ably shows that Thérèse’s experiences of loss and of her own helplessness led her to understand that God loves us first and loves us without condition. As a consequence, her task in life was to return that love by living in truth and choosing whatever God in his mercy might send, even if it meant choosing without obvious success. Thérèse emerges as a teacher of hope.

Bro’s insights make this an important work. But it is a flawed work. Its organization is sometimes confusing. Chapter titles correspond poorly with contents. Bro provides no biographical sketch or chronology; instead he presumes a detailed familiarity with the saint’s life and with primary sources. He omits some important source references. His indulgent use of literary citations sometimes obscures his exposition. Minor historical inaccuracies intrude. The intrinsic flaws are compounded by a translation that is sometimes too faithful to the French for ease of reading in English. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, this book deserves a place in the library of every student and preacher of St. Thérèse.

Washington Theological Union

DAVID J. CENTNER, O.C.D.

The Cathedral ‘Open and Free’: Dean Bennett of Chester. By Alex Bruce. [Liverpool Historical Studies, no. 16.] (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 2000. Pp. xiv, 286. \$19.95 paperback.)

Alex Bruce has produced a detailed study of the role of Frank Selwyn Macaulay Bennett in adjusting the character of Anglican cathedrals to the changed circumstances of post-World War I England. Bennett served as dean of the cathedral in Chester, England from 1920 to 1937, wrote numerous short works on the place of the cathedral in the life of the church, and served on a Church of England Commission that made recommendations about cathedrals, collegiate churches, and chapters (1924-1927). Bruce demonstrated that soon

after assuming office at Chester, Bennett turned Chester Cathedral into a model for cathedrals elsewhere in England.

Bruce, a retired headmaster and local historian, detailed a series of specific changes introduced by Bennett at Chester Cathedral. Bennett extended the hours in which the cathedral was open; increased the rota worship services to include daily celebrations of the Eucharist, Matins, Evensong, and Compline; eliminated entrance fees, arranged to have clergy available around the clock for counseling; and oversaw changes to the physical plant that included installation of electricity, the creation of a "great Hall" in which community events could be held, and the designation of a parlor in which canons could relax and smoke their pipes.

Bruce had a good command of the details of the story that he has related. He traced Bennett's family origins and his early history in two parishes in Chester (Portwood and Christ Church) and one in the diocese of St. Asaph in Wales (Hawarden). Bruce patiently explained the sometimes-perplexing contingencies of the Anglican Church. He noted, for example, the difference between cathedrals of ancient foundation and those of modern foundation; explained the complicated debate around the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Wales, investigated the origin of the entrance fees that Bennett so opposed (perhaps an outgrowth of tips given to the vergers and sextons who conducted tours) and the claims that others preceded Bennett in their elimination (true only in qualified ways—i.e. for limited periods of time or for limited portions of the church building); and speculated on the behind-the-scenes developments by which Bennett received his various appointments. The book can be a gold mine of information for those seeking to understand the workings of the early twentieth-century Church of England.

Bruce had much less to say about the relationship of developments in the Church of England to those in churches of other denominations or to those in churches in other parts of the Anglican Communion. He did, however, provide some interesting hints. He explained, for example, that there was no evidence that the re-established Roman Catholic cathedrals of nineteenth-century England charged admission. He also noted that Bennett traveled to the United States in 1926 to share his vision of the role of a cathedral with American Episcopalians. Others will have to follow up on such leads in telling the broader story of the modernization of the cathedral. An editor's note at the beginning of the book explained that Alex Bruce died while the book was in press.

The Bible War in Ireland: the "Second Reformation" and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840. By Irene Whelan. [History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora.] (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 347. \$60.00.)

This is a significant book that breaks new ground in its description, analysis, and contextualization of Protestant and Catholic hatred (not too strong a word for it) for each other in the early decades of the nineteenth century in Ireland. It makes a valuable contribution to an understanding of the origins of what was to become the endemic sectarianization of Irish society. And it offers an important perspective on the phenomenon of anti-Catholicism in Britain and the United States in the later nineteenth century. The book's main theses are based on a very extensive study of the main documentary archives—notable use being made in particular of the Methodist Missionary Society papers—and also of the published religious ephemera produced by the contending parties. This book will be essential reading for anyone interested in the emergence of an Irish Catholic identity in the nineteenth century and in Protestant-Catholic relations in that period not only in Ireland but in the Anglophone world.

Dr. Whelan examines the emergence in Ireland in the last decade of the eighteenth century of a strong Protestant evangelical movement which took as its objective the conversion of the priest-dominated Irish Catholics. This was a task that had been talked about and even acted upon fitfully since the late sixteenth century, but the results had been, to say the least, disappointing. By 1790 Ireland was infinitely more "Catholic" than she had been two hundred years earlier. This stark fact was a standing reproof to the Protestant Ascendancy that had governed Ireland since the seventeenth century, but until the late eighteenth century there had been for some time a weary, and indeed wary, acceptance that it might not be possible or indeed advisable, to do anything about it. In the 1790's, however, the shattering experience of polarized community relations and religious mayhem culminating in the 1798 rebellion—widely depicted as a sectarian civil war—forced a re-think. One lesson from the rebellion was that Protestantism could never be safe while the mass of the people remained in thrall to their priests, and hence a strong evangelical movement embracing not just Methodists but also key personnel in the Church of Ireland was got under way. This was to culminate in the 1822 declaration of the absolute necessity for a "Second Reformation" by the newly installed Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, William Magee. The Catholic Church, experiencing a resurgence in the early nineteenth century, and under the redoubtable leadership of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin fought back against what it saw as a declaration of war. It was no coincidence that this confessional conflict in the 1820's overlapped with the campaign for Catholic Emancipation led by Daniel O'Connell. Each drew upon the other, each sharpened the bitterness with which the debates and the elections were conducted, and when the contest ebbed religion and politics were inextrica-

bly linked for the foreseeable future. The “Bible War” may have peaked in the 1830’s, as Dr. Whelan argues, but it continued *diminuendo* for many decades and arguably formed the crucible of modern Irish Catholic identity. By the 1830’s to be Irish was to Catholic and, in Ireland, to be Catholic was to be Irish, a synchronicity which had not been the case in the mid-eighteenth century, but which was to persist by and large to the present day.

University College Dublin

THOMAS BARTLETT

American

Beyond Toleration: The Religious Origins of American Pluralism. By Chris Beneke. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 305.)

In this, Professor Beneke’s first book, Americans of the colonial and early republic eras come to embrace diversity in religion as a means of transforming their discrete societies into a unified republic rooted in majority rule. In describing this progression, the author consistently recognizes the importance of belief to early Americans. Homogeneity of religious belief, values, and practices within localities or regions served as the basis of community in colonial America. Diversity threatened not only American communitarianism, but also the possibility of united colonies. Therefore, the growth of toleration was a significant development, and served as the basis upon which to establish a new and larger community during the Revolutionary era.

Beneke’s text is exceptionally well written, exhaustively researched, and modestly argued. It begins with a concise, yet rich depiction of the religious absolutism present in Colonial America. Intolerance was rooted in an absolute belief in one truth and in the acceptance of God’s directive to spread that truth. Colonies were formed as enclaves of like believers protected by civic and church laws. “Within such a context, dissent was more than wrong. It was seditious” (p. 22). However, as the seventeenth century passed, Americans found that an increasingly diverse population compelled changes in behavior and attitudes. Toleration, as “an instrument of prudent statecraft,” was reinforced by a “radical political ideology known as liberalism that asserted ‘liberty of conscience’ as an individual right” (p. 32). Later in the eighteenth century Americans came to “the radical conviction that true liberty of conscience could only be experienced through public discussion” (p. 43). The growth of printed materials disseminating dissenting views, “irreverence for authority and disdain for formal distinctions” explain the rapid rise of tolerant perspectives prior to the Revolution (p. 51). Beneke sees the Great Awakening as fostering the growth of ecumenism by challenging traditional religious authorities and accepting all expressions of genuine faith rooted in Christian concepts as ultimately different forms of the same truth. The ecumenism movement came to full significance in the years after the Revolution when it served as the basis for Robert Bellah’s “civil religion”—a new theological understanding that

united disparate Americans in shared values accepting individual rights, Judeo-Christian morals, and a belief in democracy as the means to secure both.

Beneke conceives of the progression from doctrinal exclusiveness to religious toleration to full liberty of conscience as a series of events that occurred within a Christian America. In the process he tends to minimize secular movements and Enlightenment ideas outside of Christian thought. He notes the growth of "Deism," "Universalism," "infidelity," and "religious indifference" in the early republic, but views contemporary accounts expressing alarm as overstatements. America, he assures his readers, was still a Christian nation, albeit one accepting an ecumenism as its civil religion. "To some critics, it was impossible to distinguish between wholesale indifferences to religion and the polite ecumenism that prevailed among elites" (p. 172). Beneke wants his readers not to make the same mistake.

Beneke clearly writes as one who accepts Christian precepts and the authority of a church and at times this perspective results in judgmental language that this reviewer is uncomfortable reading in a scholarly work. For example, he finds many of the Founders came "perilously close to deism" in exercising their liberties of conscience (p. 166). Near the end of the book he strangely intermingles issues of church governance and civil governance, refusing to recognize the one as a private concern and other as a public responsibility. Perhaps more importantly, Beneke could be more forceful in articulating and developing his thesis throughout his text. Lengthy descriptive passages would have benefited from more analysis and interpretation. Yet, these matters do not significantly impair this work as a significant academic contribution to the growing historiography on the meanings of religious freedom and church-state separation in the founding era.

University of Richmond

MARK DOUGLAS MCGARVIE

The Catholic Experience in America. By Joseph A. Varacalli. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 2006. pp. xxii, 314.)

Part of a larger series "The American Religious Experience," the present volume is designed as a text book for senior high school students, presumably in Catholic high schools. The first half of the volume is about the past history of Catholicism in America. Professor Varacalli, of Nassau Community College, covers the basic facts and controversies of the past. His narrative is unexceptionable, though it does tend to celebrate the Catholicism of the decades after the end of World War II as an apogee.

In more recent history, however, the book displays a traditionalist approach to Catholicism and a more conservative political stance—disapproving of what the author calls the "Kennedy-Cuomo" political orientation. True to the vision of his mentor Monsignor George A. Kelly, Varacalli laments the impact of

the Second Vatican Council on the religious behavior of American Catholics and advocates as desirable the return to stricter Catholicism of the pre-council days. He expresses the hope that Pope Benedict will restore discipline to the Church in this country. The book, therefore, will be very useful in those high schools which wish to emphasize the deterioration of Catholicism in the United States and the lack of political courage of Catholic politicians. High schools with a different orientation will probably find it offensive. Thus he mentions the statement *Dignitatis Humanae (On Religious Freedom)* only to caution on the risks of interpretation which will weaken the uniqueness of Catholicism. His young readers are not told that this statement was written in part by the American Father John Courtney Murray S.J. and is considered the major contribution of the American bishops at the Council, a reversal of the teaching that error has no rights (Murray, as the reader of this review doubtless knows, argued that erring people do have rights). It would be better if the book, if it were to say anything about the Council, would present a more nuanced perspective, especially on this all-important document. Students should understand at least that Professor Varacalli's "orthodox" ideology is not the only useful model for considering contemporary Catholicism.

The University of Chicago
The University of Arizona

ANDREW GREELEY

Habits of Compassion: Irish Catholic Nuns and the Origins of New York's Welfare System, 1830-1920. By Maureen Fitzgerald. [Women in American History.] (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2006. Pp. x, 299. \$50.00 clothbound; \$25.00 paperback.)

With this ambitious and provocative study, Maureen Fitzgerald contributes substantively to the burgeoning field of scholarship acknowledging the seminal roles women religious have played historically in the formation of American culture and society. Focusing primarily on the work of the Sisters of Mercy, the Sisters of Charity, and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in nineteenth-century New York City, Fitzgerald situates her sophisticated chronicle of the evolution of city welfare policy within a complex nexus of both inter- and intra- gender, religious, class, and ethnic interactions, tensions, and stereotypes. Fitzgerald posits a struggle for cultural hegemony in the emerging welfare state, initially manifest in the opposing positions which Protestant, native-born, elite women and Irish Catholic nuns adopted respectively. Protestant women eschewed outdoor relief or direct subsidies to the poor and advocated removing poor immigrant children from their natural parents and placing them out permanently in American Protestant families, both to preclude the perpetuation of a permanent dependent class and to ensure the inculcation of proper American republican values in immigrant progeny. The sisters preferred to preserve the immigrant family's integrity and parental involvement—and, not incidentally, Irish Catholic culture—by institutionalizing the children temporarily and returning them to their parents as circumstances warranted. As her narra-

tive unfolds, Fitzgerald deftly incorporates other variables—including the increasing intervention of male bureaucrats, politicians, and the Roman Catholic male hierarchy in welfare initiatives over time; new assaults on non-Protestant cultural traditions as new political alliances based on class coalesce and supersede traditional alliances based on religious and ethnic loyalties; the proliferation of public and private agencies to regulate welfare institutions; and the triumph of “scientific charity” which prizes education, professionalism, and investigation over normative standards of charity and justice. Fitzgerald’s analysis of the impact of historic conditions in Ireland on the nascent Irish American community consciousness and her perceptive discussion of both Protestant and Irish Catholic conceptualizations of female sexuality, appropriate gender roles, and model female behavior particularly distinguish themselves.

However, some aspects of this engaging study prove problematic. Fitzgerald’s reference to sisters’ “ability to make vows of obedience to other women, not to men” (p. 39) and repeated assertions that “most [convents] were not subject to the bishops in the dioceses in which they worked” (p. 38), and “women religious were now to have a place in the hierarchy below bishops” (p. 47) exaggerate an autonomy from episcopal authority that the sisters themselves would neither have asserted nor presumed. Indeed, the Rule of 1812 of the Sisters of Charity in Emmitsburg, Maryland, explicitly stipulated the following under Article III, On Obedience: “The Sisters of Charity shall pay honor and obedience to their institute, to the most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops in whose respective dioceses they may be established. They shall obey also the Superior General of their society and those whom **he** [emphasis added] may delegate to direct or visit them, to the Mother, and in her absence to her Assistant Sister. . . .” Fitzgerald’s several references to “the convent [as] a preferable means to articulate religious and political commitment” (p. 11), to nuns’ “reluctance to claim that power as such, especially in public and to the larger community. . . .” and “their unwillingness to spar publicly with Catholic men or Protestant native-borns. . . .” (p. 42) distort the very nature of the nineteenth-century disengagement of women religious from worldly contestations of power, public roles, and public voices. Nevertheless, this important study succeeds not only in telling the stories of women religious, but also in “. . . fundamentally critiquing and rethinking the premises of an American women’s history that has rendered their work invisible or inconsequential” (p. 3).

University of Georgia

DIANE BATTS MORROW

The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders’ Worldview. By Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 828. \$70.00 clothbound; \$29.00 paperback.)

One of the most persistent myths about the Old South is that it had no “mind”—that white southerners, as a “conscious minority” besieged by criti-

cism over slavery and living amid their “troublesome property,” acted out of passion, fear, anger, and even fury rather than studied philosophies. The myth gained currency because few people outside the South, then and now, took seriously the southerners’ proslavery apologies as having any intellectual rigor or moral worth. Whatever “mind” the master class did have supposedly was incapable of thinking beyond defending slavery and one’s “honor.” In such a world, intellectual pursuits were suspect at best, dangerous at most. Forty years ago Clement Eaton presented the arguments of various southern planters, clergy, writers, and other intellectuals to suggest the Old South had a mind, limited though it was, and more recently scholars such as Drew Gilpin Faust, Jon Wakelyn, and Robert Brugger, among others, in a series of biographical studies and Michael O’Brien in two thick volumes on southern thought discovered an intellectual ferment in the Old South that challenged the myth of the Old South as an intellectual desert. Now, with the publication of their much-awaited *magnum opus*, Eugene Genovese and the late Elizabeth Fox-Genovese have settled the matter. In *The Mind of the Master Class*, they bring together a lifetime of inquiry to discover the ways in which elite white southerners “reflected on the world they lived in and on the bearing of history and Christian faith on their lives as masters in a slaveholding society” (p. 1). In doing so, they reveal a vibrant and sophisticated southern intellectual life, albeit one that fixated on demonstrating and affirming that the South’s slave society, rooted in a corporate patriarchal structure and rural independence, promised the most stable Christian social order known to humankind.

The Genoveses have read all manner of public and private musings of hundreds of southern planters, clergy, novelists, and others engaged in a century of investigation and debate on the nature of social order and obligation, faith, and political economy in and for a slave society. By the Genoveses’ reckoning, these earnest southern intellectuals were well versed in Scripture, theology, moral philosophy, classical and medieval history, Enlightenment ideas, the transatlantic revolutionary movements of 1789-1848, cultures across the world, and much more. They read deeply and widely partly out of intellectual curiosity but mostly out of fear. Their intellectual stance was in the end defensive, for they recognized their ways were out of tune with the march of political democracy, theological liberalism, and market capitalism that threatened their world. They read and wrote to “justify themselves to themselves” (p. 382) and to reclaim moral authority in a nation they worried was fast sinking into corruption and apostasy because of abolitionism and all that it represented. The master class confronted modernity. They found appealing, for example, the seeming stability of medieval society, grounded in hierarchy, and some among them even conceded that the Catholic Church had provided a civilizing force in history. To be sure, the elite southerners were also conflicted, for they “pronounced themselves simultaneously progressive and conservative” (p. 225), and they could never be sure of the extent to which their ideas and interests were shared by those below them. They admired the ancients but acknowledged that history moved in cycles so that decadence and decline

were almost inevitable. They never resolved their “fondness for individual freedom descended from the Greeks and transformed by Christian doctrine and their approval of a socially cohesive medieval corporatism designed to minimize class antagonisms” (p. 668). Ideas about free will contested with those of Calvinist preordination, all the while evangelicalism swirled about them. Protecting slavery might demand the creation of a strong nation-state, which contradicted their reliance on states’ rights, a fatal tension, I might add, that persisted into the experiment of the Confederacy. And, as the Genoveses conclude, southern thought demanded that to fulfill its own destiny the South must create “something genuinely new under the sun: a modern slaveholding republic. . . . The building of a Confederate nation required that the slaveholding society . . . break the historical cycle of glory, decadence, and collapse” (p. 712)—in a word, that it defy history. That act of faith proved impossible to achieve.

No short review can relate the complexities and reach of the Genoveses’ arguments or even hint at their prodigious scholarship (their seventy-three-page bibliographical essay relating southern references to peoples, beliefs, events, and ideas from the ancients to their own time is a trove). If the book sometimes drags with too much detail, the Genoveses never lose their way. If the Genoveses’ own personal return to and turn to Catholicism tilts them toward an admiration for a conservative social order and sometimes an almost polemical depiction of abolitionism, bourgeois individualism, and market capitalism as of a piece, they leave no doubt that slavery was wrong. And if they claim too much for the hegemony of the mind of the master class, they show that hereafter southern thinking must be taken seriously.

Saint Joseph’s University

RANDALL M. MILLER

Moral Reconstruction: Christian Lobbyists and the Federal Legislation of Morality, 1865-1920. By Gaines M. Foster. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 318. \$49.95 clothbound; \$21.95 paperback.)

Foster’s deeply researched and clearly argued book details the relationship between a small number of Protestant Christian lobbyists and the Federal Congress. While readers will learn much about the organizations associated with the Christian lobbyists, this, ultimately, is a book about the “reconstruction of the American state” (p. 7). The Christian lobby, which traced its roots back to the Civil War and was most active from the mid-1890’s to 1920, pressed Congress for laws which would “expand the moral powers of the federal government and to establish the religious authority of the state” (p. 1). As a whole the lobbyists (like the multitudes that they represented) saw morality mostly in terms of personal virtue and thus they sought laws which would “control drinking, obscenity, polygamy, divorce, Sabbath observance, gambling, smoking, prizefighting, prostitution, and sex with underage girls” (p. 3). Many of the lobbyists, but not all of them, also sought the adoption of the so-called “Christian Amendment” which would have changed the language of the pre-

amble of the constitution to include explicit recognition that the government derived its power from God.

In seeking these goals, the lobbyists sought to overturn what Foster calls the antebellum moral policy, which left “the regulation of morals to the states and the promotion of morality among its citizens primarily to the churches” (p. 10). In the period leading up to the Civil War, Democrats, especially Southern Democrats worried about the crusade against slavery, emerged as the organized political force against any expansion of the federal government’s role in regulating morality. Thus, when the Christian lobby first emerged, its allies in the Congress were Republicans who came into the party out of the reform tradition. But after Reconstruction and the establishment of white supremacy in the South, the Christian lobbyists formed working partnerships with Southern Democrats. With their new allies, the lobbyists (and the groups they represented), pushed through Congress effective federal policies against polygamy, laws banning obscenity and prizefight films from interstate commerce and the mails, and laws that would restrict prostitution, sex with underage girls, and divorce. Most significantly, they were crucial in the creation of the prohibition of alcohol constitutional amendment.

While the lobbyists did expand the power of the federal government, the Congress never fully gave them what they wanted. Much of the antebellum moral polity remained intact. Congress never accepted the idea of a federal police power over morality; rather it merely patched together a functional police power from existing delegated federal powers. Congress mostly left it to the states to deal with the regulating of morality. Also, “Congress refused altogether to establish the religious authority of the federal government” (p. 229). Indeed, Congress repeatedly refused to embrace the Christian Amendment and refused to enact nation-wide Sunday closing laws. Moreover, the Christian lobbyists won their victories not by converting Congress to their point of view, but by the mobilizing of political pressure; they expanded the powers of the federal government, but that government “despite their efforts, remained essentially secular” (p. 231).

State University of New York at Albany

RICHARD F. HAMM

The Slovak Catholic Sokol Story: Recalling a Century of Fraternal Progress.

Compiled and edited by Daniel F. Tanzone. (Passaic, New Jersey: Slovak Catholic Sokol. 2006. Pp. 181.)

In the late nineteenth century the Sokol movement arose among several ethnic minorities in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Focusing on gymnastics and athletics in the Olympic model and utilizing the falcon (sokol) as a symbol, the movement sought to promote physical strength, moral integrity, and national consciousness in youth, preparing them to play a constructive role in society. As various Slavic peoples emigrated to the United States, the Sokol movement came with them. Catholic Slovaks, frustrated by the failure of the movement to

incorporate, or even acknowledge, a religious component in its programs, organized the Slovak Roman and Greek Catholic Gymnastic Union Sokol in Passaic, New Jersey on July 4, 1905. The group shortened its name to Slovak Catholic Sokol in 1933.

This book, issued to commemorate the centennial of the Slovak Catholic Sokol, is an effective chronicle and celebration of an ethnic fraternal group's century of existence. Lavishly illustrated with more than 300 photographs, the volume faithfully reports, year by year, on the group's meetings, activities, dividends, contributions, prominent personalities, and connections to the wider Slovak world in America and Europe. *The Slovak Catholic Sokol Story* is less satisfying as a history. For example, there is little indication of the size or makeup of the organization. Membership is reported "at an all-time high of 51,684" in 1959 (p. 70). Thirty pages later, in 1987, it is reported that, "membership had fallen below 50,000 for the first time in its history" (p. 103). And that is the last mention of membership. We are given no idea whether the group is a vibrant survivor or a declining remnant of the age of American fraternalism. Likewise, there is little or no effort to place the group within the wider context of Slovak-American culture, fraternalism, Catholic youth ministry, or athletics. In too many cases, the reader has to rely on the photographs for a sense of where the group is today.

The Slovak Catholic Sokol Story will be of some interest to those concerned with the story of American ethnic fraternal groups, and, in particular, in the relationship of those groups with the newly-freed motherlands after the fall of Communism.

Seton Hall University

RAYMOND J. KUPKE

The Fourth R: Conflicts over Religion in America's Public Schools. By Joan DelFattore. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 342. \$29.95.)

The Fourth R is a significant contribution to the ongoing discourse and debate regarding religion and the public schools. In this important work, Joan DelFattore traces the often bitter history of disputes over religion in the public schools. Her writing style is entertaining and accessible, but this does not take away from the scholarly depth and breadth of the book. DelFattore points out that both sides in the culture wars, and specifically in the current debate over religion in the public schools, have tended to oversimplify the relevant issues and facts. Moreover, each side tends to demonize the other. This has led to a skewing in the public consciousness of the issues involved in cases involving religion in the public schools and to a tendency for members of the public to see issues through a specific lens. Thus for many people issues regarding religion in the public schools are connected to a broader social agenda, and as a result the factual and contextual differences between different issues are glossed over or ignored.

The debate over religious expression in the public schools is a debate about law and constitutional norms, but it is also a debate about history, society, power, cultural trends, and theology. DelFattore navigates this complex area adeptly, including a somewhat detailed discussion of the role anti-Catholicism played in the debate. The role of anti-Catholicism in debates over religion in the schools can be traced back to the pan-Protestant common schools in the early nineteenth century and the response of the predominantly Protestant culture to Catholic immigration. Of course, the Protestant-Catholic dynamic is simply one of a number of overlapping social dynamics involved in the broader debate that DelFattore writes about. I will focus mostly on this aspect of the book because of its relevance to this journal and because DelFattore's (as well as other authors') discussion of the role of anti-Catholicism in the church/state debate raises interesting questions about the current state of Supreme Court jurisprudence in this area.

A number of Supreme Court Justices have touted the role of original intent and the "traditions" of our nation in interpreting the religion clauses. This focus on tradition has commanded a majority or plurality of the Court in a number of decisions, most recently in *Van Orden v. Perry*, 545 U.S. 677 (2005) (Plurality) (upholding the display of a Ten Commandments monument on the Texas state capitol grounds). In his dissenting opinion in a sister case, *McCreary County v. ACLU of Kentucky*, 545 U.S. 844 (2005) (holding Ten Commandments display in county courthouses unconstitutional), Justice Scalia goes so far as to suggest that the traditions of our nation and the intent of the framers' would allow the government to favor monotheistic religious symbols. As DelFattore and a number of other authors have pointed out, one of the nation's strongest religious traditions in the public school context is, unfortunately, anti-Catholicism. In fact, given the "religious traditions" so happily touted by Justice Scalia, it is highly unlikely he would have been able to sit on any federal court, let alone the Supreme Court.

As "our traditions" and public schools developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries anti-Catholicism grew in strength. Nativists used it to their political and social benefit, and the public schools were often the center of these debates. This is to say nothing of the role played by anti-Mormonism, anti-Semitism, and the like in our nation's "religious traditions." By documenting these concerns as part of the broader history of church/state debates in the public schools, DelFattore not only tells a compelling story, but indirectly calls attention to the problems with the use of "tradition" and originalism in religion clause jurisprudence. It seems that some Supreme Court Justices have fallen prey to the oversimplifications DelFattore documents in the broader culture wars. The "traditions" of hostility did not end in most of the nation until quite recently, and they are still alive and well in parts of the country.

DelFattore masterfully connects the dynamic between nativists and Catholic immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the current debate between the "religious right" and the supposedly "liberal" estab-

ishment. Relatedly, the book implies that those who seek to include majoritarian religious exercises in the public schools are more likely than their opponents to ignore facts and oversimplify issues regardless of the impact on religious outsiders, at least when it comes to drawing broad cultural conclusions from issues surrounding religion in the public schools. DeFattore poignantly explains that this may not be the result of discriminatory motives. Rather it may reflect an authoritarian ideal of the nation's religious and cultural heritage or what it means to be an American.

Still, there is hope for building bridges across the cultural divide. *The Fourth R* focuses on the potential of concepts like "Equal Access," which demands that when school buildings and functions are opened to a variety of viewpoints religious viewpoints cannot be excluded, to reduce some of the tension in this area. It might have been useful for the author to address more clearly the fact that equal access arguments only work in public or limited public forums and thus are of little help in contexts where the school is in control of the relevant forum, but this is a complex legal issue at the intersection of free speech and the religion clauses. Given this, DeFattore is to be commended for the clarity that she lends to the issue even if the legal analysis could have been more detailed in places.

It was a wonderful treat to read a work of scholarship that puts pretension to the side and tells a great story (a story that is meticulously documented). Quite frankly, this is one of the best books on religion in the public schools to be published in recent years. Given DeFattore's wonderful style and excellent research I look forward to reading more of her work in the future.

Michigan State University College of Law

FRANK S. RAVITCH

To See Great Wonders: A History of Xavier University, 1831-2006. By Roger A. Fortin. (Published by the University of Scranton Press. Distributed by the University of Chicago Press. 2006. Pp. xviii, 520. \$40.00.)

Roger Fortin leaves no stone unturned in his extremely well documented account of the history of Xavier University in Cincinnati. The institution began as the Athenaeum, a boarding and day college founded by Bishop Edward Fenwick in 1831 on Sycamore Street in Cincinnati. In 1840 Bishop Purcell offered it to the Jesuits, who took it over and renamed it St. Xavier.

It was one of several hundred such small, religious colleges that were founded in the period prior to the Civil War. The mortality rate of these small colleges was high, and Xavier barely survived during the pre-Civil War period. When the Civil War broke out in April 1861, total enrollment was 133 students. Having weathered the crisis of a near collapse and the stress of the Civil War, it began to make its mark on the community. Its alumni could soon be found in the various professions, in the business community, and in the ranks of the clergy.

Fortin covers the major milestones in the next century. The most important was its move in 1919 to the suburb of Avondale, where it had acquired 26,747 sylvan acres. The added buildings climaxed in the year 2000 with the opening of the Cintas Center. It provides spacious rooms for academic convocations and civic functions and includes a handsome arena for its remarkably successful basketball teams.

Jesuit flexibility is manifest in its continual adaptations to emerging social trends. In fact, thanks to the changes mandated by the Second Vatican Council, it had to adapt to a whole new model of authority in place of the authoritarian and clerical one. The changes accelerated as it became coeducational, and lay men and women generally assumed greater control of Catholic institutions including Xavier. At the same time Xavier has continued its efforts to encourage the students "to find God in all things" as it provides a host of opportunities for spiritual growth, including Masses on campus, retreats, and the ministry of two resident chaplains.

The decade (1991 to 2000) of the presidency of James Hoff, S.J. has been described as "phenomenal" as Xavier attained national recognition for scholastic and athletic excellence. The North Central Association's report in 1999 noted the "substantial quality improvements in virtually every facet." The successor he groomed, Michael Graham, S.J., has been able to build on Hoff's achievement. By the fall of 2004, *U.S. News & World Report* ranked Xavier number 2 among the best of 142 master's-level colleges and universities in the Midwest. And in 2006 it ranked its MBA program 24th nationally. The enrollment at the same time increased from 6,253 to 6,665.

A noteworthy aspect of this period was the University's increasing effort to foster Ignatian identity by encouraging students to become leaders in building a more just and humane world. Its peace and justice programs, located in the Dorothy Day House, emphasized social action, encouraged critical thinking, and a vision of hopeful new structures. The students lobbied against capital punishment, brought communion to elderly nursing home patients, and tutored at elementary schools. They also addressed peace and justice issues, especially in Latin America.

Xavier celebrated its 175th anniversary in 2006. The third largest private university in Ohio could take pride in its remarkable history and its secure reputation as one of Cincinnati's oldest and most distinguished institutions.

*Church of the Assumption
Cincinnati, Ohio*

THOMAS BOKENKOTTER

The History of Creighton University, 1878-2003. By Dennis N. Mihelich. [Presidential Series.] (Bronx, New York: Fordham University Press, and Omaha, Nebraska: Creighton University Press. 2006. Pp. xiv, 528. \$40.00 clothbound; \$25.00 paperback.)

Dennis Mihelich's conscientiousness in recording Creighton University's 125-year history is truly impressive. He has mined the local sources (house diaries, board minutes, student publications, etc.) in great detail and presented his findings comprehensively. What this means for an institution like Creighton, with its collection of professional schools and specialized programs, can best be illustrated by reviewing the contents of the final chapter, "Extending the American Dream, 1992-2003." Like the other chapters, it begins with a brief summary of the period covered. After this come discussions of: financial issues and enrollment (3 pages); changes in the physical plant (4 pages); religious issues (1 page); curriculum (3 pages); business school (2 pages); nursing program (1 page); graduate school (1 page); law school (2 pages); dental school (1 page); pharmacy and health professions (2 pages); medical school (5 pages); student life and athletics (5 pages); presidential succession 1999-2000 and issues confronting the new president (4 pages); and, finally, a capsule summary of Creighton's history (1 page).

As the foregoing will perhaps suggest, the book is not intended for casual browsers. Nor is Mihelich's devotion to detail always justified. Why, for example, should the reader be burdened with the information that Creighton's "first phone number was 330," but became "DO(uglas)-2873" when a new system was installed in 1921? Yet the book has real value as a record of change in the history of Catholic higher education, especially in the area of professional education.

Mihelich presents the story in three parts of four chapters each. Part One, "Americanization," covers Creighton's foundation in 1878 and evolution from a more or less typical nineteenth-century Jesuit college into a complex institution with recognizably modern features. What makes this phase of the university's development unique among Catholic institutions of higher education is the role of the Creighton family as benefactors. The total value of their largesse probably came to around thirty million dollars in today's money—which, not unnaturally, gave rise to what Mihelich calls the "wealthy Creighton" myth that hampered later fund-raising efforts. Yet it also permitted the high school and arts college to operate tuition-free until the early 1920's.

Part Two, "Marking Time," covers the years from the end of World War I to 1950. Mihelich's theme here is "unfulfilled aspirations," the principal one being Creighton's failure to achieve "structural assimilation" into the Omaha community. Yet the university's modernization continued as graduate work developed, especially in summer school, and the enrollment of women in professional schools made Creighton coeducational long before that condition was officially tolerated by Jesuit authorities.

The last four chapters, grouped under the heading "The American Dream Accomplished," bring the story up to the present. The fifties were boom years for higher education and Creighton was fortunate in the leadership of Carl Reinert, S.J., who established positive connections with Omaha's civic leaders, led successful fund drives, and renovated the campus. The chapters dealing with the confrontational sixties and the decades since are of particular value because the historical literature is sparse for this epoch in the development of Catholic higher education. As is true throughout, narrative momentum is smothered in detail and in the range of topics covered, but Mihelich provides a wealth of information on these years.

The text is accompanied by some seventy photographs, but one can only wonder why a positively funereal night-time shot of the administration building was chosen for the cover.

University of Notre Dame (Emeritus)

PHILIP GLEASON

American Students Organize: Founding the National Student Association after World War II. An Anthology and Source Book. Edited by Eugene G. Schwartz. (Westport, Connecticut: American Council on Education/Praeger Publishers. 2006. Pp. xxxii, 1212. \$135.00.)

Eugene G. Schwartz's *American Students Organize*, an "anthology and source book" on the founding and first years of the National Student Association (NSA), 1947-1952, is far more than a compilation of documents, timelines, and rosters tracing the history of an organization. Through memoirs, journal articles, and reports written by the students, the book offers the historian insight into the women and men who founded the NSA. Long before the lunch-counter sit-ins and anti-Vietnam demonstrations of 1960's, these men and women fought for civil rights for African Americans and became involved in international affairs.

Too often histories of American higher education focus predominantly on the institutions and their administrators, presenting the students as only peripherally significant. Due to the dearth of materials regarding students, their absence from history is understandable. Schwartz's book begins filling this lacuna by enabling eighty-five students to tell their stories through memoirs, recovered student newspaper essays, and doctoral dissertation excerpts. Together with timelines, documents, rosters, and reproductions of student newspapers, Schwartz paints a fuller picture of the NSA than one would expect is possible. He accomplishes this, in part, through the multi-layered organization of his anthology.

Schwartz has divided the book into four parts, plus a prologue and epilogue, which are further divided into subsections. The prologue examines antecedent student organizations before and during World War II, that paved the way for the NSA. Parts 1-3 chronologically recount the founding of the NSA

and its international and domestic activities. Part 4 illustrates the diversity within the NSA by looking at the impact of the returning veterans, the different Catholic and Protestant student organizations, and varied political movements on the campuses. Part 5 explores the different geographical regions of the NSA's intercollegiate network. Part 6, the Epilogue tells the story of the NSA in the years after 1952. Finally, the "Appendix" and "Reference," contain key NSA documents including rosters of member universities and colleges and lists of directories, archives, and libraries that would be of interest to the researcher. Throughout each part, subsections titled, "Album," "Mentor," and "Background," respectively offer reproductions of student newspaper articles, biographies of influential adults, and personal reflections on events and articles shaping the students' views and attitudes.

Among the materials found in "Background" is the Jesuit theologian John Courtney Murray's article, "Operation University," which urged Catholic students to become involved in international student organizations. Schwartz included this essay because both Catholic and non-Catholic students discussed the role Murray's essay played in galvanizing them to take action. Consequently, Catholic students' part in the NSA is integrated through the book and not treated separately. What becomes evident in *American Students* is the fact that the history of the NSA holds particular significance for the historian of American Catholicism because of the role it played in enabling Catholic student involvement in international politics. One point that the historian of American Catholicism should note is that, as expected, Schwartz's treatment of the Catholic student organizations is not comprehensive and on some minor points is not accurate. However, it offers a strong point from which to begin one's research.

American Students is not and does not claim to be a formal history of the NSA; however, for the historian of higher education, Schwartz has offered a valuable resource for gaining insight into the students of this generation and the events and adults influencing them. Most importantly, he has demonstrated the importance of incorporating student voices into the history of higher education and lighted the way for finding sources that contain their voices.

Santa Clara University

HELEN M. CIERNICK

Latin American

Diálogos espirituales. Manuscritos Femeninos Hispanoamericanos, Siglos XVI-XIX. Edited by Asunción Lavrin and Rosalva Loreto L. (Puebla, México: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades de la Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla and Universidad de las Américas, Puebla. 2006. Pp. 501. Mexican Pesos 125 paperback.)

Asunción Lavrin and Rosalva Loreto L. are two of the most respected scholars of colonial Spanish American nuns and *beatas* (lay religious women). In

2002 they co-edited a collection of largely unpublished texts (*Monjas y beatas. La escritura femenina en la espiritualidad barroca Novohispana, siglos XVII y XVIII*) in which well-known scholars presented background essays and transcriptions of archival materials for five women religious, dividing the collection into autobiography, spiritual diaries, and letters. The present book is similar, but much more extensive. It covers four centuries, and the nuns and *beatas* principally featured come not only from Mexico, but also from Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic. The editors have divided the texts into three parts: (1) Autobiography; (2) Biography and *vidas espirituales* (spiritual biographies); (3) Letters (*Epistolarios*), and Literature (poetry and two short dramatic pieces). I am not sure why these last two genres are grouped together, as the Letters section has a clearer identity and cohesion than the one in Literature (where it is also not evident who made the selections and wrote the introductions). In the transcriptions original spelling has been modernized, and punctuation inserted.

As in the previous collection, contextualizing essays precede the transcribed primary sources, and I appreciated the change in font between them. The scholars who have contributed to this collection are recognized specialists whose international scope is impressive: Nancy van Deusen, Nora Jaffary, and Nela Río from Canada; Asunción Lavrin, Fernando Iturburu, and Elia Armacanqui-Tipacti from the United States; Rosalva Loreto L. from Mexico; Alicia Fraschina from Argentina; Ellen Gunnarsdottir from Iceland; Concepción Zayas from Spain, and the research team of Alejandra Araya Espinoza, Ximena Azúa Ríos, Lucía Invernizzi Santa Cruz, and Raissa Kordic Riquelme from Chile. A list of the contributors with brief bio-bibliographical information would have been helpful, as some academic affiliations are listed, but others are not. The authors are scrupulous in documenting their sources, and several highlight the difficulty of transcribing archival materials which were either in disarray, undated, incomplete, or in lamentable condition. Most authors transcribed their original texts, but not always, and since this is heroic work, I wish the names of outside transcribers had been more prominently featured.

The introduction, by Lavrin and Loreto, is solid and informative, clarifying the differences between the three parts into which they have divided the texts, and justifying this division. The main essays cover eight nuns and three *beatas*. As the latter were not subject to enclosure, *beatas* could interact with the outside world, but for that reason were also more subject to scrutiny by the Inquisition. It would have been good to define the status of a *beata* in the introduction, as not all readers might be familiar with this. I also noticed a number of typographical errors throughout the book, especially—but not only—in bibliographical entries.

Having picked mostly technical nits thus far, let me now say unequivocally that this is a fine collection, whose essays offer fascinating insights into the transcriptions. I liked the section on Letters best, especially the contributions from Chile and Argentina, focusing as they do on women whose highly

esteemed Jesuit confessors were expelled in 1767, leaving them more than bereft. Letters between confessors and nuns often dealt with issues of personal faith which could lead to perilously intimate relationships and thus were carefully watched by ecclesiastical authorities. The Chilean scholars note that an abbess could confiscate such correspondence at any time from a nun's cell, for as the letters were created outside the confessional, they were not considered private. (p. 271) Alicia Fraschina tells of the *beata* María Antonia de San José who, after the 1767 expulsion, travelled the country establishing and maintaining (with the explicit permission of the Pope) centers which continued Jesuit spiritual exercises. She must have been an extraordinary woman; her writing is confident, businesslike, direct, and well-organized. It was amazing.

This collection will be appreciated by all scholars of colonial Spanish American literature and history. Editors and contributors alike should be congratulated on a monumental job well done.

University of Massachusetts/Amherst

NINA M. SCOTT

Local Religion in Colonial Mexico. Edited by Martin Austin Nesvig. [Diálogos.] (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2006. Pp. xxvii, 289. \$24.95 paperback.)

This collection of essays seeks to fill a void in the historiography of the Catholic Church in Mexico in a manner similar to what William Christian did for Spain in his landmark book, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981). While Christian used a singular database, the *relaciones geográficas* of the 1570's, to produce a tightly structured monograph, this collection of essays take a broader view, although each author focuses on specific details of the larger theme. Consequently, each of the ten authors represented here looks at some discrete aspect of local religion within the 300-year colonial history of Mexico. Nesvig outlines his goals as seeking to show that the Church in Mexico is not the monolithic institution of the popular myth nor that history need follow the path of northern Europe and the United States in embracing an increasingly secular state. In effect, the antidote is to show that religion, like politics, is local. Although the Catholic Church might be universal in title, it has many different manifestations in the popular culture.

In the first essay of the ten, Carlos M. N. Eire explores the concept of popular religion in the Hispanic world. In the second essay Antonio Rubial Garcia explores the use of saints in colonial New Spain. At the same time that the missionary friars attempted to suppress the pre-Columbian religions, they were also importing to New Spain the existing cult of saints from Europe. Eventually even local saints entered the panoply, thus de-demonizing the region and incorporating it into the salvation history of Europe. Martin Nesvig tackles the issue of the purpose behind the creation of Holy Cross College (Colegio de Santa Cruz) at Tlatelolco. The school was an outgrowth of human-

ist thinking that never reached its full potential, and even the literature on the topic remained largely hidden to the present day. William Taylor looks at the fascinating figure of Francisco de la Rosa Figueroa, a Franciscan who served in both Mexico City and the nearby Nativitas Tepetlatcingo. Rosa's efforts to promote a local image of the Virgin as miraculous failed because the local hierarchy was no longer interested in supporting popular piety, but rather looked at larger institutional devotions. David Tavárez studies local riots in Oaxaca that had religious overtones and evidence of idolatry, demonstrating the role of popular religion in developing group identity. Edward Osowski analyzes native alms-collecting for religious images that had its roots, he posits, in pre-Columbian tradition. Moreover, this practice also carried with it certain gender distinctions granting some women a higher degree of autonomy. The decline of confraternities in eighteenth-century Mexico City is central to Brian Larkin's essay. As the ecclesiastical officials sought to rein in the extra- or para-liturgical activities of the societies, they also lessened the attraction of the institution for the members. Nicole von Germeten offers a slightly contrary view as she traces the role of confraternities in the lives of men of African descent in New Spain. She sees the sodality as an important mechanism in the integration of Afro-Mexican men into the larger society. Along a similar vein, Javier Villa-Flores narrates how black slaves in a Coyoacan *obraje* sought to use the Inquisition and church courts as unlikely venues for protection. By engaging in blasphemy they sought to bring the light of the tribunals on the unbearable cruelty of the sweat shop. Lastly, William Christian looks at just how catholic the Catholic Church was, bringing into highlight, again, the dichotomy between local religion within the Church and the role of the Church universal.

These essays are well written, engaging, and insightful. They range over many different topics, but all relate to the central issue of local religion. This book can successfully be used in any number of courses dealing with colonial Latin American history.

SUNY-Potsdam

JOHN F. SCHWALLER

Dangerous Speech: A Social History of Blasphemy in Colonial Mexico. By Javier Villa-Flores. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 242. \$50.00 clothbound; \$24.95 paperback.)

How can blasphemy enlighten us? In effect, societies reveal much about their values and mores by the way that their members swear and blaspheme. This excellent study examines colonial Mexico using what was then considered a crime—blasphemy—under the aegis of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Blasphemy was apparently one of the most commonly reported crimes to the Holy Office—representing about seventy percent of all the existing proceedings. It is strange that scholars of colonial Mexico and particularly those within inquisition studies have not written about blasphemy at any

length since it was a crime which greatly preoccupied and disturbed colonial peoples. Instead, historians have concentrated on what seems to us more exotic—witchcraft, magic, or pacts with the devil—but which were not of such great concern at the time. This is an important and insightful book. It helps us understand how the renunciation of God or the Virgin could coexist with what was a profoundly religious and devout society. The juxtaposition of profound religiosity and this rather casual insult to devotion that blasphemy represented is very difficult to fathom but, nevertheless, Javier Villa-Flores does an excellent job in its elucidation. This study helps bring another degree of complexity and sophistication to our understanding of religiosity in New Spain. Until now, most studies of religion have either tried to decode the kinds of combinations and mixings that arise out of either indigenous or African religions with Catholicism, or they have examined the beliefs and practices of Spanish Christians. Villa-Flores looks at several groups within colonial society and shows how religion or its rejection was lived on a daily basis.

Blasphemy was a crime that was practiced by all social groups. Villa-Flores looks at many social and work categories: men and women (of Spanish and other racial derivation), sailors, muleteers, soldiers, and African slaves. The topic transcends the boundaries of these social and racial groups and allows for a better global understanding of religious practice within colonial Mexican society. The book also addresses heterosexual masculinity, which is not a topic frequently examined in most studies in the colonial period (which often only examine masculinity through homosexuality). Thus the book helps us to begin to develop a more complete picture of what it meant to be a man in New Spain both homosexual and heterosexual.

This book will be of great interest for specialists ranging from those who study speech and swearing, inquisition studies, religious studies, African diaspora studies, and, in general, specialists of colonial Latin America. Each of these discrete groups will find this study a valuable addition to their fields and will include his insights in their interpretative frameworks. It also answers the important questions of why so many Afro-Mexicans turned up in the Inquisition records. Diaspora specialists will be fascinated by Villa-Flores' account of how slaves used blasphemy to halt particularly harsh and cruel beatings. Apart from the specialist audiences who will appreciate Javier's work as part of this school of history, it is written in a style that is not overblown or so heavily dependent on abstruse theory such that it will appeal to a more general audience.

Carleton University

SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA

Exploring Colonial Oaxaca: The Art and Architecture. By Richard D. Perry; color photography by Felipe Faleón. (Santa Barbara, California: Espadaña Press. 2006. Pp. 222. \$25.00 paperback).

Richard Perry has written another readable, portable, and affordable travel guide to the religious art and architecture of colonial Mexico. An erudite pho-

tographer and graphic artist, Perry, together with his wife Rosalind, spends long hours off the beaten track driving to towns and hamlets in search of colonial gems. In Oaxaca, those gems are the sculptured façades, gilded altarpieces, wooden statuary, and oil or mural paintings that adorn the parish churches and the evangelization centers from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

Oaxaca is an architecturally rich region of Mexico, bordered on the north by the states of Puebla and Veracruz, Guerrero on the west, and Chiapas on the east. The fact that the region was economically undeveloped in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries helped in preserving its Renaissance and Baroque splendor that fell out of fashion in other areas. Oaxaca is also earthquake country, and many monuments lay in ruins until recent times; some still do and retain their pristine, if sad, grandeur.

The evangelization of the indigenous civilizations, the Mixtecs and Zapotecs, was the work of the Dominican friars who brought not only their own friar-architects but also their own artistic and iconographic interests. As propagators of the rosary, for example, they have left us Rosary Chapels in several cities that are truly “wonders of the world” in their stucco, gilt, and polychromatic splendor. The artistic contributions of the Franciscans, Augustinians, and Jesuits are also represented here, although in a minor key.

Perry has a keen eye for detail, especially in stone carving. He photographs his chosen sites and later creates accurate black-and-white renderings that allow him to highlight what he wants his readers to notice. His line drawings permit very readable images that photos, subject to the light and shadow at a given time of the day, would not. In this book Perry has supplemented his illustrations with a block of sixty-nine color photos by Felipe Falcón. This is a welcome improvement over his earlier books *Mexico Fortress Monasteries*, *Maya Missions*, and *Blue Lakes and Silver Cities* because it permits us to see the fantastic colors about which Perry speaks so enthusiastically. Unfortunately, he fails to make any reference to the color plates in his text and leaves it up to the reader to discover the correspondences. This could easily be corrected in future editions.

The guide is meant to be carried and consulted on the spot. It is divided into three chapters that feature the churches and a few noteworthy civic buildings in the capital city of Oaxaca, in the central Valley of Oaxaca and nearby mountains, and in the Mixteca Alta region that borders Puebla to the north. Schematic maps accompany each section making it easy for the traveler to locate the next point of interest. Perry gives us the town or place name and then translates its meaning into English; this information is often helpful in appreciating why the friars chose the particular locale for their evangelization center. In the larger churches, Perry adds a plan of the important Baroque altarpieces with their iconographic subjects. Oaxaca is also rich in Baroque pipe organs; the author describes their elaborate cases and informs us which are in playing condition. A helpful glossary, index, and bibliography accompany the text.

Exploring Colonial Oaxaca is no guide for the intellectually light traveler with suggestions about four-star hotels, exotic dining, or tourist boutiques. This substantive paperback is the work of a well-read specialist who admires and loves his subject. It is historically accurate but accessible for all readers. It is also a delightfully politically-incorrect testament to the great achievements of Catholic visual culture and successful missiology in the Early Modern era.

Yale University Divinity School, New Haven

JAIME LARA

Nahuatl Theater, Volume 2: Our Lady of Guadalupe. Edited by Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Stafford Poole. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 229. \$49.95.)

Each year, on the eve of the celebration on December 12 that is dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe, there begins the ritual of the appearance of television series, films (new or old), theater productions, books, and many periodical articles concerning the miracle of the presence of the Virgin Mary in Tepeyac, to the north of Mexico City. In accordance with social conditions, economics, and political demands in the country, it is possible to detect the inclusion in this material of changes to some situations, or the pre-Hispanic, colonial, or modern people participating in the part of the account that is the best known and most often repeated. This is the *Nican mopobua* (*It is told in an orderly way*), a text in the Náhuatl language that was published for the first time in 1649. It has become the axis and paradigm for our knowledge of the tradition. And so it seems that this custom of using the Guadalupan apparitions as a foundation and beginning for other narrations, primarily those with a tendency to admonish and promote the exemplary life, has its beginning in previous centuries, as the work reviewed here proves.

In this second volume on the Náhuatl theater (the first, entitled *Nahuatl Theater: Death and Life in Colonial Nahuatl Mexico*, was edited in 2004 by Barry D. Sell and Louise M. Burkhart, with the assistance of Gregory Spira), the editors undertake the laborious task of reconstructing and translating into English various Guadalupan texts in the Náhuatl language: a *Coloquio* (*Dialogue on the Apparition of the Virgin Saint Mary of Guadalupe*) and a comedy with the title *Portento mexicano* (*The Wonder of Mexico*), as well as a song, a sermon, and a prayer. The translations, to which Lisa Sousa also contributed, are accompanied by two critical essays written by Stafford Poole and Louise M. Burkhart. These clarify various aspects of the contents, particularly the social relationships that the works reflect.

Thanks to the experience that they have acquired in critical translations of colonial Náhuatl texts, the editors bring us a highly useful work, a contribution to various areas of knowledge concerning the indigenous Mexican of the past and especially Guadalupan studies, which traditionally have been based on a limited number of sources from the indigenous and Hispanic traditions. With

the exception of the work of the Mexican scholar Fernando Horcasitas Pimentel (1925-1980), colonial Náhuatl theater has not been treated in a systematic manner, given that it was considered to be a minor category and in a deteriorated language that made its translation more difficult. Now, and after the reading of this work on the particular topic of the presence of the Virgin Maria in Tepeyac, we realize the important subjects that can be inferred: the presentation formats, the indigenous assimilation of elements of Catholic dogma, the didactic and moral character, and above all, the representation of relationships involving type and class. Additionally there is the inexplicable presence of certain elements of humor and vulgarity.

Now other works on these materials remain to be done, such as the identification and study of the “novelties” that are added to the “nucleus” of the Guadalupan tradition. It is probable that the reasons for their inclusion have their origins in the necessity to reinforce the message of the catechism and make it accessible to indigenous Náhuatl speakers during the late colonial phase. Here the effort to make the Guadalupan tradition known is apparent, as is its utilization as a medium that instills examples of Christian conduct. This is reinforced with narrations and personalities not mentioned in other Guadalupan sources. Among these are the father of Juan Diego, the older brother of Juan Bernardino, the old father of Maria Lucia, the wife of Juan Diego, and an indigenous charlatan doctor. Also participating are servants with extravagant names like Cacahuatzin and Totopochtli. We await other works on Náhuatl theater from these editors, since, as Stafford Poole affirms (p. 28), “Far from being curiosities, they are valuable, historical, social, and religious documents.”

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XAVIER NOGUEZ

(Translated into English by Merideth Paxton, *Zinacantepec, Estado de México*)

Australian

A Dynamic of Hope: Institutes of Women Religious in Australia. By Mary Rosa MacGinley. Second edition. (Darlinghurst, New South Wales: Crossing Press for the Australian Catholic University National Research Centre for the Study of Women’s History, Theology and Spirituality. 2002. Pp. viii, 439. Paperback.)

The arrival of the Sisters of Charity in Sydney in 1838 at the invitation of the bishop of New Holland and Van Diemen’s Land, the Benedictine John Bede Polding, began what would become a major influence on the development of a strong Catholic culture in Australia. Dr. Rosa MacGinley does not, however, begin *A Dynamic of Hope: Institutes of Women Religious in Australia* with this arrival. Instead she provides a brief, but excellent, account of the evolution of institutes of religious women from early monastic times through to the formation of congregations established to meet the changes overtaking

Christianity in post-Reformation times. She pays specific attention to those which extended the boundaries imposed by the Council of Trent so they could educate young women in the Faith and provide for the needs of the poor and dispossessed in a rapidly changing Europe.

As the majority of the religious institutes who came to Australia were either Irish foundations or continental institutes with substantial interests in Ireland, it is not surprising that Dr. MacGinley devotes considerable space to institutes and their founders like Nano Nagle, who established the Sisters of the Presentation in Cork, and had to overcome many hurdles in order to carry out the work to which they had committed themselves. They paved the way for others like the Sisters of Charity founded by Mary Aikenhead and Catherine Macauley's Sisters of Mercy, who were able to go out among the poor of Dublin and bring them comfort and education. Their experiences there made them ideally suited to the work they would do in Australia.

Most of Dr. MacGinley's book is devoted to the religious women who nursed the sick, took care of the poor, and taught in Catholic schools in Australia particularly following the passing of the 1872 Education Act in Victoria, which saw the introduction of a free, compulsory, and secular state system of education from which Catholic children were excluded by the hierarchy of the Church in Australia. As similar systems of education were introduced into to each of the colonies, the provision of Catholic education weighed heavily on the dioceses which had to find funds to build schools and pay teachers. Convents were built to accommodate any members of religious institutes who could be invited to take charge of teaching Catholic children, and novitiates sprang up to accommodate locally born girls who wished to follow the religious life.

While the story Dr. MacGinley tells is one of dedication and achievement, she does not shirk from the negativities. In an age when women had a very subservient role in the community, clashes between these strong-willed and determined religious women and the bishops and priests who sought to dictate to them were frequent. Bitter struggles such as that endured by the Sisters of Mercy led by Ursula Frayne in Western Australia, and Mary McKillop, the Australian founder of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, are all told.

An enormous amount of research has gone into the writing of *A Dynamic of Hope: Institutes of Women Religious in Australia*. It is well documented and contains a number of tables listing the institutes and the communities they established around Australia. A detailed map is also provided. Dr. MacGinley is to be congratulated for this second edition of her work.

Asian

Monumenta Sinica, Volume I (1546-1562). Edited by John W. Witek, S.J., and †Joseph S. Sebes, S.J. [Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Volume 153; Monumenta Missionum Societatis Iesu, Volume LXVI.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu. 2002. Pp. 498.)

It is very good news for all historians of China as well as for specialists in mission history that the first volume in the long awaited *Monumenta Sinica* series has at last appeared. We have had several volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Japoniae* and even more *Documenta Indica*, but for a variety of reasons partly explained in the prefaces by the late Joseph Sebes and his colleague and successor, John Witek, the China project was long delayed.

The delay has had some benefits. This first volume, covering 1546 to 1562, has been able to take advantage of both the Indian and the Japanese series. Also the Latin apparatus of the earlier volumes has now yielded to English, making the documents more accessible. At the same time the meticulous standards of editing and scholarship of the *Monumenta Historica* series has been maintained.

It may then appear churlish to criticize some of the editorial decisions, but I think it has to be done. Firstly, the decision not to publish English translations makes the work inaccessible to the majority of China specialists. The English-language summaries at the beginning of documents in Latin, old Portuguese, and so forth are accurate, but just summaries and no substitute for the full text in English. One can understand the “exigencies of publication” that led to this decision, but that leads to a second puzzle.

Almost all the documents in this volume have already been published either in other volumes in the *Monumenta* series or in other standard works. Here the paragraphs relevant to China have been excerpted. Might they not have been simply listed in a table, allowing space for texts and translations of previously unpublished documents? Francis Xavier’s letters have been translated in Costelloe’s excellent edition. Let us hope that these too, and those of Matteo Ricci long available in the originals in good critical editions, will attract translators.

The period covered is the beginning of what has been a dark age in China mission history, that between Xavier and Ricci. Some twenty-five attempts were made to enter China by what Joseph Sebes calls “the precursors of Ricci,” yet one still finds claims that the Jesuits gave up on China for forty years or so. These documents show that the vision was never lost, and plans continued to be made and frustrated during this time.

It is good to see a Chinese glossary and references to Chinese sources which one hopes will continue through the series. The notes are very well

done and more than adequate for the general reader. But I see no reason to doubt that Documents 44 and 46 (both November 1555) were written from Macao as their authors claim. “Amaquão” most certainly existed as a fishing port before the Portuguese formally occupied it in 1557 and the Portuguese used any available anchorage. Similarly Nunes Barreto’s letter of November 27, 1555 (Doc. 47) uses the same formula “from the port of China,” as in Doc. 46, four days earlier. In 1558 (doc. 58) Barreto says he wrote in December 1555 from Lampachão, but that is the next month and not far away. One can only hope that *Monumenta Sinica 2* is not far off, and will bring us to the successful entry to China of Ruggieri and Ricci.

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PAUL RULE

Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion. By Eric Reinders. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Pp. xvi, 266. \$49.95.)

Since J. K. Fairbanks’ *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (1974) a body of intercultural literature has emerged which uses missionary sources to illuminate Chinese culture and Western attitudes toward it. Eric Reinders’ *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies*, owing much to the historical Sino-Christian studies of Dan Bays, Ryan Dunch, Norman Girardot, Jessie Lutz, Jacques Gernet, and Kathleen Lodwick, provides a fresh multidisciplinary addition to this important body of material. Here is an informed study of the sometimes amusing, sometimes tragic, imaginative construal by (primarily) Protestant Victorian missionaries of Chinese religion, language, culture, dress, diet, smell—and, most illuminatingly for Reinders, bowing (the *kouctou*), that most ambiguous and contested act of social and spiritual obeisance. Reinders’ work will intrigue the generalist and inform the specialist. References to missionaries like Morrison, Gützlaff, Hudson Taylor, and Wells Williams, rub shoulders with insights from Robert Fortune and Evariste Huc, Herbert Spencer and Roland Barthes, Frank Dikötter and Mark Harrison, Pearl Buck, and even Charlie Chan. Indeed, analyses ancient and modern pour from every page with an almost baroque effusiveness.

Reinders is in the Religion Department at Emory University and reflects a broad intercultural and ethnographic awareness of the dynamics of religion and theology as instruments of self-understanding and self-differentiation. He quotes Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigations* on the first page, “Meaning is a physiognomy”: this shapes both the character and content of his treatment of the “bodyful” terms of the missionary encounter with Chinese culture, in which the (initial) unintelligibility of Chinese language, inscrutability of millions of undifferentiated Chinese faces, and uncivilized habits of a Chinese lifestyle, both appalled and attracted those who felt called by God to bring the Protestant Christian gospel to China. Hence, Chinese religious habits (*habitus*)

become, in Reinders' review of missionary literature (especially private memoirs, letters, travelogues, and missionary periodicals such as the *Church Missionary Gleaner* and *Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China* [1877 and 1890]), mirrors on Western prejudice and preference, as much as *per se* meaningless, heterodox rituals akin to that most disturbing phenomenon, Catholicism. For culture and conflict both came with the missionaries. As Reinders observes: "Protestant writers repeatedly asserted the resemblance of Chinese religious practice to 'the holy mummeries of the Romish Church'" (p. 105).

But missionary—let alone English—culture, language, spirituality, and motivation, are as inscrutable and fascinating as the China Reinders reports. This English reader wonders if American missionaries generally (let alone their German, Dutch, and Swiss counterparts) experienced the "bodifulness" of China differently or, crucially, less critically. My sense is, no. Crucially, too, English missionary discourse was widely read and well understood in Britain as enculturated colonial writing, as alien today as fiery Calvinist sermons or the Catholic Inquisition and to be read, therefore, as carefully: Reinders' reading risks imitating its authors' textual literalism and cultural elitism. Where, too, is more generous recognition that many missionaries loved and served China and the Chinese, understood China as well, if not better than, most (what of Morrison or Legge's remarkable work, for example?), and embraced China as lifelong residents (not short-term aliens) and faithful ambassadors? Seen in this light, initial reactions to the bodily forms of Chinese culture (which are essential to Reinders' study) are just that, initial reactions, which, we may surely regretted, many subsequently regretted.

Centre for the Study of Christianity in China, Oxford CHRISTOPHER HANCOCK

Santa Sede e Manciuquò (1932-1945), con appendice di documenti. By Giovanni Coco. [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche: Atti e Documenti, no. 23.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2006. Pp. xxxvi, 470. €45,00.)

In recent years, the history of Manchukuo, the puppet state in Northeast China established by Japan and under its control between 1932 and 1945, has attracted increasing scholarly interest. Two studies, Rana Mitter's *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) and Prasenjit Duara's *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), in particular, have shown the importance of the Manchukuo's nation-building experiment not only to understand Japanese colonialism and militarism, but, even more prominently, Chinese nationalism.

Giovanni Coco's *Santa Sede e Manciuquò* ("The Holy See and Manchukuo"), while potentially useful to historians interested in East Asian nationalism and modernity, focuses on a specific issue in diplomatic history, the

vexata quaestio of the Holy See's presumed recognition of Manchukuo. To this day, Chinese authorities customarily mention this matter as an offense against the Chinese nation. Given the tension that has characterized Sino-Vatican relations since 1949, a clarification of this puzzle has implication far beyond historical circles.

The book, enriched by historical photographs, is divided into two parts: an historical introduction in eleven short chapters (pp. 1-179), and a documentary appendix (pp. 181-468), including 168 documents in Italian, French, Latin, and English from the Vatican Archives and other ecclesiastical archives. The introduction details the complex diplomatic ballet that involved the Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Manchukuo, Japanese, and Chinese governments on the other. Within the Church, a fragmented front made up of several actors (the Congregation "De Propaganda Fide," the Vatican Secretariat of State, the Pope, the Vicars Apostolic in Manchuria, and the Apostolic Delegates in China and Japan) tried to defend the Catholic missions and their educational institutions in the region, without offering state recognition for Manchukuo. This was a dangerous game that could offend the Japanese and bring about repercussions on Catholics in Japan and Manchuria. For that reason, the pro-Japanese Apostolic Delegate Paolo Marella in Tokyo always pushed for recognition as the best solution. Moreover, Auguste Gaspais, MEP, a local Vicar Apostolic saddled against his will with the unofficial role of "Representative of the Holy See" in Manchukuo, maintained an ambiguous and deferential attitude to authorities, ably exploited by the Japanese government for propagandistic ends. In spite of a papal reception for a Manchukuo delegation in 1938, however, the Secretariat of State and two Popes (Pius XI and Pius XII) always remained non-committal. Suspicious of Japanese militarism in general, the Church authorities were also dissuaded from establishing diplomatic relations by the Apostolic Delegates in China, Celso Costantini and Mario Zanin. These prelates reported to Rome the outrage shown not only by the Chinese government but also by Chinese Catholics and the general population for what many believed to be the Church's betrayal of China in a moment of national crisis.

The value of this book lies in its documentary appendix. While the introduction is useful, it is too preoccupied with diplomatic minutiae not always germane to the story, and offers contextual information on the history of Manchukuo based on textbook knowledge, rather than on up-to-date and in-depth studies like those cited above. The copious footnotes are rich in transcripts of primary sources, but are also replete with unnecessary information on well-known figures, making the apparatus so long as to exceed in length the text of the chapters. Finally, the entire volume is marred by typographical errors and inconsistencies in the romanization of the Chinese terms and names, problems that could have been solved through qualified editorial help. Reference in the historical narrative to the numbering of documents in the appendix is vague, forcing the reader to search through the pages for the appropriate source.

In spite of these limitations, by painstakingly gathering a number of original sources never published before, Coco not only puts to rest the myth of a Vatican diplomatic recognition of Manchukuo, but also offers a fascinating look at the Church's perception of East Asian politics and nationalism. Moreover, the book and its documents may also prove useful in understanding the roles of religion, education, and nationalism in wartime Manchukuo, China, and Japan.

Boston University

EUGENIO MENEGON

The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea: An Examination of Popular and Governmental Responses to Catholic Missions in the Late Chosôn Dynasty. By Jai-Keun Choi. [Rev. Ham Suk-Hyun Studies in Asian Christianity, No. 2.] (Norwalk, California: The Hermit Kingdom Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 423. \$75.00.)

Although there are several other scholarly works which examine the history of the first century of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea (the late eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth), this work uniquely places specific emphasis on the conflict of values between the Neo-Confucian establishment of late Chosôn Korea who held filial piety as a core value, and Roman Catholic Christians who strove to avoid the practice of idolatry. Based on the author's Harvard doctoral dissertation, the book principally uses Korean primary sources, including state documents, rather than Western sources (i.e., Roman Catholic documentary material produced in the late nineteenth century for the beatification of the early Korean martyrs) as has been the case heretofore. The story which the author describes is well known in its general outlines, but no other author has discussed the conflict of values in the detail which is provided here, nor have Korean sources been so extensively used before in an English-language work. Without question, this book is the one book which any scholar not conversant with the Korean language should turn to for detailed, primary information about the early Church—how early converts dealt with the question of the conflict of values, how they faced martyrdom. The extensive information given about the early converts is complemented by a further wealth of detailed material, including substantial quotations, giving the views of Korean government officials and Confucian scholars about the early Catholics and their teachings. These extended quotations vividly show the abhorrence with which Christianity was held because it was perceived to contravene the core Confucian value of filial piety, and thus undermined the moral pillars of society. An important contribution made by the author is the full discussion of the close family ties and interconnected social relations which bound together the first generations of Catholics. No other author writing in English has provided the level of genealogical analysis as has Dr. Choi. Complementing this written information in the text is a unique series of genealogical tables illustrating the family ties between the various converts. The chapters of the book follow the accepted periodization of the

first century of Korean Catholicism, but the work ends with a comparison of the great persecutions of 1801 and 1866. Given that much of early Catholic history in Korea is a history of persecution, the analysis of the differences between these two persecutions is an important contribution of the book.

Unfortunately, this valuable book suffers from several defects. Generally the level of proofreading is poor, with a particular lack of editorial correction of sentences and phrasing which are not natural English. This fault makes it difficult at times to catch the author's exact meaning. The valuable genealogical tables are reproduced in a poor font, are much too small to read with ease, and are not printed in a dark ink. Curiously, the appendix is simply a repetition of a portion of a chapter in the book. Why was this not caught editorially? It is also curious that there is no index to this book even though there is a good glossary with Chinese characters which could have formed the basis of an index.

For all its defects, this book is an important contribution to understanding the first phase of Christianity in Korea, and is valuable to scholars wanting to make comparisons with the Catholic Church in other Asian nations.

University of Sheffield

JAMES H. GRAYSON

BRIEF NOTICES

Kim, Onyoo Elizabeth. *Law and Criminality in the Middle Ages: Academic Essays*. [Hermit Kingdom Studies in History and Religion, 3.] (Highland Park, New Jersey: The Hermit Kingdom Press. 2006. Pp. xvi, 221.)

The author of this short book, an adjunct professor at Handong University Law School in Korea, has divided her work into five independent sections (I-V), dedicated respectively to the law on (I) "War and Its Justification" (pp. 1-48), (II) "Understanding Intent" in Gratian and St. Augustine (pp. 49-75), (III) "The Case of Baptism" in canon law and theology (pp. 77-128), (IV) "The Order of the Templars and Their Criminalization in the 14th Century" (pp. 129-164), and (V) "The History of Penance" in canon law (pp. 165-221). The actual scope of the five treatments is much narrower than the titles suggest. Section I compares passages on just war in Gratian's *Decretum* and the *Summa aurea* of Hostiensis; Section II again starts from *Decretum*, C. 23, and relates a single quote to Augustine's discussion of free will versus divine providence; Section III looks at Gratian, *Decretum* De cons. D. 4 c. 1-156, and Peter Lombard's *Sentences* 4.2-6, for different aspects of baptismal doctrine; Section IV examines inquisitorial documentation from Philip the Fair's trial against the Templars, identifying and defining blasphemy as the principal criminal charge; and Section V concentrates on early medieval penitential doctrine in the compilations of Theodore (ca. 680) and Halitgar of Cambrai (830). Kim's method is primarily philological rather than historical, as she consistently privileges the close reading and paraphrase of original texts, assuming that their meaning is immediately accessible to modern students, without significant aid coming from contemporary (decretist or theological) commentary or from modern secondary literature, which is cited very spottily and always carries 1997 as the latest publication date, the year she ended her graduate career with a JD from the University of California at Berkeley. WOLFGANG MUELLER (*Fordham University*)

Father Gabriel of St. Mary Magdeleine, O.C.D. *From the Sacred Heart to the Trinity: The Spiritual Itinerary of St. Teresa of Margaret (Redi) of the Sacred Heart*, O.C.D. Translated by Sebastian V. Ramge, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: Institute of Carmelite Studies. 2006. Pp. 92. \$11.95.)

While Carmelites rank Saint Teresa of Margaret (1737-1770) along with Teresa of Jesus, John of the Cross, and Thérèse of the Child Jesus, her story is nearly obscure in the world of today's popular saints. Her complete biography, *God is Love: Saint Teresa Margaret, Her Life*, was published by the Institute of Carmelite Studies in 2003. The story of Saint Teresa Margaret's life is based

upon the testimonies of her Carmelite spiritual directors. This new companion study, *From the Sacred Heart to the Trinity: The Spiritual Itinerary of St. Teresa of Margaret (Redi) of the Sacred Heart, O.D.C.*, by Father Gabriel of St. Mary Magdelene moves beyond her biography to trace her steps following the Carmelite way. Father Gabriel, an astute Carmelite spiritual theologian, grounds his work on the eye witness accounts of her directors during her formative years, decrees used for the process of her beatification in 1839.

Sister Teresa of Margaret Redi was born in Italy in the eighteenth century and canonized in 1934. Father Gabriel divides his treatment of Teresa of Margaret's journey into the ascetical and mystical aspects. The first phase in her ascetical journey began when she read a life of Saint Margaret Mary and assimilated Margaret Mary's devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Teresa of Margaret's intense spiritual journey was marked by the transforming grace she received upon hearing the words "God is Love" during the choral recitation of Terce. From this moment forward she felt herself loved by God and that she loved God in a divine manner. She describes herself being consumed by God, a mystical sense bringing earthly suffering and pain.

Father Gabriel's chronicle is peppered with terminology taken directly from Teresa Margaret's spiritual autobiographical accounts. While this gives his work integrity, her archaic expressions may distance readers from identifying with her spiritual experience. Using finite language to describe and convey supernatural experience remains a challenge in any age. Father Gabriel's admiration and respect for his subject has given modern spiritual seekers a glimpse into the story of a soul that transcends historical boundaries. INGRID J. PETERSON, O.S.F. (*Minong, Wisconsin*)

Krason, Stephen M. (Ed.). *Catholic Makers of America: Biographical Sketches of Catholic Statesmen and Political Thinkers in America's First Century, 1776-1876*. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America. 2006. Pp. vi, 260. \$29.95 paperback.)

In 1966, J. Herman Schauinger published *Profiles in Action: American Catholics in Public Life*, one of the first historical attempts to outline the role of Catholics in politics. That book is long since out of print. *Catholic Makers*, relying to some extent on Schauinger's work, is a collection of nine essays on prominent American Catholics (Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Daniel Carroll, Thomas Fitzsimons, Thomas Sim Lee, William Gaston, Roger Brooke Taney, Orestes A. Brownson, Peter Hardeman Burnett, and James Campbell) involved in various ways in American political life and thought from 1776 to 1876. The essays, written by historians and political scientists, are intended to provide general introductions to the political contributions these men made to American life. The essays, with the exception of the one by Donald J. D'Elia on Thomas Fitzsimons, are not documented. Each essay, however, is followed by a short bibliography for those interested in further reading or research.

What I find lacking in the book is an historical interpretation and analysis of American Catholic involvement in politics. The essays are isolated case studies with little reflection on the overall impact of Catholics on politics in the first century. What is also disappointing is a failure to examine whether these men were Catholics who happened to be in politics, or politicians who happened to be Catholics. It is not clear in most of the essays precisely what was the relationship between their Catholicism and their political views or positions.

The primary purpose of the book is to inform readers about people who have been forgotten or are not mentioned much in histories of American life, and in this the book is successful. The book also has a helpful index. PATRICK W. CAREY (*Marquette University*)

Meynard, Thierry. S.J. *Following the Footsteps of the Jesuits in Beijing: A Guide to Sites of Jesuit Work and Influence in Beijing*. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2006. Pp. vi, 120. \$14.95 paperback.)

This short book presents the sites related to Jesuit activity in the Chinese capital from the seventeenth until the twentieth centuries. It is organized as a tourist guide, with entries arranged by proximity for coherent day trips. For the traveler unfamiliar with Chinese, the book includes practical information such as street addresses in both Chinese characters and pinyin Romanization and websites for a few of the attractions (although most of these only in Chinese). From a practical standpoint, Meynard's guide is a useful companion for the tourist seeking to conjure up the ghosts of Beijing Jesuits past—the author even includes spiritual meditations about the encounter between China and (European) Christianity aimed at giving deeper meaning to the places described. Alas, for most of the sites, the tourist would have to be a formidable conjurer since war, time, and neglect have dealt fatal blows to vestiges of the Jesuit presence in Beijing. Relics from before 1800 accessible to tourists are few: dislocated tombstones in the garden of the Communist Party School, astronomical instruments at the Imperial Observatory, and the ruins of the Jesuit-designed Yuanmingyuan Palace. The post-Suppression Jesuits fared only slightly better: the Peking Man (Zhoukoudian) excavations where Pierre Teilhard de Chardin worked are considered a national treasure. The churches and other monuments listed by Meynard are surely evocative of a Catholic presence in the Chinese capital, but contain little of historical significance beyond the ground that they occupy. Other sites, such as the National Library of China and the National Archives, which house valuable historic books and documents are accessible to credentialed scholars, not tourists. For the historian seeking more detail without hagiographic overtones, the richly illustrated study of the city's first Jesuit cemetery is indispensable (Edward Malatesta, S.J., and Gao Zhiyu, eds., *Departed Yet Present: Zbalan, The Oldest Christian Cemetery In Beijing* (Macau / San Francisco: Instituto Cultural de Macau and Ricci Institute, 1995). LIAM M. BROCKEY (*Princeton University*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Report on the American Catholic Historical Association's Spring Meeting of 2007

The spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association took place on the campus of Marquette University, March 29-31, 2007. This event, a celebration of the 125th birthday of the University, was sponsored by the Departments of History and Theology. Generous support also came from Archbishop Timothy M. Dolan of Milwaukee, a long-time association member. The steering committee consisted of Steven Avella (Marquette), Wanda Zemler-Cizewski (Marquette), Patrick Carey (Marquette), Edward Schmitt (University of Wisconsin-Parkside), Laura Gellott (University of Wisconsin-Parkside), and Neal Pease (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.)

Our call for papers used not only the traditional mailing to the membership, but also invitations issued through list-servs and other non-traditional contacts via the internet. In fact, much of the arranging and organizing of the sessions was done via e-mail. At some point the Association should consider compiling a list of e-addresses for general mailings and other communications.

We received a bumper crop of proposals for whole sessions and individual papers, and at one marathon session the steering committee hammered out the outline of the program. In all, thirty-two sessions were held over those days—most of them in the capacious conference rooms of the Raynor Library. The participants were too numerous to name individually, but virtually every field and region of Catholic history was represented in the sessions. The scholarly exchanges were, by all reports, quite lively. The sessions had a very strong showing of young scholars, some of whom had their first opportunity to deliver a paper. The interchanges and address-sharing went on through all the conference breaks and social events. By all reports, many felt that the conference had been a great experience.

Other highlights of the conference included a wonderful opening reception at the historic Pabst Mansion (for many years the official residence of the Archbishops of Milwaukee and today a splendid museum) hosted by the Archdiocese of Milwaukee and Archbishop Timothy Dolan. Another reception in the Prucha Room of the University Archives was sponsored before the banquet by the Urban Institute of Marquette.

Archbishop Dolan offered a brief opening prayer and welcome at the banquet. The banquet speaker was Professor Thomas Jablonsky of the Marquette

History Department, who spoke about his recently published history of Marquette and accentuated the significance of the University in American Catholic higher education. The Reverend Joseph Chinnici, O.F.M., this year's president, spoke briefly, announcing his plans for filling the vacancies in the executive office of the ACHA. Rev. Msgr. Robert Trisco spoke as well, urging other Catholic institutions to host future spring meetings. Next year, St. Mary's College at Notre Dame, Indiana will be sponsoring the conference.

One noteworthy event at the conference was the graduate student "networking" session organized by Dr. Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., and Father Chinnici. At lunch on Saturday, graduate students gathered in one of the conference rooms and shared their research interests and ideas. This was a lively and well-received session—and the seedbed of future members of the Association.

The events of the conference were brought to a close on Saturday afternoon, and the remaining participants were welcomed to the University's Holy Family Chapel for a Palm Sunday Vigil Mass celebrated by the Very Reverend Curt Frederick, Vicar for Clergy of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee.

The steering committee and Marquette University wish to thank all who sponsored the conference and especially Archbishop Timothy Dolan, who was able to be with us for the formal pre-banquet reception and the banquet itself. It especially thanks the many participants whose excellent papers and presentations were the heart and soul of the whole event.

Marquette University

STEVEN AVELLA

Vatican Apostolic Library and Secret Archives

In an article of *L'Osservatore Romano* of June 13, 2007 Bishop Raffaele Farina, S.D.B., prefect of the library, responded to criticisms regarding the closing of the library. He noted that the library building, constructed according to the 1587 design of Domenico Fontana, needed to be renovated due to weakening concrete. The projected three-year closure was less than the seven years needed to restore the similar Library of St. Ambrose in Milan. Beginning in April of 2008 scholars will be able to consult an on-line catalogue, contact library officials by e-mail, and obtain photographic reproductions and digital images of manuscripts and prints. Many of the manuscripts and ancient manuscripts are already available through photographic reproductions sold by the library, while the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University in Missouri has 37,000 microfilms at the disposal of scholars. The renovations will involve a reorganization of the library's collections, and the installation of air-conditioning and elevators.

On June 25, 2007 Pope Benedict XVI appointed Bishop Raffaele Farina to the office of archivist and librarian of the Holy Roman Church and elevated

him to the rank of titular archbishop. He also appointed Monsignor Cesare Pasini, the vice-prefect of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, as prefect of the Vatican Apostolic Library. On that same day the pope visited the library and archives and addressed their staffs. He wished his library to be “a welcoming home of learning, culture, and humanity which opens its doors to scholars from all over the world without distinction of origins, race, or culture. The job of those of you who work here every day is to safeguard the synthesis between culture and faith that emerges from the precious documents and treasures you hold.” He noted the polemics that arose following the publication of certain research and praised “the disinterested and impartial service provided by the Vatican Secret Archives,” that “steer clear of sterile and often weak partisan historical viewpoints and give researchers, without hindrance and prejudice, the documents in its possession, catalogued with seriousness and competency.” He urged the staff “always to consider your work as a real mission to be undertaken passionately and patiently, with courtesy and a spirit of faith. Let it be your concern always to offer a welcoming image of the Apostolic See, aware that the evangelical message also passes through your own coherent Christian witness.”

Conferences

On October 2, 2007 the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum held its annual meeting, this time in the Bonifatiusaal of the Priesterseminar in Fulda, Germany. After a discussion of the financial difficulties facing the society, Dr. Berthold Jäger presented a paper entitled “Zwischen Reformation und Gegenreformation: Das Stift Fulda in der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts.” For further information, please contact Prof. Dr. Peter Walter at Corpus.Catholicorum@theol.uni-freiburg.de.

On October 4-6, 2007 the Hofstra Cultural Center and the Department of Religion of Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York, sponsored a conference entitled “The Politics of Religion-Making.” Among the papers presented were “Ethno-Religious Identity among Modern Syriac Christians” by Adam Becker, “Forcing Religion: John Locke and Tolerance” by Elizabeth Pritchard, and “British Christianity and the Religious Imagination: Politics of Religious Formation in Nineteenth-Century India” by Mitch Numark. For further information, please contact hofculctr@hofstra.edu or visit www.hofstra.edu/culture.

On October 12-13, 2007 the Thirty-Fourth Annual Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies was held at Saint Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri. Among the papers presented were “The Macclesfield Psalter” by Stella Panayotova, “The Stylistic Content of the Luttrell Psalter” by Michael Michael, “The Taymouth Hours” by Kathryn Ann Smith, “Who: Men of Interest. The Visitation Explored” by Judith Golden, “Where: Talking Spaces. Hierarchy in the Porter Hours (Morgan M. 105)” by Libby Escobedo Karlinger, “Why: The

Emphasis on Judas' Notoriety Pictured in a Thirteenth-Century Psalter-Hours" by Adelaide Bennett, "Winchester, Canterbury, and Sigena: The Problem of the Last Copy of the Utrecht Psalter" by Nigel Morgan, "The Conradin Bible and Other Projects: Making Books at Naples between Hohenstaufen and Angevin" by Rebecca Corrie, "Some Papyrological Perspectives on Early Christianity" by David Martinez, "The Bull, the Column, the Scepter, and the Crown: Hieroglyphs of Nobility in the Missal of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna" by Brian A. Curran, and "The Farnese Hours and Roman Breviary Reform" by Elena Calvillo. For further information, please contact Barbara Channell at channellbj@slu.edu or visit <http://www.slu.edu/libraries/vfl/events.htm>.

On October 11-12, 2007 the Smokler Center for Jewish Life of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland, held the 3rd Lavy Colloquium entitled "Judaism and Christian Art." Among the papers presented were "Frau Venus, the Eucharist, and the Jews of Landshut" by Achim Timmermann and "Lord's Supper and Passover Sacrilege: Shared Images and the Confrontation of Rituals in the Northern Renaissance Altarpiece" by Mitchell Merback. For further information, please contact jewish.studies@jhu.edu or visit <http://web.jhu.edu/jewishstudies>.

On October 18-20, 2007 L'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française held its 60^e Congrès at the Collège Militaire Royale du Canada in Kingston, Ontario. For further information, call (514) 271-6369 or visit http://www.rmc.ca/academic/history/new_f.htm.

On July 3-6, 2008 Liverpool Hope University in the United Kingdom will sponsor an interdisciplinary conference entitled "Tyndale, More, and Their Circles: Persecution and Martyrdom under the Tudors." Scholars interested in the religious history and literature of the Tudor period from Anne Askew to Edmond Campion and wishing to present a twenty-five-minute paper should send their name, institutional affiliation, title of the paper, and a 300-500 word abstract to the Reverend Matthew Baynham at baynham@hope.ac.uk or to Dr. John Flood at john.flood@balliol.ox.ac.uk.

Latin-Language Competition Award

Before February 1, 2008 anyone interested in entering the Forty-Ninth Capitoline Competition in Latin prose and poetry should submit three type-written copies of his or her work to the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani—Ufficio Latino—Piazza dei Cavalieri di Malta, 2—00153 Rome, Italy. Only one entry may be submitted and it may not have been published previously nor have received an earlier award nor have appeared in a vernacular language. The prose entry of an adult scholar may not exceed 1,500 words; that of an adolescent 1,000 words; a poem must be less than fifty verses. Please address all inquiries to Dr. Mario Mazza at the above address.

Beatifications

On September 15, 2007 in the Antares Center in Le Mans, France, the beatification rites for the Servant of God Basile-Antoine Marie Moreau, C.S.C. (1799-1873), founder of the men and women's congregations of Holy Cross, were performed. For further information, please visit www.holycrosscongregation.org, www.marianites.org, www.cscsisters.org, or www.sistersofholycross.org.

On September 16, 2007 at the Marian Shrine of Lichen-Wloclawek in Poland the Servant of God Stanislaus of Jesus Mary (also known as Jana Papczynski) was beatified.

On September 16, 2007 in the cathedral of Bordeaux, France, the Servant of God Marie Celine of the Presentation (also known as Jeanne-Germaine Castang) was beatified.

On September 30, 2007 in the church of St. James and St. Agnes in Nysa-Pole in Poland the Servant of God Maria Merckert was beatified.

Correction: when reporting the cause of the Venerable Margherita Occhiena (1788-1856) in the January issue (*ante* XCIII, no. 1, page 229) it was erroneously stated that she raised her youthful brother-in-law and took care of his mother-in-law. In fact, she raised her step-son Antonio and took care of her deceased husband Francesco Bosco's mother. The editor is grateful to Father Michael Mendl, S.D.B., for pointing out the errors.

Publications

La Société d'histoire religieuse de la France and le Centre d'histoire «Espaces et Cultures» (Université Blaise Pascal) sponsored a colloquium on September 15-17, 2005, on the theme "Les associations de prêtres en France du Moyen Âge à l'époque contemporaine." The papers presented on those days have now been published in the issue of the *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* for January-June, 2007 (Volume 93, Number 230), under four section headings: (1) "Les motifs d'association": Giancarlo Rocca, "Le associazioni sacerdotali. Per una tipologia delle associazioni italiane dal Medioevo a oggi" (pp. 7-24); Joseph Avril, "Une association obligée: l'archiprêtre ou doyenné" (pp. 25-40); Marc Venard, "Entre obligation et sociabilité: les conférences ecclésiastiques" (pp. 41-50); Philippe Boutry, "Les conférences ecclésiastiques au XX^e siècle" (pp. 51-70); Christian Sorrel, "Le prêtre et le congrès (1870-1940): un rendez-vous manqué?" (pp. 71-88); (2) "Idéaux, modèles et frontières": Jacques Pycke, "Chanoines et prêtres séculiers dans le cadre de la paroisse primitive de Tournai à l'époque médiévale. Une harmonie difficile" (pp. 91-105); Jean-Michel Matz, "Chapelains et communautés de chapelains dans le diocèse d'Angers (xiv^e-xv^e siècles)" (pp. 107-125); Yves Krumenacker, "La question des vœux dans les congrégations de prêtres au xvii^e siècle" (pp. 127-138); Stéphane-

Marie Morgain, "La prêtrise selon Pierre de Bérulle. «Un état et une vie d'unité par intériorité et de société par extériorité» (Œuvre de piété 288)" (pp. 139-152); André Lanfrey, "AAS et petites sociétés. Les associations de clercs des séminaires sulpiciens de 1770 et 1860" (pp. 153-173); Albert Jacquemin, "L'*Opus sacerdotale*. Naissance, développement, apport et héritage d'une société sacerdotale en France au xx^e siècle (1964-1974)" (pp. 175-189); (3) "Le mode de vie interne": Christian Dury, "Fraternités de chapitres et chapitres de prêtres. L'exemple du diocèse de Liège au Moyen Âge" (pp. 193-211); Ludovic Viallet, "Les communautés de prêtres des cathédrales et collégiales dans les villes de la fin du Moyen Âge: modèle canonial, réseaux sociaux et identité urbaine" (pp. 213-227); Gaëlle Tarbochez, "Les communautés de prêtres séculiers en France à la fin du Moyen Âge" (pp. 229-248); Frédéric Meyer, "La bourse des pauvres prêtres du diocèse de Genève-Anancy au xviii^e siècle" (pp. 249-266); Ségolène de Dainville-Barbiche, "Les communautés paroissiales de Paris au xviii^e siècle: sociétés de prêtres ou auberges ecclésiastiques?" (pp. 267-280); Louis Duval-Arnould, "La communauté de prêtres de Saint-Louis-des-Français à Rome" (pp. 281-305); (4) "Les formes de ministère": Jean-Loup Lemaitre, "Les obituaires des communautés de prêtres, du Moyen Âge au concile de Trente" (pp. 309-321); Anne Bonzon, "Fonctions et fonctionnement des communautés de curés dans les villes épiscopales de la province ecclésiastique de Reims au temps de la Réforme catholique" (pp. 323-341); Stéphane Gomis, "Les «enfants-prêtres» à l'époque de la Réforme catholique: des clercs en quête d'identité?" (pp. 343-355); Daniel Moulinet, "Associations sacerdotales aux xix^e et xx^e siècles. Le cas du diocèse de Moulins" (pp. 357-373), and Bernard Dompnier, "Entre sociabilité et société, l'espace de l'association. En guise de conclusions" (pp. 375-383).

Four of the papers read at the meeting of the Internationale Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung that was held in Bamberg on April 17-21, 2006, have been published in the second number of the *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* for 2005 [sic] (Volume 37), as follows: Walter Brandmüller, "Konzil-Synode im Briefcorpus Gregors des Großen" (pp. 377-398); Alberto Ferreiro, "The Iberian Church and the Papacy from the Fourth to the Seventh Century: A Historiographical Reflection" (pp. 399-410); Uwe Michael Lang, "John Philoponus and the Fifth Ecumenical Council: A Study and Translation of the Letter to Justinian" (pp. 411-436); and Hans Georg Thümmel, "Die Konstantinopler Konzilien des 9. Jahrhunderts: Eine Übersicht" (pp. 437-458).

The second part of the papers that were presented at a seminar in medieval history held at the Faculté d'histoire et géographie of the Université catholique de Lille on the theme "La charité dans les pays du Nord à la fin du Moyen Âge" has appeared in the issue of *Mélanges de Science Religieuse* for April/June, 2007 (Volume 64), in four articles: Hélène Boilly and Marina Lieben, "La table du Saint-Esprit en l'église Saint-Pierre de Douai" (pp. 5-17); Sylvie Blondel, "La charité municipale à Douai à la fin du Moyen Âge" (pp. 19-41); Bertrand Haquette, "*Pour*

Dieu et en especial aumosne: La charité en pays d'Aire à la fin du Moyen Âge" (pp. 43-62); and Isabelle Clauzel-Delannoy, "Les 'pauvres members de Dieu' du comté de Boulogne (XII^e-XVI^e s.)" (pp. 63-85). The first part of the papers was published in the issue for March, 2005 (Volume 62) and listed in the *Catholic Historical Review*, 91 (July, 2005), 567-568.

To commemorate the 450th anniversary of the death of St. Ignatius Loyola and the 500th of the births of St. Francis Xavier and Blessed Peter Faber, the Faculty of Theology of the Pontifical University Comillas held the III Jornadas de Teología on October 23 and 24, 2006. Most of the papers presented on those days are now published in the issue of *Estudios Eclesiásticos* for June, 2007 (Volume 82), as follows: Javier Burrieza Sánchez, "Los días de la Compañía de Jesús: un retrato histórico de sus orígenes" (pp. 201-234); José García de Castro, "Pedro Fabro (1506-1546). Inspirador y constructor de la primera Compañía de Jesús" (pp. 235-276); Santiago Madrigal Terrazas, "Pedro Fabro ante la reforma protestante" (pp. 277-307); Rogelio García Mateo, "Loyola y el luteranismo. ¿Contrarreformista o reformista?" (pp. 309-338); Pedro Miguel Lamet, "Perfil humano y gesta apostólica de Francisco Javier" (pp. 339-358); Francisco Javier Gómez Díez, "Unidad y variedad en la mission jesuítica del siglo XVI: del Japón a las fronteras de la monarquía hispánica" (pp. 359-387); Íñigo Arranz Roa, "Las Indias de aquí: misiones interiores en Castilla, siglos XVI-XVII" (pp. 389-409); and Josep M. Rambla Blanch, "Pedro Arrupe, ¿Segundo fundador de la Compañía de Jesús?" (pp. 411-421).

A colloquium on Cardinal Jules-Géraud Saliège, Archbishop of Toulouse, was held in that city on November 3 and 4, 2006, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his death. The *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* in its issue for January-March, 2007 (Volume CVIII), has published the papers read at that symposium, to wit, Michel Dagrás, "Monseigneur Saliège, figure emblématique d'un réseau de résistants toulousains" (pp. 7-8); Paul Poupard, "Le Cardinal Saliège" (pp. 9-24); Yves-Marie Hilaire, "Monseigneur Saliège face au(x) nationalisme(s)" (pp. 25-36); Pierre Laborie, "Sur le retentissement de la lettre pastorale de Monseigneur Saliège" (pp. 37-50); Patrick Cabanel, "Saliège, 23 août 1942: l'évêque comme prophète" (pp. 51-70); Germain Sicard, "Monseigneur Saliège et la France" (pp. 71-82); Jean-Louis Clément, "Monseigneur Saliège et la reconnaissance du GPRE, 25 août 1944-28 février 1945" (pp. 83-102); Félicien Machelart, "Monseigneur Saliège et l'Assemblée des cardinaux et archevêques de France" (pp. 103-110); Jean-Claude Meyer, "Les collaborateurs de Monseigneur Saliège: Monseigneur Louis de Courrèges d'Ustou, les abbés Louis Gèze, Marius Garail. . ." (pp. 111-126); Marie Thérèse Duffau, "Monseigneur Saliège, Chancelier de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse" (pp. 127-146); Sylvie Bernay, "Un réseau catholique de sauvetage? L'exemple du diocèse de Toulouse" (pp. 147-160); Bartolomé Bennassar, "Jules-Géraud Cardinal Saliège et l'esprit de la Résistance" (pp. 161-168); Jean-François Galinier-Parrerola, "La spiritualité du Cardinal Saliège" (pp. 169-182); Robert Cabié, "Monseigneur Saliège et l'Action catholique" (pp. 183-192); Gérard Reynal, "La gouvernance

de Mgr Saliège sur le diocèse de Toulouse” (pp. 193-208); François Wernert, “Le Mouvement Liturgique en France à l’époque de l’épiscopat de Monseigneur Saliège, archevêque de Toulouse, de 1929 à 1956” (pp. 209-222); Hervé Gaignard, “Le renouveau de la liturgie dans le diocèse de Toulouse, de 1929 à 1956” (pp. 223-234); Pierre Escudé, “Étincelle ou silence’: l’anti-rhétorique des *Menus Propos*” (pp. 235-254); and Jean Rocacher, “Repères biographiques” (pp. 255-256).

The Episcopal Church, as successor to the Church of England in the United States, commemorates this year the four hundredth anniversary of its establishment at Jamestown. The Virginia Historical Society has collaborated with the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia to produce a museum exhibition, “The Episcopal Church in Virginia, 1607-2007” (July 14, 2007 - January 13, 2008) and a special issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume 115, Number 2, which contains a history of the diocese across the four centuries by Edward L. Bond and Joan R. Gundersen (pp. 165-344).

The *U.S. Catholic Historian* has devoted its issue for spring, 2007 (Volume 25, Number 2) to six brief essays in honor of David J. O’Brien under the heading “Reform and Renewal,” viz., Alice Gallin, O.S.U., “Called to Action: The Historian as Participant” (pp. 1-12); Jay P. Dolan, “The Irish Parish” (pp. 13-24); Rodger Van Allen, “Select Moments from the Career and Contributions of David J. O’Brien” (pp. 25-35); Philip Gleason, “The First Century of Jesuit Higher Education in America” (pp. 37-52); James P. McCartin, “The Sacred Heart of Jesus, Thérèse of Lisieux and the Transformation of U.S. Catholic Piety, 1865-1940” (pp. 53-67); Paula Kane, “Renewal and Transformation: The Historian as How-to Guide” (pp. 69-78); Joseph A. McCartin, “The Other Americanism: David J. O’Brien’s Catholic Engagement with U.S. History” (pp. 79-92); and Tricia Pyne, “Looking at History through the Eyes of Faith: David J. O’Brien and the U.S. Catholic Community” (pp. 93-100).

The Passionate Heritage Newsletter 14, no. 1 (Winter, 2007) contains two articles by Father Robert Carbonneau, C.P., on fund-raising in America: “Early Passionist Fund-Raising,” pp. 1-3, 7, and “Passionist Fund-Raising: *The Sign* and the Missions,” pp. 4, 6.

Personals

Professors Catherine Albanese of the University of California, Santa Barbara, and Caroline Walker Bynum of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, were named co-winners of the 2007 Award for Excellence in Religion: Historical Studies by the American Academy of Religion for their respective books: *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion* (Yale University Press, 2006) and *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Northern Germany and Beyond* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

Father Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M. Cap., of the Catholic University of America, on July 15, 2007 was named the twentieth recipient of the Franciscan Institute Medal at a ceremony at St. Bonaventure University for his outstanding contributions to Franciscan Studies, having authored nine books and numerous articles on the topic, especially on Francis and Clare.

Father Robert Carbonneau, C.P., director of the Passionist Historical Archives, will be teaching from September 2007 to July 2008 American history, language, culture, and literature at the Sichuan International Studies University in Chongqing, China.

Dr. Frank de la Teja became President of the Texas State Historical Association in March and was appointed by Governor Rick Perry as Texas State Historian (2007-09) with an induction ceremony in Austin on May 29.

Dr. Elizabeth Makowski received the distinguished book award from the History of Women Religious Conference on June 26 at its meeting at the University of Notre Dame for her book *"A Pernicious Sort of Women": Quasi-Religious Women and Canon Lawyers in the Later Middle Ages* (The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

Professor J. Dean O'Donnell of the Virginia Tech University in Blacksburg was awarded the title of "associate professor emeritus" by the Board of Visitors on August 27 in recognition of his exemplary service to the university and of his scholarly research and publications on French diplomatic and ecclesiastical history.

Father George H. Tavard, A.A., distinguished theologian, historian, ecumenist, and member of the Association since 1958, died suddenly in Paris on August 13, 2007. A memorial service for him was held in the Chapel of the Holy Spirit of Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts on September 16.

Obituary

Giuseppe Alberigo (1926-2007) passed away in Bologna on June 15 at the age of 81. He was one of the great masters of church history—the discipline he taught in the University of Bologna for thirty years after his teacher training in the University of Modena and in the University of Florence—on the international scene as well as in the Italian milieu, where the state of religious studies was particularly poor in the early fifties. In this situation the young Alberigo (he took his degree in law at the Catholic University of Milan just after World War II) met Giuseppe Dossetti (1913-1996). The former vice-secretary of the Christian Democratic Party was on the eve of radical change and was looking for new fellows to start a new life: Dossetti thought that his political project was useless and weak in a situation which was "catastrophic" for the world as well as "critical" for the Church. Therefore, he suggested to a group of young

and untrained scholars a move to Bologna (because Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro was archbishop there) in order to start a research community of prayer and study devoted to the historical exploration of the forgotten issue of church reform, which in the last years of Pius XII seemed very far away. Alberigo and his wife Angelina were among the enthusiastic founders of the “Centro documentazione,” where intellectual and spiritual rigor went together. There he started his historical training with the two scholars that Dossetti saw as the most useful for his research on the Council of Trent, and in this way he became acquainted with Hubert Jedin (1900-1980), whose history of the Council of Trent was considered “proscribed merchandise” (“venduta sottobanco”) in the Catholic bookshops in Rome, and then with Delio Cantimori (1904-1966), then professor in Florence, whose *Eretici italiani del Cinquecento* is a masterpiece of a truly historical approach to truly theological issues.

These three—Dossetti, Jedin, Cantimori—are the masters who developed Alberigo’s method: their influence is vivid in his major books (devoted to the participation of the Italian bishops at the Council of Trent in 1959, the doctrine of collegial power of the bishops in the universal Church in 1964, the cardinalate in 1969, and the ecclesiology of conciliarism in 1981). However, his approach evolved from these studies and became more and more specifically his own: he was convinced that Christianity was historically understandable only for those who acknowledge its historical nature, its doctrinal structures, and its institutional process. Under these premises church history became not only a way to practice a pure and poor erudition, but also an active part of the process of Church reform, which always needs to explore a Tradition (with an uppercase T, as Congar wrote) in order to criticize and reform the sacred traditions (with a lowercase t) that originated in the clash between Church and modernity.

This approach remained the marker of the Bologna Institute, where he remained a true leader after the distinction between the monastic community and the research community in the late fifties. And there, in “Via San Vitale 114,” Vatican II arrived like an undreamed dream, and the young scholars trained by Dossetti in conciliar history (in 1962 they offered the volume *Conciliarum œcumenicorum decreta* to John XXIII, which Alberigo started to re-edit in the *Corpus Christianorum* in his last years) became a think tank for Cardinal Lercaro, for Dossetti himself as informal *peritus*, for many bishops and theologians who discovered the institute and its increasingly magnificent library as a place for study and hope.

Many of them (Chenu, Congar, Corecco, Dupont, Illich, Gribomont, Kretschmar, Jedin, Jossua, Tierney, Tillard, Turowicz, Schnackenburg, Panikkar, Chenu, Aubert, and many others whose books are the must-reads of the twentieth century) became the visitors and teachers of the institute, during and after Vatican II, when Alberigo and the various groups of young scholars who benefited from this extraordinary school for long or short periods offered to

historical research important projects and research, at the same time aiding and contributing to each other's work with sometimes unexpected results. It was, for instance, the work on and against the "Lex Ecclesiae fundamentalis" which convinced an extraordinary intellectual, Dominique De Menil, to honor Alberigo with an award for the defense of human rights in the Church, and Alberigo in turn asked her to support a project he was dreaming of since 1965: research on Angelo G. Roncalli. The Menil Foundation and the Rothko Chapel became a sponsor and sanctuary of research that proved to be so effective that Alberigo was asked to prepare the documentation needed for the beatification of John XXIII, which actually took place in September, 2000. And the same Mrs. De Menil was the first sponsor and host of the group of some thirty scholars which Alberigo gathered to write the *History of Vatican II*, edited in English with Joseph A. Komonchak—a history (five volumes offered to John Paul II in 1995 and 2001) that has dramatically changed knowledge about Vatican II and also offered the opportunity to people who dislike the council to try to discredit its history and its editor. But it is a fact that Benedict XVI (who received Alberigo in a short private audience on February 7, 2007, to congratulate him for the first volume of the new edition of the *Conciliarum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta*) stated that he was still willing to leave his personal Vatican II papers to Alberigo's institute.

Nevertheless Alberigo—corresponding fellow of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1995, member of "Concilium" for many years, founder of *Cristianesimo nella storia*, director of the critical edition of Roncalli's Diaries, fellow of the Académie des Sciences Religieuses, doctor *honoris causa* in Munich, Münster, and Strasbourg, but not in Barcelona because of the veto of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, whose prefect later apologized—did not receive any of the honors that the Roman Catholic Church sometimes offers its scholars and sons. But this was probably a gift. In the Church, Alberigo wanted to be a layman with a very special meaning ("un cristiano comune" he used to say), and who he was in twentieth-century historical research is told by his momentous bibliography (www.fscire.it). Satis est.

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