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MARTYRDOM AND THE MUSLIM WORLD THROUGH FRANCISCAN EYES

BY

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Beginning in 1220, groups of Franciscan friars traveled to Muslim lands, where they testified to the truth of Christian preaching and denounced the lies of Muhammad and Islam. In doing so, the friars intentionally broke Islamic law and were executed. The friars were proclaimed as martyrs, and the stories that preserve their memory valorized the desire for martyrdom rather than the successful conversion of Muslims, serving to emphasize the distinction between the Christian and Muslim worlds.

Keywords: conversion; Franciscans; Islam; martyrdom; missions to Muslims

The third-century North African theologian Tertullian (*c.* 160–*c.* 220) told Roman persecutors that they tortured and killed Christians in vain, for "blood is the seed of the Christians."[1] In some sense,

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[1]Tertullian, "Apologeticum," in *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera,* I: 50, 13, [Corpus Christianorum Series Latina] (Turnhout, 1954), p. 171. Tertullian's claim "semen est sanguis Christianorum" soon became "sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum." For a brief history of the adaptation of Tertullian's aphorism, see William S. Walsh, *Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 693.

Tertullian was right. The blood of the Roman martyrs—preserved as relics, commemorated in shrines, and recalled through stories—nourished the Church into the medieval age and beyond. The landscape of western Europe bubbled with the cult of bishops, soldiers, teenagers, men, women, and children who died in spectacular acts of defiance and glory. In the thirteenth century, the blood of the martyrs flowed once more, as bands of Franciscans crossed deserts and seas to receive the crown of martyrdom at the hands of the "Saracens." For Franciscans as much as for Tertullian, martyrdom was not only a way to ascribe meaning to death suffered through religious persecution but also a way to ascribe meaning to the world around the martyr. Witnessing, suffering, and dying only became acts of religious heroism through a series of interpretive acts, which cast the actors, constructed the scenery, and provided a script.[2] The accounts of Franciscan martyrdom in the fourteenth century provided western Europeans with a new way to understand the place that "Saracens" and *partes infidelium* occupied in their world. The martyrdoms occurred in locations largely on the periphery of the Islamic world, and the narratives that recounted them showed particular interest in the religiously mixed nature of communities under Islamic rule.[3] But the faith of the martyrs, displayed through their stalwart refusal of worldly honors and their embrace of bodily pain and death, neither converted Muslims nor emboldened local Christians in their faith. The blood of the Franciscans did not become "the seeds of the Christians" in Muslim lands; instead, the suffering and death of the friars tested the boundaries between the Christian and Muslim worlds, and suggested that they were impermeable, crossed only to strengthen further the separation between them.[4] Although the pious might preach and martyrs might amaze with miracles, Islam was an institution

[2]See Elizabeth Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory* (New York, 2004), for a discussion of this dynamic in early Christian experience and memory making. See also Lucy Grigg, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London, 2004).

[3]There are a few exceptions to this in the principal source, the *Chronica XXIV generalium ministrorum ordinis fratrum minorum*: Franciscans died in Georgia, killed by Orthodox Christians (undated); a single friar in Damietta (undated); an English friar in Persia (*c.* 1334); two in Livonia (*c.* 1342); Livinus in Egypt (1345); John of Montepulciano; and Nicolaus of Montecorvino and Francis of Terra Laboris in "Cadro" (perhaps Cairo, 1345).

[4]Again, a notable exception is the account of Blessed Thomas of Tolentino, who died in Tana, a town in India near Bombay, in 1321. The *passio* of Thomas and his companions deserve their own consideration, which the author hopes to provide in another article.

bolted to the bedrock of the world and proved impervious to Christian conversion or transformation.[5]

Contemporary sources about the earliest Franciscan martyrs are limited. The first martyrs were five friars who died in Morocco in 1220; they first were mentioned in the *vita* of St. Anthony of Padua,[6] which probably was written shortly after Anthony's canonization in 1232. But Anthony's hagiographer only mentioned their deaths and a few identifying characteristics; he did not provide a narrative of their martyrdom. The Franciscan chronicler Jordan of Giano (bef. 1195–*c*. 1262) gave the number of friars who died and recorded an anecdote in which their *passiones* were read to St. Francis, but he gave neither their names nor any account of their deeds.[7] St. Clare of Assisi knew of the martyrs of Morocco as well and saw the martyrs as embodying the Franciscan virtues she wished to imitate.[8] Other thirteenth-century Franciscan martyrs appear in textual sources many decades after their deaths. The two friars martyred in Valencia in 1231 were first mentioned only in 1335.[9] Although accounts of the martyrs, in either written or oral form, were clearly circulating in Franciscan communities in the mid-thirteenth century, those early accounts have not survived to the present day.[10] Most of the thirteenth-century references to the early martyrs come from hagiographic material about other Franciscan saints and

[5]The accounts were composed in a variety of circumstances, and at varying chronological and geographical distance from the events. In this article the author attempts to delineate the common features of the martyrdoms; as in any attempt to generalize, some accounts stand outside those parameters.

[6]Léon de Kerval, ed., *Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae quarum altera hucusque inedita* (Paris, 1904), pp. 29–30. Anthony himself desired to travel to Saracen lands and to be martyred, but as with Francis, God had other plans. Kerval, *Sancti Antonii vitae,* p. 33.

[7]Jordan of Giano, *Chronica fratris Jordani,* ed. H. Boehmer (Paris, 1908), p. 7.

[8]P. Zeffirino Lazzieri, "Il processo di canonizzazione di S. Chiara d'Assisi," *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum*, 13 (1920), 401–507, here 465.

[9]Leonard Lemmens, ed., *Fragmenta Minora: Catalogus sanctorum fratrum minorum* (Rome, 1903), p. 43; León Amorós Payá, "Los santos martires Franciscanos B. Juan de Perusa y B. Pedro de Saxoferrato en la historia de Teruel," *Teruel*, 15–16 (1956), 7–142, here 18–19.

[10]For more on the Moroccan martyrs, see Isabelle Heullant-Donat, "La perception des premiers martyrs franciscains à l'intéreur de l'Ordre au XIII[e] siècle," in *Religion et mentalités au moyen age: mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin,* ed. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Amaury Chauou, Daniel Pichot, and Lionel Rousselot (Rennes, 2003), pp. 211–20; James D. Ryan, "Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 90 (2004), 1–28.

served to illustrate their unfulfilled desire for martyrdom, a common hagiographical trope. The martyrs were convenient to point out the sanctity of Clare and Anthony, but, in the eyes of those in the thirteenth century, lacked widespread interest on their own.

Once written down, the accounts of Franciscan martyrs appeared in collected *passiones*, as well as in the late-fourteenth-century Franciscan account, the *Chronica XXIV generalium ministrorum ordinis fratrum minorum*.[11] The chronicle, possibly written by Arnald of Sarrant, the minister of Aquitaine (*c.* 1361–*c.* 1383), is an account of Franciscan history, structured through the terms of the ministers-general of the order. The lives of the martyrs and other holy figures from the Franciscan tradition served as an equally important structuring counterpoint to the institutional framework of the ministers. Some *passiones* were also collected separately as an appendix at the end of many of the manuscripts.[12] Some of the accounts in the *Chronica* are similar to earlier narratives; one example is the martyrdom of Monald of Ancona and his fellow friars in Armenia in 1314. The account in the chronicle has a clear relationship with the account given in the British Library manuscript from earlier in the fourteenth century.[13] In other cases, the relationship is not as clear. Further work needs to be done to establish the textual relationships among various accounts.

The sources about the martyrs provoke a number of questions. Some pertain to the martyrs themselves. Why did Franciscans choose to leave Christian lands to die at the hands of Muslims? What ideology supported and encouraged such behavior, and how did those who died and the communities from which they sprang understand their actions? Others pertain to the communities that perpetuated their

[11]"Chronica XXIV generalium ordinis minorum," *Analecta Franciscana,* 3 (Quaracchi, 1898), hereafter cited as "Chronica XXIV generalium." All translations are my own, but I have consulted Noel Muscat's translation of the first section of the chronicle. Arnald of Sarrant, *Chronicle of the Twenty-Four Generals of the Order of Friars Minor,* trans. Noel Muscat, O.F.M. (Malta, 2007), <http://www.ofm.org.mt/noelmuscat/texts/Chron_24_Min_Gen_OFM.pdf>. See Maria Teresa Dolso for a critical appraisal: *La* Chronica XXIV Generalium: *Il difficile percorso dell'unità nella storia francescana* (Padua, 2003).

[12]Maria Teresa Dolso, "I manoscritti della Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum," *Franciscana,* 6 (2004), 185–261. For other martyr texts, see Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano* (Quaracchi, 1913), 5 vols.

[13]"Chronica XXIV," pp. 412–45; London, British Lib., Cotton Nero A IX, fols. 96v–98v.

memories: How and why were the dead commemorated as martyrs, and what did the stories of their martyrdoms mean to the communities that wrote, read, and copied them? Although these questions may seem inseparable, they address two different moments. The practice of traveling to infidel lands and dying there began in 1220 and continued into the early-modern era. Detailed accounts of the martyrs' suffering and deaths did not appear until the fourteenth century (at least in surviving manuscripts) and particularly were interested in telling stories about three groups of martyrs—those who died in Morocco (1220), Armenia (1314), and India (1321).[14] Thus, a gap of a century separated the first martyrs and the development of the narratives about them. This gap, together with the general difficulty of uncovering primary historical experiences reshaped through narrative and genre expectations, makes the questions about the martyrs themselves difficult to answer. This essay will focus instead on the representation of the martyrs within fourteenth-century material.

Why did the gap between martyrdom and narrative exist? Whereas western Christians confronted Islam through a number of different endeavors in the thirteenth century—crusade, preaching, theological disputation—fourteenth-century Christians saw those same endeavors as failed or blocked. Planned crusades never departed, and decades of preaching and argument had failed to convert significant numbers of Muslims. Martyrdom, in contrast, was a story in which one cannot fail. Furthermore, the stories of the martyrs particularly appealed to their fourteenth-century brethren because they could help unify a Franciscan order shattered by the struggles between the Conventuals and the Spirituals. The martyrs articulated a vision of Franciscan spirituality that transcended those differences.

The Franciscan passion for martyrdom and obsession with the Muslim world famously began with Francis himself. Thomas of Celano, his first hagiographer, recorded that in 1212 "Francis wished to take a ship to the region of Syria to preach the Christian faith and repentance to the Saracens and other non-believers," but contrary

[14]The artistic representation of Franciscan martyrs, which also began in the fourteenth century, falls outside the scope of this essay. For more, see S. Maureen Burke, "The 'Martyrdom of the Franciscans' by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 65, no. 4 (2002), 460–92; Christophe Chabloz, "Les *Cinque Maritiri francescani del Marocco* à San Lorenzo Maggiore de Naples: tentative de décryptage d'un choix iconographique inhabituel," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 71 (2008), 321–34.

winds forced him ashore in Slavonia. Still driven by "the burning desire for martyrdom," he later traveled toward Morocco, hoping "to preach the gospel of Christ to the Miramolin and his retinue,"[15] but illness forced him to end his journey in Christian Spain. Finally he accompanied the Fifth Crusade to Egypt and preached to al-Malik al-Kamil, the Ayyubid sultan.[16] Francis neither converted the sultan nor achieved martyrdom, but by the fourteenth century, many believed that the sultan had secretly converted and understood the stigmata Francis later suffered to be a superior form of martyrdom.[17] Although Francis certainly sought to convert infidels, the trope of the saint desiring martyrdom dates back to St. Anthony of Alexandria, the father of monasticism, and thus whether Francis himself desired martyrdom or whether Thomas of Celano used this to accentuate his humility and sanctity, remains an open question.[18]

Francis's opinions on conversion and martyrdom did survive in the first preserved rule written for the order, the *Regula non bullata* (sometimes called the *Regula prima*), composed in 1221 as a successor to the first, now-lost rule. Chapter 16 covered the subject of "those going among the Saracens and other non-believers" and offered two

[15]Thomas de Celano, "Vita Prima Sancti Francisci," *Analecta Franciscana,* 10 (Quaracchi, 1928), p. 42; trans. from Thomas of Celano, "The Life of Saint Francis," in *Francis of Assisi: The Early Documents,* vol. I, *The Saint,* ed. Regis Armstrong, J. A. Wayne Hellmann, and William J. Short (New York, 1999), p. 229.

[16]The question of Francis's motivation in going to Egypt has been widely debated, particularly on the point of whether Francis was in sympathy with, or in opposition to, the crusade itself. See Benjamin Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 116–31; Christoph Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK, 1994), pp. 9–17; Adam L. Hoose, "Francis of Assisi's Way of Peace? His Conversion and Mission to Egypt," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 96 (2010), 449–69; and James M. Powell, "St. Francis of Assisi's Way of Peace," *Medieval Encounters*, 13 (2007), 271–80 (spec. issue "Crusades and Interfaith Relations," ed. Michael Lower). Powell made a similar argument in "Francesco d'Assisi e la Quinta Crociata: Una missione di pace," *Schede Medievali,* 4 (1983), 67–77. John Tolan has examined the numerous textual and visual depictions of this meeting from the thirteenth century to the present in *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (New York, 2009).

[17]Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan,* pp. 162–70.

[18]For more on the desire for martyrdom in Franciscan thought, see Daniel Randolph, "The Desire for Martyrdom: A Leitmotiv of St. Bonaventure," *Franciscan Studies*, 32 (1972), 74–87. Likewise, the Franciscan liturgy devoted to St. Louis, king of France, lauded him as a martyr by desire. See M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of St. Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, 2008), pp. 169–75.

possible ways of approaching such a mission. "One way," the rule counseled, "is not to engage in arguments or disputes but to be subject *to every human creature for God's sake* (1 Pet 2:13) and to acknowledge that they are Christians."[19] The brothers who felt called to witness to the Muslims should truly be *minores* and convince Muslims of the superiority of Christianity, not through preaching or speech, but through the humble mien appropriate to those who serve a humble and crucified God.[20] The rule outlined a second way for the friars as well: "to announce the Word of God, when they see it pleases the Lord, in order that [unbelievers] may believe in almighty God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit . . . and be baptized and become Christians." No matter which approach the friars may take or where they may be, Francis reminded them that "they have given themselves and abandoned their bodies to the Lord Jesus Christ. For love of Him, they must make themselves vulnerable to their enemies, both visible and invisible."[21] The *Regula non bullata,* however, was not the official rule of the order, as its title suggests. Under pressure from his own order as well as the pope and the cardinal-protector, Francis wrote a new rule for the order, which was shorter, more legalistic, less lyrical, and shorn of its many biblical quotations. This rule gave the friars no direction on how to conduct missions to the "infidel"; it only mandated that they receive permission from their superiors before going.[22]

By including an entire section in both rules devoted to it, Francis made clear that he saw the mission to the infidels as a fundamental part of the Franciscan calling and sought to ensure that his brothers shared his values. Yet what the mission to the infidels signified to Francis and other early friars is far from clear. The two paths laid out by the *Regula non bullata* were strikingly different conceptions of what the Franciscan mission was and what it should achieve; yet both

[19]"Regula non bullata," in *Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis,* ed. Katejan Asser (Grottaferrata, 1978), p. 268; trans. from "The Earlier Rule," in Armstrong, Hellmann, and Short, eds., *The Saint,* p. 74, emphasis in original.

[20]Michael F. Cusato refers to this as "renunciation of power." "The Renunciation of Power as a Foundational Theme in Early Franciscan History," in *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Select Proceedings of the International Conference, Groningen 20–23 November 1996,* ed. Martin Gosman, Arjo Vanderjagt, and Jan Veenstra (Groningen, 1997), pp. 265–86.

[21]"Regula non bullata," pp. 269–71; trans. in "The Earlier Rule," in Armstrong, Hellmann, and Short, eds., *The Saint,* pp. 74–75.

[22]"Regula bullata," in *Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis,* ed. Katejan Asser (Grottaferrata, 1978), pp. 237–38; trans. from "The Later Rule" in Armstrong, Hellmann, and Short, eds., *The Saint,* p. 106.

paths, through action or ideology, led the friar to martyrdom.[23] The first path, the path of patient endurance and humility, most clearly exemplified Francis's values; elsewhere in the rule Francis urged the friars to call friends "those who unjustly inflict upon us distress and anguish, shame and injury, sorrow and punishment, martyrdom and death."[24] Although the rule did not encourage martyrdom directly, it encouraged a disregard for the fate of the body and a reciprocal elevation of the values of humility and subordination, which we might consider the psychosocial building blocks of the martyr's perspective. The second path placed conversion at the center of the friars' activities—infidels must hear the word of God to be saved—but exposed the friars to the greatest possibility of being martyred. Encouraging Muslims to abandon their faith was a capital offense under Islamic law; denigrating Islam and its prophets (*sabb)* was equally so.[25] Yet Francis himself followed this approach and lived. The second path was the one chosen by the martyrs commemorated by the order, but as will be discussed, their motivation was, according to their hagiographers, the desire for martyrdom rather than conversion of the Saracens.

Whatever the motivation and ideals of Francis and those who died, their learned brothers drew on an ancient tradition when they told the stories of the Franciscan martyrs. Martyrdom developed in a world where Christians and pagans shared a language filled with contested symbols and meanings. Stories about martyrdom took values central to Roman identity—such as religious sacrifice and the values of the arena—and subverted them. The death of the condemned Roman criminal became the birth of the Christian martyr into eternal life, the humiliation of public execution became glory, and painful torture became the guarantee of sweet salvation. Martyrs were made, however, not through persecution and death in the arena, but through the commemoration of their deaths by the communities they left behind. Although the stories of the Roman martyrs differed in detail and form, they understood the actions of the martyr within a common cosmological framework, depicting the death of the martyr as a vic-

[23]For the ideology of Franciscan missions in general, see E. Randolph Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, KY, 1975).

[24]"Regula non bullata," p. 279; trans. in "The Earlier Rule," in Armstrong, Hellmann, and Short, eds., *The Saint,* p. 79.

[25]Lutz Wiederhold, "Shatm**,"** *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs (Leiden, 2008). Brill Online. <http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-8898>.

tory over demons, a willing sacrifice for the salvation of God's people, and an elevation of the martyr to a "friend of God" and a protector of the community who perpetuated the martyr's memory (and venerated the martyr's tomb and/or relics) on earth. The martyrs were God's chosen ones, and as such they dwelt simultaneously at his side and on earth, and manifested divine power in the earthly realm through miracles.

Martyrdom came to represent different values as Christian communities under the rule of the new Islamic empire began to venerate Christians who had died at the command of Muslim judges. "Neomartyrs," as such Christians are sometimes called, did not die as a part of systematic persecution by the ruling authorities, but as a result of their direct confrontation with the dominant authority.[26] In some cases, the martyrs were Muslims who had converted to Christianity, an act that contravened Islamic law. In others, however, they were Christians executed for insulting the prophet Muhammad, such as Peter of Capitolias, a Melkite (Greek Orthodox) priest who was executed in 715,[27] or the forty-eight martyrs of Cordoba, who between 851 and 860 were executed for breaking Islamic law in the same way.[28] The miraculous content of the neo-martyrdoms was considerably less than those in Roman martyrdom accounts; some martyrs received visions that inspired them, and a few enjoyed miraculous protection, but the glory of the martyrs shone brightest through their stalwart example of fidelity to Christianity, not in the joyous miraculous outpouring that healed the faithful and converted pagan

[26]Sidney Griffith, "Christians, Muslims, and Neo-Martyrs: Saints' Lives and Holy Land History," in *Sharing the Sacred: Contacts and Conflicts in the Holy Land, First-Fifteenth Centuries CE*, ed. Arieh Kofsky and Guy G. Strousma (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 163–207; Leslie S. B. MacCoull, "Notes on the Martyrdom of John of Phanijoit (BHO 519)," *Medieval Encounters,* 6 (2000), 58–79; Febe Armanios and Boğaç Ergene, "A Christian Martyr under Mamluk Justice: The Trials of Salib (d. 1512) according to Muslim and Coptic Sources," *Muslim World*, 96 (2006), 115–44.

[27]This life has been preserved only in a Georgian translation, but a short version of Peter's life also appeared in the chronicle of Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Carolus de Boor (1883; Hildesheim, 1963), I:416–17; trans. in *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor,* trans. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (Oxford, 1997), 1:577–78. See also Griffith, "Neo-Martyrs."

[28]Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge, UK, 1988); Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln, NE, 1995). The parallels between the Franciscans and the Cordobans have been noted by Allan Cutler, "The Ninth-Century Spanish Martyrs' Movement and the Origins of Western Christian Missions to the Muslims," *Muslim World,* 55 (1969), 321–39.

onlookers in Roman accounts. The martyr was no longer a conduit of divine power, a being who transcended the division between heaven and earth, but a hero whose fortitude embodied the determined resistance of the Christian community to the dark power of this world. The only escape lay in the hope of the bright eternal paradise of the hereafter.

As Franciscans in convents throughout Europe copied and recopied the stories of their own martyrs, they had, both in their memory and on the page, the stories of the countless Christian martyrs who had preceded their brothers, and thus the Franciscan martyrs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were crafted as heirs to both the Roman and neo-martyrological traditions. Although the stories of the neo-martyrs were rare in Latin Christian libraries, the Franciscan *passiones* show clear similarities to those narratives, in part because they were relying on the same textual sources for their knowledge of Islam, which in turn conditioned the values assigned to martyrdom suffered under its authority.[29]

The Franciscan narratives were distinct from earlier martyrological traditions in one important facet; they described the martyrs as traveling long distances to the places where they died, while their memories were consequently preserved in their lands of origin, rather than on the spot. Not only did the martyrs die distant from their communities, they also died in a different cultural, political, and religious setting from the one with which they were familiar. Earlier stories commemorated martyrs who died in the midst of the commemorating community. The Franciscans, in contrast, preserved the memories of their confreres who died far away and among people who forgot them; likewise, the friars at home had neither lived under the infidel rulers who had killed the martyrs nor witnessed their sufferings and deaths. The physical and cultural distance between the place where the friars died and the place where their memory was maintained transformed the dialectical relationship between minority community and dominant authority that characterized martyrdoms past. Unlike the narratives of Roman martyrdom or of Christians under Islamic rule, the Franciscan narratives were not confronting an authority whose values and ideology they knew intimately. Rather, the martyrs and their narrators were confronting an Islam constructed in the histories, chronicles, and sermons in Europe, rather than one they knew

[29]John Tolan, *Saracens* (New York, 2002), pp. 69–169.

through a lifetime of experience. The friars, in this sense, never left the bounds of Europe, although they crossed territorial boundaries.

Although Francis may have failed to be martyred or may not have desired it at all, his friars craved it and often achieved it. Franciscan chronicles and martyrologies supply a long list of martyrs:[30] Five friars were martyred in Morocco in 1220, seven more died in Morocco seven years later,[31] two were beheaded in Muslim-ruled Valencia in 1231, several groups died during the Mamluk conquest of Palestine and Syria in the late-thirteenth century, four died near Bombay in India in 1321, and two more died in Granada in 1397.[32] Some accounts can be quite detailed and long; others are just brief notices. The stories, unsurprisingly, conformed to a similar narrative pattern. The friars died only in groups, perhaps as a way to bolster their commitment to the goal of martyrdom. Although the narratives sometimes referenced the desire to preach and convert infidels as motivation for the martyrs' journey, the friars' actions focused overwhelmingly on achieving martyrdom rather than on successful preaching.[33] In conversation with Urraca, the queen of Portugal, the five Franciscans on their way to Morocco in 1220 serenely told her, "we will die for the faith of Christ soon."[34] The seven friars who followed them in 1227 "were burning with desire for martyrdom,"[35]

[30]For more on Franciscan martyrs and medieval martyrs in general, see Miri Rubin, "Choosing Death: Experiences of Martyrdom in Late Medieval Europe," in *Martyrs and Martyrology: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society,* ed. Diana Wood (Oxford, 1993), pp. 153–83; Ryan, "Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages," pp. 1–28; Robert I. Burns, S.J., "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review,* 76 (1971), 1386–1434; Caroline Smith, "Martyrdom and Crusading in the Thirteenth Century: Remembering the Dead of Louis IX's Crusades," *Al-Masaq,* 15 (2003), 189–96.

[31]Ippolito Fortino, *I Martiri di Ceuta: Alle origini del francescanesimo in Calabria* (Soveria Mannelli, 2006).

[32]Dario Cabanelas, "Dos mártires franciscanos en la Granada nazarí: Juan de Cetina y Pedro de Dueñas," *Estudios de historia y de arqueología medievales*, 5–6 (1985), 159–75.

[33]For a discussion of Franciscan motivation in missions to Central Asia, see James D. Ryan, "Conversion or the Crown of Martyrdom: Conflicting Goals for Fourteenth-Century Missionaries in Central Asia?", in *Medieval Cultures in Contact,* ed. Richard F. Gyug (New York, 2003), pp. 19–38; James D. Ryan, "Conversion vs. Baptism? European Missionaries in Asia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages,* ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville, FL, 1997), pp. 146–67.

[34]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 16.

[35]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 32.

while the three Franciscans killed in Armenia in 1314 similarly "were spurred on by passion for martyrdom."[36] The narrative scheme was clear. After arriving in a Muslim-ruled city, the friars preached at the main mosque (or some other prominent public location) that salvation was only possible through Jesus Christ and denounced the lies of the prophet Muhammad and his "demonic faith." The condemnation of Muhammad angered the listening "Saracens"; the local authorities debated how to handle the friars, and often the brothers received some sort of lesser punishment—expulsion, imprisonment, or a flogging. The friars, however, persisted in their preaching and their insults, and in response the Islamic authorities sentenced them to death, usually by beheading.

The image of Muslims and Islamic authority did conform to older martyrological tropes about the persecutor in some ways. When the martyrs of 1220 approached the main mosque in Seville, the Muslims there "did not allow them to enter the mosque, attacking them with yelling, blows and whips."[37] When the friars twice insulted Muhammad before the king of Morocco, "the king, fired up with anger, took a sword . . . and one after another chopped their heads off."[38] Those who served the king were denounced as "diabolical ministers."[39] The emphasis on the violent emotions of the Saracens contrasted with the calm demeanor of the saints and echoed the long martyrological tradition of the raging demonic tyrant who turns against both God and pious Christians.

Yet unlike some other late-medieval Christian accounts,[40] the *passiones* did not sensationalize Islam or Muslims.[41] Despite the temptation to make the Muslim persecutors conform to genre expectations, the accounts did not describe the Muslims as idolaters and were careful to show the Muslims as following their own legal traditions in handling the friars. The Franciscan author of the fourteenth-century *Chronica XXIV generalium ministrorum ordinis fratrum mino-*

[36]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 412.

[37]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 17.

[38]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 19.

[39]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 18.

[40]Bernard Hamilton, "Knowing the Enemy: Western Understanding of Islam at the Time of the Crusades," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, ser. 3, 7 (1997), 373–87.

[41]Tolan, in contrast, argues that "thirteenth-century Franciscan writers show little knowledge of Islam; for them, as for the missionaries themselves, knowing the nature of the Saracen error was of little use." *Saracens,* p. 220.

rum knew that "the Saracens freely heard the friars preach concerning the faith of Christ and the teaching of the Gospel, but spoke against them when they preached that Machomet was plainly a liar and dishonest in his preaching."[42] When the martyrs of Ceuta (1227) were arrested,

> one by one they were summoned to the council of the Saracens. First they were examined, and they spoke against their [the Saracens'] law and against Machomet. [The Saracens] wanted to persuade [them] to become Saracens by denying the faith, promising them great prosperity, if they might do it; if not, they knew they would be punished with death.[43]

This contrasted with the treatment of the few Franciscan martyrs who died at the hands of non-Muslims. For the most part, they were labeled *pagani* or *heretici*, their specific beliefs or communities unimportant; they simply attacked and killed the martyrs, without bothering with the drawn-out legal niceties of the Muslims.[44]

The Franciscan sources were not interested in Islam as it pertained to individuals or to a community, but Islam as it occupied and saracenized space. In the language of the narratives, the friars begin in territory populated by Christians and ruled by Christian princes, and travel to *partes infidelium*. Yet *partes infidelium* and *fidelium* were not mirror images of each other; crossing from one to the other did not bring the friars from a totally Christian world into a totally Muslim one. Rather, they found Muslim rulers and a mixed population of Muslims and Christians. The narratives showed particular interest in the reaction of resident Christians to the martyrs, but downplayed the reactions of Muslims, whose conversions were their ostensible goal. The martyrologies were not concerned with trying to separate Muslim individuals or communities from Christian ones; rather, they were grappling with a medieval version of the concept of "Islamdom." Were the Christians who dwelt in Islamic lands a part of Christendom or Islamdom? In some cases, the Christians were indigenous; in others, they were merchants from Venice, Genoa, and elsewhere in Latin Europe. No matter their origin, in Franciscan eyes their contact with Islam made their identity suspect. The focus on the diversity of

[42]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 23. This is a word-for-word quote from Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Occidentalis,* ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch, O.P. (Fribourg, 1972), chap. 32, p. 162.

[43]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 33.

[44]See, for example, the account of the martyrdom of Conrad of Saxony and Stephen of Hungary in Georgia. "Chronica XXIV generalium," pp. 417–18.

Islamic society produced a sense of the unity of Christian society, if only implicitly. Whereas western Europe was in fact home to a variety of different religious communities, the *passiones* imagine Europe solely as *partes fidelium*—the home of the faithful. The narratives return to this textual cartography repeatedly, for it encapsulates the anxieties felt by many Christians when confronting the Islamic world.

The diversity Franciscans found most troublesome was the existence of Christian communities under Islamic rule.[45] The *passiones* pointedly referred to such communities and connected the events of the martyrdoms to them. The friars usually stayed with resident Christians upon arrival in an Islamic city. The Franciscan martyrs killed in Morocco in 1220 first preached in the city of Seville, enjoying "the hospitality of certain Christians for eight days." In Marrakesh, the friars again rested with resident Christians, in particular the *Infante* Pedro, the exiled brother of the king of Portugal. After the caliph imprisoned them for twenty days, the friars again desired to preach to the Saracens, "but the Christians would in no way permit it out of fear of the king."[46] It was only through the intercession of an adviser to the king, Ababoturin, who "loved the Christians"[47] but apparently was not one, that the Franciscans were released. When the friars again preached before the king, provoking his anger, the Christians fled.[48] After the death of the friars, the Christians hid in their houses for three days, leaving the bodies of the martyrs exposed to the outrages of the Muslims. In the end it was a group of Muslims, "some out of friendship and some because of money," who collected the relics and handed them over to the *Infante*, who in turn brought them back to Portugal. This pattern of fearful Christians appeared in many different accounts. Rather than aligning the martyrs with Christians under Islamic rule, the narratives placed local Christians in contrast to the martyrs.

Like neo-martyrs, the Franciscan martyrs rarely performed miracles, and those they did perform were not transformative. The miracles, suffering, and deaths of the martyrs did not serve to convert Muslims or consecrate any holy space in the locales where they suf-

[45]See Lisa Weston's article on the martyrdom of Pelagius for another example of a martyrdom that confronts the problem of a mixed society: "The Saracen and the Martyr: Embracing the Foreign in Hrotsvit's Pelagius," in *Meeting the Foreign in the Middle Ages,* ed. Albrecht Claussen (New York, 2002), pp. 11–26.

[46]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 19.

[47]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 18.

[48]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 19.

fered, or where their broken bodies were tossed. Nor did the example of the martyrs serve to strengthen or encourage resident Christians. Saracens remained Saracens, and cowed Christians grew only more fearful. One of the few miracles that did appear in the martyrdom accounts was performed by the first group of martyrs in Morocco. The Franciscans' sometime-host, the *Infante* Pedro, was serving as a military adviser to the Almohad caliph Yusuf II al-Mustansir (1213–24). The martyrs accompanied the Muslim army of Marrakesh who, under the command of the Catholic *Infante*, were on a mission to punish Muslims rebelling against the caliph's authority. The army had run out of water, and the friars miraculously created a spring from which all the soldiers could fill their jugs. The paradox here is striking; the martyrs miraculously bolstered the military power of the infidel ruler who would shortly execute them, and who was himself a prime target of crusades launched in Spain.[49] The account even emphasized that the miraculous spring that had saved the caliph's army dried up once the soldiers had drunk their fill; not even the land itself retained the impression of the friars' miraculous powers.[50]

The friars of 1220 knew even before they crossed into *partes infidelium* that they would return to Christian lands; they predicted to the Portuguese queen Urraca that "when we have died in Morocco, Christians will carry our bodies to this city and bury them here, and you yourself with the populace will come out to welcome us honorably and with devotion."[51] In death, the martyrs equally made clear their desire to leave the *partes infidelium*, a desire opposite the equally strong one that had brought them to Morocco while alive. When the *Infante* Pedro left Morocco, he

> ordered that the mule carrying the relics [of the martyrs] precede all those on horseback, and whichever way it chose they would follow. The mule, directed by God, immediately turned off from the road, on which an ambush of the Saracens was waiting, as afterwards it was told to the *Infante*, and advancing by a certain rough and unused way, the mule detoured over mountains and through valleys.[52]

Through the agency of the mule, the martyrs not only ensured the return of their bodies to Christian lands but also resolved the anom-

[49]Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 78–83.

[50]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 18.

[51]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 16.

[52]"Chronica XXIV generalium," pp. 20–21.

alous situation of a Christian prince serving a caliph by ensuring the *Infante*'s safe return as well. The martyrs signaled their satisfaction upon returning to *partes fidelium* by healing a paralyzed man in whose house their relics rested on their journey.[53]

Ultimately the miracles, suffering, and eventual execution of the friars failed to create a Christian space in Islamic lands or to embolden the Christians living there. No shrines were built, no miraculous springs were left flowing, and no new Christians were converted to the faith to honor their memory. This was a departure from the martyrological tradition with which the Franciscans were familiar. Why, then, the change? It was not for local Christians to celebrate the martyrs or receive the blessings of their miracles, but good and true Christians properly residing in Christian lands. The drama of the martyrdom thus affirmed Marrakesh as an infidel (that is, Muslim) space in which Christian qualities could find no purchase, even among its Christian inhabitants.

Most notably of all, the friars fail to win converts, either through preaching or miracles. In the few instances when conversions did follow martyrdom, the Franciscan accounts denied or discounted any influence the martyrs might have had. In 1231 two friars, John of Perugia and Peter of Saxoferrato, were martyred in Muslim-ruled Valencia.[54] Some seven years later, Abu Zayd, the Almohad *wali* who ruled the city and had executed the friars, converted to Christianity, an event described in the *Chronica XXIV generalium ministrorum* immediately following the account of the martyrdom of the two friars. Although this might incline the reader to believe that the heroism of the martyrs might have led the emir to the baptismal font, the author of the *Chronica* assured the reader that this was not the case, explaining that in the intervening years Abu Zayd had suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of the Christian armies of Aragon. The Muslim prince converted and surrendered his city as a result of pressure from Christian armies, not through inspiration by the glories of martyrdom.[55]

[53]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 21.

[54]See n10 above for bibliography.

[55]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 187. For more on Abu Zayd, see Robert I. Burns, S.J., "Almohad Prince and Mudejar Convert: New Documentation on Abu Zayd," in *Medieval Iberia: Essays on the History and Literature of Medieval Spain,* ed. Donald J. Kagay and Joseph T. Snow (New York, 1997), pp. 171–88. King James I of Aragon, the conqueror of Valencia, apparently did not consider the martyrs important either (or perhaps did not know about them), for he did not mention them in his account of the conquest. *The Book of the Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan* Llibre dels Fets, trans. Damian Smith and Helena Buffery (Burlington, VT, 2003).

Although the martyrs were initially buried in Valencia, the Muslims soon traded them for Muslim prisoners captured by the Aragonese in battle.[56] Even after the city was Christianized through occupation by the Aragonese and the Franciscans received land in the city, the relics of Valencian martyrs remained in Teruel, the city from which they had initially departed.[57] What the martyrs themselves hoped to achieve we cannot know. But the fourteenth-century narrators of their deaths were most interested in showing the stalwart heroism of the martyrs and their complete rejection by the Muslim world. Like the Jews in Christian theology, the Muslims had been offered salvation and rejected it—they were therefore ineradicably a part of this world and, although damned, would endure until Christ's triumphal return.

The account of the martyrdom of three friars in Armenia in 1314[58] appears in a number of sources and demonstrates that even when a *passio* fits a model of martyrological transformation, the Franciscan narrative subverted it. In the account given in a manuscript in the British Library as well as in the *Chronica*,[59] Armenian Christians took an important role—indeed, the account must largely be based upon reports from local Christians—but ultimately, the narrative served to highlight the unchangeable Islamic nature of the place and community in which the martyrdom took place. As in the account of the Moroccan martyrs, the Muslim authorities in Arzenga (probably the city of Erzinjan) were not eager to execute the friars. Preaching in public, the friars not only proclaimed Christianity but also challenged central Islamic beliefs, asking the crowd: "Who is this Machomet who deceived you, declaring himself to be a prophet? What scripture, what miracles, what *vita* served as witness to him?"[60] The *qadi* (or judge)

[56]"Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 186.

[57]"Chronica XXIV generalium," pp. 186–89.

[58]The date of the martyrdom is given variously as 1288 and 1314. According to the catalog of Franciscan martyrs contained in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, MS. Lat. 3702, the martyrdom occurred in 1314; see Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliografica*, II:61. However, in the "Chronica XXIV generalium," the martyrdom is placed within the generalate of Matthew of Acquasparta, who was minister-general of the order from 1287 to 1289. "Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 412n3. However, as will be discussed below, the martyrs were still alive in 1307, making 1314 the correct date.

[59]The account preserved in the British Library manuscript Cotton Nero A IX begins as a letter from Philip, vicar in the East, addressed to Raymond de Fronsac, procurator-general of the order, who was in turn forwarding the letter written to the vicar "P" (presumably Philip) from "G" (possibly Grimaldi), the guardian of Trebizond, in the name of other friars as well. London, British Lib., Cotton Nero A IX, fol. 96v.

[60]Cotton Nero A IX, fols. 96v–97r; Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliographica,* II:67; "Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 413.

of the community gave the friars some advice in response: "Depart quickly while you can."[61] The friars, however, had made clear their intention to die as martyrs, and when they returned, the *qadi* executed them for insulting the prophet.

Following the execution of the friars, the Muslims seized an Armenian priest, "who was seen by the brothers as a beloved friend,"[62] tied one of martyrs' severed heads around his neck, and beat him as they paraded him through town. This same priest, with the help of other Armenians, later collected the scattered limbs of the martyrs and gave them a proper burial. One Armenian even took home two of the heads of the martyrs. Furthermore, the Armenians of the town testified that on the night the bodies of the martyrs were interred, the sky was filled with celestial lights and wonders. Even a Muslim who argued against the killing of the martyrs was killed by the Islamic authorities.[63] In this case, the Muslim leaders and at least some of the Armenian community did identify the friars with the Armenian Christian community. This account, then, would appear to fit traditional tropes of martyrdom, where the glory of the martyrs and the miracles associated with their death embolden a struggling Christian community and attract new converts from the dominant persecuting group.

Yet even as the narrative generated a sense that the martyrs may have achieved some sort of spiritual and spatial transformation in Erzinjan, it defied that expectation and made clear that the Armenians had no claim on the friars or their triumphal deaths. The account recorded the death of the Muslim who protested the execution of the friars, but did not give any assurance that the Muslim was ever baptized a Christian. Nor did it employ the ancient motif of martyrdom as a baptism by blood, an interpretation that would give his death Christian meaning. The narrator also made clear that all of the relics of the martyrs returned to Franciscan hands in Christian-ruled Trebizond, describing the arrival of the relics of the martyrs in Trebizond and emphasizing that the entire Latin population came out to greet them. Trebizond was under the rule of the Komnenoi emperors, and the majority of the population was Greek, Georgian, and

[61]Cotton Nero A IX, fol. 97r; Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliographica,* II:67; "Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 413.

[62]Cotton Nero A IX, fol. 97v; Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliographica,* II:68; "Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 414.

[63]Cotton Nero A IX, fol. 98r; Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliographica,* II:68; "Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 415.

Armenian; they did not participate in welcoming the relics, although some later showed their devotion separately from the Latins.[64] The account even accused the Armenian who preserved the two heads of the martyrs of stealing them, making clear that any attempt by the Armenian Christians to retain control of the relics was unacceptable.[65] Even when local Christians suffered with the martyrs, they were still judged unworthy. As in other accounts, the martyrs did not belong to the local community or their world, but to the Franciscans. It is the Franciscans themselves who preserve the memory of their martyrs; the power evoked by the reading of their *passiones* is power reserved to the Franciscans. So, too, with relics; the bodies of the martyrs returned to Franciscan control in almost every account, rather than remaining in the places where they died and among the people they sought to convert. The presence of the martyr physically and textually was a powerful sign of God's blessing on the community, but the community blessed was the Franciscan one, not the one under "Saracen" rule.

The drama of martyrdom served to polarize Islamic lands and the communities that lived in them, for in Franciscan eyes, they appeared as confusingly ambiguous—a result of the intermingled populations and forms of authority. Because martyrdom is a cosmological act, the narrative of death necessitates a reordering of the space in which the martyrdom occurs. Either it asserts the victory of Christianity and foreshadows the inevitable triumph of the cross over the blasphemies of Islam, or, as is the case here, it suggests that *partes infidelium* are inalterably "other" to Christianity, and martyrdom only served to heighten the sense that the two are diametrically opposite. Although Franciscans, like much of Catholic Europe, were accustomed to the complex and multireligious communities of the Mediterranean world, the conceptual world of the martyr was an image of the contemporary world with the contrast set on high; details are washed out, and only stark differences remain. The retelling of Franciscan martyrdoms was, in a sense, a way to twist the knob and heighten the difference between Christian and Muslim. Franciscan narratives about martyrdom thus not only affirmed Islam as "other" but also effectively rendered resident Christians as a part of an unalterable Islamic world

[64]Cotton Nero A IX, fols. 98r–v; "Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 415.

[65]The narrator of the *Chronica* did admit that it was done "ex magna devotione." "Chronica XXIV generalium," p. 414. The account in the British Library, on the other hand, omitted this phrase. Cotton Nero A IX, fol. 98r.

rather than as beleaguered members of a worldwide *ecclesia*. The courage of the martyr was most prominently contrasted not to the villainy of the Muslims, but the fearfulness of the resident Christians. They had no share in the glory of the martyrs.

The fascination with the mixed nature of Islamic society also appeared in Franciscan texts not explicitly about martyrdom. In 1307, five friars traveled to Egypt; the motive for their journey was "the consolation of Christian captives."[66] Many former inhabitants of Palestine and Syria were enslaved in the Mamluk realm, for less than twenty years had passed since the Mamluks had conquered the last remaining Frankish strongholds of Tripoli and Acre. The friars were impressed by Egypt: the great city of Cairo, the magnificence of the court of the sultan, and the marvels of the vast desert all amazed the visitors. They particularly commented on the Christian population of Cairo, noting the existence of Christian knights, for the whole Christian population "obey the Sultan just as the Saracens, and because the majority are faithful and true, they commit to them the care of provinces and cities."[67] The friars praised the "Saracens" in a number of ways: The caliph "agreed with the friars about many things" in a discussion about Scripture, and the sultan had "the greatest devotion" for the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai.[68] Mamluk Egypt displayed the same mixed qualities that the *passiones* found so disturbing elsewhere, but in this account they were praised.

The pleasant experience of the friars in Egypt stood in stark contrast to their later fates. One friar, Monald of Ancona, was among the martyrs killed in Armenia in 1314. Another, named Angelus, was killed by heretic Bulgarians, and a third died at the hands of infidels in the midst of celebrating Mass.[69] We cannot know why Monald did not try

[66]Wadding misidentified the source; as the editors of the third edition suggested, it was written by the Franciscan Elemosyna, rather than Odoric de Pordenone. Luke Wadding, *Annales minorum seu trium ordinum a S. Francisco institutorum*, 3rd ed. (Rome, 1733), VI:94; Paris, Bibliothèque nat., Lat. 5006, fols. 173r–74r. For more on the episode, see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Der Oriens Christianus in der Chronik des Johannes Elemosyna OFM (1335–36)," in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Supp. 2, ed. Wolfgang Voigt (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 63–75, here pp. 69–70.

[67]Wadding, *Annales minorum,* p. 108.

[68]The text refers to both the "soldanus" as well as the "kalippus," although a meeting with the figurehead Abbasid caliph in Cairo seems unlikely. Wadding, *Annales minorum,* p. 110.

[69]Wadding, *Annales minorum,* p. 109. Angelus might be the friar mentioned by Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliographica,* II:61.

to convert anyone in Cairo, especially given his enthusiastic praise for the piety of the Mamluks, yet seven years later traveled to Armenia "spurred on by the passion for martyrdom." The perversity of Monald's and Angelus's (or of their hagiographers') contradictory attitudes toward the world of Islam hinted at the multiple values that Islamic lands and communities held for Franciscans and for western Europeans in general.

Other western Christians saw in Islam the same adamantine qualities as the Franciscan martyrdoms did. The Dominican Ricoldo of Monte Croce traveled to the Frankish Levant to preach to non-Latins and continued on to Baghdad to preach there. After the Mamluk conquest of Acre in 1291 and the failure of his own attempts at conversion, he also came to believe that Islam was impervious to Christian influence.[70] The loss of the Holy Land and the absolute victory of the Mamluks over the Christians at Acre caused others to doubt as well. Thaddeus of Naples, writing soon after the fall of Acre, described the city's conquest and wrote that Palestine had transformed from loving mother to her Christian offspring to spiteful stepmother.[71] The Holy Land had thus flipped its religious polarity; from the land belonging to Jesus and imbued with his holiness, it became the fertile plowing-ground of Islam.[72]

As interesting as the narratives of martyrdom are in what they do tell us about Franciscan perceptions of Islam, what they do not mention is equally interesting. Neither the *passiones* nor the *Chronica,* the largest repository of martyrdom accounts, show any interest in the considerable effort that the Franciscans put into building a network of churches and convents in Islamic lands. Behind the flashy martyrdoms, an entire Franciscan network was slowly developing in Islamic countries, following Francis's injunction to "avoid dispute" in their work of conversion.[73] To do so, they necessarily had to avoid the

[70]Ricoldo de Monte Croce, "Epistolae V commentatorie de perditione Acconis 1291," in *Archives de L'Orient latin* (Paris, 1884), pp. 258–96. Ricoldo struggled to understand how a Christian god allowed Muslim victories over Christians, asking if God intended that Muhammad should rule the world.

[71]Magister Thadeus, "Ystoria de desolatione et conculcatione civitatis Acconensis et tocius terre sancte," ed. R. B. C. Huygens, in *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medieualis* (Turnhout, 2004), 202:157.

[72]Iris Shagrir, "An Uncertain Pilgrim: Riccoldo of Monte Croce and the Fall of Acre," paper presented at the quadrennial conference for the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Avignon, France, August 27–30, 2008.

[73]Tolan, *Saracens,* pp. 218–19.

flamboyant contravention of Islamic law and therefore could not directly attempt to convert Muslims. Rather, as Pope Honorius III made clear in a bull of 1226, the Franciscans also should focus on ministering to Christian communities under Islamic rule, such as in Morocco and other places in the Muslim world.[74] Only six years after the death of seven Franciscans in Ceuta, Pope Gregory IX wrote to the Almohad caliph, urging him to convert and welcome a bishop, apparently of Fez, as well as other Franciscans.[75] Despite the enthusiasm shown for Franciscans who died in Morocco, the author of the *Chronica* ignored figures such as the bishop of Fez. Why did the martyrs exemplify Franciscan virtue better than the bishop who administered to indigenous Christians, at least in the eyes of Franciscan hagiographers and chroniclers? The author's disinterest in the efforts of Franciscans to build the foundations of an institutional church in infidel lands matched his insistence on the separation of the martyrs from local Christian observers and participants. By choosing the stories of the martyrs over the stories of missionaries who may not have died but may have converted "infidels" and built churches in the non-Christian world, the author of the *Chronica* was making an argument about the possible achievements of the Franciscans in *partes infidelium* and the core values of the order. Friars should stand opposed to the world, not engage in its transformation, which arguably inverted the vision of Francis, who saw his "little brothers" as following the apostles in their mission to go out and spread "the good news."

The *Chronica* also ignored one of the most enduring roles of the Franciscan Order in Islamic lands, which began at the same time as the stories of the martyrs—serving as the Latin custodians of the Holy Places in Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Beginning in 1334, friars received control of a convent located on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem, through the agreement of the Mamluk sultans. This might well be seen as a coup for the order—the Franciscan convent was the first permanent Latin presence in the Holy City since its loss in 1244, and the Franciscans managed to gain for the Latins access to some of the holiest places in Jerusalem and later to other holy places; the prominent place of the Catholic Church in the Holy Land even today is largely due to their efforts. Exclusion from the holy places was a challenge to the antiquity and legitimacy of the Catholic tradition. Despite the apparent glory (and potential for hardship), the chronicler never mentioned

[74] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. Joannis Hyacinth Sbaralea (Rome, 1759), I:26.
[75] *Bullarium Franciscanum* I:106–07. Wadding identified the bishop as Agnellus.

Jerusalem or the Franciscan presence there.[76] To do so would be to contradict the principle of separation that the stories of the martyrs articulated. The friars would be the very people living in Islamic lands under Islamic authority that the *passiones* repeatedly reject. For the author of the *Chronica,* as well as other fourteenth-century Franciscans, the stories of the martyrs were not about preaching to the infidels or the possibility of conversion, for these are all forms of engagement. Rather, the martyrs were performers, who powerfully demonstrated two Franciscan virtues so often in conflict—submission and humility before a world where pride and power ruled, and the dramatic and haughty rejection of the world.

The motives of the men who died by deliberately breaking Islamic law are unrecoverable, barring the discovery of an autobiographical account like that of St. Perpetua. Even the reaction of the contemporaries of the earliest martyrs is murky. But in the fourteenth century, the stories of the martyrs suddenly had the potential to narrate the central values held by the factionalized Franciscan Order. The stories of the martyrs expressed a deep pessimism about the possibility of transforming the world, a world embodied in the "Saracens" and their carnal and worldly religion. The martyrs, and by extension the community of the Franciscans, showed themselves to be both below the world (by submitting to its persecution and punishment) and above it (by rejecting the world through the denial of the possibility of its transformation and through the martyrs' embrace of death).

[76]For the most part, the chronicler also avoided mentioning martyrdoms that occurred in Mamluk lands. He did not mention, for example, the martyrdom of the *custos* James and the friar Jeremias with seven other friars in Mamluk Syria in 1269; see Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliographica,* II:61. Likewise, friar Marco and his sixteen companions were ignored when they were martyred in Damascus in 1365 in the aftermath of King Peter of Cyprus's capture of Mamluk Alexandria in 1365; see Golubovich, *Bio-Bibliographica,* II:62.

TRUE AND FALSE ENLIGHTENMENT: GERMAN SCHOLARS AND THE DISCOURSE OF CATHOLICISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY

RICHARD SCHAEFER*

This article reinterprets Catholic hostility toward the Enlightenment in the nineteenth century. Reading the efforts of German-Catholic scholars to distinguish "true" from "false" Enlightenment, it argues that this differentiation was part of a broader discourse of Catholicism through which Catholics sought to engage the modern world. More than merely an instance of co-opting a hegemonic terminology, laying claim to "true" Enlightenment helped scholars in three distinct ways: It legitimized their own scholarly praxis, served as a way of managing anxiety over Catholic involvement in the Enlightenment, and provided a framework for pinpointing Catholicism's cultural uniqueness. By reassessing Catholic hostility to one major tenet of modernity in this way, the article steps outside the "master narrative of secularization" and joins a growing tendency to approach religion from a postsecular perspective.

Keywords: German Catholics; Catholic scholars; Catholic revival; Enlightenment; postsecular

In the nineteenth century, Catholics insisted that a causal relationship existed between Enlightenment ideas and revolution, and penned a steady stream of attacks warning of the ill effects of Enlightenment thinking on morality and social order. In the wake of the French revolution, with its unprecedented wave of anticlericalism and large-scale expropriations of church property, nothing seemed more certain than the fact that Catholicism was the necessary antidote to "egoism" and the poison of "ideas." Not surprisingly, such attacks often took a populist form. Thus, in his *Phrases and Clichés* (1862), the Prussian lawyer

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and politician August Reichensperger summarized Enlightenment as "the dissolution of all concepts pertaining to duty, right, and religion—the clarity of nothingness (see also, the word 'progress')." *Progress,* in the same source, is defined as "the monopoly of Liberalism which signifies trampling on the rights of one's non-liberal minded neighbor."[1] In the extremely popular *ABCs for Big People*, Alban Stolz took a similarly dim view of Enlightenment, defining it as "believing as little as possible" and adding: "Whoever almost never goes to Church is . . . enlightened; whoever does not believe in Christ anymore, but sees him only as a clever man is very enlightened; and whoever asserts that death is the end of everything is entirely enlightened."[2] To cite another example, Hermann Rolfus and Adolph Pfister, in their *Real-Encyclopedia of Rearing and Teaching Based on Catholic Principles*, called Enlightenment "the kind of bait that is thrown to those incapable of judgment in order to draw them in to the net of skepticism and indifference."[3]

But concern over the corrosive effects of Enlightenment was not confined to popular polemic. It found its counterpart in scholarly writing as well. Like the more popular attacks against Enlightenment, scholarly criticism stressed its ill effects on morality and society. But in their diagnosis of the problem, scholars were less apt to dwell on the alleged immorality of Enlightenment thinkers than to point to inconsistencies in the underlying principles of Enlightenment philosophy. Thus, Friedrich Hartnagel, described Enlightenment in the massive *Church-Lexicon* as a "condition of mind" consisting of two aspects. Formally, it was "opposed to ignorance, unawareness, and thoughtlessness of any kind." Materially, it

> consist[ed] in the true and correct ordering of perception and cognition, in short, grasping objects by the mind in their entirety and nature with exact consistency, distinctiveness and clarity according to the laws of thought, so that thinking and knowing something harmonize and are the true reflection of objects.[4]

[1]August Reichensperger, *Phrasen und Schlagwörter: Ein Noth und Hülfsbüchlein für Zeitungsleser* (Paderborn, 1862), p. 13.

[2]Alban Stolz, "ABC für grosse Leute. Kalender für Zeit und Ewigkeit 1864," in *Alban Stolz. Kompass für Leben und Sterben*, ed. Julius Mayer (Freiburg, 1911), 3–6.

[3]Hermann Rolfus and Adolph Pfister, *Real-Encyclopädie des Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens nach katholischen Principien*, 2. Auflage ed. (Mainz, 1872), 146–47.

[4]Friedrich Hartnagel, "Aufklärung," in *Kirchen-Lexikon, oder Encyklopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften*, ed. Heinrich Joseph Wetzer and Benedikt von Welte (Freiburg, 1857), pp. 510–11.

True Enlightenment thus meant "being free of false cognition, confusion and error"; false Enlightenment consisted in focusing solely on the operation of the "subjective mind." Similarly, in his contribution to the *General Church-Lexicon*, Peter Volkmuth described Enlightenment, "in the real sense of the word," as "raising the subjective principle of clear concepts to the criterion of objective truth."[5] Like Hartnagel, he warned against false Enlightenment, which occurred when a "subjective, one-sided deportment" led to "reality-less generalities." Andreas Niedermayer took a slightly harder tack in *The German Clergy and Science*, lamenting how "false Enlightenment" encouraged "shallow education, frivolous unprincipledness, and a soft sentimentality to become dominant in the world of German men."[6] To these, longer studies should be added such as Heinrich Brück's *The Rationalistic Strivings in Catholic Germany, Especially in the Three Rhenish Archbishoprics in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* and Carl Werner's *History of Catholic Theology from the Council of Trent to the Present*. Both works blamed the Enlightenment for promoting dangerous tendencies in Catholic theology, from Erastianism in church-state relations to idealism in philosophy.

This article discusses how, for Catholic scholars, attacking the Enlightenment—far from simply a conservative lament—was formative for their self-understanding, especially in German-speaking Europe. In contrast with popular writers, scholars could not rest content by simply showing how the Enlightenment clashed with Catholic beliefs, but carried the burden of clarifying the basis of their critique and thus defining an alternative scholarly *habitus* from secular counterparts. That such an alternative should correctly reflect orthodox doctrine was hardly in dispute, of course; everyone venturing an opinion solemnly swore fidelity to the Church and its dogmas (even when such oaths were made *pro forma*). But that scholars labored just as hard to ensure that such an alternative be "scholarly" is a story not often told. Yet research has shown that Catholic scholars were just as motivated as their non-Catholic counterparts to produce new knowledge based on evidence and sound reasoning as mandated by the

[5]Peter Volkmuth, "Aufklärung," in *Allgemeines Kirchen-Lexikon oder alphabetisch geordnete Darstellung des Wissenswuerdigsten aus der gesammten Theologie und ihren Huelfswissenschaften*, ed. Joseph Aschbach (Frankfurt a.M., 1846), p. 389.

[6]Andreas Niedermayer, *Der deutsche Clerus und die Wissenschaft*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, 1864), p. 10.

scholarly ideal of *Wissenschaft*.[7] Indeed, the fact is that Catholic scholars increasingly adopted a "public style" that placed them squarely on the same ground as that of their opponents, debating fiercely the merits of modern values such as Enlightenment, science, and liberalism.[8] In doing so, these scholars did not simply reject, but rearticulated for themselves and according to their own needs one tenet of the discourse of modernity. That they did so in ways that also conformed to it—not by celebrating the self-sufficiency of reason, but by insisting just as much on the power of reason to disclose its own limits—merits especially close scrutiny. This not only empowered scholars to try and find the right strategy for legitimizing "modern" Catholicism but also put them in potential conflict with others seeking to do the same. In the nineteenth century, this meant conflict with both the papacy on the one hand and advocates of a resurgent popular Catholicism on the other. In this tripartite struggle to define the future of Catholicism, scholars were forced to articulate a discourse of Catholicism that was both critical and commensurate with the demands of modernity.[9] *Discourse* is not used here to refer to a lexicon of terms and concepts, more or less clearly defined, that provide a means of understanding Catholics. Instead, what is meant are the rules that allow such terms and concepts to appear as meaningful instruments in the first place, principles that Michel Foucault described as a "system of dispersion" governing statements and permitting the appearance of certain objects. Such rules are neither transcendent (ideal) nor transcendental (formal) but, as Foucault stressed, "from beginning to end historical."[10] They thus appear in practice rather than imposed from outside and, in the case of the discourse of Catholicism, emerged in the course of trying to define the nature of Catholicism—that is to say, as statements that implicitly or explicitly

[7]Richard Schaefer, "Program for a New Catholic Wissenschaft: Devotional Activism and Catholic Modernity in the Nineteenth Century," *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2007), 433–62; Richard Schaefer, "Infallibility and Intentionality: Franz Brentano's Diagnosis of German Catholicism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 68 (2007), 477–99.

[8]David O'Brien, *Public Catholicism* (New York, 1989).

[9]Modernity here does not refer to the assumption typically associated with "modernization theory" of a linear evolution toward a superior rationality and its corollaries of social and political progress, but to what Shmuel N. Eisenstadt describes as living with "an awareness of the possibility of multiple visions that [. . . can] be contested"; modernity requires that all assertions of authority and identity supply their own justification. Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," in *Multiple Modernities*, ed. Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (New Brunswick, NJ, 2002), pp. 1–29, here p. 4.

[10]Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London, 1972).

took the form "Catholicism is _____." What defined this nineteenth-century discourse in the German territories was the fact that such statements were routinely answered, not by citing dogma or other authoritative church pronouncements, but by looking to the practices of Catholicism—the social and cultural activities of the faithful.[11] That they did so can be explained by the fact that such statements were themselves rooted in a broader Catholic revival that was taking place in the nineteenth century.

Although it followed different paths in different regions, the Catholic revival was a transnational European phenomenon that promoted a reinvigorated popular piety and impressive infrastructure of Catholic organizations. Linked to a broader transformation of the Church from one based on territorial sovereignty to one based on popular support, the revival grew in direct proportion to the threat to papal sovereignty over the course of the nineteenth century. In the German territories, the revival began in the middle of the century with outrage over the arrest of Clemens August von Droste-Vischering, the archbishop of Cologne, in 1837 and grew steadily over the course of the following decades.[12] Never simply backward-looking, the revival saw Catholics in the German territories embrace a range of otherwise "modern" strategies for defending and furthering their interests. Among these must be counted an effective Catholic press, laymen and -women's devotional societies, workers' associations, reading societies, political organizations, and mass rallies occasioned by gatherings such as pilgrimages and processions. What defined these initiatives, however, was a commitment to taking a res-

[11]That is not to say that doctrine was not important. It was crucial, especially in the later debates over the "Syllabus of Errors" and the promulgation of papal infallibility. Yet, until these debates split the scholarly community in the latter half of the 1860s, most scholars took for granted that they were united in their opposition to hostile foes and that, as such, they were all speaking in the name of Catholic "truth." For a good treatment of efforts at self-definition in the early-modern period, see Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque. Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (New York, 2001).

[12]Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Piety and Politics: Recent Work on German Catholicism," *Journal of Modern History*, 63 (1991), 681–716; Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984); David Blackbourn, "The Catholic Church in Europe since the French Revolution. A Review Article," *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History*, 33 (1991), 778–90; Raymond Grew, "Liberty and the Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *Freedom and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Richard Helmstadter (Stanford, 1997), pp. 196–232.

olutely public and "Catholic" stand on issues. Inspired by the revival to strike an independent note, therefore, scholars confidently sought to lay the foundations of a "Catholic science" in the late 1840s through the mid-1860s. But more than that, they sought to become leaders of public opinion, and the revival inspired them—as professionals in the art of analysis and definition—to claim the role of mediator between the church hierarchy and rank-and-file faithful in the public sphere. Munich historian Ignaz von Döllinger perhaps best summarized this goal in defining theology as the voice of public opinion during his keynote address at the controversial Meeting of Catholic Scholars in 1863. Situated between Rome and her flock, theology, in his words,

> lends life and strength to just, healthy public opinion in religious and Church matters, opinion, before which everyone must bow, even the heads of the Church and the carriers of power. Similar to the prophets during the Hebrew age, which stood beside the appointed priests, there exists an extraordinary power in the Church alongside the regular authorities, and this is public opinion. Through it, theology exerts its proper influence, against which nothing can defend for long. For the theologian judges and guides appearances in the Church according to ideas, while the thoughtless masses do things in the opposite way.[13]

For Döllinger, theology had authority because it joined religious devotion with ideas in the disciplined pursuit of truth (*Wissenschaft*). Situated between the Church and flock, the theologian—the scholar—served as a check on both, steering a course between the errors of the past and the excesses of the present.

And yet, as empowering as this new, self-appointed role of the scholar was, it proved perilous for two reasons. On the one hand, the revival was shifting the relative power of hierarchy and flock, and transforming the Church from one based on territorial sovereignty to one based on popular support. In this context, scholars' bid to rein in both was nothing short of a catastrophic misreading of the situation, as Roman authority grew precisely in proportion to its populist appeal to the masses of Catholics, and both papacy and populous were keen to decry any attempt at compromise with modern errors. On the other hand, scholars themselves were increasingly bound to adopt a different approach in their attack on modern ideas. Although scholars' knowledge of the leading ideas of the time gave them the

[13] *Verhandlungen der Versammlung katholischer Gelehrten in München vom 28. September bis 1. Oktober 1863*, ed. Pius Bonifacius Gams (München,1863), p. 47.

professional confidence to re-evaluate Catholic traditions and set a viable course for the future, it also implicated them in a process of self-criticism that had the potential to outstrip what they took for granted as a safe Catholic standpoint from which to criticize. Taking stock of modern ideas like Enlightenment—evaluating their worth for Catholicism—required that scholars outline criteria that made certain options better than others. This forced them to make explicit what were frequently implicit assumptions regarding the superiority of "Catholic" alternatives. It also forced them to clarify how a critique of the conditions of any possible "catholic" understanding differed, in kind, from the spirit of critique that was the mainstay of secular rationalism. Of course, such stocktaking was limited in a very real sense by what ecclesiastical authorities would tolerate. It was also limited, at least in practice, to those Catholics whose education and profession made it incumbent on them to engage in reasoned debate on issues; thus, besides university scholars and seminarians, journalists and other educated Catholics also engaged in the discourse of Catholicism.[14] But it exerted sustained, if subterranean, pressure on all those who sought seriously to provide new foundations for Catholic thought in the nineteenth century. This insistence on stocktaking and self-critique is not to deny or excuse the many instances of polemical excess and even downright bigotry aimed at Protestants, Jews, Freemasons, liberals, and others.[15] But to understand this excess—what disqualifies nineteenth-century Catholics from serious consideration by so many today—it is necessary to acknowledge its roots in a broader effort to meet the challenges of the age squarely and confidently. That this effort could just as easily conduce to creative rethinking of the Catholic position as a knee-jerk reaction is illustrated in the way that Catholic scholars sought to deal with the legacy of the Enlightenment in the nineteenth century.

In their settling of accounts with the Enlightenment, Catholic scholars in the German territories eschewed outright dismissal in favor of a distinct pattern of differentiating "true" from "false" Enlightenment. Hartnagel, for example, distinguished between Enlightenment that was only formally "opposed to ignorance" and the

[14]Of the eighty-four who attended the Munich Meeting of Scholars, over half were academics affiliated with universities. The rest were independent writers, government and church officials, newspaper editors, and teachers; see Gams, *Verhandlungen der Versammlung*.

[15]Helmut Walser Smith, "The Learned and the Popular Discourse of Anti-Semitism in the Catholic Milieu of the Kaiserreich," *Central European History*, 27 (1994), 315–28.

"correct ordering of perception and cognition." Enlightenment was "false" when the "subjective element" was made the sole basis for deciding questions, but "true" when it combined formal aversion against error with the "correct ordering of perception and cognition." Volkmuth likewise called Enlightenment true when it "raised the subjective principle of clear concepts to the criterion of objective truth" and false when a "one-sided deportment" led to "reality-less generalities." In his revision of Hartnagel for the new edition of the *Church-Lexicon* in 1882, Brück echoed his predecessor and called true Enlightenment objective knowledge, and "false Enlightenment . . . the boundless dominion of human reason and the repudiation of every authority."[16] Surveying the papacy's influence on Western civilization, Johann Baptist Kastner differentiated between "over-Enlightenment" and "healing Enlightenment."[17] Writing in a similar vein on Catholicism's contributions to civilization, Anton Binterim called the "real Catholic . . . alone the truly illuminated, the enlightened, because through his belief, and through his Church as the originator of light, he brings himself closer to he who is the true light."[18] Not confined to Enlightenment as such, the same differentiation between "true" and "false" was applied to the range of concepts associated with secular rationalism. Hermann Plaßmann, for example, distinguished between "true" and "false" progress to justify the return to Scholasticism.[19] Progress was false if it led to philosophical errors, but could be true if it divined as yet unrealized possibilities of Scholastic thought. In his youthful address before the 1863 meeting of Catholic societies in Frankfurt, Georg von Hertling distinguished between "true" and "false" science.[20] Nikolaus Weis, bishop of Speyer, echoed this same distinction between true and false science a few months later in his letter approving of the 1863 Munich Meeting of Scholars.[21]

[16]Heinrich Brück, "Aufklärung," in *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon, oder Enzyklopädie der katholischen Theologie und ihrer Hülfswissenschaften*, ed. Joseph Hergenröther and Franz Kaulsen (Freiburg, 1882), p. 1605.

[17]Johann Baptist Kastner, *Des Papstthumes segensvolle Wirksamkeit* (Sulzbach, 1832), p. 48.

[18]Anton Joseph Binterim, *Die vorzueglichsten Denkwuerdigkeiten der Christ-katholischen Kirche aus den ersten, mittleren und letzten Zeiten. Mit besonderer Ruecksichtnahme auf die Disciplin der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland* (Mainz 1825), p. x.

[19]Hermann Ernst Plaßmann, *Die Schule des heiligen Thomas von Aquino* (Paderborn, 1859).

[20]*Verhandlungen der fünfzehnten Generalversammlung der katholischen Vereine Deutschlands* (Frankfurt am Main, 1863), p. 79.

[21]*Verhandlungen der fünfzehnten*, p. 18.

In *Freedom, Authority and Church*, Bishop Wilhelm Freiherr von Ketteler of Mainz distinguished between the "heavenly, godly sense" of words such as "progress, brotherhood, and enlightenment" and their secular meaning.[22] More than that, however, he sought to distinguish underlying commonalities from dangerous excesses. Indeed, Ketteler admitted that it was precisely because such ideas tapped into the human predisposition to be good that they had a "mighty power over our hearts." Detached from their Christian "roots," however, they were capable of confusing and leading people astray. In this context, false Enlightenment was especially dangerous because it constrained an individual to think in terms defined by the present alone according to a truncated conception of reason emancipated from its past. True Enlightenment, according to Ketteler, grasped its own historical roots, which in turn gave a person the ability to distinguish between "justified and unjustified tendencies of the age." True Enlightenment thus illuminated how "progress, brotherhood, and enlightenment" were neither new ideas nor fundamentally antireligious, but part of the legacy of how "Christianity turns to meet all, high and low, rich and poor." They were, therefore, a solid foundation for Catholics today who wanted to play a role in remedying the ills of modern society. To see this, of course, the commonplace idea that "social and political forms from the past are defunct" had to be dropped in favor of the possibility that a "Catholic life-view" could be an effective and contemporary source of meaningful social action.

Of course, differentiating true from false Enlightenment overlapped both with an earlier critique that differentiated between "sick" and "healthy" reason, and with the larger romantic rejection of reason alone. Nevertheless, insofar as it could not rest content with simply rejecting what it could not abide, this differentiation was of another order. This contrast is evident in Benedikt Stattler's polemic against Immanuel Kant. In *The True Relationship between Kantian Philosophy and Christian Religion and Morality, Based on Kant's Own Admissions*, Stattler accused Kant of "unphilosophical thinking":

> Unphilosophical thinking is, according to my conception: (1) that which announces and uses basic concepts that do not observe the rules of logic for treating fundamental demonstrations; (2) that which does not observe a logical order in the formation of concepts or define their class; (3) that where no fixed and exact concept is given, and yet indefinite concepts are

[22]Wilhelm Emmanuel Ketteler, *Freiheit, Autorität und Kirche. Erörterungen über die grossen Probleme der Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. (Mainz, 1862).

> taken as a foundation; (4) where one does not know, nor tries to, what other philosophical minds have publicly stated, and fixed according to logical rules, about such unphilosophically fitting concepts; (5) those instances where one sets up as basic, as axioms of a philosophically grand edifice, propositions that clearly contradict general healthy understanding, overturn the entire religion and morality of Christianity (that reigns in every Christian state) as well as all logic and metaphysics, without any proof nor sense for how to clarify the matter.[23]

For Stattler, Kantian philosophy was dangerous for religion and morality precisely because it contradicted the norms of "healthy" understanding: "What I've said here is taken for granted by all careful thinking philosophers as well as reasonable people."[24] It was thus less its specific content than the way it went against the grain of everyday thought that made it an affront. Although certainly not the only voice—there were no small number of Catholic admirers of Kant as well—Stattler's treatment is paradigmatic for how earlier critics dismissed outright what nineteenth-century Catholic scholars treated more delicately.[25] Why this was so cannot be reduced to "liberal" and "conservative" casts of mind, for differentiation between true and false Enlightenment was not restricted to one or other of these camps; on the contrary, laying claim to "true" Enlightenment was part of a much larger and more systematic discourse of Catholicism through which scholars of all stripes laid claim to being agents of a modern Catholic public sphere.[26] Helping to give voice to Catholic truth in a new context, this discourse was the foundation for imagining and articulating a variety of futures of which liberal and ultramontane were only the most visible.

Although the origins of the discourse of Catholicism cannot be dated with any degree of precision, a genealogy of the differentiation between true and false Enlightenment might usefully begin with

[23]Benedikt Stattler, *Wahres Verhältniss der Kantischen Philosophie zur christlichen Religion und Moral nach dem nunmehr redlich gethanen Gestaendnisse selbst des Herrn Kants und seiner eifrigsten Anhänger* (München, 1794), p. 7.

[24]Stattler, *Wahres Verhältniss*, p. 7.

[25]Norbert Fischer, ed., *Kant und der Katholizismus: Stationen einer wechselhaften Geschichte* (Freiburg, 2005).

[26]The focus here on "scholars of all stripes," both cleric and lay, contrasts with Michael Printy's decision to focus on lay scholars alone; this somewhat skews his otherwise important conclusions regarding the Enlightenment as a matrix for the formation of a distinct "German Catholicism." Michael Printy, *Enlightenment and the Creation of German Catholicism* (New York, 2009).

Michael Arneth's *The Difference between the Merely Rational and the Catholic Interpretation of Scripture*. Written in the form of "letters to a learned friend," it contains in embryonic form the effort to free Catholic thinking from compulsive gainsaying. Indeed, for Arneth, the time had come to acknowledge the limits of both "philosophical" readings of the Bible and one-dimensional Catholic ones that merely sought to parrot church teaching. Although he does not explicitly differentiate between "true" and "false" interpretation in this text, his aim is nonetheless to pave the way for a kind of biblical exegesis that is both "Catholic" and "rational" in the proper sense. This meant, above all, differentiating between the "merely rational" approach to the Bible, which consisted of "quibbling according to whim" and a quintessentially Catholic rationalism open to new possibilities but supremely confident in the validity of existing Catholic doctrine.[27] But more to the point, this required legitimizing Catholic scholarship as such. Although Arneth joined Stattler in vilifying the influence of Kant, he could not rest content with any assumed "Catholic" standpoint that might serve as an alternative. Indeed, for Arneth, the issue was to validate a distinctly Catholic standpoint that could withstand the increasingly critical light of public opinion:

> Catholic exegetes are sometimes dismissed and decried as heretical and obnoxious, sometimes as dumb and obscure, merely because one does not know how to appreciate them or know the characteristics of true Catholic interpretation. . . . Indeed, even Catholics who want to be true Catholic exegetes do not know, it seems to me, how to do it; what they should and should not, may or may not do. As a result, their good intentions run into nothing but opposition, contradiction, and disapproval.[28]

Unlike Stattler, then, Arneth held that "true Catholic interpretation" was not yet something one knew how to practice or even recognize, as it was, in many ways, a category that had yet to be articulated. That it needed to be justified to Catholics as well as others helps illuminate how this particular effort was rooted in more than just biblical exegetics, serving the broader attempt to forge the terms of a distinctly Catholic engagement with modernity referred to here as the discourse of Catholicism.

In looking at how German scholars sought to distinguish "true" from "false" Enlightenment in the nineteenth century, what stands out is

[27]Michael Arneth, *Die Unterschiede zwischen der bloß rationellen und der katholischen Schriftauslegung* (Linz, 1816), p. 4.

[28]Arneth, *Die Unterschiede*, p. 8.

how they were determined to claim certain concepts despite their condemnation of them as buzzwords and empty phrases. Therefore, Catholic discontent over these concepts yielded, in most instances, to an overriding desire to stay on the same terrain; to stake out, in other words, comparable (if diametrically opposed) Catholic meanings for these terms. This ambivalence helps reveal the discourse of Catholicism as a tense but fertile exchange with the ideas it critiqued. Indeed, in seeking to be authoritative statements on how to live and be Catholic in the modern world, the discourse of Catholicism sought nothing less than to "reoccupy" the same intellectual "positions" articulated by the Enlightenment. Through a formulation by Hans Blumenberg, this process can be construed as the "reoccupation of answer positions . . . whose corresponding questions could not be eliminated."[29] Readers familiar with Blumenberg will note the irony of using this formulation here, since Blumenberg advanced the reoccupation thesis to capture the specifically modern departure from the Christian theological legacy. All the same, Blumenberg concedes that "the modern phenomenon . . . of the reoccupation of vacant answer positions is not bound specifically to the spiritual structure of this epoch."What is at stake, rather, is to understand how even "the sharpest possible contradiction . . . is bound to the frame of reference of what it renounces." Seen through Blumenberg's formulation, the denial by Catholic scholars of the validity of modern secular concepts implicated them in the same kind of philosophical enterprise that produced "Enlightenment" and its associated concepts in the first place.

Far from *ad hoc*, therefore, differentiating between "true" and "false" Enlightenment and related concepts of secular rationalism was crucial in the formation of the discourse of Catholicism. In responding to the Enlightenment, Catholics mastered a language and style of criticism in ways that proved salutary in at least three ways: legitimizing scholarly praxis, managing anxiety over the "Catholic Enlightenment," and defining the cultural uniqueness of Catholicism amid a clash of values.

(1) Legitimizing Scholarly Praxis

Differentiating between "true" and "false" Enlightenment served as a way for Catholic scholars to legitimize their own scholarly praxis.

[29]Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), p. 65.

Rooted in a much broader critique of secular science, condemnations of the Enlightenment served to legitimate "Catholic science" as an alternative to the so-called subjectivism, egoism, and individualism of modern secular science. For Catholics, subjectivism was the "sin" that led to Protestantism. With its preference for individual conscience over church authority, Protestantism denied any real criteria for knowing things objectively.[30] In science, this manifested itself in the Cartesian theory of knowledge, the Kantian rejection of knowledge of things themselves, and a conception of method that cleaved the perception of phenomena from other sources of knowledge and intuition. With very few exceptions, Catholic scholars rejected this view of knowledge as an activity of the lone thinking subject struggling for certainty in the face of unreliable sense perceptions. Instead, as Hartnagel's treatment shows especially clearly, they appealed to a theory of knowledge stressing the hylomorphism between knower and known based on an Aristotelian metaphysic of matter and form. "False" Enlightenment was reductive insofar as it focused solely on the "subject" of knowledge; "true" Enlightenment, by contrast, achieved objective knowledge through the conformity of matter and form, content and its representation to the intellect. This rejection of a subjectivist theory of knowledge played a strong role in the renewal of Aristotle studies and neo-Scholasticism in the second half of the nineteenth century.[31] Far from merely continuing interconfessional wrangling, therefore, the critique of Enlightenment helped foster a different scholarly sensibility whose influence is still felt today.

To counter what they derided as the subjectivism of modern science, Catholic scholars stressed the formative role of tradition and community in knowledge production. In "Thoughts on the Founding of a Catholic Science," the anonymous author blamed the outbreak of revolution on the "absolutizing of the I." As the genitive substructure of "modern" society, subjectivism insinuated itself into society through a variety of pathways, including science. He therefore proposed that Catholic scholars unite in a campaign to establish a "Catholic Science" to reinforce legitimate authority in state and society. Such a science would reject the reduction of all knowledge to individual perception. In contrast with the prevailing individual ethos "the organs of Catholic Science will primarily shape themselves out of, and find the

[30]Franz Anton Staudenmaier, *Der Protestantismus in seinem Wesen und in seiner Entwicklung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1846).

[31]Gerald A. McCool, *The Neo-Thomists* (Milwaukee, WI, 1994).

condition of their efficacy in a Catholic folk." As such, it will be cognizant of its roots in the community and "thrive in the exchange with life, refining and clarifying it, drawing it unto itself, and in turn, being inspired and embraced by it."[32] Science in the service of the community, rather than merely research, would curb the socially disintegrative potential of science and help Catholics restore the foundation for objective values in modern society. This stress on the social function of knowledge was closely related to the effort to found a Catholic university. At the 1863 General Meeting of Catholic Societies held in Frankfurt, delegates listened to multiple speakers champion the cause of a Catholic university to overcome the temptation of a "false ideal of science" and train young scholars.[33] Speakers included Johann Baptist Heinrich, a coeditor of *The Catholic*, who defended religious freedom, the need for a Catholic press, and the rights of Catholic orders. All of these freedoms, according to Heinrich, hinged on the fundamental right of Catholics to pursue "Catholic education and Catholic Science." For Heinrich:

> There is a non-Catholic science and a Catholic science. Everything hinges on what the highest principle of science is. If there is a God, then God is the infinite truth and the highest principle of science; and if it pleases this God (and it has so pleased him) to reveal himself personally to humanity, because he is love . . . then this revelation is necessarily the highest light of science.[34]

Once again, what is significant is not Heinrich's commitment simply to fight "non-Catholic" science with "Catholic science," but rather his commitment to staying squarely within the parameters set by science itself. For Heinrich, the Church "must have the right to found, not just merely primary schools, but also advanced schools for the highest grade of science. . . . Then will we fight our opponents on the soil of science."[35]

(2) Managing Anxiety over the "Catholic Enlightenment"

Distinguishing "true" from "false" Enlightenment was also a way to manage anxiety over the "Catholic Enlightenment." That the Enlightenment had its share of Catholic followers is now a firmly established

[32] "Gedanken über die Begründung einer katholischen Wissenschaft," *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 21 (1848), 83–88, 175–79; here 177.

[33] *Verhandlungen der fünfzehnten*, p. 79.

[34] *Verhandlungen der fünfzehnten*, p. 91.

[35] *Verhandlungen der fünfzehnten*, p. 92.

fact, but one that had to struggle against both Catholics and non-Catholics eager to deny this chapter of intellectual history.[36] Among the first to upset this consensus was Sebastien Merkle, who drew attention to the "Catholic Enlightenment" in a series of lectures in 1909–10. For Merkle, "Catholic Enlightenment" was not to be regarded as simply an imitation of its secular analogue, but referred to a variety of late-eighteenth-century reform efforts aimed at mitigating baroque piety and bringing Catholicism into better harmony with humanity's natural abilities.[37] At the time, Catholics and non-Catholics alike sharply criticized Merkle, wanting to deny this association with the Enlightenment project, no matter how attenuated. In spite of his critics, Merkle's view that Enlightenment be understood as a process internal to Catholic history, rather than attributed to the spread of secular rationalism, has proven resilient and provided a valuable touchstone for subsequent research.

Merkle's approach to the Catholic Enlightenment is especially salient for understanding the internal dynamics of how nineteenth-century Catholics related to their own immediate past. Their antipathy to the "Catholic Enlightenment" notwithstanding, nineteenth-century Catholics could hardly ignore such important reformers as Ignaz Wessenberg and Johann Michael Sailer. Frequently attacked for their openness to secular thought and the spirit of Enlightenment, these figures were nevertheless celebrated forerunners of the revival movement who could not be written out of its history. Unlike Anton Gunther and Georg Hermes, Catholic philosophers whose embrace of secular philosophy led to the condemnation of their works, Wessenberg and Sailer were too highly placed in the Catholic hierarchy to be easily excluded from the fold. In view of this difficulty, distinguishing between "true" and "false" Enlightenment provided categories for accommodating these figures in a way that outright condemnation could not do.

The importance of this can be illustrated by the example of Sailer, professor at the University of Landshut and later bishop of Regensburg. In 1873, Bishop Ignatius von Senestrey accused Sailer of heresy and

[36]For a good discussion of the deeply ideological structuring Catholic reception of the "Catholic Enlightenment," see Harm Kleuting, *Katholische Aufklärung, Aufklärung im katholischen Deutschland* (Hamburg, 1993).

[37]Sebastian Merkle, "Die katholische Beurteilung des Aufklaerungszeitalters," in *Ausgewaehlte Reden und Aufsaetze*, ed. Theobald Freudenberger (Würzburg, 1965), pp. 361–413.

asked Pope Pius IX to bring Sailer before the Congregation of the Index and the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition. Why did Senestrey accuse Sailer of heresy forty-one years after his death? Part of the answer involves the connection between Senestrey and the Redemptorist Clemens Maria Hofbauer (1751–1820).[38] In 1863 preparations were undertaken to pronounce Hofbauer holy. One obstacle, however, was his 1817 letter that advised against making Sailer a bishop and warned the pope that Sailer was "more dangerous than Martin Luther." The letter, which impugned both Sailer's orthodoxy and character, was considered too vulgar and openly partisan to warrant pronouncing Hofbauer holy. Senestrey's bid to have Sailer condemned, therefore, was motivated by the idea that a posthumous conviction would vindicate Hofbauer's charges and put the letter in a new light. The effort failed, in large part because Rome would have found it too embarrassing to reconcile a condemnation with the fact that it had elevated Sailer to the rank of bishop. But part of the answer also stems from the still potent anxiety generated by Sailer's affiliation with the Enlightenment. Although never a straightforward exponent of Enlightenment, Sailer was ecumenical in borrowing ideas from Kant, Johann Gottfried Herder, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, and even the Protestant theologian Friedrich Christoph Öttinger. Like so many contemporaries, he was convinced that meaningful reform was possible if institutions were brought into better harmony with people's natural abilities and thus devoted considerable attention to developing a critique of reason "for people as they really are."[39] It is not surprising, then, that Senestrey's complaint against Sailer was founded in large part on his alleged affiliation with Enlightenment thinkers such as Jacobi, Friedrich Nicolai, and Johann Caspar Lavater. Other motives notwithstanding, Senestrey's charge can also be traced to an anxiety over Enlightenment and the blurring of Catholic and secular boundaries.

The difficulty surrounding Sailer's status is especially evident in his treatment by later scholars. Here it is particularly instructive to read Brück's account of the "false" Enlightenment in "Catholic circles" in the second edition of the *Church-Lexicon*. Brück blamed the spread of Enlightenment on a combination of circumstances, including the

[38]Hubert Wolf, "Der Fall Sailers vor der Inquisition: Eine posthume Anklageschrift gegen den Theologen und Bischof aus dem Jahre 1873," *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte*, 101 (1990), 344–70.

[39]Johann Michael Sailer, *Vernunftlehre für Menschen wie sie sind, d.i.Anleitung zur Erkenntniss und Liebe der Wahrheit*, 2nd ed. (München, 1795).

prevalence of Gallicanism, lax morals among the aristocracy, and increased worldliness among the clergy. It was also due to the pretensions of scholars, however, who "diligently studied the works of Protestant Enlighteners."[40] This willingness to blame scholars notwithstanding, in his summary of the Enlightenment in Bavaria, Brück avoided mentioning Sailer and made a special point to observe that "not all friends of the Enlightenment were enemies of the Church; many of these were believers, who wanted to improve real or perceived abuses, admittedly without using the correct means. . . ." This delicate exoneration of Sailer ensured that his intentions were accorded the status of belonging to the "true Enlightenment," even if his actions were not. What is more, it made Sailer's legacy available for appropriation by Catholic Science in a selective way, exaggerating points of orthodoxy and muting more challenging or controversial dimensions of his thought. Thus it must be seen as more than a bid to save certain "heroes" and rather as part of a discourse of Catholicism aimed at constituting the ground of "Catholic scholarship" as an alternative to secular science. Before Brück's efforts, an 1842 *Der Katholik* article observed that Sailer's legacy was to have fostered "Catholic Science" against the "allure of Protestant science" and the superficialities of the Enlightenment, for "[n]o one understood better than Sailer . . . that a false scientific principle is not content to remain in the sphere of speculation, but strives unhaltingly to penetrate the lower levels of human understanding and knowledge. . . ."[41]

(3) Defining the Cultural Uniqueness of Catholicism amid a Clash of Values

Although differentiating among "true" and "false" Enlightenment, and associated concepts such as science, progress, and freedom could often degenerate into name-calling of the worst sort, this clash of values also went beyond mere sloganeering as scholars sought to pinpoint the cultural uniqueness of Catholicism in a changing world. In this context, it is striking how little Catholic opponents did to localize the Enlightenment as a specific intellectual or social reform movement in the eighteenth century. Focusing instead on the potency of Enlightenment as a certain kind of thought, they construed it in connection with a wide variety of strands from intellectual history, includ-

[40] Brück, "Aufklärung," p. 1216.

[41] "Sailer's Verdienste um die katholische Wissenschaft," *Der Katholik, Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben (Neue Folge)* (1842), 251–52.

ing gnosticism, pagan philosophy, Protestant reason, and rationalism. By eliding historical specifics and talking about the Enlightenment as though it stretched from the pre-Socratics to the present, scholars underscored its potential as a continuing source of danger. But they also created a space for elevating Catholicism to the level of its world-historical antidote.

As the negative image of a transhistorical Enlightenment, scholars promoted a new appreciation of Catholicism's civilizing mission: its influence on "culture." The most important example of this kind of approach was undoubtedly François-René Chateaubriand's *The Genius of Christianity*, but German-language examples are not lacking. Ignaz von Wessenberg's *Considerations on the Most Important Objects in the Education of Humanity* sought to redress the feeling of time out of control by retracing the steady evolution of human improvement throughout key periods in history. A similar desire is evident in *The Principal Achievements of the Christian-Catholic Church from the Ancient, Medieval and Recent Periods*, in which Binterim advanced the claim that "the Church of Christ is, today, yesterday, and for all time, one and the same."[42] The losses suffered during the revolution, far from negating this postulate, only affirmed how the Church remained the same in the midst of rapid change. For Binterim, the "true Catholic is the only truly illuminated, enlightened, one," because that individual alone knew how to approach the "source of light" (the Church) through faith. By stressing the Church's foothold outside of time, these works denied the growing cult of forward motion and progress. But they also helped lay the basis for a renewed appreciation of previous eras as resources still capable of fruitful cultivation and further progress in their own right. For Catholics, the two chief candidates to serve as resources in this way were the patristic period and the high Middle Ages, with the latter favored during the second half of the century and the former during the first half. What was essential, in either case, was to establish the legitimacy of the past in itself as not lacking in any fundamental way, whether for Enlightenment or any other modern virtue. In this regard Binterim captured the dominant motif: "We do past ages a disservice when we believe them to have been ruled by darkness."[43]

[42]Binterim, *Die vorzueglichsten Denkwuerdigkeiten der Christ-katholischen Kirche aus den ersten, mittleren und letzten Zeiten. Mit besonderer Ruecksichtnahme auf die Disciplin der katholischen Kirche in Deutschland*, p. VII.

[43]Binterim, *Die vorzueglichsten*, p. XV.

Of course, although they were eager to rehabilitate the spirit of earlier ages, Catholic scholars were not blind to the fact that things had changed. On the contrary, as the new editors of the important journal *The Catholic* advocated in 1859, it was essential to refrain from lamenting a lost past and stay focused on the "most burning questions and most basic needs of the present."[44] The motivation to reconnect with earlier ages was not one of simple nostalgia, therefore, but because scholars saw in this a legitimate and timely strategy for showing up the deficiencies of modern ideas. To harvest the fruits of earlier ages, however, required a basis for transfer, a medium through which patristic theology and Scholastic concepts could penetrate modern thought, and not be cast as just so many anachronisms. In this context, the articulation of "true" Enlightenment (as with "true" science, progress, democracy, and so on) was an attempt to construct such a medium, by promoting a constellation of concepts that, if properly nurtured, could accrue a distinctly Catholic meaning. Although easily dismissed by critics as just so much talk, this constellation was crucial as a way of forcing Catholics to articulate for themselves the nature and basis for their participation in the modern world. In this regard, Catholic scholars were doing something not unlike what Jonathan Sheehan has so brilliantly described as the "reconstitution" of the Bible as "a piece of heritage" during the Enlightenment.[45] Although hardly willing to see themselves as translating a living creed into mere "culture," the translation of a Catholic past—itself quite literally still in Greek and Latin—into the modern vernacular was nevertheless decisive in enabling Catholics to see themselves as equal partners in the broad sweep of civilization.

In contrast with their sweeping generalizations about the whole of civilization, German scholars were noticeably alone in their determination to differentiate between "true" and "false" Enlightenment. There appears to have been no comparable attempt among either English or French Catholic scholars to appropriate for themselves a "true" Enlightenment. Neither Nicholas Wiseman nor Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman engaged in this kind of differentiation, and it does not appear in the *Dublin Review*. It does appear once, in the article "Religion and Modern Philosophy" in *The Rambler,* in which the author affirms that "true science will never contradict the teachings of

[44]J. B. Heinrich and Cristoph Moufang, "Vorwort," *Der Katholik, Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben (Neue Folge)*, 1 (1859), 7.

[45]Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible. Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, 2005).

Christianity." But, aside from this reference, the article stays much more firmly on the familiar terrain of debating the general merits of "true" versus "false" religion.[46] Similarly, there is no sustained differentiation between "true" and "false" Enlightenment in the pages of either Felicité de Lamennais's *The Future* or Louis Veuillot's *The Universe*. Indeed, as with English debates, French discussions also seem more firmly preoccupied with defining true versus false religion than with appropriating the specific advantages of "true" Enlightenment. Thus it is German scholars' specific drive to appropriate and turn to their advantage "true" Enlightenment that stands out in the otherwise transnational Catholic revival, something that no doubt pertains to the confessional diversity of Germany in contrast with the near hegemony of Catholicism in France and Anglicanism in England. Although more heavily concentrated in the southern German territories, Catholics in German-speaking Europe as a whole were a strong counterweight to Protestants. In the nineteenth century, as Wolfgang Altgeld and others have shown, Catholics were as eager as anyone to define for themselves a place in any future German nation-state.[47] Under these circumstances, one possible explanation for German-Catholic efforts to define and appropriate the "true" Enlightenment is that such creative accommodation was culturally more advantageous than rejecting the mainstream outright. This does not negate the claim that the discourse of Catholicism was a transnational medium for staking a Catholic claim in the modern world. Instead, it underscores the specific ways that this discourse evolved under distinctly different circumstances.

Although limited to the German-speaking territories, the perspective developed here suggests a more general way of thinking about Catholicism as part of—rather than apart from—modern society that takes its cue from a new attitude toward religion emerging in the humanities. Although still in development, this attitude has been termed *postsecular* to capture the growing sense that religion is not where history said it should be; history refers in this sense, not to the actual past, but to what Jeffrey Cox has dubbed the "master narrative of secularization."[48] Transcending empirical description, this narrative

[46]Richard Simpson, "Religion and Modern Philosophy," *The Rambler, a Catholic Journal of Home and Foreign Literature*, 5 (1850), 189.

[47]Wolfgang Altgeld, "Religion, Denomination and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Germany," in *Protestants, Catholics and Jews in Germany, 1800–1914*, ed. Helmut Walser Smith (New York, 2001), pp. 49–65.

[48]Jeffrey Cox, "Secularization and Other Master Narratives of Religion in Modern Europe," *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, 14 (2001), 24–35.

structures the understanding of modernity according to the progressive and inevitable decline of religion and is often "deployed for political purposes to marginalize religion in the modern world." Its continuing power notwithstanding, there are signs that a distinctly postsecular sensibility is beginning to take root. There is, for one, Jürgen Habermas's recent concession that secularization has proven insufficient as a way of grasping the course of religion in modern history.[49] There is also the recent appearance of *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*, a collection of essays by an international group of scholars dissatisfied with the current state of scholarly approaches to religion. In his introduction to the volume, Hent de Vries cites the widespread inability to understand political Islam today as only emblematic of a much larger paucity of resources for understanding religion, and as evidence of the "need for a theoretical matrix that . . . has relevance for engagements of religion with the political."[50] Although it remains to be seen whether *postsecular* will serve as the most fruitful new rubric for conceiving of religion in the modern world, it is certain that any revision of the master narrative of secularization must pay close attention to nineteenth-century Catholicism. Indeed, if Catholicism "has been the paradigmatic form of anti-modern public religion," as José Casanova reminds us, then critically reassessing the still powerful image of Catholic backwardness forged during that century must take first priority.[51] In this context, a welcome addition to the recent literature on Catholic revival is certainly the recent collection *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in the Nineteenth-Century Europe*, which foregrounds how both sides in the "secular-Catholic" conflict struggled for a viable self-understanding. Christopher Clark's contribution stresses the fact that it was "[c]ontemporary liberal and anticlerical publicists" who "framed the culture wars as a struggle between 'modernity' and a reactionary, backward-looking worldview that had no legitimate place in a modern society."[52] Indeed, for Clark

[49]Jürgen Habermas, "Die Dialektik der Säkularisierung," *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 4 (2008), 33–46.

[50]Hent de Vries, "Introduction: Before, Around, and Beyond the Theologico-Political," in *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*, ed. Hent de Vries and Lawrence E. Sullivan (New York, 2006), pp. 1–88, here p. 5.

[51]José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago, 1994), p. 9.

[52]Christopher Clark, "The New Catholicism and the European Culture Wars," in *Culture Wars: Secular-Catholic Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Christopher Clark and Wolfram Kaiser (New York, 2003), pp. 11–46, here p. 12.

> the fundamental problem that faced all the great ideological formations of late nineteenth-century Europe was not whether to embrace or reject "modernity" but how best to respond to the challenges it posed. The relationship between the New Catholicism and its various antagonists should thus rather be seen in terms of competing programmes for the management of rapid political and social change.[53]

Whether the nineteenth-century Catholic revival served as the jumping off point for a "New Catholicism," as Clark suggests, is uncertain, for this stress on radical disjuncture might, in turn, shortchange the ways in which Catholics reflexively forged continuity with tradition that were so central to their identity (e.g., cult of miracles, neo-Scholasticism). In addition, reversing binaries in this instance (backward/modern) unduly preserves a hierarchy that needs to be rethought. Therefore, it seems more reasonable to focus less on the "newness" of either Catholicism or modernity in favor of exploring the stakes involved in the co-constitution of Catholicism and modernity as such. From this perspective, the significance of German Catholic efforts to distinguish "true" from "false" Enlightenment is not whether they got it right or wrong—as a marker of their progress—but their overriding belief that they could be both Catholic and modern in their own way.

[53]Clark, "The New Catholicism," p. 13.

THE HISTORICAL METHODOLOGY OF JOHN TRACY ELLIS

BY

C. WALKER GOLLAR*

John Tracy Ellis, the dean of American Catholic historians of the mid- to late-twentieth century, never published a treatise on historical methodology, but did write about the subject when faced with the most difficult challenge of his academic career. In 1960, David Francis Sweeney, Ellis's student at The Catholic University of America, unearthed allegations that John Lancaster Spalding, bishop of Peoria, had conducted a sexual affair for nearly twenty years. In numerous letters, Ellis and Sweeney agonized about how to handle this information. Neither Ellis nor Sweeney believed the accusation was true, but both recognized that it had influenced Spalding's career, which was the focus of Sweeney's dissertation. Ellis concluded that Spalding's story should not be told in full, yet set the stage for future historians not only to revisit Spalding's career but also to explore Ellis's deliberations, and thus to reconsider what he routinely had encouraged—telling the whole truth.

Keywords: Ellis, Monsignor John Tracy; Spalding, Bishop John Lancaster; Sweeney, David Francis, O.F.M.

In spring 1950 John Tracy Ellis met David Francis Sweeney. A forty-four-year-old priest from the Diocese of Winona, Minnesota, Ellis had been teaching American Catholic history for about eight years at The Catholic University of America in Washington, DC. A twenty-eight-year-old Franciscan priest, Sweeney had just completed his MA in library science from Holy Name College in Washington, DC, and was working at the reference desk at Catholic University's Mullen Library. Ellis encouraged Sweeney to enroll in Catholic University's doctoral program in church history. That summer Sweeney sent a copy of his master's thesis, "A Survey of Catholic Americana and Catholic Book Publishing in the United States, 1831–1840," to Ellis. The attached

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cover letter was the first of more than 300 pieces of correspondence that these men would exchange over the next forty years.

Sweeney began doctoral studies in fall 1950 under Ellis's direction. By the time of Sweeney's graduation, Ellis had become, as he is now widely acclaimed to be, the dean of American Catholic historians of the mid- to late-twentieth century. Ellis certainly was a prolific writer and a popular speaker. Above and beyond his many publications, however, Ellis's fundamental approach to history might be better revealed in his private correspondence. The vast majority of the Ellis-Sweeney letters wrestled with what Ellis called the most difficult challenge of his academic career—namely, the treatment of some delicate material that Sweeney had unearthed concerning the life of John Lancaster Spalding, bishop of Peoria. This article is not primarily about Spalding or that delicate material, but focuses instead on the deliberations around that delicate material. Especially when situated amidst the broader context of Ellis's career, these deliberations reveal how one extremely prominent and influential historian approached history.[1]

Spalding, Peoria's first bishop, inspired Ellis from an early age. Spalding suffered a career-ending stroke in August 1905 and passed away in 1916. Born on July 30, 1905, in Seneca, located in the Diocese of Peoria, Ellis never saw Spalding in person. Yet Ellis's mother, who had been confirmed by Spalding, commonly spoke of him, as did many neighbors of the Ellis family. Spalding also was widely acclaimed at St. Viator's Academy and College in nearby Bourbonnais, Illinois. Ellis studied there from 1921 to 1927. Ellis learned more about Spalding at Catholic University, which granted Ellis a PhD in medieval history in 1930. Ellis then taught briefly at St. Viator's College before he took a position in 1932 at the College of St. Teresa in Winona, Minnesota.

[1]Located in the Archives of The Catholic University of America (hereafter referred to as ACUA), Ellis's files include 121 letters from Sweeney to Ellis. After both men died, Sweeney's saved correspondence from Ellis was sent to ACUA. This collection included approximately 139 pieces of correspondence, the overwhelming majority of which was from Ellis to Sweeney. Of all the Ellis-Sweeney correspondence in ACUA, most relates directly to the dissertation (including its publication and aftermath) and extends to the early 1970s. After this time, correspondence continued, but sporadically, with the last letter written by Ellis to Sweeney on December 31, 1991, nearly eleven months before Ellis's death. Although some letters undoubtedly were lost over time, none apparently seem to be missing. Both men generally were prompt respondents (except in some notable cases mentioned later) and certainly were excellent curators of their own history.

Although busy teaching various courses at the College of St. Teresa, Ellis published one short yet significant article at this time that revealed his early approach to history. While other Catholics, including Pope Pius XI, were commemorating the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Leo XIII's 1891 social encyclical, Ellis in late 1933 also drew attention to "Another Anniversary." Fifty years ago, as Ellis wrote, the Vatican was under assault for intervening too much in Italian affairs. According to Pope Leo, however, this critique had been based on a distortion of history. In a public letter written on August 18, 1883, Leo called for better understanding of the past. "The authentic records of History," Leo wrote, "when considered with a mind calm and free from prejudices, are in themselves a magnificent and spontaneous apology for the Church and the Pontificate." A true accounting of history, Leo believed, would thus exonerate the Church.[2]

Ardent, courageous, and confident historians were desperately needed, insisted Leo. He implored these new scholars to follow Cicero's mandate "to dread uttering falsehood" and "not to fear stating the truth." As a means of encouraging this kind of scholarship, Leo next announced that the Vatican Archives would be opened to scholars. History had thus been enlisted to serve the Church and also invoked to promote the truth. Clearly inspired by Leo's association of history with the truth, Ellis vowed to be honest in what lay before him in his academic life. With the understanding that his career would primarily take place in higher education, Ellis decided in 1934 to study for the priesthood for the Diocese of Winona. He returned to Catholic University, lived in the Sulpician Seminary, and taught history. On June 5, 1938, Winona Bishop Francis M. Kelly ordained Ellis in the chapel at the College of St. Teresa.[3]

After teaching for a few more years as an instructor in history at the Catholic University, Ellis was offered the chair of retiring American Catholic historian Peter Guilday in summer 1941. The founder of *The Catholic Historical Review* and the American Catholic Historical

[2] "Letter of Our Most Holy Father Leo XIII, by Divine Providence Pope to the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, Antonine de Luca, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, John Baptist Pitra, Librarian of the Holy Roman Church, and Joseph Hergenroether, Prefect of the Vatican Archives" (English translation of *Saepenumero considerantes*, August 18, 1883), *Tablet*, LXII, p. 321 (qtd. in John Tracy Ellis, "Another Anniversary," *Commonweal*, February 2, 1934, p. 378).

[3] "Letter of Our Most Holy Father Leo XIII," p. 322 (qtd. in Ellis, "Another Anniversary," p. 379).

Association, Guilday had promoted modern American Catholic historical scholarship more than any person of his generation. Guilday, moreover, had trained many students, including Ellis, in the critical examination of historical texts.

Such a critical examination had been criticized in the 1907 papal condemnation of what was called modernism. In the wake of this condemnation, priest-scholar Umberto Benigni of Rome had organized an unofficial group of censors who employed clandestine and often overzealous means to expose suspect thinkers. Numerous Catholic scholars in Western Europe and the United States were attacked. At the same time, lingering anti-Catholic assaults prompted Catholic thinkers to come to the Church's defense. As a result, significant Catholic research all but came to a standstill, while the job of the historian was largely reduced to producing the occasional proof text for orthodox theological positions. Guilday, like other Catholic intellectuals, consequently enhanced, sometimes glorified, but rarely challenged the reputation of the American Catholic Church.[4]

By the 1940s, Ellis reported that the "witchhunt tactics" of Benigni had subsided, even though a climate of fear still stifled Catholic intel-

[4]Concerning Guilday, see Ellis, "Peter Guilday, March 25, 1884–July 31, 1947," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 33 (1947), 265–67; and David O'Brien, "Peter Guilday: The Catholic Intellectual in the Post-Modernist Church," in *Studies in Catholic History in Honor of John Tracy Ellis*, ed. Nelson H. Minnich, Robert B. Eno, and Robert F. Trisco (Wilmington, DE, 1985), pp. 260–306. On modernism and postmodernism, see Scott Appelby, *Church and Age Unite! The Modernist Impulse in American Catholicism* (Notre Dame, 1992). For reviews of American Catholic historiography, including the contributions of Guilday and other scholars, see Henry J. Browne, "American Catholic History: A Progress Report on Research and Study," *Church History*, 26 (1957), 372–80; David J. O'Brien, "American Catholic Historiography: A Post-Conciliar Evaluation," *Church History*, 37 1 (1968), 80–94; John Tracy Ellis, "The Ecclesiastical Historian in the Service of Clio," *Church History*, 38 (1969), 106–20; Moses Rischin, "The New American Catholic History," *Church History*, 41 (1972), 225–29; Jay P. Dolan, "A Critical Period in American Catholicism," *Review of Politics*, 35 (1973), 523–36; James Hennesey, "Church History and the Theologians," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 6 (1987), 1–12; Martin E. Marty, "Is There a *Mentalité* in the American Catholic House?", *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 6 (1987), 13–23; J. Douglas Thomas, "A Century of American Catholic History," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 6 (1987), 25–49; Jay P. Dolan, "The Immigrants and Their Gods: A New Perspective in American Religious History," *Church History*, 57 (1988), 61–72; James M. Woods, rev. of *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History,* ed. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley, in *Journal of Southern History* 66 (2000), 177–79; Paula Kane, "Review Essay: American Catholic Studies at a Crossroads," *Religion and American Culture*, 16 (2006), 263–71.

lectual life. Ellis nonetheless assumed Guilday's position, including his role as editor of *The Catholic Historical Review*. Ellis then shored up his knowledge of American Catholic history. Although Guilday (and others) had taught Ellis the tools of the historian, Ellis would get to know the American Catholic story largely on his own.[5]

In the manuscript collection of the University of Notre Dame Archives, Ellis found two letters that would test his early commitment to promoting truth in history. In the first letter, on November 11, 1857, seventeen-year-old seminarian Spalding had reported to his mother that he had received a "*very interesting*" letter from his second cousin, Josephine "Josie" Spalding. Spalding did not say what had made Josie's letter so interesting. Josie's letter does not survive, and Spalding never again mentioned it. Only once more did Spalding refer to Josie in any surviving correspondence. Four and a half months after his ordination, Spalding, in the second letter found by Ellis, wrote to his parents on May 3, 1864, asking them to congratulate Josie on her forthcoming marriage. Spalding added that he would never forget Josie, for she was one of those rare "true friends."[6]

In 1944 Ellis published in *The Catholic Historical Review* parts of these and other pieces of Spalding's correspondence in the article "Some Student Letters of John Lancaster Spalding." But the documents were not reproduced exactly as written. In the published version, only a brief part of the 1857 letter that did not include the reference to Josie was cited. With regard to this 1857 letter, the article in no way suggested that it had included the entire document. The article did purport to reproduce the entire 1864 letter, however, in which Spalding described Josie as a rare, true friend. But the lines referring to Josie did not appear. (Also absent were seven other lines immediately following the reference that did not pertain to Josie. In these seven lines, Spalding thanked his sister, Kate, for writing a letter; explained that he would leave a portrait of Kate and himself with a host family in Belgium; and promised to say Mass

[5]Ellis, *A Commitment to Truth* (Latrobe, PA, 1966), p. 51.

[6]John Lancaster Spalding to Mary Jane Lancaster Spalding, November 11, 1857, Emmitsburg; and John Lancaster Spalding to R. M. Spalding and M. J. L. Spalding, May 3, 1864, Louvain, Belgium, Archives of the University of Notre Dame. Josie received a number of marriage proposals before she married Edward P. Fontaine on June 22, 1864. See H. C. Lancaster to Samuel Spalding, November 28, 1858, Philadelphia (photostat), RG—SCH VIII Boxes I–4 Kentucky, Calvary, Holy Mary's on the Rolling Fork, Archives of the Sisters of Loretto.

for his young relatives who were soon to make their First Communion.)[7]

Who removed the lines from the 1864 letter is uncertain. The lines do not fall at a logical breaking point on Spalding's stationery. The change nonetheless may have been the result of some unexplained clerical or printing error. Yet Ellis never corrected this supposed error in his various subsequent publications on Spalding and evidently never referred to this matter in his private correspondence. That the only error of the thirteen letters reproduced in the article happened to fall on material that included Spalding's reference to a close female friend, a matter that some clerics may have considered problematic, seems to suggest deliberate editing. Perhaps the Notre Dame archivist, Holy Cross priest Thomas McAvoy, had not given Ellis the complete letter. But Ellis's reference in his footnotes to the 1864 letter is "Photostat [or early photographic copy], AUND." Among Ellis's research material in the Catholic University Archives a photostat of the 1864 letter remains to this day, presumably the photostat footnoted in the article. McAvoy must have sent this copy of the entire letter to Ellis.[8]

Ellis, therefore, appears to be the likely editor of the 1864 letter. Throughout his subsequent research into Spalding, Ellis demonstrated extremely meticulous and conscientious consideration of all evidence, especially matters that might be perceived to be of a salacious manner. Ellis sometimes deliberately withheld certain information and even publicly admitted to it. For example, when later reflecting on the early portion of his career, Ellis justified altering the historical record for some greater good. "There are intimate matters in the life of every man and woman," Ellis wrote,

> that should remain untold, whether the motive for such concealment rises from personal sensitivity, the wish to shield others from pain or embarrassment, or from a general sense of decency and what might be

[7]See Ellis, "Some Student Letters of John Lancaster Spalding," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 29 (1944), 510–39. The two letters to Spalding's parents mentioned above, along with two other letters written to his parents and referred to, but not cited in full, by Ellis, remain in the manuscript collection of the Archives of the University of Notre Dame. Ellis cited a brief portion of one other formerly published letter from Spalding to John De Néve (rector of the American College of Louvain) from March 1882. All the other letters apparently cited in full were found in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[8]See Ellis's relevant research files in Monograph Research, Correspondence, & Reviews (1955–1984), Box 33, John Tracy Ellis Papers 1810 (1896–1992) 1992 (hereafter referred to as ACUA: JTEP), ACUA.

> described, for want of a better expression, the fitness of things. A fundamental fidelity to the demands of objectivity and thoroughness is not sacrificed with a consequent *marring of the historical record*, so long as occurrences of a really significant character are not withheld.

Ellis must have heard the rumors that circulated during Spalding's lifetime and for years thereafter concerning Spalding's curious relationship with women. Ellis probably chose to avoid adding to the rumors by releasing information that the young Spalding had a rare, true, female friend. In Ellis's mind, removing what appeared to be innocent remarks about a cousin would not change the substance of history, but might spare an esteemed bishop from unwarranted muckraking. (Why Ellis may have omitted the other seven lines is not clear.)[9]

Never acknowledging his likely editing of the 1864 letter, Ellis became engrossed with Spalding's leading role in the founding of Catholic University. After three years of research, Ellis published *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* (Washington, DC, 1946). Shortly thereafter Ellis explained that "the heart of [this book] . . . was in good measure Spalding's long, difficult, and inspiring struggle to found an institution for the higher education of the American clergy that would be worthy of the name." Spalding's vision certainly had inspired early discussions about the university, but his influence faded as the institution neared opening. Especially after Spalding had refused the position of the university's first rector (an appointment that most bishops supported and that most onlookers assumed Spalding would take), Spalding effectively dropped out of the story and virtually disappeared from Ellis's text. Spalding did raise money for the university and spoke at the May 24, 1888, laying of the cornerstone (both briefly noted by Ellis), but Spalding was conspicuously absent from the large contingent of dignitaries attending the opening ceremony on November 13, 1889. Yet Ellis offered no explanation for Spalding's disappearance. Moreover, Ellis completely avoided any discussion of Spalding's relationship to the university's primary benefactor, Mary "Mamie" Gwendoline Caldwell. Ellis did not mention the fact that Caldwell, like Spalding, was not present at the university's opening and did not broach the embarrassing fact that Mamie eventually left the Catholic Church.[10]

[9]Ellis, "Fragments from My Autobiography, 1905–1942," *Review of Politics*, 6 (1974), 574–75, emphasis added.

[10]Ellis, "Right Reverend Monsignor John Tracy Ellis," *The Book of Catholic Authors*, ed. Walter Romig (Detroit, 1957), V:84. Also see Ellis, *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* (Washington, DC, 1946), pp. 75–76.

Ellis moved on to other research projects and forged new ground in historical scholarship, but did not always receive support from bishops. While Ellis worked on a biography of Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore, one bishop asked, "How is the life of Gibbons coming?" Ellis responded, "Pretty well; that is the eighth chapter there on the desk." Another bishop then asked, "How many chapters are there going to be?" Ellis answered, "About twenty-eight." "Well, it is a nice hobby," chided Patrick A. O'Boyle, the archbishop of Washington and the chancellor of Catholic University. Ellis was beside himself. He was further enraged on another occasion when he overheard the university rector, Bishop Bryan J. McEntegart, whisper to a visiting archbishop from South Africa, "This fellow [Ellis] writes books." With this remark, the rector might have been simply playful or somehow humorous, but the thin-skinned Ellis understood him to be contemptuous. Ellis remembered these remarks for years, regularly lamenting that so few church leaders valued historical scholarship.[11]

When authority was beginning to be questioned anew, especially in the 1950s, Ellis pioneered a more candid approach to the past. He generally was described as liberal, while much of his work was heralded for its sensitive and sometimes courageous exposition of delicate matters. Ellis typically explained that he had aimed only to bring as much candor and objectivity as he could to a given subject. To illustrate his approach, Ellis regularly cited the words of a Dominican, Jean-Baptiste Lacordaire, who once proclaimed, "Truth, when discreetly told, is an inestimable boon to mankind, and to suppress it, especially in history, is an act of cowardice unworthy of a Christian." Ellis was by no means a philosophical thinker who developed any systematic approach to history. At the same time, as a former student, Monsignor Thomas J. Shelley, recently attested, if Ellis promoted any "overarching theme," it was "the need for honesty in the Church."[12]

[11]Ellis to Sweeney, January 23, 1961, Box 2, Correspondence to Sweeney, ACUA: JTEP. Also see Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834–1921* (Milwaukee, 1952).

[12]Ellis, Foreword to Gerald P. Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965* (Collegeville, MN, 1982), pp. xi–xiv, here p. xii [rpt. in Ellis, "Why Study History?", *Texas Catholic Historical Society*, 1, no. 1 (1990), p. 5]; and Thomas J. Shelley, "Not Whispering in the Footnotes: John Tracy Ellis and American Catholic History," *American Catholic Studies*, 115, no. 2 (2004), 19. Also see Ellis, *Faith and Learning: A Church Historian's Story*, [Melville Studies in Church History, vol. 1], (Lanham, MD, 1989), pp. 76–77; Eugene C. Bianchi, "A Church Historian's Personal Story: An Interview with Monsignor John Tracy Ellis Conducted by Eugene C. Bianchi," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* 92 (1981), 26;

Such outspokenness sometimes outraged bishops. A number of church leaders who had grown up amid the anti-Catholic crusades of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century contended that telling the Church's story in an open and honest way only gave consolation to the enemy. Cardinal Edward Mooney of Detroit once asked Ellis if he were "one of these frank guys" who published everything he heard. Cardinal William O'Connell of Boston put it more bluntly. "Does one have to go to the backhouse to get history? The Church is a sacred thing," O'Connell added, ". . . treat her reverently." Ellis understood this admonition to mean that his work should only praise and never damage the Church. Any critical approach to history surely would seem to be out of the question. Ellis clearly rejected this position, frequently denouncing it as the history of "moonlight and roses."[13]

Another former student, Archbishop Oscar H. Lipscomb of Mobile, hailed Ellis's *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Milwaukee, 1952) for its "honest treatment of sensitive material [which] set a new standard for ecclesiastical history." With less enthusiasm, one unnamed archbishop threatened to destroy the papers of his predecessors to thwart candid biographers like Ellis. Qualifying the extent of Ellis's truth telling, Reverend Monsignor Robert Trisco, a historian, later explained that Ellis had limited his critique of Gibbons to a concluding chapter and thus had failed to incorporate a critical attitude throughout the work. As Trisco suggested, Ellis's move to more balanced scholarship sometimes was incomplete, limited to some extent by his veneration of certain church leaders. Ellis nonetheless surely authored a new approach that was carried on by his graduate students.[14]

Bruce Lambert, "Msgr. John Tracy Ellis, 87, Dies; Dean of U.S. Catholic Historians," *New York Times,* October 17, 1992, p. 15; Christopher Kauffman, "Ecclesial Genealogy—John Tracy Ellis and James Gibbons," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* 104 (1993), 1; and Thomas J. Shelley, "The Last Word: 'God does not need our lies,' [on John Tracy Ellis]," *Commonweal*, April 7, 1995, p. 31. Perhaps Ellis's best-known liberal act concerned his leaving Catholic University in 1963, a story that he tells in *Faith and Learning* (p. 55 *et passim*).

[13]Ellis, *Faith and Learning*, p. 41; and Ellis, "Fragments from My Autobiography," p. 588. Ellis had similarly summarized earlier attitudes of church leaders toward historical scholarship in "The Ecclesiastical Historian in the Service of Clio," p. 110. On O'Connell, see Ellis, *Faith and Learning*, pp. 38–39; and *Catholic Bishops*, pp. 67–77. For an overview of relevant anti-Catholic crusades, see James Hennesey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York, 1981), esp. pp. 234–53.

[14]Oscar H. Lipscomb, "Ellis, John Tracy (1905–92)," in *Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, ed. Michael Glazier and Thomas J. Shelley (Collegeville, MN, 1997),

Under Ellis's tutelage, Sweeney completed the required coursework for Catholic University's doctoral studies in church history in fall 1952. Ellis then suggested that Sweeney write his dissertation on Spalding. Sweeney knew little about Spalding and had no special attraction to him, but, out of respect for Ellis, agreed to the topic. Yet Sweeney soon grew discouraged. One tradition claimed that Spalding's chancellor and confidant, Monsignor Francis O'Reilly, had destroyed Spalding's papers shortly after Spalding's death. Another source asserted that Spalding "always tore up his correspondence and many of his excellent sermons would find their way to the wastepaper basket." Moreover, McAvoy, the archivist at Notre Dame, told Sweeney that the archives had several Spalding letters, but that McAvoy was "sitting on them" for the time being. Much to Sweeney's dismay, McAvoy proposed that at a later date "we might be able to make a trade." The rivalry that had arisen between McAvoy and Ellis, and between Notre Dame and Catholic University's graduate programs in Catholic history, was perhaps reflected in McAvoy's proposition of a trade.[15]

Sweeney's perfectionism, frail health, overly sensitive temperament, and growing responsibilities with the Franciscans stalled further research. In fall 1953 Sweeney was transferred to a new house at St. Francis College in Rye Beach, New Hampshire. He was assigned to teach, serve as librarian, and organize the house. He also promised somehow to find time for research. But Sweeney was unable to produce much over the next three academic years. Meanwhile, Ellis delivered "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," an address that

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p. 487. Concerning the unnamed, threatening archbishop, see Ellis, "The Ecclesiastical Historian in the Service of Clio," p. 112. Also see Trisco, "Ellis on Gibbons," Symposia on John Tracy Ellis, *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* 104 (1993), 4–7; and Trisco, Obit. of John Tracy Ellis, *The Catholic Historical Review,* 79 (1993), 162. Trisco succeeded Ellis as editor of *The Catholic Historical Review*.

[15]Bergan to Ellis, Omaha, July 3, 1962, ACUA: JTEP; and Sweeney to Ellis, November 21, 1952, Chicago, Box 7, CFS, ACUA: JTEP. As was true with Sweeney, Ellis periodically took a very active role in determining the course of doctoral studies. See, for example, Mary Jo Weaver, "John Tracy Ellis," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* 104 (1993), 8. Sweeney referred to O'Reilly's alleged destruction of Spalding's papers several times in Sweeney's correspondence, making it most explicit in Sweeney to John Lancaster Spalding (relative of the bishop), New York, February 13, 1979, Box 2, Returned CFS (hereafter referred to as RCFS), ACUA: JTEP. Concerning McAvoy, see Richard Gribble, "Thomas T. McAvoy, CSC: Historian, Archivist and Educator," *American Catholic Studies*, 115, no. 1 (2004), 25–43; and Philip Gleason, "Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C.: Some Informal Reflections," *American Catholic Studies*, 115, no. 4 (2004), 59–68.

used history to challenge the Catholic community to higher intellectual aspirations. Effectively heeding this call, in fall 1956 Sweeney finally delivered a draft of chapter 1 of the dissertation. Ellis was impressed by the research, but otherwise noted "serious defects" in both content and style. Ellis could be a meticulous reviewer, even correcting grammatical errors in Sweeney's correspondence.[16]

Early in 1957 Ellis reported that Sweeney was slowly bringing to light various "difficulties" with which Spalding's life was "bristling." Ellis did not specify any of these difficulties yet explained that "only a surface treatment of certain episodes can be given." Sweeney was conducting his research fully and honestly, and surely would meet the requirements for the PhD, yet Ellis added that, "we will want to exercise careful judgment as to the prudence of publishing certain matters." One matter that especially concerned Ellis was Sweeney's treatment of Catholic University benefactors Mamie and Lina Caldwell. On February 27 Sweeney interviewed Lina's son, sixty-year-old Waldemar Conrad von Zedwitz. Sweeney and von Zedwitz discussed the defection of von Zedwitz's mother and aunt from Catholicism, and their apparent estrangement from Spalding. After this conversation Sweeney considered taking a topical approach so that difficult chronological matters might be carefully sidestepped.[17]

Sweeney's sister died in October 1957, and the research again stopped. In mid-February 1958 Ellis encouraged Sweeney to resume his work, and in late March Sweeney was invigorated by reading Spalding's courageous testimony on behalf of workers' rights. Sweeney declared, "What a wonderful man in spite of the Caldwells!" Now that his personal life had settled down, Sweeney vowed to get

[16]Ellis to Sweeney, October 8, 1956, Catholic University, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. Ellis's address, which proved to be the most famous of his career, was initially read on May 14, 1955, as a paper at the annual meeting of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs at Maryville College, St. Louis. It was later published in *Thought*, 30 (1955), 351–88.

[17]John Tracy Ellis to Sr. Evangela (Henthorne), January 7, 1957, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. Concerning Henthorne's research on Spalding, see Mary Evangela Henthorne, "The Career of the Right Reverend John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria" (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois, 1930); Mary Evangela, "Bishop Spalding's Work on the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 28 (1942), 184–205; and Mary Evangela Henthorne, *The Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States: Its Origin and Development under the Leadership of the Rt. Rev. John Lancaster Spalding, Bishop of Peoria, President of the Association, 1879–1892* (Champaign, IL, 1932).

back to business. He did some work over the next sixteen months, but by July 1959, his studies had slipped again amid the many concerns of his life. On October 1, Ellis wrote a stern letter pointing out that nine years had passed since Sweeney had begun the doctoral program. Although concerned for Sweeney's welfare, Ellis nonetheless firmly declared, "I do not have to explain to you the importance of John Lancaster Spalding for the history of American Catholicism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; you probably know that better than any of us now."[18]

Sweeney apologized for his lack of productivity, briefly noting that his mother had recently died. (His father would also soon fall gravely ill.) Sweeney nonetheless vowed to press on. "There is no man who knows more about JLS than I do," Sweeney declared to Ellis. "I've lived with him for the last six (9?) years." Sweeney worked hard the next few weeks and made plans to visit Ellis in November. For the visit, Ellis advised Sweeney to leave time for lunch or dinner so that they could, as Ellis liked to do, catch up on professional gossip. Many of Ellis's letters, the majority of which were addressed to fellow priests, passed on church scuttlebutt. After reading formal lectures to his students, Ellis would similarly extemporize on salacious matters that he had heard. Ellis would also work revealing material into his public lectures and publications (especially those works of an autobiographical nature)—sometimes, but not always, keeping implicated parties unnamed. Telling tales out of school was not altogether uncommon in Ellis's clerical world. In Catholic circles at that time there was virtually no other acceptable means of speaking of less-than-edifying Catholic matters.[19]

In early January 1960, Ellis requested that a contact in Italy, Anton Debevec, be granted special permission to copy any Spalding material housed in the Propaganda Fide Archives in Rome. Up to 1908 the Propaganda Fide oversaw the Catholic Church in the United States. Like virtually all other secular and religious archives, the Propaganda

[18]Sweeney to Ellis, March 27, 1958, Rye Beach, Folder S, Box 10, Correspondence from Sweeney (hereafter referred to as CFS), ACUA: JTEP; and Ellis to Sweeney, October 1, 1959, Catholic University, Box 2, RCFS. Spalding's testimony for workers' rights was delivered before the House Labor Committee in Spalding's role as one arbiter of the 1904 anthracite coal strike.

[19]Sweeney to Ellis, October 3, 1959, Rye Beach, Folder S, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP. Also see Ellis to Sweeney (postcard), October 29, 1959, Box 2, RCFS. After an extended period of illness, Sweeney's father passed away on January 11, 1965. Concerning Ellis's penchant to gossip, see Weaver, "John Tracy Ellis," pp. 8–9.

Fide Archives at that time did not release personal documents until seventy-five years, or a full generation, after an individual's death. In the case of Spalding, this would mean 1991. The dearth of Spalding documents in the United States nonetheless prompted Ellis to ask for a special dispensation. Ellis secured the support of John B. Franz, then the bishop of Peoria, and wrote to Rome. "Needless to say," Ellis explained,

> should these documents contain any material of a damaging character to contemporaries of Bishop Spalding, material that would require great prudence in its use, Father David [Sweeney] has assured me that such will be guarded very carefully so that there will be no disclosures of information that should be kept secret.

By March, permission had been granted to microfilm the Spalding materials—an extraordinary concession. In late August the first batch of material arrived from Rome.[20]

These documents came from the latter period of Spalding's episcopacy (1893 to 1908) and included correspondence from Lina Caldwell. "[T]he whole story is there," Sweeney reported, and it is not "pleasant." At first, Ellis suggested that he and Sweeney discuss the documents in person. In the meantime, Ellis instructed Sweeney to "[t]ell the story as fully as you feel it is necessary in order to understand JLS—taking care to state 'delicate' matters in a 'delicate' way. In other words," Ellis added, "often strong meat can be digested if served in the proper way. Pick your way carefully and learn the great value of choosing adjectives in a measured manner, i.e., [as] descriptive words." Upon further reflection, Ellis proposed that a topical approach replace plans for a definitive biography. Referring to what the Propaganda Fide Archives might reveal, Ellis explained, "if they are what I suspect, it simply cannot be told, and if it cannot be told, then let us not pretend to something that your work would not be."[21]

[20]Ellis to Most Rev. Pietro Sigismondi, Secretary, Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, *c.* January 1960, Folder S, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP. Debevec was largely responsible for later indexing reams of Propaganda documents. See Finbar Kenneally, *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives; a Calendar*, 10 vols. (Washington, DC, 1966–1987).

[21]Sweeney to Ellis, September 7, 1960, Rye Beach, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP; and Ellis to Sweeney, September 9 and 21, 1960, Box 2, RCFS. Shortly after Sweeney received the microfilm from the Propaganda Fide Archives, Sweeney helped Ellis with a sermon on Spalding to be delivered at St. Mary's Cathedral in Peoria on October 25, 1960. The occasion was the Solemn Pontifical Mass of the annual meeting of the Catholic superintendents of schools. While detailing the bishop's educational contributions and

When the two men met in mid-November, Sweeney summarized the Roman documents for Ellis. The documents revealed that in 1902, when Spalding's name appeared first on all the lists of candidates to assume the vacant see of Chicago, Lina Caldwell wrote to several prominent church officials, including Spalding's nemesis, Cardinal Francesco Satolli in Rome, claiming that Spalding lived a life "of depravity and licentiousness hardly suspected." Yet when Caldwell was asked to substantiate these allegations, she repeatedly refused to do so. The investigation of Spalding's longtime friend, Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan of San Francisco, who happened to be in Europe at the time that Caldwell raised her charge, nonetheless claimed to uncover the substance of Caldwell's allegations. According to Riordan, Caldwell's vague accusations had led Riordan to interview an anonymous priest who claimed that he had heard Caldwell's sister, Mamie, confess when near death that she had conducted a nearly twenty-year-long sexual affair with Spalding. In a report written to Satolli, Riordan declared that he believed the accusation was true. In the deliberations over Chicago, Satolli emphasized Riordan's report, and Spalding's name was removed from consideration.[22]

Ellis acknowledged that Caldwell's vague accusations, especially when matched with the report of the anonymous priest, were significant, for these accusations definitely curtailed Spalding's career. At the same time, however, the accusations were not necessarily true. Ellis and Sweeney rightly suspected that Caldwell and the anonymous priest were not trustworthy sources of information. No other historical record verified their claims. Historians will likely never know for certain whether or not Spalding had an affair, although the surviving evidence, which remains nothing more than what Sweeney and Ellis had found in the Propaganda Fide Archives, suggests that Spalding did not.

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emphasizing his "moral courage," Ellis also may have reflected his growing understanding of Spalding when he suggested in this sermon that, "like the rest of humankind, John Lancaster Spalding was not free of faults and defects." "Sermon Delivered at the Pontifical Mass," p. 2. With help from Sweeney, Ellis expanded this address into *John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, American Educator* (Milwaukee, 1961).

[22]Baroness von Zedwitz, née Caldwell, to Cardinal Satolli, Paris, August 17, 1902, folder 153/1903: no. 52375, APF (author's translation from the French, which included a number of anglicisme, or frenchification of English words). See C. Walker Gollar, "The Double Doctrine of the Caldwell Sisters," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 81 (1995), 372–97.

For a brief time, Sweeney actually entertained the possibility of a different indiscretion. On April 5, 1961, Sweeney again interviewed von Zedwitz. Six days later, Sweeney curiously wrote to Ellis, "I would love to get your first reaction to the good man. It may be my imagination but the whole tale is not in just yet." Over the next few weeks Sweeney tried to locate a photograph of Spalding. As Spalding and von Zedwitz bore some resemblance, which revolved mostly around the fact that both men were bald, Sweeney wondered if Spalding could be von Zedwitz's father. Yet Sweeney soon conceded that the possibility that Spalding had fathered Caldwell's child rested on evidence (namely, two bald heads) that was about as substantial as the allegation that Spalding had conducted an affair with Caldwell's sister. In other words, both charges were extremely weak.[23]

About the time that Sweeney was entertaining these thoughts, Ellis told Sweeney that although the Propaganda Fide Archives contained problematic material that would be tricky to present, he did not regret his efforts to gain special access. Sweeney should proceed with the full biography. When Ellis found out that Archbishop William Brady of St. Paul had denied Milton Lomask, a fellow historian, entrance to the archives containing John Ireland's papers, Ellis wrote, "Thank God we go [*sic*] in for J[ames]G[ibbons] and JLS before the gates were locked!"[24]

From late April to mid-July Sweeney worked on chapter 7, what he called "the most difficult to date because of what prudence dictated should be left out." In this section, Sweeney described two of Spalding's sermons, one of which was preached in the Gesú Church in Rome. Especially in this Gesú address, Spalding had championed an inspiring affirmation of the individual person. Shortly before Spalding's address, Pope Leo XIII, in the apostolic letter *Testem benevolentiae*, had condemned such affirmations in what has been denounced as Americanism. In a footnote to chapter 7, Sweeney added that in the wake of the Gesú address Spalding's orthodoxy had been questioned. Yet, as Sweeney explained to Ellis, Sweeney deliber-

[23]Sweeney to Ellis, April 11, 1961, Folder S, Box 10, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. Sweeney interviewed von Zedwitz a third time, although the date of this conversation is not known. In conversation with me on August 21, 1991, Sweeney revealed his speculation about Spalding and von Zedwitz. A careful reconstruction of Caldwell and Spalding's whereabouts reveals that they were never in the same country the year that von Zedwitz was conceived.

[24]Ellis to Sweeney (postcard), May 6, 1961, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP.

ately withheld some details of the investigation, including Benigni's use of an unnamed Peoria spy to learn more about Spalding. (Benigni later led the charge against modernists, as mentioned above.) Sweeney did air the claim of a former French priest, Albert Houtin, that Spalding had felt disheartened and consequently nearly abandoned the faith. But Sweeney did not belabor the point by citing similar claims found in the Propaganda Fide Archives.[25]

Sweeney also did not write much about Mamie Caldwell, other than to note that she had traveled with Spalding in Europe at the time of the Gesú sermon. In footnote 98, Sweeney did refer to Spalding's unexplained estrangement from Mamie. Ellis was leery over the association with Americanism, but was more concerned with Sweeney's suppression of material concerning Mamie. "As for the delicate affair of which we have spoken," Ellis wrote to Sweeney,

> I think nothing very damaging shows through here except Note 98. Now I do not want you to indulge in any more *suppressio veri* [suppression of the truth] than is absolutely necessary. But will not this footnote only raise questions in people's minds that you are not willing to answer? You *can* answer them, yes, but for reasons known to both of us, you do not wish to. Is there, then, anything essential in Note 98 that demands that it appear? If so, I do not see it; and I think if you leave it as it is you are only going to raise these questions—and, perhaps, downright suspicions—which you would rather leave dormant. Think over this point.

On this matter, Ellis wanted to consult with one of the dissertation readers. Sulpician priest Louis A. Arand was not only the president of the Divinity College and an associate professor of dogmatic theology but also Ellis's spiritual director. Ellis was always deferential, perhaps

[25]Sweeney to Ellis, July 28, 1961, Folder S, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP. Also see Sweeney to Ellis, July 13, 1961, Folder S, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP; and Albert Houtin, *The Life of a Priest: My Own Experience, 1867–1912* (London, 1927), p. 187. The Gesú sermon (delivered March 21, 1900) was published as Spalding, "Education and the Future of Religion," *Religion, Agnosticism, and Education* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 147–92. The other sermon that Sweeney discussed in chapter 7 had been delivered as the principal address at the dedication of Holy Cross College (adjacent to Catholic University) on October 13, 1899. This address was published as "The University: A Nursery of the Higher Life," *Opportunity and Other Essays and Addresses* (Chicago, 1900), pp. 7–44. Important work on Americanism includes Gerald P. Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965* (Wilmington, DE, 1985), pp. 143–94; David O'Brien, *Isaac Hecker, American Catholic* (New York, 1992); Margaret Reher, "Leo XIII and Americanism," *Theological Studies,* 34 (1973), 679–89; and (entire issue of) *U.S. Catholic Historian* 11, no. 3 (1993).

excessively so, to Arand. To Sweeney, Ellis explained that Arand was "wonderfully balanced and sane," sensible and prudent, "not crying 'hush hush' at every suggestion of sin in the life of a high ecclesiastic; but at the same time giving signals of danger when he senses that a situation is 'off key,' shall we say."[26]

While Sweeney pondered Ellis's suggestions for footnote 98, Sweeney also plodded ahead with what he called "the most delicate" and "the most difficult" chapter 8. If Ellis could just see the material from the Propaganda Fide Archives, Sweeney suggested, Ellis would be as bewildered as Sweeney as to how to proceed. "In moments of rebellion," Sweeney declared, "I am tempted to write the history of these years as the documents indicate, but then we would have to publish without ecclesiastical approbation." Given the difficulties in Spalding's life, Sweeney concluded at this time that someone had deliberately destroyed Spalding's papers. The perpetrator could have been Peoria chancellor Francis J. O'Reilly; Bishop James Ryan of Alton, Illinois; Professor Thomas J. Shahan of Catholic University; or some Spalding family member. Yet Sweeney also acknowledged that, as some oral tradition had suggested, Spalding may have been merely disorganized with his own papers and simply did not preserve (or lost) his correspondence. After his debilitating stroke in 1905, Spalding admitted that he indeed had been careless with his letters.[27]

For years, Sweeney had struggled to find out why Spalding had resigned as bishop of Peoria in September 1908. Documents that Sweeney had found in the Catholic University Archives revealed that in July 1908 Caldwell had again issued vague threats against Spalding. Sweeney assumed these threats were rooted in the same charges of the anonymous priest, which were asserted in Riordan's 1904 report. Although Spalding's stroke, which had rendered him an invalid, prob-

[26]Ellis to Sweeney, July 21, 1961; Ellis to Sweeney, August 1, 1961, Kenmore, WA. Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. Ellis similarly described Arand elsewhere. See, for example, preface to 1st ed., rpt. in Ellis, *American Catholicism*, 2nd ed. rev. (Chicago, 1969), pp. xv–xviii, here p. xvii. Note 98 in Sweeney's dissertation appeared without change as p. 284n69 in the published text. John T. Farrell and Trisco were the original readers for Sweeney's dissertation, but Arand had replaced Trisco by this point, because Trisco had been in Rome for some time.

[27]Sweeney to Ellis, September 25, 1961, and November 28, 1961, Rye Beach, Folder S, Box 10, Correspondence, ACUA: JTEP. Concerning Sweeney's speculation on the possible destruction of Spalding's papers, see Sweeney to Ellis, January 24, 1962, Rye Beach, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP; and Sweeney, *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding* (New York, 1965), p. 365n27.

ably was more responsible for his resignation than Caldwell's accusations, Sweeney nonetheless regretted that he could not tell the story, including the charges of an affair. "Now I know what *suppressio veri* fully entails. Is this *the* problem of the Catholic historian?" he wondered. Ellis reacted strongly, explaining that "[m]y historian's conscience is very uneasy about all this *suppressio veri*." Professional integrity need not be sacrificed entirely, he declared. "[P]ut as much into the chapter as you dare." In early May 1962 Sweeney completed a draft of chapter 8. Ellis was pleased and offered no substantial changes. Arand, however, had Sweeney remove a reference to Chicago Archbishop Patrick Augustine Feehan's intemperance.[28]

In late October Sweeney completed chapter 9, whose most difficult piece was Spalding's retirement. Selective reporting of the relevant facts was, Sweeney told Ellis, "a most unpleasant task but I believe I have preserved my integrity as a historian." By footnoting reference to letters that contained more of the story, Sweeney figured that he had avoided scandal. A discerning future historian could still discover the whole truth, Sweeney pointed out. The morning of November 30, Sweeney mailed Ellis the final and relatively short concluding chapter and confirmed plans to meet in Washington, DC, the following week. At that meeting Ellis suggested that Sweeney amend the conclusion with a clearer explication of Spalding's character—underscoring, perhaps, that Spalding was cold and aloof—and, although admired, not necessarily loved by all. Ellis wanted Sweeney to present the "true JLS as you see him without necessarily revealing *all* the warts!"[29]

Although Sweeney had not amended the conclusion as advised, by mid December he sent a draft of the dissertation to the readers. Arand insisted that he could not pass the dissertation unless Sweeney made two changes: elaborate on Spalding's personality in the conclusion, and, more important, remove all references to the connection between Spalding's resignation and the Caldwells. Although Sweeney had told some, but not all of the story, Arand advised that none of the story be told. Arand explained:

[28]Sweeney to Ellis, November 28, 1961, and December 2, 1961, Rye Beach, Folder S, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP. Ellis also had James Gaffey read portions of the dissertation, including chapter 8. At the time Gaffey was working on his doctoral dissertation on Riordan.

[29]Sweeney to Ellis, October 31, 1962, Rye Beach, Folder S, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP; and Ellis to Sweeney, December 13, 1962, Catholic University, Box 2, RCFS.

> We all must tell *the truth*, but we must not always *TELL* the truth. In this instance to *tell* the truth even if such it be would cause incalculable harm to souls and therefore the love of telling *the truth* does not justify *TELLING it*.

In other words, Arand insisted that historians must always tell the truth, although they need not tell everything. On February 18, 1963, Ellis sent Arand's notes to Sweeney, adding that he fully supported Arand's views. "The more I have thought of it," Ellis went on to explain,

> the more impossible I feel it would be to bring that story out in full, especially in view of the fact that, as [Arand] says, there is not any really clinching evidence, i.e., the kind of evidence that would be taken seriously in a courtroom to prove the truth of the baroness' charges.

Suppression of the truth in this case ironically did not mean suppressing what was true, but suppressing what was most likely false. Changes must therefore be made after the examination, which was two weeks away, and before the manuscript was microfilmed for the library.[30]

On February 26 Sweeney responded to Arand's critique, stumped as to how to explain Spalding's resignation without reference to the Caldwells. Meanwhile, Ellis advised that Sweeney concentrate on the oral examination. In a note left in the middle of the night at Ellis's door, Arand reformed his position, explaining that he could pass Sweeney on the condition that after the orals, a discussion ensue about necessary deletions. On the eve of Sweeney's defense, Franciscan priest Owen Blum startled Ellis by saying,

> I understand that there is something in the life of Bishop Spalding of Peoria that will be rather scandalous if it gets out. There is a story in the Middle West to this effect and it is said it was uncovered by one of your students.

Ellis gasped and then said he preferred to remain silent about it. (Sweeney subsequently concluded that Celsus Wheeler, his Provincial

[30]Handwritten notes of L. A. [Louis Arand], originally enclosed in Ellis to Sweeney February 18, 1963, Folder S, Box 12, CFS, ACUA: JTEP, emphasis in original. In agreement with Arand, Ellis throughout his career regularly quoted James Boswell, who once wrote, "Though I tell nothing but the truth, I have still kept in my mind that the whole truth is not always to be exposed." Ellis, "Fragments from My Autobiography," pp. 574–75; Ellis, *Faith and Learning*, p. 16; and Ellis, *Catholic Bishops*, p. 11.

and confidant, had revealed his secret.) In what must have been a tense atmosphere, Sweeney successfully defended the dissertation on March 14. The conversation about necessary deletions undoubtedly followed, although no record remains of what was said.[31]

Trisco next read the dissertation, advising that the text be microfilmed and published without any deletions. Ellis did not agree that the work should be published without changes, although he apparently did concede that scholars should have some access to the unedited dissertation. Sweeney consequently had the manuscript microfilmed and bound for the library. Arand soon became irate when he discovered that his name still appeared in the acknowledgments. As Arand had apparently revoked his endorsement, he may have been the person who had the library copies "impounded"—that is, removed from circulation for some time. Sweeney nonetheless then suggested that the dissertation be published without any changes. At this suggestion, Ellis clearly drew the line. "The matter is very grave, David," Ellis explained, "and would, I feel sure, do irreparable harm were it to be put into print." Sweeney responded by assuring Ellis that the dissertation would never be published without Ellis's complete approval.[32]

Transferred in fall 1963 to Christ the King Seminary in St. Bonaventure in upstate New York, Sweeney worked with Ellis to find a publisher for the dissertation. By Easter 1964, Herder and Herder had agreed to issue the text. Ellis hoped that Sweeney could "bridge the *very very* difficult assignment of concealing the 'unpublishable

[31]Ellis to Sweeney, March 8, 1963, New York, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. Also see Sweeney to Ellis, February 26, 1963, and March 9, 1963, Rye Beach, Folder S, Box 12, CFS, ACUA: JTEP; Ellis to Sweeney, undated letter, the first page of which is missing (*c.* early March 1963); and Ellis to Sweeney, March 8, 1963, Box 2, RCFS. Concerning the Franciscans' treatment of Sweeney during his research, see Ellis to Sweeney, January 1, 1962, New York, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP; Sweeney to Ellis, December 19, 1962, Rye Beach, Folder S, Box 10, CFS, ACUA: JTEP.

[32]Ellis to Sweeney, May 14, 1963, San Francisco, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP; Ellis to Sweeney, April 20, 1963, Washington, DC, Folder S, Box 12, CFS, ACUA: JTEP; copy in Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. Sweeney's suggestion that the dissertation be published without any changes had come from Bede A. Dauphine, Sweeney's Franciscan friend. In Ellis's response to Sweeney's suggestion regarding publishing the text without changes, he noted that he was making a copy of this letter for his files "so that my view may be a matter of record if ever it is needed." Before Sweeney returned the original copy of this letter, he added a note that explained that the "confrere," as Ellis had put it, who had approved of the manuscript unchanged, was "Bede D."

fact' without doing too great violence to your integrity as an historian of the Church." Ellis added that this whole business constituted "about the most difficult thing to have come within my knowledge since I began teaching more than thirty years ago." Since Spalding had played a prominent role in the Church and in the country, Ellis feared that full disclosure would undermine the respect for Catholic bishops. Ellis thus reasoned that "not to tell the truth in a given historical episode is not necessarily to sin against the light."[33]

In the text submitted to Herder and Herder, Sweeney made no significant changes to the controversial material. In other words, Sweeney still did not tell the whole story. Twenty-six-year-old John Heidenry, a junior editor at Herder and Herder, complained that the text raised too many unanswered questions. Ellis agreed, yet insisted that he could never consent to telling the whole truth. "The Church is bigger than all of us," Ellis explained to Sweeney, "and so long as there was not telling of an untruth but merely holding back the full details, I felt it should stand as … written." Justus Lawler, senior editor at Herder and Herder, predicted that some future historian would discover the whole truth. Many already apparently knew the details, Lawler remarked. He surmised:

> It is [thus] preferable to have the disclosure made in a controllable situation, Fr. Sweeney's biography, rather than leave them to an unknown future, to the hand of somebody who may feel none of the scruples that now necessarily beset you and Fr. Sweeney.

Lawler believed that the matter could be delicately worded; should be surrounded by the broader accomplishments of Spalding's life; and must be underplayed as one, albeit significant, event. The broader reputation of American Catholic history was at stake, according to Lawler.[34]

[33]Ellis to Sweeney, January 28, 1965, University of San Francisco, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP; and Ellis to Lawler, February 12, 1965 (copy). At least two other times Ellis claimed that the Spalding affair was the most difficult matter he faced in his thirty-year career. See Ellis to Lawler, February 12, 1965 (copy); and Ellis to Sweeney, March 31, 1965, St. Bonaventure.

[34]Ellis to Sweeney, February 4, 1965, University of San Francisco; and J. G. Lawler to Ellis, February 9, 1965, New York. Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. In the draft submitted to Herder and Herder, Sweeney removed two major pieces from chapter 8: evidence that many of the Chicago clergy were corrupt at the turn of the century and platitudes delivered to Spalding on the 1902 celebration of his silver jubilee as bishop of Peoria. Regarding the Caldwell affair, Sweeney made only one minor change. After explaining

Ellis fired back his "unalterable opposition to your suggestion. Decision irrevocable. If you feel sure of consequences described, urge entire work be immediately withdrawn from press." A few days later, Ellis claimed that he did not mind that his judgment was in question, but rather was concerned the whole Spalding story might appear in print. Ellis appreciated the editors' arguments. "But there can come a time," Ellis explained, "when a value even higher than that of historical candor enters the picture, and I felt this was such a case."[35]

The value higher than historical candor that Ellis invoked in this case was not only the respect generally held for Catholic bishops, along with the more specific reputation of one Catholic bishop, Spalding, but also the honor of the Spalding family. Most of Spalding's surviving kin, including a number of persons with whom Ellis had conversed, simply adored the bishop. Nieces and nephews affectionately called him "Uncle Bishop." Ellis thus feared tarnishing the memory of Spalding with even the slightest hint of indiscretion, especially if that hint came from unreliable sources. Although Ellis and Sweeney did not believe that Spalding had anything to hide, telling his whole story, which would include mention of charges that were probably false, could invite speculation that Spalding might have been guilty. Ellis was not willing to provide this opportunity. The editors at Herder and Herder eventually allowed Sweeney's selective version of the controversial material to stand.

Sweeney, meanwhile, was beginning to recognize a more important matter. Although some people may have been aware of hidden parts of Spalding's story, they still did not know the whole truth, as Sweeney understood it. Over time, it became more and more apparent to Sweeney that the most delicate matter in Spalding's life, the aspect that must be kept from public view, was not what Ellis was so desperately trying to hide, but Spalding's alleged loss of faith in the Catholic Church. While Ellis and the editors at Herder and Herder hag-

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Riordan's conclusion on the matter, Sweeney wrote in the dissertation, "Though the allegations thus appeared incontrovertible, the complete truth in this painful episode will never be known, at least in this life." In the published version, the end of this sentence was changed to "the complete truth in this episode will perhaps never be known." Sweeney changed no other information from the dissertation concerning the Caldwells. Sweeney, "Life of Spalding," p. 428; and Sweeney, *Life of Spalding*, p. 309.

[35]Ellis to Lawler, undated "night letter" (as Ellis described it), written in response to Lawler's letter of February 9, 1965; and Ellis to Lawler (copy), February 12, 1965. Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP.

gled over how to tell what they considered to be the most difficult part of the story, Sweeney seemed relieved that Spalding's faith was not under discussion. At the end of 1965 Sweeney nonetheless still anxiously waited for the arrival of *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding*. "What does Louis Arand think?" Sweeney wondered, "Will the appearance of the book cause the scandal that he so greatly feared?"[36]

While Sweeney waited, on November 23, 1965, Ellis delivered "A Commitment to Truth" as the nineteenth annual Wimmer Lecture at St. Vincent College in Latrobe, Pennsylvania. "The supreme value and healing quality of truth," Ellis proclaimed, had been warranted by scripture, demonstrated in the sacrifice of martyrs, embodied in the life of Pope John XXIII, and championed by the bishops attending at that very moment the Second Vatican Council. One of the Council's leading lights, Joseph Ratzinger (now Pope Benedict XVI), for example, had emphasized, much to Ellis's delight, that the greatest need in the Church was "forthright truthfulness." "This is not to deny," Ellis nonetheless added, "that there is such a thing as a legitimate secret, or that in a particular situation the general interests may best be served by a policy of temporary or even lasting silence." Perhaps Ellis was thinking here of the Spalding allegations. Throughout Ellis's career, he, while always dedicated to the truth, readily and repeatedly admitted that he sometimes had deliberately withheld some of the story, as he most certainly had done in the Spalding biography. Human beings must be allowed to wear an "invisible mask," Ellis explained in the Wimmer Lecture, so that they can conceal their intimate thoughts about others and themselves. "Wearing of such a mask involves no violation of the principles of truthfulness and honesty in the sense in which we have been speaking here," concluded Ellis.[37]

Trouble did ensue when *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding* appeared, although hardly the kind that Arand had predicted. In early January 1966 Sweeney received his first copies, seven of which were bound upside down. Ellis had warned Sweeney of "wry remarks" and "sharp criticisms" that might appear in the reviews of the book, but most critics proved to be rather mild. Almost all reviewers com-

[36]Sweeney to Ellis, October 29, 1965, St. Bonaventure, Folder S, Box 14, Correspondence, ACUA: JTEP. Also see Sweeney to Ellis, February 21, 1965, and March 20, 1965, St. Bonaventure, Folder S, Box 12, CFS, ACUA: JTEP.

[37]Ellis, *A Commitment to Truth*, pp. 2, 59, 30, 37, and 38.

mended Sweeney for balancing Spalding's merits and defects. One writer added that Sweeney had dealt with delicate material "with commendable discretion." (Handling another delicate matter, Sweeney had removed Arand's name from the introduction.) Herder and Herder, however, hardly publicized the book, did not deliver copies as promised, and did not send Ellis a text until the end of the month. By that time, Sweeney reported that a few friends and confreres had asked him for the whole truth. "They will die wondering," Sweeney insisted.[38]

In 1967 priest-sociologist Andrew Greeley charged Sweeney with deliberately obscuring details of Spalding's life. In a footnote in Greeley's *Catholic Experience: An Interpretation of the History of American Catholicism*, Greeley postulated that one simply needed to know more to understand why Spalding's impressive talents were not more fully realized. "One is tempted to say," Greeley mused, "that either the historians should tell the whole story or they should not have told any of it." To this remark, Sweeney again maintained, "I'll never tell." In another address delivered at about this time to the annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Ellis denounced the once common policy of "indulging generously in the *suppressio veri* in order to avoid giving scandal." Although Ellis did not say so in this address, he and Sweeney undoubtedly would nonetheless have agreed that a *little* indulging in *suppressio veri* was acceptable and, as subsequent events illustrated, to be encouraged in some cases.[39]

On July 22, 1969, David P. Killen, a doctoral candidate at Marquette University, asked Sweeney, "How might it be possible for me to utilize

[38]Ellis to Sweeney, November 1, 1965, San Francisco, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP; Robert McNamara, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 53 (1968), 635; and Sweeney to Ellis, January 30, 1966, St. Bonaventure, Folder S, Box 14, Correspondence, ACUA: JTEP. Other reviews include Francis X. Curran, *America*, February 19, 1966, p. 265; Charles H. Metzger, S.J., *Review for Religious*, 25 (1966), 547–48; William Loughlin, *Ave Maria*, May 28, 1966, p. 22; Theodore A. Opdenaker, *Priest*, 22 (1966), 501–02; Francis J. Weber, *American Ecclesiastical Review,* 154 (1966), 424–25; Robert D. Cross, *American Historical Review*, 71 (1966), 1457; David J. O'Brien, *Cross Currents,* 17 (1966), 245–47; Edmund G. Ryan, S.J., *Theological Studies*, 28 (1967), 171–72; Vincent R. Weber, O.P., *Cross and Crown*, 18 (1967), 373–74. In the published introduction, Sweeney removed the mention of Arand that had appeared in the dissertation.

[39]Greeley, *The Catholic Experience* (New York, 1967), p. 167; Sweeney to Ellis, January 12, 1969, St. Bonaventure, Folder S, Box 16, Correspondence, ACUA: JTEP; and Ellis, "The Ecclesiastical Historian in the Service of Clio," p. 110.

the file on Spalding which you collected from the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome?" Most likely, only Sweeney had thus far actually seen this collection. Three months passed before Sweeney responded with an apparently vague answer. He then asked Ellis, "Shall we allow him unrestricted use of the Spalding material on microfilm from Propaganda?" Ellis responded:

> Under the circumstances, what would you think of telling this fellow you would wish to see him in person before replying in full to his inquiry, then tell him the whole story, and ask him as a man of honor not to divulge the unhappy circumstances that he would uncover on the microfilm since, obviously, these would have no bearing on JLS' alleged ecclesiology?

At this moment, recent developments in the Catholic Church troubled Ellis. In particular, Ellis lamented the fact that some priests were leaving the priesthood in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. These were "troubled times," Ellis declared to Sweeney. Ellis, therefore, was hesitant to increase confusion among the clergy by releasing information that might suggest that a prominent bishop may have had his own problems. Following Ellis's advice, Sweeney met with Killen probably before the end of 1969. Sweeney gave Killen, as Sweeney later reported, "*all* [of] my Spalding material." Killen completed the dissertation "John Spalding's American Understanding of the Church" in 1970. Undoubtedly to Ellis and Sweeney's satisfaction, neither Killen's dissertation nor a related article exposed Sweeney's secret.[40]

But another Spalding scholar eventually broke through. In about 1975, Peoria-born Robert Newton Barger, a former priest-turned-doctoral student, asked Sweeney for Spalding material. Sweeney again supplied his notes, yet this time did not demand the pledge of secrecy

[40]David P. Killen to Sweeney, July 22, 1969, Milwaukee, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP; Sweeney to Ellis, October 24, 1969, St. Bonaventure, Folder S, Box 16, CFS, ACUA: JTEP; Ellis to Sweeney, October 27, 1969, San Francisco, Archives of Charles Walker Gollar [original letter given to Gollar from Sweeney—Ellis's copy of letter found in Folder S, Box 16, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP]; and Sweeney to Ellis, August 12, 1971, Frankfurt, Germany, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. Also see David P. Killen, "John Spalding's American Understanding of the Church" (PhD dissertation, Marquette University, 1970); and Killen, "Americanism Revisited: John Spalding and *Testem Benevolentiae*," *Harvard Theological Review*, 66 (1973), 413–54. In the 1960s two other doctoral students completed dissertations on Spalding's views of education. Neither student broached the subject that Sweeney kept hidden. See Mary Luella Shaefer, "The Sources and Development of John Lancaster Spalding's Educational Theory" (PhD dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1962); and Eugene Grollmes, "The Educational Theory of John Lancaster Spalding: The Ideal of Heroism" (PhD dissertation, Boston College, 1969).

that he had required of Killen. Whereas Ellis's fears had dictated the response to Killen, Sweeney's more permissive attitude seemed to have governed the encounter with Barger, which produced different results. Since Spalding's personal life purportedly related to the focus of Barger's dissertation (Spalding's philosophy of education) and since Greeley had charged Sweeney with obscuring important details, Barger discussed in his dissertation the previously undisclosed allegations found in the Propaganda Fide Archives. Barger added that even Sweeney had written that "the allegations thus appear incontrovertible." Sweeney was incensed that the verb in the quotation from Sweeney's text actually was "appeared," not "appear," which Sweeney rightly contended suggested an altogether different meaning. That the allegations "appeared" or seemed true at one point in time did not mean they still "appear" to be so. Sweeney remained certain that the allegations had been consequential to the career of Spalding. They certainly were relevant, even though they were not true.[41]

With no response from Sweeney and now informed by the revelations of Barger's dissertation, Greeley went on to speculate about what he considered to be the cover up. In 1977 Greeley asserted that Ellis was "apparently responsible for the decision not to print the love letters written by John Lancaster Spalding, the bishop of Peoria, to Mary Gwendolyn Caldwell, founder of the Catholic University of America, and his mistress of twenty years." To a member of the Spalding family, Ellis adamantly denied this accusation, explaining that as far as he knew no such love letters ever existed. In a short while, historian Philip Gleason, who had heard directly from Ellis that no love letters ever existed, described Greeley's accusation as one of Greeley's "deplorable lapses from scholarly responsibility." Ellis simply refused to respond to Greeley.[42]

[41]Barger, "John Lancaster Spalding: Catholic Educator and Social Emissary" (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, 1976), pp. 26, 35; and Sweeney to John Lancaster Spalding (relative of the bishop), February 13, 1979, New York, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. In 1988 Barger's dissertation was published exactly as written in 1976 as *John Lancaster Spalding: Catholic Educator and Social Emissary* (New York, 1988).

[42]Greeley, *The American Catholic: A Social Portrait* (New York, 1977), p. 32; and Gleason, "Greeley Watching" [rev. of *The American Catholic: A Social Portrait,* by Andrew Greeley], *Review of Politics*, 40 (1978), 528–40, here 537. Also see Ellis to Sweeney, June 25, 1977, Washington, DC, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP; and Gleason, Obit. of John Tracy Ellis, *Journal of Texas Catholic History and Culture*, 4 (1993), 9–11. Spalding must have exchanged letters with the Caldwell sisters, although no such correspondence has been found. The Ellis-Sweeney correspondence does not indicate any evidence for the so-called love letters.

Throughout the 1980s, silence reigned over the Spalding allegations. Teaching and administrative duties consumed Sweeney, and he rarely found time for research. Although Barger's dissertation shed some light on Spalding, Sweeney still held firm to the conviction that he would never tell the whole story, refusing even to discuss the matter with brother Franciscans. Meanwhile, Ellis began to privately admit to some historians, as well as to a few members of the Spalding family, that he had not given Sweeney the best advice. It would have been better, Ellis revealed in confidence, to have told none of the story.[43]

In late 1990 I decided to focus my doctoral dissertation on Spalding (my great-great uncle). I next contacted a number of Spalding scholars, beginning with Sweeney. During two days that I spent with him at the Franciscan Friary at St. Bonaventure University, Sweeney gave me his Spalding research notes. He also instructed the St. Bonaventure librarian to print out from microfilm hard copies of the material that Sweeney had acquired from the Propaganda Fide Archives. In addition, Sweeney gave me one letter from Ellis. At the time I had no idea that Sweeney also had about 130 other letters from Ellis. It is unclear why Sweeney chose to give me this letter, which includes Ellis's advice (cited above) to tell doctoral student David Killen the whole story, "and [then] ask him as a man of honor not to divulge the unhappy circumstances that he would uncover on the microfilm. . . ." I never thought Sweeney was suggesting that I, too, not tell the whole story. It seemed, instead, that Sweeney gave me the letter so that I might better understand the delicate history of this entire affair. (As I later discovered, Ellis also saved a carbon copy of this letter in his files.)

On August 22, 1991, I interviewed the eighty-six-year-old Ellis, who was living in retirement at the Jeanne Jugan Residence near Catholic University. Before I sat down, Ellis insisted that I had to write about the Caldwell sisters. He did not have much more to say, other than to request that I discover the identity of the Spalding relative, perhaps a niece, who had lambasted Ellis for allowing Sweeney to include vague references in his biography to Spalding's troubled relationship with the Caldwells. (I discovered the identity of this relative only years later after reading the Ellis-Sweeney correspondence.)

[43]See Ellis to Sweeney, June 25, 1977, Washington, DC, Box 2, RCFS, ACUA: JTEP. After the publication of the dissertation, Sweeney's only scholarly work was "Herman Schell, 1850–1906: A German Dimension to the Americanist Controversy," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 76 (1990), 44–70.

About a year later, Sweeney visited Ellis in Washington, DC. Unable to engage in any prolonged conversation, Ellis ended his time with Sweeney by saying, "When next we meet, David, there will be ample time to discuss all those topics which so interest us both." Days later, on October 16, 1992, Ellis passed away. The anticipated next meeting between the two men came sooner than either must have expected. On March 20, 1993, Sweeney died. I finished the dissertation in 1994. In 1995 I published what I had learned about Spalding and the Caldwells in an article for *The Catholic Historical Review*.[44]

After studying the course of Ellis's career, especially his deliberations over the Spalding biography, I have come to appreciate Ellis's understanding of history. He surely valued historical work, instinctively turning to the past to find answers to modern questions and using history to promote reform in the Church. Yet Ellis also readily admitted that he neither thought much about the process of doing history nor consistently followed a clearly detailed set of rules. Instead, Ellis, as he once put it, simply "attempt[ted] to tell the story as honestly and objectively as possible." At the same time, Ellis's writings, especially his private correspondence, demonstrate that Ellis sometimes held fast to certain convictions. Three convictions are especially relevant.[45]

Ellis first believed that intimate matters that did not significantly affect history need not be told. Despite the fact that Ellis liked to gossip, he could overlook certain matters, including, for example, Spalding's "true" friendship with his cousin Josie. Ellis undoubtedly had figured that this relationship had no bearing on Spalding's subsequent career. Given the countless details associated with every event, historians always must pick and choose the subject of their writings. As not writing about seemingly irrelevant matters helps to focus research, some of Ellis's contemporaries undoubtedly would have agreed with Ellis's dismissal of irrelevant personal details, even if such dismissal came in the form of editing historical documents. Some disagreement may nonetheless have arisen as to what constituted relevancy. Compared to many of his contemporaries, Ellis tended to believe that more, rather than less, information was relevant to a given story. He thus encouraged students like Sweeney to "put in as much

[44]Cyprian J. Lynch, O.F.M., Obit. of David Sweeney, O.F.M., *The Catholic Historical Review*, 79 (1993), 600. See Gollar, "Double Doctrine," 372–97.

[45]Ellis, *Faith and Learning*, p. 76.

as you dare." Far surpassing the various bishops who had so irritated him and more than most American Catholic historians who had come before him, Ellis certainly advocated greater openness of the Catholic record. Yet Ellis still drew a line, albeit a thinner one, between what should and what should not be told.

Drawing a line over delicate matters that were consequential proved to be more challenging for Ellis. In at least one such case, Ellis illustrated a second conviction—namely, that where intimate affairs were of consequence, the reputation of the Church should trump the expectations of history. The most difficult case of his career, writing about the Spalding-Caldwell relationship, was for Ellis one of those rare times when a value higher than historical candor had entered the picture. As Ellis repeatedly put it, the historian must never lie, but still need not necessarily tell all of the truth. Although some of Ellis's superiors had ordered that nothing damaging to the Catholic Church ever be revealed, Ellis generally tried to paint a more realistic picture. But in the complicated Spalding case—that is, where accusations of intimate misbehavior were likely false, although certainly consequential—Ellis, like some contemporaries, closed the door.

But Ellis did not lock the door nor destroy the evidence. And thus Ellis exhibited a third conviction—namely, that the treatment of difficult matters, including even consequential personal affairs, should be left open for revision. Ellis accordingly made no attempt to destroy the actual handwritten letters that had mentioned Josie and even kept a photostat of the unedited letter in his personal files (which he eventually donated to the Catholic University Archives). To use Ellis's expression, Ellis may have "marred" the historical record, but he did not destroy history. Sweeney went one step further. He did not tell Spalding's whole story, but did deliberately footnote references to documents that did. In other words, Sweeney left bread crumbs to the truth about Spalding. But Ellis and Sweeney also preserved the evidence of their own deliberations. In preserving all of their correspondence (as well as in Sweeney providing to me one rather telling letter from Ellis), both Sweeney and Ellis certainly opened the door to some historian someday telling their story.

Perhaps now is the time to tell the whole truth in all accounts of American Catholic history. Whereas Catholics of Ellis's generation may have begun to question authority in new ways, recent revelations about covering up sexual misbehavior of the clergy have caused many

modern Catholics to rightfully distrust church authority. The era of moonlight and roses seems to have been supplanted by the age of betrayal. Many modern Catholics consequently clamor for greater transparency in the Church, especially with regard to what has occurred in the past. People want to know the whole truth. Catholic scholars accordingly insist upon, as historian Marcia Colish declared, "the vital importance for Catholics today of reclaiming from the institutional mythmakers their 'real history.'" Ellis once argued that historical honesty might sometimes be sacrificed to higher values. Given the issues facing today's Church, is there currently a higher value than historical honesty? Now appears to be the time to stop drawing any line whatsoever between what should and what should not be told.[46]

[46]Francis Oakley and Bruce Russett, "Introduction: How Did We Get Here and Where Do We Go?", in *Governance, Accountability, and the Future of the Catholic Church,* ed. Francis Oakley and Bruce Russett (New York, 2004), pp. 1–24, here p. 10. This book includes addresses by a wide range of Catholic scholars (including Marcia Colish), who attended a conference at Yale University on March 28–30, 2003.

REVIEW ARTICLES

CHURCH CENSORSHIP OF SCIENCE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY

PAUL F. GRENDLER*

Catholic Church and Modern Science. Documents from the Archives of the Roman Congregations of the Holy Office and the Index. Edited by Ugo Baldini and Leen Spruit. Vol. 1 in 4 tomes: *Sixteenth-Century Documents*. [Fontes Archivi Sancti Officii Romani 5.] (Roma: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2009. Pp. xxiii + 3380 [paged continuously]. €160,00. ISBN 978-8-820-98288-1.)

This work in four large tomes or parts publishes all the surviving documents concerning trials of scientists (broadly conceived) and the censorship of scientific books (very broadly conceived) found in the archives of the Congregations of the Holy Office and Index from their origins in the sixteenth century through December 31, 1600. Pope Paul III founded the Congregation of the Holy Office, the modern Roman Inquisition, in his bull *Licet ab initio* of July 21, 1542, and Pius V established the Congregation of the Index in 1571. Both were suppressed in the twentieth century.

When it became apparent that the Vatican policy of barring researchers from the archives of the two congregations (now housed in the archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith) was going to change, Ugo Baldini, the distinguished professor of the history of science at the University of Padua, well known for his studies of Jesuit science and Galileo Galilei, met two other scholars in 1994 to discuss a very ambitious project. They wanted to publish all the surviving documents concerning scientific books and individuals from the origins of the two congregations to 1808, when Napoleon moved the archives to Paris. (They were returned after 1815, although much was lost.) With organizational and financial support from Vatican officials, including then-Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, he began archival research in autumn 1996. Antonello Pizzaleo, Cesare Preti, and Carla San Mauro aided in

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the research, and Herman H. Swedet helped prepare biographies. Professor Leen Spruit, lecturer of Dutch language and literature at the University of Rome "La Sapienza" and author of works on Giordano Bruno and censorship, joined the project to help prepare the critical apparatus. The first result is volume 1 in four tomes dealing with the sixteenth century.

The work does three things. It offers ample historical introductions about the history and operations of the two congregations in the censorship of scientific and other works, as well as explanations for all the different kinds of documents published. Tome 1 begins with a 128-page general introduction. The editors offer a broad definition of science that includes the many different kinds of works, from commentaries on Genesis touching on cosmology, to Aristotelian science (which studied qualitative change), to astrology and the like, that the sixteenth century viewed as science. The editors also include books on disciplines that the modern world considers to be science. Second, the work publishes many documents that illuminate the workings of the two congregations, explain censorship and expurgation procedures, and much else. For example, the editors include documents appointing *consultores* to the Congregation of the Index, mostly clergymen from religious orders, charged with examining and censoring books. Third, the volumes print all the surviving Index and Inquisition documentation that concern eighty-six individuals or their works. These documents concern the banning or expurgation of the books of an author, or material concerning his trial by the Holy Office, or Italian authors whose works were viewed as suspect, such as Girolamo Cardano. Such documents fill about 1850 pages. For each entry the editors provide a brief introduction, then the documents, plus extensive notes.

The Index and the Inquisition did not aim to censor science or to bridle dissent against Aristotelian natural philosophy. Rather, they aimed to control the religious mentality of the Italian population. Hence, when the Holy Office tried an author, it was because it suspected that his religious views were heretical. And when the Index expurgated a work, it deleted or altered what it saw as religious statements, not scientific views per se.

A few examples illustrate what the documents reveal and the meticulous scholarship of the editors. The censorship of the works of Theophrastus Philippus Aureolus Bombastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus (1493/94–1541), is one. The Congregation did not turn its attention to his works, many of which were written in German, until a Latin *opera omnia* edition appeared in 1575. The censors found plenty to censor, because Paracelsus offered religious views consonant with Protestantism. In addition, he fiercely criticized churchmen, at one point comparing them with the devil. He described religion as a work of beasts. And he dabbled in magic and demonology. The volume publishes the expurgations proposed by censors in the 1580s and 1590s. The editors provide notes summarizing the content of the expurgated passages based on examination of sixteenth-century editions of Paracelsus' works. This is painstaking but useful scholarly labor. Despite the

expurgation efforts, the Clementine Index of 1596 banned all of Paracelsus's works. However, in an apparent reversal of policy, the Congregation of the Index in 1597 and 1598 ordered his works to be corrected by members of the college of doctors of medicine of the University of Padua. Such changes in direction and duplication of effort are found throughout the documents.

Paracelsus was dead; Girolamo Borri (1512–92) was alive and a professor of Aristotelian natural philosophy at the University of Pisa. The Inquisition tried him four times (1551–53, 1562–65, 1570–74, and 1583), as a consequence of accusations of holding Lutheran and Sacramentarian beliefs, possession of prohibited books, and rejecting the immortality of the soul. Although he was briefly imprisoned several times and abjured in 1583, he resumed teaching after every trial.

The reader will want to know about Giordano Bruno. In a very rare exception to the earlier closed policy, Luigi Firpo was permitted entry into the Holy Office archive in 1947 and published what he found about Bruno in 1948 and 1949. Baldini and Spruit found only two new documents, neither of great interest.

By contrast, Baldini and Spruit offer much new material on licenses (permissions) to hold and read prohibited books. Previous scholars were aware that they existed but, lacking the documents, could not assess their importance. They were far more numerous and extensive than previously believed. In their introduction to this section, Baldini and Spruit offer a brief history of the licenses. Many ecclesiastical authorities could issue them: the two congregations, the master of the sacred palace (the pope's theologian, always a Dominican, who had particular authority over books and censorship in the papal state), local bishops, and local inquisitors. They could issue licenses to read an individual title or a number of prohibited books. Indeed, the majority of licenses went to more than one person and were permissions to read multiple books. They could confer blanket permissions to read any prohibited book, and licenses could be extended to others. For example, in 1559 Cardinal Michele Ghislieri, vice-prefect of the Inquisition and the future Pope Pius V, granted to Diego Laínez, superior general of the Jesuits, blanket permission to read any prohibited book in certain categories, plus the authority to extend this permission to all other Jesuits at his discretion. Once the genie was out of the box, it could not be put back. On the whole the Congregation of the Index favored granting more licenses, especially in the last years of the sixteenth century, while the Congregation of the Holy Office sought to deny them. The petitioners most often wanted to read the works of Girolamo Cardano and Francesco Giorgio; the works of Konrad Gessner, Leonhart Fuchs, and others followed.

Licenses to read prohibited books were granted to individuals from many professions and ranks of society, including one woman. In 1582 Margherita Gonzaga d'Este (1564–1618), daughter of Duke Guglielmo I

Gonzaga of Mantua and wife of Duke Alfonso II d'Este of Ferrara, asked on behalf of her younger sister Anna (1566–1621) a license so that Anna might read a banned "tractantem de arte Mathematicae." (p. 2633). However, the greatest number of requests came from, and were granted to, university professors and physicians.

Baldini and Spruit conclude that "some thousands of people in Italy were authorized to read a number of prohibited books" in the second half of the sixteenth century" (p. 2594). Considering the fact that the licenses to read prohibited books discovered in the archives of the Index and Holy Office were only a part of the total, and that many individuals held prohibited books without permission, it is clear that prohibited scientific works were widely available. Baldini and Spruit cautiously estimate that the total Italian readership for scientific books was "probably less than five percent" (p. 2595), because the books were in Latin and for readers with specialized interests. They may have overestimated the size of the readership. Baldini and Spruit see the license policy as evidence that the Church could not completely ignore the practical needs of society. Of course, licenses to read nonscientific prohibited books appear in the documents as well, but are not included unless the document involved scientific works. Licenses to read prohibited books, especially scientific works, provide evidence that censorship did not prevent Italian scholars from following European intellectual developments.

While the editors concentrate on the complex detailed story that the documents tell, they offer some cautious general statements. They reject the traditional view that the Catholic Church was an obstacle to scientific progress. But they note that censorship had effects. They make a distinction between the direct and indirect effects of the trials, prohibitions, corrections, and expurgations enacted by Index and Inquisition. They do not see the direct effects as great. First, the average time between the publication of a work and its prohibition (years, often decades) was long enough that most specialists had time to read a book before it was placed on the Index. And prohibition did not impede its influence on scientific debates, because future generations of readers could acquaint themselves with the scientific and technical issues in a banned book by reading other books that were allowed. Moreover, there was considerable disobedience and ignorance of the prohibitions; finally, licenses to read the works could be obtained.

Nor do the editors believe that censorship necessarily caused scholars to shift to safer disciplines, such as from heliocentric astronomy to the study of hydrostatics, mechanics, physiology, medicine, and botany, at least in the sixteenth century. Many other factors affected the research choices of scholars.

On the other hand, they conclude that the indirect effects of censorship, although very difficult to assess, must have been great. The prohibitions, expurgations, and confiscations of books, all of which increased in the last decade of the sixteenth century, created a climate of uncertainty and intimi-

dation. This may have caused as much harm as confiscations and bonfires of books. Baldini and Spruit conclude that it is reasonable to presume that some authors decided not to publish out of fear of the possible consequences.

Some historical ironies emerge from the documents. In 1587 Pope Sixtus V appointed Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623), then procurator general of the Servants of Mary, as a consultant to the Congregation of the Index charged with censoring books. In the early-seventeenth century the Congregation of the Index banned many of his works. The censor became the censored.

Tome 4 begins with short biographies of authors whose books were subject to proceedings noted in the documents. Then come lists, charts, and diagrams: lists of edited documents and authors of these documents, a chart of Holy Office trials and Index proceedings, a list of consultants to the Congregation of the Index, and analyses of the licenses requested and granted. An enormous bibliography of about 3000 primary and secondary books cited, plus documents from other archives and libraries follow. Tome 4 concludes with an index of names.

This is an enormously useful work that belongs in all scholarly libraries. Scholars of science, of the Church, of the Index and Inquisition, and other disciplines and topics will be grateful to the authors.

THE NATIONAL EDITION OF THE DIARIES OF ANGELO GIUSEPPE RONCALLI/POPE JOHN XXIII: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

BY

FRANK J. COPPA*

Edizione nazionale dei diari di Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli–Giovanni XXIII. 1: Il Giornale dell'Anima: Soliloqui, note e diari spirituali. By Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli/Pope John XXIII. Edited by Alberto Melloni. (Bologna: Istituto per le scienze religiose, Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII, 1987. Pp. l, 545. €50,00. ISBN 978-8-890-11070-8.)

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Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, whose pontificate lasted from 1958 to 1963, is perhaps one of the most beloved popes of the twentieth century and hailed by some as "Il Papa Buono" or "Good Pope John." Liberal Catholics and reformers have praised him for invoking the updating, or *aggiornamento,* of the Church; his call for its *aperturismo,* or opening, to the contemporary world;

and his convoking the Second Vatican Council in October 1962 to achieve these and other progressive changes, while preserving ecclesiastical unity. His encyclicals[1] such as *Princeps Pastorum* of November 1959 ("On the Missions"), *Mater et Magistra* of May 1961 ("On Christian and Social Progress"), and *Pacem in Terris* of April 1963 ("On Universal Peace in Truth") are known worldwide.[2] In the year 2000 he was beatified alongside Pope Pius IX (1846–78).

Although the official papers of his pontificate in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV) remain closed, John XXIII certainly is the best known pope of the century. This flows from the fact that, unlike a number of other popes of the age—especially his aloof and taciturn predecessor Pius XII (1939–58) who, just before his death, ordered many of his private papers burned[3]—the outgoing and talkative Roncalli expressed himself openly and often on religious and secular issues, both verbally and in writing. Indeed, from time to time Roncalli concluded that he had to be more reserved, talked too much, and needed to curb his tongue—even with those with whom he was close.[4]

Roncalli revealed his inner thoughts and expressed concern over a series of religious, clerical, and career issues over the years. He did so in a series of diaries, journals, letters, and other works from adolescence to old age while a student, priest, secretary to the bishop of Bergamo, diplomat, patriarch of Venice, and finally as pope. Following John's death in 1963, some of these writings were hastily published with the assistance of Archbishop Loris Francesco Capovilla, who had served as John's personal secretary and was named the executor of John's literary works. In 1964 the first Italian edition of John's *Il giornale dell'anima* appeared, followed by his *Lettere ai familiari* (Rome, 1968), *Lettere 1958–1963* (Rome, 1978), and other writings.[5] The compilation of the original edition of the *Journal of a Soul,* which included John's commentary from 1895 to 1962, proved more devotional than scholarly in its construction. Nonetheless, it aroused great interest; in the first year

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[1]English versions of John's encyclicals can be found in *The Papal Encyclicals, 1958–1981*, ed. Claudia Carlen (Raleigh, NC, 1981), V:5–129, and online at http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals

[2]His five other encyclicals (*Ad Petri Cathedram*, June 1959; *Sacerdotii Nostri Primordia*, August 1959; *Grata Recordatio*, September 1959; *Aeterna Dei Sapientia*, November 1961; and *Paenitentiam Agere,* July 1962), although less well known, are hardly unknown.

[3]*Pater amabilis. Agende del pontifice*, *1958–1963*, ed. Maura Velati (Bologna, 2007), p. x.

[4]"Spiritual Retreat of 1927 in Slovenia" in *Il Giornale dell'Anima. Soliloqui, note e diari spirituali*, ed. and annot. Alberto Melloni (Bologna, 2003), pp. 305–07, here p. 305.

[5]These volumes were all edited by Capovilla and published in Rome in Storia e Letteratura editions.

of its publication, it was translated into French, English, German, Spanish, and Portuguese, as well as a number of non-European languages.

As early as January 1986 Alberto Melloni[6] expressed his conviction "that *Il Giornale dell'Anima* provided a crucial point for a better understanding of John XXIII" and attributed some of the weaknesses of Peter Hebblethwaite's biography, *Pope John XXIII* (New York, 1985), to his failure to grasp the core of *Journal of a Soul*.[7] Convinced of its centrality, Melloni edited and annotated the first critical issue of the *Journal of a Soul* (Bologna, 2003). Its preparation and publication brought to the fore the question of its relationship to Roncalli's other diaries and writings, as well as the need for an integrated compilation.

In 1999 Nino Andreatta, president of the Foundation for the Religious Thought of John XXIII, noting the historical importance and cultural influence of John's writings, proposed the creation of a national commission to publish an integrated and critical edition of all his diaries.[8] A ministerial decree created this commission on January 16, 2001. After the honorary committee assigned to the project was consulted,[9] work commenced on this edition in January 2001, led by Giuseppe Alberigo of the University of Bologna. Following Alberigo's death in 2007, its work was brought to completion by Melloni.[10] A group of scholars collaborated in the project, which, in 2008—exactly fifty years after Roncalli's election as pope—announced the publication of seven titles in ten volumes with some 6500 pages of text. It represented an important achievement. However, a year after their presentation, Melloni noted that the body of Roncalli's writings was immense, and com-

[6]Alberto Melloni teaches contemporary history and the history of Christianity at the University of Modena in Reggio-Emilia, and directs the Bologna foundation for the study of the religious thought of John XXIII. He has published widely on church-state relations in the twentieth century as well as on John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council.

[7]Alberto Melloni, "Pope John XXIII: Open Questions for a Biography," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 72 (1986), 51–67, here 54.

[8]The commission included Giuseppe Alberigo, University of Bologna; Mario Benigni, Seminary of Bergamo; Monsignor Giuseppe Croce, Archivio Segreto Vaticano; Carlo D'Adda, University of Bologna; Gabriele De Rosa, University of Rome "La Sapienza"; Gianfranco Fioravanti, University of Pisa; Étienne Fouilloux, University of Lyon; Agostino Giovagnoli, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Milan; Claudio Leonardi, University of Florence; Melloni; Carlo Ossola, Collège de France, Paris; Andrea Riccardi, University of Rome; and Cardinal Roberto Tucci, the Vatican.

[9]The committee was composed of Monsignor Loris F. Capovilla, titular archbishop of Mesembria and former secretary to John XIII; Cardinal Franz König, emeritus archbishop of Vienna; Cardinal Francesco Marchisano, the Vatican; and Monsignor Sergio Pagano, prefect of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano.

[10]See the obituary of Alberigo (1926–2007) by Melloni in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 93 (2007), 1030–32.

plained that only his agendas and diaries had been produced in an integrated and critical edition.[11] Others lamented that to date the newly published diaries were only available in Italian.[12] Still others found the work too expensive, with each volume priced at €50 and the set priced at €500.

Vol. 1—*Il Giornale dell'Anima. Soliloqui, note e diari spirituali*

The first volume, *Il Giornale dell'Anima. Soliloqui, note e diari spirituali* (*Journal of a Soul: Soliloquies, Notes, and Spiritual Diaries*), contains the thoughts and works of the young Angelo as early as age fourteen, recounting his experiences as a seminarian and his religious evolution, among other factors. It serves a dual function. On the one hand, it helps sets the stage for the nine volumes that follow by explaining the early evolution of Roncalli's thought and action. It explores the future pope's development and traces his spiritual life from early adolescence to his seminary experience, followed by his career as a priest, a papal diplomat in Europe, patriarch of Venice, and finally Pope John XXIII. It helps explain his religious and cultural evolution while confirming his profound influence not only on the ecclesiastical community but also on the lay world beyond. As presented, John's commentary will appeal to the general reader, while Melloni's rigorous editing and scholarship—manifest in his notes—will attract the specialist.

Clearly the *Giornale dell'Anima* is a mixture in terms of allocation of space—half of the work concentrates on the period from 1895 to 1914, while the second half dwells on the subsequent fifty-eight years.[13] Not surprisingly, the commentary and notation is far from uniform so that, in some years, Roncalli often provides a day-by-day diary, but in other periods, he skips days, weeks, months, and even years—material that the commission has determined to present elsewhere. It will be consulted, if not read in its entirety, by those planning to plunge into the remaining nine volumes and those delving into the pontificate of John XXIII and the contemporary Church and papacy. In this regard, the index of names provided in Melloni's volume and the other nine volumes will prove eminently useful for those seeking to assess John's reaction to a particular person. It would have been even more useful if the editors had differentiated whether the citation of a name was within the diary or the editor's commentary. On the other hand, the failure to include an index of topics in any of the volumes hinders rather than helps the scholar who must examine thousands of comments, some of little interest to the researcher and often admittedly mundane.

[11]Alberto Melloni, *Papa Giovanni. Un cristiano e il suo concilio* (Turin, 2009), p. 50.

[12]Only the introductions and editor's notes in the two volumes of Roncalli's stay in France (*France:Anni di Francia, 1945–1948* and *Anni di Francia, 1949–1953*) are in French.

[13]*Il Giornale dell'Anima*, ed. and annot. Melloni, p. xi.

Vol. 2—*Nelle mani di Dio a servizio dell'uomo*

The second volume in Roncalli's diaries is *Nelle mani di Dio a servizio dell'uomo* (*In the Hands of God for the Service of Humanity*) and focuses on the two decades following Roncalli's ordination in 1904. Like Melloni, editor Lucia Butturini provides a useful introduction (pp. vii–xxxvi), which notes that during the first of these decades, he served as secretary to the liberal-minded bishop of Bergamo, Giacomo Radini Tedeschi (1905–14), who was clearly admired by Roncalli—as is revealed in this and subsequent diaries. The entries reveal that Radini had a profound influence on Roncalli. The young priest particularly appreciated the pastoral approach of the bishop and resented the charges of modernism launched against him by envious enemies (pp. xi–xii). Following the death of Radini in 1914 and Italy's entry into World War I in 1915, Roncalli was called to military service. After war's end, Monsignor Luigi Maria Marelli, Radini's successor, selected Roncalli in 1919 to serve as spiritual director of the seminary until he was called to Rome in 1920 to preside over the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. He remained in Rome for the next five years until February 1925, when Pius XI (1922–39) appointed him apostolic visitor to Bulgaria. As a result, Roncalli would be embroiled in Vatican diplomacy for the greater part of the next three decades.

Roncalli's notations and other writings during his years in Bergamo and Rome reveal both his commitment to traditionalism and his call for a degree of reformism, sharing Radini's aim of bringing about a re-Christianization of state and society (p. 5). He was also impressed with and influenced by the bishop's call for social justice (p. 239). Indeed, in much of his daily commentary he depicts Radini as the ideal priest and bishop (pp. 9–10). Roncalli therefore resented the unwarranted aspersions of modernism against his bishop, whom he judged eminently faithful to the Church and the papacy (pp. 74–80). In September–October 1906 Roncalli traveled with Radini to the Holy Land, which represented for him the first experience with the Orient, initial contact with the Muslim world, and interaction with non-Catholic Christians (p. 138). It also contributed to his love of travel, which would endure until the end of his life. At this stage, he tended to reflect traditionalist sentiments and felt sorry for these Christians who remained outside the Church (p. 140).

Despite the persistence of the Roman Question and the ongoing conflict between church and state during and after World War I, Roncalli, like the greater part of the Italian hierarchy and clergy, remained faithful to the Italian cause. Indeed, Roncalli was convinced that God favored and blessed the Allied camp, which championed liberty and justice (pp. 220–21, 375). The complete Allied victory for him seemed a dream come true (p. 377). Love of country clearly influenced Roncalli's assessment, which he hoped would ensure the triumph of the Church, Christ, and the pope (p. 401). In his written statements Roncalli later assumed a more balanced position vis à vis Mussolini's "March on Rome" and the triumph of the Duce. Readily acknowl-

edging the chaotic condition in the peninsula, he questioned whether the Duce alone had the solution to the Italian problem. Subsequently acknowledging Mussolini's efforts and contributions, he believed that, although some of his ends were good, his means were iniquitous. For this and other reasons, he wrote in 1924 that he could not in good conscience vote for the fascists (p. 539). Nonetheless, when he heard that Mussolini had been forced to resign, Roncalli wrote in 1943 that the good things he did for Italy would remain.[14]

Vol. 3—*Tener da conto. Agendine di Bulgaria, 1925–1934*

The third volume in the series, *Tener da conto. Agendine di Bulgaria, 1925–1934* (*To Keep into Account: The Diaries from Bulgaria, 1925–1934*), deal with Roncalli's decade-long and unexpected appointment as apostolic delegate in that country. Roncalli was both surprised and somewhat disappointed when Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, the secretary of state, informed him of his impending consecration as titular bishop and nomination as apostolic visitor to Bulgaria, which appeared to be a secondary appointment that would take him away from fatherland and family. However, he submitted to Pius XI's "request" and preserved his loyalty to the papacy. He acquiesced not only out of loyalty to the pope but also because he could maintain contact with his sisters and continue to provide them with financial assistance (p. 11). In fact, the aid he provided to his family, salaries of his employees, charities he funded, and household expenses both capital and petty are all duly noted in his Bulgarian "diary." Somewhat surprisingly, his notations here focus neither on political nor religious matters but on financial issues—when, what, and to whom he gave funds. In this third volume editor Massimo Faggioli reveals in meticulous detail what Roncalli includes in his catalogues of expenses while in Bulgaria, but tells us far less about Ronalli's rationale for doing so.

Vol. 4—*La mia vita in Oriente. Agende del delegato apostolico, 1935–1939*

The scope and pagination of Roncalli's next "diary," *La mia vita in Oriente. Agende del delegato apostolico, 1935–1939* (*My Life in the Orient: Memoranda of the Apostolic Delegate, 1935–39*), is broader while the time frame is shorter. This volume gathers the notes of Roncalli as apostolic delegate in Turkey and Greece, following his appointment at the end of 1934. It is a massive volume of almost 800 pages; the editor has a doctorate in social and religious studies and a special interest in Eastern Christianity. Roncalli would spend twenty years in the Orient, with only brief interruptions, returning permanently to Europe only in 1944. During his first five years in Greece and Turkey, Roncalli jotted down his thoughts practically every day, even if only

[14]Notation of July 26, 1943, in vol. 4.2, *La mia vita in Oriente: Agende del delegato apostolico, 1940–1944,* p. 594.

to note that he spent the day working at home (p. 37). In these notes he often reported on personal developments such as his reaction to the death of his father at the end of July 1935 (p. 69). Although Roncalli's notations were relatively brief, they become more detailed, varied, and less chronological beginning in 1936. Some of his notes refer to little-known individuals and events. This shortcoming is overcome by the copious and meticulous editorial commentary of Valeria Martana, which places Roncalli's topics in some perspective.

During the course of his tenure in the Orient, Roncalli confronted difficulties there as well as issues at home. Among the latter were the death of Pius XI on February 10, 1939 (pp. 634–42); the election of Eugenio Pacelli as Pius XII, whose thought and program paralleled his own (p. 645); the new pope's abortive peace efforts (p. 667); the impending threat of war (pp. 720–21); and the Nazi invasion of Poland. Apparently accepting Pius XII's recourse to impartiality, Roncalli nonetheless wrote on September 29, 1939, "My duty to remain outside the realm of politics cannot stop me from crying over Poland which is slain and martyred. It is a great Catholic nation which once again is subjected to slavery" (pp. 732–33). In fact, Roncalli would subsequently take steps against Nazi iniquities, which can be seen from a reading of the second massive volume of his diaries from the East, *La mia vita in Oriente. Agende del delegato apostolico: 1940–1944* (*My Life in the Orient: Memoranda of the Apostolic Delegate, 1940–1944*).

Vol. 5—*La mia vita in Oriente. Agende del delegato apostolico: 1940–1944*

Although the second half of Roncalli's stay in the Orient was dominated by World War II (p.vii), he was able to move freely from neutral Turkey to occupied Greece and occasionally return to Rome, Milan, and his family home in Sotto il Monte. However, he was acutely aware of the hardships faced by the civilian populations of Europe and the flood of refugees seeking to escape persecution, especially as the Nazis implemented their final solution.[15] In Turkey he met with Jews almost on a daily basis and sympathized with their plight. While he adhered to the papal policy of impartiality and would not publicly take sides in the conflict, internally he classified the villains and the victims but carefully watched what he wrote in his diary (pp. vii–ix). He followed Pius XI's defense of the Semitic and oriental origins of Christianity, and joined him in the condemnation of antisemitism (p. xvi), but did so quietly. However, always in the name of the Holy Father, he took steps to aid the Jews and, among other actions, intervened to stop the removal of some 20,000 Jews from Slovakia (p. xvii).

[15]During the author's studies under Hans Rosenberg at Brooklyn College in the 1950s, Rosenberg never referred to the Holocaust but made reference to the "Final Solution."

Reports very likely reached the Vatican of Roncalli's steps on behalf of the Jews, for, during Roncalli's forty-five-minute audience with Pius XII on October 10, 1941, the pope raised the Jewish issue. He asked whether his silence on Nazi behavior was judged adversely. Roncalli neither relates the context in which Pius XII brought forward the topic of silence nor how he responded (pp. 290–91). Whatever was said and done by Roncalli apparently did not disappoint Pius XII, who in December 1944 named him nuncio to Paris (p. 667). He did so despite the opposition of some in the Secretariat of State who questioned his credentials for this most important post.[16]

Vol. 6—*Anni di Francia: Agende del nunzio, 1945–1948*
Vol. 7—*Anni di Francia: Agende del nunzio, 1949–1953*

Roncalli would spend the greater part of the next decade in Paris, and his diaries from this period are catalogued in two volumes: *Anni di Francia: Agende del nunzio, 1945–1948* (*Years in France: Notes of the Nuncio, 1945–1948*) and *Anni di Francia: Agende del nunzio, 1949–1953* (*Years in France: Notes of the Nuncio, 1949–1953*). In his introduction to the first volume (pp. vii–xxviii), Étienne Fouilloux, a specialist in the history of Christianity in the twentieth century, catalogues the problems confronted by the nuncio in a France that had faced occupation, division, and something resembling a civil war. To complicate matters, there was criticism of the French hierarchy many of whose members had displayed an anti-Republic bias leading to the postwar call for the resignation and withdrawal of most of its members. Furthermore, the new nuncio's understanding of spoken French was not good (p. xiii), and some questioned Pius XII's appointment. In fact, Roncalli's prudence and amiability allowed the Vatican to replace a small number and retain most of the French hierarchy, vindicating the trust that the pope had placed in him.

Despite his success, considerable opposition to Roncalli persisted among the Vatican diplomatic bureaucrats who still questioned his "diplomacy of love and amiability," manifest in his social and cultural activities alongside his religious obligations. His social activity was indeed broad and described in some detail in his diaries, while political matters were downplayed for prudential reasons. Some in Rome challenged the nuncio's approach and doubted his diplomatic competence. Word of this discontent was noted in his diary entry of April 2, 1946 (pp. 166–67), in the first volume of his entries in France, but once again the intervention of Pius XII secured Roncalli's position (p. 127). Nonetheless, in an audience of September 27, 1946, Pius listed the three major complaints launched against his nunciature: (1) that he sent too few reports to Rome, (2) that he was something of a gossip, and (3) that he was too often out of Paris for feasts and other social gatherings (p. 232).

[16]See Roncalli's notes of December 28 and 29 in *Anni di Francia, 1945–1948,* pp. 5–7.

Despite these complaints, Pius kept Roncalli in France even though the nuncio did not substantially change his behavior. He faced problems in Paris as well as in Rome, as the French government refused to accept the Vatican's list of episcopal promotions and, in doing so, bypassed the nuncio (p. 271). These problems persisted into 1948, although neither the French government nor Pius XII called for his withdrawal from Paris.

In fact, Roncalli would remain in Paris another four years. During this time, as in the earlier period, he managed to stay clear of such controversies as the worker-priest movement, cooperation with the Communists, the "new theology" condemned by Pius XII, and the Vatican's suspicion of historicism in the interpretation of Scripture. This discretion was displayed in his diaries from 1949 to 1953, which appear more tranquil and positive than his previous ones. He maintained a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, dined with various ecclesiastical and governmental figures, and continued to travel widely and take vacations. On September 16, 1949, he had an audience with Pius XII at Castel Gandolfo, and, although the pope was friendly, he asked some pointed questions about French developments (p. 107). Pius XII continued to nourish concerns about events in Paris; and although he remained amiable to his nuncio in France, Pius, by September 1952, had decided to replace him. He knew that after some thirty years associated with Vatican diplomacy, Roncalli was interested in a purely pastoral ministry. In the interim, in June 1952 Pius named him permanent observer of the Holy See to UNESCO. At the end of November 1952 he made Roncalli a cardinal and in January 1953 named him to succeeded Carlo Agostini as patriarch of Venice—a position he would hold for some five years (pp. 478–79).

Vol. 8—*Pace e Vangelo. Agende del patriarca 1: 1953–1955*

The notations and diary of Roncalli's first years in Venice are collected in *Pace e Vangelo. Agende del patriarca 1: 1953–1955 (Peace and the Gospel: Notes of the Patriarch*). On March 15, 1953, when Roncalli entered Venice, he addressed the clergy in Latin and the population in Italian. His pronouncement was a humble one that noted that his abilities and accomplishments had been exaggerated; instead, he presented himself as a simple man who followed the gospel and loved humanity (pp. vii, 24–25). His honesty, openness, and outreach to the various parties (including the socialists) won the hearts of a good part of the population. He retained this good will as a result of his pastoral activities and social concerns on behalf of the population, but he alarmed conservatives in the Vatican. In the months that followed, he met with all sorts of groups, moved within a wide circle of lay and ecclesiastical friends, and entertained a host of visitors from Rome.[17]

[17]In *Pace e Vangelo. Agende del patriarca 1: 1953–1955,* see notation of June 19, 1953, pp. 84–86.

As early as fall 1949, Roncalli believed the pope's health was declining.[18] During the early 1950s Roncalli continued to worry about the pope's poor health, expressing his concerns in early March 1954 to his family (p. 232). His worries flowed from reports he received from Rome; he also might have heard from Dr. Antonio Gasbarrini (1882–1963) who treated the pope and was later consulted by Roncalli.[19] He made his concerns public on December 3, 1954, when he invoked prayers on behalf of Pius XII. On December 4, he repeated the call, fearing that Pius XII was at death's door (p. 397). Roncalli believed the prayers were effective, for, by 1955, he had learned that pope's health had improved and was confident the pope would retain him as patriarch of Venice. He would indeed remain in Venice some three more years.

Vol. 9—*Pace e Vangelo. Agende del patriarca 2: 1956–1958*

Roncalli's diaries during the following years in Venice would be catalogued in *Pace e Vangelo. Agende del patriarca 2: 1956–1958 (Peace and the Gospel: Notes of the Patriarch 2:1956–1958*) also edited by Enrico Galavotti. After 1955 he accentuated his pastoral program, borrowing from Radini Tedeschi (p. x) as well as the Holy Father. In his entry of March 2, 1956, he noted his appreciation for the efforts of Pius XII, whose birthday he recognized and celebrated (p. 56). In 1957, Roncalli convoked the diocesan synod of Venice and first addressed the need of the Church and clergy for *aggiornamento* to fulfill their mission in contemporary society (p. 287). He believed this was bound to please the pope as well as his pastoral letters and invitation to visit Lourdes.[20] However, starting at the end of 1957, the health of Pius began to deteriorate, and he died on October 9, 1958. Roncalli unexpectedly responded rationally rather than emotionally to his death and almost immediately opened discussions on a possible successor (p. xxi). On October 12 he left Venice for the conclave in Rome, continuing to discuss who would succeed. This was decided on October 28 when Roncalli was elected and took the name of John. The new pope called for *aperturismo*, *aggiornamento,* and reconciliation.

Vol. 10—*Pater amabilis. Agende del pontifice, 1958–1963*

The new Pope John XXIII continued to keep a diary of events, which is found in *Pater amabilis. Agende del pontifice*, *1958–1963* (*Most Amiable Father: Notes of the Pontiff, 1958–1963)*. Editor Mauro Velati, professor of religious history in the University of Bologna, notes, and this is confirmed

[18]Notation of September 16, 1949, in *Anni di Francia: Agende del nunzio, 1949–1953,* p. 107.

[19]This physician of special medical pathology was affiliated with the faculty of medicine at the University of Bologna.

[20]Entry of October 31, 1957, in vol. 6.2, *Pace e Vangelo: Agende del patriarca, 1956–1958*.

by the volume, that once John became pope, he continued his entries but did so on a less regular basis. The editor believes that such was the case because he had to adapt to new tasks and a new routine. As time passed and John felt more secure in his new post, his entries became both more detailed and regular. Near the end of January 1959 the new pope alerted only the cardinals of the Church to his threefold program: (1) the creation of a diocesan synod for Rome, (2) an Ecumenical Council for the Universal Church, and (3) the revision of the code of canon law (p. 26). It was an ambitious program whose intricacies could not be revealed in the short papal entries of this volume. However, his journal entries do shed light on his religious and political motivation.

Together with the other nine volumes, they clarify much about this pope and his pontificate for the specialist. Most likely, the general reader will find the first and final volumes of this collection of greatest interest.

REPORT FROM THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, ACHA
SPECIAL FUNDS (RESTRICTED ASSETS) FOR 2009

In volume 96, no. 4 (October 1010) of *The Catholic Historical Review* I presented the financial statement of the American Catholic Historical Association for 2009. Monsignor Robert Trisco, the former executive secretary-treasurer, noted that I had not published a separate report on the restricted funds that are a part of our endowment. For the purposes of financial transparency I will do that now.

As regards to our net assets as of 12/31/09, we have $940,907.52 in total assets. This divides between $812,360.99 (unrestricted assets) and $128,546.53 (restricted net assets). Our restricted assets break down by both fund and investment.

PAUL ROBICHAUD, C.S.P.
Executive Secretary and Treasurer

Restricted Net Assets as of 12/31/09:

Howard R. Marraro Prize:
(T Rowe Price GNMA)
Balance 12/31/2009: 18,124.23

Anne M. Wolf Fund:
(T Rowe Price GNMA)
Balance 12/31/2009: 5,831.39

The Catholic Historical Review Fund:
Balance 12/31/2009: 3,191.11

Endowment Fund:
(Vanguard GNMA)
Balance 12/31/2009: 4,642.50

John Tracy Ellis Memorial Fund:
(Vanguard GNMA)
Balance 12/31/2009: 26,183.03

Harry C. Koenig Fund:
(PIMCO GNMA)
Balance 12/31/2009: 60,574.27

John Whitney Evans Fund for the John Gilmary Shea Prize Fund: (PIMCO GNMA)
Balance 12/31/2009: 10,000.00

Total Restricted Net Assets: *128,546.53*

Restricted Assets (12/31/2009) by Investment:

T. Rowe Price GNMA: 23,955.62
Vanguard GNMA 30,825.53
PIMCO 70,574.27

Investment Total: *125,355.42*

PNC Bank: 3,191.11

Total: *128,546.53*

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Das Papsttum und das vielgestaltige Italien: Hundert Jahre Italia Pontificia. Edited by Klaus Herbers and Jochen Johrendt. [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge, Band 5. Studien zu Papstgeschichte und Papsturkunden.] (New York: de Gruyter, 2009. Pp. xvi, 721. €149,96; $232.00. ISBN 978-3-110-21467-3).

This volume commemorates a century of *Italia Pontificia* by offering twenty-five contributions in German, Italian, and French on the history of the papacy in Italy. Each contribution ends with a summary, usually in a second language. Three articles compose the first of six sections. The first, by Michael Matheus, is on the German Historical Institute in Rome and Paul Kehr's study of papal documents. The second is a greeting by Cardinal Raffaele Farina of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The third, by Klaus Herbers, considers the various geographical or boundary terms that bear on the contents of the *Italia Pontificia*, used in Italy in the early Middle Ages, particularly from the ninth through twelfth centuries.

The second section of the book consists of two articles on Rome and the changing centers of power in the early and high Middle Ages. The first, by Matthias Maser, is on the papacy and the east Roman Empire in the sixth century. The second, by Guglielmo Cavallo, is on the Byzantine influences in the ninth and tenth centuries between Campania and Latium. The five articles composing section 3, on the relations between Rome and the churches of Italy, begin with a piece by Wolfgang Huschner, which uses the examples of Benevento, Magdeburg, and Salerno to study the papacy and the new archbishoprics of the Ottonian period. The following study, by Jean-Marie Martin, is specifically of southern Italy (the mainland and Sicilian territories of the Kingdom of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Malta). Martin gives a useful treatment of how the *Italia Pontificia* has treated the Mezzogiorno, with its unevenly surviving documents, and usefully lists recent discoveries and editions of texts. There follows a substantial study by Maria Pia Alberzoni of the interventions by the Roman Church in the Milanese ecclesiastical province. Jochen Johrendt then compares the reception of papal documents in Liguria, Umbria, and Calabria from 1046 to 1198, revealing various patterns, Liguria becoming closer to and Calabria farther from Rome over time. Dieter Girgensohn treats Kehr's *Regesta*'s accomplishments and limitations.

The first of nine articles composing the fourth section, by Rudolf Schieffer, gives an overview of the papal register before 1198. The next, by Lotte Kéry,

treats the relationships between canonical collections and papal writings. Then Giulia Barone considers historiographic and hagiographic traditions; Dietrich Lohrmann discusses twelfth- and thirteenth-century curial reports of disputed proceedings; Werner Maleczek studies writings emanating from the cardinals; and Sebastian Scholz asks the question "Epigraphische Zeugnisse der Päpste in Rom. Ein Desiderat der *Italia Pontificia*?". Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri then makes observations on editions of the Roman documents of the ninth through twelfth centuries. Hubert Houben gives examples for southern Italy of traces of medieval documents found in modern sources. Rudolf Hiestand analyzes non-Italian material hidden in the "Papsturkunden in Italien" and gives five extensive tables classifying these documents.

The fifth section is composed of four studies on the religious orders in Italy. Rinaldo Comba presents a rich examination of the papacy and the twelfth-century Cistercians, specifically the ideals and metamorphoses of the latter. Then Mario Sensi examines the eleventh- and twelfth-century reform movements of central Italy. Sensi gives up-to-date sections on "monasteri [or 'chiese'] di famiglia" (proprietary monasteries or churches) and their federations, and on eremeticism. Kristjan Toomaspoeg then treats the religious-military orders. The subsequent piece by Hiestand is on the crusades. The editors conclude the volume.

A century ago, Kehr was proud of the quality and high achievement of German historical scholarship. Not all the contributors to the present volume are German, but the volume is a fine witness to the fact that the things that Kehr valued still flourish today.

University of Utah GLENN W. OLSEN

A History of Biblical Interpretation. Vol. 2: *The Medieval through the Reformation Periods*. Edited by Alan J. Hauser and Duane F. Watson. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans. 2009. Pp. xii, 570. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-802-84274-9.)

Biblical scholarship from the end of antiquity through the Reformation and early-modern period is, needless to say, a vast subject. Extant commentaries on biblical books—Jewish and Christian, Catholic and Protestant—are numerous. Any single effort toward systematizing its contents or even describing its growth over history is deemed to be fragmentary and incomplete. What should the focus of such an endeavor be? Should it concentrate on the most influential texts and movements of the period? Or perhaps bring to light the least studied? Or should the focus be on the exegesis most relevant to its times, or perhaps on the most relevant to *our* time? These questions are all apparent in this book—the second volume in a series—which aims to provide a survey of biblical interpretation spanning the 1000 years of history and the different confessional settings implied by its title.

After a lengthy "Introduction and Overview" contributed by the editors and seeking to bring the most salient points of the ensuing contributions together, the first chapter on biblical interpretation proper, "Early Medieval Exegesis: Gregory I to the Twelfth Century" by Mary A. Mayeski, covers the first 500 years or so of medieval Western exegesis and seeks to capture its character as well as describe its methods and development. The result is with necessity rather patchy given the mere nineteen pages (of which one is a table) it has been allotted. The following two chapters, "Jewish Midrashic Interpretation in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages" by Carol Bakhos and "Medieval Jewish Biblical Exegesis" by Robert A. Harris, cover the medieval Jewish biblical interpretation of largely the corresponding period. This is followed by a piece on "Eastern Orthodox Biblical Interpretation" by Paul M. Blowers, using this title in spite of the fact that all but two of the quoted authors lived before the year of the Great Schism.

Not only interpretation in the strict sense is covered by the volume, and the next two chapters deal with the history, development, and reception of the text of the Old and New Testaments respectively, "The Text of the Tanak" by Russell Fuller and "The Text of the New Testament" by J. Keith Elliott. This is followed by the chapter most people would associate with medieval biblical interpretation, "Scholastic Interpretation of the Bible" by Christopher Ocker, which is full of interesting information but can, of course, never completely justify the enormous amount of material—the lion's share of which is still in manuscript—it seeks to describe. The rest of the volume is largely devoted to Renaissance and post-Renaissance biblical studies, particularly as studies of individual reformers: Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon, and John Calvin are each assigned one chapter.

The vast scope of the presentation results inevitably is some overlap and repetition, and some of the themes would have profited from being treated together. The account is occasionally marred by typos and misspellings of names and titles of works, typically Latin ones (Pope Gregory the Great's "*Expositio in Ezechial*"), but also modern ("Kristellar"and "Gluntz"); and Gustav Vasa (1496–1550) is not the same Swedish king as Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632). More serious criticism could be leveled at the surprisingly unfair treatment Western medieval exegesis and exegetes receive. Of a volume of over 570 pages only about forty-five deal, strictly speaking, with the Latin exegesis of the Middle Ages. This means that the treatment of the exegetes and works representative of this period becomes extremely sketchy in comparison with, for instance, the in-depth study of individual Protestant reformers and their work (*c.* 100 pages are devoted to the reformers; of these, Calvin receives thirty).

The history of biblical interpretation has attracted considerable attention in recent decades, particularly, perhaps, with respect to the field of medieval exegesis. The present volume bespeaks this phenomenon; if it can spur more scholarly interest—particularly making primary materials avail-

able—in the biblical interpretation of the medieval period, it has served an important purpose.

Centre for Medieval Studies ALEXANDER ANDRÉE
University of Toronto

German Histories in the Age of Reformations, 1400–1650. By Thomas A. Brady Jr. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 477. $95.00 cloth; $27.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-88909-4 cloth; 978-0-521-71778-6 paperback.)

This stunning recapitulation of a life's work maps out Thomas Brady's vision of German Reformation studies as only he can. In muscular Rankean prose packed with rough-and-ready anecdotes, he weaves high dynastic politics, theological struggle, and warfare into a comprehensive tapestry, uniting a multiplicity of factors together under common themes of empire, reform, and military struggle. To do so, he meshes images that will be familiar to readers of his previous corpus; Strasbourg, Jacob Sturm, and "turning Swiss" all embellish the narrative. These he weds successfully with his earlier theoretical impulses: Heiko Oberman's *Harvest of Medieval Theology* (Cambridge, MA, 1963), Peter Blickle's *From the Communal Reformation to the Revolution of the Common Man* (Leiden, 1998), and Robert W. Scribner's *For the Sake of Simple Folk* (New York, 1981) take pride of place here.

The monograph is divided into four parts. Part 1 investigates the empire as a complex of German histories. Constitutional in outlook, it pans over the political geography, the estates, and the imperial Church before the Reformation. Part 2 examines reforms, both political and religious, up to the Diet of Worms in 1521, noting (in a tone reminiscent of James Bryce) the inextricable link between Church and empire in Central Europe. The next part assesses the ramifications of the Protestant Reformation for political instability up to the Peace of Augsburg and the Second Reformation, and includes much of interest on military campaigns that punctuated that tumultuous era. Finally, part 4 reassess the solidification of confessions as part of territorial state-building in both Catholic and Protestant areas, ending in the cataclysm of the Thirty Years War.

Several new themes are also raised in this work. For example, Brady is keen to suggest the existence of the framework of an imperial Church, a theme broached in the work of his student, Michael Printy, in a recent study of German Enlightenment Catholicism as a form of nationalism. Bohemia plays a crucial role in his narrative, both at the beginning and end of his overview. As the birthplace of an oppositional Czech Church as a pendant to the imperial Church in the fifteenth century, its contribution to the later Reformation is seen as part of the harvest of medieval religiosity. At the terminus of Brady's book, Bohemia returns as the *casus belli* for the Thirty Years War, vindicating

his notion of the interconnectedness of politics, religion, and war in the German Reformations.

Another school-building innovation is the author's introduction of an adjunct term to characterize confessionalization, the Spanish word *convivencia*, to describe a generic theory of a political and religious *modus vivendi*, which he applies specifically to explain the underlying unity in apparent imperial diversity. Like confessionalization (coined by Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard) and social disciplining (coined by Gerhard Oestreich), it is likely to gain him vicarious currency in future debate as his supporters attempt to interpret their vision of Bradian *convivencia*.

Although the work is successful overall, the bibliography is selective. Several significant contributions by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia are noticeably absent, particularly his work on the imperial Jewry from Brady's collective chapter on victims of persecution. In the discussion of Catholic Reform and Counter-Reform, no mention is made of Catholic Renewal, undoubtedly another concept worthy of discussion. The explication of witchcraft persecutions is simplistic and limited. In the end, Brady should be careful when playing with magic; someone might get hurt. Particularly controversial is his suggested replacement of *witch hunt*—a term long established with witchcraft scholars such as Brian Levack and more recently by Lyndal Roper—with *witch panic*, although perhaps his term is more relevant to an American audience, as it recalls persecutory panics of the 1950s. A foray into recent works on cultural history might also have made a welcome addition and is not necessarily inimical to his central concerns of high politics, religion, society, and warfare.

However, this is a strong monographic statement that lays out Brady's program in all its variety and is a fitting homage to a life of work spanning many decades that has witnessed great changes in early-modern studies. Brady will surely continue to influence Reformation studies, both through his research and his personal engagement in the field, for many years to come.

National University of Ireland, Maynooth DAVID LEDERER

The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum. By Christopher S. Mackay. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 657. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-74787-5.)

Between 1486 and 1669 the famous witch-hunting manual, *Malleus Maleficarum*, underwent twenty-eight editions, all in Latin. It was for two centuries one of the best known treatises on the nature of witchcraft, recommending harsh investigations and punishment. After 1900 this text had an even wider circulation owing to a spate of (often inadequate) translations into German, English, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Czech, Polish, Croatian, Dutch, and even Vietnamese. On the Internet it is available in Latin, in various translations, and as an audio recording. Parts of it have even been set to

music. Unfortunately, many of these versions appealed to prurient or sensationalist interests; lacked the necessary scholarly apparatus required for understanding a complex late medieval exercise in canon law, theology, and demonology; and were often inaccurate. This was notably true of the English version produced by Montague Summers, the gothic fantasist (London, 1928). Recognizing these difficulties, scholars especially in Germany and the English-speaking world have published reprints of the original Latin edition (Göppingen, 1991; New York, 1992), an improved but abridged English translation by P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester, UK, 2007), a much improved translation into German by W. Tschacher, Wolfgang Behringer, and Günter Jerouschek (Munich, 2000), and an elaborate (and expensive) two-volume edition of an edited Latin text with introduction, notes, and an English translation by the classicist Christopher S. Mackay (Cambridge, UK, 2006). The massive volume under review is a reasonably priced paperback edition of Mackay's English translation with an abridged but still substantial introduction, improved running heads, and detailed notes. In addition to providing a much more reliable translation into English, Mackay has provided a useful outline, glossary, and detailed notes on the theological and legal sources cited. He has done heroic service in identifying the many ancient and medieval sources quoted or cited in the text, especially St. Thomas Aquinas, but also the Dominicans Johannes Nider; Nicolas Eymeric; and St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence.

There are, however, a few issues to mention. First, it is noteworthy that Mackay's name appears on the title page as translator but with no original author. On the vexed issue of authorship, scholars are currently divided, but Behringer and Jerouschek have provided a strong argument that the *Malleus* was very much the product of one author, Heinrich Kramer (Henricus Institoris, O.P.) with no contribution from Jacob Sprenger. Perhaps their most important pieces of evidence are Kramer's claim to have written the book, the anecdotes in the *Malleus* that emanated from the south German and Austrian territories where Kramer was active as an inquisitor, and Sprenger's denial of authorship (as Servatius Fanckel, his successor as prior of the Cologne Dominican convent, declared one year after Sprenger's death in 1495). Bearing these facts in mind, it seems odd that Mackay declares that Kramer and Sprenger wrote the *Malleus*, and that arguments to the contrary are "nugatory" (p. 5). For Mackay, it seems decisive that Kramer claimed in a sworn statement that he had written the book in collaboration with Sprenger and that "only an imbecile" (p. 5) would have done so falsely if he knew that Sprenger would learn of this claim. Mackay is also persuaded that Sprenger was the likely author of the scholastic sections of part 1 that dealt with the possibility of sorcery, the nature and goals of the devil, and other theological topics. Perhaps, Mackay concedes, Sprenger merely "vetted" (p. 6) Kramer's arguments here, but it seems unlikely to Mackay that Kramer falsely alleged Sprenger's collaboration. On balance, it seems that this question is not yet decisively settled, but those who argue for Kramer's exclusive authorship have made the better case.

A second issue arises over how the terms *maleficium*, *maleficus,* and *malefica* should be translated. Mackay generally eschews the terms *witch* and *witchcraft* in favor of *sorcerer*, *sorceress*, and *sorcery*. His reason is that *witch* and *witchcraft* as English terms seem clearly linked to women, whereas the *Malleus* argues that the crime was not gender specific. But there are problems of another sort in translating these terms as sorcery, sorcerer, and sorceress, for these terms too have a history in English. For more than 100 years scholars have used *sorcery* to describe the practice of magic without the invocation or worship of demons (anthropologists have often further insisted that sorcery can be taught). It has become customary to claim that *witchcraft* was essentially the rather new crime of having a pact with the devil, whether or not it was connected to magical practices (anthropologists sometimes use the term to mean the possession of some occult power, something that cannot be taught). Using this distinction, scholars have been able to claim that sorcery was and is common around the world, whereas witchcraft was a late-medieval Western invention. In many cases, of course, those accused of witchcraft were accused of both magical practice and of having entered into a demonic pact, but that does not mean that *sorcery* can serve as a simple or straightforward term for late-medieval *maleficium*. Mackay is to be congratulated on recognizing the problem of translation here, but the problem is even knottier than he suggests.

One reason for continued interest in the *Malleus* is the common claim that it was singularly responsible for the outburst of witch hunting that swept over Europe from the fifteenth through the early-eighteenth centuries. That claim has proved extremely hard to substantiate, as some of the first large-scale witch hunts occurred in the Alpine lands some fifty years before the *Malleus* was published and as the German courts and jurists that prompted or approved of witchcraft trials did not generally cite its authority. Mackay is on firm ground, therefore, in his claim that the main importance of the *Malleus* lay in solidifying and disseminating the "elaborated theory of witchcraft" (p. 33). It is not difficult to show that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century demonologists knew and often respected the *Malleus*, even if they did not accept all or even most of its arguments. For this reason we can be glad to have a substantially accurate translation of the *Malleus*, one that deserves to become the definitive text in English.

University of Virginia (Emeritus) H. C. Erik Midelfort

All Can be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World. By Stuart B. Schwartz. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 336. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-300-12580-1.)

Today it sometimes seems that tolerance and religion are uneasy bedfellows, if bedfellows at all. What is more, most people, whether personally involved with organized religion or not, would probably presume that the

Holy Inquisition in Spain, Portugal, and their empires in the early-modern period had no room for tolerance and managed to plant that notion firmly in the heads of Catholics under their jurisdiction. These are precisely the notions that Stuart B. Schwartz attempts to subvert in this committed and scholarly study, which deploys a wide range of Inquisition material dated between the late-fifteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The heart of the book consists of sensitive descriptions and analyses, with much quotation in English translation, of a wide range of cases in which brave individuals—mainly Spanish, Portuguese, and Native American—obstinately clung, often at great personal cost, to the idea that all people of goodwill, who led a good life, would achieve eternal salvation, whatever the religion in which they lived. The cases in question involved Christians, Jews, Muslims, adherents of African and American religions, and Goan Hindus.

Schwartz rightly bears in mind that such "universalist" ideas were by no means unknown in medieval Europe, whence the Spanish and Portuguese discoverers and colonists came, but his main material might have been seen in a more accurate perspective if the earlier evidence had been more extensively deployed. The book is more empirical than theoretical in character, and this can be frustrating at times. In particular, the much-debated questions around the validity of Inquisition evidence—always recorded by one side, in the interests of the institution concerned—are not extensively discussed here. It is indeed possible to deploy the trial documents of the Inquisition as sources of biography and social history, but the point still needs to be defended. Other questions that might usefully have been explored more profoundly are the very assumptions concerning the nature of "religion" that formed the basis of the inquisitors' operations. It has long been recognized that there was often very little meeting of minds between ecclesiastical professionals and frequently unlettered prisoners, but although Schwartz acknowledges this, such analysis often fails to impinge on the discussion here of individual cases of "tolerance." An underlying problem, with all this rich and fascinating material, is that the power of dogmatic religious statements, whether deemed orthodox or not, is never questioned within it. It is highly doubtful whether faith and belief can be reduced to intellectual propositions, and it would have been good to see a discussion here of this vital matter.

In sum, this richly textured study is full of fascinating material and rewards the reader with accounts and discussion of some inspiring human stories, ranging over the New World and the Old. Sometimes the chronological range of these sources, when fitted, as in this case, into a thematic scheme that is largely based on geographical location, involves an effect of jumping about in time that can seem slightly confusing. Also, the setting of the evidence in its intellectual and historical context is much stronger and more obvious in the later period, from the European Enlightenment to the abolition of the Spanish and Portuguese inquisitions in the early-nineteenth century. Thus the book leaves the reader wanting to explore and analyze more, but this is of course

the sign of a valuable and stimulating book, which shows that "fundamentalism" is not a good term to use about early-modern religion in Iberia and its colonies, and also that the human spirit is never completely overborne by dogma and repression.

University of Oxford JOHN EDWARDS

The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990. Edited by Edel Bhreathnach; Joseph MacMahon, O.F.M.; and John McCafferty. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. in the United States by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2009. Pp. xviii, 413. €27,00; $39.95 paperback ISBN 978-1-846-82210-0.)

This volume, intended to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the foundation of the Franciscan Order, was conceived and produced by the Franciscan Province of Ireland in partnership with the Mícheál Ó Cléirigh Institute in University College Dublin. Although described in the foreword as a "complete history of the Irish Franciscans," it is, in fact, something at once more modest and representative of the current state of research on the Irish Franciscans: a set of essays in two parts, the first providing a narrative overview of the Irish Franciscans since 1534, the second a number of more technical essays on specific aspects of the Irish Franciscan legacy, ranging from material culture to foreign missions.

The essays authored by Franciscan historians, especially the three by Patrick Conlan, O.F.M. (his offering on "Reforming and seeking an identity, 1829–1918," being, perhaps, the most important in the book), are distinguished by a concern to identify a purpose distinctive to the Franciscans in Ireland and by the assumption that their role and identity were clearer at some times than at others. Although the non-Franciscan contributors to the volume are less ostensibly exercised by these concerns, their very titles (Mary Daly's "A second golden age: The Irish Franciscans, 1918–63"; Bernadette Cunningham's and Pádraig Ó Rian's "The Louvain achievement I and II"; and M. W. F. Stone's "The theological and philosophical accomplishments of the Irish Franciscans") seem to assume a similar temporally calibrated understanding of the Franciscan experience in Ireland and its diaspora. These concerns, whether apparent or tacit, would probably have been alleviated by the consideration of the international Franciscan phenomenon and Ireland's place within it, and also by comparisons between the Irish and other geographically peripheral provinces. This would probably reveal that the Irish were not really so special after all and that identity problems are by no means a uniquely Celtic appanage.

The first section of the collection takes the reader from the Reformation to the 1990s. The essays by Colm Lennon, Raymond Gillespie, and Mary Ann Lyons span the centuries of Reformation and religious wars. There are useful summaries of recent and current research that set the Franciscans firmly in their

context in Irish history. *Prima facie*, Gillespie's description of Archbishop Oliver Plunkett's 1681 execution as the removal of an "important flash point" (p. 71) might appear somewhat glib, even partisan, but it is set in the context of the secular-regular tensions of the early-modern period that so blighted ecclesiastical politics and pastoral provision, state persecution notwithstanding. The secular-regular nexus certainly needs sustained attention and would greatly benefit from more complete statistical representation if some doctoral students could be persuaded to put their shoulders to the wheel. Gillespie's generational change model (p. 45) works well for the seventeenth century, tying periods to personalities without losing sight of the broad sweep. The general absence in this section of an international context, in the sense of awareness of and constant reference to the Irish province's inclusion in the international Franciscan movement and the universal Church, weakens causal explanations for the order's success or failure, expansion or contraction in any given period. Joseph MacMahon explains the eclipse of the order in the eighteenth "silent" century in terms of falling numbers, the spirit of the age, indiscipline and insubordination (pp. 81–84) but does not test these with any convincing international comparisons. Patrick Conlan gives the international context more attention on page 102 and goes to the heart of the issues pitting the declining nineteenth-century Irish province against externally inspired reform efforts. To a significant extent the attitudes and behavior of a large number of Irish Franciscans at this time had been formed by the twin legacies of religious persecution (to which the religious orders were especially prone) and general civil disadvantage (suffered by all Catholics and dissenters). The *modus vivendi* they had developed over time assumed the loose authority structures that marginalization and clandestinity incurred. Accordingly, the difficulty in maintaining community life gradually metamorphosed into a preference for a lifestyle closer to that of the diocesan clergy, without the inconveniences of episcopal interference. The antireligious stipulations of the Act of Catholic Emancipation (1829) seem further to have marginalized the Franciscans and rendered reform, in terms of a return to the practice of the primitive order, more remote. Certainly Gregor Janknecht (1829–96), visitor in 1879, had his work cut out for him but with the help of Bernard Doebbing (1855–1916), lecturer in St. Isidore's, and a growing number of native Irish reform enthusiasts like Peter Begley (whose memoir appears in the current issue of *Archivium Hibernicum*), the tide for reform began to flow, despite traditionalist, "black" friar opposition. The 1885 chapter's prohibition of the consumption of alcohol before lunch (p. 118) showed how far reform had to go. The triumph of the reformed "brown" friars coincided with what Mary Daly calls the second golden age of the Irish Franciscans that, despite the inevitable displays of triumphalism consequent on Catholic cultural domination in the Irish state, made sterling contributions to intellectual life at home and abroad. It was during this period that the notion of a Franciscan golden age in the seventeenth century gained currency as did the public perception of the order's role in the survival of the Irish language and Gaelic culture. MacMahon's article articulates the uncertainties ostensibly due to the Second Vatican Council

and actually as old as the order itself. In more recent years the order has had to embrace these, and one hankers after at least a provisional assessment of how the order has been faring since the late 1980s, where the narrative section of this volume draws to a close.

The second part of the volume deals with the Franciscan legacy in history, hagiography, philosophy, theology, pastoral care, secular society and what used to be called the foreign missions. All these essays offer important new elements to existing knowledge, and all agree on how much remains to be done in these fields. Micheál Mac Craith's thoughts on the formation of early-modern Irish identity, outlined in his treatment of the poetry of Eoghan Ó Dabhthaigh and the journal of Tadhg Ó Cianáin (pp. 255–59) are especially interesting, suggesting useful parallels between the contemporary emergence of the *nación española* and the *naisiún Éireannach*. It will be important to see these followed up and extrapolated forward. The section also contains two important essays on Franciscan chalices, and medieval and early-modern Irish Franciscan architecture. Regrettably, there is nothing on the more recent Franciscan contributions to material culture. The volume concludes with a select prosopography by the indefatigable Ignatius Fennessy, O.F.M., which one hopes will be extended to cover the entire Irish Franciscan experience.

Overall, this is a publication fit for both commemorative and academic purposes and a credit to its editors, who have done a fine job not only in bringing these essays together but also in ensuring their elegant presentation, complete with an ample photographic section, glossary, and bibliographical aids.

National University of Ireland, Maynooth THOMAS O'CONNOR

The Maudlin Impression: English Literary Images of Mary Magdalene, 1550–1700. By Patricia Badir. [ReFormations: Medieval and Early Modern.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xix, 300. $38.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-02215-0.)

Who was Mary Magdalene? A woman by that name received exorcism of seven demons by Christ (Luke 8) and attended the sepulcher to see the risen Lord in all Gospel accounts. Pope Gregory the Great identified her as Mary, sister of Martha and Lazarus, and the woman who anointed Christ's head (Matt. 26, Mark 14, John 12) and with the "sinner" who bathed Christ's feet in Simon the Pharisee's home (Luke 7). Multiplying legends to embellish the Gospel accounts, succeeding ages depicted the Magdalene as profligate sinner and penitent saint. Patricia Badir skillfully surveys early-modern English reimaginings, as they appear in a wide array of poems, biographies, religious tracts, homilies, dramas, and illustrations.

Beginning with the work of Katherine Jansen, who demonstrated that the Middle Ages invented a Magdalene to embody the evils of vanity, *luxuria*, prostitution, and female frailty, Badir shows how later writers, particularly

Protestants, reappropriated this legacy. Lewis Wager's morality play, *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalene* (1566), for example, presents a polemical rereading wherein the Magdalene's conversion from sin suggests the Reformation, her rejected sensual finery standing for Catholic ceremony. Catholics like Henry Constable, Robert Southwell, Richard Verstegan, and William Alabaster focused instead on the sepulcher and *hortulanus* scenes. For them Mary's lamentations on the absent body of Christ expressed the desolation of early modern Catholics in England, bereft, cut off from sacraments and clergy, yearning for the Lord.

Identified as Martha's sister who chose to listen and adore rather than act, the Magdalene also became a model of piety that inspired a poetics of devotion and contemplation for all. Medieval traditions that outlined her journey to France, miracles, and retreat into the desert as a penitential eremite and mystic inspired many artists: Tiziano Vecellio painted a sensual Magdalene holding a book and gazing upward; Anthony van Dyck sketched in chalk a semi-recumbent woman swathed in garments and clutching fabrics with an expression of grief and longing. Richard Crashaw immortalized Magdalene's penance in "The Weeper," a dazzling succession of epigrams and conceits that, in its revised version, explores the connections between the effluent tears without and the flaming heart within. Badir contrasts these affective representations with the restrained and intellectual engravings of Boethius Bolswert and the biblical illustration of Martin de Vos; in the latter, human longing "is lost beneath the refined complexity and infinite reproducibility of the printed engraving" (p. 167).

Badir finally answers the question "Who was Mary Magdalene?" by defining her as a *lieu de mémoire*, or a site of memory, which took on various lives in time. She closes her study by exploring adaptations in the late-seventeenth century, such as Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (1677), in which ironic iterations of medieval iconography, sadly, replace devotional meditation. Wide-ranging, well-documented, and sharply observed, this book usefully complicates the oft-repeated assertion that Mary Magdalene became a Counter-Reformation symbol of penance. She did, of course, but as Badir demonstrates, she also became a complex and evolving figure who gave various shapes to religious experience and doctrine for Catholics and Protestants alike.

Loyola University Maryland ROBERT S. MIOLA

No Armor for the Back: Baptist Prison Writings, 1600s–1700s. By Keith E. Durso. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 292. $23.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-881-46096-4.)

Baptists began as a people of dissent, grounded in the concept of a Believers' Church and the role of conscience in discerning religious faith and practice. Their idea that faith must be uncoerced by state or established church set them at odds with establishmentarian governments in England and

New England from the beginning of the movement in 1609. Baptist historians have given significant attention to the nature of dissent and the role of Baptists in shaping freedom of religion in church and state. Few, if any, have brought together the collective stories of prominent and lesser-known Baptist dissenters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Historian Keith E. Durso has done just that, in a fine volume that surveys the nature of Baptist dissent and the response of various establishmentarian communities to Baptist ideals and individuals. Durso brings together multiple primary sources from or about the dissenters themselves. His work surveys the nature of the persecution and the response of the Baptists to such harassment. The materials indicate that much of the Baptist response to religious establishments was not simply about conscience but also about class. The seventeenth-century Baptist John Murton demanded that the church be composed only of believers, those who could testify to a work of grace in their hearts (the central tenet of a Believers' Church), and insisted that, in Durso's words, "the Holy Spirit is not the possession of a select minority of educated ministers" (p. 37). Indeed, Murton himself wrote that "'the Spirit bloweth where it listeth' (John 3:8), and is not tied to the learned" (p. 37).

Durso's work also demonstrates something of the fluidity of individuals who participated in multiple dissenting movements of the seventeenth century. So many sectarian movements appeared during this time that it was inevitable that individuals would be impacted by multiple ideologies. Richard Overton was such a person—"ambiguous" in his Baptist contacts, Durso suggests (p. 81), but strongly concerned to challenge establishmentarian ideology. Overton had Leveller sentiments that reflected on his response to Baptist issues, as evidenced in his concern for "possessive individualism"—the idea "that everyone possesses a 'self-property' or right of property in their own person. This self-property is inalienable. . ." (p. 91). In reading these dissenters one is impressed with these insights in a pre-enlightenment era.

The book deals with the nature of the persecution visited upon these dissenters, largely related to imprisonment, fines, and exile in both England and New England. Thomas Helwys, perhaps the first of the early Baptists to write clearly about religious liberty, died in prison, probably in 1616. Perhaps the most famous of the seventeenth-century Baptists was John Bunyan, languishing and writing all those years in Bedford jail. Durso includes Bunyan among the "prison poets" with lesser-known but fascinating individuals such as Henry Adis and the "children's poet" Abraham Cheare.

Thomas Hardcastle, imprisoned multiple times for his Baptist, anti-establishment views, gives the book its title, with his insistence that dissenters were "duty-bound to be constantly on the offensive and never in retreat. . . . There is no armor for the back" (p. 133).

Durso has developed an excellent survey that captures the content and passion of early Baptist views on religious liberty and their willingness to

stand on their consciences even when it meant punitive action from an unfriendly state and an established church convinced of its inherent privilege. It is a fine study, with great value for students of the nature of Protestant dissent in general and Baptist history in particular.

Wake Forest University BILL J. LEONARD

Women, Religion, and the Atlantic World (1600–1800). Edited by Daniella Kostroun and Lisa Vollendorf. [UCLA Center/Clark series, 12.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the UCLA Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies and the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. 2009. Pp. xii, 354. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-802-09906-8.)

This collection of essays, the fruit of a colloquium, purports to treat what the title promises in terms of the Atlantic basin of Europe, the Americas, and Africa. The editors identify their primary goal as to "break down boundaries of nation-bound inquiry by placing women, gender, and religion at the centre of current dialogues about a shared Atlantic space" (p. 6). However, religion is not the focus of all of the essays, and six of them are defined precisely in terms of nation. Traditional paradigms die hard.

The volume's jewel is Barbara Diefendorf's review of women's roles in the Catholic Reformation, a broad-based study that puts years of experience on display. She summarizes and nuances what recent scholarship has revealed: Earlier work on women and the Catholic Church, largely based on feminists' antagonism to patriarchal institutions and reliant on prescriptive texts, laws, and decrees for evidence, has proven vastly imperfect in accuracy and scope. For example, the Council of Trent dictated cloister for religious women. How, if, and when that dictate was enforced has proven crucial, as have distinctions between passive and active cloister, as well as which members of a convent community could be cloistered and which could not. Moreover, the antagonism between women and the Catholic Church assumed by modern feminists is not borne out by archival work. The historical record, then, leaves us with what Diefendorf calls a continuum of feminine devotion that eschews extremes and absolutes.

Lisa Vollendorf's "Transatlantic Ties" provides a useful list of works by women writers from Spain (sixty-six authors) and Spanish colonies (thirty-six authors), by no means restricted to religious writing. Although one might wonder at assertions such as "women arguably were positioned as the group that posed the single most important threat to a homogenous Catholic state" (p. 80), this evidence of women's textual production is important. Amy Froide's "The Religious Lives of Singlewomen in the Anglo-Atlantic World" counterbalances the volume's focus on things Catholic. Pointing out that unwed female adults were 30 percent of the seventeenth-century English population, she traces the careers of Quaker missionaries as well as Protestant

and covert Catholic nuns, all of which add to evidence of women's work in a wide variety of religious institutions.

Constraints of space prohibit detailed reference to each essay, in which most authors use microhistory to challenge the validity of history at large, providing the foundation on which future research can and will build to rewrite the official record. Some of the stories are poignant, such as that in Jon Sensback's contribution, in which Dutch Caribbean slaves successfully appeal to royalty to halt their repression, only to have their masters subsequently manipulate Christian tenets to inspire the slaves to obedient submission. Rachel Sarah O'Toole's essay treats the Peruvian nun Juana Luisa Benites, who made a play for sanctity using her resistance to sex-driven demons as evidence of heroic virtue, only to be revealed as a priest's illegitimate daughter and rejected on grounds that "good women" did not tangle with sexualized evil. J. Michelle Molina and Ulrike Strasser compare two biographies of the famous Catarina de San Juan, one by a Spanish Jesuit and the other by a Bohemian Jesuit, revealing how authorial interests slanted "historical" accounts of women's lives. Attempts to overcome a patriarch by reporting him to the Mexican Inquisition are the subject of Joan Cameron Bristol's "Patriarchs, Petitions, and Prayers."

In the final section, Martha Few's contribution suggests that Mesoamerican notions of deformity operated in tandem with European ideas in Guatemala; Stacey Schlau analyzes the dramatic record of a female Christian convert to Judaism as revealed in Mexican Inquisition archives; Tracy Brown uses seven New Mexican cases of witchcraft to reach the not surprising conclusion that male witchcraft was political whereas its female counterpart was domestic. Finally, Bianca Premo examines cases in which women and men sought to break vows of monasticism or marriage in Lima, in the process revealing a surprising diversity of family structures in which patriarchs are strikingly missing.

The essays in this book indicate the difficulty in rewriting long-standing scripts based on religious orthodoxies and national identities, even during times when those orthodoxies were unstable and the national identities that later fell on these regions did not yet exist. As more evidence of a similar nature continues to surface, new paradigms to analyze the role of early-modern women in world faiths will emerge.

Boston College ELIZABETH RHODES

Ancient

Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources, Vol. 1. By Lawrence J. Johnson. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press/A Pueblo Book. 2009. Pp. xxii, 282. $74.95. ISBN 978-0-814-66197-0.)

In this volume, Lawrence J. Johnson, former editor and director of the Pastoral Press, presents sources of the liturgy in translation with an introduction and bibliography. The first volume treats Jewish sources, subapostolic texts, and texts from the second and third centuries in both East and West. The subsequent three volumes treat the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

Each entry follows a similar pattern: the title of the work with a note about the source of the translation (usually the author's own), orienting bibliography, and the translation of the text. Johnson offers good orientations to the various texts, as illustrated by the following example. A topic controversial today is that of Hippolytus of Rome and the *Apostolic Tradition*. Johnson begins with an overview of the complications of the person of Hippolytus and gives an orienting bibliography. He then presents the *Apostolic Tradition*, giving an overview of the modern critical editions that led to the attribution of the "Egyptian Church Order" to Hippolytus and to the consideration of it as his work. Six pages of bibliography follow, with sources, general studies, and then specialized bibliographies on initiation, Eucharist, orders/ministry, and daily prayer. He offers a translation of the complete text as reconstituted by Bernard Botte and again gives notes for biblical citations and some technical issues of the text. Despite the controversy surrounding the author and date of the document, he makes the decision to treat it as a third-century work of Hippolytus, while alerting the reader to the discussions surrounding the attribution and dating.

The layout and format are clear, the bibliographies substantial and helpful, and the translations straightforward and accessible. This will be a helpful resource for those without access to original languages and critical editions who are looking for a good, brief orientation to important sources of liturgical study in the first six centuries.

The Catholic University of America MICHAEL G. WITCZAK

Christianity in Ancient Rome: The First Three Centuries. By Bernard Green. (New York: T. and T. Clark International. 2010. Pp. x, 258. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-567-03250-8.)

This is a serious and well written account of Christianity in Rome down to and including the reign of Constantine. It discusses Christianity's first decades in the shadow of the well-established Jewish community before Nero made the Christians scapegoats for the fire of 64 AD. There follows a full exposition

of doctrinal disputes among the Roman Christians of the second and third centuries and their North African brethren resulting in Tertullian's *Against Praxeas*, "the first Latin work to address the Trinity" and at Rome in Novatian's *On the Trinity*. The persecutions of Decius and Valerian in the third quarter of the third century, discussed in chapter 3, added new stresses arising from the problem of readmitting lapsed Christians back into the fold. But the Church emerged from these trials into the forty-year span before the great persecution under the Tetrarchs with new strength and an ever-increasing membership. The Christian message of hope for eternity was accompanied by charity in this life for those in need and mutual support, evidenced most clearly in the attention to the burial of the faithful. The catacombs thus are the subject of the fourth chapter. In conclusion, the author examines the great persecution and the acceptance of Christianity under Constantine.

The theme running through this work, as in any account of the Christians in Rome, is the relation of Christianity to the state. The Romans were suspicious of religious associations as potentially subversive. In 186 BC the Senate suppressed groups of devotees of Bacchus, and both pagans and Jews were the object of harassment and worse under the empire. The Christians were viewed with particular mistrust. But systematic persecution was not seen until Trajan Decius. Green's interpretation of Decius's empire-wide repression is that it attempted to impose uniformity of worship, issuing receipts for its performance, just as the empire demanded uniform payment of taxes for which similar receipts were given. Such thinking was to dominate the late empire, both the Tetrarchy and the Christian state of Theodosius the Great.

If Constantine, the founder of that state, entered Rome in 312 firmly believing in Christ and his Church, he conducted himself with what Green terms "studied ambiguity" (p. 226), at least in the early years of his reign. His building projects for the Christians in Rome were all situated on the periphery of the city around its pagan core. Here he followed in the footsteps of the defeated Maxentius, to whom Green attributes the building of the Basilica Apostolorum (San Sebastiano) on the Via Appia. Among Constantine's buildings there were the shrines of Ss. Peter and Paul. There is new excavation evidence from St. Paul's, where the sarcophagus beneath the high altar (of the Theodosian phase), certainly containing the venerated remains, has been exposed. For both saints, Green comments favorably on the often dismissed passage of the *Liber Pontificalis* that reports the transfer of their remains from the Via Appia to the Vatican and the Via Ostiensis by Pope Cornelius in 251 (*LP* 1.151). There are many problems in interpreting the results of the excavations below the high altar of St. Peter's, and note should be taken of the criticisms of the reigning interpretation of the results made by Adriano Prandi, the director of excavations in their second phase, in *La zona archeologica della Confessio Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1957).

Brown University (Emeritus) R. Ross Holloway

Augustine's Manichaean Dilemma. I: *Conversion and Apostasy, 373–388 C.E.* By Jason David BeDuhn. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 402. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24210-2.)

St. Augustine's conversion to Manichaeism in 373 and his remaining in that religion as a Hearer for at least a decade have puzzled many students of the life of the bishop of Hippo, who came to be recognized as one of the great, if not the greatest, of the Western Fathers of the Church. BeDuhn approaches the subject as an historian and not as a philosopher or theologian, and his book uses various contemporary studies of the nature of conversion and apostasy to clarify how the young Augustine was attracted to a group of bright young Manichees in Africa and why he remained with them for so long a time until he finally became disillusioned about being able to make progress in that form of Christianity. His study has, for the first time, made Augustine's conversion to the Manichaean religion and his remaining in it so long intelligible for me. He argues that Manichaeism offered a religion to the young Augustine that promised to satisfy his deepest spiritual and intellectual aspirations—aspirations that remained much the same for Augustine the apostate from Manichaeism and new convert to Catholic Christianity.

Augustine's conversion is often understood as an event that took place in the Milanese garden and that represented a complete transformation of his life to that of a full-fledged Catholic with a solid understanding of the faith illumined by the neoplatonism of Ambrose and others of the Milanese church. One of BeDuhn's central arguments is that not only did Augustine undergo many conversions but also that his conversion in Milan, although a genuine conversion to Catholicism or Nicene Christianity, fell far short of a full intellectual grasp of the character of his newly found faith for at least a decade—that is, until the time at which he wrote the *Confessions*, which put a quite different spin on the events in Cassiciacum and Milan. BeDuhn clearly shows from the early works of the convert that his appropriation of Catholic doctrine was much slower than is often thought.

The chapter on Faustus is an excellent account of the form of Manichaeism held by the Manichaean bishop and shows how he combined a synthesis of skepticism and religious practice, which led Augustine toward Academic skepticism and back to his original Ciceronian inspiration that he had drawn from the *Hortensius*. BeDuhn offers many interesting and plausible conjectures—for instance, that Augustine's sudden departure for Rome was due to the implementation of new imperial decrees against Manichaeism and that having the weight of the law against him led him to rethink his commitment to that religion in Milan. BeDuhn also suggests that the fact that Augustine heard in the summer of 386 that an indictment had been issued against him in Carthage in the prosecution of Manichaeism may have led to his sudden retirement to Cassiciacum from his teaching position in Milan. In becoming a catechumen in Nicene Christianity, Augustine "took the path of least resistance, fitting into the dominant element in Milanese society, and

pleasing his mother" (p. 195). As BeDuhn sees it, it took Augustine a decade after the conversion scene in the Milanese garden to realize "what conversion would mean *for him*, to make of himself a 'Catholic' self" (p. 243; emphasis in original). Through an examination of Augustine's writing after his baptism up to the *Confessions*, BeDuhn persuasively argues that Augustine only gradually appropriated the central doctrines of Nicene Christianity, although the *Confessions* might seem to indicate that this was the achievement of a moment.

The present volume is the first in a series of three that the author has planned and leads the reader to eagerly anticipate its successors.

Marquette University ROLAND J. TESKE, S.J.

Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy. By David G. Hunter. [Oxford Early Christian Studies.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xix, 316. $50.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-199-56553-5.)

We have here a first-rate instance of the classical tradition of objective scholarship: Everything on the topic has been read, mastered, and put in its place; the bibliography is exhaustive, the index helpful, and the final product, inevitably, dull. The book might interest those, if any such still exist, who know nothing of fourth-century Catholicism—specifically, of Pope Siricius's overriding concern for clerical status, Ambrose's Mariological excesses, and St. Jerome's typically obnoxious—and derivative—defense of consecrated virginity. The point at issue was the superiority of consecrated virginity to marriage, which the Church continues to maintain, but Hunter in his academic straitjacket is unable to address this crucial question. He merely provides a scholarly consensus about the various positions assumed in "ancient Christianity," although, as befits a contemporary thinker, his sympathy is clearly on the side of Jovinian. As Peter Brown—whose name is never mentioned without Hunter's performing a mental genuflection—says, "Paul left a fatal legacy to future ages" (p. 89).

The opening chapter includes a description of the impressive ritual of baptism in the fourth-century Church, which Hunter convincingly presents as the origin of Jovinian's conviction that all forms of Christian life are equivalent. He also taught that, as baptized, Christians are secure from the devil's attacks, not obliged to fast, and assured of "one reward in the kingdom of heaven for those who have preserved their baptism" (p. 41). None of Jovinian's works is extant, of course, but references to them in Siricius, Ambrose, and especially Jerome render it relatively easy to reconstruct his argument. Hunter's scope, however, is too narrow. He could have made something of the Christian tradition, dating back to apostolic times, of the sinless ideal for all baptized, as is indicated, for example, by the history of penance.

Rejecting the attempts of Christian Cochini and Stefan Heid to trace obligatory clerical continence/celibacy to apostolic times, Hunter falls back on ritual purity to account for the "novelty" of legislated clerical continence at the end of the fourth century, but without examining in any significant way what ritual purity was—and is in Judaism and the Orthodox Church. (It also continued in full vigor in Catholicism until the pontificate of John XXIII, when it unaccountably disappeared.) Instead, he simplistically links it to the encratite suspicion of sexual activity as morally tainted. The essential point is bypassed, viz., that Christianity, like every other religion, is based on the conviction that the transcendent realm is real and, further, because of Jesus Christ can be anticipated even here on Earth by the spiritually adept, the "angelic life" of Matthew 22:30. The result in Catholicism has been a more-or-less moderate dualism, which has veered between an overemphasis on the transcendent at the expense of the here and now (the anti-Jovinians of the fourth century, *et alii*) and vice versa (Jovinian—and Hunter).

Toronto, Canada DANIEL CALLAM, C.S.B.

Medieval

The Divorce of Lothar II: Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World. By Karl Heidecker. Translated from the Dutch by Tanis M. Guest. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 227. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-801-43929-2.)

Christian marriage is now considered monogamous and indissoluble, but it was not always so. In this book Karl Heidecker argues convincingly that it was only with the highly publicized divorce of King Lothar II (855–69) that a clear standard for Christian marriage became established in the West. Heidecker is certainly not the first to see this divorce case as a turning point; both medieval and modern writers on the development of marriage have always referred to it, and the outpouring of letters, conciliar rulings, annals, and legal briefs at the time was large enough to fill an entire volume of the modern *Monumenta Germaniae Historica.* But Heidecker is the first to look at the case in all its complexity, as involving not just church law—which everyone at the time heatedly invoked, even though the existing law was often vague and inconsistent—but also secular law, the dicey question of who could pass judgment in cases like this, and especially political maneuvering, with all sides loudly adhering to and often indeed creating divergent principles to support their own positions.

Lothar II, great-grandson of Charlemagne, was king of the Middle Kingdom between France and Germany, later named Lotharingia in his memory. His problems began in 857 when he decided to divorce his wife, Theutberga, to marry Waldrada, his former mistress. Both the pope and Hincmar, the powerful archbishop of Reims, ruled such a divorce impossible. Immediately

Theutberga found herself accused of incest with her brother, and incest in an unnatural position at that, meaning Lothar *had* to divorce her. She managed briefly to return to her position as queen by proving her innocence by an ordeal, conveniently undertaken by a substitute, but the reconciliation was short-lived. Soon she appeared at a council confessing all, a confession many considered coerced and that she later repudiated. But Lothar's bishops accepted Waldrada as queen, with the new stipulation that Lothar had been betrothed to her before his marriage to Theutberga. The pope and Lothar's royal uncles briefly forced Lothar to take Theutberga back still once again. The furious charges and countercharges continued until Lothar's death in 869.

This book began as Heidecker's doctoral dissertation and was originally published in Dutch in 1997; he has revised and expanded it for the English edition. It is a delight to read, clearly argued and gracefully translated, and fully cognizant that we cannot create tidy categories of law and proper behavior and try to apply them to the people of the past. The bibliography includes the most recent relevant works of English- and German-language scholarship. As well as addressing the development of an ideal of marriage, Heidecker makes a number of thoughtful points about noble family structure and the role of both bishops and secular magnates in Carolingian governance.

A map, family trees, and lists of Carolingian kings make it easy to keep track of the large number of players. The word *player* here is deliberate, for Heidecker has constructed the story of the divorce as a drama in six acts—part tragedy and part farce. In doing so, he underscores how much everyone involved was performing a role as much as arguing a case; after all, how an argument was received depended on more than the words themselves. The drama metaphor also allows him to break the events down into units, where he summarizes and then analyzes what happened and who accused whom of what, thus making sense of what might otherwise appear a maddeningly tangled series of events. This book is a highpoint in the recent scholarly attention to the Carolingian era.

University of Akron CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD

Being a Pilgrim: Art and Ritual on the Medieval Routes to Santiago. By Kathleen Ashley and Marilyn Deegan. (Burlington, VT: Lund Humphries, an imprint of Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. 264. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-853-31989-4.)

Over the last few years there has been a huge resurgence of interest and publications on the history and art of the medieval pilgrimage. By far, the greatest number of books and articles have been written on the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela in northern Spain—the site associated with the Apostle James around which a cult developed as early as the tenth century. Many of these publications are of a scholarly nature and focus entirely

on art and architecture, while others are of a more personal nature and document the private journey. None have attempted to do what this beautifully produced book does, and that is to combine a popular and scholarly approach with the experience. In nine chapters the coauthors move the modern pilgrim through the medieval experience of the journey with the full realization that they are writing for a twenty-first century audience. It is, as they say, an attempt to relive the whole culture of the journey and not just the actual religious experience that it was.

The first chapter, which introduces the reader to St. James, his history, and his cult, is concise in its approach and nicely balances the modern perspective with extracts from medieval travelers' accounts—a particularly attractive approach that can be found throughout the rest of the volume and that will appeal to the specialist audience. The second chapter, which focuses on the geography of the pilgrimage, looks at the land routes and the many paths that could start in Paris or the southeast. The third chapter, which details the preparations for the journey, looks at rituals and superstitions, both medieval and modern. The fourth chapter is a novel perspective on the social and architectural experiences of the traveler, ranging over subjects from the hospice and town gate to the confraternities and thieves that the traveler would have encountered. It is a selective and nicely arranged sampling of some of the principal architectural elements on the routes. The fifth chapter, which looks at the cults of saints and the religious experience of the traveler en route, features a series of case studies ranging from Conques to St. Gilles du Gard. Another series of case studies—this time of conurbations—is the subject of the sixth chapter, "The Wonders of the Towns." The chapter deals with some of the major towns and cities on the route, from Poitiers to Melle. Only at this point—nearly halfway through the volume—are readers brought from France into Spain. It is slightly disappointing that there is such an imbalance between the French and Spanish material, given the generic nature of many of the chapter headings. The seventh chapter looks at the legends and folklore of the route, from Charlemagne to Roland, before we are brought into the music of the journey in the second last chapter. The ninth chapter firmly places the pilgrim in Santiago and moves seamlessly between the modern and medieval.

The division of labor is clear—one author undertook the text while the other took the many images—and this has led to a consistent work. Were it not for the quality of the text, this book could have been seen as a picture essay on the route. Despite the quality of some of the photographs, the book mostly reproduces the already well known, and it would have been interesting to have some of the smaller and lesser-known sites depicted.

It is a slightly deceptive volume in that the text is relatively short (with comparatively few footnotes), and the images are luxuriously printed in large formats, which, when combined, have produced a relatively thick book. It is engagingly written, finely balances the academic and the popular, and does

not fall between the two areas. This is a valuable contribution to the literature of pilgrimage.

Index of Christian Art COLUM HOURIHANE
Princeton University

The Life of Blessed Bernard of Tiron. By Geoffrey Grossus. Translated with an introduction and notes by Ruth Harwood Cline (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xxxiv, 177. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21681-2.)

From the early-eleventh century until about the middle of the twelfth, a powerful religious revival characterized by asceticism and eremitic withdrawal flared up in many places across Western Europe. Loose-knit colonies of hermits sprang up in the wastes and multiplied, sometimes attracting hundreds of recruits to an existence unconstrained by the bonds of normal society and to a lifestyle patterned on that of the desert fathers and mothers in its reliance on prayer, manual productivity, and God's natural provision. The leaders of this revival at the peak of its creativity (about the end of the eleventh century) channeled its resources into the creation of families of reformed monasteries, such as Citeaux, Fontevrault, Savigny, and Tiron. Blessed Bernard (*c.* 1050–1116), founder of the Tironian congregation, was one of the leading luminaries. Thirty years or so after his death, a monk of Tiron named Geoffrey Grossus wrote a hagiographic account of his life, which Ruth Harwood Cline has rendered in English for the first time in this very accomplished translation. Scholars who wish to check it against the Latin text (BHL 1251) in *Acta sanctorum*, April 2, cols. 222–55, will be pleased to discover that the conveniently short, numbered paragraphs of the two correspond.

Despite the great need for them, competent translators are rare and sometimes undervalued. Cline's work merits praise and gratitude as much for user-friendly footnotes and introductory commentary as for the labor of bringing unread Latin to a wider audience. Maps locate places noted in the text within the geography of modern France, and a timeline of significant events provides chronology constructed from cartularies. For the most part, the reader is expected to take this on trust, because Cline does not reveal the reasoning or sources behind every given date, but her introduction does at least highlight errors in Geoffrey's account and the artificiality of its structure (pedimental chiasmus centered on visits to the pope created a tidier pattern than any that Bernard's career could have followed). Regarding Geoffrey's account, Cline detects different voices in what is, nevertheless, a unified work. Regrettably little is said about Geoffrey and the purpose of his work, which is taken to be a dossier for canonization. Longer than most *Vitae*, it has an average share of curious anecdotes and insights, but its value lies in its particular perspective, which reflects what one might expect of a member of one of the new orders, writing in the 1140s. It contends, for example, that sanctity inheres in virtues

not miracles, while proving that Bernard possessed spiritual gifts such as prophecy and performed the occasional miracle just for good measure. It interprets Bernard's activities as an effort to restore divine reason to fallen, chaotic Creation. Thus Bernard subjugates appetites and unruly emotions to reason (pp. 110, 113), in line with Ciceronian and monastic ideals. Geoffrey also blended bits of St. Jerome's pastoral letters, St. Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis,* and the Benedictine Rule to paint a portrait of Bernard that unites the holiness of a desert father with the perspicacity of a patristic doctor; the austerity of a hermit with an abbot's solicitude for souls, like "a new Antony" (p. 80). His voluntary poverty, however, is essentially Christomimetic, and he ministers to Christ in the person of the poor (pp. 13, 33, 80). All these points of inspiration—eremitic, patristic, and Christomimetic—had jostled for attention during the soul-searching revival of the preceding century and invigorated Geoffrey's study of Bernard of Tiron. Thanks to Cline, students will be better placed to study that revival and the currents of thought that inspired the often overlooked Tironian congregation.

University of East Anglia TOM LICENCE

Sacred Violence: The European Crusades to the Middle East, 1095–1396. By Jill N. Claster. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. xix, 356. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-442-60060-7.)

On the eve of September 11, 2001, there were in print only three single-volume histories of the crusades written by scholars. Today there are dozens, with more published each year. When a new volume is produced, therefore, it is natural to wonder how it could differ from all of those that have come before. However, in scope, content, and execution Jill N. Claster's book really does offer something new. Although most authors provide an introductory chapter, Claster devotes two full chapters to setting the historical background of the medieval Near East and West. One might quibble whether it is necessary to stretch back to the second millennium BC to understand the crusades, yet there is no denying that Claster provides a solid foundation on which her reader can build. Throughout, she writes with energy and emotion, drawing the reader along step by step. At times this results in some awkward colloquialisms, such as "the Byzantine Empire by 1300 was totally down on its luck" (p. 301); yet in most cases it works well.

Unlike other modern histories, *Sacred Violence* provides no working definition of a crusade to inform its narrative. Claster does state that "[t]he underlying theme of this book is the quest for Jerusalem and the belief that Jerusalem was, and remained, central to the ideology of crusading. . ." (p. xix). At first glance this suggests a traditionalist approach; yet the book itself includes descriptions of crusades in the Baltics, in Spain, against heretics, and against the enemies of the pope at home. It also extends its coverage beyond the traditional date of 1291 to the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396. Claster con-

tends that this was a turning point, since Europeans were thereafter on the defensive against the Ottomans and neglectful of Jerusalem. Yet the Turks had invaded Europe almost four decades earlier, and no serious attempt to recapture the Holy City had been launched from Europe in well over a century. Nevertheless, an epilogue briefly continues the story until the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

One great strength of this book is the evenhandedness and empathy with which it approaches its subjects. There are no cardboard cutout villains or heroes here. Pope Urban II, who is often depicted in modern histories as cunning, deceitful, and avaricious, is here a pious, careful, and complicated man of his times. Claster correctly places the crusading movement within the context of ecclesiastical reform. Her crusaders are multifaceted, but, above all, motivated by a very medieval anxiety over the state of their souls. This same cautious, nuanced approach is employed elsewhere when dealing with Muslim and Byzantine actors too. The result is a refreshing narrative in which one can perceive real medieval people rather than modern agendas dressed in medieval garb.

This is not to say that the book does not occasionally fall back on shopworn generalizations. The Venetians, for example, are treated as merchants and sailors motivated only by greed: "Given the Venetians' later behavior on the disastrous Fourth Crusade (in 1204), it is difficult to cast them in a favorable spiritual light. They were, after all, for several centuries mainly distinguished by their immense fortunes" (p. 141). Of course, the French just as fiercely looted Constantinople in 1204 and would go on to amass even larger fortunes. Indeed, wealthy France would one day conquer impoverished Venice. Yet the "spiritual light" on the French continues to shine favorably here. Similarly, Claster resurrects the old characterization of Emperor Frederick II as a modern man of tolerance. Indeed, he "was exceptional in his understanding that Jerusalem was a holy city for Muslims as well as for Christians, and for that he was forever tainted in the eyes of the papacy" (p. 232).

The book closes with what has now become a standard "legacy" section. Claster competently provides a brief history of perceptions of the crusades in the West and Middle East, and how they have affected recent events. However, the real legacy of the crusades, Claster claims, is "the ideology of holy war": "We live today with the ideology of the Christian holy war just as Muslims live with the ideology of the *jihad*" (p. 317). Unfortunately, although Claster seems to have something in mind, she never explains how this ideology manifests itself. Is she suggesting that Christian holy wars are being waged today? Or does she intend to propose something else?

Despite these few problems, *Sacred Violence* remains one of the better histories of the crusades to be produced in the past several years. It is accessible, current, and a genuine pleasure to read.

Saint Louis University THOMAS F. MADDEN

The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus. Vol. IV: *The Cities of Acre and Tyre with Addenda and Corrigenda to Volumes I–III.* By Denys Pringle. Illustrated by Peter E. Leach. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 321. $195.00. ISBN 978-0-521-85148-0.)

The present volume concludes an enormous project to publish a corpus of all church buildings in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Reflecting work stretching from 1979 to the present, Denys Pringle has systematically surveyed, recorded, described, and analyzed the archaeological, historical, and architectural evidence for 489 churches together with extensive documentation; by contrast, Camille Enlart included fewer than fifty churches in *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: architecture religieuse et civile* (Paris, 1925–28). In volume IV, 121 churches are presented, including eighty-two from Acre and twenty-five from Tyre, the two most important port cities in the Latin Kingdom.

The entries for each church provide the fullest possible information, with a number of churches covered here for the first time; up-to-date archaeological details also are featured. Some churches are referred to only in written sources, but all of the churches for which there are archaeological remains are given photo documentation with newly prepared drawings based on careful fieldwork. Major churches receive appropriately large entries (St. John's church and hospital in Acre cover pp. 82–114; the cathedral in Tyre covers pp. 182–204). Among the great benefits of Pringle's presentations are his historical discussions based on exhaustive sources along with pre- and postcrusader history. Pringle's command of crusader ecclesiastical history is encyclopedic. For major entries, other material such as epigraphy and relics are discussed, and all entries give complete references for primary sources, maps, and secondary sources.

Pringle covered seventy-one churches in *Historic Acre as a Living City* (Acre, 2003); here, he documents eighty-two, second only to Jerusalem (with eighty-seven) in the Kingdom. Pringle states that his survey is offered as a further contribution to the development of a more clearly defined picture of medieval Acre. Without a doubt, his contribution marks a gigantic step forward both in terms of his identifications and documentation on the individual churches and his presentation of a reconstruction of medieval Acre overlaid on a map of the modern city (pp. 16–17). By clearly indicating the locations of documented churches and locating tentative sites for others for which no archaeological evidence has yet been found, his map far and away provides the most important attempt to envision the size of the city based on the newest archaeological evidence and the sites of all known churches in relation to other major structures in the thirteenth-century city. For Acre, Pringle uses an eight-digit reference for these site locations based on the Palestine or Old Israel Grid found in the survey of Israel maps. A number of these site locations are estimates, but remarkably well-informed estimates that only future archaeological investigation could confirm. But this map, which

appears to have two errors (Hospital of St. Lazarus location; St. Mary Magdalene at 1569.2509 is no. 434, not 435), and the associated entries will be exceptionally useful to every scholar of crusader-era Acre.

The Acre churches occupy the first 175 pages of the volume; pages 177 to 272 include the churches of Tyre. The entry on no. 484, *Baituniya*, as well as the entries on churches at Bait Jibrin, al-Bira, and Jezreel, are especially noteworthy. Tyre had fewer churches than Acre, of which the cathedral of the Holy Cross is the most important. Pringle's entry is, in effect, a monographic study of this building, which in the thirteenth century was the coronation church of the crusader kings. Today, remains of only two other crusader churches exist in the city.

Pringle's achievement in this volume and the previous three volumes is tremendous and truly admirable. He has provided exhaustive, documented, and perceptively analyzed crusader church material in a fully discussed historical context that will allow future scholars to interpret the unique character of crusader ecclesiastical architecture and its relationship to Byzantine, western European, and Levantine influences. Pringle has provided the definitive study for the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem with this exemplary publication project; now we need a comparable study for crusader churches in the county of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch, and the county of Edessa.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill JAROSLAV FOLDA

Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land. By Jonathan Riley-Smith. [The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 131. $25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-04058-1.)

Jonathan Riley-Smith, Dixie Professor Emeritus of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Cambridge, can reasonably be described as the most eminent, and almost certainly the most prolific, historian of the crusades now active in the field. He began his career a half-century ago with a PhD thesis at Cambridge on the history of the Hospitaller order, which appeared as *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus* (London, 1967), the first of more than a dozen books.

In *Templars and Hospitallers* Riley-Smith returns once again to the history of the two oldest and best-known medieval military orders, whose members combined the functions of monks and knights. His earlier studies of these organizations concentrated on their constitutions and their military roles in defense of the crusader states established in the Holy Land shortly after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. In this book, however, Riley-Smith concentrates instead on their roles as religious orders.

Historians of the crusades usually treat the two military orders as if they were virtually identical. Riley-Smith, however, stresses that they were unlike

each other in numerous ways. The Hospitallers originated sometime during the closing decades of the eleventh century. As their name suggests, they began as a nursing order whose members provided the best medical care available in the Holy Land. They staffed the hospital of St. John, the principal hospital of Jerusalem, as well as the Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans. Hospitallers also operated hospitals at Acre and elsewhere in the Levant, plus a few small ones in Western Europe. They cared not only for Christian patients but also for Jews and Muslims, whose dietary requirements they took pains to respect. The Hospitallers even provided a decent burial without charge for those who died while under their care. At some point early in the twelfth century—here, too, no precise date can be established, but the process seems to have started by the 1120s—the Hospitallers began to recruit not only nurses but also knights, at first to defend Christian pilgrims traveling in the Holy Land and subsequently in support of other military campaigns to defend the Latin States. They thus became a dual-purpose order, some of whose members ran hospitals and tended the sick, while others fought in battles. In addition, the Hospitallers also included in their ranks a significant number of women's convents, although Hospitaller nuns were seldom dispatched to the Holy Land.

The Templars, in contrast, were exclusively a military order. The knights predominated among their members, supported by considerable numbers of sergeants and some chaplains. Small numbers of women lived in a few convents affiliated with the Templars, although the knights never formally recognized them as members of the order. Unlike the Hospitallers, whose organizational structure evolved over time, the constitution of the Templars scarcely changed at all during the 200 years of the order's existence.

Riley-Smith maintains that the Hospitallers and Templars constituted the earliest religious orders, in the strict sense of that term, to appear in the medieval church, although one might argue that the Cistercians have a stronger claim than he acknowledges to that title.

Riley-Smith's *Templars and Hospitallers*, although brief, is yet one more of his significant contributions to the history of the crusades and the medieval military orders. It is a book that no one interested in these topics can afford to ignore.

University of Kansas (Emeritus) JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

Hugh of Saint-Victor. By Paul Rorem. [Great Medieval Thinkers.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 235. $27.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-195-38436-9.)

In the foreword to the latest volume in the series Great Medieval Thinkers Brian Davies, the series editor, feels obliged to explain that the author presented does in fact deserve the title of a great medieval thinker even though

he may be little known to a broader public due to the fact that only very few of his works have received a critical edition and even fewer a translation into a modern language. Paul Rorem's introduction into Hugh's œuvre is the first study in English that endeavors to give the general view of this author, which is the necessary prerequisite for any specialized study. Hugh's works have been most influential. More than 3000 manuscripts containing his works have been counted. His *De sacramentis* is a commentary on Scripture organized not along the biblical text but according to systematic principles: the works of creation and redemption before and after the Incarnation. Rorem justly identifies "salvation history" as the theological key to Hugh's work (p. 21). The organization of theological thought according to dogmatic principles provided a new quality compared to the preceding collections of sentences. As such it influenced two students at the Abbey of St. Victor: Peter Lombard and his *Sententiae* as well as Gratian and his *Decretum.* Unfortunately, Rorem only briefly mentions Hugh's predecessors such as Manegold, Anselm of Laon, Roscelin, and William of Champeaux, and his contemporaries such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter Abelard, and provides little information on their mutual relations. The much-debated subject of Jewish influence on Hugh is completely ignored. He abstains from placing Hugh's works in a chronological order (p. 12), and he does not mention the further complication that the manuscript evidence frequently points to two, three, or more editions of a single work all going back to Hugh's lifetime—with the exception of the *Notulae,* where he claims that Hugh "never prepared the whole for publication" (p. 53)—an interesting thesis for which evidence should have been supplied at least in the notes. Rorem chooses to organize the first chapters of his study ("Foundations") according to the succession of Hugh's works as we find them in the edition prepared by Abbot Gilduin of St. Victor after Hugh's death (p. 14). Unfortunately, he abandons this order in parts 2 ("The Framework of Doctrine") and 3 ("The Spiritual Finale"). In the first part, the chapter *On the Scriptures* is included, even though Rorem is aware that this work exists only in Abbé Migne's edition and neither in the Gilduin edition nor in the manuscripts (p. 53). It might have been interesting to rely on Gilduin's edition as a guide throughout. It certainly would have saved the *Commentary on the Celestial Hierarchy* from being treated only in the appendix—a placement that appears unfair for this most influential text.

The second part sketches Hugh's understanding of Christian doctrine by summarizing his teachings in *De sacramentis.* Twice (pp. 60 and 114) Rorem deplores the lack of a critical edition of the text, even though his bibliography (p. 217) mentions the edition by Rainer Berndt, S.J. (Münster in Westfalen, 2008), which obviously came too late to be used by the author. The third part groups together those texts that Rorem characterizes as "spiritual writings" (p. 50), with *De arrha anime* as the culminating point. Given that Rorem has to leave aside Gilduin's ordering of Hugh's writings to draw a line between doctrine and spirituality, the question arises whether the distinction is not a modern one alien to the twelfth century.

Perhaps some of the above remarks mirror more the specialist's concerns than those of the reader who looks for and certainly will find a general introduction and first insight into the vast field of writings by Hugh of Saint Victor. Rorem's book is praiseworthy precisely because it gives a helpful condensation of three volumes in the *Patrologia Latina*. Hopefully it will be the starting point for further interest in this remarkable theologian.

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RALF M. W. STAMMBERGER

Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of France, Queen of England. By Ralph V. Turner. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 395. $35.00 ISBN 978-0-300-11911-4.)

One of the most famous women of the Middle Ages, Eleanor of Aquitaine has no shortage of biographers. Their works fill American libraries, which hardly keep up with those multiplying in French. Ralph Turner knows what they say, especially with respect to "mythology" and what he calls the "black legend" (cover text) of a frivolous and licentious queen. But his real interest lies in the sources of knowledge, in stripping away such legends in quest of a more accurate Eleanor.

His results command respect. From a lifetime's research on Plantagenet ways and means, Turner has a sure hand in the evidence. His Eleanor is persuasive in three ways. She is the grand protagonist of a historic Poitevin civilization, ever insistent on its claims and her own inheritance. Second, she was, whenever possible, a working queen. Gaining experience alongside King Louis VII in the 1140s, she pressed King Henry II for the responsibility he soon learned to distrust or withhold. Repeatedly, his queen regained (as well as lost) her initiatives, to the extent of achieving virtual regencies after Henry's death in 1189. Third, and most successfully, Turner brings out the implications of Eleanor's astonishing stamina and longevity. Her support for Richard and John not only helped them through dangerous crises of power and succession but also exemplified her humanely maternal instincts (and energy) and her wisdom in old age. The "black legend" wholly misses the point, Turner justly concludes.

The strength of this book owes much to its author's conception of Eleanor's place in successive societies of power. Whether it is her paternal Aquitaine, her bridal France, or her long and troubled Angevin attachments, her life is set forth in its social contexts. The book is quite as much a history of courtly power as of personality; an alternative history—and a good one—of Henry II and his sons. Yet it is not quite, whether Turner sees this or not, a "political" history. He is sparing with this modifier, to his credit. Yet he retains it (e.g., p. 107), and he writes of "governing" throughout, while saying next to nothing about lordship. The book is wedded to an old and anachronistic con-

sensus that power in the twelfth century was like that in most modern societies: an experience of government and the state. Yet what Turner's evidence unfailingly shows is that Eleanor's ways with power look not at all like those of Eleanor Roosevelt. How is this to be made clear? Is it enough simply to allow that "government" and "politics" have ever-changing meanings in history? So many readers still seem content with this escape that criticism here is far from condemnation. So what was distinctive about Eleanor of Aquitaine's power? Because Turner says little about her experience of lordship and nothing at all of how this amounted to "governing," his book quite overlooks one of the most characteristic historical realities of her age.

Yet the author is impressively familiar with the primary sources. He is not very close to them, for his citations reveal a heavy dependence on secondary scholarship. This is, in fact, a virtue of the book, because the huge industry of modern work on Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Plantagenets renders hazardous any attempt to go it alone with sources. Turner deploys his evidence with skills born of experience. Perhaps his most remarkable success, even if achieved in a correct academic prose wholly devoid of rhetoric, is the exercise of historical imagination. Obliged throughout to place his subject in location or circumstance just where the evidence fails, Turner evokes Eleanor virtually day by day through a tumultuously historic lifetime.

Harvard University THOMAS N. BISSON

The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century. By John D. Cotts. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 322. $74.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21676-8.)

In this book, John Cotts offers a reassessment of Peter of Blois, who has been neglected and even derided by scholars as an uninspired compiler. Cotts rightly notes that despite his recent unpopularity, his letter collection was widely read for centuries after his death. The author embarks on a reassessment that hinges on interpreting Peter as a borderland figure, who "bridged gaps between symbol and system, between monastic and scholastic" (p. 15). A major theme throughout the book is anxiety, in this case the anxiety of a secular cleric who ultimately rose to the office of archdeacon, an office disdained by many of the reforming circles throughout the medieval Church (and considering some of its holders, not entirely unjustly).

In chapters 1 and 2, Cotts gives a biography of Peter, tracing his life from the schools of France and Italy to his service in episcopal and royal courts. He then introduces Peter's letter collection, which provides the evidence throughout the book for Peter's character and concerns. Looking at the letters he wrote for others and those he wrote in his own name, and comparing them to the collections of other contemporaries, Cotts provides a picture of Peter's world through a look at his "epistolary community" (p. 63). An appendix gives more details about theories regarding Peter's successive compilations.

Chapter 3 takes a closer look at Peter's formation in the schools, uses of legal and scholastic language, and shifting views on the value of secular learning. Chapters 4 and 5 then get to the heart of Peter's interests, underlining his attempts to define and defend the value of the secular cleric against the criticisms of his day. Cotts details his development of a theology, however incoherent, of service in the world and, in particular, of the need for clerics to use their learning to advise kings and defend the Church. Peter's writings on the ideal bishop give examples of this service, and he reserved his greatest praise not for someone like St. Thomas Becket but rather for more cooperative bishops like Baldwin of Ford and Walter of Coutances.

Finally, chapter 6 deals with Peter's other theological writings, in which he shows a growing concern with penance and the liturgy. The author also defends Peter against some of the charges of the derivative nature of his works, acknowledging that he borrowed but that he also uniquely internalized much of the language and piety of monasticism and diverted it for the uses of clerics in the world.

Most of the chapters are organized thematically, and indeed Cotts emphasizes that he is not writing an intellectual biography (p. 16). This does lead to material being revisited in such a way that at times the chapters read more like separate essays than chapters of a book. In other respects, *The Clerical Dilemma* is engagingly and lucidly written. Although Cotts does not entirely free Peter from accusations of being a compiler, he does show his subject's uniqueness in his approach to his office. As he uncovers the facets of this complex and contradictory individual, Cotts reveals the haziness of the borders between the simple categories with which Peter's contemporaries and many modern scholars interpret his world. This is a work that is valuable not only in that it helps re-establish Peter's reputation, but also in the different perspective it provides on the culture of the twelfth century, especially the oft-maligned culture of the secular cleric.

Our Lady Seat of Wisdom Academy RYAN FREEBURN
Barry's Bay, Canada

A History of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, 1182–1256: Samson of Tottingham to Edmund of Walpole. By Antonia Gransden. (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer. 2007. Pp. xxx, 354. $105.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83324-6.)

Intended as the first part of a two-volume survey of one of the greater Benedictine abbeys of medieval England, Antonia Gransden's history of Bury St. Edmunds in its golden age inevitably invites comparison with other such studies, most notably Barbara Harvey's ground-breaking volumes on the economy and domestic arrangements of the monks of Westminster. Whereas Westminster boasts an extraordinary wealth of obedientary and manorial accounts, Bury in the period 1180–1250 has bequeathed evidences equally rich but slanted more toward the historical and the liturgical, in particular the

Bury Customary of *c.*1234, and two great works of history: Jocelin of Brakeland's chronicle of Abbot Samson and the long anonymous history of the election of Samson's successor, Abbot Hugh. Taken en masse, these shed unique light on internal squabblings and rivalries within the monastic community. Gransden's survey reveals the full richness of the Bury sources, although much of the second half of her book is recycled from previous work, most notably from her introduction to the Customal that she first published in 1973.

Launching herself *in medias res*, with no attempt to trace the first two centuries of the abbey's existence, her book as a whole is perhaps better consulted, rather like the Bury sources themselves, as a series of self-contained *libelli*, dealing with such themes as election, liturgy, learning, or the economy, rather than as a coherent or comprehensive institutional history. Within these limitations there is much to admire. There are, for example, fascinating details on such topics as bells and bell-ringing; the monks' employment of minstrels, water clocks, windmills and ruby rings; the cult and profits of the Bury saints; the problems that arose from allowing Cistercians to legislate on the diet of unreformed Benedictine monks; and a whole host of other such things.

There is, however, a tendency to allow the tangential to run riot. Some of the most original and fascinating details are consigned to footnotes (for example, at page 156 on the contrast between monastic voting at St. Albans and Bury). There is rather too much of the simplicity of the dove and too little of the cunning of the serpent. For example, it could be argued that excessive credence continues to be afforded to Jocelin of Brakeland, despite Gransden's acknowledgment that Jocelin was capable of exaggeration or deliberate distortion. On those rare occasions when the testimony of Bury sources is called into question, as for example in respect to a writ of King Henry II here branded a forgery (on p. 54, in fact an almost certainly genuine mandate to the eyre justices of 1177), or the charter of Edward the Confessor granting free election here (pp. 155, 163) said to have left no trace before 1200 (in fact, "renewed" in a well-known and apparently genuine charter of Henry II of the 1150s), it is unfortunate that the questions themselves can seem misdirected. In setting out a wealth of detail, Gransden occasionally misses broader points. For example (p. 171), it is surely much more important to notice that Pandulf was the first bishop of Norwich to serve as papal legate and hence that Bury's immunity from diocesan supervision came under particular threat in the years around 1220, than it is to dwell upon the finer details of his dispute settlement. The fact that the abbey's sacrist (p. 211) played so significant a role in the ceremonial recognitions of the abbey's lordship over the town surely takes us back to the rise of a particularly powerful succession of sacrists in the twelfth century and even further back to the role of the sacrist as custodian of the shrine and hence as chief earthly minister of St. Edmund himself. Why continue blindly to trust Jocelin's account of the golden gifts

conferred by Eleanor of Aquitaine (p. 66), when Eleanor's own letters on this subject suggest that Jocelin's account is significantly warped? Even in the detail, there is some very careless proofreading.

No one knows the Bury source materials better than Gransden. Few people have done more to broadcast their significance. The second volume of her survey will be awaited with keen anticipation, tempered perhaps with the hope that she may acquire the assistance of rather more hawk-eyed editors.

University of East Anglia NICHOLAS VINCENT

Pope Celestine III (1191–1198): Diplomat and Pastor. Edited by John Doran and Damian J. Smith. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. ii, xvi, 370. $99.95; £60.00. ISBN 978-0-754-65671-5.)

This well-produced volume brings the career of Hyacinth Bobone into the light, featuring his distinguished career as papal diplomat as well as his role as Pope Celestine III—developing policies he inherited and passing them on enhanced to his successor. The work of able scholars, the book is enriched with abundant bibliography in the footnotes, illustrations, maps, and a thorough index. Anyone interested in twelfth-century Europe will find it valuable.

Anne Duggan surveys Hyacinth's seventy-year career in the service of the papacy, giving an especially detailed analysis of the politics of Italy during the reign of Emperor Henry VI, with Hyacinth making the best of a difficult situation. John Doran examines Hyacinth's life through an extended analysis of politics in Rome and its immediate environs throughout the twelfth century. He portrays Hyacinth as an effective and wise defender of papal interests, a considerate provider for Rome and its people, and a model for the policies of Pope Innocent III.

Damian Smith presents Hyacinth's work as a papal agent in Spain, with a lucid explanation of the complicated ecclesiastical and political competition created by the Christian reconquest. Although Hyacinth achieved little diplomatic success in Spain, Smith suggests that "the energetic, highly respected, purposeful Hyacinth" (p. 109) deserves some credit for the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa years later.

Pascal Montaubin shows that throughout Hyacinth's career, he had many close connections to France, notably his support for Peter Abelard and Gilbert de la Porrée, and his friendship with King Louis VII. Peter Edbury makes clear that because Celestine was unable to overcome the dominance of Henry VI, the competing forces in the Levant, and the intractable ambitions of the Spanish princes, he had little influence on crusades in either end of the Mediterranean.

Barbara Bombi asks how the Livonian mission became a crusade, noting that the distinction between military crusade and peaceful mission became blurred in Germany during the 1190s, as preachers sought support for both the Holy Land and Livonia. Torben Nielsen examines Celestine's involvement in the complicated political doings in the Scandinavian world, including King Philip II's rejection of Ingeborg. He concludes that Celestine was as well informed and as effective as Innocent III was in dealing with the area. Ana Marinković describes Celestine's intervention in ecclesiastical matters in Dalmatia, but notes that he did not deal with heresy there.

Anne Duggan rightly argues that anyone as active in curial affairs as Hyacinth was would inevitably gain some knowledge of canon law. Her analysis of Celestine's decretals supports her argument. Her valuable appendix provides the text of those decretals, in both Latin and English, indicating therein how the texts were truncated as they passed into the *Liber Extra*.

Claudia Bolgia offers a very scholarly, if very speculative, discussion of artistic works authorized by Celestine to preserve and protect relics, anticipating policies of Innocent III and Lateran Council IV. Marie Therese Champagne points out that, despite the apparently friendly relations between Celestine and the Jews of Rome, he made no effort to restrain the growing animosity toward Jews in France and elsewhere.

Regarding marriage, Constance Rousseau provides many examples to show that Celestine was a prudent and humane judge, but one determined to defend the sacramental and indissoluble character of marriage—even against the king of France. Regarding canonization, the late Michael Goodich provides many examples to show that as legate and as pope, Celestine played a substantial role in developing papal procedures for canonization.

Finally, Brenda Bolton argues persuasively that Celestine pursued the recovery of the papal patrimonium "as urgently and consistently as events permitted throughout . . . his pontificate," especially through cultivating strategically placed allies and through "visual propaganda" (p. 325).

Hofstra University (Emeritus) JOHN C. MOORE

Elisabeth von Thüringen und die neue Frömmigkeit in Europa. Edited by Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst. [Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zum Mittelalter und der frühen Neuzeit, Band 1.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008. Pp. ix, 349. $81.95. ISBN 978-3-631-56992-4.)

The sixteen essays in this collection originated in a 2007 conference held in Marburg to commemorate the 800th anniversary of the birth of St. Elisabeth of Thuringia (1207–31). The conference aimed to examine Elisabeth's caritative activity in the context of the "new piety" that emerged around the turn of the thirteenth century. This religious sensibility was asso-

ciated with radical notions of poverty, renunciation, and possibilities for laypeople to live as religious within the world. Some contributors consider this social and religious context, although most of the chapters engage with questions concerning the development of Elisabeth's cult and the reception and reworking of her image as a spiritual model in later centuries.

The editor opens the collection with a survey of the major themes and transformations in women's religious life during the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, sketching the spiritual landscape and the opportunities and influences it presented to women such as Elisabeth. Harald Wolter von dem Knesebeck also examines possible spiritual influences on Elisabeth in his careful reading of the images in two luxury Psalters produced for her husband's family, seeing in these models of renunciation and affective piety that may have shaped the spiritual formation of the young Elisabeth. The next two chapters consider how certain of Elisabeth's close contemporaries in eastern-central Europe interpreted her actions as a model for their religious expression. Christian-Frederik Felskau focuses on how Elisabeth's charitable activities were emulated and adapted by her aunt, Hedwig of Silesia, as well as her Přemyslid cousins Agnes and Anna; and Mirosław Mroz identifies parallels between Jutta of Sangershausen's eremitic life and her care of the poor and infirm in Poland with Elisabeth's charitable religious activity.

Several contributors explore the development of the hagiographic texts, iconography, and traditions associated with Elisabeth's cult. Two important contributions examine aspects of Elisabeth's veneration in liturgical contexts. Stefan Morent investigates the origins of the rhyming office *Letare Germania,* arguing for its likely source at the female Premonstratensian monastery of Altenberg, where Elisabeth's youngest daughter was a member. Annette Löffler turns to the liturgical commemoration of Elisabeth by the Teutonic Order, drawing on evidence from liturgical manuscripts to demonstrate the significance of her veneration for the spiritual identity of the order. Klaus Niehr discusses the speed with which narratives of her life and actions became established in visual models, with particular emphasis on the creation of an iconographic typology of her life in the earliest reliquaries. Monika Rener presents a reflective chapter on the interaction between hagiographic models and readers in what she refers to as a process of self-sanctification—an active patterning of one's life on hagiographic models—such as Elisabeth may have found, she suggests, in the *Life of Radegund*. Hans-Walter Stork examines recently discovered evidence of a little-known pilgrimage by Emperor Charles IV to Marburg in May 1357. Lothar Vogel offers a close textual comparison of the two versions of the testimony of her attendants in the so-called *Libellus de dictis quatuor ancillarum,* a text of significance for the development of her hagiographic tradition; and Stephanie Haarländer discusses how Elisabeth's earliest biographers reconciled her status as wife with that of holy woman.

The final group of five essays presents insightful and nuanced analyses into how the figure of Elisabeth as saint was represented and reworked in textual and visual traditions in later centuries. Kristin Böse focuses attention on how the legend of Elisabeth is depicted in two textiles embroidered in north German convents in the later fifteenth century, examining how the figure of Elisabeth was interpreted as a model of renunciation for these cloistered nuns. The black-and-white illustrations in this chapter are scarcely distinguishable, regrettably preventing the reader from fully following the author's visual analysis. Barbara Fleith and Martina Backes shift the reader's attention to the reception of Elisabeth's cult among female readers in France, arguing that the model of piety represented in French prose and verse legends of this saint held greater appeal for laywomen at court than enclosed nuns. Martin Schubert examines how the image of Elisabeth was represented in several German vernacular legends extending from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, Ulrike Bodemann traces how Elisabeth's piety was portrayed in three late-medieval picture cycles, and Klaus Knipf explores the context of two Latin lives of Elisabeth composed by German humanists in the early-sixteenth century.

This collection is a valuable contribution to the considerable research into the life and reception of Elisabeth of Thuringia. The quality of the contributions is very strong overall; the best of them engage closely with their material to arrive at new insights in their areas of concern. The volume demonstrates the value of finely contextualised local studies that expand our understanding of how individuals and communities drew on figures such as Elisabeth to articulate a sense of identity and express their place in the world. This volume will appeal to scholars with particular interests in gender and religion, hagiography, and practices of cultural transmission, as well as more broadly to readers interested in later medieval religious life and culture.

Australian National University, Canberra JULIE HOTCHIN

The Arts of Intimacy: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Making of Castilian Culture. By Jerrilynn D. Dodds, Maria Rosa Menocal, and Abigail Krasner Balbale. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 395. $40.00 clothbound; $24.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-300-10609-1 clothbound; 978-0-300-14214-3 paperback.)

The authors of *The Arts of Intimacy* describe their book as "less a work of original scholarship than a different narration of cultural history" (p. 7). Their declared aim is to make comprehensible to a general readership the extraordinarily complex process of cultural interaction that took place between the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim cultures of the Iberian Peninsula between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries, before a new Spanish identity—which preferred to draw a veil over the profound cultural hybridity that had gone before—came into being in the early-modern period. Taking as its centerpoint

the city of Toledo, the book illuminates this process of cultural cross-fertilization through the prism of the arts, architecture, and literature of the period. In seven highly readable chapters, each divided into a series of carefully crafted vignettes, the authors take the reader on an evocative and thought-provoking journey, and deploy their undoubted expertise in this field to excellent effect. The text is supplemented by an immensely useful range of inserts that provide information on key people, monuments, and texts of the period, from the Treaty of Tudmir to the Marinids. The book does not exactly break new ground, in that the subject matter will be familiar to specialists, but it impels the reader to reconsider key texts and monuments from novel and sometimes surprising perspectives. The analysis of Bab al-Mardum/Santa Cruz in Toledo and its transformation from Muslim mosque to Christian church is a notable case in point. It is pleasing to see that this cultural hybridity is not viewed through rose-tinted glasses, and the authors wisely do not suggest that the multicultural world of medieval Iberia was in any way a utopia of tolerance. The work is buttressed by an excellent bibliographical essay and extensive bibliography, as well as a chronology, genealogies, and a glossary of unfamiliar terms.

Inevitably, in a work of such broad scope, the emphases of the authors will not be to the liking of all. One could argue, for example, that the Jewish dimension—in particular, the role played by Jewish scientists, translators, and literary exponents—does not receive the attention it deserves. There are some other jarring notes. For example, the affirmation that the *Cantar de mio Cid* "celebrated the values of the late eleventh century" (p. 38) is questionable, since so much of recent scholarship has demonstrated that work's late-twelfth-century milieu. Furthermore, the chronology is littered with errors too numerous to list here.

Despite these cavils, *The Arts of Intimacy* will become essential reading for scholars and students of this period. Beautifully written and lavishly illustrated, the book represents a distinguished contribution to our understanding of the cosmopolitan world of medieval Iberia. Praise is also due to Yale University Press for offering such a splendid book at a very reasonable price.

University of Exeter SIMON BARTON

Defenders and Critics of Franciscan Life: Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming. Edited by Michael F. Cusato and Guy Geltner. [The Medieval Franciscans, Vol. 6.] (Leiden: Brill. 2009. Pp. xv, 255. $147.00. ISBN 978-9-004-17630-0.)

This volume consists of thirteen essays, which are divided into four sections: Franciscan Exegesis; Students and Scholars; Franciscan Critics and Critics of the Franciscans; and Franciscan Legacies. The essays were presented at an April 2004 conference held at Princeton University in honor of John V.

Fleming and revisited his classic study, *An Introduction to the Franciscan Literature of the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1977). Thus, the breadth of the material treated extends beyond the somewhat limiting title of the volume. This is duly noted in the editors' introduction: The essays "engage in a multifaceted exploration of the Franciscans' impact on medieval life and culture" (p. ix).

In the exegesis section (pp. 9–54) there are two essays: "Francis of Assisi, Deacon?: An Examination of the Claims of the Earliest Franciscan Sources 1229–1235" by Michael F. Cusato, and "Tobit's Dog and the Dangers of Literalism: William Woodford O.F.M. as Critic of Wycliffite Exegesis" by Alastair Minnis. The first focuses on a text by Thomas of Celano and the second on complicated biblical hermeneutic. The first moves forward discussion on whether or not St. Francis of Assisi was a deacon. The second examines John Wyclif's thought on biblical literalism.

The second section (pp. 55–104) is more focused. The first essay, "Franciscan Learning: University Education and Biblical Exegesis," by William J. Courtenay demonstrates how the mendicant orders "carried the principal weight of biblical instruction" (p. 59). The second essay, "Using, Not Owning—Duties, Not Rights: The Consequences of Some Franciscan Perspectives on Politics," by Janet Coleman revisits long-discussed questions. The third essay, "Langland and the Franciscans on *Dominium*," by Lawrence M. Clopper pursues the question of "perfect poverty," "*dominium*," and the necessities of life "that God out of his grace made . . . common to all" (p. 102).

The third and longest part of the book (pp. 105–94) has five essays. Three are on well-known topics: "William of St. Amour's *De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum*: A False Start to Medieval Antifraternalism" by Guy Geltner, "History as Prophecy: Angelo Clareno's *Chronicle* as a Spiritual Franciscan Apocalypse" by David Burr, and "Two Views of John XXII as a Heretical Pope" by Patrick Nold. The two other remaining essays open new areas: "Kicking the Habit: The Campaign against the Friars in a Fourteenth-Century Encyclopedia" by Penn Szittya and "'Si Sind All Glichsner': Antifraternalism in Medieval and Renaissance German Literature" by Geoffrey Dipple. In the former, the friars were criticized for undermining "productive labor as the foundation of society" (p. 171), and in the latter essay the friars were "identified as partisans of an unpopular papacy" (p. 192). Friars are troublesome.

The fourth and last section offers diverse topics. First, "*Imitatio Francisci*: The Influence of Francis of Assisi on Late Medieval Religious Life," by Lester K. Little investigates the influence of Francis on late-medieval religious life. The combination of images, which this essay integrates, is indeed remarkable. The second essay of this last section is on "Louis IX: Preaching to Franciscan and Dominican Brothers and Nuns" by William Chester Jordan. Who ever heard of Louis IX, king and saint, as a preacher? Did his affection for mendicant preaching orders lead him "to think of himself as something akin to them, a preacher himself"? (p. 233). And again, on preaching, there is the final

essay in the volume, "Preaching as Playwriting: A Semi-Dramatic Sermon of the Fifteenth Century," by Katherine L. Jansen. This essay brings the reader up to date on new studies on the performance of late-medieval preaching, especially as preaching became both spectacle and theater, through the popular Observant Franciscan friars. Ventriloquism helped. In fact, again in view of the diverse voices and ring tones heard throughout this entire collection of essays, a little ventriloquism will help the reader.

Saint Louis University J. A. Wayne Hellmann, O.F.M. Conv.

Early Modern European

The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People. Edited by Bridget Heal and Ole Peter Grell. [St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xii, 305. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66212-9.)

Insofar as Reformation studies have in the past been guided by grand syntheses, the focus has been on modernization, and especially on ways in which Protestantism has been seen as providing an impetus to modernization. As Bridget Heal remarks here, most scholars nowadays pursue their own paths, no longer feeling a need to respond to the grand syntheses. Hence this volume is intended to "counteract" the trend toward "fragmentation" by providing "a broad perspective on the impact of the European Reformation" (p. 1). But a broad perspective may simply display the centrifugal tendencies instead of counteracting them, and that is largely the case here.

Three of the essays do address elements of the modernization thesis in one way or another. Luise Schorn-Schütte (chapter 5, "The 'New Clergies' in Europe: Protestant Pastors and Catholic Reform Clergy after the Reformation") surveys recent literature and concludes that overall trends were largely similar in both religious camps: Clerics were not only more educated; they were also more and more likely to come from bourgeois households. In effect, Max Weber's Protestant-inspired modernity here gives way to the "confessionalization" thesis, according to which rival churches worked in tandem to change the outlook and behavior of ordinary believers. Christopher Haigh (chapter 6, "The Clergy and Parish Discipline in England, 1570–1640") argues, as against the distinction that Margo Todd has recently made between the Kirk of Scotland and the Anglican Church, that ministers and churchwardens in England worked effectively and largely behind the scenes to maintain parish discipline. More interestingly, and against his own previous understanding of things, he contends that anticlericalism is a constant in religious history, rising to prominence "sometimes and in some places" largely in response to "clerical sensitivty to criticism" (p. 125). Alexandra Walsham (chapter 10, "Sacred Spas? Healing Springs and Religion in Post-Reformation Britain") shows how Protestant writers came to accept and promote many of

the holy wells of pre-Reformation Britain, not because of their association with popish saints, but because their waters were found to contain minerals thought to have curative power. There was thus a connection between Protestantism and desacralization, but not in the simple way that has often been proposed.

Five other essays are worth citing as fine examples of Reformation scholarship done well, each in its own sphere. Tom Scott (chapter 1, "Hubmaier, Schappeler and Hergot on Social Revolution") shows that for the radical thinkers in question, there were indeed circumstances in which Christians might legitimately seek to overthrow the existing order. His larger point is that there was a "continuum" (p. 17) between these ideas of social revolution and the idea of resistance to tyranny as propounded by leading Reformers, notably Ulrich Zwingli. Kevin Gould (chapter 4, "The Contest for Control of Urban Centres in Southwestern France during the Early Years of the Reformation") begins *in medias res*, at a point when Catholic and Huguenot parties were already at daggers drawn in many cities of the southwest. The essay shows how Huguenot assaults on centers of power and control were thwarted in towns where leading Catholics were able to fashion a new kind of solidarity by drawing together co-religionists from many different social ranks. Michael Graham (chapter 8, "Kirk in Danger: Presbyterian Political Divinity in Two Eras") adopts the novel strategy of comparing the political engagement of ultra-Presbyterians among the Scots clergy in the 1590s and the 1690s. By doing so, he shows both the emergence of a historical memory within the Kirk and the continuity of clerical views on the Crown's duty to true religion. Margo Todd (chapter 9, "Fairies, Egyptians and Elders: Multiple Cosmologies in Post-Reformation Scotland") offers a variant on the caveat that has often accompanied studies of Scotland's thorough-going Calvinist Reformation. Even among the educated, faerie belief persisted into the eighteenth century, in part, she suggests, because the capricious power of these nature-spirits offered an explanation for family tragedies that the Kirk could not explain. Finally, Andrew Pettegree (chapter 12, "French Books at the Frankfurt Fair") provides interesting comment on the titles of 302 French-language books on offer at the Frankfurt fairs, from a twenty-five-year run of catalogues published in Augsburg. His appendix gives the titles, some 10 percent of which represent books of which no extant copy is known.

University of Minnesota (Emeritus) JAMES D. TRACY

The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany. By Susan C. Karant-Nunn. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 342. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-195-39973-8.)

Susan Karant-Nunn has undertaken a comparative study of the role of emotion or feeling in the religious experience of Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists in early-modern Germany. She relies mostly on sermons preached

at times when religious emotions were most likely to be aroused: observances of Holy Week and pastoral care of the dying. She defines her subject simply: It is about the use of preaching to shape the religious experience of people through rhetorical appeals to their emotions. The great Catholic preachers exploited the emotions surrounding the Passion of Christ, describing his suffering in great detail. The goal was to inspire hearers not just to meditate on the Crucifixion but also to experience vivid religious emotion—to shed tears. Such preaching went back to late-medieval sermons; it continued in the sermons of later figures, especially Jesuits and Capuchins; and it made a major contribution to the restoration of Catholic religious life in Germany. In addition to their stress on the gruesome details of Jesus' Crucifixion, Catholic preachers exploited traditional veneration of the Virgin Mary to arouse their hearers' feelings. Karant-Nunn notes many ways in which Protestant religious practice turned away from these traditions. Yet her Protestant preachers also strove to stir the emotions. Elements of continuity with medieval religion are most obvious in Lutheranism. Although Martin Luther criticized efforts to arouse weeping, he approved use of sermons to stir up feelings of religious commitment. Lutheran sermons avoided detailed description of the suffering of Christ; they shifted attention from the Passion to the redemptive power of Christ's death and resurrection. References to Mary's sorrows were much diminished. But Lutherans did not mount a radical attack on tradition. Emphasis shifted from the events of Holy Week to the salvific death and resurrection of the Savior. When Karant-Nunn turns to Calvinist preaching, she faces greater difficulty. Calvinists broke far more sharply with traditional religious practice. This is no new discovery, as she admits. But she demonstrates that beginning with Calvin himself, Reformed preachers turned away from the details of Christ's Passion and emphasized the decisive effect of Christ's self-sacrifice for the redemption of the elect. The Virgin Mary almost disappears from Calvinist sermons. The Calvinist preacher still seeks to stir the hearers' emotions, but the main goal is to arouse shame for the human sins that render all individuals incapable of salvation except through God's eternal election.

Several chapters pursue the use of emotions in particular situations: attacks on the Jews as perpetrators of the Crucifixion, use of traditional devotion to the Virgin Mary to stir the emotions, and pastoral care for the dying. Chapter 7 raises the difficult question of how to gauge the success or failure of clerical efforts to touch the emotional core of religious experience. This is the most speculative section, since Karant-Nunn has no broad body of quantifiable sources and must resort to a handful of case studies based on writings that may be sincere but inevitably are the work of members of the privileged and articulate classes. Her analysis of these spiritual writings is thoughtful and sensitive, but at best, her conclusions from them can be only tentative. This book does not claim to present a full treatment of its vast topic, but Karant-Nunn is a hard worker and a shrewd analyst of her sources. Her book is a valiant, even daring, expedition into the spiritual world underneath the theo-

logical debates, colloquies, political schemes, wars, and treaties that in the past have filled the pages of most histories of the German Reformation.

University of Missouri (Emeritus) CHARLES G. NAUERT

Living with Religious Diversity in Early Modern Europe. Edited by C. Scott Dixon, Dagmar Freist, and Mark Greengrass. [St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xiv; 301. $114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66668-4.)

This well-made volume contributes to current critiques of early-modern Europe: the age of confessionalization and the rise of toleration. As generalized in the very good introduction by C. Scott Dixon, it aims to understand how religious culture was fashioned less through orthodoxy, discipline, and command than through negotiation, adaptation, and resistance.

The main weight of the volume lies in the Netherlands and the German lands. A masterful overview by Willem Frijhoff ends with the insight that the secularization of eighteenth-century Dutch public life laid foundations for reconfessionalization of religious groups in the nineteenth century (largely true also of post-Napoleonic Germany). It is followed by Wayne te Brake's study of the culture and geography of secrecy and dissimulation that protected such minorities as Calvinists in Catholic Flanders, Irish Catholics in conquered Wexford, and Anabaptists in the Bernese Emmental and Judith Pollmann's searching exploration of why Dutch Catholics responded to militant Calvinism so much more passively than did French Catholics.

Two chapters treat mixed marriages. One by Dagmar Freist explores a religiously mixed district of the eighteenth-century prince-bishopric of Osnabrück and finds that people learned over time that a detailed marriage contract was their best guarantee against intramarital religious conflict. The other by Benjamin J. Kaplan examines Reformed-Catholic marriages in eighteenth-century South Holland in the late 1730s. It finds that while husbands wielded greater power in mixed marriages, neither they nor their wives succumbed to efforts of clergy, relatives, or anyone else to coerce them. A third, complementary study by Bertrand Forclaz finds in eighteenth-century Utrecht a progressive crystallization of confessional belonging but also a prevalence of family solidarities over religious division.

Six diverse studies round out the volume. Their central themes are the importance of aristocrats, many of them Lutheran converts, to popular Catholicism in the Viennese Counter-Reformation (by Karl Vocelka); the minimal effect of noble conversions and reconversions on the confessions (by Keith Luria); elaborate altarpieces in Lutheran Transylvania that celebrated in an anti-Calvinist spirit the Passion of Christ (by Maria Crăciun); the compatibility of lay Protestant religion with belief in fairies (by Peter Marshall); the minimal impact on generally conciliatory local relations between English

Protestants and Catholics of Protestant writers' use of metaphors of disease and corruption for anti-Catholic purposes (by Alexandra Walsham); and the journey of a young Württemberg prince to France in 1608–09 as an opportunity to display the Lutheran faith there, although in fact little evidence is adduced of the prince's public display of his faith (by Dorothea Nolde).

The spirit of this excellent volume is well characterized in Mark Greengrass's afterword: "There was no high road to toleration, signposted from the Reformation, but only a set of muddy and winding streets, most of them not one-way" (pp. 283–84).

University of California, Berkeley THOMAS A. BRADY JR.

Expositions of the Psalms: Enarratio Psalmi 38, De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia; Enarratio Psalmi 14, Qui est de puritate tabernaculi sive ecclesiae christianae. By Desiderius Erasmus. Edited by Dominic Baker-Smith; translated and annotated by Carolinne White and Emily Kearns. [Collected Works of Erasmus, Vol. 65] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2010. Pp. xxvi; 299. $110.00. ISBN 978-0-802-09979-2.)

This volume is the third and final work of Erasmus's expositions of the psalms in the Collected Works of Erasmus (CWE). It displays the same care, accuracy, and elegance scholars have come to expect of all volumes in CWE. Like volumes 63 and 64, this one follows the chronological order in which Erasmus published these works (unlike the Leclerc [LB] and Amsterdam [ASD] editions of Erasmus's *Opera Omnia*, which follow the Psalms sequentially). Dominic Baker-Smith provides a thoughtful introduction to the three psalms, referring readers to his (excellent) introduction in volume 63 to understand "the full range and the implications of Erasmus' engagement with the Psalms" (p. xi); Carolinne White and Emily Kearns give insightful introductions to their respective pieces.

Of singular importance in Erasmus's expositions of these psalms is the access they give to the author's spiritual yearnings and theological developments; to the effects of the demands and attacks continually made on him; and to the changes in his outlook on the tumultuous world of Reformation Europe in the five years before his death in July 1536, when he still harbored hope for a theological accommodation with groups at odds with the Roman Church. As the editor puts it, "These three works represent his final thoughts on the great crisis facing western Christendom, but they are thoughts which have to be understood within a particular phase of the response to the Reformation" (p. xii). Erasmus still placed hope in a council; short of that, in an assembly of right-minded men who, in good faith, might reach a compromise acceptable to all interested parties.

The free flow of ideas in Erasmus's *enarrationes* brings us to the heart of his biblical-humanist spirituality. Expounding Psalm 38, published in 1532, he

pours out his inner life and anguish in meditative instruction for readers. He interprets the words of the psalm as a metaphor of the Christian who, although chastised publicly, refrains from lashing back at accusers and detractors, learns to control his responses so that they be productive of Christian community, and—in respect to this moment of the Church's crises—finds the patience to listen with an open heart to the other's teachings. Aware of how intense theological disputes tend to flare up instantly, Erasmus pleads for restraint, prayerful reflection, and irenic and charitable responses.

Erasmus's *enarratio* of Psalm 84, commonly known as "On Mending the Peace of the Church" (*De sarcienda ecclesiae concordia*), published in 1533, responds to requests from friends to draw up proposals for bringing about church unity at a time "so fertile in schisms" (p. 135). Erasmus urges readers to stay united: "if we seek real peace of mind, let us remain in the tabernacle of the Lord of hosts and stay in the unity of the Catholic church …' (p. 171); he begs God that "we may lay aside our differences of opinion and feeling, and, be in agreement in the same mind and the same opinion …" (p. 197). In conclusion, Erasmus offers proposals for mending the Church, pleading that differences in practices, teachings, views, and traditions be allowed until a council pass final judgment.

Erasmus's exposition of Psalm 14, *On the Purity of the Tabernacle or of the Christian Church*, published in January 1536 and dedicated to a customs officer at Boppard am Rhein, sees in its Christological interpretation a statement on Christian piety that does not reject all external forms of worship but ensures that such practices are "restored from superstition to piety" and that the "mind [be] made pure through faith and innocence and prepared by love to treat everyone well" (p. 263). Again, this exposition reinforces Erasmus's view that unity must mark the members of Christ's church; despite the vast disagreement over theological issues and religious practices, each Christian "must not depart from the holy mountain of God on which the true church is built" (p. 246). Erasmus's interpretation of these three psalms captures uniquely and most vividly his personal circumstances, spirituality, and theological vision at the end of a truly remarkable life. The editor and translators deserve high commendation for their work.

Mount Holyoke College FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS

Katerina's Windows: Donation and Devotion, Art and Music, as Heard and Seen through the Writings of a Birgittine Nun. By Corine Schleif and Volker Schier. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Pp. xliv, 579. $110.00. ISBN 978-0-271-03369-3.)

Research on women's patronage of religious art has emphasized its more "creative" angles. *Katerina's Windows* also illuminates essential, but less glamorous, aspects. In 1516 a Nuremberg widow, Katerina Imhoff Lemmel (1466–1533), entered the Birgittine abbey of Maria Mai. Lemmel brought not

only substantial wealth but also experience in the commercial ways of the world. Religious superiors let neither go to waste.

Lemmel had scarcely settled in before the abbess made her the equivalent of today's church development officer. Sixty surviving letters reveal how this resourceful woman forged chains of influence linking her convent to the world. Hans Imhoff, her cousin and recipient of the letters, emerges as Mai's indispensable (and long-suffering) "gofer" beyond the wall.

Lemmel's first letter asks for money; later ones ring unremitting changes on this numbing refrain. By her second letter she is apologizing: "I am happy to see that you too have become a beggar, so you will not look so disapprovingly at my begging. See how it is with holy poverty!" (p. 127). By letter 6 she is also apologizing for constantly importuning poor Imhoff, but reassures him, "I believe you soon will have less to do" (p. 141). Exactly the opposite proves true. "Dear Cousin, don't be frustrated with all the trouble that we put you through" (p. 261) becomes a counterpoint to Lemmel's pervasive, mendicant theme.

After nearly three years Lemmel remarks, "Dear Cousin, you write that I should relieve you of some responsibilities, which is only right" (p. 321). But the indomitable Birgittine does not change her tune. When another cousin dies, she hustles for a handout. "If you are an executor, then I wanted also to come begging to you and ask if you could not have something come our way. . ." (p. 346). And she plays that well-worn convent trump card: ". . . because we are also to be counted among the poor and homeless, being locked up in one of these poor monasteries. . ." (p. 346).

Lemmel's persistent tactics were essential—and worked. Within three years new stained glass (hence, the book's title) adorned the abbey, thanks to Lemmel's generosity and dunning letters to relatives. The delicate processes of gift solicitation, commissioning, and creation of the windows constitute the book's most illuminating aspects, with details on glass painting and patrons' roles in choosing subject matter. Lemmel urges relatives "not [to] decide on the images without having a look at the Passion of Our Dear Lord and the Sorrows of the Virgin Mary" (p. 278). What must the cousins have thought when Lemmel promptly looked their gift horses in the mouth? Their new windows did not encourage [spiritual] "desire," and "where our beloved Lord is crowned—he sits there like a fat priest!" (p. 321).

But by 1526, the fruits of Lemmel's labors lay in ruins. With unmatched narrative intensity, a *Chronicle of the Peasants' War* from Mai's House Book vividly describes the 1525 uprising (a useful excerpt for undergraduate reading lists). Children chant on the hillside, "You must leave this place and get out of here" (p. 402), as nuns watch from attic windows. Beating drums in the distance and pikes menacing above the abbey wall presage imminent attacks. As the nuns sing Mass, peasants loot convent treasures secreted in the garden, and shout, "Stop your howling. We have had enough of it!" (p. 406). They leave

behind decapitated crucifixes; statues thrown in manure heaps; and, of course, broken windows.

Like many antiquarians' rambling chronicles, the book's encyclopedic commentary on Lemmel's letters leads readers off the primary path onto many a byroad, some more pertinent than others. The authors, however, opted for "full-sized windows of our own, . . . rather than resort to the tedium of footnotes or the hubris of an all-engulfing narrative into which excerpts, selected and extracted from the sixteenth century, would be carefully transplanted" (p. xxxviii). The commentary's tendency to paraphrase each document requires readers to cover the same material twice and challenges them to ferret out the useful amid the redundant and marginally relevant. The prolixity separating letters can also obscure the primary sources' continuity. But since letters and commentary appear in contrasting typefaces, readers can follow Lemmel's words on their own—a productive, alternative strategy that the authors in fact suggest.

Washington University in St Louis CRAIG A. MONSON

John Calvin and Roman Catholicism: Critique and Engagement, Then and Now. Edited by Randall C. Zachman. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. 2008. Pp. 224. $26.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-801-03597-5.)

The relationship between Catholicism and the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century remains a point of debate and discussion. The last generation has witnessed a welcome and positive warming of the relationship between Catholicism and the Reformed churches. But what of the historical legacy of John Calvin himself? Does not the figure of the Genevan reformer cast a shadow over this emerging relationship? If Jerome Bolsec, one of Calvin's earliest and most critical biographers, is to be believed, Calvin was an arch-heretic whose obvious theological failings were made even worse by his deplorable personal habits. Not only did Calvin bed just about every married women in Geneva; he was also a notorious sodomite.

This excellent collection of essays by Protestant and Catholic scholars will help lay such stereotypes to rest. The papers, originally delivered at a 2007 conference at the University of Notre Dame, cover a good range of historical and contemporary issues, and represent a balanced and scholarly account of occasionally tendentious topics. The opening chapters deal with the historical context of the conflicts between Calvinists and Catholics. In an excellent account of early Roman Catholic lives of Calvin—including Bolsec's masterpiece of historical spin—Irena Backus helps us understand the context that generated these highly critical works. The late George Tavard and others explore case studies that illuminate the specific historical circumstances, showing how local political concerns often exacerbated existing religious tensions. Charles Parker offers a particularly thoughtful essay on Calvinism and Catholicism in the Dutch Republic, noting the factors that both encour-

aged co-existence and called it into question. These essays demonstrate how the critical study of the past can cast light on the present, not least by allowing us to understand the intellectual complexity of past debates and tensions that are too easily described reductively as "religious."

The three final chapters turn to deal with explicitly theological issues. Carlos Eire offers a fine paper on Calvin's critique of idolatry, seeking to identify the theological basis of his concerns. For Eire, the origins of idolatry lie not in Satanic deception, but in the fallibilities and failings of human nature. Eire's attempt to locate Calvin's relationship to Catholic thought on this issue is interesting and ought to generate some good discussion. Randall Zachman, the editor of the volume, offers a provocative assessment of Calvin's ecclesiology. In addition to documenting shifts in Calvin's doctrine of the church and its structures, Zachman offers somewhat more speculative reflections on the pressures that may have led to these. Although the evidence is less than compelling, Zachman argues that Calvin's changed ideas may have resulted from dialogue with Catholics. Finally, Dennis Tamburello provides an evaluation of Calvin's sacramentality, especially in his doctrine of creation. Interestingly, Tamburello begins his discussion of this topic with an account of twentieth-century concerns over this question within Catholicism and Protestantism, before turning to Calvin for possible illumination. This fruitful reflection on the visible self-disclosure of God is itself an important indication of how useful Calvin can be to contemporary reflection on theological themes by both Catholics and Protestants.

These essays are both a testimony to the excellent state of Calvin scholarship, especially within the Catholic Church, and an important resource for the constructive engagement of the past. If these authors are right, the theological debates of the past need no longer be the cause of ecumenical friction. They might even become a source of intellectual enrichment.

King's College, London ALISTER E. MCGRATH

Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe. By Stuart Carroll. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 345. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-199-22907-9.)

Few families have been as vilified as the Guises, but in this book Carroll sees them more as the martyrs in the title than murderers. His focus is squarely on the two generations active from 1550 to 1588; he has little on the founding generation in France—Claude and Jean, who established the pattern of the eldest brother serving as the duke of Guise and the second serving as a cardinal. A cadet branch of the House of Lorraine, the Guises claimed descent from Charlemagne and had extensive interests in the Holy Roman Empire. When Claude's eldest child, Marie, married James V of Scotland and gave birth to Mary, Queen of Scots, the Guises broadened their interests to Scotland and England, since Mary stood high in the English line of succession.

Carroll emphasizes their vast ambitions through the chapter "Dreams of Empire," which deals largely with their efforts to place Mary on the English throne but also their labors to increase their holdings in France and the empire.

The Guises were so successful, Carroll asserts, because of their amazing family solidarity. The many siblings and cousins in the two generations under study worked exceptionally well together. Again and again, Carroll notes family meetings held to determine their way on issues. The presence of matriarchs Antoinette de Bourbon and Anne d'Este was equally important to family unity. Antoinette, Claude's widow, with her "austerely pious" (p. 5) dedication to traditional Catholicism and mores, set the tone for the family for more than thirty years. It was the Guises' commitment to Catholicism that was most responsible for the vilification that they received, but Carroll demonstrates that the Guises were flexible in religion. Many clients were Protestants, as were several spouses; Anne d'Este, wife of Duke François, was raised Protestant. Cardinal Charles de Lorraine is presented as believing that "the true allies of the Gallican reformers were the Lutherans rather than the Pope" (p. 157). Only after his hope for compromise with the Protestants was dashed at the Colloquy of Poissy and the Council of Trent did he accept conservative Catholicism.

François de Guise is notorious for the Massacre of Wassy (1562), but Carroll gives a nuanced discussion of the event, showing Antoinette's role with her complaints to her son about the Protestants in the village, and absolves François of premeditation, stressing his shock at hearing bells at an inappropriate time. The author overstates it as "one of the great transformative events of European history" (p. 12). The elements of religious war were already in place; had Wassy not touched it off, another event would have. The episode was responsible for the duke's assassination a year later by a Huguenot. Carroll provides a detailed account, demonstrating that it was murder, not simply Guise's death at a siege. Under torture, the assassin implicated Admiral Gaspard De Coligny, but then recanted the accusation. The author notes that Coligny admitted paying the assassin to spy on Guise, a fact that is rarely mentioned in works on the era. Convinced that Coligny was responsible, the Guises sought revenge on him, which they achieved during the St. Bartholomew's Massacre in 1572. Carroll examines the possible motivations of all implicated parties and concludes that the Guises would not have dared to act without the approval of at least one member of the royal family; whether it was Catherine de'Medici or Henry, duke of Anjou (later Henry III), he cannot say. He points out that Henri de Guise provided protection to several Huguenots after Coligny's death.

The book moves quickly through the next sixteen years until the deaths of Henri and Louis, his brother and cardinal of Lorraine, at Henry III's order in December 1588. Carroll downplays the extent to which the Guises were allied with King Philip II, but does little to enlighten their role in the Catholic

League. A brief epilogue carries the story to the family's extinction in 1675. There are a few errors. One involves the statement that royal debt of 100 million *livres* in 1576 was ten times that of 1559 (p. 227), but the debt in 1559 was around 43 million *livres*. Second, Philip II had two daughters, not one, with Elisabeth, his French wife (p. 258). Scholars should want more notes in a book that mines primary sources extensively, but it includes several fine maps and genealogical tables.

Carroll states that he thought he had finished with the Guises after publishing his earlier work on the family, but his editor persuaded him to write this one. Historians of sixteenth-century France must applaud his editor. There is more to be said about the Guises, especially those of the first and third generations, but this book is not likely to be supplanted anytime soon.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

The Catholic Imaginary and the Cults of Elizabeth I, 1558–1582. By Stephen Hamrick. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. viii, 232. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66588-5.)

Stephen Hamrick explains that his objectives in this study are to demonstrate the influences of Catholic worldviews on English "shorter poetry" and to trace how different poets employed representations of Catholicism within the Petrarchan cults of Elizabeth during the first half of her reign. From this, it is evident that his study is a work of literary criticism that (as he readily admits) is deeply indebted to Louis Montrose. Like Montrose, Hamrick takes a historicist approach in re-situating Petrarchan literatures within their original religious and cultural contexts. Also like Montrose, Hamrick accepts the existence of cults of Elizabeth that, although unstable and potentially contradictory, were nonetheless part of the ideology operated by the political nation. The novelty of Hamrick's study is that he is looking at lesser-known texts of the early-Elizabethan period. At the same time, he is employing the theoretical apparatus of cultural-anthropologists to a much greater extent than do others.

Although Hamrick's interdisciplinary approach is laudable, it also creates some problems for readers who are historians. His use of literary or anthropological jargon sometimes obfuscates and often jars: to take one example, when discussing the impact of Elizabeth I's famous walk-out during the Christmas Mass of 1558, Hamrick concludes that "the cognitive dissonance created by her actions achieved much the same type of defamiliarization and symbolic or structural disaggregation characteristic of liminal rituals" (p. 24). Another problem is that in his hands, historical events sometimes take on meanings that were unlikely to have been understood or appreciated by contemporaries. When describing the same incident, he calls Elizabeth's action her appropriation of the Mass, in that she became "a kind of invisible pres-

ence which her subjects take into their thoughts for contemplation rather than contemplation of Christ in the Host" (p. 23). By talking about her behavior, Elizabeth's subjects were, moreover, metaphorically taking Elizabeth into their mouths as they would consume the sacrament (p. 230).

That being said, Hamrick's study is strong in the range of texts it discusses and for setting them within their political and religious contexts. In chapter 2, Hamrick brings out effectively the uncertainties of the early 1560s, when Catholic practices continued and the succession issue remained undecided, and puts up a good case that these concerns formed the background to a range of writings, but especially Barnabe Googe's *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets* (1563). This miscellany he generally interprets as an ideological critique of Catholic practices, spectacles, and the Elizabethan cult at court, while the malevolent figure of Coridon, he argues, refers to Robert Dudley. In chapters 3 and 4 Hamrick turns to the 1570s and in particular the poet George Gascoigne. Gascoigne, explains Hamrick, stood out from the many Protestants who attacked Italianate, erotic literature in a courtly discourse that they perceived as Catholic in its values and sensibilities. By contrast, Gascoigne "re-engaged the cults of Elizabeth" (p. 84) and transferred traditional pieties "through the Catholic imaginary" to those cults (p. 86). This he did during a period of heightened anti-Catholicism induced by the Northern Rebellion, papal excommunication, and Ridolfi Plot. In chapter 5, Hamrick analyzes Thomas Watson's Latin sonnet sequence *Passionate Century of Love* (1582) and argues that the poet uses the Catholic imaginary to assert the possibility that Catholics could be loyal to the queen; to reject the Anjou marriage scheme; and to act as an apology for his patron, Edward de Vere, the earl of Oxford.

Hamrick persuasively argues that poetry and other texts allude to Catholic practices and values. Here, he builds well on recent historical and cultural studies that show the pervading influence of Catholic sensibilities within Elizabethan England. However, he is less persuasive in demonstrating the influence of the "Catholic imaginary" on representations of Elizabeth. His argument depends on a reading of texts that is sometimes controversial, as when he associates Elizabeth with Gascoigne's Ferenda in *Dan Bartholmew* (1575) and *The Grief of Joye* (1577). The jury is still out on that one.

University of Oxford SUSAN DORAN

Church, Society and Religious Change in France, 1580–1730. By Joseph Bergin. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 506. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-300-15098-8.)

Scholarship on the Church and society in France is a crowded field. As Joseph Bergin readily acknowledges, the work of John McManners on the eighteenth century did not leave one stone unturned. In 1683 pages, McManners described how the church's presence or relationship evolved to the times of the French Revolution. Although more humble in format and

price, Bergin's work is no less impressive. For him, evolution is the operative concept. Centering on the internal history of the French Church, he describes its complex organization (part 1), clerical structure (part 2), bishops and priests as "agents of change" (part 3), and the effect of these "instruments of change" on French Catholicism at large (part 4). The last part offers an assessment of the key agents of this religious change: the sodalities, the *Dévots,* and the Jansenists.

Bergin, who is well versed in Catholic reform efforts in France (he previously wrote on Cardinal François de La Rochefoucauld, an early, major "agent of change"), seems to hesitate to use the concept in favor of a more elusive term. Bergin demonstrates that he knows perfectly well what to be a Catholic in seventeenth-century France meant, and he knows how to communicate this knowledge in a way that makes sense to both the believer and the historian. For example, in the pages devoted to spirituality (pp. 310–28), he communicates the depth of a personal relationship with God; and his observations on the question of "frequent Communion" suggest the awe experienced by devout Christians for a God made present through transubstantiation—far from the respectful familiarity of Catholics after the Second Vatican Council (pp. 265–68). Too often, similar syntheses of topical research on socioreligious themes limit themselves to repeating their results without much of an appreciation or evaluation, or simply repeat the usual clichés on popular religion. In contrast, Bergin, although faithful in his exposition, comments, nuances, and sometimes criticizes these findings.

However, in his evaluation of change, the author does not seem to regard the presence of the Protestant minority as a major factor. As he states, this belongs more to the external history of church and politics on which he is preparing a companion volume. However, as the last chapter on Jansenism implies, the constant scrutiny of the "little flock" was more than a motivation for reform or renewal. As this volume excellently shows, it influenced the content of this change. This remarkable work, therefore, will be very useful in "Church and Society" classes in colleges and universities and, it is hoped, will be complemented by a second volume of equivalent quality.

The Catholic University of America JACQUES M. GRES-GAYER

Catholiques et protestants sur la rive gauche du Rhin: Droits, confessions et coexistence religieuse de 1648 à 1789. By Laurent Jalabert. (Brussels: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. 546. $72.95. ISBN 978-9-052-01479-1.)

This nuanced and sophisticated study examines religious developments in the German-speaking territories to the west of the Rhine River in the century and a half after the end of the Thirty Years' War. These territories were profoundly affected in this period by the growing power of France, which supported the expansion of Catholicism in a predominantly Protestant region. Laurent Jalabert shows, however, the complex consequences of French

efforts in the context of international wars, the institutions of the Holy Roman Empire, and the particularist traditions of the region. Ultimately Jalabert argues that the efforts to promote Catholicism led to a growing "pluriconfessionalism" and a rough-and-ready toleration in the context of everyday life in the towns and villages.

Jalabert has conducted extensive archival research across a region that stretches from Alsace in the south to the region around Trier and Mainz in the north and from the Lorraine in the west to the Rhine in the east. The political fragmentation of the region was a cause of religious divisions and certainly complicates the research. One strength of Jalabert's study is its sensitivity to this complexity. Another is his familiarity with German, French, and English-language scholarship, a breadth that remains unusual in this field.

Jalabert's well-organized study is divided into three chronological periods. He begins by examining the Peace of Westphalia and its impact in the region up to the 1680s. The second period of the study reflects French historiography and focuses on the dramatic impact of King Louis XIV's France on the region between about 1680 and first decade of the eighteenth century. The last and longest section examines the development of religious identity, confessional cultures, and religious coexistence across the eighteenth century. Part I emphasizes that religious minorities, particular Catholic minorities, appeared across the region in the aftermath of the war, mostly because authorities were not choosy about who arrived to farm fields and rebuild houses. In part II the emphasis shifts to the role of the French state. In the western territories, many of which were "reunited" with France, Louis XIV's officials aggressively supported Catholic minorities, building churches, paying for priests, supporting conversion campaigns, and making life difficult for Lutheran or Reformed ministers. The impact of these policies was noticeable, but Jalabert points out that even Louis's officials did not overplay their hand. Aggressive in the territories absorbed into the Kingdom, French officials were more circumspect in the imperial territories they dominated. Furthermore, Protestant communities defended their rights tenaciously, often outlasting French efforts, as evidence by "relapses" by Catholic converts in the early-eighteenth century.

In part III Jalabert describes the characteristics of a "multicultural and multiconfessional society" (pp. 319–20). Both Protestants and Catholics accepted a mix of religions in many places and adapted to new circumstances. The conversion of a number of ruling families to Catholicism (especially the electors of the Palatinate) meant that Catholicism had political support. At the same time, Catholic territories, particularly the ecclesiastical territories, experienced the same religious revival found elsewhere in Catholic Germany, with a focus on pilgrimage, processions, and confraternities.

In a multiconfessional region, however, the very public nature of Baroque Catholicism had to adapt to local conditions. Many churches were shared by

Catholics and Protestants (the *Simultaneum*), which required a certain cooperation between the confessions and limited the public demonstration of Catholicism. The realities of daily life also forced toleration. There were, for example, always mixed marriages. Jalabert also shows that traditions of popular culture, particular festival life, remained strong in villages and transcended confessional lines, as did communal loyalties, for example in conflicts between village communities and landlords.

Jalabert argues that the confessional frontier was not really a cultural frontier west of the Rhine, as it seems to have been in biconfessional cities like Augsburg. There were some differences in choice of names, and Catholics were generally from the poorer families in villages, but he locates few clear differences in family size, occupation, educational levels, and the like. Frontiers, Jalabert points out, are often permeable and places of cultural exchange, and he argues that that was the case in these communities. People had somewhat different practices at important rites of passage such as birth, marriage, and death, but these "indicated a consciousness of difference, but not of opposition" (p. 518).

Connecticut College MARC R. FORSTER

Spanish Humanism on the Verge of the Picaresque: Juan Maldonado's Ludus Chartarum, Pastor Bonus*, and* Bacchanalia. Edited with introduction, translation, and notes by Warren Smith and Clark Colahan. [Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensis, XXIV.] (Leuven: Leuven University Press. Distrib in the United States by Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. vi, 291. $69.50 paperback. ISBN 978-9-058-67708-2.)

To most aficinados of Spanish literature, the term *picaresque* evokes images of canonical novels such as the anonymous *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, Francisco de Quevedo's *Buscón*, and Francisco López de Úbeda's *La Picara Justina*. Few readers would think of finding traces of the picaresque narrative—its mimetic portrayal of low-life and profound social, moral, and didactic intention—in the three works by the Spanish Renaissance humanist Juan Maldonado that are translated, studied, and coedited in the present volume by Warren Smith and Clark Colahan. Originally intended to awaken the reader's consciousness on the sociopolitical and religious corruption of the time, picaresque writings have continued to attract the curiosity of students and scholars alike. And it is precisely the sense of intellectual curiosity that has prompted Smith and Colahan to delve into some of the most engaging, albeit little-known work by Maldonado. A professor of humanities at the University of Burgos, he is best known for the Latin dialogue *Somnium* (modeled on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*), which tells of being caught in a dream interplanetary space with a vision of recently Christianized America. The merit of this bilingual edition and its accompanying critical study is that it brings to the forefront the importance and rele-

vance of three of Madldonado's other works, which, in their intrinsic conceptual framework, pave the way to the future picaresque discourse found in the best novels of the genre.

A linkage to the later picaresque prose is suggested by Smith and Colahan first by examining Maldonado's instructional colloquy, the *Ludus Chartarum Triumphus* (1541, 1549) describing games where luck and skill are at play, not unlike the traits associated with the best rogues found in Spanish literature: the *Ludus*'s portrayal of daily life in a Spanish Renaissance town, the work's dramatic and comic dimensions as well as its pedagogical and edifying purposes are all ingredients of the picaresque narrative.

In his *Pastor Bonus* of 1529 (printed 1549) Maldonado provides a detailed literary portrait of ecclesiastical corruption and offers a program of regeneration, a point studied by Marcel Bataillon and others over the years. The church hierarchy, notes Maldonado, is given over to wealth, luxury, and pleasure, and the ordinary priest is seen as ignorant and self-serving, a figure that brings to mind five of the nine future masters of *Lazarillo.*

The third of Maldonado's works included in the present volume is the *Geniale Iudicium siue Bacchanalia*, a farcical play with comic allegory and slapstick cast at carnival time, with a story of a victory of self-control over gluttony. As the editors point out, illustration of a vomiting scene in this work evokes a similar image in the episode of the roasted turnips in the first *tratado* of the *Lazarillo*. The presence of the grotesque, together with a good measure of irony and satire in the *Bacchanalia*, provide a further bridge to the incipient picaresque narrative of the sixteenth century.

Smith and Colahan should be commended for their scrupulous rendition of Maldonado's Latin texts and the corresponding English translation of works that are surely now going to be read with increased interest by the academic community. Their introductory commentaries to the *Ludus* and the *Pastor Bonus* are brief but informative; it is a pity, however, that their critical assessment of the *Bacchanalia* in relationship to the picaresque is not more fully elaborated.

The Catholic University of America BRUNO M. DAMIANI

Antonio Possevino. I gesuiti e la loro eredità culturale in Transilvania. Atti della Giornata di studio, Cluj-Napoca, 4 dicembre 2007. Edited by Alberto Castaldini. [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Iesu, Vol. 67.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. 2009. Pp. xx, 188. €40,00. ISBN 978-8-870-41367-0.)

The extraordinary development of studies of the Society of Jesus in recent years has still not extended to some leading Jesuits such as the Italian Antonio Possevino (1533–1611)—humanist; missionary; secretary of the Society of

Jesus; diplomat; and, of course, bibliographer of the Counter-Reformation.

Although many scholars have recently dealt with Possevino in partial investigations, no one has highlighted the depth and range of his multifaceted personality. The main merit of this book—which contains the proceedings of a December 2007 conference in Cluj-Napoca—is exactly the attempt to illuminate, in a limited period and a limited geographical scope, different traits of Possevino's personality and work. Alberto Castaldini describes the early life of Possevino, analyzing the influence of his family (likely of Jewish origin) on his future life and the role of the important Gonzaga family; he tutored Francesco and Scipione, both future cardinals. At that time the presence of heterodox movements in Mantua could have influenced Possevino. Additionally, the alleged Jewish ancestry of Possevino and many Jesuits in the sixteenth century had a remarkable importance in the early history of the Society of Jesus, as shown by Robert A. Maryks's *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus* (Leiden, 2009).

Marek Inglot, S.J., presents an overview of Possevino's activity from 1578 to 1587 when he was pontifical legate in Sweden and Russia, trying unsuccessfully to convert the kings John III Vasa and Ivan IV "the Terrible" to Catholicism. The real success of his missions was the creation of educational institutions, in particular papal seminaries for Catholics (not only for people who intended to receive sacerdotal ordination) in Eastern Europe.

Vasile Rus describes the commitment of Possevino to missions in Transylvania, considered a strategic ground for stopping the Turkish advance, but also to the conversion of Muslims. Since the years when he was the secretary of the Society, and later when Pope Gregory XIII sent him to Transylvania, Possevino made great efforts to promote the Jesuit missions in this land.

The essay by Luigi Balsamo (which was published in *Bibliofilia* in 2008) is devoted to the history of the *Commentario di Transilvania,* the major historical undertaking of the Mantuan Jesuit. Completed by Possevino in 1584 but not published until 1913 by Andrea Veress, the *Commentario* is a valuable document of Possevino's working method. With this book, the Jesuit wanted to give specific suggestions to the king, Stephen Báthory (who had protected the Catholic minority in Transylvania and called for the presence of the Jesuits there), and to the pope: In Possevino's view, they had to collaborate to spread Christianity throughout Transylvania.

A brief contribution by Ioan-Aurel Pop describes Possevino's interest in the Romanian people. Nicolae Sabău, in a well-documented contribution, examines the project and the construction of the Jesuit Seminary of Cluj (1584), questioning the existence of a "Jesuit style" in architecture.

The final two essays concentrate more generally on the presence of Jesuits

in Transylvania: Ionuţ Costea tells the exciting story of the Jesuit College in Cluj, which was the fulfillment of a desire shared by Catholics and Protestants in late-sixteenth-century Transylvania; and Doru Radosav offers a historical overview on the fortune of the Jesuit cultural model in the Banat, an area bordering Transylvania. The appendix offers a selection of the *Commentario di Transilvania*, which is very useful because of the difficulty in finding the 1913 edition.

Even if the essays are not of equal quality, the volume remains an important contribution to the understanding of the cultural heritage of the Jesuits in Transylvania and of the intriguing personality of Possevino. Additionally, the book highlights the need for a full-scale study of Possevino; the only existing biography, dating from the eighteenth century, is definitely obsolete.

DePaul University EMANUELE COLOMBO

I documenti vaticani del processo di Galileo Galilei (1611–1741). New edition enlarged, revised, and annotated by Sergio Pagano. [Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 69.] (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano. 2009. Pp. cclviii, 332. €60,00. ISBN 978-8-885-04262-9.)

Twenty-five years ago, Sergio Pagano and Antonio Luciani published the official edition of the major church documents related to the 1633 trial and condemnation of Galileo Galilei. The 1984 edition was one of the most tangible products of the Galileo Commission (1981–92) appointed by Pope John Paul II. Pagano's revised edition reflects two decades of subsequent scholarship. It is also a tribute to the importance of the Roman Catholic Church's decision to open the Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (ACDF), which contains the historical archives of the Holy Office and the Congregation of the Index, to lay researchers in January 1998. There is now a considerable body of new research regarding not only the specifics of Galileo's trial but also the institutions of the post-Tridentine Church in general. Pagano's revised introduction offers a lengthy reflection on this new research. His revised account of Galileo's trial is especially indebted to the research of scholars such as Annibale Fantoli, Ugo Baldini, Franco Beretta, Michel-Pierre Lerner, Michele Camerota, Egidio Festa, and Massimo Bucciantini. Although Fantoli's major study provides Pagano with the basic narrative for his revised account of the events leading up to the trial, the work of Beretta establishes the framework for a more careful understanding of the mechanisms of the Roman Inquisition.

Pagano is also generous in acknowledging the efforts of other scholars in bringing to light new documentation. In 1984, he rushed to include a transcription of the famous G3 document (the anonymous accusation against the atomism of *The Assayer*), which Pietro Redondi made the centerpiece of his

controversial and fascinating account of Galileo the atomist the year before. Twenty-five years ago, Pagano was highly critical of Redondi's identification of the author as the Jesuit Orazio Grassi and also eager to establish his own role in the document's discovery. Pagano now updates his analysis, resolving the mystery by invoking Rafael Martínez's identification of the author as a member of the circle of Cardinal Tiberio Muti, bishop of Viterbo. At the same time, he credits Redondi for reigniting interest in the complexities of the trial but remains unconvinced by Redondi's argument about the role of atomism in Galileo's trial.

More systematic research and better transcriptions have yielded a number of additional documents, including one minor item from the Galileo dossier in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano; seven documents from the papal nuncios in Florence and Vienna regarding Galileo's sentence and abjuration; and twenty items from the ACDF. The thirteen items from the Barberini Latini manuscripts in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana included in the revised edition are less archival discoveries—most were previously published by Favaro but not included in the 1984 edition—than an acknowledgment that Cardinal Francesco Barberini's correspondence with Galileo, his pupil Benedetto Castelli, the Florentine nuncio, and one or two others is directly pertinent to a fuller documentation of the trial. There has also been further attention to the organization of the material. For example, Document G3 has now been placed in chronological order (in 1984 it was the final document in the volume). It is now accompanied by the publication of one of the important new documents to emerge in recent years: the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer's report on *The Assayer* for the Congregation of the Index, probably written at some point between 1628 and 1631.

Thanks to the archival work of many of the previously mentioned scholars, Pagano's new edition contains a more complete and satisfying record of the deliberations of the Roman Inquisition on Galileo's book. It also traces more systematically how news of his condemnation and abjuration traveled from Rome to other cities through Barberini's correspondence with regional inquisitors and papal nuncios. Finally, it brings to light a handful of surviving requests from the late-seventeenth century that asked permission to read Galileo's prohibited *Dialogue* (1632), and one instance in which the Congregation of the Index noted the presence of this book in the library of Cardinal Pietro Sforza Pallavicino, S.J. In such documents we see the softening of attitudes toward the Galileo Affair that would ultimately led to Galileo's rehabilitation.

Pagano's careful attention to the nature of the documentary evidence, inspired by the work of the previously mentioned historians, is also evident in a number of his conclusions. He confirms Beretta's analysis of the composition of the trial dossier between 1615 and 1633. He supports the view that the Special Injunction of February 26, 1616, of Saint and Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, S.J., is an authentic document of the period. He also presents Barberini's absence from the final proceedings as part of the normative pro-

ceedings of the Roman Inquisition, undermining efforts to transform it into a statement of protest. Finally, Pagano supports Beretta's view that Vincenzo Maculani was the principal author of the sentence.

What Pagano does not do is to interpret strongly the trial of Galileo. Pagano's Galileo is a "good and sincere Catholic, no less proud of his religion than his discoveries" (p. L), but this is about as far as he goes in taking a position. Like any good editor of a document collection, he invites us to read the sources. Also, there is limited discussion of the English-language scholarship on Galileo written in the past twenty-five years. However, it should be noted that recent work in other languages is extensively discussed, which Anglophone scholars often do not probe as thoroughly as they should, given its importance. It will be a pleasure to see what the next generation of historians does with this considerably amplified and far more contextualized version of the documentary history of Galileo's trial. All of us are the beneficiaries of Pagano's sincere desire to create a new and better edition of these foundational documents.

Stanford University PAULA FINDLEN

The Vincentians: A General History of the Congregation of the Mission. Vol. I: *From the Foundation to the End of the Seventeenth Century, 1625–1697*. By Luigi Mezzadri, C.M., and José María Román, C.M. Translated by Robert Cummings. Edited by Joseph E. Dunne and John E. Rybolt, C.M. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press. 2009 Pp. xx, 393. $49.99. ISBN 978-1-565-48321-7.)

This volume, originally published in 1992, is part of a planned five-volume general history of the Congregation of the Mission, founded by St. Vincent de Paul. The first two volumes have appeared in French and Italian, and the present work is a competent and readable English translation of the first volume.

The authors want "to help the current (Vincentian) community understand its history better." They set out to present the "essential facts" employing "an historical framework that is global and sufficiently scientific." Further, the authors state they made the "important choice" to "favor the story 'of the Missioners' over what we call 'the mission.'" They note, "At the center of the story are people, not institutions" (p. 6).

This is an unevenly written and repetitive work that lacked a strong editorial hand at the time of its original European publication. The best chapters provide interesting and valuable descriptions of the community life and ministerial experiences of early Vincentians. Statistical analyses are strongly supportive of the narrative at these points.

However, the work suffers from the authors' choice to define "the mission" as the story of "institutions" rather than the story of how a transcendent reli-

gious charism institutionalized by a saintly founder evolves as its members individually and collectively struggle (sometimes successfully and sometimes not) to remain faithful amid the constant change produced by the forces of history and faith.

Unfortunately, the authors also fail to provide and interpret adequately the "essential facts," including the development of the early-modern European confessional absolutist state (particularly Bourbon France) and the interplay of the theological, disciplinary, and spiritual forces of the Tridentine reforms in France. Examples of this include their unfocused descriptions of the history and context of the Gallican/Ultramontane struggles during the reign of King Louis XIV, and the nature and consequences of the legal and religious relationship of the congregation to the French state first created by King Louis XIII's approval of the community in 1627.

The authors also present their judgments about the congregation's history and the founder's intentions in the light of contemporary choices of how to live out that charism. One major problem that plagued the Congregation of the Mission for most of its history was nationalistic divisions, specifically the "problems with French identity." These divisions took place when Vincent's call for absolute unity and uniformity (as an infallible basis for authenticity and efficacy) were narrowly identified by a community headquartered in Paris, with a dominant French leadership that believed French cultural and spiritual practices naturally provided a firm foundation for a French community that had become international. The authors note:

> This is not what St. Vincent had intended. He had wanted a French community of evangelizers, not exporters of a culture and hegemony. He wanted to sow charity abroad, not colonies for Paris-something that, however, would be attempted in China and in other countries in the following two centuries. (p. 100)

For the authors, the interpretation of Vincentian history seems to be too easily settled by the sentence "this is not what St. Vincent had intended." Such sweeping generalizations, supported by debatable historical evidence, but made definitive by a direct appeal to a religious founder do not help this study fulfill its stated purposes.

DePaul University EDWARD R. UDOVIC, C.M.

Liturgy in the Age of Reason: Worship and Sacraments in England and Scotland, 1662–c. 1800. By Bryan D. Spinks. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. x, 284. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66089-7.)

This is the third volume of a series of studies concerning sacramental theology by Bryan Spinks. The first one, *Two Faces of Elizabethan Anglican Theology* (Lanham, MD, 1999), focused on the teaching of William Perkins and

Richard Hooker. A second volume—*Sacraments, Ceremonies, and the Stuart Divines* (Burlington, VT, 2002)—involved a much larger group of writers and covered Scotland as well as England. The present book takes up where its predecessor ended, in 1662, and carries the investigation forward to the end of the eighteenth century. In his initial study Spinks drew attention to some surprising similarities between Perkins and Hooker, especially their shared Reformed or Calvinist assumption that the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist only benefited the unconditionally elect. This insight serves to emphasize just how important was the anti-Calvinist or Arminian breakthrough when it came in the 1620s with Richard Montagu, who locked horns with his Calvinist opponents on the subject of baptismal regeneration. During the Laudian ascendancy of the 1630s a similar Arminian understanding of the Eucharist as available to all was developed by writers such as Edmund Reeve and Robert Shelford, although it is a cause for regret that these were not among those authors whom Spinks chose to discuss. But he correctly emphasizes the role played thereafter by the Westminster Confessions and Catechisms, produced under the aegis of the Long Parliament. Indeed, one can go further than the author and suggest that after 1662 attitudes toward the Westminster standards served to differentiate the sacramental teaching of the established church on the one hand from that of English Dissenters and Scottish Presbyterians on the other until well into the eighteenth century. The exemplar chosen by Spinks of what appears by 1700 to have become the normative position of the Church of England is Gabriel Towerson. According to Towerson, baptism washes away original sin in all receivers without distinction, while the Eucharist is the means to repair subsequent falls from grace by baptized adults—arising from their concupiscence. At the opposite end of the theological spectrum Spinks singles out the Congregationalist minister and hymn writer Richard Davis, noting his links with antinomianism and describing his views as "counter-cultural" (p. 94). Nevertheless, hard-line predestinarianism is similarly to the fore in a much more mainstream figure such as Thomas Doolittle. A protégé of Richard Baxter, Doolittle's best-selling *Treatise concerning the Lord's Supper* (1667) goes unmentioned by Spinks. In pursuit, however, of his "Age of Reason" theme he provides a fascinating chapter on the influence of Isaac Newton and John Locke, and the associated "rational" gloss on the sacraments by the likes of Benjamin Hoadley, while linking this to the growing vogue at the time for so-called moralism. This in turn helped to provoke an evangelical revival later in the century, which, despite the Arminianism of Wesley, had strong Calvinist affinities. Good use is made here and elsewhere of the evidence provided by hymns. Spinks also defends the seeming paradox that "evangelicalism was . . . an authentic expression of Enlightenment principles," illustrating this proposition from the teachings of John Fletcher, vicar of Madely and "a staunch supporter of Wesley" (p. 161). Yet this case remains harder to argue for Calvinists, both north and south of the border. The volume concludes with three interesting chapters on worship in England and Scotland in the later eighteenth century; both the illustrations and descriptions provided of church interiors serve to highlight the differences

especially as regards the Eucharist, the railed altars favored by the Church of England contrasting with the long tables and seated communicants of the Scottish Kirk. Overall, Spinks is to be congratulated for opening up a number of key aspects relating to the religious life of post-Reformation Britain.

University College London NICHOLAS TYACKE

The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology. By Gabriel Glickman. [Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History, Vol. 7.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2009. Pp. x, 306. $115.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83464-9.)

The time is certainly right for a new study of the English Catholic community in the eighteenth century. J. H. C. Aveling's *The Handle and the Axe* (London, 1976) has been supplemented by many more recent studies, including Alexandra Walsham's groundbreaking *Church Papists* (Rochester, NY, 1993), Clotilde Prunier's painstaking archival study *Anti-Catholic Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (New York, 2004), numerous Irish studies, and more specialist monographs such as John Watts's *Scanlan: The Forbidden College, 1716–1799* (East Linton, Scotland, 1999). This book is part of this process, but it does not advance it as much as it might have done, despite its archival care and deeply textured discussion.

As the dates of this study suggest, Gabriel Glickman's approach is strongly linked to the Jacobite era. This gives it clear parameters, but it also creates more than one methodological problem, since it involves him in the study of a complex international movement with strong support among many non-Catholics. In invoking the Catholic Jacobite diaspora's experience on the Continent, for example, a religious particularism is assumed without any testing of the largely integrationist thesis offered against the experience of English Anglicans, Scots Episcopalians (who often networked very well, not least in Italy), and indeed Irish Catholics. The Irish in Europe project at Maynooth and the work on Irish Brigade officers by Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac in France are highly relevant to Jacobite diasporic experience, as is Steve Murdoch's *Network North* (Leiden, 2006) and Rebecca Wills's *The Jacobites and Russia, 1715–1750* (East Linton, Scotland, 2002). Much of this work does not seem to have been consulted, which poses a problem with discussing Jacobite and Catholic diaspora together. The former has a rapidly growing body of scholarship attached to it that will naturally tend to qualify assertions about the latter.

Glickman's introduction suggests that the Catholic experience is largely dismissed, with much more attention paid to anti-Catholicism. This is rather overstating the case, given more sympathetic developments in recent scholarship, and Glickman himself could have found more room for anti-Catholicism. His picture of the Gallican, reformist Catholicism (p. 18), which might have benefited from "peaceful integration" (p. 53) had the "Glorious"

Revolution not happened, is on one level a useful corrective to a mindless stereotyping of the Catholic community in England as either dustily conservative or wilfully recidivist, but it equally seriously understates the widespread hatred of Catholics and their faith that existed in English society, particularly with local gentry elites.

Here another methodological issue intervenes, because Glickman's argument is often conducted by means of a whistle-stop prosopography of the Catholic gentry. This methodology is similar to that found in Leo Gooch's *Desperate Faction* (Hull, 1995), but the book is about the Catholic community as a whole, not about the gentry-led Rising of 1715. There are serious problems with the sources here, it is true: but moving away from courtiers and foxhunters might have involved Glickman with more of the awkward questions raised by the anti-Catholicism that he tends to avoid. There is no reason to dispute the statement that there were "one hundred gentry families loyal to the faith in Yorkshire alone" (p. 55), but there are limits as to what this can tell us about what it was like to be a northern Catholic. The key problem here is that a gentry-dominated thesis is an uncomfortable way of exploring the condition of the marginal and excluded internal subaltern, for whom the penal and treason laws were closely linked. What about Catholic lack of access to the professions? What about Catholic entrepreneurs, at home or abroad? What about the movement and mission of the clergy, and the extent to which they were really pursued? Where were the poorer Catholic communities, if anywhere? How did they maintain their religious identity? How was Catholicism represented to itself, given the representations of the press? What about worship in the embassy chapels? Glickman's subheadings give an idea of how far these or related topics are addressed: "Catholic divisions and the course of royal policy" (p. 40), "English Catholics and the exiled court" (p. 70). "The theory of Jacobite absolutism" (p. 99), "Europe and the 'Catholic oath'" (p. 135), "The Catholic reformers in English politics" (p. 246), and so on. Despite the fact that there is no attempt to deal with Scottish or Irish Catholicism, substantial discussion of Andrew Ramsay fails to note that he was a Scottish Catholic with a distinct religious background, while the three pages spent on ideology in the religious houses do not compare well with Niall MacKenzie's 2004 Cambridge thesis on the topic. Compared to, say, Patrick Fagan's *Catholics in a Protestant Country* (Dublin, 1998), the discussion does not venture into the structures of the penal laws, nor the society they were intended to create.

This book has many merits as a discussion of a social elite; John Caryll and other familiar figures are well covered. Within this sphere it does its job convincingly. What it is not is a study of the Catholic community as a whole, nor does it make a serious effort to reflect the problems and diversity of that group. Glickman's study has many good and detailed features, but its title is not one of them.

University of Glasgow MURRAY PITTOCK

Late Modern European

The Western Front of the Eastern Church: Uniate and Orthodox Conflict in Eighteenth-Century Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, and Russia. By Barbara Skinner. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 295. $42.00. ISBN 978-0-875-80407-1.)

In 1596 a segment of the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth recognized the supreme authority of the pope and accepted some Roman Catholic doctrines but retained Orthodox liturgical practices and structures. This act marked a split within the Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belarusian) community that has remained to this day. In this book, Barbara Skinner traces the conflict between Uniates (those who were in union with Rome) and Orthodox in the eighteenth century. Although this was a struggle within the Ruthenian community, the conflict presented by Skinner was shaped and its outcome determined largely by major powers—the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia. Thus Skinner traces a story of Uniate predominance under Poland followed by the virtual elimination of the Uniates after the partition of Poland in imperial Russia. She does not cover the fate of the Uniates who, as a result of the partitions, were incorporated into Austria, where the Uniate Church was able to flourish.

Skinner's major contribution is that of placing this story within confessionalization theory, previously applied to Western Europe. She demonstrates how the two contending churches reinforced group unity and identity by insisting on their own doctrinal, liturgical, textual, sacramental, and pastoral practices. This study gives an excellent account of the confessionalization of the Uniates, showing how Uniate practices, which differentiated them from both Roman Catholics and Orthodox, were codified and implemented. The account of the Orthodox side is less developed since the confessionalization of the Orthodox in the seventeenth century constitutes only the background of Skinner's study. It is noteworthy that the Uniates also adopted many of these Orthodox reforms.

Skinner emphasizes the novelty of her contribution citing the lack of previous research and dismisses much of the work of Ukrainian and Belarusian historians on the grounds of their narrow national perspective. Her historiographic introduction ignores the fact that many twentieth-century scholars have worked on religious history, one of the most developed fields outside Ukraine, in part because of access to Vatican and other sources. On the question of national perspective, I fully agree with the author's assertion that "care must be taken not to confine this history within a single national paradigm—Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian, or Russian" (p. 234). However, I take strong exception to the implication that in this study Skinner has somewhat vanquished the national interpretation. The cultural-national narrative was there from the beginning, since many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century

Ruthenians presented their cause as a struggle of the Ruthenian nation/people against Polish oppression. This view is in no way less valid or correct than Skinner's broad political confessional approach. In fact, the two narratives are not inherently contradictory. Each simply approaches the topic from a different perspective. It is the unwarranted and unnecessary condescension to virtually an entire historiography that mars this otherwise thoroughly researched and well-written study.

University of Alberta ZENON E. KOHUT

The Cambridge Companion to John Henry Newman. Edited by Ian Ker and Terrence Merrigan. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 280. $29.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-521-69272-4.)

This collection of thirteen essays aims to introduce readers to the theology of Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–90) as well as, in the words of the editors, meet the "great need for an accessible, comprehensive and systematic presentation of the major themes" of Newman's work (p. xii). An additional aim is to show the "contemporary relevance" of Newman's thought in the context of "modern and postmodern concerns and themes" (p. xii). The choice of contributors certainly corresponds to these aims; all are academic theologians from the United States, Great Britain, Ireland, Rome, and Belgium who have published works on Newman or on themes that exist in his work. The themes covered include the Church Fathers, revelation, faith, justification, development of doctrine, the Church as communion, infallibility, authority in the Church, conscience, theology in the university, and preaching. A concluding chapter, "Newman in Retrospect," deals specifically with the relevance of his thought in a "postmodern" philosophical context.

Inevitably, in this kind of collective work, the level of contributions is uneven. Several chapters are excellent (Terrence Merrigan on revelation, Thomas Norris on faith, Gerard J. Hughes on conscience); others are very good; and a few barely rise above the level of vulgarization. Differences would seem to exist also in the audience that contributors seek to reach. Some take for granted that the basic facts of Newman's life and work are already known to the reader; others adopt a narrative and descriptive approach, which could have been omitted because of the excellent opening chapter by Sheridan Gilley that provides an overview of Newman's life and work.

Finally, the large number of authors and approaches leads to a degree of repetition and even, on occasion, mutual contradiction. It is thus amusing to find disagreement between Ian Ker and the late Cardinal Avery Dulles, S.J., concerning the identity of the "faithful" referred to in the title of Newman's controversial article of 1859 (for Ker, the term refers to the whole Christian body, composed of both laity and clerics; for Dulles, one simply composed of the laity). This is by no means a criticism; for the reader, such divergences of interpretation are a stimulus to further research and reflection.

The question, however, must be asked: Does this collection of essays provide a complete and rounded picture of Newman? The answer is, emphatically, no. Almost a third of his published work is made up of volumes of sermons. Yet only one chapter, situated near the end of the book, is devoted to this subject and is the shortest and weakest of all, the author offering little more than a stylistic analysis of Newman's preaching. Yet it was as a preacher—and thereby also, in his particular case, as a theologian taking much of his inspiration from the Church Fathers, a hard-headed and penetrating psychologist, and a spiritual guide—that Newman first made his mark and continues to enrich the intellectual and spiritual life of Christians. Are we to conclude that the themes of this preaching lie outside the scope of "theology" and are irrelevant to its concerns? The academic world has yet, it seems, to take full account of this dimension of the man and his work.

Nevertheless, taking the book on its own terms, this remains an excellent introduction and guide to Newman's thought in the areas covered.

Oratoire de France, KEITH BEAUMONT
Association française des Amis de Newman

Authority, Dogma, and History: The Role of Oxford Movement Converts in the Papal Infallibility Debates of the Nineteenth Century, 1835–1875. Edited by Kenneth L. Parker and Michael J. G. Pahls. (Palo Alto, CA: Academica Press. 2008. Pp. 364. $79.95. ISBN 978-1-933-14644-7.)

The Oxford Movement (OM) started with John Keble's Assize Sermon in July 1833, protesting control of the Church of England by a parliament that included members of other faiths and none. The OM quickly became an attempt to recall Anglicans to an awareness of their Catholic roots—never completely severed, OM's members contended, despite the repudiation of papal authority in the sixteenth century. The OM in its original form ended some twelve years after it had begun, when its leading spokesman, John Henry Newman, departed for what was, in the England of that day, a social and ecclesial Siberia, by entering the Roman Catholic Church.

Keble's broken-hearted but deeply affectionate letter to Newman said that his beloved friend's departure had produced in Keble "a feeling as if the spring had been taken out of my year."[1] In his concise and accurate chapter on the OM in this book, Benjamin O'Connor cites other less temperate reactions, ranging "from surprise to complete devastation." "The sensation to us was as of a sudden end of all things and without a new beginning," wrote one. Another expressed anger: "We felt we that had been betrayed, and we resented the wrong which had been done to us" (p. 36).

[1]Walter Lock, *John Keble* (Boston, 1893), p. 128.

Although only two of the seven contributors to this book have experienced Anglicanism from the inside, all manifest remarkable understanding of a form of Christianity seldom accessible to outsiders. The authors share three assumptions: that the OM converts brought into their Catholic experience preoccupations rooted in their efforts to reform Anglicanism; that their shared concerns produced very different reasons for their conversions; and that, despite their small numbers, they transformed and refashioned Catholic theological discourse, particularly regarding papal authority.

The best known of Newman's works, next to his *Apologia pro vita sua,* is his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (1845), which was his attempt to persuade himself that it was right, indeed imperative, to accept the faith of the Catholic Church. Like his fellow OM members, Newman had taken his stand on antiquity: "The early Church and its teachings were the paradigm given by Christ himself, and it was the standard against which later forms of Christianity should be judged" (p. 3).

In 1845 Newman's contention that the faith once given to the apostles could change, through development, rang alarm bells in both England and Rome. Two decades later, Newman was surprised to find his *Essay* invoked to justify Pope Pius IX's definition, first, of Mary's Immaculate Conception, in 1854, and then of papal infallibility in 1870. "Now at the end of twenty years," Newman wrote to a friend in 1871, "I am told from Rome that I am guilty of the late Definition by my work on Development, so orthodox has it been found in principle" (p. 77). Charles Michael Shea's chapter in this book on Newman's development theory and the definition of papal infallibility is a model of clarity, supported by Shea's citation of sources in four languages.

Newman's privately expressed distress at the methods used to force the infallibility definition through the First Vatican Council is well known. After the Council, however, he wrote a correspondent, "Pius [IX] has been overruled—I believe he wanted a much more stringent dogma than he has got" (p. 210). Several contributors to this book make it clear that other Oxford converts also desired a more sweeping definition. Cardinal Henry Manning was one. After the Council, he wrote a pastoral letter claiming that the Council had gone farther than it had. Newman's fellow Oratorian Frederick W. Faber went so far as to say in a published sermon that since Jesus and Mary were no longer on earth the pope was "a third visible presence of Jesus amongst us" (p. 166).

This collective work throws light on an ecclesial world of which most lifelong Catholics are scarcely aware and which few are able to understand. In so doing, the authors show that it is a fascinating world—one that repays investigation and study.

Archdiocese of St. Louis JOHN JAY HUGHES

Cornelia Connelly's Innovations in Female Education, 1846–1864: Revolutionizing the School Curriculum for Girls. By Roseanne McDougall. (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press. 2008. Pp.xviii, 262. $109.95. ISBN 978-0-773-45187-2.)

Much has been written about Cornelia Connelly in recent years, and Roseanne McDougall has drawn from this body of scholarship to highlight some of the most important aspects of both the person and her context. The result is a deeper study of Connelly's philosophy of education in the light of her own spiritual vision, and her struggles and successes in the ecclesial and social circles of her day. McDougall deserves the gratitude of all of those interested in education in general and Catholic education in particular, since the "innovations" in Connelly's philosophy have much to say in the discussion around this topic today.

In the excellent foreword Sharon Latchaw Hirsh notes that in the light of Connelly's legacy of a "solid education . . . the most important contribution of this study must be its placement of such an education—ahead of its time and still worthy of study today—in proper historical context" (p. xiv).

McDougall sets about providing this proper historical context, charting the chronological sequence of Connelly's life as a brilliant educator and a deeply spiritual woman. The complex story of this early-nineteenth-century Philadelphian—born Cornelia Peacock, wife of Pierce Connelly, mother of five children, adult convert to Roman Catholicism, and later founder of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus—is told with clarity of detail and great sensitivity. The result is a tapestry woven from the social, religious, educational, geographical, and personal threads of Connelly's life.

The work consists of an introduction and five chapters followed by a detailed list of the sources consulted and a selected bibliography. The introduction provides important tools necessary to gain a better understanding of Connelly's life and legacy. There is a good biographical synopsis, a discussion of the educational context, and a brief summary of her leadership in the field of education. A "review of literature" includes primary and secondary sources, educational studies, and bibliographies. There is literally nothing left undocumented.

As the chapters unfold it is clear that Connelly's passion for education in the context of her spiritual journey is front and center. The story begins in 1846 with her arrival in Derby where, as McDougall notes: "There was a need among England's old Catholics, Oxford Catholics, and Irish Catholic immigrants, for a resurgence in Catholic-sponsored education. Connelly's efforts were part of this renewal in education" (p. 29). Bridging worlds such as these continued to be one of the personal gifts that Connelly modeled in her life as teacher, founder, and spiritual guide. A good overview of Connelly's own education is provided as her distinctive methodology, early curricula, and schools'

approach are explored in the light of developments in the history of English education.

It is striking that in educational circles today, the discussion of respect for the learner, the importance of education for children (and adults) from all socioeconomic backgrounds, collaborative learning, and the importance of recognizing the spiritual needs of the learner are all found in the legacy of Connelly. McDougall has contributed a fine piece for the continuing discussion.

Rosemont College (Emerita) VIRGINIA KAIB RATIGAN

The Life and Work of Ottokár Prohászka (1858–1927). By Ferenc Szabó, S.J. Translated by Attila Miklósházy, S.J. (Budapest: Szent István Társulat. 2007. Pp. 459. Paperback. ISBN 978-9-638-01436-8.)

Bishop Ottokár Prohászka was a towering figure in the history of Hungarian Catholicism, known (rather than Venerable Cardinal József Mindszenty) as its most profound leader since Cardinal Peter Pázmány, the leader of the Catholic Reformation. His funeral in Budapest was the largest the city ever experienced, and on his grave in the western town of Székesfehérvár, where he served as bishop since 1905, are inscribed the words *Apostolus et praeceptor Hungariae* (apostle and teacher of Hungary). He achieved his reputation through inspiring oratory, retreats, advocacy of Christian democracy and the social gospel (he was the first Hungarian translator of *Rerum novarum* and helped organize three communities and one political party), and prolific writing: his collected works (1928-9) run to twenty-five volumes.

To Budapest theologian Ferenc Szabó, S.J., we owe the first substantial biography in English, translated from the Hungarian edition. The Jesuit school in Kalocsa provided the foundation for Prohászka's vocation; then he studied at the *Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum* in Rome beginning in 1875. Returning to the seat of the Hungarian primates in Esztergom after his ordination in 1881, he rose to spiritual director of the national seminary and mentor of a generation of clergy beginning in 1890. It was during these years that Prohászka entered the public arena as a writer and public speaker. His appointment to the University of Budapest in 1903 brought him to the center of national life, and he moved to his episcopal see two years later.

One of Szabó's seminal achievements is to complement Prohászka's well-known public record with the examination of his inner life as documented by his diaries (which have been supplemented recently), huge correspondence, and the diaries of contemporaries. These sources leave no doubt that his asceticism and mysticism helped determine his critical view of Hungarian social structure, which was not shared by other members of the Hungarian hierarchy. The author carefully addresses the difficult problem of antisemitism in the bishop's political writings. His condemnation of Jewish influence in

society, he argues, must be understood in terms of his overriding concern about secularization and the strong position of Jews in law, journalism, and the socialist movement. Prohászka emphasized in the course of a public debate that his daily celebration of the Eucharist precluded hatred of the Jews as persons.

The Holy See placed three of Prohászka's smaller works on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1911. The author argues that the bishop was modern (presaging the Second Vatican Council and Pope John Paul II in his view of the laity and labor) but not a modernist. He examines in detail *The Excesses of Intellectualism*, Prohászka's inaugural address to the Hungarian Academy in 1911, along with diary entries that give an ampler view of its theology than the published text. This work focused the ire of his opponents, but was evidently just a pretext for their more political concerns. In this year of the beatification of Cardinal John Henry Newman, it is remarkable to read Prohászka's words recorded by one of his confidantes: "I have a high regard for Newman . . . one of his great graces was that he lived at a good time. . . " (p. 273).

Justice cannot be done here to the richness of this biography and the wealth of primary sources it deploys, including two Latin translations of Prohászka's works, printed in the appendices, which the author procured from Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger in 2001. It provides not only a fine introduction to the subject for readers of English but also an important advance over previous contributions to the Prohászka literature in Hungary.

Rutgers University JAMES P. NIESSEN, S.O.

Catholicism in Modern Italy: Religion, Society and Politics since 1861. By John Pollard. [Christianity and Society in the Modern World.] (New York: Routledge. 2008. Pp. viii, 247. $140.00. ISBN 978-0-415-23835-9.)

In his multidimensional study of Catholicism in Italy from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century, John Pollard explores the impact of modernization on the Catholic Church. Contrasting official religious policy of the clergy with the popular enthusiasms of the laity, he explores the creation of a self-confident and durable Catholic subculture that served to insulate the faithful from many of the challenges of modernization. Pollard offers a valuable overview of modern Italian religious history.

Liberalism sought to curtail the influence of the Church in the early-nineteenth century by divesting it of much of its property. The movement for Italian unification was a secular manifestation of this challenge that eventually succeeded in capturing Rome and removing the temporal power of the papacy itself. The Church experienced a revival in the late-nineteenth century because unification meant that an Italian national church could be created for the first time under the leadership of the papacy. This led to the development and definition of a Catholic subculture, uniting clergy and laity in popular

religious celebration while addressing some of the more pressing social issues of the times through the organization of credit unions, workingmen's associations, and charitable and youth organizations.

This Catholic revival enabled the Church to assist with the impact of the *prima industrializzazione* and to respond to the rise of socialism by entering clerico-moderate political alliances. During World War I, the clergy achieved popular acclaim through their activities on behalf of the national war effort, and, as a result, the Catholic political party *Popolari* was launched in 1919 with the blessing of Pope Benedict XV.

Although this party received strong electoral support, it emerged at the same time as the rise of fascism and, after 1922, became an impediment to Pope Pius XI's quest to resolve the Roman Question with the new Mussolini government. The pope sacrificed the *Popolari* and sought to meet the challenge of fascism by protecting parts of the Catholic movement within the nonpolitical organizations of Catholic Action. Because he did not challenge the dictatorial tendencies of Mussolini, Pius XI was able to achieve a restoration of the temporal power, a financial settlement, and the protection of Catholic Action in the 1929 Lateran Agreements.

During the fascist regime, the Church used Catholic Action as a vehicle for training a postfascist leadership cadre. After 1945 the continuing institutional power in Italy was that of the papacy under Pope Pius XII, just as Catholic Action produced the future leaders of the Christian Democratic Party. The Church and Christian Democracy together met the postwar challenge of communism in Italy, which, like the Church, had fashioned its own proletarian subculture but was unable to gain power.

The "Economic Miracle" of the 1950s and 1960s brought a population shift from south to north along with the American secular values of a consumer society. Coupled with the changes of the Second Vatican Council, the Church had to deal with a loss of membership, reduced numbers of clergy, and a decline in support for the Christian Democrats. From the early 1960s, the Christian Democrats sustained their electoral base by relying on support that could be bought by judicious expenditure of state funds to develop new political clients.

By the end of the 1980s, the corruption of the Christian Democrats was evident and prompted the rise of the Northern League, dedicated to an end to Roman corruption and the separation of the progressive north from the retrograde south. The *tangentopoli* investigations resulted in the breakup of the Christian Democrats in the 1994 elections. Although it proved impossible to re-create one Catholic political party in the 1990s, the Catholic subculture continued into the twenty-first century under the leadership of the papacy and the Conference of Italian Bishops as the voice of the Catholic interest in Italy. Pollard concludes that Catholicism managed to survive the modernizing

challenges of liberalism, fascism, and communism largely because of its success in creating a self-confident, durable, and articulate subculture that none of its challengers was able to achieve.

University of New Brunswick PETER C. KENT

Wanderer zwischen den politischen Mächten: Pater Nikolaus von Lutterotti O.S.B. (1892–1955) und die Abtei Grüssau in Niederschlesien. By Inge Steinsträßer. [Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, Band 41.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2009. Pp. xvi, 685. €64,90. ISBN 978-3-412-20429-7.)

In this revised dissertation, Inge Steinsträßer illustrates the tension between Christian universalism and nationalism. During the tumultuous history of twentieth-century Central Europe, the Church, for Nikolaus von Lutterotti, O.S.B., constituted the one constant identity in a world in which national identities proved unstable.

The von Lutterotti family hailed from Kaltern, one of Tyrol's southernmost German-speaking towns, but identified itself as Austrian, even after Italy gained South Tyrol. Nonetheless, the Lutterottis opted to accept Italian citizenship. By this time, Nikolaus had already joined the Benedictine Emmaus Abbey in Prague. Because of the strident pan-Germanism of Abbot Alban Schachleiter—who later became an ardent Nazi supporter—the monks were forced to leave Prague. The war's end transformed Lutterotti's identity, both as a Tyrolean and as a member of the Emaus community.

Monks from Emmaus established a new abbey at Grüssau in Silesia. With few resources and great personal engagement, the monks restored the facilities, which had housed Cistercian monks until the secularization of the nineteenth century. In addition to Lutterotti's pastoral and conventual responsibilities, he pursued archival studies, and published both popular and scholarly art history articles relating to the abbey. Additionally, Lutterotti supervised the restoration of the abbey.

The Nazi years proved difficult for the abbey, not only because of the increasing antireligious repression. As Brigitte Lob already discussed in her *Albert Schmitt OSB—sein kirchenpolitisches Handeln in der Weimarer Republik und im Dritten Reich* (Köln, 2000), Schmitt, the abbot of Grüssau, initially shared the enthusiasm of his brother abbots Ildefons Herwegen at Maria Laach and Schachleiter for the new regime. Although never as ardent or prominent as Schachleiter, Schmitt also did not share Herwegen's eventual realization of the regime's nature. While Steinsträßer could have developed Lutterotti's views further, she judiciously analyzes the sparse evidence to show that Lutterotti rejected the abbot's political views. Lutterotti's rejection of the Nazis led him to withdraw an application for German citizenship. In

postwar homilies, Lutterotti placed blame for his flock's suffering squarely on the Nazi regime and its supporters.

In 1944–46, the abbey served as transit point for refugees fleeing the Soviet forces. In the following years, Lutterotti made his greatest sacrifice. Even after the expulsion of most of the Benedictines in 1946, he served the dwindling ethnic German community. Lutterotti's national identity proved complicated. By conviction an Austrian and by citizenship Italian, Lutterotti was considered a member of the German community by both the Polish government and the Polish church hierarchy. In fact, church authorities proved more antipathetic than secular authorities. Although Lutterotti accepted the Polish secret police's methods as a continuation of Gestapo repression, the suspicion of the remaining German clergy by the archiepiscopal hierarchy proved too much to bear when apostolic administrator Kazimierz Lagosz collaborated with the communist authorities to plunder the Grüssau abbey.

Nonetheless, Lutterotti hiked hours each weekend to minister to his small, far-flung flock. Eventually, however, his health and police threats led Lutterotti to seek the help of the Italian embassy in Warsaw to secure his exit. In 1954 Lutterotti left Silesia and, by way of Rome, returned to Kaltern to recover. Finally, he rejoined his Benedictine community, which had established a new abbey at Wimpfen in Hessen. Lutterotti's health failed to improve, and he died less than a year later.

The significance of Lutterotti's life is that, although he considered himself Austrian, he refused to let nationality and ethnicity interfere with Christian humanity, even in the worst of times. Perhaps the best example of the Benedictine's relationship to ethnicity was his ability and willingness to cooperate with Polish clergy and the close relationship established with the Polish Benedictine Abbey at Tyniec, under whose protection Lutterotti placed the Grüssau abbey.

At times, Steinsträßer's admiration for Lutterotti threatens to impede scholarly judgment, as, for example, when she relies too heavily on family remembrances and letters to characterize his youth. Similarly, she is very kind in her judgment of the weak resistance of Cardinal Adolf Bertram, archbishop of Breslau, to the Nazis. Nonetheless, this work encourages reflection on the Church in the twentieth-century nationalist tug of war by offering another example of an individual in the context of the great conflicts of his time. Lutterotti's life constitutes one of the best responses to that conflict.

Rivier College, NH MARTIN R. MENKE

Paolo VI "uomo spirituale": Discorsi e scritti (1983–2008). By Carlo Maria Martini. Edited by Marco Vergottini. [Quaderni dell'Istituto, no. 27.] (Brescia: Istituto Paolo VI–Studium. 2008. Pp. xii, 191. €25,00. ISBN 978-8-838-24077-5.)

Sometimes a book tells much not just about its subject but also about its author. This is certainly the case for this book, which collects speeches and writings of Cardinal Carlo Maria Martini, S.J., who served as the archbishop of Milan from 1980 to 2002. It offers Martini's opinions on his predecessor, Giovanni Battista Montini, later Pope Paul VI (1963–78). In this collection of Martini's brief speeches and reflections (delivered or written between 1983 and 2008), the reader can appreciate Martini's perspective while gaining an understanding of Montini's role in the twentieth-century Catholic Church and his "synodal style"; the importance of the relationship between "faith and culture" in Paul VI's teaching; and Paul VI's contribution to the Second Vatican Council, including his role in developing the doctrine of episcopal collegiality.

The volume is worthy of attention for at least two reasons. The collection shows the central role of Montini—first as a monsignor in Rome (1925–54), then as archbishop in Milan (1954–63), and finally as pope—in shaping a crucial time in the history of the Church that spanned the pontificate of Pius XI, World War II, the Second Vatican Council, and the Council's aftermath. The fact that his pontificate and his emphasis on the term *dialogue* seems to be somehow neglected today casts a light on the dire need for serious biographical and thematic studies—so far emblematically lacking—on such a significant figure for the history of the Catholic Church.

The texts in this volume also reflect Martini's personal response to Montini, since he defined the latter as a "uomo spirituale" (spiritual man), "uomo di chiesa" (man of the Church), "uomo del concilio" (man of the Council), and "uomo della luce" (man of light, pp. vi–xi). It is not too much to say that the way Martini approaches Montini is very telling of Martini's attitude toward the episcopal ministry and the Second Vatican Council. This collection whets the appetite of the reader for a biographical work on Martini, without a doubt the most important diocesan bishop for Italian Catholicism after the Second Vatican Council.

University of St. Thomas MASSIMO FAGGIOLI

Le moine, le prêtre et le général. Les frères Lalande ou le dépassement de soi. By Jean-Pierre Guérend. [L'histoire à vif.] (Paris: Éditions du Cerf. 2008. Pp. 170. €17,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-08604-2.)

At the beginning of June 1940, a seriously wounded French army officer, Captain André Lalande, was carried aboard the last transport ship leaving Narvik in northern Norway, where Allied troops had engaged the Wehrmacht since April. Now the German invasion of France itself demanded the evacua-

tion of the expeditionary force and the redeployment of those soldiers still able to fight. Lalande would not participate in the ensuing French debacle, but both of his brothers would survive the defeat only to be taken prisoner by the Germans. These two brothers, imprisoned in the Reich until 1945, were not themselves professional military men like André. Bernard was a Catholic priest, and Jacques was a Benedictine monk.

Jean-Pierre Guérend, an intimate of one of the Lalande brothers, offers the "*trois portraits croisées*" (p. 152) of a monk, a priest, and a general to illustrate how three devout French Catholics helped shape the postwar world. According to Guérend, the parents of the Lalande brothers instilled in their three sons (who also had five sisters) a common Catholic faith and call to service. In different ways, the author insists, each brother found his vocation in a form of self-sacrifice. Guérend introduces Antoine Lalande, their father, as both friend and follower of Marc Sangnier, the founder of the early-twentieth-century Christian democratic Sillon movement and a fellow native of the Corrèze. Their mother, the former Marie-Thérèse Gaume, numbered a Jesuit and three nuns among her siblings. Apparently, she did not desire a monastic, priestly, or military vocation for her sons.

Maternal wishes aside, Bernard entered the seminary at Issy-les-Moulineaux in 1928; Jacques (the eldest) presented himself at the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Maurice de Clervaux in Luxembourg in 1929, and André (the youngest) won acceptance to Saint-Cyr, the French military academy, in 1931. While his brothers pursued a wartime apostolate in the *Stalag*, André recovered from his 1940 wounds and fought alongside the Free French at the 1941 desert battle of Bir Hakeim. As a colonel, he became a prisoner of the Viet Minh after the 1954 surrender at Dien Bien Phu and subsequently played an uncomfortable role in the counterinsurgency in Algeria. This youngest of the Lalande brothers finished his career as President Charles de Gaulle's chief military adviser between 1967 and 1969.

The contemplative Jacques's life did not unfold in total isolation from the world. After the war, he helped transform the Clervaux monastery into an international meeting place for youth connected with the burgeoning Pax Christi movement. He also took temporary leave of his Benedictine brothers to study psychology in his native land and serve as a chaplain to delinquent youths. Bernard, a recipient of the Legion of Honor like André, played a more lasting and significant role in the Catholic peace movement, assuming a leading role in Pax Christi and serving as personal secretary to two successive postwar archbishops of Paris, Cardinals Emmanuel Célestin Suhard and Maurice Feltin. He also participated as a theological expert at the Second Vatican Council, publishing an acclaimed commentary on Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in terris.* In the autumn of his career in the 1970s, he relocated to Rome to devote himself to his work on the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace.

The author worked closely with Bernard in Pax Christi; of the three brothers, this one receives the most revealing portrayal, showing how he contended at various times with both the reticence of his clerical superiors and the radical temptations of the international peace movement. Guérend's depiction of Bernard and his brothers is more one of warm admiration than critical, scholarly detachment, although it makes abundant use of family correspondence and author interviews. *Le moine, le prêtre et le général* makes for an engaging story of three inimitable yet exemplary brothers who embodied vital traditions within French Catholicism as it entered the post-1945 world.

Greensboro College, NC RICHARD FRANCIS CRANE

Giuseppe Dossetti: La fede e la storia. Studi nel decennale della morte. Edited by Alberto Melloni. [Istituto per le scienze religiose–Bologna. Testi e richerche di scienze religiose, Nuova serie, 39.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2007. Pp. 415. €29,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-12069-4.)

This book presents the fruit of meetings held in 2006, the tenth anniversary of Giuseppe Dossetti's death. Bologna's respected Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII, which he launched, hosted the conferences. Dossetti (1913–96) was a key figure in postwar Italian Catholic politics and might be considered a founding father of the republic. The product of Milan's Catholic University, he eventually taught there, acquiring a reputation as a progressive and as one of the *professorini* ("little professors"), a like-minded group that included Giuseppe Lazzati (who became the rector of the university), Giorgio LaPira (the mayor of Florence), and Amintore Fanfani (Italy's five-time prime minister). During World War II, Dossetti stood among the most important Catholics in the antifascist resistance, and he then worked as one of the key Christian Democrats (of the Democrazia Cristiana, or DC) who drafted Italy's new constitution. His views on land reform and opposition to adherence to NATO, however, led to a rift with the DC leadership, beginning with Alcide DeGasperi and extending, as Paolo Pombeni notes in his chapter, to rather nasty polemics with Giulio Andreotti. These fights ended his status in the party by the early 1950s. Still, in 1956 he was persuaded to run in what turned out to be an unsuccessful campaign to unseat Bologna's popular communist mayor, Giuseppe Dozza. Dossetti "retired" from politics and entered the priesthood, serving at the Second Vatican Council and establishing a religious community in the Middle East.

Dossetti was a figure who collected groups of passionate followers and bitter enemies, and, although this book displays an admirable scholarship, the contributors clearly identify themselves more with the former than with the latter. Many of them, such as Romano and Paolo Prodi, knew him well. Romano, the former prime minister, begins the work with a remembrance, and his brother adds an essay on "Law and History" in Dossetti's thought and works. As editor, Alberto Melloni grouped that essay and the others into three

sections: *nodi* (cruxes), *tappe* (stages), and *frammenti* (fragments). The pieces are somewhat scattered, and the whole work should not be considered a comprehensive study of Dossetti's life. The Resistance and the constituent debates, for instance, receive much attention, while less is accorded to the arguments over NATO.

As ably portrayed in these chapters, however, Dossetti's life evokes feelings of both hope and the tragedy of lost opportunities. Giuseppe Ruggieri's piece on Dossetti's "Christian life," for example, emphasizes the weight of community in his thinking, a concept also present in Giancarlo Mori's discussion of his anxiety that Italy not be split into clerical and anticlerical camps. Community, rather, clearly determined his hopes for Catholic participation in the Resistance. But that struggle posed difficult choices for many of the faithful; not all of whom rallied to the cause as he did. Dossetti's work at the Constituent Assembly also illustrates these themes. In his study on "The Defense and Development of the Constitution," Umberto Allegretti writes that Dossetti considered the document "an ethical-philosophical reality, a great juridical-political foundation, (and) the fruit of a historical event" (p. 145). His effort to include an article on the right and duty of citizens to resist unjust rulers, however, was ill fated. Nevertheless, Dossetti always defended the finished product, and, when the whole Italian system appeared to unravel in the 1990s, he surfaced to defend it. Allegretti presents, finally, an image that cannot fail to make an impression on any reader. During his last illness in mid-December 1996, Giuseppe Dossetti, semi-paralyzed, continued to work from his hospital bed to save the constitution. In that last fight, at least, he ended on the winning side.

The University of Scranton ROY DOMENICO

Rome's Most Faithful Daughter: The Catholic Church and Independent Poland, 1914–1939. By Neal Pease. (Athens: Ohio University Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 288. $49.95 cloth; $26.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-821-41855-0 cloth; 978-0-821-41856-7 paperback.)

Despite the centrality of the Church in Poland's troubled past and the fact that Poland is the only European country where Catholicism retains a prominent position in public life, there is surprisingly little scholarship dealing with the history of Catholicism along the Vistula. Neal Pease's new book is the first to explore the relationship between the Holy See and Poland during the first half of the twentieth century, but it would sell the book short to praise it just because it filled an empty spot in the historiography. *Rome's Most Faithful Daughter* is elegantly written, scrupulously researched, and persuasively argued. Above all, it manages to strike a rare balance while dealing with a topic that is replete with polemical landmines.

The title of the book is ironic, because Pease's primary contention is that interwar Poland and the Holy See had a far more troubled relationship than is

usually assumed. Contrary to the image of Poland as a homogeneously Catholic country that could be counted on to support the Holy See's goals and ideals, the position of the Church in pre-World War II Poland was actually quite ambiguous. As Pease points out, the educated elites of Poland were subjected to the same secularizing trends seen elsewhere in Europe, so by the time the country was restored to the map of Europe in 1918, a large segment of the political leadership was ambivalent about Catholicism, if not downright anticlerical. Józef Piłsudski, a cofounder of the Polish Socialist Party and by the 1920s a leading advocate for what would be called multiculturalism today, dominated the state. When Piłsudski led a military coup to prevent the right from taking power in 1926, the regime and the Church seemed headed for a showdown. The stage was therefore set for a great deal of church-state tension, particularly when the country's new constitution enshrined a range of liberal civil rights rather than setting up Catholicism as the official state religion. Given the ethnic and religious diversity of pre-World War II Poland, argues Pease, "the vision of a Catholic Poland could not serve as the unifying principle of the Second Republic, as widely assumed; on the contrary, perhaps no other theme held such power to polarize the country or set its various peoples and constituencies at odds" (p. 5).

But a full-blown confrontation never surfaced, and Pease helps us understand why. Based on both Vatican and Polish sources, he demonstrates that the interventions of Pipe Pius XI succeeded in moderating the Polish clergy's tendency to slide toward the far right. Monsignor Achille Ratti spent 1918–19 as nuncio in Poland, and during this time he befriended and grew to trust Piłsudski. When Ratti was elevated to the papacy, he used his authority to push aside the most politicized and ideologically extreme bishops, while establishing good official relations with the Polish government. This did not eliminate tensions on the ground in Warsaw, but it ensured that they would never get out of hand.

Pease offers little comfort to those who would deny the political extremism of many in the interwar Church, but neither does he support the arguments of those who see the Holy See as a mere auxiliary for the radical right. He is both frank and thorough in examining the antisemitism that pervaded the interwar Church, and he shows how prejudice against Eastern Rite Catholics scuttled Vatican efforts to strengthen the Church among Ukrainians and Belarusians. On the other hand, he approaches his topic with sympathy rather than demonization, leaving us with a picture that is both nuanced and insightful. This book will offer revelations even for specialists in Polish history, but its audience should extend far beyond that subfield to encompass anyone interested in the history of Catholicism in modern Europe.

University of Michigan BRIAN PORTER-SZŰCS

Catholicism and the Roots of Nazism: Religious Identity and National Socialism. By Derek Hastings. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 290. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-195-39024-7.)

Derek Hastings carefully analyzes how the totalistic, secularizing messianism that was portrayed during the Third Reich had a fascinating prehistory in Catholic Munich, which the Nazis tried to obliterate as they achieved control of Germany from 1933 to 1945. Between 1919 and 1923 Catholics in Munich played a decisive role in the development of antisemitic Nazism. Following the Beerhall Putsch (1923), the nature and composition of the Nazi movement abruptly changed into an anti-Catholic phase. In its Catholic phase, however, the party was able to develop political momentum and to transcend its marginalization as merely a rightist, radical, propagandistic association. This book also delineates how the Nazi movement developed a different trajectory after the Putsch that led to a political religion—one that left little room for the more doctrinaire Catholic orientation present at the party's inception and early years.

The historical gap filled by Hastings is to provide a monographic study of the local roots of Nazism rather than a focus on its ideological roots and late-Weimar voting patterns. Revealing the Nazi party's early Munich years is a significant accomplishment, since it can help explain some of the adaptation dynamics used by Catholics after 1933. This authoritative monograph has incorporated archival and printed sources to show how the Nazi movement and Catholic identity were intertwined in Bavaria. The documents illustrate the roles of individual Catholics and do not concentrate on the Church as an institution. Hastings's study provides the background that can help scholars analyze the pro-Nazi priests who countered the somewhat ambivalent anti-Nazi ethos of the institutional Church.

His book also reveals the negative connection between the Nazis and Reform Catholicism that eventually helped nourish the renewal launched in the Second Vatican Council, since Hitler disconnected the party from the Church and so made space for a *communio* ecclesiology to emerge after 1945. Hastings's story is nuanced as he traces the early Catholic influence that evaporated after 1923 into a movement with a more Protestant and neo-pagan veneer. Pre-1923 Catholics in Munich differed from the broader Catholic milieu, since in Bavaria there developed an opposition to ultramontanism and to political Catholicism. To add to the complexities, in southern Germany a Catholic could also mix identities and so could be a Social Democrat and a Nazi, since boundaries were more permeable.

Chapter 1 outlines how a nationalistic brand of religious Catholicism took root in the early-twentieth century. Chapter 2 sketches out the interaction between the antisemitic responses to the chaotic Weimar conditions that characterized the early Nazi and Catholic circles. Chapters 3 and 4 trace the birth of the Catholic-Nazi synthesis and explicate the Nazi drives that targeted

Catholics to gain their support. Chapter 5 shows what led the Nazis to split from Catholicism as Hitler tried to imitate Mussolini and to link his movement with nationalist organizations such as that led by Erich Ludendorff.

Hastings's book handles the complexities that shaped the early Nazi Party history with a very sensitive attention to the interaction between Nazi and Catholic interests. Munich Catholics were striving to achieve a legitimate Catholic identity by helping to spread early Nazism, but Hitler's own messianic ambition destroyed the link between Catholicism and Nazism. This study nicely explores the gray areas of the political and religious nexus that nurtured the formative years of Nazism and poses some legitimate questions concerning its theological dynamics that scholars of the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany will have to answer.

Boston College DONALD J. DIETRICH

"Heil Hitler"—Pastoral bedingt: Vom Politischen Katholizismus zum Pastoralkatholizismus. By Maximilian Liebmann. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag. 2009. Pp. 179. €29,90. ISBN 978-3-205-78412-8.)

In "*Heil Hitler*," Maximilian Liebmann presents what he understands to be the single motivational framework for how the Austrian Catholic Church responded to National Socialism. He is responding to historians who he believes have offered "reproachful criticism of the behavior of our bishops" under National Socialism (p. 11). Identifying the framework as "pastoral Catholicism" or the "pastoral doctrine," Liebmann finds its origins in St. Paul's Letter to the Romans 13:1–2, which emphasizes obedience to governing authorities as a divine command. From the establishment of Austrian fascism in 1933 under Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß, Liebmann argues that the church hierarchy separated itself from the political realm and devoted its energies to promoting and safeguarding its pastoral mission to the Catholic faithful. Only in the postwar period, as the Church gradually moved to the Second Vatican Council, did its members reclaim a significant role in political life. This reclamation, however, influenced and shaped by the lived experiences under National Socialism, emphasized the ethical and moral voice of the Church in state and society.

Pastoral Catholicism developed as a response to an unchecked political Catholicism that grew from the late-1860s Austrian Kulturkampf that, unlike its German counterpart, centered on a clash between traditional church-state cooperation and a growing secular-liberal influence in Austrian politics and society. To counter this development, the Church nurtured the growth of associational life, rife with political overtones and lay leadership. Clergy, too, participated; as Liebmann writes, "The Sunday sermons at the expense of the Gospel . . . were often so apologetically and party-politically overloaded that one can and must speak of a real misuse of the Mass" (p. 29). This situation changed in 1933 with the onset of Austrian fascism under Dollfuß, who sup-

pressed democratic-party politics and guaranteed the religious interests of the Church. In June 1933, the chancellor ensured this latter fact by signing a Concordat with the Holy See. No longer was church associational life necessary to ensure religious interests in the corporative state. In November 1933, the Austrian bishops attested to this fact by depoliticizing the clergy and removing them from politics, although they did continue to receive appointments to Federal Councils. Thus a paradigm shift took place in ecclesial-state life whereby the primary focus of the Church moved from party-political to pastoral-doctrinal concerns. No longer did political chambers or associational meeting halls dominate, but instead the parish became central to championing Catholic pastoral concerns. Leading this shift were two priests and theologians, Michael Pfliegler and Karl Rudolf, the latter the founder of the Vienna Pastoral Institute.

Pfliegler and Rudolf worked tirelessly to promote the pastoral doctrine. They placed great emphasis on a hierarchical leadership principle that was authoritarian. Supported by the Austrian hierarchy, especially Cardinal Theodor Innitzer, the archbishop of Vienna, they endeavored to incorporate all church associations into or put them directly under the all-encompassing Catholic Action movement that promoted lay participation in the Church's pastoral mission—all of which were directly under episcopal and clerical leadership. Rudolf even traveled to Italy to study how Catholic Action there had been influenced by Italian fascism. The portrait of this pastoral movement in the Church allows the reader to conclude that the Austrian Catholic Church was well "prepared" for the onslaught of National Socialism and its policy of *Gleichschaltung*. Those associations, such as the Cartel Federation of Catholic Student Associations, which did not comply, were excluded from recognition in official church publications.

Liebmann attributes the March 18, 1938, "Solemn Declaration" of the Austrian bishops and Innitzer's cover letter to Gauleiter Josef Bürckel following the Anschluss—both of which were welcoming and supportive of National Socialism—as strict adherence to the pastoral doctrine. On this point, Liebmann makes great effort to counter the more critical interpretation of Stefan Mortiz in *Grüß Gott and Heil Hitler: Catholic Church and National Socialism in Austria* (Vienna, 2002). In his analysis, however, Liebmann is much too narrow and neglects other factors such as nationalism, antibolshevism, antiliberalism, and antisemitism that might have influenced the hierarchy's positive stance toward National Socialism. Similarly, Liebmann only fleetingly mentions Rome's displeasure with the "Solemn Declaration" and the extraordinary steps taken by the Holy See, including the publication of a critical article in *Osservatore Romano* and a program of similar condemnatory tone on Vatican radio, to counteract the Austrian episcopacy's actions.

Liebmann also attributes to the pastoral doctrine the response of the bishops toward Jewish persecution and general resistance to the state. It was as if the pastoral doctrine called for silence. Regarding Johannes Ude, a priest

who spoke out for Jews in a letter to the Steiermark Gauleiter, Liebmann states that Ude "did not align himself with the pastoral doctrine" (p. 97). Thus, Liebmann concludes, individuals who resisted the state's policies placed themselves outside or beyond the pastoral doctrine. Such conclusions seem superficial. At the same time, Liebmann also fails to mention Father Michael Pfliegler's *The Living Christian before the Actual World* (Vienna, 1937), in which he reminded Christians of their vocation to live out their baptismal call by practicing good works for lapsed Christians and for non-Christians alike. In 1938, the editors of the Berlin diocesan newspaper, for example, pointed to Pfliegler's work under the heading "Responsibility of Christians for Non-Christians." According to Liebmann, Pfliegler was a staunch proponent of the pastoral doctrine. But how is Pfliegler's book a part of the pastoral doctrine?

Liebmann offers a means of interpreting the Austrian Church's actions under National Socialism. Nevertheless, the analysis is myopic and lacks nuance. At times, it is even deceiving. For example, in his discussion of the clergy's response to the "Solemn Declaration," he includes the "Working Group for Religious Peace," a clerical organization formed to promote harmony between the Catholic Church and National Socialism, which, with the help of local Nazi officials, promoted clergy support of the "Solemn Declaration." Although Liebmann cites Josef Lettl's fine study of this group, nowhere does he mention the outright support of many members of this group for National Socialism's racial teaching. Such support cannot be attributed solely to a "pastoral doctrine." Had Liebmann read recent works on this topic in English he would have been aware of this fact. Unfortunately, Liebmann's citations offer no evidence that he consulted works other than those in German or even those outside the narrow field of Austrian church history. At the same time, Liebmann fills his work with direct quotes from secondary sources, which, at times, compose whole sections of the book. Ultimately, then, one must conclude that this concise study deserves a lengthier book—one in which the author can more fully explore the themes raised. Such a study would compel the author to nuance and develop his arguments more objectively to encompass the wider ramifications of pastoral concerns that Austrian Catholic Church faced under National Socialism.

Stonehill College, MA KEVIN P. SPICER, C.S.C.

Les agendas conciliaires de Mgr J. Willebrands, secrétaire du Secrétariat pour l'Unité des chrétiens. Translated into French by Leo Declerck. [Instrumenta Theologica, XXXI.] (Leuven: Maurits Sabbebibliotheek, Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, and Peeters. 2009. Pp. xl, 284. €38,00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-92217-4.)

The role of the Secretariat for Christian Unity at the Second Vatican Council, notwithstanding the fact that it was a small and new organism cre-

ated only at the start of the Council's preparatory period on June 5, 1960, was one of considerable importance. The influence it exercised is owed largely to the competence and activities of its secretary, Monsignor (later Cardinal) Johannes Willebrands from the Netherlands (1909–2006). Willebrands, familiar with ecumenical matters because of his roles as president of the Dutch St. Willibrord Association and secretary of the Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions, played a key role in the redaction of draft texts that resulted into several Council documents (*Unitatis redintegratio, Nostra aetate, Dignitatis humanae, Dei Verbum*) still considered as landmark documents of the Second Vatican Council, particularly those regarded as the Council's most innovative products. The current publication of Willebrands's conciliar agendas offers important information regarding the redaction of these very schemata. Certainly, on many occasions the agendas contain no more than sparse and cryptic notes, offering readers merely some factual insight into the secretary's daily activities: his encounters, contacts, and many meetings. Yet there are important details regarding dates, meeting participants, and so forth, providing testimony to the ecumenical work done on a daily basis.

The book features the elaborate array of contacts that Willebrands maintained, including the World Council of Churches at Geneva; oriental churches, particularly the patriarchates of Constantinople and Jerusalem; Orthodox churches behind the Iron Curtain; La Petite Église; and non-Catholic observers, particularly the Anglican and Methodist representatives at the Council. Willebrands's efforts to develop and nourish these contacts were nothing short of impressive. They also led him to undertake journey after journey to the United States, France, Germany, Switzerland, England, and other countries to draft a manifold of reports. In the intervening periods Willebrands constantly received guests in Rome and invited them for a meal, welcoming them with his ready hospitality, courtesy, and ability to listen and understand.

Ecumenism in action involved coordinating the secretariat's activities, including those concerning the General Secretariat, the Coordinating Commission, and other commissions that were drafting documents. Willebrands's diplomatic skills also were in demand, as he interacted with the pope; Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, the papal secretary of state; and Bishop Carlo Colombo, the pope's private theologian, as well as their staff members. Organizing the secretariat's work also required attentiveness to sensitivities from both the right and the left wings. On occasion, these agendas demonstrate how a healthy amount of vigilance was needed with the press and political issues that might have repercussions for the conciliar debate. Moreover, Willebrands's function involved constant planning, maintaining a realistic calendar, and ensuring that the work evolved well. Documents needed to be prepared, and correspondence with the leading organs of the Council appraised accurately.

Everyday ecumenism also implied caring for the well-being of dozens of non-Catholic observers or delegates at the Second Vatican Council, drafting an Ecumenical Directory, and undertaking first steps toward further ecumenical dialogues in the postconciliar era.

In sum, these richly annotated agendas constitute an essential document in comprehending the Council's complexity and the considerable amount of work carried out by those occupying a central role in it—those who cared to bring the drafting of the schemata, often dealing with delicate topics that no previous ecumenical council had touched, to a fruitful close.

Université Laval GILLES ROUTHIER

Kirche und Revolution. Das Christentum in Ostmitteleuropa vor und nach 1989. Edited by Hans-Joachim Veen, Peter März, and Franz-Josef Schlichting. [Europäische Diktaturen und ihre Überwindung. Schriften der Stiftung Ettersberg, Vol. 14.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2009. Pp. 241. €19,90. ISBN 978-3-412-20403-7.)

The Ettersberg Foundation (Stiftung Ettersberg) in Weimar, Germany, is devoted to the comparative study of European dictatorships, organizing international scholarly symposia and producing publications. The Seventh International Symposium, held in October 2008, hosted participants from central and eastern Europe. The symposium addressed the role of the Church in the democratic transformations of central and eastern Europe since the 1980s, examining the relationship among church, state, and democracy before and after the change of political regimes. The ensuing publication includes contributions arranged in three sections.

The first set of contributions offers a detailed look at the churches' involvement in political change in three countries. It discusses the extent to which the churches harmonized with the communist government—if they became "a church in socialism" (*Kirche im Sozialismus*) and thus a factor in communist government structures, offered shelter to opposition groups, and/or reflected national interests. Regarding the German Democratic Republic, Richard Schröder examines the role of the Evangelical Church, Ehrhart Neubert presents the impact of the churches on the revolutionary changes of 1989–90, and Franz-Josef Schlichting analyzes the place of the small Catholic community in Eichsfeld. Dirk Lenschen discusses the attitude of the Catholic Church, socialism, and the transformation in Poland; while Thomas Bremer studies the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Soviet regime. Peter Maser states that the German Protestants have never generated any revolution. Klaus Ziemer provides a detailed account of the role of the Catholic Church in the changes in Poland in 1988 and 1990, Miklós Tomka addresses the Church's impact in Hungary between 1988 and 1990, Tomás Halik discusses the Church and the Czech Republic in 1989, and Konstantin Kostjuk studies the Church in Russia between 1988 and 1991.

In the second section, the writers discuss the questions of religious shifts and increased interest in religion in the postcommunist countries of central and eastern Europe. Presented are models of relations between state and church throughout history (Hans Maier), changes in the position and role of religion in postcommunist countries (Detlef Pollack), Christian values as the foundation of European identity (Henryk Józef Muszyński), and the position of religion and Church in the Orthodox part of Europe (Inna Naletova).

Finally, Axel Noack, Edelbert Richter, and Tomka raise a troubling issue—namely, whether Europe continues to remain Christian. The question is justified because of the deliberate efforts by the communist regimes to obliterate the Christian character of their countries, as well as the increasing number of European communities that belong to a Muslim religious tradition.

A bonus is the transcription of the symposium's plenary session, in which participants provide further insights.

Kirche und Revolution can be regarded as a fundamental work that raises many questions, offers a method of work, demonstrates originality in its comparative approach, and challenges historians and sociologists to perform even more assiduous work on the place of churches in the postcommunist European states.

University of Ljubljana, Slovenia BOGDAN KOLAR

American

Almighty God Created the Races: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, & American Law. By Fay Botham. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 271. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-807-83318-6.)

In *Almighty God Created the Race: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, & American Law*, Fay Botham, adjunct professor in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Iowa, focuses on a rarely examined issue in American race matters: the intersection of religion, law, and interracial marriage. To what extent did Protestant or Catholic understanding of marriage influence secular law regarding this institution? In particular, how did the Catholic understanding of marriage as a sacrament and the Protestant notion that marriage was sacred but a state matter influence judicial decision making? Furthermore, what are the proper roles of the church and state in establishing marriage laws in this country?

Divided into six chapters, *Almighty God* begins with an examination of the 1948 California-based case *Perez v. Lippold*, which outlawed religious discrimination in marriage. The deciding vote in the state of California's Supreme Court decision was cast by a Christian Science jurist who agreed with the plaintiff's argument that antimiscegenation laws violated religious liberties. With the *Perez* case as a starting point, Botham then proceeds to examine the

development of American marriage laws; the difference between Protestant and Catholic understandings of the institution of marriage; the theology of race; the Protestant influence on antimiscegenation law; and, finally, Southern Catholics'attitudes on race and marriage with analysis of the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Loving v. Virginia* decision (1967), which outlawed race-based nuptials. Hers is an ambitious and wide-ranging investigation of American race-based marital attitudes and laws using primary source material as diverse as papal encyclicals, court decisions, clerical sermons and writings, secular newspapers, and religious journals as well as Holy Scripture.

Botham's research convincingly proves that a biblical understanding of the separation of the races informed American antimiscegenation laws from colonial times into the twentieth century. Her examination of the influence of religion in repealing such laws, however, is less convincing; an exception being the *Perez* case. As Botham herself notes regarding the all-important *Loving* decision, ". . . the real legal issue [in *Loving*] was whether or not antimiscegenation laws violated the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment" (p. 174). An *amicus curiae* brief, submitted to the court by Southern members of the American Roman Catholic hierarchy on behalf of the Lovings, "went virtually unnoticed by the attorneys and the justices in the case. . ." (p. 174). Religion separated the races; the law would allow them to live together.

Almighty God leaves readers wanting more, given the brevity of the manuscript for such a complex and controversial issue.The struggle for racial civil rights was obviously more complex and nuanced than what is presented here—there is no examination of Catholic and Protestant efforts to end Jim Crow laws, which would contextualize the religious impulse and influence on the modern civil rights movement. Nevertheless, Botham's work forces readers to come to terms with their religious value system, their Constitutional understandings of religious freedom, and their racial attitudes. Whether one believes marriage is a sacred institution established by Christ to impart grace, a God-inspired relationship between a man and a woman, or a state-controlled partnership that governs property and inheritance rights, the country's understanding of marriage as an American institution is in flux. *Almighty God* is contextual scholarship for any rational discussion or debate on the topic.

Fordham University R. BENTLEY ANDERSON

American Christians and Islam: Evangelical Culture and Muslims from the Colonial Period to the Age of Terrorism. By Thomas S. Kidd. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp xx, 201. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-691-13349-2.)

In the last two decades, several books have appeared that take their subject the relationship between American Christians and the Middle East. (For

example, see Ussama Makdisi's superb study *Artillery of Heaven* [Ithaca, NY, 2008], and Fuad Shaaban's *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: Roots of Orientalism in America* [Durham, NC, 1991]). Yet, for the most part these have been narrowly focused scholarly works. *American Christians and Islam* is the first book that covers the *longue durée* of American Christian views on Islam and Muslims. Starting from the colonial period and extending through the post-9/11 era, Thomas S. Kidd aims to show that American Christians (in reality almost exclusively white conservative Protestants) have always had a problematic and primarily antagonistic relationship with Islam. Rather, than see 9/11 as the turning point in that relationship, he shows that the same themes (conversion of Muslims, missionary work among Muslims, and Islam and Muhammad as the antithesis of Christianity and Christ) have coursed through Evangelical discourse and diatribe for more than 300 years.

Across eight chapters, Kidd illustrates his argument with a rich and convincing collection of evidence. Amongst early Americans, Islam came to play a key role in shaping both intra-Protestant theological arguments (where opponents associated each other's views with that of Muhammad), as well as the nascent American national narrative. The same themes continued through the age of the early American Republic. As with the Barbary piracy in the eighteenth century, pirate attacks on American ships in the nineteenth century generated a keen interest in captivity narratives and eschatological writing with a historicist bend. Thus, Islam came to be seen by the likes of Jonathan Edwards as the smoke locusts in Revelation 9. According to Kidd, it was this sense that there was a growing clash between Islam and Christianity that underpinned the American missionary efforts to Muslims. While producing only a handful of converts to Christianity, this nineteenth and early-twentieth missionary movement was formative in the shaping of American Orientalism with its "Bible lands" travel narratives and conversion stories that depicted Muslims as thirsting for Christ.

In the twentieth century this missionary movement split over the lack of any tangible evidence of success. Orientalists such as Samuel Zwemer believed in an organized effort to slowly convert Muslims. However, increasingly Dispensationalists came to dominate the missionary movement, and they interpreted unfolding political events as signs of the End of Times. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of Zionism and the political project to establish a Jewish state in Palestine produced a new dominant narrative among American evangelicals whereby Arabs and Muslims were the enemies of Israel—whose re-establishment was another sign of the End of Times—and thus the enemies of Christianity. The confluence of the Zionist narrative and project with the eschatological evangelical organized efforts and prophetic pronouncements that Christians must support Israel only intensified after the 1967 and 1973 wars, and came to a feverish pitch in the aftermath of the first Gulf War and then the events of 9/11.

The story that Kidd tells is compelling and enlightening in its nuanced depiction of conservative American Christian views on Islam and Muslims across three centuries. However, the very strength of the narrative (its encyclopedic nature) also makes for a weakness: namely, the absence of any sustained and deep analysis of the causes for the overwhelmingly hostile approach to Islam. Although Kidd dismisses Edward Said's *Orientalism* (New York, 1978) as a flawed rubric of analysis, he does not offer any convincing alternative as to why Islam would be held in such sustained contempt and fear by American evangelicals. Actions by some Muslims (piracy and much later terrorist attacks) may account for some of this but they hardly explain the whole trajectory of animosity. Nonetheless, this book is a well-written and enlightening overview of the American Evangelical approach to Islam.

North Carolina State University AKRAM FOUAD KHATER

The Practice of Pluralism: Congregational Life and Religious Diversity in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1730–1820. By Mark Häberlein. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 276. $79.00. ISBN 978-0-271-03521-5.)

Mark Häberlein's tightly written book chronicles religion in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as it evolved from backcountry to maturity during the colonial, revolutionary, and early-republican periods. Five congregations—three German-speaking (German Reformed, Lutheran, and Moravian) and two English (Anglican and Presbyterian)—form the core of Häberlein's inquiry into this thriving inland town. *The Practice of Pluralism* is a revised version of Häberlein's dissertation written at Penn State University, and the author currently is professor of modern history at the University of Bamberg, Germany.

At first glance, *The Practice of Pluralism* appears most similar to works on diversity in the Midatlantic, such as Sally Schwartz's *A Mixed Multitude: The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1989) or Aaron Spencer Fogleman's recent counterargument in *Jesus Is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia, 2007). But Häberlein's theme—that the "quest for order and stability" (p. 12) dominated religious life during the ninety-year period of his study—puts his book in a different category. According to Häberlein, challenges to congregational life included immigrants who needed to adjust, questions about lay authority, and disagreements over church order, but by the late-eighteenth century stability reigned in the form of impressive buildings, charters of incorporation, and lengthy pastorates. Thus, the closest relatives to Häberlein may be *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900* by Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra (Knoxville, 2000), which tracks maturity in another part of Greater Pennsylvania, and Richard L. Bushman's *The Refinement of*

America: Persons, Houses, Cities (New York, 1992), a discussion of the quest for improvement.

One of the book's major strengths is its research. Häberlein has meticulously assembled biographic and economic data on a large portion of the pastors, deacons, elders, vestrymen, and other lay leaders in Lancaster during this period. The story slows during these lengthy passages, but the amount of evidence is impressive.

Another strength is the conclusion, which demonstrates the author's analytical ability as he summarizes the evidence and makes interesting points about religion in Lancaster. Häberlein points out, for example, that the diverse community of Christians in Lancaster practiced tolerance, although probably not self-consciously. Also, Continental Pietism provided Germans in Lancaster with both religion of the heart and ecclesiastical order, which explains why early-nineteenth-century revivalism bypassed them. Because lay influence was present in the beginning, Lancaster had no triumphant, democratic, growing-lay-influence narrative. Likewise, church attendance remained high throughout the period of study, removing any suggestions of secularization. In sum, postrevolutionary Lancaster lacked the "turmoil, upheaval, and dramatic change" (p. 239) of many other communities, because it achieved stability and maturity prior to independence. Häberlein suggests that religious studies have overemphasized communities that experienced rapid change, especially involving evangelicalism; instead, he believes that places "outside the evangelical mainstream" (p. 243), like Lancaster and similar Pennsylvania communities (Germantown, Reading, and York), which began with diversity, may be better models than New England for the emerging cities in the nineteenth-century Midwest. Although the book's theme of stability and maturity might be a bit obvious, the author's subthemes are not and particularly demonstrate his skill as a historian. This excellent book adds much to the understanding of religion in the early Midatlantic and the maturation of backcountry American society.

Bridgewater College, VA STEVE LONGENECKER

Christianity in Action: The International History of the Salvation Army. By Henry Gariepy. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans. 2009. Pp. xvi, 286. $25.00. ISBN 978-0-802-84841-3.)

Few organizations in the world enjoy more widespread recognition than the Salvation Army. Almost all Americans are familiar with its ubiquitous street-corner bell-ringing, especially at Christmas time, and with its long history of social service, including its "soup kitchens" and other ministries to those in need. A prominent advertising agency recently rated the Army's red-shield logo as one of the ten most instantly recognizable "brand names" in the world.

What is not quite so widely understood, however, is that the Salvation Army is not simply a religiously motivated social service organization, but has always been, since its American founding in 1880, a freestanding Protestant Christian denomination. Religiously, it belongs firmly to the family of "holiness" churches that emerged from Methodism in the late-nineteenth century, and as such it retains much in common within other similar denominations, often with "Holiness" or "Wesleyan" as part of their name.

However, more than most such denominations of similar or equal size, the Army's flamboyant beginnings, its genius for spectacular public relations, and its highly visible place in American life make its history of considerable intrinsic interest to religious historians and a potentially rich subject for scholarly interpretation. Moreover, the Army's strong social and religious conservatism, and its longtime affinity with powerful private and governmental institutions, are especially deserving of full, fair, and careful analysis.

Colonel Henry Gariepy's *Christianity in Action* is not such a study. Rather, it is a celebratory, pious institutional history by the longtime chief editor of the Army's official publication *The War Cry* and a faculty member of its "Officer Training College" (what more conventional denominations label a seminary). The book's foreword by the commanding general of the church's international headquarters in London and its jacket endorsements by other prominent Salvationist officers (i.e., ministers) suggest its intended audience and tone.

As with most such insider institutional histories, the work does chronicle the basic facts and major actors in the Army's long and colorful history, with a plenitude of notable events and dates. The writing is upbeat and uncritical throughout, and controversies are only briefly and delicately treated. Readers looking for wider contexts, insights, or interpretations will be disappointed. The author instead intends that his readers will "find within these pages both information on and inspiration from this movement that God brought into existence and blessed" (p. xvi).

There is indeed a good deal of useful, factual information in *Christianity in Action*, and for the most part it is competently conveyed in straightforward prose. However, historians looking for more useful introductions to the Salvation Army's history would do better to begin with Edward McKinley's older *Marching to Glory: A History of the Salvation Army in the United States, 1880–1992* (San Francisco, 1992), or Diane H. Winston's more recent *Red-Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army* (Cambridge, MA, 1999). McKinley provides a good, basic sense of the Army's mission and institutional history, while Winston is especially illuminating on the urban and women's history dimensions of the Army as it has evolved through time.

Gariepy's narrative will be profitably read by many of the Salvationists and others for whom it is intended and will no doubt serve to inspire them to

carry on the Army's generally admirable work. On the evidence of this book, however, it appears that genuinely critical history, whether in the hands of insiders or outsiders, has not yet been viewed by the Salvation Army as another way it might advance its religious mission or develop different sorts of relationships with other Christian traditions and the wider culture.

Valparaiso University MEL PIEHL

The Church & the Land: The National Catholic Rural Life Conference and American Society, 1923–2007. By David S. Bovée. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 399. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21720-8.)

The rural history of the United States includes the denominational response to social and economic problems in the countryside. During the twentieth century the Catholic Church attempted to strengthen its presence in rural America by fostering its own country life program. By 1920, church leaders believed that rural Catholics needed greater association not only to keep them in the fold but also to improve their secular lives. During the early 1920s, Father Edwin Vincent O'Hara served as the director of the Rural Life Bureau of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council. From his parish in Oregon O'Hara worked with agricultural leaders, organizations, and clergy to help improve rural life. In 1923, O'Hara called a meeting of Catholics to discuss rural problems. Gathering in St. Louis at the same time as the Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Country Life Association, the delegates gained considerable attention and established the National Catholic Rural Life Conference (NCRLC) before the meeting ended. Rural Catholics now had an organized, structured way to make their needs known to the Church and society as well as to help eliminate isolation and improve assimilation.

The NCRLC worked to improve parent education and provide credit unions and vocation schools to teach children more than religion, all designed to keep Catholics on the land and boost the rural population. The NCRLC also wanted to gain converts to help ensure a denominational presence in the countryside, and it championed the traditional belief that rural culture was superior to urban living. During the 1930s the NCRLC became the most important church-affiliated agrarian movement that considered the solution of rural problems its primary responsibility for the good of the nation and Church. The NCRLC placed its faith and efforts for reform in a back-to-the-land movement and supported the subsistence homestead program of the federal government. After the Great Depression the continued urbanization of Catholics and the industrialization of agriculture limited the achievements of the NCRLC and forced its leaders to redirect its programmatic activities. After World War II, the NCRLC became increasingly active in the efforts to end world hunger through agricultural improvement and land

reform in developing nations. It also advocated food safety, the rights of migrant workers, and environmental responsibility by all agriculturalists, among other considerations. The NCRLC remained a major forum for rural social action where Catholic identity remained at the forefront, and it served as an important advocacy group for rural Christians and liberal causes. By the end of the twentieth century, the NCRLC's purpose had changed from spreading Catholicism to providing a Catholic influence on rural issues. Its voice had become less evangelical and more social gospel; yet it remained committed to linking Christians, particularly Catholics, and traditional rural values in an increasingly urban, secular, and scientific world. By so doing, the NCRLC provided a strong, respected voice that brought a Christian perspective to rural issues.

David Bovée has written an excellent institutional history of the NCRLC. It is thoughtful, prodigiously researched, clearly written, and analytical. Bovée notes NCRLC problems, including matters of leadership, as well as its successes, idealism, and unfulfilled dreams. This work will help agricultural, rural, and church historians understand the contribution of the NCRLC to the improvement of rural life in the twentieth century. Church historians will find it an important contribution to the institutional record. Overall, Bovée has provided a solid analysis of the institutional development and work of the NCRLC, all linked to ideas and the execution of church and public policy.

Purdue University R. Douglas Hurt

On the Irish Waterfront: The Crusader, the Movie, and the Soul of the Port of New York. By James T. Fisher. [Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America.] (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 370. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-801-44804-1.)

The now classic Kazan-Schulberg film *On the Waterfront* (1954) depicted a brutal world, already familiar from testimony to the Senate's Crime Committee. More unexpectedly, the hero was a "labor priest," Father Pete Barry. In this deeply researched and compellingly narrated book James T. Fisher tells the true story behind the famous movie. The priest was based on the charismatic Jesuit Father "Pete" Corridan of the Xavier Labor School, who had been running a long campaign against humiliating hiring practices, corrupt union officials, and the connections of both businessmen and labor leaders with criminals on Manhattan's West Side piers. Corridan faced an uphill battle, and the book has no happy ending, as he was ultimately defeated. Fisher has three main objectives. First, and this is perhaps his most original achievement, he aims to provide a complete picture of the interlocking worlds of businessmen, labor leaders, politicians, priests, and gangsters who, in their different ways, exercised great power over life in the waterfront districts on either side of the Hudson River from the later nineteenth century up to the 1950s. These five forms of power are represented here by the steve-

doring millionaire, William J. "Mr. Big" McCormack; "King Joe" Ryan, life president of the International Longshoremen's Association; Frank Hague, mayor of Jersey City for thirty years; Monsignor John J. "Taxi Jack" O'Donnell, chaplain to the port; and John "Cockeye" Dunn, who was finally brought to the electric chair for the last of an alleged thirty-two murders. All these men were Catholics of Irish descent, most had risen from poverty, and most were intimately acquainted with one another. Each in his own way contributed to the formidable strength of the status quo; and, above all, this regime, in spite of its many evils, was accepted by a large proportion of their fellow Irish Catholics living and working on the waterfront.

Fisher's second aim is to provide a sympathetic, though not uncritical, account of Corridan's crusade. He came from an Irish working-class background similar to those arrayed against him, but his strength lay in the ability to forge alliances with those who could publicize his crusade, most notably Malcolm Johnson of the *New York Sun* and the screenwriter Budd Schulberg, who became a close friend. But this strength was also in some ways a liability since, as Fisher repeatedly notes, he was much less effective in making alliances with those actually working on the waterfront.

The third theme of the book is the making of the movie, and here a major concern is to refute ill-informed criticisms of Schulberg's motives in writing the script. It is a great achievement to bring these three stories together to make a coherent and thoroughly convincing big story. Inevitably the narrative structure and the focus on the key personalities means that no one aspect can be considered in the detail that a more narrowly focused study would permit. Those especially interested in the Catholic dimension will welcome the extended discussion both of the potential impact of a "labor priest" in such an overwhelmingly Catholic milieu and also of the limits placed on his work by powerful opponents within the diocese or, in this case, his order. Corridan was fortunate in enjoying the support for many years of his provincial (and of Cardinal Francis Spellman), but when a new provincial came, the turbulent priest was quickly sidelined. Fisher's most interesting point is that the "labor priest" could face opposition even from those whom he hoped to assist:There was a widely held view that priests should stick to the "spiritual" and not directly enter the world of politics or industrial relations. Here one might wish for a whole chapter devoted to "Taxi Jack," who maintained what Fisher calls a version of the "two kingdoms" theology, and apparently enjoyed the respect and friendship of employers, politicians, and many longshoremen—although not, it seems, of many of his fellow priests. But Fisher has written a fine book, which is as readable as it is wide ranging and provocative.

University of Birmingham, UK HUGH MCLEOD

Before Dallas: The U.S. Bishops' Response to Clergy Sexual Abuse of Children. By Nicholas P. Cafardi. (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 255. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-8091-0580-9.)

Nicholas Cafardi, former dean of the Duquesne University Law School, trained in both American and canon law, and a charter member of the American bishops' Committee for the Protection of Children and Youth (the "National Review Board"), is well situated to write a book that provides deep insight into how the sexual abuse of young people by members of the Catholic clergy was handled and mishandled by church authorities. Unfortunately, this is not that book.

Cafardi's book is divided into six chapters: "The Canonical Crime of Sexual Abuse of a Minor by a Cleric: An Historical Synopsis" (pp. 1–9), "The Scope of the Problem: An Historical Synopsis" (pp. 10–14), "The Canonical Landscape: The Failure of the Penal System" (pp. 15–46), "What Did the Bishops Do?" (pp. 47–112), "The Treatment Option" (pp. 115–41), and "Canonical Lessons to Be Learned" (pp. 146–55). The reader will find none of these chapters entirely satisfying. For example, the historical synopsis reads the history of canonical norms dealing with sexual sins involving clerics from the vantage point of the recent crisis and concludes that the sort of sexual abuse of young men by priests with which we have become all too familiar of late has been endemic to the Church since the age of the fathers. This anachronistic reading involves a recounting of historical data without the benefit of historical perspective. The account of what the American bishops did in response to their growing awareness of the problem of sexual abuse of minors by priests is equally unsatisfying. Cafardi recounts the now well-known story of how, although the American bishops should have been aware by 1992 that reappointment of priests who had sexually abused minors was fraught with dangers, some of them continued to make such reappointments with predictable catastrophic consequences. However, he offers no insight into why these bishops failed to learn from the past. By ending this account with only a passing mention of the interventions in 2001 by Pope John Paul II and the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to change the universal law governing the delict of sexual abuse of minors by clerics and its prosecution and of the "Dallas Charter" enacted by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops as particular law for the United States, Cafardi leaves the story he narrates frustratingly incomplete. Of course, a book with the title *Before Dallas* does not promise to deal with these matters, but why would one publish such a truncated account in 2008?

In his treatment of the failure of the canonical penal system and elsewhere in this book, Cafardi singles out canon lawyers in general and Francis Morrisey, O.M.I.; James H. Provost; and this reviewer in particular as bearing special responsibility for the inability or unwillingness of bishops to use canonical penal law to address the clergy sexual abuse crisis effectively. Although those who played any role in the handling and mishandling of

sexual abuse cases prior to 2001 (or even after) did not cover themselves with glory, Cafardi's characterization is unfair and misleading.

The Catholic University of America JOHN P. BEAL

Latin American

Crossing Borders with the Santo Niño de Atocha. By Juan Javier Pescador. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 256. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-826-34709-1.)

Juan Javier Pescador's thoughtful history of the Santo Niño de Atocha—from its Iberian origins as a Marian devotion (La Virgen de Atocha) through its rise in Zacatecas, Mexico, and spread into northern New Mexico and elsewhere—is a welcome addition for scholars of Catholicism in Mexico and the United States. Geared to a learned audience, it utilizes a wide range of archival and other primary documents, and vividly chronicles the devotion's evolution across borders as a "different way of connecting with the sacred" (p. 170). The first three chapters examine the Spanish Our Lady of Atocha; the rise of the shrine to the Holy Child in Plateros (Fresnillo), Mexico; and the emergence of the "borderlands saint" between 1848 and 1880 reportedly venerated in 1859 by the New Mexican Severiano Medina in his village chapel. A final, lengthy chapter points to the importance of that legacy (as well as other Mexican popular devotions) in Mexico, South Texas, the Midwest, and Guatemala.

Dominican missionaries in Zacatecas embraced the devotion to the Holy Child, who is portrayed either as a boy pilgrim or baby prince, during the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century the priest of the local parish ran the nearby chapel shrine. By the early-nineteenth century, Santo Niño, now fully detached from Our Lady of Atocha, had risen to prominence as protector of silver miners in Zacatecas. Subsequently, Mexican laborers brought him along in their migrations, and the devotion spread north over the Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Various sites emerged as far as northern New Mexico, where, in the late-nineteenth century, the image was placed at the Sanctuary of the Señor de Esquípulas in Chimayó. It sparked considerable fervor from near and far, and eventually overtook the previously dominant icon. In the 1930s, however, tensions arose between Mexican-American devotees and the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, which, as new custodian of the shrine, downplayed the reputation of the Santo Niño, causing the locals to center their veneration once again at the Medina Chapel (a former *Penitente morada*).

In analyzing more current developments, Pescador relies heavily on a collection of private letters sent to the Santo Niño in the Plateros sanctuary, most of which came from people of Mexican origin living in the United States, which was published by Father Juan Pereira in 2000. These expressions of thanks for miracles and prayers granted, he writes, "normally lack the rever-

ential tone of Roman Catholicism's organized rituals" (p. 145), yet "reflect the voices of believers and how they approach a divine entity in their intimate, unique way within the framework of popular Roman Catholicism" (p. 146). Two entirely different devotional episodes—that of Chicago's Via Crucis (invoked as a "border-crossing ritual" asserting religious identity) and the 2002 unveiling of a huge statue of the Virgin of Guadalupe brought from Mexico City to Grand Rapids, Michigan—present further evidence of a common Mexican immigrant devotional experience. Here as elsewhere, photographs and other useful illustrations effectively complement the text.

These chapters offer historical continuity, but they are not always comprehensive or fully on point. For example, the author's sketchy coverage of the medieval Castilian Lady of Atocha skips over relevant religious dimensions of Reconquista conflict. Meanwhile, the sprawling accounts of twentieth-century popular devotions overstate the impact of the devotion itself, even if they illuminate similar yearnings for healing and protection, as well as expressions of gratitude. Nevertheless, the author's many interesting insights confirm the necessity of adopting both broad historical context and a wide geographic landscape for studying Catholicism among Mexicans and Mexican Americans.

Lehman College, City University of New York DAVID A. BADILLO

African

The Presbyterian Church of East Africa: An Account of Its Gospel Missionary Society Origins, 1895–1946. By Evanson N. Wamagatta. [American University Studies, Series VII: Theology and Religion, Vol. 290.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. xx, 251. $76.95. ISBN 978-1-433-10596-8.)

This book, which originated as a PhD dissertation for the University of West Virginia, is a study in missionary failure. After a half-century of work the Gospel Missionary Society, the only mission in colonial Kenya not to have founded an African church, had to merge with the Church of Scotland Mission, one of Kenya's most successful and the parent of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, now with more than 4 million members. There were many reasons for the GMS's failure, but one was fundamental—its origin in a tiny, conservative evangelical church in New England that with great faith but less wisdom founded missionary enterprises in no less than three continents. The work of the GMS in Central Kenya was never free of financial constraints. Its few American missionaries—thin on the ground, often ill, and lacking home leave—showed extraordinary devotion, as did their early Kikuyu converts and evangelists who could have found much better paid employment elsewhere. But missionary devotion can inspire a retentive paternalism as much as strategic generosity; moreover, the missionaries' pre-millennialist beliefs placed less store on church-building than on evangelization.

Wamagatta also notes the striking contrast between the two main British Protestant mission societies at work in Central Kenya (the Anglican Church Missionary Society and the Presbyterian Scots Mission, which early ordained an African clergy) and the two American societies (the Africa Inland Mission and the GMS, which did not)—the former had long imperial experience to draw upon; the latter did not.

Otherwise, the GMS's difficulties were similar to those of the other Protestant missionary societies of their time and place, not least the decline in missionary vocations after the spiritual catastrophe of World War I and the financial difficulties of the 1930s. To these general setbacks to evangelization Kenya and Kikuyuland added their own particular disadvantages. In Kenya, a colony of British farm settlement, white missionaries never escaped the suspicion of being surreptitious allies of land-grabbing white settlers—and GSM missionaries had to cultivate to supplement their stipends. Conversely, the comparatively rapid expansion of the African clerical labor market, whether for private employers or in government departments, made it hard for missions to retain their ablest adherents. Wamagatta also gives good accounts, from missionary journals and government correspondence files, of the challenges to evangelization posed by indigenous medicine; the taint attached to handling the dead; polygyny; and, above all, the so-called "female circumcision crisis" of 1929–30 in which most Protestant missionaries, including those of the GMS, tried to forbid the practice of clitoridectomy to its adolescent female adherents. (The Catholic missions wisely regarded the practice as a social rather than spiritual problem, the Anglicans were divided, and government deplored any missionary enthusiasm for interfering in "native custom").

One sad consequence of the GMS's failure to establish an African church is that Wamagatta is able to give his readers little idea of the Christian life led by the mission's African adherents or their thoughts and prayers. For such insights, one must turn elsewhere in the growing historiography of Kikuyu Christianity.

Trinity College, University of Cambridge JOHN LONSDALE

Asian

Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549–1650. By Haruko Nawata Ward. [Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xvi, 405. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66478-9.)

C. R. Boxer coined the term *Christian Century* and used it in the title of his book, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley, 1951). The use of this term, which refers to the years from the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in Kagoshima to the Tokugawa government's banning of trade relations with

Catholic Europe, is controversial. George Elison in his book *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA, 1973, p. 1) and Ronald Toby in *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Stanford, 1991, p. 8) are of the opinion that the Christian mission in Japan had no lasting cultural influence. Scholars on the other side of the controversy—such as Robert Bellah in *Tokugawa Religion: The Cultural Roots of Modern Japan* (Glencoe, IL, 1957) and Andrew Ross in *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (New York, 1994)—claim a much more significant influence for Christianity in Japanese society.

Haruko Nawata Ward, in her well-researched book, enters into this controversy and argues that the Christian mission had a significant cultural and social impact on Japan. Through her detailed analysis of the activities of Christian women such as Hosokawa Tama Gracia (1563–1600), Ward provides strong evidence to show that the Jesuit mission was successful in ways that have been overlooked by historians. She convincingly argues that Christianity empowered women to make their own decisions about their lives: to take vows of celibacy as nuns or to choose their own marriage partners. The Christian community gave women opportunities to exercise leadership in ministries of teaching, persuading, preaching, and works of mercy, all of which was perceived as a threat in an increasingly neo-Confucian society (see p. 15).

The author also introduces the reader to Buddhist women leaders, such as the wife of Ōtomo Yoshishige Sōrin (1530–87), the daimyo of Bungo. Queen Ōtomo, known to the Jesuit missionaries and Christians as "Lady Jezebel," was the principal leader of the anti-Christian force in Bungo. Ward discusses the toleration showed by some Jesuits for Ōtomo's separation from her and his remarriage to his concubine in the hope of gaining Ōtomo's patronage and conversion. A thorough discussion of the canon law of the Catholic Church concerning marriage as well as Japanese marriage law allows the reader to understand the intricacies and difficulties of cultural adaptation in the period. Ward looks closely at the circumstances by which the policy of persecution in Japan gradually evolved. She explains more adeptly than many other historians the political and cultural reasons for the persecution, suggesting that the origins of the Tokugawa shogunate's ultimate rejection of Christianity lay to a great extent in the active ministry of *Kirishitan* (Christian) women. Their catechetical endeavors so threatened the Tokugawa neo-Confucian ideology that the regime had to suppress all women's activism (p. 289) until the new Meiji government finally lifted its ban of Christianity in 1873.

Ward's book invites readers to understand the Catholic mission in Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not simply as a European effort to proselytize a non-Christian land but as a catalyst that encouraged women to exert a powerful social, cultural, and political influence on their own people and government. This important book opens new directions for further

research into women's history and invites a re-examination of the history of the Catholic Church in Japan.

Loyola University New Orleans WILLIAM J. FARGE, S.J.

China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections 1900–1950. Edited by Daniel H. Bays and Ellen Widmer. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 405. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-804-75949-6.)

In 1976, John King Fairbank predicted that, in twenty years, the field of China studies would be much broader and more varied. One must wonder if he envisioned a book like this one, where the essays are written by a librarian, three people in the field of education, a former grants administrator, an architect, a lawyer, an anthropologist, and several historians of China. They bring to the study of the Protestant mission colleges in China a perspective based on their own discipline, adding new dimensions to what we know about these institutions. The cross-cultural dimensions of missionaries in the field who wanted the colleges to produce Christian graduates who could then convert all of China; the administrators at home whose views of the institutions were based on their American experience and frequently ignored the realities of China; the Chinese government, which tolerated foreigners teaching modern subjects but preferred it without proselytizing; and the students who wanted education in the modern subjects that they perceived had strengthened Western nations and thus might enable them to transform China into an equal partner with the West—these varied elements all collided on the campuses of the Christian colleges. Each competing group, convinced its methods were the correct ones, sought ways to achieve its goals. From Mathilda Thurston and her Shanghai-based, Western architect, who wanted the Ginling College campus in the shape of a cross, to the students at Soochow Law School in Shanghai who wanted to further their prospects in the business world, each found and took from the colleges lasting cross-cultural understanding (or misunderstanding) of the other's country. Jiafeng Liu's article on American plans for China's colleges in the period after World War II demonstrates how those in the United States could so misunderstand the situation in China and the dangers of using the experiences of Christian colleges in the United States as a model for those in China. Helen Schneider's article on Ava B. Milam and the introduction of home economics as a discipline in China illustrates how Americans' ideas of what women should study in college was translated to China as the improvement of Chinese families through women knowing how to scientifically run their homes. Apparently, no one thought to ask if Chinese women were interested in the topic. The issue of teaching English to Chinese students is covered very effectively in the article by Edward Yihua Xu.

The inclusion of essays on a Christian college in Japan and Robert College in Istanbul demonstrate that the challenges of establishing a foreign-style col-

lege in China were not unique to that country. The establishment of Robert College, in particular, demonstrates how misunderstandings, private interests, and public diplomacy intersect.

In sum, this book covers many topics not previously researched regarding the American Protestant missionary effort in China and thus adds much to our knowledge of that endeavor. The book is highly recommended for those seeking a broader understanding of cross-cultural education and its impact on globalization in recent times.

Pennsylvania State University, Lehigh Valley KATHLEEN L. LODWICK

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Announcement of ACHA Awards for Scholarship, Service, and Teaching and ACHA Graduate Fellowships

In 2010, the Executive Council of the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) approved the creation of honorary awards to recognize the service of distinguished members and to acknowledge significant contributions to the field of Catholic history. Nominations and supporting data came from the membership and were evaluated by the ACHA president, vice-president, and executive secretary. We are pleased to confer these awards on the following individuals and institutions.

Lifetime Distinguished Scholarship

This award is bestowed on the scholar, who, in the view of the nominators, has made a significant impact on the understanding of Catholic history during a long career. The award is not for one book or any single piece of scholarship, but rather for a sustained series of contributions that have fundamentally animated the research of others and also have significance in their own right.

The first award goes to Frank J. Coppa, recently retired from St. John's University, New York. Coppa is a longtime ACHA member and a frequent contributor to its meetings as both presenter and commentator. He is distinguished for his work on the modern papacy, including his role as an early researcher of the papers of Blessed Pope Pius IX.

Service to Catholic Studies

This award acknowledges the exceptional contributions of those who promote study and research of the history of Catholicism broadly conceived, apart from teaching and publication. The term *service* may include any and all of the following areas, but is not restricted to these elements: service to the ACHA, archival management, museum displays and other forms of public history, and media.

The honoree this year is the Leadership Conference of Women Religious for its sponsorship of the exhibition "Women and Spirit: Catholic Sisters in America," which opened at the Smithsonian in 2009 and is currently traveling around the country. Its Web site sums up the subject of the exhibition: "'Women and Spirit: Catholic Sisters in America' reveals the mystery behind a small group of independent American women who helped to shape the

nation's social and cultural landscape." This award honors this magnificent display that weaves the history of women religious into the larger narrative of American life and also affirms the many women religious who have played such an important role in the ACHA through their scholarship and service.

Excellence in Teaching

This award is given to a college or university professor who has demonstrated high commitment to teaching beyond the expected requirements of his or her position and, through his or her influence and skill, has promoted Catholic studies from one generation of scholars to another. The ACHA affirms, through this award, the work of creative and effective teaching in promoting Catholic history as an attractive career field for younger scholars.

This year, the award is given to Kenneth Pennington, Kelly-Quinn Professor of Ecclesiastical History and professor of law at The Catholic University of America. Pennington's vitality in the classroom has been the inspiration of numerous students, who discover to their great joy that church history can be interesting. At the same time, he is a prolific scholar—an author or editor of books and more than seventy articles. His teaching scores and his student evaluations are, in the words of one colleague, "off the charts." Pennington's positive influence on a generation of students will no doubt attract many to the field of Catholic history.

Presidential Graduate Fellowship

In 2010, the Executive Council approved the creation of a fund to assist graduate students in traveling to the ACHA annual or spring meetings to present papers. Applicants must be members of the ACHA, have papers accepted at the conference they wish to attend, and provide documentary evidence of their background and a letter of recommendation from a faculty member—preferably their dissertation director. Two grants of $500 each will be provided per year. Generous donations from several former presidents and a $2000 grant from the ACHA have made these grants possible.

The first honorees are the following:

Monica Mercado of the University of Chicago, who is presenting the paper "'What a Blessing to be Fond of Reading Good Books': Reading Circles and Catholic Women in Turn-of-the-Century America" at the Ninety-First Annual ACHA Meeting in Boston. This paper was drawn from the final chapters of Mercado's dissertation, "Women and the Word: Gender, Print, and Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century America."

Sheila Nowinski of the University of Notre Dame, who is presenting the paper "The Catholic Family in Postwar Rural France: L'exposition de la Maison Rurale, 1947–1950" at the Ninety-First Annual ACHA Meeting in Boston.

Nowinski is currently working on her dissertation, "Religion and Social Change in Postwar France: The *Jeunesse agricole catholique,* 1944–1968," under the direction of former ACHA president Thomas Kselman.

STEVEN M. AVELLA
2010 President, ACHA
Marquette University

Exhibitions

On display until the end of January 2011 is the exhibition "Conoscere la Biblioteca Vaticana: Una storia aperta al futuro" in the Braccio di Carlo Magno in St. Peter's Square. With the help of videos and computers, it seeks to make better known the activities, treasures, and mission of the library. For more information, visit http://www.orpnet.org/informazione/orp_news/conoscere_la_biblioteca_vaticana.

Opening on February 25, 2011, in the Oakland Museum will be the touring exhibition "The Art of the Missions of Northern New Spain." On that occasion, Clara Bargellini, the organizer of the exhibition, will host a public conversation.

From June 19 to August 14, 2011, Mount St. Mary's College in Los Angeles will host the traveling exhibition "Women and Spirit: Catholic Sisters in America." In January 2012, it will move to the California Museum of History, Women, and Arts, in Sacramento. For more information, visit http://www.womenandspirit.org.

Conferences

On February 16–20, 2011, to commemorate the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's journey to Rome in 1510–11, the German Historical Institute in Rome and the Melanchthon Center will sponsor the conference "Martin Luther in Rome: The Cosmopolitan City and His Perception." Nearly thirty scholars from Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States will present papers that explore the following questions: What images of themselves did the Roman Curia and the city of Rome seek to project? How were these perceived by contemporaries? What was the consequence of these perceptions? The papers will be based on traditional scholarship and current interdisciplinary research. Also present at the conference will be cardinals Walter Kasper and Karl Lehmann. Among the projected activities of the conference are a visit to the Vatican Museums, a concert at the German national church Santa Maria dell'Anima, and an ecumenical service at Santa Maria del Popolo. Luther is reputed to have stayed in Santa Maria del Popolo's attached monastery while he was in Rome.

On March 17–19, 2011, the Association of Contemporary Church Historians will sponsor the conference "Secularization and the Transforma-

tion of Religion in the U.S. and Germany after 1945" at the German Historical Institute in Washington, DC. The conference will explore the history and meaning of secularization and the transformation of the religious landscape in both countries. Among the topics to be studied are the rise of television, new forms of public discourse, democratization, liberalization, religious freedom, the influence of science, community building, the self-understanding of the laity and clergy, the culture of entertainment and consumption, the religious marketplace, and religious expressions in the political arena. Those who wish to present papers should send an abstract of a maximum of two pages to Baerbel Thomas (b.thomas@ghi-dc.org). For more information, contact Uta Andrea Balbier (balbier@ghi-dc.org), or visit http://www.ghi-dc.org.

On April 8–9, 2011, the Thirty-Eighth Sewanee Medieval Colloquium at the University of the South in Sewanee, Tennessee, will address the topic "Voice, Gesture, Memory, and Performance in Medieval Texts, Culture, and Art." To present a paper, submit an abstract of about 250 words and a brief curriculum vitae to Susan Ridyard (sridyard@sewanee.edu). Completed papers with notes are due by March 1, 2011. For more information, visit http://www.sewanee.edu/Medieval/main.html.

On April 19–21, 2011, the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies at Victoria College in the University of Toronto will sponsor the conference "Early Modern Migrations: Exiles, Expulsions, and Religious Refugees, 1400–1700." The conference invites a sustained, comparative, and interdisciplinary exploration of the phenomenon and cultural representation of early-modern migrations. It also aims to consider how the transmission and translation of material, textual, and cultural practices created identity and cross-cultural identifications in contexts animated by the tension between location and dislocation. Although often driven by exclusion and intolerance, the exile/refugee experience also encouraged emerging forms of toleration, multiculturalism, and notions of cosmopolitanism. To present a paper, contact Marjorie Rubright (marjorie.rubright@utoronto.ca) by January 31, 2011.

On August 5–11, 2012, the Fourteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law will be held at St. Michael's College in the University of Toronto. It invites papers on the topics of sources and texts; canonical doctrine; institutions, legislation, and procedures; application and influence; and law, theology, and the schools. Send the title and a brief summary of the proposed paper—along with the name, title, institutional affiliation, email address, and postal address of the proposed presenter—to Joseph Goering (joe.goering@utoronto.ca) by August 15, 2011.

Institute for Advanced Catholic Studies

At its 2009 spring meeting, the board of trustees of the Institute for Advanced Catholic Studies at the University of Southern California approved the creation of the "Generations in Dialogue" research program. This program

invites a widely recognized senior Catholic scholar to share his or her expertise with several scholars in the same discipline who are in the early stage of their careers. Over a two-year period, these scholars, termed institute associates, convene for three weekend dialogues that include discipline-specific discussions, personal reflection, shared prayer, and presentations from other scholars and experts. It is envisioned that institute associates will benefit from two years of mentorship with a renowned Catholic scholar, as well as from establishing relationships with other dedicated scholars.

During the course of their two-year appointments, the institute associates will share ideas, discuss with the senior scholar and each other the possible directions of their research, and report progress. The setting of collegial dialogue will foster a deeply connected scholarly community and influence scholarship that is both more grounded in Catholic tradition and more forward-looking in the relevance and application of that tradition for ordinary believers. Dialogue among institute associates and the senior scholar will be conducted through face-to-face meetings, online video conferencing, email, and phone.

Institute associates are not required to be Catholic, nor need to be studying religion. Those seeking to deepen their area of scholarly interest through a substantive and critical engagement with Catholicism's multiple intellectual traditions are encouraged to join the robust community of scholars committed to deepening the Catholic tradition.

The institute invites applications from scholars to enter into a sustained dialogue with Bernard McGinn (University of Chicago) on the themes of "The Vocation of the Christian Scholar" and "The Relationship between Christian Spiritual Traditions and Modernity." The fellowship includes three weekends over eighteen months; expenses are covered with a modest stipend. Applications are due by March 15, 2011. For further information, contact Gary Adler, associate director of research at the Institute for Advanced Catholic Studies (iacs@college.usc.edu or http://www.ifacs.com).

Causes of Saints

Pope Benedict XVI has announced that next year, four priests martyred by the Nazi regime will be beatified. Ceremonies will be held in Würzburg for Georg Hafner and in Lübeck for Johannes Prassek, Hermann Lange, and Eduard Muller. In the Lübeck ceremonies the Evangelical Lutheran pastor Karl Friedrich Stellbrink will also be commemorated.

Publications

Nine papers presented at the meeting of the Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung that was held in Split (Seget Donji), Croatia, on September 18–23, 2008, on the theme "Was ist ein Konzil? Überlegungen zur

Typologie insbesondere der ökumenischen Konzilien" have been published in the society's organ, *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, for 2008 (Jahrgang 40, Heft 1). Contributions are as follows: Hermann-Josef Sieben, "Definition und Kriterien Ökumenischen Konzilien: 1. Jahrtausend" (pp. 7–46); Peter Bruns, "Die Haltung der 'Kirche des Ostens' zum Nicaenum" (pp. 47–60); Alberto Ferreiro, "The Theology and Typology of the Third Council of Toledo (589)" (pp. 61–84); Hans Georg Thümmel, "Zur Phänomenologie von Konzilien. Das 6. Ökumenische Konzil 680/681" (pp. 85–98); Nicola Bux, "Il Concilio Ecumenico e la teoria della Chiesa Indivisa del Primo Millennio" (pp. 99–110); Agostino Marchetto, "Convocazione e conferma dei sinodi, da parte del vescovo di Roma, nelle Decretali Pseudo-Isidoriane" (pp. 111–30); Thomas Prügl, "Ökumenisches Konzil oder *Sacrosancta synodus*? Zur Diskussion um die Ökumenizität des Basler Konzils" (pp. 131–66); Nelson H. Minnich, "The Legitimacy of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517)" (pp. 167–94); and Heinz Ohme, "Die Bedeutung der ökumenischen Konzile in der Sicht Martin Luthers" (pp. 195–212).

A conference on the history of Christian archaeology in Eastern Europe was held at the Campo Santo Teutonico in Vatican City on February 19–21, 2009. The papers presented on that occasion have now been published in the first double number of *Römische Quartalschrift* for 2010 (Band 105, Heft 1–2). The following authors have contributed: Rajko Bratož on Slovenia (pp. 3–21); Branka Migotti on northern Croatia (pp. 22–31); Emilio Marin on Croatia (pp. 32–44); Péter Tusor on Hungary (pp. 45–51); Albert Ovidiu on the Romanian Ion Barnea (pp. 52–60); Emil Ivanov on Bulgaria (pp. 61–77); Hristo Preshlenov on the Bulgarian Black Sea Coast (pp. 78–105); Elżbieta Jastrzębowska on Poland (pp. 106–20); Bożena Iwaszkiewicz-Wronikowska also on Poland (pp. 121–28); Eugenia Chalkia on Greece (pp. 129–42); and Ernst Dassmann and Gerhard Rexin on Christian archaeology in Bonn (pp. 143–62).

"Hagiographie et prédication" is the theme of vol. 67, no. 3 (2010) of the *Mélanges de Science Religieuse.* Charles Mériaux has written an introduction (pp. 3–4), and the five contributors are the following: Klaus Krönert, "L'hagiographie entre historiographie et prédication. Étude sur une forme littéraire à partir des textes rédigés à Trèves (VIII^{e}–XI^{e} siècles)" (pp. 5–26); Marie-Céline Isaïa, "Hagiographie et pastorale. La collection canonique d'Hervé, archevêque de Reims (†922)" (pp. 27–48); Emmanuelle Santinelli-Foltz, "L'eau dans tous ses états. La perception de l'élément aqueux dans quelques Vies de saints mérovingiens" (pp. 49–69); Charles Mériaux, "Du nouveau sur la *Vie de saint Éloi*" (pp. 71–85); and Jean Heuclin, "La pastorale du mariage à travers les Vies d'Aldegonde de Maubeuge" (pp. 87–106).

A special issue of *Early American Studies, An Interdisciplinary Journal* (vol. 8, Fall 2010) is devoted to the theme "Markets and Morality: Intersections of Economy, Ethics, and Religion in Early North America." Following an introduction by the guest editor, Cathy Matson (pp. 475–81), are seven articles:

Katherine Carté Engel, "Religion and the Economy: New Methods for an Old Problem" (pp. 482–514); Kristen Block, "Cultivating Inner and Outer Plantations: Property, Industry, and Slavery in Early Quaker Migration to the New World" (pp. 515–48); Mark Valeri, "William Petty in Boston: Political Economy, Religion, and Money in Provincial New England" (pp. 549–80); Holly Snyder, "'Under the Shado [*sic*] of Your Wings': Religiosity in the Mental World of an Eighteenth-Century Jewish Merchant" (pp. 581–622); Jason M. Opal, "Enterprise and Emulation: The Moral Economy of Turnpikes in Early National New England" (pp. 623–45); José R. Torre, "'An Inward Spring of Motion and Action': The Teleology of Political Economy and Moral Philosophy in the Age of the Anglo-American Enlightenment" (pp. 646–71); and Christopher Clark, "A Wealth of Notions: Interpreting Economy and Morality in Early America" (pp. 672–83).

Volume 76 (2010) of *Historical Studies* features papers presented at the 2009 annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association's English Section, which was held at Carleton University in Ottawa. There are four articles: Peter E. Baltutis, "Rooted in the Vision of Vatican II: Youth Corps and the Formation of Christ-Centered Activists in Toronto, 1966–1984" (pp. 7–26); Donald L. Boisvert, "Piety, Purity and Pain: Gérard Raymond and the Ideal of French Canadian Manhood" (pp. 27–44); Ryan Topping, "Catholic Studies in Canada: History and Prospects" (pp. 45–60); and Joshua C. Blank, "Pitching, Pies and Piety: Early Twentieth Century St. Hedwig's Parish Picnics" (pp. 61–85). Also included are a "historical note" on "Father Aeneas M. Dawson and Canadian Expansionism" (pp. 87–98) and "A Current Bibliography of Canadian Religious History" (pp. B1–B32). The same volume contains *Études d'histoire religieuse, Revue publiée par la Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique.* In this French section there are seven articles: Philippe Martin, "Des livres de piété pour le Canada (1640–1850)" (pp. 5–26); Marcel Lajeunesse, "Le livre religieux au Québec, 1968–2007: analyse des données de l'édition" (pp. 27–42); Fernande Roy, "L'Église catholique à travers *Mes Tablettes*, journal intime de Romuald Trudeau, 1820–1850" (pp. 43–56); Catherine Foisy, "Oralité dans *Le Précurseur* et *Missions Étrangères* (1945–1962): entre prosélytisme et visée pédagogique" (pp. 57–69); Maurice Demers, "Gérard Dion, Mgr Gustavo Franceschi et le régime populiste de Juan Peròn. Les intrigues politiques d'Argentine et l'utilité du modèle social québécois" (pp. 71–91); Pierre Pagé, "Actualité et liberté de parole dans les revues catholiques: quelques jalons 1940–1975" (pp. 93–109); and Louise Bienvenue, "Le catholicisme québécois sur le divan: Les essais du psychanalyste André Lussier dans *Cité Libre*" (pp. 111–28). There is also a "note critique" by Benoît Lacroix, O.P.: "La France émigre au Québec avec l'historien Guy Laperrière" (pp. 129–32).

Personals

Father Mark Massa, S.J., has been appointed dean of the School of Theology and Ministry at Boston College.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

General and Miscellaneous

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