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# CATHOLICISM IN THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICAN WEST: THE NEXT FRONTIER

BY

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*The author presents a case for additional scholarship on the twentieth-century American West. He draws heavily on the methodology of the New Western historians, especially their emphasis on common regional identity even amidst the extensive geographical and cultural diversity of the West. The author suggests three overarching themes (extensive federal investment, tourism, and urbanization) derived from contemporary scholarship on this period that Catholic historians might profitably use to study the interplay between the region and the Roman Catholic Church.*

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I consider the American West my home. True, I was born in Chicago and have lived most of my adult life in the Midwest. Still, as a youngster in the 1950s and 1960s, I called California "home," and that attachment to the West remains with me to this day. My family moved west when my father found employment in the burgeoning electronics industry on the Pacific Coast. My early recollections of Catholic life in northern California are of foreign-born Irish priests who "read" Mass very quickly—what I later discovered they jokingly

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called "the Dublin rite"—and of poorly constructed "temporary" church structures and a surplus military chapel. My first Communion was not in a lavishly decorated church with baroque angels and carved statuary, but in a dingy classroom with a rude altar and rough two-by-fours hammered together for a Communion rail. Over the years, my poor parents contributed to the building of three separate parish complexes in the Sacramento suburb where they lived. There were no ethnic enclaves around the military base where my father worked nor in the more upscale suburb to which we moved after he obtained a civil service promotion. Rather, I grew up in a religiously mixed neighborhood and school environment. In fact, in both locations my family was one of the few who went to church every Sunday. Apart from those I glimpsed from an occasional trip to the then markedly Catholic San Francisco, the stately church structures and densely packed Catholic neighborhoods so typical of cities like Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia were unknown to me. Ethnic churches existed, but apart from Sacramento's thriving Latino Our Lady of Guadalupe, they were only a shadow of what they had once been and nothing like the still reigning enclaves of Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha I encountered in the late 1960s and 1970s. Catholic schools were scarce in the California of my boyhood, and we met nuns in habits only rarely. Our Church was not "militant and triumphant" nor "confident," but rather low-key and almost invisible in the suburban neighborhoods where I grew up.

When I moved to the heartland of the nation, I entered into another religious zone. Here was a rather dense and vibrant Catholic culture, replete with majestic churches, large schools, and still-active ethnic communities. My years of travel between these two regions and my study of the Catholic history of both have convinced me that Catholicism in the American West is distinct—and in some cases even unique. The time is ripe for additional scholarship on the history of Catholicism in the American West, especially during the twentieth century.[1]

[1]Historians such as Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, Eldon Ernst, and Ferenc Szasz have long insisted that American religious history should be revised along a west-to-east trajectory rather than the Turnerian east to west. See Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, "Eastward Ho! American Religion from the Perspective of the Pacific Rim," in *Retelling U.S. Religious History,* ed. Thomas A. Tweed (Berkeley, 1997), pp. 127–48; Eldon Ernst, "American Religious History from a Pacific Coast Perspective," in *Religion and Society in the American West: Historical Essays*, ed. Carl Guarneri and David Alvarez (Lanham, MD, 1987), pp. 3–39.

The old NCWC canard ("Nothing Counts West of Chicago") is not true when speaking of existing Catholic scholarship of the West.[2] Particularly exceptional and substantive are works dealing with Catholic interaction with native peoples and the development of

[2]Catholic historiography has not ignored the American West. Students of Catholic University of America professors Peter Guilday and Richard J. Purcell have turned out an impressive array of doctoral dissertations on Catholic life along the frontier. Thomas W. Spalding cites these in "Frontier Catholicism," *The Catholic Historical Review,* 77 (1991), 470–84, here 473n15. Anne M. Butler has undertaken some of the most creative and well-received work on American women religious in her "Pioneer Sisters in a Catholic Melting Pot: Juggling Identity in the Pacific Northwest," *American Catholic Studies,* 114, no. 1 (2003), 21–39, and "There Are Exceptions to Every Rule: Adjusting the Boundaries—Catholic Sisters and the American West," *American Catholic Studies,* 116, no. 3 (2005), 1–22. An interesting perspective on the Sisters of Mercy is Anne Elizabeth Hartfield's "'Sisters of Mercy, Mothers to the Afflicted': Female-Created Space in San Francisco 1854 through the Turn of the Century" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate University, 2003). For communities of men, see John B. McGloin, *Jesuits by the Golden Gate* (San Francisco, 1972), and Gerald McKevitt, *Brokers of Culture: Italian Jesuits in the American West, 1848–1919* (Palo Alto, CA, 2007). Ronald E. Isetti, F.S.C., has written a solid account of the Brothers of Christian Schools, *Called to the Pacific* (Moraga, CA, 1979). Episcopal biographies and diocesan histories, although often neglecting to incorporate the Church into a wider sociocultural context, provide a substantial amount of information about nineteenth-century developments. Good episcopal biographies of California prelates include John B. McGloin's life of Joseph Sadoc Alemany, *California's First Archbishop* (New York, 1966), and John T. Dwyer's life of Eugene O'Connell, *Condemned to the Mines* (New York, 1976). The most famous account of a western prelate is Paul Horgan's *Lamy of Santa Fe* (New York, 1975). For California diocesan histories, see Francis J. Weber, *Century of Fulfillment: The Roman Catholic Church in Southern California, 1840–1947* (Mission Hills, CA, 1990); Jeffrey Burns, ed., *Catholic San Francisco: Sesquicentennial Essays* (Menlo Park, CA, 2006); Henry L. Walsh, *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails* (Santa Clara, CA, 1949). For South Dakota, see Robert F. Karolevitz, *With Faith, Hope and Tenacity: The First One Hundred Years of the Catholic Diocese of Sioux Falls, 1889–1989* (Mission Hill, SD, 1989); for North Dakota, Terence Kardong, O.S.B., *Beyond the Red River: The Diocese of Fargo, 1889–1989* (Fargo, ND, 1988). For Nebraska and the Great Plains, see Henry W. Casper, S.J., *History of the Catholic Church in Nebraska,* 3 vols. (Milwaukee, 1960–66). In 1966 the Diocese of Tucson, Arizona, produced *Salpointe* (Tucson, 1966), a reprinting of John Baptist Salpointe's account of Catholic beginnings in Arizona, and *Shepherds in the Desert* (Tucson, 1966), a collection of essays about the spread and organizational development of Catholic life in the Vicariate Apostolic of Arizona. For the Pacific Northwest, see Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J., *A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest* (Washington, DC, 1987), and Kevin A. Codd, "A Favored Portion of the Vineyard: A Study of the American College Missionaries on the North Pacific Coast" (PhD diss., Catholic University of Louvain, 2007). For Oregon, consult Patricia Brandt and Lilian A. Pereya, *Adapting in Eden: Oregon's Catholic Minority, 1838–1936* (Pullman, WA, 2002). For Montana, see Cornelia M. Flaherty, *Go with Haste into the Mountains* (Helena, MT, 1984).

Latino Catholicism.[3] But much study remains to be done on two critical areas. The first is the period of Catholicism's greatest expansion in the West, the twentieth century. The second is the need for more systematic study of the interplay between Catholicism and the region.

## The Twentieth Century

For historians of the American West, the twentieth century is the period when the region was truly transformed. Federal investment in the American West was without a doubt the single most important factor contributing to the West's development. Even before the turn of the century, a cascade of federal bounty had begun to transform the region, which could then only be considered a colony of the more

[3]For Catholic efforts among western Indians, see Christopher Vecsey, *The Path of Kateri's Kin* (Notre Dame, 1997). See also Vecsey's introduction in *The Crossing of Two Roads: Being Catholic and Native in the United States,* ed. Marie Therese Archambault, Mark G. Thiel, and Christopher Vecsey (Maryknoll, NY, 2003), pp. xix–xxviii. The Spanish missions and presence of evangelizers with military expeditions are the rightful claimants to the earliest phase of Catholic history in the American West. Scholars of the borderlands are deeply indebted to the pioneering work of Herbert Eugene Bolton, his students, and more recently David J. Weber, who have all acknowledged and contextualized the role of Catholicism in the wider narrative of Spanish colonies. This era has an abundance of excellent Catholic histories, which run the familiar gamut of filiopietism to revisionist critiques of missionaries and the Church. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (Charleston, SC, 2010); David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque, 1982); Weber, "Failure of a Frontier Institution: The Secular Church in the Borderlands under Independent Mexico, 1821–1846," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 12 (1981), 125–43. Zephyrin Englehardt, a German Franciscan living in California, wrote many works on the missions, including the four-volume classic *The Missions and Missionaries of California* (1908–29). Maynard J. Geiger, Englehardt's successor, also wrote a number of mission histories. One of the most famous was *The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra, O.F.M.* (Washington, DC, 1959). Geiger played an important role in Serra's beatification. The rescripting of mission history—especially in the wake of the work of Sherburn Cook and others—has provoked quite heated argument at times. For a concise summary of the state of mission historiography, see James J. Rawls, "The California Mission as Symbol and Myth," *California History,* 71, no. 3 (1992), 342–61. Recent historical research has given us a richer and more balanced view of these evangelical outposts, best represented by James A. Sandos's *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven, 2004)—a promising indicator of what can happen when the best of U.S. Catholic history and the most creative studies of American Indians merge. See also Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of San Francisco: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769–1850* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), and Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley, 2005).

developed areas of the East and Middle West. This investment accelerated during the New Deal era, which began an even more robust phase of regional transformation.

World War II became another major catalyst for significant western growth. Millions of defense dollars went into the West's military bases and wartime industries. A significant portion of this money went to California, but evidence of this spending is found in the military installations of Nevada, Arizona, Texas, North Dakota, Kansas, Utah, Wyoming, and elsewhere.[4] The onset of the cold war poured even more money into the region. Military installations—many of them Air Force bases—and centers for atomic technology opened all across the West.[5] Defense industries like Motorola, Boeing, Lockheed, and Morton Thiokol brought jobs to Phoenix, Seattle, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City. Federal subsidies for the construction of the interstate road system transformed the West in the twentieth century as had the transcontinental railroad in the nineteenth century, substantially assisting its touristic appeal. Air conditioning, at first found only in theaters, soon made its way into office buildings and then homes—making the torrid cities of Phoenix, Tucson, Los Angeles, and Las Vegas livable in the summer.

Significant demographic change resulted not only from an influx of people from other parts of the United States but also the millions from Central and South America, especially Mexico, as well as from the Philippines, Korea, and Vietnam. The immigration epic may have psychologically ended in the East and Midwest during the 1920s, but in the American West—particularly the Southwest and the Pacific Coast—it had only just begun. With these massive population shifts came a corresponding growth for the Catholic Church in the West (and the South), while slowing or reversing in the East and Midwest. Indeed, until the recent economic downturn some areas of the American West had recorded some of the fastest population growth in America. Clark County in Nevada (home of Las Vegas) and Maricopa

[4]See Gerald D. Nash, *The Federal Landscape: An Economic History of the Twentieth Century West* (Tucson, 1999); Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1973); Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington, IN, 1985); Roger Lotchin, *Fortress California, 1910–1961: From Warfare to Welfare* (New York, 1992). See also Richard Lowitt, *The New Deal and the West* (Bloomington, IN, 1984).

[5]*The Cold War American West, 1945–1989,* ed. Kevin J. Fernlund (Albuquerque, 1998); Bruce Hevly and John M. Findlay, *The Atomic West* (Seattle, 1998).

County in Arizona (home of Phoenix) were among the most rapidly expanding communities in the United States. With such growth often came the need for more parishes, schools, and increased development of Catholic social ministries. Catholic schools everywhere faced enrollment shortages, but not in states like Arizona and California, where student populations burgeoned.

There is already a substantial bibliography of Catholic history that encompasses a number of twentieth-century individuals, issues, and themes.[6] But a new line of inquiry may be able to embed the Catholic Church more firmly into the history of the twentieth-century West. What did coming to the West do to the Catholic Church? Where is the

[6]Episcopal biography of twentieth-century prelates has been a rich source of information. See James Gaffey's *Citizen of No Mean City: Archbishop Patrick Riordan of San Francisco, 1841–1919* (West Greenwich, RI, 1976); Richard Gribble, C.S.C., *An Archbishop for the People: The Life of Edward J. Hanna* (New York, 2006); Francis J. Weber, *His Eminence of Los Angeles,* 2 vols. (Mission Hills, CA, 1997); Saul E. Bronder, *Social Justice and Church Authority: The Public Life of Archbishop Robert E. Lucey* (Philadelphia, 1982). Two priests who served in the West and later became bishops—Edwin V. O'Hara (founder of Catholic Rural Life and a leader in advancing the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine) and Francis Clement Kelley (founder of the Catholic Church Extension Society)—significantly influenced the twentieth century. See Timothy M. Dolan, *"Some Seed Fell on Good Ground": The Life of Edwin V. O'Hara* (Washington, DC, 1992), and James Gaffey, *Francis Clement Kelley and the American Catholic Dream,* 2 vols. (Bensenville, IL, 1980). Father Peter Yorke—the fiery San Francisco priest active as an Irish nationalist, journalist, and friend of organized labor—is the subject of Joseph Brusher, S.J., *Consecrated Thunderbolt: Father Yorke of San Francisco* (Hawthorne, NJ, 1973). William Issel explores lay Catholic activism in San Francisco in *For Both Cross and Flag: Catholic Action, Anti-Catholicism and National Security Politics in World War II San Francisco* (Philadelphia, 2010); see also Issel and Mary Anne Wold, "Catholics and the Campaign for Racial Justice in San Francisco from Pearl Harbor to Proposition 14," *American Catholic Studies,* 119, no. 3 (2008), 21–44. Historians, particularly of Latino/Latina life, have produced a number of books and articles exploring the realities of the largest Catholic demographic in the modern American West. See Roberto R. Treviño, *The Church in the Barrio: Mexican-American Ethno-Catholicism in Houston* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006); Treviño, "Facing Jim Crow: Catholic Sisters and the 'Mexican Problem' in Texas," *Western Historical Quarterly,* 34 (2003), 139–64; Mario T. Garcia, *Catolicos: Resistance and Affirmation in Chicano Catholic History* (Austin, 2008); Timothy M. Matovina, *Guadalupe and Her Faithful: Latino Catholics in San Antonio from Colonial Origins to the Present* (Baltimore, 2005); Matovina, "Sacred Place and Collective Memory: San Fernando Cathedral, San Antonio, Texas," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 15, no. 1 (1997), 33–50; Gina Marie Pitti, "'To Hear about God in Spanish': Ethnicity, Church and Community Activism in the San Francisco Archdiocese's Mexican American Colonias, 1942–1965" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2003). African American Catholicism in Arizona is given a first-rate treatment by Vernon Meyer, "This Far by Faith: The History of Black Catholics in Phoenix, Arizona, 1868–2003" (PhD diss., University of Dayton, 2004).

West, and what are its distinctive regional realities? How did Catholicism adapt to the various "subregions" of the American West—for example, the Great Plains, the Pacific Northwest, and the Great Basin?

## Where and What Is the American West?

There appears to be confusion even among those who study and teach the subject about where exactly the West begins.[7] Admittedly, firm regional boundaries are often difficult to ascertain. I have chosen to adapt the following definition:

> The American West is that contiguous section of the continent west of the Missouri River acquired by the United States, beginning with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803; continuing through the acquisition of Texas, the Oregon Territory, and the Mexican Cession in the 1840s; and ending with the 1854 Gadsden Purchase of lands between the Gila River and the present Mexican boundary.[8]

To this, I add the noncontiguous states of Alaska and Hawaii, joined to the Union in 1959, but long attached to the United States by extractive industries as well as social and commercial ties.

Just as important as defining, even loosely, the boundaries of the American West is understanding what the West means to Americans. For many, it is the ever-shifting frontier encompassed in Frederick Jackson Turner's famous 1893 thesis, "The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward" and, at the same time, a dynamic that shaped and defined American life; it was the crucible of American civilization—a locus for the flourishing of democratic values, a cornucopia of abundance, a safety valve for building national tensions, an artificer of American values of independence and creativity, and a source of national exceptionalism.[9]

[7]Walter Nugent, "Where Is the American West? Report on a Survey," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History,* 42 (1992), 2–23. Nugent has documented the waves of people who have come and inhabited various areas of the West, significantly changing its character and identity from one generation to the next. See also Nugent, *Into the West: The Story of Its People* (New York, 1999).

[8]Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman, OK, 1991), p. 4.

[9]Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *The Frontier in American History* (1893, repr. Charleston, SC, 2008), 13–42, here p. 13.

Since the 1980s, the writings of the now not-so-new Western historians have redefined the study of the American West, insisting the West is a discrete region whose boundaries, like the South and New England, can be defined.[10] They, like Turner and his followers, are keen to study the processes that influenced the people who moved into these lands—but they also assert that it has been a program of conquest and adjustment to conquest rather than a process of democratization unfolding in empty land. Characteristic of historians trained in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, they pay attention to those whom Turner and his disciples seem to ignore: women, African Americans, Asians, and Latinos. Today most sophisticated western historians argue that the twin approaches of place and process are not totally adequate. Rather, today they "tend to speak more of 'Wests,' 'frontiers,' and 'borderlands' in the plural and to give national [or state] boundaries less of a role in defining them."[11]

Scholarly interest represents only part of America's love affair with the West. Perhaps just as important is the allure of the mythic West. This region, more than any other, has been enshrined in the American psyche as the very soul of the nation. Popular culture has been the source of this "West of the imagination." Dime novels, Buffalo Bill's western shows, and the writings of western novelists from Zane Grey to Louis L'Amour have done more to project the image of the American West than scholars have. From its origins in print and stage shows, the "western" found even wider reception with the advent of radio, movies, and television. These popular outlets usually portrayed a positive (and at times caricatured) image of the American West, using dramatic western scenery as the setting for morality tales that pitted good against evil, the virtuous against the sinful. The conflation of this region with America itself became a staple of international per-

[10]There are a number of "canonical" texts for New Western historians. The following is a sampling of the most important: Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987); Limerick, *Something in the Soil: Legacies and Reckoning in the New West* (New York, 2001); Limerick, "What on Earth Is the New Western History," in *Trails: Toward a New Western History,* ed. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence, KS, 1991), pp. 81–88; Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own"*; *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America's Western Past*, ed. William Cronon, George Miles, and Jay Gitlin (New York, 1992).

[11]"Report to the Western History Association Council," Next Fifty Years Committee, Elliott West *et al.,* September 17, 2010, p. 2, http://www.westernhistoryassociation.org/wp-content/uploads/50-Year-Report1.pdf. See also *Many Wests: Race, Culture, & Regional Identity,* ed. David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence, KS, 1997).

ceptions of America as audiences worldwide began to consume American westerns; European writers and movie producers created their own westerns (for example, Karl May's popular cowboy and Indian novels in Germany, Sergio Leone's "spaghetti" westerns in Italy); and journalists and cartoonists depicted aggressive American politicians as cowboys. In the past twenty years, western history has become one of the more vibrant subfields in American historical study, encouraged by the Western History Association that was founded in 1960. But what has often been absent from both the scholarly and popular renditions of the West (or marginalized at best) were the activities of religious people and institutions.[12]

## Religion and the American West

Turner did not say much about religion on the frontier, but some religious historians did.[13] From the days of Peter Guilday to a relatively recent book of documents on Catholicism and the frontier, historians have explored the advance of the Catholic Church along the ever-shifting lines of settlement.[14] Although careful to avoid the exceptionalist ethos of Turneriansm, Notre Dame's Thomas T. McAvoy noted how the distinctive environment of developing areas left an imprint on Catholic life and identity.[15] In a 1990 public address as the Catholic Daughters of the Americas chair at The Catholic University of America, Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X., of Spalding University used the frontier as his vantage point for an enhanced understanding of Catholicism in America.[16] Spalding examined the history of the idea, its critics, and its incarnation in various Catholic histories written to date. He delineated a set of fron-

[12]See Anne M. Butler, "Selling the Popular Myth," in *The Oxford History of the American West,* ed. Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss (New York, 1994), pp. 771–801.

[13]John B. Boles, "Turner, the Frontier, and the Study of Religion in America," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 13 (1993), 205–16. See also Peter G. Mode, *The Frontier Spirit in American Christianity* (New York, 1923); William Warren Sweet, *Religion on the American Frontier, 1783–1840*, 4 vols. (New York, 1931–46); Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Chapters in Frontier History* (Milwaukee, 1934).

[14]Anne M. Butler, Michael E. Engh, S.J., and Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X, eds., *The Frontiers and Catholic Identities* (New York, 1999). See also Anne M. Butler, "The Invisible Flock: Catholicism and the American West," in *Catholicism in the American West: A Rosary of Hidden Voices,* ed. Roberto R. Treviño and Richard V. Francaviglia (College Station, TX, 2007), pp. 14–41.

[15]McAvoy noted the distinct character of frontier Catholicism in Indiana in *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789–1831* (New York, 1940), pp. 19–20.

[16]Spalding, "Frontier Catholicism," pp. 470–84.

tier characteristics derived from Turner: democracy, individualism, activism, confidence, optimism, simplicity, patriotism, and plasticity (adaptability). These he believed could be examined within their Catholic context to help American Catholics better understand how the Church adapted to its distinct American environment.[17] He also perceived a clear historical continuity between the Catholic core on the East Coast and the unfolding periphery on the frontier—a continuity assured by the chain migration of settlers from the East to the West.

The New Western historians' emphasis on regionalism, conquest, and the broad breadth of historical actors in the West reflects the broad mainstream of scholarship today.[18] Approached with a critical eye, these themes offer a helpful point of departure for historians of Catholicism. In turn, they can also fill in gaps in the New Western historiography, which has also been criticized for its neglect of religious forces.

The late Ferenc Morton Szasz of the University of New Mexico had been one of the most vocal critics of his sometimes too-secular western history colleagues. He even suggested they might be afraid to pursue this particular aspect of the western experience because a

> religious template realigns all the traditional categories used to understand the western past: ethnic, political, economic, social, the traditional westward expansion, and the new triad of race-class-gender. The religious history of the modern American West introduces a new cast of characters and often forges its own boundaries.[19]

[17]Another historian who has used the frontier dynamic to explain Catholic development on the trans-Appalachian frontier is John R. Dichtl, *Frontiers of Faith: Bringing Catholicism to the West in the Early Republic* (Lexington, KY, 2008). Dichtl insists the frontier experience had a palpable effect on the condition of Catholic life in much the same manner as Spalding had asserted earlier: "The open wilderness of Kentucky and other peripheral areas to which Catholics migrated in the first years of nationhood fostered enthusiasm and optimism, as well as a more assertive and outward orientation" (p. 4). However, he qualifies his argument by maintaining the frontier was a place of contested space where "kinetic interactions" between Catholics and non-Catholics, and between laity and clergy, were defining features of Catholic life.

[18]In his introduction to the documents in *The Frontiers and Catholic Identities*, Michael E. Engh gently alludes to the differences among the book's three editors, "which reflect in microcosm the present diversity among historians of the American West" (p. xxi). Butler surely represents the most recent approach to western history; Spalding, the Turnerian viewpoint; and Engh, the middle ground.

[19]Ferenc Morton Szasz, *Religion in the Modern American West* (Tucson, 2002), p. xii. Szasz also makes this same point in the earlier seminal article "The Clergy and the Myth of the American West," *Church History,* 59 (1990), 497–506.

Western historians need to take religion seriously as "a central component of the human experience, the historical locus of both personal and social vision."[20]

By the same token, religious historians' work is often too narrowly sectarian and not related to the wider western context. Their work would benefit from greater attention to regional variables beginning with the diversity of the western landscape. Szasz and coauthor Margaret Connell Szasz wrote:

> The key to understanding religion in the West . . . was the land. The vastness of this immense territory, with its many ecological subregions, provided a multitude of homes for native belief systems, as well as for diverse faiths brought by European, African, and Asian immigrants. [In these zones] a variety of religious subcultures flourished.[21]

The call to situate religion within its regional context and its various "ecological subregions" is just as daunting as Spalding's putative project for the frontier. But, given Spalding's gifts as a scholar, there is no doubt he could have adequately integrated the strengths of the regional focus with the processes of frontier development he so lucidly discussed in his 1990 address. It would have become his new frontier.

## The Regional Approach to Catholic History

Regionalism has sometimes been dismissed by some as a casualty of mass production, mass consumption, and mass culture—not to mention globalization. Nonetheless, it appears to have enjoyed a revival in recent years. Historians rediscovered local history in the 1970s, and it has flourished with local festivals, state history councils, tourism marketing, and the advent of popular presses like Arcadia Publishing. Virtually every state and region has its own historical association and journal. Although regionalism has some powerful critics

[20]Szasz, *Religion in the Modern American West.* See also D. Michael Quinn, who argues that a "full history of religion in the West" be written in his thoughtful essay, "Religion in the American West," in *Under an Open Sky*, ed. Cronon, Miles, and Gitlin, pp. 145–66, here p. 146. Historians who have responded to this point include Michael E. Engh, *Frontier Faiths: Church, Temple and Synagogue in Los Angeles, 1846–1885* (Albuquerque, 1992); Todd M. Kerstetter, *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West* (Urbana, IL, 2008); and Steven M. Avella, *Sacramento and the Catholic Church: Shaping a Capital City* (Reno, 2008).

[21]Ferenc M. Szasz and Margaret Connell Szasz, "Religion and Spirituality," in *Oxford History*, ed. Milner, O'Connor, and Sandweiss, pp. 359–60.

and skeptics, it seems that with proper caveats and qualifications, it still appeals to scholars.[22]

Yet it is not always easy—even for a professional scholar—to identify where a region begins and ends. Those who wrestle with this question readily admit that regional constructs often exist only in people's minds and do not correspond to precise legal (that is, fixed boundary) definitions or geographical markers like mountain chains, rivers, or climate conditions. Likewise, regional realities evolve and change over time.

Despite the complexity, regional historians have demonstrated the existence of identifiable areas marked by geographic place and are making progress in defining their characteristics in a meaningful way. Historians Edward L. Ayers and Peter Onuf provide one of the most sophisticated descriptions of regionalism, simultaneously acknowledging the difficulties of assigning boundaries and generic characteristics while at the same time validating their existence. Regions, they argue, are not

> areas filled with a certain cultural ether [but are] places where discrete, though related structures intersect and interact in particular patterns. The region *is* climate and land; it *is* a particular set of relationships between various ethnic groups; it *is* a relation to the federal government and economy; it *is* a set of shared cultural values.[23]

Some religious historians have embraced regionalism as a "valuable organizing principle" even as they caution about its limitations and the ambivalence that sometimes attends efforts to nail the jelly of regional identity to the wall of religious practice, architecture, or identity.[24] Religious demographers, sociologists, and geographers have also attempted to create religious zones for the United States. Their lines are drawn not on the basis of ecology or land use, but rather of

[22]In July 2010 the American Historical Association issued a call for Regions and Regionalisms in the Modern World, a new series of publications, and observed, "Regions and the concomitant phenomenon of regionalisms are increasingly receiving attention as the object of historical study." The directors of this project note the global dimensions of regionalism and "promise to mediate between the local and national on the one hand, and global dimensions on the other." See "Call for Proposals," *AHA Today*, July 19, 2010, http://blog.historians.org/publications/1090/Call-for-Proposals-Regions-and-Regionalisms (accessed August 16, 2010).

[23]Edward L. Ayers and Peter S. Onuf, introduction to *All over the Map: Rethinking American Regions*, ed. Edward L. Ayers *et al.* (Baltimore, 1996), pp. 1–10, here p. 5, emphasis in original.

[24]Bret E. Carroll, "Reflections on Regionalism and U.S. Religious History," *Church History*, 71 (2002), 120–31.

population density and culture.[25] Wilbur Zelinsky, in a memorable 1961 article in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, devised a religious map of the United States consisting of seven distinct "religious regions" and five "subregions," based on statistics derived from the National Council of Churches in 1952.[26] Edwin Scott Gaustad published his *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, 1962), the first of many such mapping projects.[27] Zelinsky's and Gaustad's works were among a number of contributions to the cultural regions of the United States.[28]

One of the most recent projects exploring the topic, the multivolume Religion by Region produced by the Leonard Greenburg Center of Trinity College and edited by Mark Silk and a cadre of writers, examines how "religion shapes and, is being shaped by regional culture in America."[29] These seven volumes contain an array of demographic and historical information that is reflected in his mapping and interpretation of religious America. Silk's map is "largely conventional," dividing the nation's regions into familiar configurations of New England, the Middle Atlantic, the South, the Midwest, the Mountain West, the Pacific, and the Pacific Northwest, augmented by a new zone called Southern Crossroads.[30]

[25]Mark Silk and Andrew Walsh note this in *One Nation Divisible: How Regional Religious Differences Shape American Politics* (Lanham, MD, 2008), p. 2.

[26]Wilbur Zelinsky, "An Approach to the Religious Geography of the United States: Patterns of Church Membership in 1952," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 51 (1961), 139–93.

[27]Edwin Scott Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, 1962). Revisions of this atlas have been made in 1976 and 2000. See also Gaustad and Philip A. Barlow, *A New Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York, 2000); William M. Newman and Peter L. Halvorson, *Atlas of American Religion: The Denominational Era, 1776–1990* (Walnut Creek, CA, 2000); Bret E. Carroll, *The Routledge Historical Atlas of Religion in America,* Routledge Atlases of American History (New York, 2001). Two back-to-back review essays offering interesting observations and cautions about religious mapping are Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp's "If It's South Dakota You Must Be Episcopalian: Lies, Truth-Telling, and the Mapping of U.S. Religion," *Church History*, 71 (2002), 132–42, and David F. Ley's "Mapping the Metaphysical, Plotting the Pious: Assessing Four New Atlases of Religion," *Church History,* 71 (2002), 143–51.

[28]Editor Christopher Kaufmann devoted two issues of the *U.S. Catholic Historian* to the theme "Religious Geography: The Significance of Regions and the Power of Places": vol. 18, nos. 3 and 4 (2000).

[29]Mark Silk, preface to *Religion and Public Life in the Pacific Northwest: The None Zone* (Walnut Creek, CA, 2004), pp. 5–8, here p. 5.

[30]The Southern Crossroads is "what American historians know as the Old Southwest, comprising Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Missouri." Silk and Walsh, *One Nation Divisible*, p. 1.

## Catholic Interaction with Regional Realities

Three interlocking, but not exhaustive, subject areas provide "valuable organizing principles" for better understanding Catholicism's interaction with larger developments in the twentieth-century American West.[31]

*The Federal West*. Throughout the twentieth century but especially through the period stretching from the New Deal through the cold war, the American West was significantly transformed by heavy federal spending. Infrastructure, especially water projects and roads, benefited from this, but a large amount was devoted to national defense. How did the huge investments made by the federal government in virtually every area of the American West affect western Catholicism? What impact did it have on Catholic growth and development and even parish life?

*The Touristic West*. Tourism was and continues to be a distinctive feature of the American West. It has likewise spawned an enormous industry that is also a major economic engine for some areas of the West. How have Catholics interacted with the culture of tourism? In what ways have they accommodated or resisted it?

*The Urbanizing West*. Cities are the primary matrix of Catholic life and development in the United States. In this regard, western Catholicism is truly distinct, although not unique. However, western cities often have a different historical and social trajectory than the traditional urban centers where Catholicism flourished. How have these regional difference influenced the development of Catholicism in western cities?

### *The Federal West*

The most obvious result of the heavy federal investment in the American West was population growth. Many Catholics, especially after World War II, took jobs in the expanding defense or service industries of the region—all of which led to the proliferation of dioceses, parishes, and other Catholic institutions. The number of

[31]The author wishes to thank David M. Wrobel (University of Nevada–Las Vegas), Patricia Nelson Limerick (University of Colorado–Boulder), and Anne M. Butler (former editor of the *Western History Quarterly* and *emerita* of the University of Utah) for their help in formulating these three themes.

Catholic dioceses and archdioceses surged from thirty-nine in 1950 (including one apostolic vicariate in Alaska) to sixty-six by the year 2000. Table 1, compiled by aggregating the populations of the dioceses in the western states between 1950 and 2000, shows the percentage of Catholic growth in this period.[32]

In all, the general population in these states grew by nearly 170 percent between 1950 and 2000. The Catholic population grew even faster, increasing by 276 percent of the population of the West.

The single largest expansion of dioceses has taken place in Texas and California. In 1950 Texas had seven dioceses with nearly 1 million Catholics. Today, there are fifteen with 4.7 million Catholics. In California there were five dioceses with slightly more than 2 million Catholics. Today, there are twelve with more than 10 million Catholics. The Archdiocese of Los Angeles of 2011 has 5 million Catholics—the largest single diocesan concentration of Catholics in the United States. During this time, the conferral of the cardinal's hat on James Francis Aloysius McIntyre, the archbishop of Los Angeles, in 1953 symbolized the heightened prestige and prominence of the West. In 2007, the honor was given to Daniel Nicholas DiNardo, the archbishop of Galveston-Houston.

Two western cities—Phoenix and Colorado Springs—which grew substantially in the postwar period and became major centers of Catholic life provide helpful case studies of the relationship between heavy federal investment and Catholic growth. Before World War II, both were relatively small communities—Phoenix was a regional trading center and distribution point for the small towns, ranches, farms, and mines in the area; Colorado Springs was a tourist center with a mining past dominated by the imposing Pikes Peak. World War II brought airfields and other military installations to both communities, dramatically changing their economic culture. These continued and even expanded during the cold war. In 1954 President Dwight Eisenhower selected Colorado Springs as the site of the new Air Force Academy and other military centers developed as well, including the headquarters for the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD). Phoenix, meanwhile, attracted a host of defense industries—all with lucrative

[32]These are admittedly rough statistics. The statistical reporting is not always precise nor accurate (e.g., some dioceses report the same number for two years in a row). Likewise, these statistics are for the preceding year, and the actual numbers may have increased slightly in the year listed.

TABLE 1. Catholic Growth in Western States, 1950–2000

| Western States | Catholic Population, 1950 | Catholic Percent of Total Population, 1950 | Catholic Population, 2000 | Catholic Percent of Total Population, 2000 | Percent Change, Catholic Population, 1950–2000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alaska | 10,833 | 8.42 | 54,188 | 8.64 | 400.21 |
| Arizona | 115,000 | 15.34 | 740,649 | 14.44 | 544.04 |
| California | 2,032,617 | 19.20 | 9,335,283 | 27.56 | 359.27 |
| Colorado | 189,696 | 14.32 | 553,840 | 12.88 | 191.96 |
| Hawaii | 190,000 | 38.02 | 236,688 | 19.54 | 24.57 |
| Idaho | 27,701 | 4.71 | 126,650 | 9.79 | 357.20 |
| Kansas | 194,697 | 10.22 | 395,771 | 14.72 | 103.28 |
| Montana | 65,000 | 11.00 | 124,296 | 13.78 | 91.22 |
| Nebraska | 221,741 | 16.73 | 364,733 | 21.31 | 64.49 |
| Nevada | 23,100 | 14.43 | 458,441 | 22.94 | 1884.59 |
| New Mexico | 245,606 | 36.06 | 330,483 | 18.17 | 34.56 |
| North Dakota | 130,639 | 21.08 | 176,893 | 27.54 | 35.41 |
| Oklahoma | 74,037 | 3.32 | 149,181 | 4.32 | 101.50 |
| Oregon | 107,017 | 7.03 | 334,074 | 9.76 | 212.17 |
| South Dakota | 117,654 | 18.02 | 158,732 | 21.03 | 34.91 |
| Texas | 998,468 | 12.95 | 4,637,689 | 22.24 | 364.48 |
| Utah | 23,392 | 3.40 | 103,825 | 4.65 | 343.85 |
| Washington | 227,101 | 9.55 | 657,378 | 11.15 | 189.47 |
| Wyoming | 48,263 | 16.61 | 49,000 | 9.92 | 1.53 |
| TOTAL Western Dioceses | 5,042,562 | 14.56 | 18,987,794 | 20.35 | 276.55 |

*Sources: Official Catholic Directory* (New York, 1950; New Providence, NJ, 2000). *U.S. Population by State, 1790 to 2009* (http://www.infoplease.com).

government contracts—including manufacturing giants like Chicago-based Motorola, General Electric, and Sperry Rand.[33]

Catholic growth went in tandem with these huge infusions of federal dollars and personnel. Maricopa County, the metropolitan area of Phoenix, added thirty-one new parishes between 1940 and 1969. A

[33]Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern* Metropolis (Tucson, 1989), pp. 136–76; *The Urban Southwest: A Profile History of Albuquerque, El Paso, Phoenix, Tucson* (El Paso, TX, 1982), pp. 79–84. Maria E. Montoya describes the rapid growth of Colorado Springs during the cold war era in "Landscapes of the Cold War West," in *The Cold War*, ed. Fernlund, pp. 17–18. See also Carl Abbott, Stephen J. Leonard, and Thomas J. Noel, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, 4th ed. (Boulder, 2005), for tourism, pp. 224–25, 230–32; for military, pp. 316–17.

handful of Catholic parishes existed in Colorado Springs—including a high school and Catholic hospital—but like Maricopa County, Colorado's El Paso County soon experienced a boomlet of parochial growth. As both areas grew, each developed its own separate identity from the parent See. Colorado Springs Catholics considered Denver a foreign capital, interested only in their money. Likewise, Phoenix was anxious to shake-off the hand of distant Tucson. Phoenix became a diocese in December 1969, and Pope Paul VI appointed Edward A. McCarthy, an auxiliary bishop of Cincinnati, as its first bishop.[34] Consisting of four Arizona counties that occupied the northwestern portion of the state, the new diocese encompassed older Catholic areas such as Flagstaff (previously under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Gallup) and tourist areas like Lake Havasu on the Colorado River; but the largest concentration of Catholics and parishes lay in Phoenix's metropolitan area. What had begun as a sleepy state capital with one or two parishes expanded rapidly after World War II, thanks in large measure to heavy federal investment in military, defense, and infrastructure as well as the state's Sunbelt allure.

In the early 1970s Denver Archbishop James V. Casey studied Colorado's existing diocesan boundaries with an eye to creating several smaller dioceses in the Fort Collins-Greeley area north of Denver, the Western Slope-Grand Junction area, and a third headquartered at Colorado Springs. All three sites were tied to what seemed to be thriving local economies that promised people and revenue sufficient to support new dioceses. However, plans for Grand Junction fell through when the oil shale business along the western slope collapsed, and Fort Collins also hit economic difficulties. This left only Colorado Springs, which, thanks to federal expenditures there, proved the most viable. After a brief period of tutelage as a vicariate, the Diocese of Colorado Springs was created by Pope John Paul II in November 1983. The new See consisted of ten counties from Denver and Pueblo that encompassed twenty-six parishes, schools, a hospital, and other forms of social provision. Richard Hanifen, the Denver auxiliary bishop, became its first bishop.[35]

[34]Steven M. Avella, *Encountering the Living Christ: A History of the Diocese of Phoenix* (Strasbourg, 2008).

[35]Steven M. Avella, *I Lift My Eyes to the Mountains: A Brief History of the Diocese of Colorado Springs* (Strasbourg, 2008); Thomas J. Noel, *Colorado Catholicism* (Boulder, 1990); Author interview with Bishop Richard Hanifen, Colorado Springs, CO, August 2007. Hanifen was most helpful in explaining the ideas of Archbishop Casey and his own efforts in Colorado Springs prior to the establishment of the diocese.

The dynamics of parish growth in areas of heavy federal investment (either military or infrastructure) also created an interesting set of dynamics for parish life. Research in the Sacramento area—which in many ways was a microcosm of developments throughout the federal West—illustrates this point.[36] Sacramento was a virtual prototype of the federal West—with extensive water control projects; three major military posts; and a large defense-industry employer, the aerospace giant Aerojet General. The land near these pivot points of federal investment exploded with an influx of new inhabitants, and Catholic parishes in Sacramento followed the population growth. Catholics who migrated to these areas from "back east" found themselves in the unaccustomed role of parish founders—coping with an array of temporary buildings and continuous fund-raisers sometimes for many years. This was a distinct change from their eastern or midwestern experience, where they lived in well-established and often well-appointed churches with large schools, rectories, and convents attached. Parish histories written on the twenty-fifth or fiftieth anniversaries of these western parishes often waxed nostalgic about their beginnings in dance halls (with the stale smell of alcohol that had to be cleaned up before Sunday Mass), movie theaters, or warehouses. "Pioneers" remembered door-to-door visits to take the parish census and beg for pledges to build parish structures.

The regular retelling of the various mixers, dances, and other social events in the early years of the parish suggested the importance of these community-building exercises to California suburbanites who were often far from extended families and networks of friendship "back east." These bonds may also have been a source of stability in the midst of the frequent fluctuations in parish membership that took place in these federal zones. The regular transfers of military personnel and the booms and busts of federal spending on defense projects often moved people with great regularity. Likewise, since the finances of parish life were tied to the vagaries of the defense budget, government contracts, and the whims of local developers, plans to build permanent facilities were often delayed for many years. Further studies of these "federal suburbs" may reveal more about the lived experience of Catholics in the twentieth-century American West.

[36]See Avella, *Sacramento and the Catholic Church*, pp. 187–214.

*The Touristic West*

Tourism—even today a major "industry" of the American West—has become the object of a lively historiography since the publication of Earl Pomeroy's *In Search of the Golden West* (New York, 1957).[37] The late Hal K. Rothman contributed substantially to this growing literature and underscored the importance of tourism to the West's economic and cultural life even as he criticized its cumulative impact.[38]

Regardless of the aesthetical and ethical implications, all agree tourism has contributed to the region's economic stability and distinctiveness. Catholics have had to contend with, contest, and even actively participate in western touristic culture. The most obvious intersection is through heritage tourism, or "the marketing of historic and scenic sites," which dominated the western tourist industry during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[39] Here the legacy of the Spanish missions that ran from Texas through New Mexico, Arizona, and most famously California are the most notable heritage sites that blend religious faith and touristic interest.

Reviving the missions in Texas had been a priority of Catholics since the nineteenth century when they retrieved the missions from the Republic of Texas and under various priests began to rebuild them. As American bishops began to exercise authority over Catholic life in Texas, mission properties were reacquired in 1841, and efforts made to restore the missions of San Antonio as functioning parishes (see figure 1). In 1855 French-born Father Francis Bochu began his work of rebuilding the missions of San Juan and Espada near San Antonio. Until his death Bochu worked tirelessly, reconstructing the missions and helping to cultivate a historical—and touristic—appreciation of these "ancient" structures.[40]

[37]Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America*, 2nd ed. (Lincoln, NE, 2010).

[38]Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century West* (Lawrence, KS, 1998). Some historians take issue with Rothman's negative assessment of tourism. See *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*, ed. David M. Wrobel and Patrick Long (Lawrence, KS, 2001), for the varieties of scholarship on this topic.

[39]Hal K. Rothman, "Selling the Meaning of Place: Entrepreneurship, Tourism, and Community Transformation in the Twentieth Century American West," *Pacific Historical Review,* 65 (1996), 525–57.

[40]The classic work on the history of Catholic Texas is Carlos E. Castaneda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 7 vols. (Austin, 1936–58).

FIGURE 1. Notable Churches of the West

Mission Concepción, San Antonio. Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service.

St. James Cathedral, Seattle. Copyright © St. James Cathedral, Seattle. Reproduced by permission.

Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels, Los Angeles, December 2007. Photograph by Adam Sofen. Reproduced by permission of the photographer.

Cathedral of the Madeleine, Salt Lake City. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.

A larger effort toward mission-restoration occurred in the twentieth century, when the Diocese of San Antonio made common cause with local preservationists, state historical interests, and the National Park Service to "transform the San Antonio missions into tourist attractions."[41] Local historical groups like the Daughters of the Republic of Texas took the lead in raising funds for mission restorations and in generating public support for their preservation as a means of highlighting the appeal of San Antonio to tourists. Church leaders supported these endeavors—even to the point of recruiting brown-robed Franciscans to minister in the missions—a finishing touch in creating an imagined authenticity. San Antonio's appreciation of the touristic appeal of the missions worked hand in hand with Catholic interests, especially during the episcopate of Archbishop Robert Emmet Lucey (1941–70) when Lucey, "for the glory of God . . . but also for the pleasure of tourists . . . embarked on nearly three decades of sustained preservation and restoration efforts at the San Antonio missions."[42] The archbishop bought up land adjacent to mission sites and poured archdiocesan money into shoring up old buildings, tending to their authenticity, landscaping, and enlisting the support of Ethel Wilson Harris, a state park manager at Mission San José and mission purist, who insisted the missions be reconstructed and operated with as much fidelity to their historic origins as possible. Lucey's interest in the renovation of the Texas missions stemmed in part from the fact that he was a Californian. Living in California, the home of the most popular of the mission chains, Lucey had seen firsthand the spiritual significance and local economic benefits derived from mission restoration.

The chain of missions in California—stretching from San Diego to Sonoma—is as integral a part of the California landscape as the Golden Gate Bridge. The images associated with the missions have been used to advertise the state, adorn fruit boxes, and even launch an important building style that still graces many California cities.[43] Mission images ubiquitously have promoted California: "The mission ruins, a crumbling arch, particularly combined with a modern back-

[41]Thomas S. Bremer, *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2004), p. 69. Bremer, like Rothman, regards the touristic impact on the missions as largely a negative development.

[42]Bremer, *Blessed with Tourists*, p. 86.

[43]Mission and old California images are contained in K. D. Kurtz and Gary F. Kurtz's beautiful book of California poster art, *California Calls You: The Art of Promoting the Golden State 1870–1940* (Sausalito, CA, 2000), pp. 28, 37, 29, 54, 135, 142, 144, 149, 160, 161.

drop, suggested California's rich past and promising future."[44] Romanticized views of the missions had sprung to life in the wake of the popular success of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* in 1884. This tragic tale set in old California—and memorialized in an oft-performed play—evokes powerful images of a land long lost, of sun and citrus and romance, and of friendly padres chiming mission bells. Jackson's novel set in motion a wave of nostalgia for California's "ancient" past and provided a ready template for a state looking for an image and identity to market itself—with eager railroad companies anxious to propagate it.[45]

Missions had deteriorated in California by the late-nineteenth century, but under the impact of *Ramona* and other forces a renewed interest in reclaiming and literally rebuilding these remnants of California's past began. The Franciscans had revived Mission Santa Barbara and Mission San Luis Rey while secular priests had recovered San Gabriel and San Luis Rey. Tessia Kelso, the head of the Los Angeles Public Library, launched an early fund-raising effort in 1896 to restore these treasures of California's past. Later, journalist and editor Charles Fletcher Lummis—a Yankee-born, Harvard-educated outdoorsman who developed a lifelong infatuation with the Southwest and far West—took her place. A gifted and colorful writer, he accepted the editorship of a local booster publication, *Land of Sunshine*, and in 1895 formed the Landmarks Association, building on Kelso's first efforts. With the publicity Lummis's romantic prose provided and the funds raised by the Landmarks Association, Lummis and his followers set about to restore the missions of San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, San Fernando, and the assistencia of Pala attached to San Luis Rey. "Lummis issued a clarion call to preserve the missions not only as examples of superb architecture and buildings of true historical worth, but as magnets capable of drawing tourists to the southland."[46] Lummis also pressed plans for the restoration of El Camino Real, arguing for its extension from San Diego north, "Every hotel man, every livery stable, every railroad, every street car line, every enterprise and every individual that plans to harvest a tourist dollar has a stake in the

[44]K. D. Kurtz and Gary F. Kurtz, *California Calls You*, p. 159.

[45]For an interesting summary of the revival of the missions and its role in the shaping of California's identity, see Glen Gendzel, "Pioneers and Padres: Competing Mythologies in Northern and Southern California, 1850–1930," *Western Historical Quarterly,* 32 (2001), 55–79.

[46]Edwin R. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis, Editor of the Southwest* (Westport, CT, 1955), p. 104.

movement."[47] Missions became and continue to be prime tourist attractions, including San Juan Capistrano, which is located near Disneyland and welcomes more than 500,000 visitors annually.

A perhaps more creative adaptation of Catholics to the realities of regional tourism occurred in Nevada. With the collapse of the mining industry and limited land available for agriculture, Nevada turned to tourism and special services to provide a stream of revenue. One economic engine was the state's sanctioning of "quickie" divorces and marriages—with the city of Reno gaining a reputation for the most lenient and expeditious divorce proceedings anywhere. Literally thousands of people—from movie stars to laborers—arrived and rapidly shed unwanted spouses. Marriage chapels flourished, and individuals could be formally divorced in the morning and wed anew by the afternoon.[48] However, if the seeming moral squalor of the divorce industry truly offended Catholics, the resulting boom in hotels, legal fees, and hospitality-related businesses muted any serious efforts to change the laws or even to penalize Catholics who actively participated in it, including some of the lawyers and judges and perhaps even wedding chapel proprietors. Eventually other states loosened their divorce and marriage laws, thereby decreasing the need to "go to Reno" except to gamble.

Although games of chance were not considered as sinful as divorce, the casinos of Nevada with their exotic dancers, racy comedy shows, and generally free-wheeling atmosphere presented a peril to the morals and chastity of Catholics. Gambling had come and gone in Nevada, but when the Great Depression hit Nevada, the state legislature permanently legalized it on March 19, 1931, the very day the Holy See formally erected the new Diocese of Reno.[49] The greatest beneficiary of legalized gambling came to be the heretofore sleepy town of Las Vegas, which boomed after the war. In 1941, on the outskirts of Las Vegas, Thomas Hull opened the El Rancho, a new type of resort, casino, and entertainment center that would make Las Vegas an adult entertainment playground. Other fabulous hotels, resorts, and clubs opened after the war, especially during the 1950s, creating the famous Las Vegas strip.[50]

[47]Charles F. Lummis, "The Camino Real," *Out West*, 20, no. 1 (1904), 82–83.

[48]James W. Hulse, *The Silver State: Nevada's Heritage Reinterpreted,* 2nd ed. (Reno, 1998), pp. 199–200.

[49]Hulse, *Silver State*, pp. 261–64, provides the early history of gambling in Nevada.

[50]Eugene P. Moehring, *Resort City in the Sunbelt: Las Vegas, 1930–2000* (Reno, 2000), pp. 73–106.

Catholic growth in Las Vegas was slow with only a single parish serving the city from 1908 until 1940. After the war, the number of parishes needed to meet the expanding Catholic population grew rapidly. Bishop Thomas Gorman made note of the rising appeal of Las Vegas in a 1951 letter to the Chicago-based Catholic Church Extension Society, pleading for a new church:

> Since the church will be beside the main highway from Los Angeles to Salt Lake, thousands of tourists will yearly pass its doors. So many thousands, even millions of tourists and soldiers have passed through this region during the past twenty years. . . .Who has not tried his luck on the wheels and tables of this resort? Who has not read of the atomic bomb blasts in this area?[51]

Gambling's deleterious effects—addiction, poverty, and the avoidance of "honest" labor—were no doubt a daily experience for Las Vegas parishes who frequently helped impoverished gamblers with gas money or food. Still, as Gorman noted, the local Church and the larger economy were built on this so-called vice. In another telling 1951 letter to Catholic Senator Patrick McCarran (D–NV), approving the solon's efforts to stop a potentially devastating tax on "our gambling activities in Nevada," Gorman acknowledged and acceded to the economic realities of the tourist culture: "I think we all realize to what extent we are presently dependent upon the activities attendant upon the gambling industry of our state."[52]

Reno's second bishop, the scholarly Robert Dwyer, took a dim view of the culture of vice in Nevada, but could not ignore the growing needs of the Church in Las Vegas, which expanded by leaps and bounds due to the entertainment industry. The rapid growth of Las Vegas required additional parishes, and the need to capture some of the revenue from devout gamblers and tourists led to a remarkable pact between the Church and the Las Vegas strip. At the behest of Joe Bock, the food and beverage manager of the Stardust and Desert Inn, Viatorian Father Richard Crowley began offering a 4:30 am Sunday Mass in the lounge of the Royal Hotel for entertainers and staff. Later these masses moved over to the showroom of the Stardust. With the encouragement of local casino owners like Moe Dalitz of the Desert Inn and others, Crowley mobilized support for a church on the strip;

[51]Thomas Gorman to Richard R. St. John, November 1951, "Correspondence-Reno-1951," Records of the Catholic Church Extension Society, Loyola University Archives, Chicago.

[52]Thomas Gorman to Patrick McCarran, October 2, 1951, Diocese of Reno Archives, Chancery Office, Reno, NV.

when Dalitz donated land, Bishop Dwyer gave permission for the erection of the Chapel of the Holy Guardian Angels. Crowley's grand plans for the site included a church with a large prayer tower and a religious articles shop—in short, a tourist trap for visiting Catholics who may have wanted to donate a portion of their casino winnings to the church. Crowley's plans never materialized, and another Viatorian priest, who built a more modest church designed by Los Angeles architect Paul Anderson in 1963, replaced him. This church, decorated with mosaic angels created by émigré artist Edith Piczek, eventually became the cathedral of the newly created Diocese of Las Vegas in 1995.[53]

### *The Urbanizing West*

Dynamic forces unique to the region created western cities: the instant cities of the mineral rushes, the communities springing up in the wake of railroad lines, and the federally-seeded districts near defense plants and military installations. The effects of World War II, rapid regional growth, and the changing global economy produced a network of western cities "created by petroleum, global war, air-conditioning, and the Social Security Act of 1935."[54] Similar to other American cities, Catholic participation in western urban life followed the traditional patterns of monumental buildings, health care provision, education, and charity. Catholics were often a minority in Western cities—even in the growth years of the twentieth century. As a result, Catholics contributed to urban life in much quieter and more subtle ways than their eastern co-religionists and often sought to assure their place in the city by an explicit association with wider urban development goals.[55]

[53]Steven M. Avella, *"That All May Be One": A Celebration of the History of the Church in Northern Nevada* (Strasbourg, 2001), pp. 24–25. Douglas Firth Anderson also mentions the building of the strip church in "Toward an Established Mysticism: Judeo-Christian Tradition in Post-War California and Nevada," in *Religion and Public Life in the Pacific Region, Fluid Identities,* ed. Wade Clark Roof and Mark Silk (Walnut Creek, CA, 2005), pp. 57–88, here pp. 80–81.

[54]Carl Abbott, *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America* (Albuquerque, 2008), p. 165.

[55]Urban studies that highlight the interplay of religion and urban life can still take inspiration from Kathleen Neils Conzen's brief 1996 essay, "The Place of Religion in Urban and Community Studies." In this piece, she argues for a re-examination of the agency of religious bodies in urban history. Religious institutions, she insists, were "particular agent[s]" who sought "to influence the urban order directly through its investments, services, political power, and control of space." See Kathleen Neils Conzen, "The Place of Religion in Urban and Community Studies," *Religion and American Culture,* 6 (1996), 108–14.

The Catholic presence in many western cities was often small. Communities like Sacramento, Phoenix, Reno, and Cheyenne were for many years served by one Catholic parish (with mission stations). Catholic institutions, like hospitals and schools, relied on the benefactions of Protestants or nonbelievers to be built and sustained. These enterprises were from the outset seen as urban rather than sectarian institutions. For example, "despite intense anti-Catholic sentiment in Oregon and Washington, Protestants helped to support the Sisters of Providence and the Holy Names schools as well as the Providence Sisters' hospitals, orphanage and home for the mentally weak."[56] The network of Catholic health care institutions that spread across the West often represented the first or the most advanced hospitals and clinics, ministering to those arriving from harsher climates to recover their health. In Phoenix, the refuge of those with the white plague, the Sisters of Mercy opened St. Joseph Hospital in 1895, still one of that city's major health care providers. In the same year the Sisters of Mercy opened Mater Misericordiae Hospital in Sacramento, known colloquially as "Sisters' Hospital" and frequented by Sacramento residents of all faiths. The placement of Catholic health care centers and orphanages followed the employment patterns of the region: near lumber and mining camps, where accidents maimed and killed many workers. Catholic hospitals took care of injured railway workers in grain-belt cities and even in the Mormon capital. In Las Vegas, a Catholic hospital opened in 1947 that soon developed a well-regarded oncology ward to care for cancer patients—many of whom lived near the nuclear testing grounds in the Nevada desert.[57] Catholic institutions cared for the orphans and half-orphans left by natural disasters and work-related deaths occurring in the many extractive industrial areas of the West.

Cathedral-building in western cities also seemed to be deliberately calculated to fit wider urban needs and architectural styles. Western cities, often founded in the wake of mineral rushes or other fast-growing (and collapsing) western industries, frequently worked hard to overcome their reputations as centers of disorder, violence, and low-brow culture. Many made strenuous efforts to enhance a city's appeal with the construction of opera houses, art museums, theaters, and

[56]Patricia Killen to author, "Thoughts on Catholicism in the Pacific Northwest," November 28, 2010.

[57]For a substantial account of the role of Catholic sisters in health care in selected cities of the West, see Barbra Mann Wall, *Unlikely Entrepreneurs: Catholic Sisters and the Hospital Marketpace, 1865–1925* (Columbus, OH, 2005).

other accouterments of "civilization." In like manner, Catholics in diocesan centers often built their cathedral churches with one eye on their spiritual needs and another on creating "worthy ornaments" for the emerging city skyline that could serve as counterparts to handsome civic or state buildings.

In Salt Lake City, the placement and erection of the cathedral took into account the dominance of the Mormon Church and the centrality of the Mormon Temple within the city's grid. Bishop Lawrence Scanlan, who conscientiously sought accommodation with the Latter-Day Saints, wanted a location sufficiently distant from the Mormon headquarters, yet close enough to be a rallying point for Utah's growing Catholic population. St. Mary Magdalene Cathedral, built on a small hill in the Mormon capital, advanced slowly from 1899 to 1907 as funds became available. Historian Bernice Maher Mooney acknowledges the civic purpose of the elaborate structure: "Positioned in the midst of the Mormon metropolis, the Cathedral would reconcile Catholicism to the community and to the West."[58] Later renamed the more elegant "Cathedral of the Madeleine," it was lavishly adorned by Utah's second bishop, Vincentian Joseph Sarsfield Glass, who tapped into the southern California Doheny oil fortune to make the church one of the architectural gems of the Great Basin (see figure 1).

In the Pacific Northwest, Bishop Edward O'Dea became bishop of Nesqually, Washington, in 1896—by that time a backwater to the more prosperous port city and rail hub of Seattle. He pressed Rome to approve the transfer of diocesan headquarters to Seattle because of that city's "predominant influence in the political, social and economic affairs of the state" (and also to battle anti-Catholicism).[59] To prepare for the move, O'Dea purchased a city block on Seattle's First Hill and approved a design for a Renaissance-style cathedral with twin towers spiking 175 feet into the sky (see figure 1). When it was dedicated on December 22, 1907, O'Dea had the added pleasure of announcing the formal transfer of the diocese to Seattle from Nesqually. O'Dea had been very much aware of the desire of local boosters and developers of Seattle to make the city into the pre-eminent metropolis of the Pacific Northwest. In his brief notes about the

[58]Bernice Maher Mooney, *The Story of the Cathedral of the Madeleine* (Salt Lake City, 1981), p. 16.

[59]David Buerge, "Amidst a Cloud of Witnesses," in *House of God and Gate of Heaven: Seattle's St. James Cathedral,* ed. Jackie O'Ryan (Strasbourg, 2000), pp. 87–104, here p. 90.

history of the cathedral, Rector Michael Ryan linked the building of St. James and its location with this larger civic purpose, observing that St. James

> also quietly validated the claim of Seattle's first pioneers had made for their fledgling settlement that day in 1851 when they had beached their boats on a promontory west of Seattle and christened it, in the local language of the natives, "New York Alki" (New York by and by).[60]

Other cathedrals marked off sacred space near architecturally elegant government buildings. Bishop Patrick Manogue of Sacramento moved his diocesan See from the mining town of Grass Valley to the state capital in 1886 and even before Rome approved the transfer secretly bought up land one block north of California's imposing capitol. On this turf, he erected the French Renaissance Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament—a counterpoint to the Greco-Roman style of the capitol. In a similar vein, the Cathedral of St. Mary in Cheyenne, Wyoming, raises its modest spires a few blocks from the capital building and amidst other state offices built to accentuate the permanence and majesty of the people's government. The sheer architectural beauty and social utility of these structures is evident to all who visit them. They are all part of the urban landscape and—in a bow to one of the West's great industries—are often touted as tourist attractions for their size, interior artwork, and architectural elegance.

A "galloping Manhattanization of urban cores along with radical decentralization" has characterized modern urban life in the West.[61] Large buildings—often of architectural merit—dominate these contemporary western cityscapes. Almost like islands unto themselves, they create self-contained space (with large, ample parking decks) and secure and attractive gathering places.

The Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels in Los Angeles, which opened in 2000, reflects this architectural ethos (see figure 1). Here, the earlier tradition of locating elaborate and even architecturally distinctive cathedrals in places of prominence continued. After the Northridge earthquake of 1994 seriously damaged St. Vibiana Cathedral, Cardinal Roger Mahony of Los Angeles laid plans to build the new cathedral, selecting a 5.6-acre site that was once a parking

[60]Michael G. Ryan, "Domus Dei Porta Coeli," in *House of God,* ed. O'Ryan, pp. 9–11, here p. 9.

[61]Abbott, *How Cities Won the West*, p. 166.

garage on the "old Bunker Hill" in Los Angeles and was near some of the city's largest new buildings. Uppermost in Mahony's vision was, of course, a fitting temple for the worship of God and the gathering of the Catholic community. But he also insisted that the new structure was not "being built [just] for the Catholic community—this is being built for the whole community. The cathedral is a cathedral of the people. . . . The cathedral creates a common ground, a common place." Michael Collins, an official of the Los Angeles Convention and Visitors Bureau, echoed Mahony's assertion, "It is intended as a community edifice, in the larger sense, to celebrate something of universal value."[62] To this end, Mahony took note of the distinctive features of southern California's natural and built environment—especially the sunlight, the mission-church motif, and the automobile culture of the southland—to literally shape the giant Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels. Designed by Spanish architect José Rafael Moneo, the huge structure sits on five urban acres and features large alabaster windows to let in and filter the California sunlight. Cathedrals were often built near rivers, the main transportation networks of days gone by. Mahony planted his near the roaring Hollywood Freeway—a major transportation artery of today's Golden State. Underneath the site, there is ample parking. A 2.4-acre, sun-drenched plaza—an adaptation of the old mission plaza—welcomes churchgoers and provides space for them to linger after Mass. In its lower levels are burial niches—occupied first by Mahony's parents and later actor Gregory Peck—a nod to the tourist appeal of the cemeteries of the stars in the Los Angeles area. The $200 million-plus building earned its share of detractors and controversy, but its significance to the revival of downtown Los Angeles and its conscious attempt to blend the realities of its southern California location reflect the extent to which unique western urban realities have dictated the shape and scope of the Catholic presence.[63]

San Francisco—a larger, more cosmopolitan, and more Catholic city, especially in matters of public policy—also illustrates the intersection of Catholic aspirations and western urban culture. Catholic

[62]Dana Bartholomew, "Cardinal Says New Cathedral to Link Secular, Sacred L.A.," *Daily News of Los Angeles*, August 11, 2002, N1.

[63]For additional information on the building of the Los Angeles cathedral, consult Francis J. Weber, *Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels* (Mission Hills, CA, 2004). See also Jack Miles, "Our Lady of the Freeways," *Commonweal,* February 28, 2003, 13–17; and Willard F. Jabusch, "California's New Cathedrals," *Commonweal,* May 21, 2010, 11–12.

leaders and organizers maintained rather high-profile roles in the shaping of San Francisco's political culture from 1900 to 1940 and beyond. Catholic leaders like Father Peter Yorke and Archbishop Edward J. Hanna, working off the vision of Catholic social teaching, created a business-labor partnership that ended a long period of bitterness between management and labor in the city.[64] Few American cities demonstrated such an overt alliance between Catholic thought and urban political culture.[65]

Catholic Action, a hearty staple of Catholic life in the Midwest and East, played a distinct role in San Francisco in the 1930s through the work of Sylvester Andriano, an Italian attorney. Working with Hanna's successor, Archbishop John Joseph Mitty, Andriano laid out an effective and highly mobilized plan of Catholic Action that brought Catholic influence to bear on the city's politics and on some of its policies. Indeed, the successes of Catholic Action enterprises ultimately evoked a counter campaign by San Francisco's communists and anarchists who accused Catholic Actionists of having fascist sympathies.[66] The false charges of having fascist sympathies may have stymied Andriano, but his activities with Mitty mobilized Catholic voters and inspired the public policy efforts of men like mayors Angelo Rossi and Joseph Alioto, as well as labor leaders like John Shelley and Jack Henning, who played important roles both locally and nationally. Whether through the informal cooperation with local commercial movers and shakers or through organized political activity, a visible and often admired Catholic presence emerged in western cities.

## Conclusion

The New Western historians, despite their secularist bias, point the way to a new regional history that takes into account the diversity of

[64]For a life of Edward A. Hanna, see Gribble, *Archbishop*.

[65]William Issel, "Business Power and Political Culture in San Francisco, 1900–1940," *Journal of Urban History*, 16 (1989), 52–77. See also Issel's "New Deal and Wartime Origins of San Francisco's Postwar Political Culture: The Case of Growth Politics and Policy," in *The Way We Really Were: The Golden State in the Second Great War*, ed. Roger Lotchin (Urbana, IL, 2000), pp. 68–92; and Issel's "'The Catholic Internationale': Mayor Joseph L. Alioto's Urban Liberalism and San Francisco Catholicism," *U.S. Catholic Historian,* 22, no. 2 (2004), 99–120.

[66]William Issel, "Faith-Based Activism in American Cities: The Case of the San Francisco Catholic Action Cadre," *Journal of Church and State,* 50 (2008), 519–40. See also Issel's *For Both Cross and Flag: Catholic Action, Anti-Catholicism, and National Security Politics in World War II San Francisco* (Philadelphia, 2010).

the area, the distinct conditions of local development and geography, and the larger overarching themes that transcend localities and shed light on a wider regional culture. These insights can be helpful to Catholics historians who can begin to write the Catholic Church into the narrative of the American West. Echoing in my ears is "The Search for Unity," the 1978 American Catholic Historical Association presidential address of my graduate mentor, Philip Gleason. It was a typical masterwork of Gleason's keen mind and a view of the intellectual power of the neo-Scholastic philosophy, which undergirded Catholic life and thought in the twentieth century. Although it is unlikely that St. Thomas and his interpreters said anything about the American West, that call for synthesis and integration was uppermost in my mind as I struggled to establish overarching themes for a region as variegated as the American West.

Amidst all of its glorious diversity, there is a regional West that is a real place, not only frontier, and an important backdrop for the wider American Catholic narrative. Although related in part by earlier generations of historians, this region is ready to surrender new perspectives to those willing to incorporate the best new scholarship on the American West. Even in Boston, John Winthrop's city on a hill, the errand into the wilderness was to advance the frontier where there was land, prosperity, and abundance. Indeed, Katharine Lee Bates's "America the Beautiful," written in the shadow of Pikes Peak, spoke of the Pilgrims' feet "whose stern impassioned stress" took them inexorably westward. Catholics, too, crossed the Great Plains, surmounted the rugged mountains, and plodded across the arid deserts. They established their churches, schools, and hospitals everywhere and—inspired by the words of Jesus, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations"—created new chapters for the old Catholic story.

# CONVENTS AND CHANGE: AUTONOMY, MARGINALIZATION, AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IN LATE-MEDIEVAL BOLOGNA

BY

SHERRI FRANKS JOHNSON*

*The histories of two Bolognese monastic houses, Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia and Santa Caterina, reveal the complex relationships between some religious women's communities and monastic orders. They began as communities in small, regional congregations; became Augustinian in the mid-thirteenth century due to papal intervention; and were Dominican by the fifteenth century. Amid these changes, both communities attempted to retain elements of their early status and practices rather than accepting integration into larger orders. Whereas much scholarly attention rightly has been paid to convents that strove for incorporation into the religious orders, examinations of communities with more fluid affiliations can complement these studies and provide a fuller picture of medieval religious women's lives.*

*Keywords*: Bologna; *cura monialium*; Dominican nuns; monastic orders; religious women

A historical problem in the study of religious women in the high and late Middle Ages is the nature of their relationship to religious orders. As large, centralized monastic orders began to develop in the twelfth century, the place of women in these orders and the role of monks and friars in providing the care of nuns (*cura monialium*) became a subject of debate. Modern scholars have scrutinized the records of general chapters, personal letters, bulls and decrees, petitions to legates and popes, and other sources for clues that can indicate the degree of integration of religious women into religious orders.

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Historians of religious movements and institutions such as Herbert Grundmann and Micheline de Fontette have posed this relationship as a problematic one, contrasting an increase in the number of women who desired to engage in the religious life with religious men's reluctance to commit to providing care for nuns, resulting in nuns remaining on the margins of religious orders.[1] These and other scholars focus on the gradual expulsion of women from the Premonstratensian Order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries;[2] the tenuousness of nuns' place in the emerging Cistercian Order;[3] and the periodic rejection of the duty to care for nuns on the part of several orders, including the mendicant orders established by Ss. Dominic and Francis of Assisi, in the thirteenth century.[4] Summarizing trends in literature on the status of nuns, one scholar has noted recently that "the leitmotif for religious women within orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is as succinct as it is familiar: decline."[5]

Whereas studies of the negotiations between religious women and male authorities in religious orders elucidate an important dynamic affecting many convents, a focus on the problems of religious women in securing the *cura monialium* from monks and friars emphasizes religious men's ability to determine the identity and status of nuns rather than the nuns' own ideas about their place in religious life. It is difficult to know the percentage of women's monastic houses that identified so strongly with a religious order that they pressed for incorporation. There were houses that followed the practices of large

[1]Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, IN, 1995). See especially pp. 75–137; Micheline de Fontette, *Les religieuses à l'âge classique du droit canon* (Paris, 1967).

[2]Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin* (Chicago, 1985), pp. 86–115.

[3]The status of nuns in the Cistercian order has been a subject of great debate, with some considering most houses of Cistercian women "imitators" of Cistercian customs. See Louis Julius Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, OH, 1977), pp. 347–63; and Sally Thompson, "The Problem of Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 227–52. For a less restricted view of women's participation in the Cistercian order, see Brigitte Degler-Spengler, "The Incorporation of Cistercian Nuns into the Order in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century," in *Medieval Religious Women,* ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, [Hidden Springs: Cistercian Monastic Women, 3], (Kalamazoo, MI, 1995), pp. 85–134; and Constance Berman, "Were There Twelfth-Century Cistercian Nuns?" *Church History*, 68 (1999), 824–64.

[4]Fontette, *Les religieuses*, pp. 88–89.

[5]Fiona Griffiths, "'Men's duty to provide for women's needs': Abelard, Heloise, and Their Negotiation of the *cura monialium,*" in *Medieval Religion: New Approaches*, ed. Constance H. Berman (New York, 2005), pp. 268–99, here p. 292.

orders such as the Cistercians or Dominicans, although they were not recognized by the leaders of those orders, but rather remained under the care of their bishop. Such convents probably relied on local priests to administer the sacraments.[6] This may have happened because of the unwillingness of monastic men to accept the responsibility of caring for their sisters. Alternatively, it may indicate that these communities did not seek incorporation, but rather defined themselves in other ways—for example, by rule and habit; patron saint; a pious founder or abbess; or papal privileges.

By examining religious houses with looser ties to monastic orders, we can gain a better understanding of the fluidity and complexity of monastic women's lives in the later Middle Ages. Two cases from Bologna, Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia and Santa Caterina di Quarto, illustrate the competing forces that sometimes drove communities of religious women to solidify their relationship with their male counterparts in religious orders and at other times led them to emphasize their autonomy and unique status rather than seeking incorporation into a large, centralized religious order.

The first of these two examples, Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia, began in 1193 as an abode for a hermitess named Angelica, who was attended by a group of male clerics. This church was transformed into a nunnery after Angelica's death in the 1240s.[7] The second, Santa Caterina di Quarto, was established as a double monastery, where early records indicate that women outnumbered men, although the prior was the main authority in the community. Santa Caterina observed its own rule and became the head of its own small congregation, sometimes called the Order of Santa Caterina. Both of these groups were given the Augustinian Rule in the late 1240s under Pope Innocent IV, reflecting papal attempts to clarify monastic categories after the Fourth Lateran Council's decree forbid-

[6]Grundmann explores this phenomenon in a discussion of religious women's communities in Germany that followed rules similar the Dominican convent of Santo Sisto in Rome, but embeds it in a discussion of the difficulty that religious women had in securing the *cura monialium* from the Order of Preachers. *Religious Movements,* pp. 103–08.

[7]Although there is no Latin or Italian equivalent of the word *nunnery*, it is used here because the term connotes in English a community of religious women that has taken permanent vows to live according to a rule. This term is used to mark the change in status of these communities that begin as either an oratory for a hermitess or a double monastery but later became single-sex communities of women professing an accepted rule.

ding the establishment of new orders.[8] Over time, both communities moved into the Dominican sphere of influence. Although by the fifteenth century both houses clearly identified with the Order of Preachers, their relationship to the order differed slightly. One house, Santa Maria del Monte, developed ties to the Dominicans in the late-thirteenth century, although it is likely that the strength of its affiliation varied. It was only officially incorporated into the order in 1496.[9] The second, Santa Caterina, cannot clearly be identified as Dominican until the fifteenth century. It was never incorporated, but rather remained under the jurisdiction of the bishop. Nevertheless, some members of this house engaged in the reform of other Dominican convents in the early-sixteenth century.[10]

These two Bolognese communities were in a city that had great importance to the Dominican movement—St. Dominic's remains are in an impressive ark in the friars' main church, and several early general chapters were held in the city. Santa Caterina's founder was a man who seems to have been close to the saint, which is emphasized in early-modern chronicles of the community's history. Nevertheless, well into the fourteenth century, Santa Caterina argued for its status as head of its own religious order. In the late-thirteenth century Santa Maria del Monte had close ties to the order, especially to the Dominican bishop Teodorico Borgognoni, and may have adopted a version of the order's rules as early as 1278. Yet despite these ties and influences, each of these communities continued to distinguish themselves in some way. Santa Maria del Monte and its sister monastery, San Mattia, assiduously guarded a privilege that Angelica had gained from a series of popes placing the church directly under papal protection; this allowed the nuns to ascertain that Dominican officials or other clerics performed visitations as representatives of the pope and not as direct authorities over them. These convents demonstrate that com-

[8]"Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus, ne quis de caetero novam religionem inveniat, sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat." Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, canon 13, in *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo et al. (Basel, 1962), p. 218.

[9]Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Fondo Demaniale (henceforth referred to as ASB Dem.), San Mattia, 14/5775, not numb., November 4, 1496.

[10]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 19/4503, no. 32, March 1, 1510. In this bull, Cardinal Francesco Alidosi orders the union of San Giovanni Battista with the Benedictine convents of San Guglielmo and Santi Gervasio e Protasio, presenting this union as occurring due to the request of the prioress of San Giovanni Battista for permission to reform these two nunneries.

munities of religious women could have ambiguous relationships with orders not only because of their difficulty in gaining acceptance but also their alternative ways of understanding their place in the Church.

## The Foundation of Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia: Angelica's Oratory

In 1193, Angelica established Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia, an oratory in the hills southwest of Bologna.[11] Although little is known about Angelica's background, it is clear that her family entrusted an endowment of 1000 Bolognese lire to the Canons of Santa Maria di Reno, an Augustinian congregation in Bologna and its surrounding area, in return for their care and oversight of Angelica's hermitage. In the first decade of the thirteenth century Angelica broke with these canons due to a dispute over finances and obligations, but attracted another group of clerics that established a church near her oratory.[12] She also gained an important privilege in 1197 from Pope Celestine III, which was confirmed by Innocent III, exempting her from episcopal authority and placing her church under the direct protection of the papal see.[13] For the duration of her life, the community consisted of a group of Augustinian canons that considered Angelica their foundress. Although the day-to-day leadership rested in the hands of a prior, Angelica continued to represent the community; for example, she traveled to Rome in 1228 to argue for reconfirmation of the community's papal privilege from the newly elected Pope Gregory IX.[14]

[11]Historical details about Angelica's life beyond those known from the documents mentioned in this article are scarce, although a foundation legend emerged in the fifteenth century. See Mario Fanti, "La leggenda della Madonna di San Luca di Bologna. Origine, fortuna, sviluppo e valore storico," in *La Madonna di San Luca in Bologna: Otto secoli di storia, di arte e di fede*, ed. Mario Fanti and Giancarlo Roversi (Bologna, 1993), pp. 69–100.

[12]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 52/5813, nos. 3–4, March 18, 1205, and December 1, 1210. The dispute with Santa Maria di Reno concerned the agreement between the canons and Angelica that there would be two priests at her church, which the canons later claimed was unnecessarily burdensome. In the course of the dispute, each side sued the other for financial compensation. In 1210, the canons gave Angelica five pieces of land, perhaps in recompense for the endowment that had been entrusted to them to support Angelica's oratory.

[13]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 2/5763, no. 11, December 21, 1197.

[14]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 3/5764, no. 16, June 2, 1228.

## From Oratory to Nunnery

At the time of Angelica's death in the early 1240s, only the prior, Alfredo, and one other cleric remained in the church attached to her oratory. In 1249 Cardinal Legate Ottaviano Ubaldini allowed three religious women named Balena, Dotta, and Marina to transfer from Santissima Trinità di Ronzano, another community in the Bolognese countryside, to Santa Maria del Monte. This arrangement was meant to revive the struggling church.[15] Balena became the group's first prioress and served in that capacity until 1271. Alfredo appears to have stayed on the Monte della Guardia and is described in 1250 as the group's priest and *converso*.[16]

The move from Santissima Trinità to the oratory on the Monte della Guardia seems to have involved a quick transition to the observance of the Augustinian Rule. When Cardinal Ottavio Ubaldini transferred Balena, Dotta, and Marina to the Monte della Guardia, he lamented that the Rule of St. Augustine had fallen into neglect there and expressed faith that the constitutions observed at Santissima Trinità would provide for more rigor in religious observance. He nevertheless absolved the inhabitants of Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia from obedience to Ronzano. By 1258, Pope Alexander IV described the foundation as belonging to the Order of St. Augustine in his renewal of the papal privilege that his predecessors had given to the church.[17]

The transfer of these three women to Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia represents the combination of two unusual communities into one that would soon become much more recognizable as a nunnery. Santissima Trinità had probably included both men and women and, as part of the congregation led by the Canons Regular of San Marco of Mantua, followed an obscure rule written by Blessed Brother Albert of Mantua.[18] From 1239 to 1265, three small groups of women would leave Ronzano to repopulate existing religious communities or to

[15]Giovanni Gozzadini, *Cronaca di Ronzano e Memorie di Loderingo d'Andolò, Frate Gaudente,* (Bologna, 1851), pp. 150–51, document no. 3.

[16]"Frater Alfredus sacerdos et conversus dicte ecclesia. . . ." ASB Dem., San Mattia, 5/5766, no. 6, 1240. This is an unusual combination of titles, as a *converso* is usually a lay member of a monastic house who does not participate in the divine offices, but rather performs manual labor.

[17]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 5/5766, not numb., January 28, 1258. This document is edited in Gozzadini, *Cronaca di Ronzano*, pp. 132–33.

[18]"Canonici Regolari di San Marco," *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, ed. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca, 10 vols. (Rome, 1975) 2:cols. 122–23.

found new ones. The gradual transfer of women from Santissima Trinità to other houses may have been due to the increasing discomfort of church officials with mixed communities. In addition to these three communities, a fourth, Santa Maria delle Pugliole, was founded under the Rule of San Marco before 1237 and seems to have been independent of Santissima Trinità.[19]

Santa Maria del Monte is the best documented of these four groups, but it can serve as an exemplar of the path that they all traveled. These communities had emerged from the Canons Regular of San Marco di Mantova and had at some point followed Albert of Mantua's rule, but over time changed to the Rule of St. Augustine. Each of the four also came into the sphere of influence of the Dominicans, although the strength of the ties is difficult to determine because of the infrequent and varying descriptions of their religious affiliations.[20]

## The Foundation of Santa Caterina di Quarto

Like Santa Maria del Monte, Santa Caterina did not begin as a traditional nunnery. Santa Caterina di Quarto was established in 1205 as a community of religious men and women. In that year, a group gathered in the episcopal palace in Bologna to bless the first stone to be used in the building of a church "in honor of God, the Virgin Mary and Santa Caterina and all the saints."[21] The group included priests and laymen, men and women. Adelasia, the first *magistra* of the women living in the church, served as a witness, as did Alberto, the community's first prior.

Although much is unknown about Alberto's life, he was recognized as holy among his contemporaries, meriting inclusion in an early *Vita*

[19]Gabriella Zarri, "I monasteri femminili a Bologna tra il XIII e il XVIII secolo," in *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, 24 (1973), 198–99.

[20]In addition to Santa Maria del Monte, the three other women's religious foundations that emerged in Bologna from the Congregation of the Canons Regular of San Marco di Mantova were Santa Maria delle Pugliole (1237), San Giovanni Battista (1239), and Santa Maria Maddalena di Valdipietra (1265). See Zarri, "I monasteri femminili," pp. 198–99; San Giovanni Battista was founded in 1239 by a former prioress of Santissima Trinita' di Ronzano. In 1247 they were given the Augustinian rule and Dominican statutes, although they remained under the bishop's jurisdiction and were not incorporated into the Dominican order. See especially ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 3/4487, nos. 11 and 30, May 30, 1239, and August 7, 1247.

[21]ASB Dem. 1/4485, no. 5. "ad honorem dei, sancte marie virginis et sancte catelline et omnium sanctorum. . . ."

of Dominic. In the *Vita* he attends the saint's funeral and receives a vision assuring him that he would join his friend Dominic in heaven the following year.[22] The association of Alberto with Dominic in an account of Dominic's life that dates to the thirteenth century raises questions about the nature of the religious movement that gave rise to both of these groups. The two founders were in all likelihood aware of one another's activities, but there is no evidence that Alberto and his successors sought inclusion into Dominic's order. The founding of Santa Caterina predated Dominic's activities in Bologna and is likely an example of several small congregations founded roughly contemporaneously with their more famous counterparts, the Dominicans and Franciscans.

Although the heyday of double monasteries had passed and such communities were coming under increasing scrutiny,[23] Santa Caterina grew and also apparently enjoyed the favor of Innocent III, who in 1213 asked the bishops of Parma, Reggio, and Modena to donate whatever money they took in from the feast of San Vitale to help the nascent church.[24] An indulgence from 1240 shows the diocesan clergy's positive evaluation of the rapidly growing community. Ottaviano Ubaldini, the archdeacon and future bishop of Bologna, addressed his indulgence to the clergy and faithful of Bologna and encouraged them to visit the foundation and give alms:

> We believe that this is known to all of you, either by reputation or by sight. We notify you . . . that in the church of Santa Caterina in the Diocese of Bologna a great multitude of men and women are gathered to serve God. They serve God in true religion and in the greatest poverty. . . . Persevering in prayers day and night, they strive to implore the mercy of the Lord for themselves and for all sinners. Indeed, the light of the good works they do shines before humanity in such as way that many men and women, seeing their good works, glorify the Father who is in heaven.[25]

[22]Theodoricus of Apolda, "S. Dominius conf. Bononiae, Acta Ampliora," *Acta Sanctorum*, 67 vols. (Antwerp, 1641–1940), Aug. 1, Dies 4, col. 603C.

[23]Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy Women of Twelfth-Century England* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1988), pp. 117–24; Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, pp. 109–15.

[24]ASB Dem. 1/4485, no. 8., April 22, 1213.

[25]"Omnibus vobis fere pro fama ut pro visum credimus esse notum. Nos vobis . . . notificamus quod magna multitudo virorum et mulierum congregata est ad serviendum deo in ecclesia sancte catherine bononiensis episcopatus qui creatori nostro in vera religione ac maxima paupertate serviunt. . . . [P]erseverantes in orationibus diebus et noctibus student pro se ac pro cunctis peccatoribus domini misericordiam implorare. Denique lux bonorum operum que faciunt lucet coram hominibus ita quod multi tam viri quam mulieres videntes eorum opera glorificant patrem qui in celis est."ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 3/4487, no. 14, 1240.

Although by 1240, the existence of a double monastery was unusual, Santa Caterina's organization did not prevent regional officials from holding up the community as a model of poverty and good works.

## The "Order of Santa Caterina"

Not only did Santa Caterina observe its own rule and maintain a community that included both men and women, but it also attracted daughter houses and thus became the head of its own small order, despite the fact that its rule does not seem to have had papal approval. As the reputation of the community grew, other groups sought to place themselves under Santa Caterina's authority, and a small congregation of houses began to emerge. The houses that affiliated with Santa Caterina were varied, including groups that were composed solely of men or women, as well as communities with inhabitants of both sexes.

The first community to become a daughter house of Santa Caterina was San Giacomo della Mella in Brescia, which did so in 1225. The nine canons of San Giacomo gave Ugo, the prior of Santa Caterina, and his successors the right of visitation, correction, and instruction, although Alberto da Reggio, the bishop of Brescia, also retained the right to oversee the church.[26] Although eventually there would be women among the inhabitants of San Giacomo, there is no mention of their presence at this point.

By 1250 there were both men and women in the community, although there is no indication of the proportional population of either group. In that year, the prior renounced his position in the presence of the *confratres* and *sorores* of the church of San Giacomo della Mella. In the election of his successor, the names of three priests and seven lay-brothers are listed, although the women of the church are not named.[27] By the next election in 1262, it is clear that women substantially outnumbered the men—twenty-six sisters are named along with three

[26]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 2/4486, no. 11, October 29, 1225.

[27]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 4/4488, no. 7, October 19, 1250. In this year, Prior Gemignano of San Giacomo renounced his position in the presence of the prior of Santa Caterina, "in domo capituli confratrum et sororum ecclesie Sancti Jacobi de Lamella." Two years later, the prior of Santa Caterina approved the election of a new prior for San Giacomo who was "electum in priorem per predictos fratres et etiam per sorores dicte ecclesie sancti iacobi de lamella." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 4/4488, no. 14, August 12, 1252.

priests and six laybrothers. The leader of the women at San Giacomo holds the title of *magistra*, as was the case at Santa Caterina.[28]

In the 1230s two other communities placed themselves under the authority of Santa Caterina. The first was the Ospedale of Santa Maria di Misericordia in Ferrara. In this case, a group of women appeared before the bishop of Ferrara in 1233, "saying that they wanted to live chastely and to observe the rule of the same Santa Caterina."[29] The bishop invested the prior of Santa Caterina with authority over the church and the hospital with the condition that the church should offer a yearly census of a pound of incense to the bishop, recognizing his authority over them. Unfortunately, Santa Caterina's records do not indicate whether the relationship between the two churches endured. Similarly, in 1236 the ten friars of the church of San Nicolò in Bologna placed themselves under the governance of Santa Caterina.[30] The only other record besides the submission of San Nicolò to Santa Caterina is a document from 1289 regarding the leadership of the church. In this case, San Nicolò's leader had been elected to lead another church, and the brothers of Santa Caterina were asked to choose a new rector, whom they confirmed with the agreement of the two brothers left at San Nicolò.[31] A final member of the congregation, the Cremonese community of Santa Maria di Valverde, placed itself under the authority of Santa Caterina's prior in 1255. Although it is not clear how many men lived in Santa Maria di Valverde, at least thirteen women lived there at the time. Thus, by the 1250s the prior of Santa Caterina governed four daughter houses in nearby cities, which sought to live by the Rule of Santa Caterina and emulate the way of life of the mother house. The men and women of Santa Caterina di Quarto conceived of themselves as the head of their own small order following their own rule and would continue to make claims to that effect well into the fourteenth century, despite a series of papal and diocesan reforms.

## Order of Santa Caterina or Order of St. Augustine?

In the late 1240s under Pope Innocent IV, both Santa Caterina di Quarto and the newly revived Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia

[28]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 5/4489, no. 21, March 6, 1262.

[29]"... dicentes que volebant caste vivere et regulam sanctae caterinae ibidem observare. . . ." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 3/4487, no. 1, October 31, 1233.

[30]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 3/4487, no. 7, September 10, 1236.

[31]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 7/4491, no. 5, August 31, 1289.

were assigned the Rule of St. Augustine. The Augustinian Rule had gained increased use in the twelfth century, especially among communities of canons. The advantage of this rule is that it allowed for much more flexibility than did the Rule of St. Benedict and thus was better suited to houses whose mission required fewer daily offices and more ability to shape monastic duties to the needs of the community. For this reason, it was suitable for priests who lived a common life but maintained pastoral duties, or for friars in the new mendicant orders, whose mission involved an active life of preaching and service.

In 1247 Innocent IV gave Santa Caterina the Augustinian Rule to follow, and ecclesiastical correspondence that mentions the community's order affiliation describes Santa Caterina as part of the Order of St. Augustine. At the same time as the rule change, Innocent agreed to take Santa Caterina under papal protection.[32] The decree also stated that San Giacomo della Mella in Brescia would enjoy papal protection as part of Santa Caterina's privilege, although there is no mention of Santa Maria di Misericordia in Ferrara or San Nicolò in Bologna. At the same time Innocent was organizing groups of Tuscan mendicants into congregations using Augustine's Rule that his successor, Alexander IV, would form into the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine, but Santa Caterina was not part of any of these groups.[33] Rather than placing Santa Caterina into a larger, organized monastic group, Innocent's action was probably intended to ascertain that the community followed a widely recognized and approved rule.

Despite its new rule, the men and women of Santa Caterina clearly continued to observe some of their previous practices. In 1259 Alexander IV wrote to Blessed Henry of Segusio, canon lawyer and papal legate, commissioning him to look into two issues. First was whether the community's resources were sufficient to allow it to accept additional members. Second was the continuing use of the monastery's own statutes beyond those contained in the Rule of St. Augustine. Henry entrusted this task to the prior of San Michele in Bosco, a local house of Augustinian canons.[34] Regarding the first issue,

[32]". . . ordo canonicus qui secundum deum et beati augustini regulam in eadem ecclesia institutus esse dinoscitur perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 3/4487, no. 29, April 30, 1247.

[33]C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (New York, 1994), pp. 98–99.

[34]Paola Foschi, "Gli ordini religiosi medievali a Bologna e nel suo territorio," in *Storia della Chiesa di Bologna*, ed. Paolo Prodi and Lorenzo Paolini, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1997), 2:463–99, here p. 481.

the report led Henry to decide that the house could exceed the established limits for men (eight clerics and twenty-five laymen), "lest the worship of the Divine name seem to grow cold," but that the number of sisters should not exceed the current population of sixty.[35] Although women were more numerous, Henry clearly considered men necessary to the community, and there was no attempt to separate the two sexes at this time. On the observance of the rule, Henry mandated changes to the attire, eating arrangements, and travel practices of the inhabitants of Santa Caterina, in most cases leading to a moderation of the previously more ascetic rule. For example, one change stipulated that when anyone from Santa Caterina, either male or female, had good reason to leave the monastery, they could sleep on beds that their hosts prepared for them, although their previous practice had been to refuse this comfort.[36] This correspondence between Alexander IV and Henry suggests that their concern was not a lack of rigor in ascetic practice or the proximity of men and women, but was aimed at ascertaining that the inhabitants of Santa Caterina were complying with the mandated rule change.

By the early-fourteenth century Santa Caterina transitioned from a double house to a nunnery, although it would retain a prior until 1468. Due to the deterioration of its original convent and the draw of the city (including the protection of city walls and proximity to family and donors), Santa Caterina built a new house in 1291 inside Bologna in the parish of Santa Maria Maddalena. By this time, there were only a few men left. The prior of the monastery became the parish priest for Santa Maria Maddalena, and the monastic community and parish were united under his authority. Although for a short time correspondence to the monastery continued to be addressed to the brothers and sisters of Santa Caterina and Santa Maria Maddalena, the house soon came to be seen as a nunnery.

A reexamination of the church's constitution and statutes followed this transfer of location, resulting in increased specificity regarding the behavior prescribed for the sisters. Two modifications of the constitution occurred in the wake of papal or diocesan reforms regulating nuns. Other religious women's foundations in the area, however,

[35]"ne . . . videatur in dicto monasterio cultus divinum nominis refrigere." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 5/4489, no. 15, August 26, 1259.

[36]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 5/4489, no. 15, August 26, 1259.

[37]Elizabeth Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women:* Periculoso *and Its Commentators, 1298–1545* (Washington, DC, 1997), pp. 131–32.

did not receive the same degree of attention as Santa Caterina, raising the prospect that the unusual elements of Santa Caterina's situation made it a target for reform in the wake of these councils and decrees.

The first of the changes of Santa Caterina's statutes in the years after its move into the city occurred in 1298, the same year that Pope Boniface VIII issued the bull *Periculoso*, ordering stricter regulation of enclosure for women's communities.[37] The contents of Santa Caterina's 1298 statute modification demonstrate the growing discrepancy between the regulation and mobility of nuns compared to the few remaining brothers in the group. Even after its move, regulations for Santa Caterina still included rules for both women and men. Whereas the constitution forty years earlier had allowed both brothers and sisters to travel, in the 1298 statutes only brothers are mentioned in any provisions pertaining to behavior outside the monastery or outlining acceptable reasons for leaving.[38] The constitution assumed that the sisters, by contrast, would remain in the cloister and that their contact with others would take place in the context of receiving guests into a hostel inside the church compound but outside the cloister. The prior was allowed to enter the sisters' cloister once or twice a month for hearing confession or providing other sacraments.[39]

In 1310 a diocesan synod took up the issue of enclosure among nuns. The decrees of the meeting contain complaints that many nuns were not following Boniface VIII's mandate. The tenor of the remarks in the record suggests that the main goals were keeping guests out of the cloister and regulating conversation at the gate or windows.[40] In 1318 the bishop's vicar visited Santa Caterina and compiled a list of specific punishments for transgressions, although it is not clear whether the list was meant to correct behavior he observed at the monastery or whether the list was meant only to anticipate punishment for actions that might occur. These regulations do not mention the existence of friars—even the prior does not figure into the new

[38]A provision regarding behavior outside the monastery in the 1259 constitution reads "Ceterum cum vos tam fratres quam sorores extra monasterium vestrum obtenta debita licentia ex aliqua iusta causa egredi. . . ." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 5/4489, no. 15, August 26, 1259; in 1298 a similar provision reads, "Si vero extra monasterium contingeret priorem ut fratres ire propter aliquam causam licitam et honestam. . . ." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 7/4491, no. 32, December 15, 1298.

[39]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 7/4491, no. 31–32 (April 14 and December 15, 1298).

[40]*Constitutiones Episcopatus Bononie*, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, no. 2251, fol. 25r, October 22, 1310.

statutes. Although the vicar made some regulations regarding internal matters such as attentiveness in the choir and silence in the refectory, the majority of the precepts involve the enclosure of nuns.[41]

Despite these changes, Santa Caterina and at least one of its daughter houses would continue to invoke the Order of Santa Caterina in the fourteenth century in petitions to ecclesiastical officials, although it is clear that the officials in question did not recognize the existence of such an order. Four years after the revisions to Santa Caterina's rule, the nuns requested that they be allowed to send a small group of nuns to the community's original location outside of Bologna, arguing that they needed to preserve their property against depredations and ensure continuous habitation of the house that was the original foundation of the Order of Santa Caterina.[42] Their request was approved, but the papal legate who replied approved it only on the basis of their need to preserve their property, making no mention of the Order of Santa Caterina and addressing them as members of the Order of St. Augustine.[43] In 1349 the remaining friars of Santa Maria di Valverde protested a visitation by Augustinians, claiming that they followed the Rule of Santa Caterina and were subject only to the prior of that house. They were forced to accept the authority of the Augustinian visitors under threat of excommunication.[44]

Although papal and diocesan reforms led to substantial change in Santa Caterina's way of life in the thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, the community held on to some sense of itself as an autonomous community at the head of its own small order. Because of this identity and the continued presence of a priest and prior who could provide for the spiritual needs of the community, the nuns of Santa Caterina may not, at this point, have felt a need for a closer affiliation with male monastics.

[41]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 9/4493, no. 2, May 24, 1318. One new regulation specifically prohibited speaking at the window or the gate to nonmembers of the monastery unless the nun had received permission from the prior or *magistra* and was accompanied by two or three sisters, echoing the concerns of the diocesan synod. The punishment for transgression was three days on bread and water. A nun admitting anyone to the cloister without the permission of the bishop or his vicar would be denied a voice in chapter and could not seek office without a dispensation from the bishop. The visitor reproved sisters for their habit of making bread outside the interior cloister, saying that the sisters could not leave the cloister for any reason without the permission of the bishop or his vicar.

[42]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 9/4493, no. 7, June 30, 1322.

[43]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 9/4493, no. 8, June 30, 1322.

[44]ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 11/4495, no. 15, 1349.

## Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia: Augustinian or Dominican?

While Santa Caterina attempted to maintain its role as the head of its own order despite continued revisions to its rule and statutes, the nuns of Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia fought to guard their autonomy by ensuring that they retained the papal privilege that Angelica had obtained for her community, exempting the nuns from the authority of the bishop and placing Santa Maria del Monte under the direct protection of the papacy. Unlike Santa Caterina, Santa Maria del Monte did develop an association with the Dominican Order in the thirteenth century, although the community did not seek incorporation.

Soon after the move to Santa Maria del Monte in 1249, Balena, Dotta, and Maria were given the Rule of St. Augustine to follow, as were the two remaining clerics in that church.[45] As previously mentioned, Balena became the group's first prioress and served in that capacity until 1271. Shortly after moving to the Monte della Guardia, the group built another house, San Mattia. Whereas Santa Maria del Monte was located in the hills southwest of Bologna over a mile outside the walls, San Mattia was just outside the city's southwestern gate, the Porta Saragozza. San Mattia began with a 1254 bequest from a woman named Emma, who left to Santa Maria del Monte a house along with twenty tornatures of land and 20 Bolognese lire to help with the building of a church.[46] Although the sisters had acquired a new building, they maintained the old one and would continue to do so well into the seventeenth century.

Two outcomes of building this new house would pull the community in conflicting directions for decades. On the one hand, the sisters of Santa Maria fought to extend Angelica's papal privilege to their new suburban monastery. On the other hand, the growing community gained the attention and support of the Dominican Bishop Borgognoni of Cervia, which would lead to Santa Maria and San Mattia coming into the Dominican sphere of influence. This association seems to be something that the nuns initially sought, but later became a source of conflict.

In January 1258, Alexander IV issued a bull granting the new inhabitants of Santa Maria del Monte a confirmation of the papal privilege

[45]Gozzadini, *Cronaca di Ronzano,* pp. 150–51, document no. 3.
[46]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 5/5766, no. 8, July 13, 1254.

that his predecessors had given to Angelica's oratory. At this point, there is no mention of San Mattia—the bull is simply addressed to the "prioress and sisters of the church of Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia, Order of Saint Augustine."[47] The second prioress, Dotta, pressed to extend Maria del Monte's privilege to San Mattia. To this end, the sisters wrote two letters explaining the relationship between the original foundation and the new one. A letter addressed only to "your reverend Father" from the "prioress and sisters of Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia, order of Saint Augustine" recounts their history.[48] The sisters argued that because of the large number of newly professed nuns, it was no longer possible for them to live at their current location, thus justifying the move to a new house closer to the city. Since they were immediately subject to Rome and not under the jurisdiction of the bishop, they asked the pope to appoint a suitable representative to confirm the election of the prioress. This detail dates the letter to 1271 or earlier, because in September of that year, Pope Gregory X instructed the prior of the Dominican friars in Bologna to confirm Dotta's election.[49]

A second letter continues to make the case that San Mattia should enjoy the privileges of its sister house. Like the first one, this letter is undated. The only information that helps to date the letter is that Dotta is the prioress, which means that the letter was written between 1271 and 1296. This second letter asks that San Mattia be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction as the sisters of Santa Maria del Monte had built it "to serve the Lord under the discipline of the rule more securely, more honestly, and more fittingly."[50] They then asked that the prior of the Dominican province of Lombardy or some other suitable Dominican be named as their visitor. This request indicates that the nuns of Santa Maria del Monte and San Mattia were gaining an association with the Dominican movement, although at this point, they were careful to specify that the visitor would be acting as a representative of the pope and would not exercise authority on behalf of the order.

[47]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 5/5766, not numb., January 28, 1258.

[48]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 4/5765, not numb., n.d., beginning "Significant Reverende Paternitate vestre. Priorissa et sorores sancte marie montis guardie ordinis sancti augustini. . . ."

[49]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 52/5813, no. 12, September 19, 1271.

[50]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 6/5767, not numb., n.d., beginning "Significat sanctitate vestre": "securius, honestius et commodius sub regulari disciplina domino famulari. . . ."

An important link between the combined community of San Mattia and Santa Maria del Monte and the Dominicans friars came through the testament of Borgognoni, who had become a supporter of San Mattia. The first evidence of any relationship between Borgognoni and San Mattia was an indulgence that Borgognoni issued in 1268.[51] He appears again in the record at the groundbreaking of a new church for San Mattia in 1294.[52] In 1298 San Mattia received 1196 lire from Borgognoni's estate, which was to be used to buy land. The bequest included specific instructions for disposing of the profits from the cultivation of this property. San Mattia could keep one-tenth of the proceeds; the remaining nine-tenths were to be given to a house of the Friar Preachers in Lucca, Borgognoni's hometown.[53] It is likely that the payment was meant to tie the community more closely to the Dominican Order, if not by any official incorporation into the order, at least by a link to a group of Dominican friars. Putting the bequest in the hands of the sisters also ensured that they would continue to receive income from the inheritance, as he seems to have recognized this might not occur if the friars administered the bequest and its income. Borgognoni's interest in San Mattia and Santa Maria del Monte provides an example of a prominent Dominican cleric at odds with the Dominican General Chapter's resistance to fostering associations with nuns.

Early-modern histories of the convent identify this era as the point at which San Mattia and Santa Maria del Monte became Dominican. In a sixteenth-century chronicle, the Dominican friar Leandro Alberti stated that the sisters of San Mattia had received the Dominican habit from Borgognoni around 1280.[54] There are no documents in the nunnery's records, however, to verify this claim. Although it is possible that the nuns did wear the Dominican habit from that time, the remaining evidence in the archive suggests that their relationship to the Dominicans varied in the fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries,

[51]ASB Dem. San Mattia, 52/5813, no. 10, February 1, 1268. Borgognoni's indulgence was addressed to the cities and Dioceses of Cervia and Bologna.

[52]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 52/5813, no. 14, August 28, 1294.

[53]ASB Dem., San Mattia 1/5762, no. 14, n.d. This document is a later vernacular account of Borgognoni's 1298 bequest to San Mattia, with the stipulation that they turn over nine-tenths of the profit to San Romano in Lucca. A document from November 22, 1308, ASB Dem., San Mattia, 1/5762, no. 1, is the earliest of a series of documents from the friars of Lucca acknowledging receipt of their share of the annual income from Borgognoni's legacy.

[54]Leandro Alberti, *Chronichetta della Madonna di San Luca* (Venice, 1579), p. 16.

only becoming more solid in the late-fifteenth century. On the occasions when ecclesiastical officials mention the observance and ecclesiastical status of Santa Maria del Monte and San Mattia, they are described as immediately subject to the Roman Church, in the Order of St. Augustine.

It is probable that in the early-fourteenth century, this community remained in the Dominican sphere of influence. For example, in 1310, a cardinal legate gave them the right to hear preaching and receive the sacraments from Dominican friars, notwithstanding the statutes of the Order of Preachers that frowned on the administration of these services to nuns.[55] In this document, however, the convent is described as being in the Order of St. Augustine. This does not preclude the possibility that the sisters considered themselves Dominicans at this point—some religious women's houses that identified strongly with the Order of Preachers were described primarily in terms of the basic rule that they followed, which, as was the case with the friars, was the Rule of St. Augustine. Although sometimes they were referred to as "nuns of the Order of St. Augustine under the care of the Friars Preachers,"[56] this additional information was not included in many cases. Thus, the 1310 bull can be read to indicate that San Mattia and Santa Maria del Monte desired and may have received continued care from Dominican friars.

Whatever their spiritual affiliation might have been, their institutional status was emphasized persistently as directly subject to Rome. In 1330 the sisters protested against a delegation of visitors that they felt were acting in some other capacity than as representatives of the pope. This delegation included two Dominican friars along with the abbot of a Benedictine house in the Diocese of Bologna. In 1359 they elected a new abbess and needed a male cleric to oversee the election. The record of this election includes a negotiation with an Augustinian canon from Santa Maria di Reno and San Salvatore (the communities

[55]"nos volentes annuere votis vestris quod possitis per fratres ordinis predicatorum in monasterio vestro proponi, facere verbum dei et ab eiusdem fratribus recipere ecclesiastica sacramenta qui quotiens expedierit, confessiones vestras audiant et super hijs vestre formam ecclesie beneficium absolutionis impendant . . . constitutionibus vestri ordinis seu aliquibus statutis per magistrum generalem dicti ordinis predicatorum in contrarium creditis . . . non obstantibus." ASB Dem., San Mattia, 8/5769, not numb., December 21, 1310.

[56]See Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Dominican Order," *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (London, 2006), pp. 223–24, here p. 223.

that had been in conflict with Angelica over property and duties), allowing him to oversee the election on the proviso that he recognized the status of the nuns as immediately subject to the pope. Two Dominican friars attended the election, but only as witnesses.[57]

The participation of Augustinian canons in the 1359 election, combined with the role that an Augustinian canon played in an earlier event, give weight to the possibility that the Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia and San Mattia may have been considered Augustinian for some portion of the fourteenth century. In 1324 the prioress and two sisters were sentenced to do penance—the two sisters for leaving the monastery and the prioress for negligence in performing her office. The cleric delegated to oversee the penance was a Brother Peter from San Michele in Bosco, at that time an Augustinian house, and was also the penitentiarer of the Bolognese bishop.[58] Peter is described as a member of the same order (*eiusdem ordinis*) as the sisters.

In the fifteenth century Dominican friars appear more frequently in the convent records, but these interactions were not always signs of concord. On the one hand, Dominican friars from the nearby church of San Domenico presided over and witnessed the election of a new prioress in 1426, and there is no sign of any negotiation over the authority of the friars to perform these roles.[59] However, from the 1420s through the 1440s, the nuns of San Mattia and Santa Maria del Monte clashed with the friars of San Romano in Lucca over the inheritance from Borgognoni. The Luccan friars on several occasions sent representatives to collect money from the nuns and in 1444 threatened the sisters with a penalty of 100 lire for continued failure to pay.[60] The resolution of the status of Santa Mattia and Santa Maria del Monte came in 1496, when Pope Alexander VI ordered the nuns to submit to the Order of Preachers.[61]

## Santa Caterina and the Dominican Order

The process by which Santa Caterina came to be Dominican is substantially murkier than that of Santa Maria del Monte. In the late-

[57]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 9/5770, not numb., October 5, 1360.

[58]Foschi, "Gli ordini religiosi," p. 485. San Michele would later become an Olivetan monastery.

[59]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 11/5772, not numb., November 13, 1426.

[60]ASB Dem., San Mattia, 1/5762, no. 13, March 10, 1444.

[61]ASB Dem. , San Mattia, 14/5775, not numb., November 6, 1496.

fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries extant records do not describe the affiliation of the house, nor is there mention of a continuing association with the daughter houses after 1375, when the community sent a new prior to Santa Maria di Valverde in Cremona.[62]

The first strong indication of Dominican observance is in 1451, when six women made their professions in Santa Caterina. They promised to live "according to the Rule of the Blessed Augustine and the institutes of our monastery, confirmed and approved by Pope Honorius of happy memory."[63] The most likely meaning of this is that the nuns observed the Dominican statutes, which had been approved by Pope Honorius III in 1216, since there is no alternative constitution from Santa Caterina that could have been confirmed by any pope named Honorius.

By 1468, it is clear that the convent was recognized as Dominican. In that year, Giovanni Battista Savelli, a papal legate and governor of Bologna, described the monastery as belonging to the Order of St. Dominic and approved the union of Santa Caterina with another Dominican house, San Giovanni Battista. This union seems to have occurred due to a petition of the nuns of Santa Caterina, who argued that their monastery was in poor physical condition and, moreover, too small to accommodate its population. The sisters asked to be united with another community that had a larger, better building and chose San Giovanni Battista, citing that its nuns were of "the same order and habit"; noting the small population of its house, which was only three nuns; and alleging laxity in its observance.[64]

Although the three nuns from San Giovanni Battista protested the union and claimed that charges made against them were false, the nuns of Santa Caterina transferred to San Giovanni Battista, and their community became known by the name of their new home. The three nuns who had been in San Giovanni Battista transferred to San Pietro Martire, another Dominican house in Bologna. Later chronicles of San Giovanni Battista and Santa Caterina would emphasize the early

[62]"Ego Frater Lucchinus praedictus facio professionem et pronunto [sic] obedienciam deo et Beate Marie Virgini gloriose ac sancte caterine et sancte marie Magdalene et tibi fratri . . . priori quod ero obediens secundum regulam sancti augustini tibi tuisque successoribus. . . ." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 12/4496, no. 23, fol. 1r, July 16, 1375.

[63]"iuxta regulam beati Augustini et Institutiones nostrum monasterium confermatas et approbatas per felicis recordationis Onorium papam." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 17/4501, no. 5, November 30, 1451.

[64]"eiusdem ordinis et habiti . . . similiter dicto domino episcopo Bononiesis subiecte. . . ." ASB Dem., San Giovanni Battista, 17/4501, no. 21, December 6, 1468.

association of Santa Caterina's founder with St. Dominic, claiming that the affiliation of Santa Caterina with the Order of Preachers in the fifteenth century was a return to its roots. These chronicles do not mention conflict in the union between Santa Caterina and San Giovanni Battista. In the early-sixteenth century, the Bolognese bishop would send three nuns from San Giovanni Battista to reform Santa Maria Nuova, a house of Dominican penitent women that was transitioning into a convent of enclosed nuns. The Dominican affiliation of San Giovanni Battista remained stable until its suppression during the Napoleonic invasion of Italy.

The gradual consolidation of both Santa Maria del Monte and Santa Caterina into the Dominican Order is probably the result of a confluence of factors. The strength of the Friar Preachers in Bologna may have fostered a sense of Dominican identity. In addition, Dominicans seem to have grown less wary of accepting women in the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For example, in 1343 the General Chapter meeting in Paris made positive prescriptions regarding the kind of friar that should be deputed to houses of nuns (one who is pious and mature) rather than warning of the scandal that could result from friars visiting nunneries or beguinages, as the General Council had done in 1315.[65] In 1386, the General Council aligned with the papacy in Avignon made prescriptions for specific psalms and prayers to be recited in Dominican women's communities.[66] These decrees indicate a recognition of the place of women in the order and are accompanied by more frequent mention of particular nunneries and individual nuns for whom the General Chapter enjoined prayers. The formalization of the previously loose and informal relationship between Dominicans and penitent women is demonstrated by the development of a rule for penitents in the early-fifteenth century.[67] The extent to which the trend toward Dominican affiliation was a product of changing attitudes in the order as a whole or, alternatively, was brought about by local influence can only be ascertained by comparative studies of other cities and regions where other orders had greater influence.

[65]*Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum, Monumenta ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica* (hereafter cited as MOPH) (Rome, 1896–), 4:85, 286.

[66]*Acta Capitulorum*, MOPH 8:26.

[67]Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "Writing Religious Rules as an Interactive Process: Dominican Penitent Women and the Making of Their "'Regula,'" *Speculum*, 79 (2004), 660–87.

## Conclusion

Studies of religious women's communities such as Santa Maria del Monte and Santa Caterina can contribute to recent reevaluations of the narrative of decline in women's monasticism. For more than a decade, scholars have questioned the earlier idea that the Gregorian reform led to the marginalization of religious women. In contrast to the idea of decline, Bruce Venarde has found an increase for France and England in the rate of new foundations in the mid-twelfth century. This is followed by a healthy, although slower, rate of new establishments through the mid-thirteenth century.[68] Santa Maria del Monte and Santa Caterina were founded in the decade before and after 1200, just preceding a period that saw an efflorescence of women's monasticism in Bologna. The number of convents in Bologna quadrupled over the course of the thirteenth century, with more than thirty convents in the city by 1300. Some of this growth was driven by the emergence of the new mendicant orders, although some new houses were independent communities following the Augustinian and other rules, such as those of San Marco of Mantua and Santa Caterina. Inclusion of Italy in assessments of the state of women's monasticism as represented by the rate and affiliation of new foundations would strengthen the conclusion that the twelfth century did not mark the beginning of a clear decline for religious women.

Scholars have also seen the presence of double monasteries as an indicator of the status of religious women. The Premonstratensian, Fontevrist, and Gilbertine Orders all originated in the early-twelfth century as congregations of double monasteries, although with varying organizational structures.[69] Blessed Robert of Arbrissel, founder of Fontevraud, has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention, particularly as an example of a religious man who saw care of religious women as central to his mission.[70] Although these studies make

[68]Bruce Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca, NY, 1997).

[69]Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin*, pp. 86–115; Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society,* pp. 7–16; Sharon Elkins, "The Emergence of a Gilbertine Identity," in *Distant Echoes: Medieval Religious Life for Women*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Shank (Kalamazoo, MI, 1984), pp. 169–82.

[70]See Jacques Dalarun, *Robert of Arbrissel: Sex, Sin and Salvation in the Middle Ages*, trans. Bruce Venarde (Washington, DC, 2006); Constant Mews, "Negotiating the Boundaries of Gender in Religious Life: Robert of Arbrissel and Hersende, Abelard and Heloise," *Viator*, 37 (2006), 113–48; Fiona Griffiths, "The Cross and the *Cura*

clear that some religious leaders considered the care of religious women an important part of their duty, criticism of this way of life and the gradual expulsion of women from the Premonstratensian Order over the course of the twelfth century have seemed to provide evidence that this form of monasticism was a hallmark of the early-twelfth century, but was strongly discouraged from the mid-twelfth century onward. Although Santa Caterina's congregation was small, its existence demonstrates that new groups following this way of life could be established in the thirteenth century and that these double monasteries could be regarded by clerical officials as attractive models for nearby communities to follow.

Through study of religious women's houses that did not fit into well-known monastic orders or that changed their rule or status over time, a more complete view emerges of women's monastic life in the high and late Middle Ages. Studies of the formation of women's monastic identity has centered on the nuns' struggle to gain acceptance into religious orders. This scholarship has necessarily focused on nunneries that identified strongly with large, male-centered monastic orders. Although these studies elucidate an important element of religious women's lives, they may lead to a picture that overestimates the extent to which communities of religious women in general desired incorporation or similar close ties to the authority structure of large monastic orders. Some convents had more fluid affiliations. A considerable variety of forms of religious life outside of larger orders continued well into the fifteenth century, and some communities of religious women such as Santa Caterina and the combined houses of Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia and San Mattia emphasized their autonomy rather than fighting for inclusion in larger groups.

This diversity of religious life continued despite the efforts of popes and other ecclesiastical officials to standardize and centralize monastic institutions. Although the best-known instance of this reforming impulse is the prohibition of new rules and orders at the Fourth Lateran Council, popes after Innocent III continued in this vein. In some cases, popes who wanted to ensure that monastics oversaw monastics sided with nuns seeking incorporation over the objection of their monastic brethren. Ecclesiastical leaders also struggled

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*monialium*: Robert of Arbrissel, John the Evangelist, and the Pastoral Care of Women in the Age of Reform," *Speculum,* 83 (2008), 303–30.

with the emergence of new religious groups despite the prohibition on new orders, leading to the suppression at the Council of Lyons in 1274 of some mendicant groups founded after the Fourth Lateran Council that did not have clear papal approval.[71]

Perhaps as part of a larger program of organizing and regulating monastic life, Pope Innocent IV imposed the Augustinian Rule on both of these establishments in the 1240s, as he did with at least one other convent in Bologna, San Giovanni Battista. This action gave Santa Caterina and Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia an approved rule to follow, although it did not tie them to an organized monastic order, as a variety of groups of Augustinian canons existed. Innocent's choice of the Augustinian Rule for these communities may have prepared the way for the later affiliation of these houses with the Dominicans, who use the same rule.

Although both of these communities moved into the sphere of influence of the Order of Preachers, they did so under different circumstances and in a manner that was not necessarily linear. Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia gained ties to the order through a supporter and patron, Teodorico Borgognoni. Nevertheless, the nuns of this community took care to maintain their status as directly subject to the pope. Although the association with the Dominicans was relatively strong in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, they were more closely associated with Augustinian canons by the middle of the fourteenth century, returning to the Dominicans in the fifteenth century. After the imposition of the Augustinian Rule, Santa Caterina and one of its subordinate houses continued to assert their participation in the Order of Santa Caterina into the fourteenth century. The first signs of association with the Dominicans came in the fifteenth century, and although the house was never incorporated into the order (either before or after its union with San Giovanni Battista), the nuns were entrusted with the reform of a community of penitents as well as other Dominican convents in the early-sixteenth century.

Recent scholarship on religious women in the Dominican sphere of influence indicates that the path traveled by these communities is not unique. In her study of German Sister-books, Gertrud Jaron Lewis

[71]Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK, 2006).

examines nine communities that came to identify with the Dominican order, although in each case these houses emerged from small houses of penitent women or beguines. Most of these groups adopted the Rule of St. Augustine early in their histories and were incorporated into the Dominican Order in the 1240s under Pope Innocent IV.[72] Although these German communities solidified their associations with Dominicans much earlier than either Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia or Santa Caterina, the Sister-books show the fluctuation of the relationship between religious women's communities and the Dominican Order. Nuns relied on older sisters for spiritual counsel and at times ignored or rejected the orders of the friars who served as their superiors.[73] In Italy, Guido Cariboni demonstrates the diverse origins and histories of women's houses later associated with the Dominican Order. For example, the Milanese community dedicated to St. Agnes is described in some early documents as a house of *Humiliati*, although it is also classified as a convent of the canonical order of St. Augustine. Bernard Gui lists it among women's monasteries that are Dominican but not incorporated—that is, under the jurisdiction of the local bishop. In sum, as Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner finds:

> . . . throughout the Middle Ages, both nuns and religious laywomen typically lived under ad hoc arrangements, if not an institutional limbo. Women's religious communities, even ones that at some point were incorporated into a religious order, had to seek repeatedly for reaffirmation of their status from ecclesiastical and secular leaders, superiors of religious orders, and the popes.[74]

Rather than petitioning for incorporation, Santa Maria del Monte della Guardia and Santa Caterina are examples of women's monastic communities that cultivated this "institutional limbo."

Tracing the changes in the status of these communities points to the difficulty of ascertaining the religious affiliation of some women's houses—transitions can be difficult to detect, and associations with

[72]Gerturd Jaron Lewis, *By Women, for Women, about Women: The Sister-Books of Fourteenth-Century Germany* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 10–31.

[73]Lewis, *By Women,* pp. 189–99.

[74]Maiju Lehmijoki-Gardner, "The Women behind their Saints: Dominican Women's Institutional Uses of the Cults of Their Religious Companions," in *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson*, ed. Debra Strickland (Leiden, 2007), pp. 5–24, here p. 5.

particular orders may not persist. Although ecclesiastical officials sometimes mentioned the rule and order of nunneries in letters and bulls in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and began to do so more frequently by the late-fourteenth century, this practice remained sporadic and incomplete. This transition over time demonstrates the growing importance in monastic life of participation in a large monastic order. It also suggests that the reforms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were implemented only over a long period of time and that the organization of monastic life remained in flux two centuries after the Fourth Lateran Council.

# EMPERORS, KINGDOMS, TERRITORIES: MULTIPLE VERSIONS OF THE *PIETAS AUSTRIACA?*

BY

MARIE-ELIZABETH DUCREUX*

*The author proposes to enlarge the model of the* Pietas Austriaca *formulated by Anna Coreth by including material from non-Austrian core lands of the Habsburg monarchy. Using sources mainly from Austria and the empire, Coreth revealed the principal components of the dynastic devotion, linking the mission given by God to the founding emperor, Rudolph of Habsburg. Yet, in Hungary and Bohemia, seventeenth-century narratives on the origin and models of dynastic piety were not always in line with the Viennese model. Some parallel symbolic competition in representations of Habsburg piety culminated in an invention of traditions distinct from the Austrian model. The author then distinguishes between holy patrons and patron saints in the Habsburg monarchy, mostly in the seventeenth century.*

*Keywords*: Bohemia; holy rulers; piety; political symbolism; sacral kingship

## Decentralizing *Pietas Austriaca?*

In 1959, the Austrian historian and later director of the Viennese *Haus- Hof-und Staatsarchiv* (House, State and Court Archives) Anna Coreth (1915–2008) published her most famous opus, the landmark *Pietas Austriaca.*[1] This short but brilliant book described how seven-

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[1]Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Ursprung und Entwicklung barocker Frömmigkeit in Österreich.* (Vienna, 1959). Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, 2nd ed. (Vienna, 1982). Coreth published a first draft of her argument in "*Pietas Austriaca*. Wesen und Bedeutung habsburgischer Frömmigkeit in der Barockzeit," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Staatsarchivs,* 7 (1954), 90–119. The fact that the first English edition was recently published in the United States testifies to the long-lasting success and great influence of Coreth's work. Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, trans. William D. Bowman and Anna Maria Leitgeb (West Lafayette, IN, 2004).

teenth-century Austrian Habsburg sovereigns succeeded in changing what was initially presented as dynastic and personal devotion into public religious ritual, giving their peoples and lands a new common ideological horizon and inextricably binding reasons of state with theological doctrine. Coreth wrote: "These conceptions were based on an all-inclusive worldview, itself dependant on a certain cultural framework, that connected secular and spiritual realms."[2]

Coreth approached her topic through four aspects: worship of the Eucharist, devotion to the Blessed Virgin, confidence in Christ's Holy Cross, and veneration of selected saints. These have been viewed as special manifestations of Habsburg piety and the fundamentals of their sovereign rule, from Ferdinand II (1619–37) to the mid-eighteenth century and particularly during the Counter Reformation.[3] All of these aspects disclosed the central component of the Habsburgs' scheme of theological politics: the process of salvation stressing Christ's human presence on earth through incarnation and its outcome; the Eucharist; and the Sacrifice of the Cross, in which the prince embodies the mediation between this world and the heavenly one and thus represents God on earth. Yet from the introduction of her book, Coreth made clear that the whole system of the *Pietas Austriaca* rested on the sovereign's virtues. These virtues were inherited from ancestors, especially from Rudolph I (1218–91), as Coreth noted. "The same piety became a holy, binding heritage, which had to be faithfully followed and constantly renewed as the destiny of the house depended upon it," she wrote.[4]

Recent research on the political devotional comportment of the Habsburg's Spanish branch, on "the Power of the Kings" and also on theological politics in general make it increasingly evident that the themes favored by the Habsburgs were not unique to them in all their features.[5]

[2]Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans., 2004), p. xxi.

[3]Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans. 2004, p. 5), records that even Maria Theresa (1740–80) considered in her political testament that her ancestors "of undying fame were especially dedicated to this piety and because of it received divine grace and support in times of extreme danger."

[4]Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans. 2004), p. xxii.

[5]On the Habsburg Spanish branch see Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven, 1993), and Sylvène Edouard, *L'Empire imaginaire de Philippe II. Pouvoir des images et discours du pouvoir sous les Habsbourg d'Espagne au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 2005). On the "Power of Kings" and theological politics, there is an enormous bibliography in most European languages. See Paul Kléber Monod, *The Power of Kings. Monarchy and Religion in*

Coreth addressed this aspect briefly.[6] Like the Habsburgs, other Catholic European rulers were convinced of a divine presence on earth and thus believed in the righteousness of acts inspired by God. Obviously, ties between religion and politics have been inherent to the power of rulers from antiquity through the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, and in some cases even beyond.[7] However, the *Pietas Austriaca* constituted a particular form of Habsburg piety built on the four main types of devotion stressed by Coreth. What was also specific about Austrian Habsburg piety was the identification of its components with a special mission to rule the empire, which God had given the House of Austria in medieval times.[8] Because of its intrinsic contradictions, Habsburg piety—together with virtue, a collection of devotions, and an ambition to rule—was an essential element in forming an ideological identity, providing a political impetus for reinforcing Catholicism, and even for issuing laws.[9]

The success of Coreth's book resounds still. Her path-breaking proposition shaped a paradigm for historians as well as for art historians. So many scholars have followed in Coreth's footsteps that it would be impossible to list them all, but Franz Matsche and, more recently, Maria Goloubeva and Jutta Schumann have contributed valuable and highly inspired studies in art history and the history of communication and propaganda.[10] The four main features of Habsburg piety, as delineated by Coreth and others, turned out to be increasingly present during the seventeenth century and the first half of the

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*Europe*, 1589–1715 (New Haven, 1999); Louis Marin, *La parole mangée et autres essais théologico-politiques* (Paris, 1986); Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis, 1988).

[6]Coreth, *Pietas* (1959), p. 7; and in the preface to the 2nd ed., 1982 (English trans., 2004, p. xxii).

[7]Alain Boureau and Claudio Sergio Ingerflom, eds., *La royauté sacrée dans le monde chrétien. Colloque de Royaumont, mars 1989* (Paris, 1992).

[8]Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans., 2004), p. xxii.

[9]Ferdinand II published on December 5, 1633, a mandate making clear the rules for a virtuous life and fixing the punishment of public vices. Formally intended for Inner Austria (Styria, Carinthia, Carniola) and Gorizia, it was also dispatched to other Habsburg lands and may be found in the Czech National Archives in Prague (Royal Patents: PT-5.12.1633). Leopold I reissued it in 1683, at least for Bohemia (Prague National Archives, Stará manipulace/SM sg.P 130/206[1903]).

[10]Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI. Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des "Kaiserstils,"* 2 vols. (New York, 1981). Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of the Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text* (Mainz, 2000). Jutta Schumann, *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Leopolds I* (Berlin, 2003).

eighteenth century, as evidenced in prints, paintings, and architecture related to the Habsburg emperors and their immediate families. Carried out through social rituals of all kinds (ceremonials, processions, and so forth) and soaking up the spirit of congregations such as Marian sodalities, these features have played a role, above all, for nobles and the urban elite.[11] Their integration and efficacy for the peasantry and rural parishes certainly deserves investigation; we have little evidence that *Pietas Austriaca* directly informed the enormous growth of Catholic rituals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. More than a set of shared beliefs, *Pietas Austriaca* was a system for sacralizing and sanctifying the legitimacy of the dynasty through representations, as well as paving an early-modern path to Austrian State mystic and *raison d'État.*

Despite the importance of Coreth's findings, she and most other researchers of the *Pietas Austriaca* have worked primarily with materials from Austria, the Spanish Low Countries, and the Holy Roman Empire, or, in the case of authors such as Friedrich Polleross, have included the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs.[12] They did not explicitly confuse the dynastic and territorial elements of the topic, but seem to have promulgated the idea that a single ideological construction spread from Vienna to the Austrian hereditary lands, as well as to other realms and provinces of the Habsburg monarchy (except Hungary, which usually is omitted from such analyses), transmitted from the center to the margins, rather than in the other direction. Schumann's book, conceived as a study of media strategies, focused on what she called a "multiple culture of [Emperor Leopold I's] image" (*multiplizierende Imagepflege*), spread through the higher strata of society both in the empire and Austria.[13] Goloubeva, for her

[11]Many prints that were intended for Marian sodalities develop narratives emphasizing the Habsburgs' piety. It is obviously the case in the widespread books of János Nádasi, a Hungarian Jesuit. See Gábor Tűskés, *A XVII.századi elbeszélő egyházi irodalom európai kapcsolatai (Nádasi János)* (Budapest, 1997); "Johannes Nádasi. Leben und Werk eines aszetischen Jesuitenschrifsteller in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in Gábor Tűskés and Éva Knapp, *Volksfrömmigkeit in Ungarn* (Dettelbach, 1996), pp. 355–98; Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux, "Dévotion, littérature et poésie au XVII$^{e}$ siècle: Bridel et Nádasi," in *Aurora Musas nutrit. Die Jesuiten und die Kultur Mitteleuropas im 16.–18. Jarhundert* (Bratislava, 2008), pp. 89–112.

[12]Friedrich Polleross, "'Majesté' contre 'Sainteté' dans les portraits des Habsbourg au début du XVII$^{e}$ siècle," in *L'image du roi de François Ier à Louis XIV. Fictions du pouvoir et stratégies visuelles 1550–1650*, ed. Thomas W. Gaeghtens and Nicole Hochner (Paris, 2006), pp. 33–55.

[13]Schumann, *Die andere Sonne,* pp. 305–69, 371–89.

part, identified many starting points in the monarchy (and elsewhere, mostly in South Germany) for laudatory writings on Leopold I's glory and righteousness. She also briefly pointed out "the decentralized nature of the glorification of the emperor."[14] Nevertheless, she still, perhaps unconsciously, considered things in a hierarchical perspective, with Viennese textual production in a preeminent position, excepting material coming from the German Empire, which Goloubeva carefully and generously employed.[15] By implication, in these visions, the *Pietas Austriaca* is disseminated from Vienna, Catholic Germany, and the Habsburg dynasty. The territorial dimension of the *Pietas Austriaca* thus has remained a kind of blind spot until now.

In the case of the *Pietas Austriaca*, we are in fact confronted with a far-reaching symbolical system, which, especially following Ferdinand II's victory at the White Mountain in 1620 and the consequent recatholicization of Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, the County of Glatz, and Silesia, proposed and gradually developed a deeply renewed worldview, creating links between the Habsburg dynasty's mythology and a novel approach to autochthonous historical narrative in each land and province of the Austrian monarchy.[16] This point has been insufficiently emphasized. Analyses of academic theses, panegyrics, and funeral orations, along with some vernacular literature, often show a distinctive image of the *Pietas Austriaca,* differentiating the dynastic path—which can be also called "*Pietas Habsburgica*"—from a "*Pietas Bohemica*" or "*Hungarica"* and thus reveal that there was no centralized vision of the Habsburg monarchy. Habsburg rulers held a place in the normal succession of Bohemian and Hungarian kings; they were consecrated and crowned in accordance with old and (in Czech lands) new constitutions and customs, and were integrated into the genealogies of genuine local dynasties.[17] The core of the *Pietas Austriaca*, as

[14]Goloubeva, *The Glorification*, p. 2.

[15]Goloubeva, *The Glorification,* pp. 54–55.

[16]The victory at White Mountain near Prague, on November 8, 1620, allowed Emperor Ferdinand II to reconquer the royal throne of Bohemia and to reimpose the Catholic religion in Czech and Austrian hereditary lands.

[17]Some examples are to be found in László Listius, *Reges Hungariae Ab Anno Christi CDI. Ad Annum MDCLII. Ungaricis Rhytmis descripti*, in *Magyar Márs avagy Mohách mezején történt veszedelemnek emlékezete* (The Hungarian Mars or the Memory of the Battle that Took Place on the Field of Mohács) (Vienna, 1653), 1–81 (spec. pag. after p. 154); Giulio Solimani, S.J., *Elogia ducum, regum, interregum, qui Bohemis praeferrunt* (Prague, 1629), pp. i–iii, 1–60, i–ii; Michael Franz Ferdinand Althann, *Imago principum Bohemiae LXI. . .* (Prague, 1673).

described by Coreth, did not exclude local forms, but little attention has been paid to their potential heterogeneity. All these specific forms, even when praising the current ruler and the Habsburg dynasty, also proclaimed patriotic virtues and native sovereigns. In this respect, it is worthwhile to compare the Bohemian and Austrian paths. The Hungarian case, due to the Ottoman presence and the religious and political division of the country, is more complicated; however, some parallelism exists and may enrich Goloubeva's findings on "multiple culture of [Emperor Leopold I's] image."[18] For example, Géza Galavics has demonstrated that theses by Catholic Hungarian students at the universities of Trnava (Nagyszombat), Košice (Kassa), and Vienna, who were usually members of a noble household, sometimes linked Leopold I's and Joseph I's glory and apotheosis with the ancient kings and patron saints of Hungary, a better-known pattern for Austrian and Bohemian students.[19]

Indeed, the central headings of Coreth's model—Marian piety, devotion to the crucified Jesus Christ and the Eucharist, and the worship of the saints as well as the recital of ancestral virtues—were not viewed uniquely as the focus of the Habsburg dynastic ideology. They were equally stated in various forms in Bohemia and Hungary, where they originated in local historical and dynastic traditions. As is shown below, these local achievements were not necessarily carried out under the sole auspices of the "*Pietas Habsburgica*" but also extended beyond the oft-used paradigm of "*Landespatriotismus.*" Of particular interest from that point of view are the cults of the Blessed Mary and of the Bohemian and Hungarian holy patrons.[20] Interlacing Habsburg genealogies with those of the ancient local dynasties, numerous texts centered on the virtues of the holy kings Stephen and Ladislas of Hungary and duke Wenceslas of Bohemia. In so doing, these writings showed a kind of Bohemian or Hungarian pious anteriority, parallel to the contemporary *Pietas Austriaca*. Such discourses set out a narrative entirely specific to these countries, highlighting the

[18]Goloubeva, *The Glorification,* pp. 54–55. For a thorough discussion about the particularity of the Hungarian case, see Robert John Weston Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700. An Interpretation* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 234–74.

[19]Géza Galavics, "Thesenblätter ungarischer Studenten in Wien im 17. Jahrhundert. Künstlerische und pädagogische Strategien," in *Die Jesuiten in Wien. Zur Kunst-und Kulturgeschichte der österreichischen Ordensprovinz der "Gesellschaft Jesu" im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,* ed. Hubert Kartner and Werner Telesko (Vienna, 2003), pp. 113–30.

[20]Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 224–28, 255–56.

continuity and spiritual identity of each realm, and finally suggesting a distinctive "*Pietas Bohemica*" and "*Pietas Hungarica"* under the rule of contemporaneous Habsburg emperors as well as kings of Bohemia and Hungary. Later, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, authors from Bohemia and Hungary introduced topics that underscored and maintained a local identity and dignity when discussing the sacred kingship of righteous rulers. This point deserves stronger emphasis.

Thus, comparing the many ways in which local levels and the dynastic representation models intersected provides us with some perspective for a broader reading of the *Pietas Austriaca.* The details of competing narratives of the *Pietas Habsburgica* will be explained below, as well as interpretative discrepancies and nuances that have molded the *Pietas Austriaca* as presented in Coreth's model.

## Local Nuances: The Habsburgs as God's Chosen Rulers and the Mediatory Role of the Virgin Mary

Ferdinand II is at the center of Coreth's *Pietas Austriaca*, because he was the first ruler to break almost completely with sixteenth-century forms of religious coexistence in Austrian and Czech core lands of the Habsburg monarchy and to enforce the Catholic religion there. Moreover, according to his confessor Wilhelm Lamormaini, he would have preferred to lose all of his lands, power, wealth, and resources rather than suffer a single heretic living in his duchies and kingdoms.[21] Given this evidence at least one historian has viewed Ferdinand II as the real founder of the Habsburg monarchy.[22]

In the seventeenth century, the Habsburgs' political theology was embodied in ideals such as the anonymous *Princeps in Compendio* (a handbook for governing greatly valued by the Austrian Habsburgs since Ferdinand II) and texts such as Lamormaini's "*Ferdinand II's*

[21]See Wilhelm Lamormaini, *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum imperatoris Virtutes* (Vienna, 1638), here in Franz Christoph Khevenhüller's German translation (*Ferdinandi II. Christliche/Heroische Tugenden. Das erste Capitel. Glaub und Eyser in der Catholischen Religion*, in *Annales Ferdinandi, oder warhaffte Beschreibung Kaysers Ferdinandi dess Andern . . . Thatten*. . . , 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1726), 12:cols. 2380–81.

[22]Robert J. Bireley, "Ferdinand II: Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy," in *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (London, 1991), pp. 226–44, here p. 226.

*Virtues,"* a far-reaching eulogy written by the emperor's Jesuit confessor after Ferdinand II's death.[23] *Princeps in Compendio* quotes the scriptures on whether a prince holds office through God: "By me, kings reign and rulers make laws which are just."[24] Coreth interprets this quotation from Proverbs 8: "This was understood to mean not only that God calls the ruler—in the sense of the divine right of kings—to his reign, but also that God assists the ruler continuously with his governmental tasks, as long as the ruler allows himself to be led by God."[25] Habsburg legends and myths, as re-elaborated in the seventeenth century, contain no ambiguity: They saw their dynasty elected by God to a world empire because of their forefather Rudolph I's reverence for a priest carrying the Eucharist. Previously, in the sixteenth century, the point of God's choice of a sovereign was still a delicate matter, lacking unanimity among Catholic theologians. For example, Jesuit Francesco Suárez underlines in his *Tractatus de legibus, ac Deo legislatore* that "the power of political dominion or rule over men has not been granted, directly by God, to any particular human individual."[26] Still, in about 1610, Jesuits Robert Bellarmine and Martin Becan argued against an unlimited conception of the divine right of the kings, no doubt answering King James I of England's *Trew Law of Free Monarchies* and *Basilikon Doron*.[27] However, from about 1619–20, Ferdinand II appears in apologetic works, as well as in anti-Machiavellian political literature, as truly

[23]Wilhelm Lamormaini, *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum imperatoris Virtutes* (Vienna, 1638). On the significance and success of Lamormaini's encomium, see Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux, "La *Cour Sainte* et le prince chrétien. Usages et circulations de quelques imprimés entre la France, la Hongrie, l'Autriche et la Bohême au XVII[e] siècle" in *Cahiers d'Etudes Hongroises*, vol. 14 (Paris, 2008), II:273–96; and Robert J. Bireley, "The Image of Emperor Ferdinand (1619–1637) in William Lamormaini, S.J, *'Ferdinandi II Imperatoris Romanorum Virtutes' (1538)*," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 52 (2009), 121–40; Bireley, "Ferdinand II: Founder," pp. 220–44. For *Princeps in Compendio* see Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans., 2004), p. 2; Franz Bosbach, "Princeps in Compendio," in *Das Herrscherbild im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Konrad Repgen (Münster, 1991), pp. 79–114. Charles VI's biographer Eucharius Gottlieb Rinck published a German translation in the 3rd edition of his life of Leopold I (*Leopolds des Grossen Römischen Kaysers wunderwürdiges Leben und Thaten* . . .) (Cologne, 1713), I:44–76.

[24]Rinck, *Leopolds des Grossen,* I:45.

[25]Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans., 2004), p. 2.

[26]Quotation in English translation from Monod, *Power of Kings*, p. 52.

[27]On this topic: Robert J. Bireley, *Maximilian von Bayern, Adam Contzen S.J. und die Gegenreformation in Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1975); Monod, *Power of Kings*, pp. 68–69; Bernard Bourdin, *La genèse théologico-politique de l'État moderne* (Paris, 2004); Robert J. Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years' War. Kings, Courts and Confessors* (Cambridge, UK, 2003), pp. 4, 14.

selected by God, the "Celestial Inhabitant," to quote the Jesuit Adam Contzen's dedication to the emperor in his *Ten Books on Politics*.[28] In 1638, Lamormaini's *Ferdinand's Virtues* presupposed as fundamental the sovereign's election by God, and his threnody played a seminal part in propagating this idea as well as some fundamental themes of the *Pietas Austriaca* in Marian congregations and universities.[29] Thus in Ferdinand II there is an actualization of Rudolph I's figure. The victory at White Mountain in November 1620, which contemporaries perceived as God's miracle manifested by the Blessed Virgin, consolidated a vision of Ferdinand II as God's chosen one.

The Virgin's mediation was a typical feature of the Austrian Habsburgs' ideology in the seventeenth century. Dynastic historiographers and apologists used it in countless variations. Slovenian canon Joannes Schönleben commented in 1680: "Thus the Austrians are reigning, ruling, are victorious and ensure peace by Mary."[30] Furthermore, by the middle of the seventeenth century, Bavarian Jesuit Wilhelm Gumppenberg, in his *Atlas Marianus* (1657), a major work conceptualizing the reign of the Holy Virgin in the world, no longer explains the Habsburgs' divine election by Rudolph I's respect toward the Eucharist, but ties it to their Marian piety, more specifically to the Virgin of Loreto: "Rudolf I being in 1291 in Tersato gave the Virgin his horse for her Son, and the Virgin and Jesus Christ gave in return for the horse an endless empire, and assured him that Austria would be the nest of the imperial Eagle."[31] Thus, according to Gumppenberg, because the Virgin's house, which angels miraculously brought by air from Nazareth, was supposed to have stayed three years in Dalmatia before a definitive settlement in Loreto, Mary promised the House of Austria three centuries of future dominion over the empire, now culminating in Ferdinand II and his successors.

[28]"*At habitator coeli, susceptor tuus exaltauit caput tuum, proceresque Bohemiae permouit*. . . ," in Adam Contzen, *Politicorum Libri Decem* . . . (Mainz, 1621), dedicatory epistle to Ferdinand II, sigs. **2 v–**3r.

[29]Ducreux, "La *Cour Sainte,*" pp. 280–82, 293–95.

[30]"*Sic per Mariam Austriaci regnant, imperant, vincunt, pacem stabiliunt,*" in Joannes Ludovicus Schönleben, *Dissertatio polemica de prima origine augustissimae domus habspurgo-austriacae* (Ljubljana, 1680), p. 172.

[31]"*Dederat Rudolphus nuper Virginis Filio equum, pro quo Virgo Domum, Virginis Filius (ut speramus) Imperium sine fine dedit, jussitque Austriam posthac esse pro nido Aquilae; & jam tribus saeculis cum dimidio fuit, cuiusvis anni moram saeculo Imperii remuneratus,*" in P. Wilhelm Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus. quo sanctae Dei genitris Mariae imaginum miraculosarum origines historiarum centuriis explicantur* (Munich, 1672), 1:3.

Many baroque narratives confirm or repeat in other contexts the theme of Ferdinand II's election as mediated by the Virgin. The learned Czech Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín supplied one example in his Latin story of the pilgrimage to Svatá Hora in Bohemia.[32] Its Czech vernacular translation by another Jesuit, Matěj Václav Šteyer, relates Ferdinand's II imperial designation thusly: "Johann Schweikard, archbishop of Mainz . . . and elector of the Holy Roman Empire, was not willing to give his voice to Ferdinand II" in 1619, but "the Blessed Virgin Mary spoke to him and rebuked him, ordering him to vote in Ferdinand, because it has been already ruled and chosen in Heaven."[33] Incidentally, in Lamormaini's *Ferdinand II' s Virtues,* Schweikard is given a particular part in the disclosure of God's will concerning Ferdinand II's accession to the empire. Lamormaini's account of this important episode has Mary simply ordering Schweikard to elect Ferdinand as emperor, while the Czech narration stresses the preexisting divine choice of Ferdinand II.[34]

Both Lamormaini and Balbín's narrations considered Ferdinand II's election to the empire as the culmination of the Virgin's promise to the ancestral founder of the Habsburg dynasty. Even if the Czech account differed on subtleties, it still stands directly in line with Coreth's interpretation in the *Pietas Austriaca*. That is not the case for all of the following examples.

[32]Bohuslav Balbín, *Diva Montis Sanctis, seu origines et miracula magnae Dei hominumque matris Mariae* (Prague, 1665). For an introduction to Balbín, see *Bohuslav Balbín und die Kultur seiner Zeit in Böhmen,* ed. Zuzana Pokorná and Martin Svatos (Cologne, 1993), and Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia. Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge, UK, 2009), pp. 130–45.

[33]"Novější příklad máme na Ferdinandovi, toho jména druhém českém králi; neb když Jan Švikard rodem kroneburgský, arcibiskup mohutský, Svaté římské říše volenec, pochyboval, má-li mu dáti svůj hlas, aby byl římským císařem, blahoslavená Panna Maria zřetedlnými slovy k němu promluvila, napomínajíc ho, aby Ferdinanda (ač se ten zdá nehrubě mocný a má nepřátel mnoho) za císaře vyvolil, že tak o něm jest v nebi vyrčeno a ustanoveno," in Bohuslav Balbín, *Přepodivná Matka Svatohorská Maria*. (The Miraculous Mother by Svatá Hora, the Holy Mary . . .)—*Přídavek. O lásce Blahoslavené Panny Marie k zemím české, moravské a slezské, a o pobožnosti Českého národu k též Blahoslavené Panně* (Supplement. About the Blessed Virgin Mary's Love of the Czech, Moravian and Silesian Lands and about the Devotion of the Czech Nation to This Blessed Virgin) (Litomyšl, 1666), pp. 461–62.

[34]Lamormaini, *Ferdinandi II. … Virtutes*, chap. 28 (*Quaedam in Ferdinando mira*), quoted here from a later edition (Tyrnau [Trnava, Nagyszombat], 1739), pp. 161–62. Here, Mary was simply telling the archbishop-elector to be unafraid of electing Ferdinand.

## Competing Ancestors

As in their other lands and territories, Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III (1637–57), and Leopold I (1658–1705) were often alleged to rule in their Bohemian and Hungarian kingdoms through explicit divine election, through mimicry of Christ (*Christomimesis*), and through virtues that are consubstantial to them and to the dynasty and connect them to their forefathers. This looks like a well-known pattern. Yet the oft-published founding narrative of Habsburg myth, with Rudolph I's promise of ruling the empire, competes with other native accounts. Here, seventeenth-century Habsburg rulers are linked with other "ancestors": the patron saints of Czech lands and Hungary, principally St. Wenceslas for Bohemia, and Ss. Stephen and Ladislas for Hungary, with their virtues anticipating and sometimes inspiring those of the Habsburgs. The different phases of increasing veneration of these "national" or state patrons and custodians in the seventeenth century deserve new, detailed studies, aimed at clarifying the strategies of their promoters as well as the complex part played by some protagonists.

The relationship between power and piety, as well as holiness and sanctity, in seventeenth-century rulers is a point of special importance and has not been sufficiently developed. Medieval holy rulers of Hungary and Bohemia were described in legends and *vitae* as combining the perfect models of king and saint. Rudolph I of Habsburg, whose founding tale gathers the characteristics of the *Pietas Austriaca*, ruled as emperor only on earth: While pious and holy, he was not sanctified and canonized. Furthermore, compared to other European and Central European dynasties, the Habsburgs could not claim to be descended from holy blood and lineage (a *Beata Stirps*), as did the Arpadians and the Přemyslidians in Hungary and Bohemia.[35] This explains why dissenting versions on the origin of the Habsburg's imperial charisma exist, even in Austria. In any case, this is attributed to their virtue of piety. A philosophy thesis written at Vienna University in 1699 summarizes this widespread pattern: "If you are asking who first has bestowed the empire on the world, the answer is: so did Piety."[36]

[35]On Arpad and Přemyslid saintly rulers see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, UK, 2002).

[36]"*Si primum Europaei orbis Imperii collatorem? is fuit Pietas,*" qtd. in Conrad Adolf Albrecht, Ferdinand Joseph Albrecht, and Jordan Johann Albrecht von

### *St. Leopold Challenges Rudolph I as the Source of Habsburg Glory and Right to the Imperial Dignity*

First, the situation in Austria will be examined. When dealing with supposedly "holy ancestors," an initial parallel should be drawn with what is known about the cult of St. Leopold of Babenberg.[37] This medieval margrave of Austria (1073–1136), founder of Vienna and an Augustinian monastery at Klosterneuburg, whose local cult started soon after he died in 1136, was canonized by Pope Innocent VIII in 1485 at the behest of Emperor Frederick III (1440–93). In some baroque publications, Leopold of Babenberg is presented as a challenge to Rudolph I, although he was not of Habsburg lineage.[38] Emperor Maximilian (1493–1519), who paid great attention to all possible glorious ancestors, let a court historiographer include Leopold of Babenberg in a long series of his holy forebears.[39] Nonetheless, his cult remained confined to the Augustinian canonry of Klosterneuburg and to Lower Austria. But, as shown by Elisabeth Kovács, Maximilian's death brought about an interruption in St. Leopold's dynastic cult until the end of the sixteenth century.[40] Emperor Leopold I, born on St. Leopold's Day (November 15, 1640), declared him the patron saint of Austria in 1663.[41] St. Leopold's worship then began to intensify, after five centuries of local veneration in Klosterneuburg and the countryside around its monastery.

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Albrechtburg, *Phosphori Austriaci sive compendiosae Historiae de Augustissimae Domus Austriacae Origine, Magnitudine, & Potentia* (Austrian Morning Star, or an Abridged History of the Most August House of Austria's Origin, Greatness, and Power) (Vienna, 1699), fol. 2r.

[37]Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans., 2004), pp. 83–84; Georg Wacha, *Leopold III., der Heilige. Ein Symbol in Österreichs Geschichte* (St. Polten–Vienna, 1975); and Elisabeth Kovács, "Der Heilige Leopold und die Staatsmystik der Habsburger," in *Der Heilige Leopold. Landesfürst und Staatssymbol,* ed. Floridus Röhrig and Gottfried Stangler (Vienna, 1985), pp. 68–83.

[38]Stefan Samerski, "Hausheilige statt Staatspatrone. Der misslungene Absolutismus in Österreichs Heiligenhimmel," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740. Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas,* ed. Petr Mat′a and Thomas Winkelbauer (Stuttgart, 2006), pp. 254–61.

[39]See Tanja Reinhardt, "Die habsburgischen Heiligen des Jakob Mennel" (PhD diss., Freiburg University, 2002), pp. 186–87, available online at http://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/volltexte/2438.

[40]Elisabeth Kovács, "Der heilige Leopold–Rex perpetuus Austriae?", *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg,* Neue Folge, 13 (1985), 159–211, here 180.

[41]See Floridus Rohrig, *Leopold III. der Heilige, Markgraf von Österreich* (Vienna, 1985).

Interestingly, many authors who have written about this holy margrave of Lower Austria have overlooked the localization of the devotion paid to St. Leopold in the seventeenth century. Most studies mention Austria in a very general way, without differentiating among Lower, Upper, or Interior Austria, and they seem to extend St. Leopold's patronage to all Habsburg lands. (A recent paper by Stefan Samerski is a noteworthy exception.) Some studies, for example, have argued that since 1663, when Leopold I declared St. Leopold of Babenberg as patron saint of Austria, his cult began to flourish more widely in Habsburg lands.[42] Yet his veneration remained strongest on a local level, and when cultivated elsewhere, it was on the level of religious orders such as Augustinians and Premonstratensians. In the Diocese of Vienna, a pilgrimage to Klosterneuburg, the seat of the holy margrave, was initiated on November 15, 1661, and continued annually until 1775. On this occasion, a panegyric dedicated to the saint was habitually recited and then was duplicated in the Viennese university, where St. Leopold later also became patron saint of the Austrian academic nation.[43] These encomiums bestowed St. Leopold's virtues and piety on Emperor Leopold I, bringing both Leopolds into the "Heart of Austria" and praising together "Leopold holy and pious in the heaven and on earth Leopold forever august and pious."[44]

Nevertheless, there is no evidence of a significant expansion of St. Leopold's cult outside Austrian hereditary lands surpassing that of local patron saint. After the Battle at the White Mountain (1620), Ferdinand II received papal permission for maintaining St. Leopold's Day in the Viennese proper and Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach, archbishop of Prague had it extended to his diocese in 1638.[45] In spite of this liturgical detail, it seems that it neither grew nor played a decisive role in connecting Austria with Czech lands in the seventeenth century. No

[42]See Coreth, *Pietas* (English trans., 2004), pp. 75–76; Goloubeva, *The Glorification*, pp. 31–32; Kovács, "Der heilige Leopold und die Staatsmystik," pp. 68–83. Antonín Sorm's older work, *Úcta svatého Leopolda v Čechách a na Moravě* (St. Leopold's Worship in Bohemia and Moravia) (Prague, [1936]), is not very informative and is somewhat misleading.

[43]Marie Kastl, *Das Schriftwort in Leopoldspredigten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen zur Heiligenpredigt als lobender und beratschlagender Rede* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 10–11.

[44]Kovács, "Der heilige Leopold–Rex perpetuus," p. 200; "Leopoldus in coelis sanctus & pius & in terris Leopoldus semper augustus, & pius, amen." *Cor austriacum. Das ist das Leib, und Lebhafte Oesterrreichische Stammen* . . . (Vienna, s.d.).

[45]*Positiones* 1163⅓ (1638), Archivio della Congregazione delle cause die Santi, Vatican City.

canticles or literature of Bohemian provenance dedicated to Leopold of Babenberg have surfaced, except for some Jesuit plays.[46] Statues and pillars of the saint are occasionally found, but most often in subordination to St. Wenceslas, especially in Moravia.[47] An exception is in Bohemian and Moravian Augustinian monasteries, which maintained ties to St. Leopold's foundation in Klosterneuburg and celebrated his memory until the reign of Joseph II (1780–90). There is only one example of rhetorical juxtaposition of Leopold to Wenceslas, which came from an Augustinian canonry and will be discussed later. Despite Leopold I's attempt to make the devotion to St. Leopold a symbolic connection, tying his core lands to the greater German Empire, Samerski's findings corroborate the local impact of the veneration of St. Leopold, long concentrated in Klosterneuburg and Lower Austria.[48] Samerski convincingly demonstrates as well the primarily dynastic character of this cult, which was mostly supported by court aristocracy and clergy of high rank.[49] Goloubeva's commentary about St. Leopold adds a detail of significance:

> As a rule, the dynasty tended to worship the saints that were directly connected to the Austrian crownlands, and among these, St Leopold was particularly prominent. Having married an emperor's daughter, Leopold, a twelfth-century margrave of Lower Austria from the house of Babenberg, was considered to have brought the imperial charisma to his lands. Himself a candidate to the imperial throne in 1125, Leopold later withdrew from the competition. His son, however, became the first duke of Austria. . . . Since [Leopold] became a dynastic Saint.[50]

In the legend recounted here, St. Leopold's extraordinary humility was presented as a direct cause for the elevation of his House to rule the whole of Austria and analogically as a distant reason for the Austrian (and Habsburg) mission to rule the empire. This competes with a fundamental feature of Rudolph I's baroque dynastic legend,

[46]Metoděj Zemek, "Die Verehrung des heiligen Leopold in den böhmischen Ländern," *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg,* Neue Folge, 13 (1985), 143–58, here 146–47.

[47]Zemek, "Die Verehrung," pp. 147–48; Ivana Maxová, Vratislav Nejedlý, and Pavel Zahradník, *Marianské, trojíční a další světecké pilíře v kraji Vysočině* (*Okres Havlíčkův Brod, Jihlava, Pelhřimov*) (Marian, Trinity and Other Holy Columns in the Vysočina Region) (Prague, 2006), pp. 79–80. Other volumes of this recent encyclopedic series corroborate the rare occurrence of St. Leopold's pillars in Czech lands.

[48]For Leopold's I attempts, see Kovács, "Der heilige Leopold–Rex perpetuus," pp. 198–200.

[49]Samerski, "Hausheilige statt Staatspatrone," p. 260.

[50]Goloubeva, *The Glorification,* p. 31.

which repeatedly attributes his election to the empire because of his Eucharistic or, as in the case of the *Atlas Marianus,* of his Marian worship.[51] As previously noted, Rudolph I, as glorified as he was in Habsburg dynastic tradition, was never a saint, as was Leopold of Babenberg; consequently, he could not fit the role of a sacred ruler, patron, and protector. The coexistence of these two traditions that were equally embodied in ancestors' merits—the one more local but linked with approved sanctification and actual holiness, the other embodying political skills and symbolic holiness—worked to enhance the Habsburgs' call for rights to the empire.

Occasionally, St. Leopold appears to enhance praise of the Bohemian patron saint Wenceslas. On St. Leopold's Day, November 15, 1657, the Augustinian friars of Zderaz in Prague gave an emblem book as a birthday gift to Leopold I, who at that time sojourned in the Bohemian capital city. This "Wenceslas, Holy Duke and Martyr of the Bohemian Crown of Virtues and Eulogies" depicted lengthy episodes of Wenceslas's life and highlighted Bohemian royal virtues.[52] However, a short epilogue introduced St. Leopold as the emperor's patron saint, echoing Wenceslas's exaltation and connecting him to the Czech holy duke and state patron. In this example, the two saints mirrored each other as a double model of heavenly virtuous rulers and prompted the young emperor and King Leopold I to try to emulate them on earth.

### *St. Ladislas as the Source of Hungarian and Habsburg Virtue and Strength*

If in Hungary, baroque devotion to St. Stephen presenting the country as a "Marian kingdom" is well known, the worship of St.

[51]Goloubeva, *The Glorification,* p. 31.

[52]"Divine Wenceslaus, Duke of Bohemia, and Leopoldus, Margrave of Austria's Parallel Eulogy," in *Corona Virtutum et Laudum S. Ducis et Martyris Boëmorum inclyti Wenceslai quam inter Panegyricas et genethliacas Aggratulationes sub notis symbolicis expressam Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi Domino Domino Leopoldo, huius nomine primo, Hung.[ariae] et Bohem.[iae] Regi, Archiduci Austriae In eiusdem serenitatis serenissime Natali XV.ta Novemb.[ris] Anno 1657. Divo Leopoldo festa* …, s. l. s. d. (Wenceslas, Holy Duke and Martyr of the Bohemian Crown of Virtues and Eulogies, expressed through encomiastic and celestial congratulatories, with symbolical marks, which His humble clients and religious servants, the discalced Augustinian Friars . . . offer to the Most Serene and Mighty Lord Leopold, King of Hungary and of Bohemia and Archduke of Austria, on the occasion of his birthday, November 15th, 1657 . . .). Prague, Strahov Library, shelf mark CQ VII/2 35, fols. 35–36.

Ladislas has not been sufficiently noted in relation to the Habsburg sovereigns.[53] Leopold I began his reign as king of Hungary under Ladislas's auspices, after he was crowned in Presburg on the saint's day, June 27, 1655, a timing that was certainly quite deliberate. The vast eulogistic literature in Latin from the Viennese university that was devoted annually to St. Ladislas as the Hungarian academic nation's patron saint represents a particular facet of this neglected topic. It has only rarely attracted scholars' interest.[54] Such eulogies always involved young, noble Hungarian orators, students at the Viennese university or at the *Pazmaneum*, the Hungarian seminary in Vienna. In the seventeenth century and through the eighteenth century, panegyrics were printed and at times gathered into a larger book. Thirty-nine of these festive panegyrics, composed and declaimed between 1655 and 1693, were collected and reprinted in 1693 in a single volume, *Saint Ladislas I, King of Hungary's Crowned Virtue*.[55] Ignatius Franciscus Xaverius Cetto, the editor of this series, dedicated it to Cardinal Leopold Kollonich, archbishop of Kalocsa, administrator of the Viennese Court Chamber, and former president of the Hungarian Court Chamber, who was entrusted with restoring order in recently reconquered regions of Hungary and Transylvania.[56] Once assembled, these numerous short *encomia* became a single lengthy panegyric, displaying and maximizing particular Hungarian virtues and history as well as glorifying Emperor Leopold I and his father, Ferdinand III. Count Miklós Zrínyi (1620–64), the future Croatian ban (or governor) and prominent Hungarian politician, wrote and

[53]For a basic account and bibliography of Hungary as *Regnum Marianum*, see Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 255–57; László Szörényi, *Hunok és jezsuiták. Fejezetek a magyarországi latin hősepika történetéből* (The Hun and the Jesuits. Chapters on History of Latin Epics in Hungary) (Budapest, 1993), p. 44; Tüskés and Knapp, *Az egyházi irodalom műfajai a 17–18 században. Tanulmányok* (Essays on Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Religious Literature) (Budapest, 2002), pp. 11–54.

[54]István Fazekas, in *A Bécsi Pázmáneum* (The Viennese Pazmaneum), ed. István Zombori (Budapest, 2002), pp. 110–11, mentions this custom but does not indicate when it began. On the Hungarian Nation at Vienna University and the custom of declaiming panegyric, see Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 256; Andreas Pöschek, "Disputationen und Ungarische Studenten an der Wiener Universität" (Doctoral thesis, Universities of Vienna and Debrecen, 2007), pp. 5–10, available online at http://www.poeschek.at/files/publications/disputation-ungarische_studenten_universitaet_wien-andreas_poeschek.pdf.

[55]Ignatius Franciscus Xaverius Cetto, *Virtus coronata divi Ladislai I. Hungariae regis, Inclytae Nationis Hungaricae Tutelaris* . . . (Vienna, 1693).

[56]On Kollonich, see Evans, *Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 251–52.

declaimed St. Ladislas's panegyric at Vienna's St. Stephen's Cathedral in 1634, as Hungarian literary historian István Bitskey has remarked.[57] On that occasion, this future commander-in-chief of the army in the 1664 campaign against the Ottomans, who became entangled in a plot (the so-called Wesselényi Conspiracy) against Leopold I near the end of his life, emphasized St. Ladislas's and Ferdinand III's similitude. So did János Kéri—younger baron of Ipoly-Kér, son of a high-ranking Hungarian state officer, the "Crown Custodian" (*koronaőr*), and future bishop of Vác—on June 27, 1654. That oration was printed with a dedication to Ferdinand IV, Ferdinand III's eldest son and Leopold I's older brother, who died prematurely the following year and never ruled.[58] The inscription designated St. Ladislas as the celestial patron of this young king of Hungary.[59] The text then poses questions about Ladislas's heir, implicitly referring to Ferdinand IV. Spinning out intricate metaphors, it meshes the miracles accomplished during Ladislas's life while defeating the pagan Cumans—here "Barbarians" as an echo of the modern Ottomans—with the benefits his sacred body had provided after his death. All of these feats resulted from Ladislas's Marian piety, as well as from his election by the Blessed Virgin.[60] Austria's place as "the heart of Germania" and Leopold I's glory are directly derived from St. Ladislas's qualities in the 1665 encomium, which was pronounced by Count Ladislas Csáky.[61] In 1670, János Pátky, declaiming on "Saint Ladislas's piety and fortitude as the two columns supporting Hungary," placed Ladislas above St. Stephen, the state's founder, in importance. After listing five valiant princes and kings of Hungary from St. Emerich, St. Stephen's son (*c.* 1007–31)—who in fact never reigned—to Sigismond of Luxemburg (1387–1437), he then concentrated their qualities in St. Ladislas as "the single Guarantor of Christian Piety and absolute Compendium of all the

[57]*Oratio Sancto inter coelites nunc Ladislao Ungariae sacra inter mortales Anno a Christianorum aera supra millesimum quinto & nonagesimo, maximi dein caesarum Ferdinandi divo filio nominis ejusdem Ungarorum regi* (Vienna, 1634), István Bitskey, *Konfessionen und literarische Gattungen der frühen Neuzeit in Ungarn. Beträge zur mitteleuropäischen vergleichenden Kulturgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main, 1999), p. 115.

[58]*Rex thaumaturgus, sive s. Ladislaus rex Ungariae, inclytae nationis ungaricae in antiquissima & celeberrima universitate viennensi divus tutelaris…, a spectabile ac magnifico domino Joanne Keri de Ipoly-Ker, libero barone . . .* (Vienna, 1655). Prague, Strahov Library, BC VI 102/4.

[59]*Rex thaumaturgus,*, fol. A 2v.

[60]*Rex thaumaturgus,*, A 3v–B 2r.

[61]Cetto, *Virtus Coronata*, pp. 128–29.

others heroes' virtues."[62] It was due to St. Ladislas that Hungary could see in St. Stephen its proper "morning star": "[T]he former has shaped, the latter managed; the former has built, the latter consolidated; the former has sown, the latter cultivated; the former has lighted a spark, the latter gave birth and lived."[63] Going further, Pátky lamented the sacrilegious drowning that the Turks had recently inflicted on St. Ladislas's reliquary statue. But, he wrote, Ladislas, who "has been removed from us," is still alive; and Hungary, which was "established in Ladislas's fortitude and piety," is now firmly standing on Leopold I's "advice and industry," alluding here to the emperor's motto "*Consilium et Industria.*" St. Ladislas "has not been entombed" and "is living in King and Emperor Leopold," who, in turn, embodies Ladislas's renewed piety and courage.[64]

### *St. Wenceslas and the Czech Roots of the Habsburgs' Marian Piety*

The Habsburgs' imperial right and divine call notwithstanding, another competitor thus surfaced in Bohemia. A local approach of greater extent and audacity than the Czech adaptation of Lamormaini's founding eulogy is in St. Wenceslas's story, as narrated by a Czech Jesuit, Jan (Johannes) Tanner, an author of special importance to this issue.[65] Tanner (1623–95) is not to be confused with his more famous brother, Mathias (1630–92)—rector of Prague University; superior of the Jesuit Bohemian province; and author of two richly illustrated, well-known folios praising the heroism and missionary zeal of the Society of Jesus all over the world.[66] Several of Jan Tanner's books contain scenes that were not part of St. Wenceslas's

[62]"*Anno 1670. … Oratore R.D. Joanne Patky Hung. [ariae] Theologo è Coll. [egio] Pazman. [eo] Duae Hungariae Columnae Pietas & Fortitudo S. Ladislai* " in Cetto, *Virtus coronata*, p. 199.

[63]"Plantavit ille, rigavit iste; construxit ille, firmavit iste; seminavit ille, coluit iste; accendit ille, animavit iste." "*Anno 1670. … Oratore R.D. Joanne Patky,*" p. 200.

[64]"Ablatus est nobis sic Ladislaus, ut videatur relictus. Stas etiamnum in Ladislajana pietatis & fortitudinis fundata columnis Ungaria, ubi in Consilia & Industra Leopoldi potentissimi regis partier & augustissimi caesaris es collocate. Audacter dico, tumulatus non est Ladislaus, qui . . . vivit in Leopoldo . . . Vivat ergo in Leopoldo caesare renovate pax, virtus, gloria, regnorum quies, pietas & fortitude divi Ladislai." "*Anno 1670. . . . Oratore R. D. Joanne Patky,*" p. 218.

[65]On Jan Tanner, see De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Brussels-Paris, 1896), VII:cols. 1855–58.

[66]Mathias Tanner, S.J., *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis* (Prague, 1675), in De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque,* VII:col. 1860, item 9; Mathias Tanner, S.J., *Societas Jesu apostolarum imitratrix*. . . , Prague, 1694, in De Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque,* VII:col. 1861, item 11.

legend before the seventeenth century and, according to Czech historian Zdeněk Kalista, who analyzed Tanner's substratum, do not appear in his sources such as the fourteenth-century legend *Ut annuncietur* or works by Renaissance chroniclers Hájek and Dubravius.[67] One of the most significant tales disseminated by Tanner is that of the vision of margrave Vratislav Henry of Moravia, a brother of the medieval Bohemian king Přemysl Otakar I (*c.* 1230–78). Tanner sets the story in 1284, although it first appeared in 1661 in his *Trophy of Saint Venceslas, king and martyre of Bohemia and great forefather of the most august House of Austria,* and then in Czech translation by another Jesuit, Felix Kadlinský.[68] The margrave's vision occurs in another of Tanner's books and, four years before *Trophy* was issued, also in the first edition of Gumppenberg's *Atlas Marianus*—thanks to Tanner, who was one of the Bavarian Jesuit's advisers.[69] From Gumppenberg's book, the story was introduced into Hungarian-speaking areas by Palatine Paul Esterházy, the highest-ranking officer of the kingdom of Hungary. He inserted it into his vernacular edition of the *Marian Atlas*, printed in 1690 in Trnava (Nagyszombat).[70] Tanner repeated it in the *Holy Way*, a guide to Stará Boleslav, where Wenceslas was murdered in 935 and which became a major Marian pilgrimage destination in Bohemia starting in the seventeenth century.[71] *Holy Way* included forty-four engravings reproducing paintings

[67]Jan Tanner, *Život a sláva svatého Václava mučedlníka, knížete, krále a patrona českém*. . . (Saint Wenceslas, Martyr, Prince, King and Bohemian Holy Patron's Life and Glory), trans. Felix Kadlinský, ed. Zdeněk Kalista (Prague, 1941), pp. 28–31.

[68]Jan Tanner, *Trophaea sancti Wenceslai Bohemiae Regis ac Martyris* (Saint Wenceslas, King of Bohemia and Martyr's Trophy) (Prague, 1661), fol. Rv–R2r ("S. Wenceslaus Styriacus"); Jan Tanner, *Život a sláva svatého Václava, mučedlníka, knížete, krále, a patrona českého* . . . (Saint Wenceslas, Martyr, Prince, King and Bohemian Holy Patron's Life and Glory), trans. Felix Kadlinský (Prague, 1669), chap. 32, pp. 135–40.

[69]See the entry concerning the Mariazell Blessed Virgin in Wilhelm Gumppenberg, *Atlas Marianus, sive de imaginibus Dieparae per Orbem Christianum miraculosis* (Ingolstadt, 1657), pp. 174–77; and *Atlas Marianus* (Munich, 1672), 1:61–62.

[70]Pál Esterházy, *As egesz vilagon levő csudálatos boldogságos szűz kepeinek rövideden föltett eredeti* (A Brief Description of Pictures of the Blessed Virgin Collected from All over the World) (Nagyszombat, 1690; rpt. Budapest, 1994), p. 121.

[71]Jan Tanner, *Svatá cesta z Prahy do Staré Boleslavě k nejdůstojnější rodičce Boží Panně Marii* . . . (The Holy Way from Prague to Stará Boleslav to the Most Dignified God's Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary) (Prague, 1st Czech ed. 1679, 2nd ed. 1692; German ed. 1680; Latin ed. 1690). For a more thorough analysis of this book and others referring to the associated Marian and Wenceslas worship in Bohemia, see Marie-Elizabeth Ducreux, "L'ordre symbolique d'un pèlerinage tchèque dans l'espace habsbourgeois au XVII$^{e}$ siècle: Stará Boleslav," in *Rendre ses vœux. Les identités pèlerines*

adorning the same number of chapels, each constructed between 1674 and 1679, which marked the road to this place of pilgrimage. First printed in Czech in 1679, most probably on the occasion of Leopold I's stay in Prague, it was then successively issued in several Latin and German editions. Plate number 40 contained Wenceslas's apparition to the margrave Henry, who was ill and confined to bed. The holy duke and celestial owner of Czech lands ordered Henry to honor the Virgin at her Mariazell shrine in the Austrian duchy Styria and is depicted as pointing at her image, which can be seen in the heavens. From the late-sixteenth century, Mariazell became the most important Marian Habsburg pilgrimage and a place of extraordinary symbolic importance in Habsburg piety: It was to the Mariazell image of the Blessed Virgin that Ferdinand II and his successors repeatedly dedicated their lands. According to Tanner, the Moravian margrave miraculously recovered and accomplished this pilgrimage. "It has been since this time," specifies the associated prayer to Wenceslas and the Latin commentary, "that this image shines by its miracles."[72] In this example, Wenceslas is God's messenger, the heavenly mediator who reveals and spreads divine power on earth, through whom the Blessed Virgin will become manifest henceforth in Mariazell, in much earlier times than the apparitions of Habsburg veneration. Wenceslas, since the thirteenth century held as the eternal sovereign and guarantor of the kingdom of Bohemia, emerges here as the originator of the seventeenth century's most important dynastic pilgrimage. This version of the story sets up Wenceslas to precede Ferdinand II in worship of the Mariazell image of Mary, to whom the latter consecrated, on the eve of the Thirty Years' War, his family, people, and land. Wenceslas's mediation placed Bohemia at the origin of the major Marian worship by the rulers, so a Bohemian sovereign replaces the Habsburgs in the Marian axis of the *Pietas Austriaca.*

Between 1660 and 1690, Wenceslas occupied a major place in attempts to redefine the theological political legitimacy of the Habsburgs in Bohemia. Certainly, these efforts did not question the dynasty's presence on the Bohemian throne and, in fact, often confirmed it. However, they offered the public an itemized reasoning of the Habsburgs' hereditary right to the Bohemian crown, a perception deeply rooted in territorial traditions, giving the *jus sanguinis* a very

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*dans l'Europe moderne (XVI^e^–XVIII^e^ siècle),* ed. Philippe Boutry, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia (Paris, 2000), pp. 87–122.

[72]Tanner, *Svatá cesta*, engraving 40.

distinctive sense without ties to Habsburg myths of origin. Actually, these alternative discourses, even if they underscore the blood ties binding Leopold I to Wenceslas, resurrected the old medieval theory of the eternal sovereign and heavenly possessor of Czech lands.

### *Wenceslas as Legitimization Source for the Habsburg Kings of Bohemia Deserves Worldly Honor and Worship*

Perhaps the most impressive version of the story of Wenceslas as the true founder of the Habsburg virtues—piety and imperial domination—can be found in Tanner's previously mentioned book, *Trophy of Saint Wenceslas*.[73] Defended as a thesis in 1661 at Prague University by the young Baron Johann Kaldschmidt of Eisenberg, this publication has been sometimes ascribed to Jan Václav Bílek.[74] The *Trophy of Saint Wenceslas* is of interest for several reasons. It seems to have been the first edition in the seventeenth century to interpret the traditional narrative of St. Wenceslas in a new way, counter to the classic *Czech Chronicle* (1541) by Václav Hájek of Libočany.[75] More remarkably, it seems as if Tanner had at his disposal a previously unknown manuscript, the monk Christian's legend, one of the earliest St. Wenceslas *Vitae* from the tenth century, which his friend Bohuslav Balbín had rediscovered in the library of the Discalced Augustinians in Třeboň and published in 1677 in his *Historical Epitome of the Affairs of Bohemia*.[76] In 1669, Tanner's book also appeared in a Czech translation by the Jesuit Felix Kadlinský, under a slightly different title.[77] A German translation does not seem to have been published.

In both the Latin and Czech editions, Wenceslas, who historically never competed for the imperial dignity, is several times designated as God's elect to the empire and the throne of Bohemia, as a devotee of

[73]Tanner, *Trophaea*, fol. Rv–R2r; Tanner, *Život a sláva* (1669), pp. 135–40.

[74]The authorship of the "Trophy of Saint Wenceslas" has long been unclear, given the anonymity of this print and the dedication signed by Jan Václav Bílek. In his still unpublished correspondence, the Jesuit Balbín refers to Tanner as Wenceslas's biographer (letter to Jan Tanner dated October 3, 1661, Prague, National Library, MS XXIII C 116, 79r–79v). Kadlinsky's Czech translation of the *Trophy* points to Tanner as the author. Some libraries record the book as one written by Bílek, but the Czech and Slovak National Bibliography of Prints from 1501 to 1800 (Knihopis n° 16061) ascribes the work to Tanner.

[75]Václav Hájek z Libočan, *Kronika česká* (Czech Chronicle) (Prague, 1541).

[76]Bohuslav Balbín, *Epitome historica Rerum Bohemicarum seu Historia Boleslaviensis* (Prague, 1677), pp. 41–66.

[77]Tanner, *Život a sláva* (1669).

the Eucharist; the Holy Cross; and God's mother, the Blessed Mary. Deliberately, Tanner calls him king of Bohemia, although Wenceslas was only a duke. This refers to a theme of the medieval legend *Ut annuncietur*, which asserts that the emperor gave the royal title to Wenceslas, whose modesty, however, prevented him from using it. Here, the symbolic dimension of politics substitutes for and prevails over historical facts. But this approach was quite conscious and self-willed, not a clumsy piece of fantasy. Indeed, Tanner's purpose was much more ambitious: to give the Habsburg virtues a Bohemian origin. Moreover, Tanner represented St. Wenceslas as the source of the House of Habsburg's accession to the imperial title. Relating an episode present in some medieval lives and legends of Wenceslas, the so-called "transfer of the Empire" (*Translatio Imperii*) to Bohemia, which was supposed to occur when Henri I the Fowler, king of Germany (919–36), transferred St. Vitus's arm relic to the Bohemian duke, Tanner underscored that "rulers of a land, where Saint Vitus's holy corpse is to be found and treasured, are always remaining emperors."[78] This suggests that a king could become emperor only because of his reign in Bohemia. Its content was thus more far-reaching than similar, less-developed arguments, such as Balbín's remark in his *Bohemia Sancta* that Vitus's arm was the prophetical sign of imperial domination.[79] Furthermore, Tanner introduced another baroque Habsburg competitor in Bohemia, Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg (king of Bohemia 1346, emperor 1355–78), who, he wrote, renewed St. Wenceslas's power by displaying Vitus's corpse—and not only arm—in the Prague cathedral and since then provided the Holy Roman Empire with eleven emperor-kings of Bohemia.[80]

Another interesting argument is in the Latin version (1661) of Tanner's *Trophy* and, for the Czech version translated by Jesuit Kadlinsky, surprisingly only in the second edition (Prague 1702), at

[78]"Svatému Vítu dána jest od Boha milost, od mnohých historikův, ano i od samého Baronia vyšetřena, že v které koliv krajině jeho svaté Tělo se nachází a chová, pání té země Císáři římskými zůstávají." Tanner, *Život a sláva* (1669), chap. 8 ("King Saint Wenceslas"), p. 34.

[79]"*Imperator . . . S. Viti brachium fatale Imperii pignus . . . donavit*" (The emperor gave him St. Vitus's arm, this prophetic sign of Empire). Bohuslav Balbín, *Miscellanea historica regni Bohemiae, Decadis I. Liber IV hagiographicus seu Bohemia Sancta* (Prague, 1682), p. 14. The idea of St. Vitus's arm giving its owner the right to imperial domination (the *translatio imperii*) is more often cited in the transfer of this relic from Saint-Denis near Paris to Corvey in Saxony.

[80]Tanner, *Trophaea*, fol. F 2v; Balbín, *Miscellanea historica*, p. 35.

chapter 34, with the heading: "Saint Wenceslas, great forefather of the glorious House of Austria."[81] After recounting Wenceslas's abundant imperial, royal and princely posterity, the author highlights as his "special glory" the fact that the House of Habsburg is of his descent.[82]

Tanner recycled this theme once more in the forty-second and last image of his *Holy Way* to Stará Boleslav. This plate illustrates the genealogical link between Leopold I and Wenceslas. The latter, depicted at the center of the engraving as venerating both the Eucharist and the Blessed Virgin (here of Boleslav), appears as predecessor and cause of the Habsburg devotion to the Holy Sacrament[83] (see figure 1).

The result of Tanner's updating of Wenceslas's tradition, with perhaps another Latin opuscule written by Balbín, was to provide Leopold I and his political and clerical entourage with arguments that moved the Roman Curia in 1669 and 1670 to expand the celebration of the saint's day to the whole Catholic Christendom.[84] A long-term effort, it started with Cardinal Harrach's archiepiscopate (1623–67) and was fully achieved only in 1729, when St. Wenceslas's Day was prescribed as an obligatory feast to be celebrated in the whole Christendom.[85] Due to intercessions by Leopold I and Cardinal Friedrich von Hessen-Darmstadt, the protector of the Habsburg hereditary lands and Germany at the Curia, Harrach's successor (Mathias Sobek of Bilenberg or z Bílenberku) obtained a brief on July 26, 1670, from Pope Clement X prescribing the enrollment of St.

[81] "*S. Wenceslaus augustissimae domus austriacae magnus tritavus.*" Tanner, *Trophaea,* fol. R 4v. "*Svátý Václav slavného domu rakouského veliký prapraděd.*" Tanner, *Život a sláva* (1941), p. 157.

[82] "*Praecipua . . . gloria,*" in Tanner, *Trophaea*, fol. Sr. "*Za zvláštní slávu,*" in Tanner, *Život a sláva* (1941), p. 157.

[83] For the development of the Eucharistic dimension of St. Wenceslas's cult, see Ducreux, "Několik úvah o barokní zbožnosti a o rekatolizaci Čech" (Remarks on Baroque Piety and the Recatholization of Bohemia), *Folia Historica Bohemica*, 22 (2006), 167–71.

[84] Balbín is referring to this document ("Ego nuper scripsit Titulos Gloriae S. Wenceslai, quem libellum idem Archiepiscopus Praefatione addita … dedicavit SS. D. N. Clementi IX. pepitque ut S. Wenceslai festum in officium divinum inseratur") in a letter to Papebroch in Antwerp dated October 14, 1669. Brussels, Royal Library, shelf mark MS 3444 (7773), fol. 28r–29v. The author is grateful to Martin Svatoš for this information.

[85] Pope Benedict XIII's brief, March 14, 1729. Prague, National Archives (hereafter NA), Archbishopric Records, shelf mark APA I, D 93 6–7[2426].

FIGURE 1. Image from Jan Tanner, *Holy Way*. 2nd Czech ed., Academic Printing House, Prague, 1692. Plate no. 43, Shelf Mark 38 D 31, Library of the National Museum, Prague. Reproduced by permission.

Wenceslas's day in the Roman breviary and the Book of Hours as a semi-double feast for the entire Catholic Church.[86]

A parallel but much more developed reasoning is found in manuscript letters in Latin (with some Czech words) sent by Archbishop Sobek to Leopold I on June 5, 1669.[87] First reminiscing about Ferdinand III's special fondness for the eternal duke of Bohemia as

[86]Pope Clement X's brief, July 26, 1670. Prague, NA, Archbishopric Records, shelf mark APA I, D 93 6–7$^{2426}$.

[87]Copy of Archbishop Sobek's letter to Leopold I. Prague, NA, shelf mark APA I, D 93 6–7$^{2426}$.

well as for the Virgin of Stará Boleslav, Sobek recalled that the first patriotic Czech saint:

> . . . is the one from whom all kings of Bohemia and also the Austrians (*Austriaci*) up to Your Majesty have come forth. . . . From his holy sword Your Majesty acceded to power during the royal coronation. . . . He is not simply our patron ("*patronus*"), but our "*dědič,*" that means the true and hereditary king of Bohemia, called from antique times heir and possessor, reigning in fact from Heaven with Your Majesty: *Caesar* shares his ruling power with the Duke (that is to say Wenceslas). . . . The new glory of Saint Wenceslas all over the world would enhance the glory of his kingdoms and people.[88]

This renewed glory "increases the memory of the ancestral *Pietas Austriaca*," Sobek wrote again, and then "the whole House of Austria and Your Majesty are glorified and will be glorified by this glorious Saint. . . ."[89] Leopold's answer contains a different tone (although it repeated a pattern already present but not central in Sobek's letter). The emperor agreed with the necessity of promoting Wenceslas at the Roman Curia and argued that the conversion of Bohemia from heresy to the true faith is due to the piety devoted to Wenceslas.[90]

The frontispiece of Tanner's *Trophy* contains a less explicit echo of Sobek's argument making Wenceslas responsible for Leopold I's kingship in Bohemia, because of genealogy and Wenceslas's representation as perpetual sovereign only temporally transmitting the royal position from heaven to his successors. Placed under the title, the engraving shows Baron Kaldschmidt as an allegory of honor offering a mirror to another allegoric figure of virtue crowned by laurels and ascending the stairs to a throne. Instead of seeing itself in the mirror, virtue has reflected back the portrait of St. Wenceslas with all his attributes of sovereignty. Above them, the Bohemian eternal protector

[88]"Hic est sanctissimus ille dux, cujus ense Majestas vestra in coronatione sese accincta; Hic ille est, ex cujus Stemate Omnes Bohemiae Duces ac Reges, atque ex illis Austriaci ad V. Majestatem usque, descendent. . . ; hic ille est gloriosissimus Martyr, qui non modo simpliciter Patronus, sed dědicz, id est verus, et haereditarius Bohemiae Rex et vere Regni haeres et possessor appellatur ab Antiquis, qui quodammodo cum Majestate vestra ex coelo gubernat et regnat in Bohemia: divisum imperium cum duce (Wenceslaus scilicet) Caesar habet." Copy of Archbishop Sobek's letter to Leopold I. Prague, NA, shelf mark APA I, D 93 6–7[2426].

[89]"Et ex nova S. Wenceslao in orbe toto . . . gloria, aeternam avitae Pietatis Austriacae memoriam. . . , et Regni ac Populi devotionem augeat." Archbishop Sobek's second draft of letter to Emperor Leopold I. Prague, NA, shelf mark APA I, D 93 6–7[2426].

[90]Leopold I's letter to Archbishop Sobek, June 15, 1669. Prague, NA, shelf mark APA I, D 93 6–7[2426].

looks at this emblematic personification of his Austrian heir, Leopold I. And the dedicatory epistle under the illustration leaves no doubt about this identification: Wenceslas's virtue is the only path to glory and the throne in Bohemia (see figure 2).

## Conclusion

Expanding the examination to the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary in the seventeenth century offers a fresh perspective on the *Pietas Austriaca.* Neither the person of the monarch nor the dynasty was challenged by Tanner's book; such findings are also true for other literary specimens dealing with Wenceslas's or Ladislas's virtues. Here, the legitimate king remains glorified, as in the classical scheme of Coreth or Goloubeva. However, placed in a specific relationship to space and time, which is appropriate to a territory in connection with its political and sacred history, he is made the heir to a preexisting Bohemian or Hungarian patrimony. Certainly, these discursive constructions could be seen as pure variations of a more general propaganda, adapted here to Hungarian or Bohemian contexts. But it is difficult to leave it at this single level of interpretation. Examples from Tanner and Sobek show that there were at times competitive discourses. Reconstructing the contexts of production and reception of these alternative visions will always be necessary, although it often proves to be difficult. Further research in archives and record offices may unveil still hidden links between the Church and public high dignitaries' politics and publications aiming to diffuse new or renewed interpretations about local forms of piety, as was the case in Sobek and Tanner. In any case, the author's strategies, the receiving public, and the circles of potential readers must be taken into account. From this point of view, the panegyrics offered to St. Ladislas might be considered as tainted with some ambiguity, because they originated at the Vienna university. All the same, they were read and pronounced in the circle of the public present at the Vienna Cathedral, often in the emperor's presence, usually by noble Hungarian scions. Thus, beyond these first circles of reception, they provided the Catholic Hungarian aristocracy with a kind of self-representation. They also put in the foreground the history of the kingdom, as did the theses from Bohemian, Hungarian, and Viennese universities, as well as many texts produced in Bohemia. Then they were printed in Vienna and disseminated in Hungary and other lands and provinces of the monarchy, as were some texts of Bohemian provenance. Taking into account the more or less forgotten voices of these and other similar texts, it

FIGURE 2. Image from Jan Tanner's *Trophaea sancti Wenceslai Bohemiae regis ac martyris....* (Prague: Universitas in Collegio Societatis Jesu ad S. Clementem, 1661). Frontispiece, Shelf Mark 43 B 13 Priv. 1, Library of the National Museum, Prague. Reproduced by permission.

becomes necessary to recognize the existence of competitive discourses on the origins of the Habsburgs' virtues and ruling power, and thus broaden our model of the *Pietas Austriaca*.

The veneration of a patron saint common to all the lands governed by the Habsburgs in the seventeenth century would certainly have contributed to their stronger integration in the dynastic ensemble. Nonetheless, during the same period, the duality explained above between holiness and royalty prevents the construction of a single sovereign incarnating or symbolically representing the political identity of the whole monarchy.

In early-modern times, such global celebrity emerged only in a few special cases in the Habsburg monarchy, such as the so-called "Jesuit

saints" (Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xaverius, Aloysius Gonzaga) and, more than any other, St. Joseph.[91] None of them ever ruled lands and kingdoms on earth. The cult of the Blessed Mary also expanded over the whole monarchy. Neither St. Leopold nor St. Wenceslas, or even less Ss. Stephen or Ladislas, could have reached this position, despite the efforts of Leopold I's advisers and thurifers, who aimed to elevate St. Leopold to the head of Austrian State mystic at the end of the seventeenth century.[92] This was true even after Ss. Wenceslas's and Stephen's worship had been prescribed to the entire Catholicity by popes, the former in 1670 and 1729, the latter in 1686. All have remained territorial patron saints.

Yet things began to change with Emperor Charles VI (1711–40). As a political act aimed at uniting his lands, he promoted the cult of a new saint of Czech descent, John Nepomucene, who was not a king but a vicar-general of the Prague archdiocese in medieval times. The canonization of Nepomucene made him into a martyr who had not betrayed the secret of the queen of Bohemia's confession. Charles VI dedicated the newly recovered Banat territory to him, even before his beatification (1722) and canonization (1729).[93] It is significant that it happened just after this emperor and king of Hungary and Bohemia had issued the so-called Pragmatic Sanction (1713), which postulated as "inseparable and indivisible" (*indivisibiliter et inseparabiliter*) all the lands ruled by Austrian Habsburgs. Nepomucene's worship then culminated as the only Habsburg monarchy state patron born inside this set of kingdoms, duchies, and other territories.[94] Thus, the only common protector of the whole Habsburg monarchy was a priest, not a king or a duke: He could adhere to the dividing line drawn between earthly sovereignty, reserved for the actual monarch, and heavenly sovereignty achieved through holiness. In Bohemia, Nepomucene was perceived rather as a local patron saint. Seventeenth-century Czech

[91]See Thomas Winkelbauer, *Ständefreiheit und Fürstenmacht. Länder und Untertanen des Hauses Habsburg im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Vienna, 2003), 2:194–223. Samerski, "Hausheilige statt Staatspatrone," pp. 262–71.

[92]Kovács, "Der heilige Leopold–Rex Perpetuus," p. 198.

[93]See the excellent passages that Louthan dedicates to Nepomucene in *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 279–300.

[94]See Helmut J. Mezler-Andelberg, "Bemerkungen zur Verehrung des heiligen Johannes von Nepomuk," in *Beiträge zur allgemeine Geschichte. Alexander Novotny zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres gewidmet* (Graz, 1975), pp. 31–41; Vít Vlnas, *Jan Nepomucký, Česká legenda* (John Nepomucene, a Czech Tale) (Prague, 1993); Louthan, *Converting Bohemia*, p. 298.

Jesuits and clerics initially promoted his veneration in his country. First among them was Bohuslav Balbín, who wrote a biography published in 1680 in the *Acta Sanctorum,* linking Nepomucene's glory and merits to those of Wenceslas.[95] Hence the two lines of patron saints, that of clerics as common protectors of Habsburg lands and that of the holy sovereigns, never split. Up to the present, Wenceslas and Stephen have served as cultural touchstones and played major roles in constructing Czech and Hungarian national identities.

[95]Ducreux, "Několik úvah," p. 157.

# THE NINETY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

## Report of the Committee on Program

The ninety-first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association was held in conjunction with the annual meetings of the American Historical Association and other affiliated societies at the Marriott Boston Copley Place Hotel from Thursday, January 6, to Sunday, January 9, 2011.

The program opened on Thursday afternoon with a session jointly sponsored with the AHA, "Women of Independent Means? The Construction of Spiritual Life Stories in Late Medieval and Early Modern European Society." Sarah Ross (Boston College) chaired the session, and the papers included "Joan of Arc: Neither Prophet nor Puppet" by Larissa Juliet Taylor (Colby College and 2011 ACHA president); "The Devil and the Saint: The Case of Teresa of Jesus" by Elizabeth Rhodes (Boston College); and "'In the End, God Helped Me Defeat Myself': The *Spiritual Life* of Camilla Battista da Varano" by William V. Hudon (Bloomsburg University). Jodi Bilinkoff (University of North Carolina at Greensboro) provided commentary. The Executive Council of the Association also met on Thursday afternoon.

A full day of sessions began on Friday morning. The first was "Roman Catholic Modernism and the Role of Leonce de Grandmaison," chaired by Janice Farnham (Boston College). Papers by Peter J. Bernardi, S.J. (Loyola University Chicago) on "A Courageous Manifesto: The French Jesuit Response to *Integrisme*" and by I. Michael Bellafiore, S.J. (University of Scranton) on "Reading the Signs of the Times: Leonce de Grandmaison's Anticipation of the Modernist Crisis" were complemented by a comment from Harvey Hill (Berry College, GA). Also that morning was a session presenting recent research on the history of Catholic missionaries and native peoples in China: "The Changing Tides of Twentieth-Century Shanghai Catholicism." Chaired by Angelyn Dries, O.S.F. (Saint Louis University), and with commentary by the audience, the papers were "French Jesuit Priests and Chinese Jesuit Brothers: Painting a Picture of Ministry at the Shanghai Tushanwan Orphanage" by Jeremy Clarke, S.J. (Boston College); "Culture Shock or Comfort from the Voyage: The First Glimpse of American Catholic Missionaries to Shanghai in the 1920s" by Robert E. Carbonneau, C.P. (Passionist Historical Archives); and "An Army Set in Battle Array: The 1951 Attack on the Shanghai Legion of Mary" by Paul Mariani, S.J. (Santa Clara University).

In the first session on Friday afternoon, "American Catholic History: The State of the Conversation," Steven M. Avella (Marquette University and 2010 ACHA president) introduced Leslie Woodcock Tentler (The Catholic University of America). Tentler reviewed trends in the historiography of American Catholicism over the last two decades, followed by a lively discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of recent scholarship as well as needs and opportunities for future study. At the same time, Beth Griech-Polelle (Bowling Green State University) presided at the session "German Catholics Negotiate National Socialism: Three Case Studies." Kevin Spicer, C.S.C. (Stonehill College, MA), delivered a paper, "Catholic Clergy and Jews under National Socialism," followed by a paper from Ulrike Ehret (University of Erlangen), "Negotiating 'Volksgemeinshaft': Roman Catholics and the National Socialist State," and a paper from Mark Edward Ruff (Saint Louis University), "Walter Adolph and the Commemoration of Catholic Martyrs of National Socialism." James Bernauer, S.J. (Boston College), provided commentary. The afternoon concluded with the annual business meeting of the Association, at which various reports were presented and discussed.

Two sessions were held on Saturday morning, the first of them a joint session with the American Historical Association. Carol Coburn (Avila University) presided at "Words and Deeds: New Perspectives on Catholic Laywomen in Twentieth-Century America." Monica Mercado (University of Chicago) began with "'What a Blessing It Is to Be Fond of Reading Good Books': Reading Circles and Catholic Women in Turn-of-the-Century America." Next, Jeanne Pettit (Hope College, MI) read her paper, "'Up against a Stone Wall': Gender, Power, and the National Catholic Community Houses," followed by Mary J. Henold (Roanoke College, VA) and her paper, "The Ladies in Hats Have Their Say: The National Council of Catholic Women, Vatican II, and the Women's Movement, 1962–1975." The commentary by Mel Piehl (Valparaiso University) was followed by an animated discussion. The second session of the morning was "Cultural Conflicts, Cultural Change: Catholic Higher Education in Twentieth-Century America," for which David O'Brien (University of Dayton) served as both chair and commentator. The papers included "Surviving a Hostile Time: Catholic Higher Education and the Second Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s" by William Trollinger (University of Dayton); "Advancing Christian Culture: Catholic Higher Education and the Engendering of Theology" by Sandra Yocum (University of Dayton); and "'A General Cultural Education Prior to Marriage': The Little-Known History of Catholic Junior Colleges" by Fernanda Perrone (Rutgers University).

The Presidential Luncheon convened at 11:30, with Taylor presiding. Approximately sixty-five members and guests attended. Cardinal Seán O'Malley, O.F.M. Cap., the archbishop of Boston, welcomed the members of the Association to Boston and offered the blessing. Several awards were presented (see the reports elsewhere in this issue on the recipients). Following

the luncheon, Avella delivered his presidential address, "American Catholicism in the Twentieth-Century American West: The Next Frontier."

The program continued with three sessions on Saturday afternoon. The first, jointly sponsored with the AHA, was titled "French Catholicism and the Crises of the Twentieth Century" and chaired by Brenna Moore (Fordham University). The papers were presented by Anita May (University of Oklahoma) on "Patriotism and Religion: French Priests in World War I," Sheila Nowinski (University of Notre Dame) on "The Catholic Family in Postwar Rural France: *L'Exposition de la Maison Rurale*, 1947–1950," and Arthur Plaza (New York University) on "Christian Democrats and Their Critics in the Catholic Public Sphere: The Politics of Faith and French Decolonization in the 1950s"; Andrew Orr (Sam Houston State University) provided commentary. A second session featured a roundtable panel chaired by Jeffrey Burns that considered the topic "The Franciscan Movement in the United States since 1840." The panelists included Margaret E. Guider (Boston College); Timothy Kulbicki, O.F.M. Conv. (Saint Mary's Seminary and University); Patrick McSherry, O.F.M. Cap. (Saint Joseph Province of the Capuchins Archives); Jack Clark Robinson, O.F.M. (Our Lady of Guadalupe Province); and William Wicks (past national president, S.F.O.). Joseph M. Chinnici, O.F.M. (Franciscan School of Theology), provided commentary. The final session, "Graduate Student Networking," was convened by James M. O'Toole (Boston College). A dozen graduate students working in Catholic history met for an informal discussion of their work and the issues involved in the study of Catholic history in different historical times and places; email addresses were exchanged to provide continuing contact after the meeting.

In a change from previous years, the annual Mass for the living and deceased members of the Association was held at 5 p.m. on Saturday afternoon, and attendance was higher than it had ever been. Cyprian Davis, O.S.B. (Saint Meinrad Archabbey, IN), served as the principal celebrant, assisted by Avella; Paul G. Robichaud, C.S.P. (Paulist History Office and ACHA executive secretary and treasurer); and Casey Beaumier, S.J. (Boston College). Following the Mass, a social hour was held for members of the Association.

Sunday sessions this year were particularly well attended and marked by lively discussion. In the first time slot, four sessions were held. First came a session sponsored jointly with the AHA, "Locating the Origins of the Second Vatican Council: Global Transformations, Spatial Shifts, and Refashioning the Sacred in Twentieth-Century Catholicism." Terence Fay, S.J. (University of St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto), chaired the session and presented a paper, "Decolonization of the Filipino Church." Other papers were presented by Timothy Kelly (Saint Vincent College, PA) on "The Dynamic 1950s: The American Laity before Vatican II," Trevor Kilgore (University of Michigan) on "In the Shadow of the Vatican: Producing and Defining the Spirit of Vatican II in a Florentine Parish, 1954–1969"), and Robert Proctor

(Mackintosh School of Architecture, Glasgow School of Art) on "Repositioning the Sacred: Roman Catholic Architecture in Britain and the Second Vatican Council." A second session considered "Twentieth-Century American Catholicism and the Social Question: Three Vignettes," chaired by Jeffrey Burns. Papers included the following: "Father Nelson Baker's Fight with the State of New York," by Richard Gribble, C.S.C. (Stonehill College); "'Get[ting] a Clean Victory'? The Nonviolent Spirituality of Dorothy Day and Cesar Chavez," by Anne Klejment (University of St. Thomas); and "In the Matter of Karen Ann Quinlan: Catholicism and the Ethics of Life and Death in the 1970s," by James P. McCartin (Seton Hall University). The third session, "Reimagining Christianity in the Early Middle Ages: Communities and Contexts," was chaired by Mary Frances Giandrea (American University). Sally Shockro (Boston College) gave her paper, "Afterlife and Underworld in Bede's Ecclesiastical History"; Austin Mason (Boston College) gave his paper, "Grave Goods, the Cult of the Saints, and Making Christian Burial Communities in Early Medieval England"; and William L. North (Carleton College) concluded with "Real Christians Can Wear Pants! Manners, Motivations, and the Loci of Christianization in the Ninth Century." The first morning session concluded with "Getting Published: An Introduction," a panel discussion designed principally for graduate students and younger scholars in the early stages of their careers. Chaired by Timothy Meagher (The Catholic University of America), the panel consisted of Christopher M. Bellitto (Kean University), Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America and editor of *The Catholic Historical Review*), and Elaine Maisner (editor, University of North Carolina Press).

Two sessions concluded the meeting in the second time slot of Sunday morning. The first was the session, sponsored jointly with the AHA, "Therese Neumann: Modern Stigmatic, International Cult-Figure, and Anti-Nazi Symbol," chaired by Spicer. Papers were presented by Paula Kane (University of Pittsburgh) on "Konnersreuth USA: American Catholics and the Cult of Therese Neumann," Ulrike Wiethaus (Wake Forest University) on "The Issue of Resistenz: Therese Neumann and Her Circle during the Era of National Socialism"), and Michael E. O'Sullivan (Marist College) on "Sacred, Secular, or Fraudulent: Competing Representations of the Therese Neumann Phenomenon in Germany"; Thomas Kselman (University of Notre Dame) provided commentary. Beaumier replaced Carrie Schultz (Boston College) as chair of the final session, "American Catholicism and Print Culture"; he also presented his paper, "The Making of 'Ours': Religious Life as Described in Jesuit Custom Books." The other papers were "Januarius de Concilio and the American Catechism: New Evidence Questioning the Authorship of the Baltimore Catechism" by Biff Rocha (Benedictine College, KS) and "Indiana's Catholic Print Culture and the Anti-Catholic Movements in the 1920s" by Joseph M. White (The Catholic University of America).

In sum, the annual meeting program was well attended and well received. Threats of snow did not materialize, allowing easy travel to and from the

meeting site. The spring meeting of the Association will be held jointly with the Canadian Catholic Historical Association in Toronto on April 15–16, 2011, and the next annual meeting of the Association will be held jointly with the American Historical Association in Chicago on January 5–8, 2012.

James M. O'Toole, *Chair*
Boston College

## Report of the Committee on Nominations

In this election, 228 ballots were cast as of October 22, 2010.

*For Vice-President (and President the following year)*:

| | |
|---|---|
| Thomas F. X. Noble, University of Notre Dame | 132 votes |
| Francis Christopher Oakley, Williams College | 93 votes |

*For the Executive Council (two positions with a three-year term for each: 2011, 2012, 2013)*:

| | |
|---|---|
| Anne M. Klejment, University of St. Thomas | 125 votes |
| R. Bentley Anderson, S.J., Fordham University | 109 votes |
| Una Mary Cadegan, University of Dayton | 106 votes |
| James P. McCartin, Seton Hall University | 84 votes |

*For the Committee on Nominations (one position, three-year term, 2011, 2012, 2013)*:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mark Edward Ruff, Saint Louis University | 148 votes |
| Richard Francis Crane, Greensboro College | 70 votes |

Kevin Spicer, C.S.C., *Chair*
Stonehill College

Emily O'Brien
Simon Fraser University

Kathleen Sprows Cummings
University of Notre Dame

## Report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize

The John Gilmary Shea Prize, which is presented to an author of a book on the history of the Catholic Church broadly considered, has been awarded to Neal Pease (professor and chair, Department of History, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee) for *Rome's Most Faithful Daughter: The Catholic Church and Independent Poland, 1914–1939* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009). In addition, the committee bestowed honorable mention on Howard Louthan (associate professor, Department of History, University of

Florida) for his book, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009). The prize is named in memory of John Gilmary Shea (1824–92), the famous historian of American Catholic history.

In *Rome's Most Faithful Daughter*, Pease has written an important study of the Catholic Church and independent Poland in the period between 1914 and 1939. From its renaissance at the end of World War I, Poland appeared to be a Catholic monolith, a state united around its central religious institution. Pease demonstrates that this was far from the truth and that the new Polish state frequently worked at cross-purposes to the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, just as that hierarchy was often working in opposition to policies being formulated by the Vatican. Achille Ratti, before he was elected pope in 1922 as Pius XI, served as papal nuncio in Warsaw, and was profoundly affected by his experiences there, such that, after he became pope, he was often a direct participant in resolving Polish conflicts. Pease convincingly demonstrates that Ratti's continuing influence in Poland was due in no small part to his friendship with the Polish strongman, Marshal Pilsudski, which had developed during his nunciature in Poland.

Pease makes an extensive and impressive use of available sources. Not only has he consulted the archives of state and church in Poland for the interwar years, but he has also made use of recently opened materials in the Vatican Archives dealing with the pontificate of Pius XI. This is one of the first studies to incorporate these new Vatican materials with other archival sources. The book is engagingly written, and the author's judgments are almost invariably balanced, subtle, and convincing.

The importance of this study is that it provides a context and a basis for understanding the subsequent role of the Polish Church in the history of the twentieth century, from its resurrection after World War II and its ability to withstand the controls of a communist regime to its role in the downfall of communism under the leadership of John Paul II, the first Polish pope.

Louthan's *Converting Bohemia* takes on an important but little-studied aspect of the Catholic Reformation—the recatholicization of Bohemia under the Habsburgs in the seventeenth century. Louthan demonstrates persuasively that the Catholic revival in Bohemia was not due solely to the coercive tactics of the Habsburg Emperors but also to an effective process of evangelization initiated by the Catholic Church. Thus persuasion through pilgrimage, devotions such as the Infant of Prague, preaching campaigns, visual culture, and the establishment of saints' cults won the day securing Catholic confessional identity in territory where it seemed it had been ineluctably lost to Protestantism. Engagingly written and thoroughly versed in archival sources and Czech scholarship, Louthan uses material culture skillfully along

with traditional textual sources to make an important argument about the Catholic Reformation in early-modern Bohemia.

PETER C. KENT, *Chair*
University of New Brunswick

KATHERINE L. JANSEN
The Catholic University of America

THOMAS J. SHELLEY
Fordham University

## Report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize

The Association's 2009 Howard R. Marraro Prize for a work on Italian history or Italo-American history has been awarded to Sharon T. Strocchia (professor of history, Emory University) for *Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009). This elegant and deeply learned book offers the first comprehensive analysis of Florentine convents in the period when they were growing rapidly in number, population, and social and religious impact. Drawing from a wide range of archival sources, Strocchia shows how the influx of many well-educated patrician women in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries turned convents into significant cultural patrons, critical engines of economic development, and major players in the period's turbulent politics.

PAULA FINDLEN, *Chair*
Stanford University

MARLA STONE
Occidental College

NICHOLAS TERPSTRA
University of Toronto

## Report of the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award

The committee is delighted to present the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award to Kate E. Bush (graduate student, Department of History, The Catholic University of America) for "Sorelle mie: The Sermons of Caterina Vigri and Franciscan Observant Reform." Caterina Vigri (St. Catherine of Bologna, 1413–63) was a Clarissan nun and abbess who founded the reformed Clarissan Observant convent of Corpus Domini in Bologna in 1456. The Observants' call for strict adherence to Franciscan ideals is best known through the public careers of preachers such as Bernardino of Siena or John of Capistrano, but scholars have begun recently to examine figures such as

Vigri to understand what the reform meant for the cloistered women of the Second Order. In assessing the institutional and pastoral cares revealed in the sermons and the convent's documentary record, Bush argues that Vigri "combined her extensive knowledge of theology with her vibrant storytelling abilities . . . to give her sisters the spiritual discipline needed to participate in institutional renewal." The project is original and well situated in a burgeoning field, shedding light on the interactions of religious women within the cloister and their participation in the reforms of the later medieval period.

RICHARD F. GYUG, *Chair*
Fordham University

ANNE KLEJMENT
University of St. Thomas

LEZLIE KNOX
Marquette University

## The Peter Guilday Prize

The Peter Guilday Prize has been awarded to Seth Meehan (graduate student, History Department, Boston College) for his article, "From Patriotism to Pluralism: How Catholics Initiated the Repeal of the Birth Control Restrictions in Massachusetts," that appeared in the July 2010 issue of *The Catholic Historical Review* (vol. 96, no. 3). This well-written study compares the stances taken by Cardinal Richard Cushing in the 1948 Massachusetts state referendum debate, during which he advocated restrictions on birth control, and the 1965 state legislative hearings, during which he supported the repeal of these restrictions. By extensive research in the archives of Planned Parenthood and the Archdiocese of Boston, in the pages of the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Pilot*, and through interviews with leading participants, Meehan identified the key protagonists in the shift. Chief among them were two practicing Catholic doctors: John Rock, who developed the birth control pill that he considered morally acceptable to the Church; and Joseph Dorsey, whose October 1964 article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* reached across ideological lines and proposed a way to repeal the legislation. The latter carried the endorsement of Monsignor Francis Lally, chancellor of the archdiocese. Of equal importance was the Jesuit theologian John Courtney Murray, who functioned as a private adviser to Cardinal Cushing, helped to draft the cardinal's 1965 testimony before the Massachusetts House legislative panel, and influenced the cardinal's 1965 pastoral letter. On the basis of the upcoming *Declaration on Religious Freedom* of the Second Vatican Council, the cardinal argued against legislating private morality in a pluralistic society. Meehan has produced an extensively researched, carefully crafted, and elegantly written study that is sensitive to the theological concerns of its protagonists.

NELSON H. MINNICH, *Editor*
*The Catholic Historical Review*

## 2010 ACHA Excellence in Teaching Award

This award is presented 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. Through this award, the ACHA affirms the work of creative and effective teaching in promoting Catholic history as an attractive career field for younger scholars.

The 2010 award has been presented to Kenneth Pennington (Kelly-Quinn Professor of Ecclesiastical History and professor of law, 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 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.

## 2010 ACHA Lifetime Distinguished Scholarship Award

The recipient of the 2010 ACHA Lifetime Distinguished Scholarship Award is Frank J. Coppa (St. John's University). The recently retired Coppa has emerged as a highly respected historian of the modern papacy. His biographies of Blessed Pius IX and Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli were the first to take advantage of the then recently opened papers of Pio Nono's long pontificate. He has also written extensively on some of the more controversial aspects of the modern papacy, including *The Papacy, The Jews and The Holocaust* (Washington, DC, 2006). He is at work on a history of the diplomacy of Pope Pius XII, which will be a major contribution to a very lively public debate over the Pacelli years in Rome.

## 2010 ACHA Service to Catholic Studies Award

The Service to Catholic Studies award acknowledges the exceptional contributions of those who promote the study and research of the history of Catholicism apart from teaching and publication. The Leadership Conference of Women Religious received the ACHA's first Service to Catholic Studies Award for its sponsorship of the "Women and Spirit" exhibition currently traveling around the United States. The exhibition describes how Catholic sisters helped shape the history and culture of the United States.

"Women and Spirit," in the words of Sister Karen Kennelly, "celebrates the contributions of women religious to American life." In so doing, the LCWR has substantially advanced the hopes of U.S. Catholic historians who have

attempted to fold the American Catholic story into the larger narrative of American history. Relying on advice from scholars such as Carol Coburn and Sister Kennelly, as well as the many gifts of the LCWR committee that planned and advanced this project, this significant display has skillfully intersected the work of women religious with some of the major developments and figures of American life. Eighty-five religious and secular entities helped to underwrite this project, which has been displayed in Cincinnati and at the Smithsonian; it is currently on display at Ellis Island. The exhibition is scheduled to visit every region of the United States and will conclude its tour at the California Museum of History in Sacramento.

## 2010 ACHA Presidential Graduate Fellowships

In 2010 the Executive Council approved the creation of a fund to assist graduate students who wish to travel to ACHA annual or spring meetings to present papers. Eligible graduate students must be members of the Association, 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 each year. Generous donations from several former presidents and a $2000 grant from the Association have provided initial funding for the fellowships. The first honorees were:

- Monica Mercado (University of Chicago), who presented 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 2011 ACHA meeting in Boston. This paper was drawn from the final chapters of her dissertation, "Women and the Word: Gender, Print, and Catholic Identity in Nineteenth-Century America."
- Sheila Nowinski (University of Notre Dame), who presented the paper "The Catholic Family in Postwar Rural France: L'exposition de la Maison Rurale, 1947–1950" at the 2011 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 Thomas Kselman.

## Report of the President

It has been an honor to serve as president for this year. The position has been traditionally regarded as an honorary post, with the president appointing members to committee posts and delivering the presidential address at the annual meeting. However, revisions to the ACHA Bylaws have created a wider scope of activity for the president.

*President/Vice President "team."* I was privileged to work with 2009 ACHA President William Chester Jordan (Princeton University) during my term as

vice president. We communicated regularly and with the executive secretary and met in Washington, DC, in late October 2009 for important financial discussions and planning for the annual meeting. I brought this same spirit of cooperation and decision making to my relationship with Larissa Juliet Taylor, the 2011 ACHA president. We communicated regularly by email and phone as well as had a two-day meeting in Milwaukee. She is a remarkable scholar and teacher as well as deeply committed to creating a strong future for the Association.

*New membership.* I worked hard to invite and welcome young scholars to the ACHA. With the help of the Membership Committee (Charles Strauss, University of Notre Dame; Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., Saint Louis University; and Leigh Ann Craig, Virginia Commonwealth University), a list of approximately 300 potential new members was compiled. I wrote to every name on the list (usually via email), and about forty new members applied as a result.

Both the ACHA's fiscal condition and scholarly health require that the ACHA seek new members. The payment of dues will help the ACHA financially, but even more important, an infusion of new scholarly insights, together with structured opportunities for younger scholars to meet and interact with experts in the field, will ensure a continuation of the intellectual vitality that has characterized the ACHA over the years. New presidents should devote considerable effort to attracting new members through personal invitation and efforts to plan solid (and affordable) meetings where younger scholars can see Association members at their best. Likewise, the excellent *CHR* continues to provide a print and online venue for significant contributions to Catholic history. The Association has a strong reputation for scholarship and excellence that should make it attractive to new members.

*The Presidential Graduate Fellowships.* I proposed the Presidential Graduate Fellowships last year, which the Executive Council accepted. The ACHA now presents two $500 grants to two graduate students who have papers accepted for the ACHA annual and spring meetings (see the reports elsewhere in this issue on the first recipients). I have asked the organizers of the 2012 Toronto spring meeting and the Chicago annual meeting to publicize this scholarship to eligible participants. Application details are available under "Awards" on the ACHA Web site (http://www.achahistory.org).

*The Honorary Awards.* Awards for Lifetime Scholarship as well as Excellence in Teaching and Service to Catholic Studies were conferred for the first time by the ACHA at the Boston meeting (see the reports elsewhere in this issue for the first recipients). A citation is read at the Presidential Luncheon, and each recipient is presented with a plaque. The winners and their guests are provided with a complimentary meal at the luncheon.

*Fund-Raising.* To help launch the Presidential Graduate Fellowships I solicited more than $4000 from former ACHA presidents. The Association has

promised to contribute $2000 each year for three years to maintain this fund, and future presidents may wish to solicit for this fund. In view of the serious financial difficulties of the ACHA, I also undertook a fund-raising campaign among select members of the American Catholic hierarchy. This campaign was modestly successful, raising about $6000. Two of the gifts were of $1000—one from a Midwestern diocese and another from a retired cardinal. These funds are to be allocated in the following manner: one-third devoted to the support of *The Catholic Historical Review* (*CHR*), one-third to the Presidential Graduate Fellowship Fund, and one-third to the honorary awards.

*Annual Meeting.* James O'Toole (Boston College) prepared and arranged our Boston meeting; see the Report of the Committee on Program for details. I am grateful to O'Toole; Casey Beaumier, S.J.; Cyprian Davis, O.S.B.; and the graduate students of Boston College for their contributions to the meeting. Ellen Skerrett (Chicago, IL) and Malachy R. McCarthy (Claretian Missionaries Archives, Chicago) have agreed to plan the 2012 Chicago meeting (see Notes and Comments in this issue for the Call for Papers for the meeting).

*Spring Meetings.* The ACHA annual spring meetings have become a mainstay for the intellectual vitality of the Association. When arrangements fell through with the original host institution for the spring 2010 meeting, 2009 ACHA President Jordan stepped in. His efforts resulted in a meeting at Princeton University's marvelous conference center, generous underwriting of the event, and a profit of $1200. Despite torrential rains and even floods, the spring meeting hosted approximately sixty participants, including young scholars, who presented interesting papers (some of this scholarship has been placed on the ACHA Web site). Networking sessions that provide opportunities for outreach to young scholars—the result of efforts by Angelyn Dries, Joseph Chinnici, and Charles Strauss—have become a regular part of these ACHA meetings.

The next ACHA spring meeting will be in Toronto, held jointly with the Canadian Catholic Historical Association. The tentative program for "Catholics across Boundaries: Local or International Church, Missions, Wars, Immigration Issues, Fighting Communism" is posted on the ACHA Web site. The Executive Council has formally accepted proposals from Tulane University and Stonehill College, MA, for the 2012 meeting and the 2013 meeting respectively.

To ensure a satisfactory planning process, the incoming ACHA president and vice president should work diligently to secure venues for the ACHA spring meetings in 2014 and 2015. The formal process of institutional request should be followed—that is, a formal request from the potential host institution with a response by the Executive Council. The executive secretary should maintain regular contact with the host institution to ensure a successful meeting. As a tool for current and prospective host institutions for ACHA meetings, the various steps necessary to plan and execute a successful

spring meeting should be posted on the ACHA Web site, and the current planners should be provided with the contact information of previous organizers who can offer valuable advice. The financial responsibilities of hosting the meeting must be made clear to potential host institutions as well as the obligation to publicize the ACHA Presidential Graduate Fellowship and the necessity to serve as a resource for future meeting planners.

*The ACHA Web site.* The ACHA's new, interactive Web site went online in early March 2010. I hope all can agree that it is a visually beautiful and relatively easy site to navigate. The Web site eventually will be the ACHA's primary medium for communication, providing easy registration for ACHA meetings and offering an opportunity for members to share their scholarly projects and ideas as well as links to other sites of interest to Catholic historians. Andy Metzger (Symmetrical Designs) serves as the site's webmaster. Web site traffic has been healthy. As the Association has poured considerable resources into building and maintaining the Web site, it requires more guidance and structure to provide essential services to members and advance the work of the Association. If the site is left unattended, people will simply never visit it.

Vice-President Taylor and I spent much time this year recruiting articles, synopses of papers, and other such materials for the Web site. Richard Gribble, C.S.C. (Stonehill College, MA), gathered syllabi, which are now available on the site. But more material is needed: links to other sites of interest to Catholic historians, notices of conferences and similar events, awards given to members, and so forth. Although the Bylaws call for the creation of a permanent Electronic Media Committee, this has not been done. Thus, the executive secretary needs to seek out and appoint members to this committee. This committee needs to take practical control of the Web site's content, refreshing it at least monthly and removing older material. The committee, working in conjunction with the webmaster, will suggest improvements for the site and actively seek articles and information that will be of interest to those in Catholic studies.

*The Ad Hoc Committee for the Structure of the ACHA Office.* For years, Monsignor Robert Trisco ably served the Association. The ACHA paid no salary to Trisco, only supporting a small office staff that also worked for the *CHR*. With Paul Robichaud, C.S.P., replacing Trisco as executive secretary/treasurer, the situation changed. The ACHA must pay Robichaud a stipend, which means a new expense for the Association. While he retains a niche and mailing address at the ACHA offices in CUA's Mullen Library, he has effectively moved his working space to Office of Paulist History at St. Paul College, also his personal residence. In addition, The Catholic University of America no longer hosts the ACHA Web site, which means that the ACHA must pay for maintaining the site. The current financing of the office staff has created some financial stresses as well. The time allotted for the position, some 8 hours per week and additional time during certain periods such as meetings and elections of

officers, proved to be inadequate for the tasks required. To help the ACHA address this matter, I asked Margaret McGuinness (La Salle University) and Christine Athans, B.V.M. (emerita, St. Paul University) to form an ad hoc committee to report on the current organizational set-up. They have asked Rodger van Allen (Villanova University) and Karen Kennelly, C.S.J. (St. Paul, MN) to assist. The committee's recommendations will be presented for discussion and action. Robichaud's three-year commitment to his ACHA position expires in January 2012. Clear, contractual language is needed to formalize the relationship between the ACHA and the staff.

*Finances.* The mandated Finance Committee of the Association has been established, chaired by Adam Dawkins (Development Office of the Paulist Fathers). Members include Robichaud (*ex officio*) and two CUA faculty members, Reza Saidi and Jamshed Uppal. The committee met during 2010 to discuss the ACHA's financial condition. I strongly urged the committee members to develop practical suggestions for improving the ACHA's financial picture, particularly about the amount paid to operate the office, and provided the policies of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops on financial transparency. This committee should meet more regularly and provide monthly financial reports to the president and vice-president. A handbook of policies is needed to ensure the complete transparency of the ACHA's financial procedures. To reflect recognized practices for sound fiscal management of nonprofit associations, two signatures should be required for every ACHA check or financial transfer as well as explicit written approval from the president and vice president for expenditures exceeding $500.

Ongoing financial challenges have confronted the Association due to the downturn of the economy. Thanks to the generosity of The Catholic University of America and Trisco, the true costs of running the Association (that is, accounting for the indirect subsidies of the university) have not been evident for many years. But unless the ACHA can arrange a similar cost-sharing arrangement with CUA or another academic institution, the Association will need additional revenue to operate. Raising dues is one option. But during these times of economic duress, salary freezes, and reductions in academic budgets, such a step is not always advisable, given that the ACHA might lose more than it gained. The treasurer should investigate the potential impact of raising dues on membership. Additional revenue also can be garnered from a better investment strategy—something that knowledgeable individuals who have studied the ACHA investments have often suggested. Fund appeals can and should take place, and a more aggressive pursuit of funds for the Association should be coordinated between the treasurer and the president.

The ACHA has run deficits for many years, which may have been partially absorbed by returns on investments. But without these returns, the ACHA has been forced to liquidate some stock—an undesirable solution for the long-

term health of the Association. The ACHA faces rising expenses for the *CHR* and the maintenance of the Web site, a just compensation for the ACHA administrative offices, and some rethinking about expenditures for office services. Some belt-tightening needs to be done. The expenses for office staff seem to be an area where some pruning can be done without hindering the office's efficiency. The increasing costs of producing the *CHR* should be negotiated with the new director of The Catholic University of America Press. However, it should be noted that, as the CUA Press owns *CHR*, the Association only has limited input into its decisions.

*The Culture of the ACHA.* The Association has been a strong and vibrant professional society for more than ninety years. The ACHA's reputation for scholarly excellence, the superb *CHR,* and the cavalcade of magnificent scholars that have served as ACHA officers have garnered for the ACHA a secure niche for the scholarly study of the Catholic Church. As historians, ACHA members do not need to be reminded of the debt of gratitude owed for what has preceded them. Yet members are subject to the same forces of change as those described in their books, articles, and conference papers. The Association has made significant strides in the past few years and needs to move forward. The ACHA has significantly revised its Bylaws, and new awards, graduate student fellowships, and Web site represent efforts to maintain the momentum. There does exist, however, what the political commentators call an "enthusiasm gap" and a misperception as to what ACHA provides to members and the wider community of Catholic scholars and teachers. Many of these misperceptions can be overcome with better and more frequent communication. But we need to do more—and to project an image of vitality and awareness of the world around us. I offer these suggestions for the future:

- The ACHA president should be someone who will be an active leader as well as a respected senior scholar. Serving as a catalyst for membership growth and fund-raising, as a representative of the Association to a wider audience, and as a recruiter of capable individuals for Association-related tasks are vital roles for this individual. Organizational details can usually be left to the executive secretary/treasurer, but it falls to the president to set the tone and pace of the ACHA's activities.
- Further efforts must be made to help graduate students and younger scholars attend ACHA meetings and feel a part of the Association. Fund-raising is needed to make more money available so they can attend professional events. A graduate student representative should be added to the Executive Council.
- ACHA members should try to be of greater service to the Catholic Church. The skills and expertise of ACHA members as historians can be effectively deployed in the service of the USCCB as it is on the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences. ACHA meetings also can provide sessions that deal with the historical background of key church issues of the day. Likewise, a number of ACHA members can be of help to the news media in sorting out

issues that travel on the roller coaster of the 24-hour news cycle. Some historians rightly balk at this role, but members of the Association have provided helpful perspectives on contemporary events.

- The *CHR* is still the primary venue for the scholarly talents of ACHA members and others who have contributed to Catholic studies. The Association does not own the *CHR,* but it has an active stake in its success. I commend the work of editor Nelson H. Minnich and the staff for the high quality of the articles and book reviews. I also commend the editor's efforts to help underwrite the considerable expense of the *CHR*. A channel should be opened to the incoming director of The Catholic University of America Press (the publisher of the *CHR*) to discuss its progress and ways the ACHA and the press can work together to strengthen and improve the journal. The *CHR* leadership should begin to make provisions for the next generation of editors (general and book review) that will take over in the next few years. CUA Press and the *CHR* editor should find associates who can observe the functioning of the *CHR* and eventually assume responsibility for its production.

I am grateful for the privilege of serving the Association this year.

STEVEN M. AVELLA
Marquette University

## Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

At present the Association has 802 active members, of whom 556 are ordinary members, 115 are retired members, 84 are student members, and 47 are lifetime members. These figures represent a substantial increase over the past few months, especially in the number of student members, which increased from fifty-nine to eighty-four. This is no doubt due to the outreach efforts of 2010 ACHA President Avella and the Membership Committee. There are seventy-six lapsed members, who may be tardy in paying their dues.

The following members of the association have died:

- Canon Roger Aubert, Catholic University of Louvain, member since 1985
- George T. Dennis, S.J., The Catholic University of America, member since 1960
- Grace Donovan, S.U.S.C., member since 1981
- Robert McCune Kingdon, University of Wisconsin–Madison, member since 1984
- John W. Witek, S.J., Georgetown University, member of the American Catholic Historical Association since 1974 and ACHA second vice-president in 2001

May their souls and the souls of all the faithful departed members of the Association through the mercy of God rest in peace.

*Web Site.* The new, interactive Web site for ACHA (http://www.achahistory.org) was launched in March 2010. The site provides a number of new possibilities, including the establishment of an online network of scholars, researchers, teachers, and mentors; the ability to register online for ACHA meetings; and the possibility for increased flexibility in posting news items as well as gathering and maintaining membership data. Members can now receive renewal notices via email, largely replacing the more lengthy and costly process of sending renewal notices via postal mail.

The ACHA has retained the site's Web designer, Andy Metzger, to provide service and host support for $750 per month, especially in establishing an online payment system. Members now can pay dues and meeting registration fees as well as make a donation to the Association through the Web site. Of the $32,000 received as income this past year, one-quarter came from the online payment system. This number should only increase. The transition from the former Web site hosted by CUA to an interactive site with tech support has made a tremendous difference. The Association has just begun to discover the possibilities for using the site to connect members and provide member services, from sending an annual meeting program via email to requesting financial support from members that can translate into cost savings to the ACHA. The Association pays about $1000 each time a substantial mailing is prepared that is sent out via postal mail to the entire membership.

The Web site continues to develop. Two sections of the Web site have drawn little usage: the blogs and the discussion forums. Thus, both of these features have been disabled but could be reactivated should interest develop. The Web site should continue to evolve on the basis of usage after the Electronic Media Committee is established, which will occur shortly. The new budget for 2011 also provides for new software to establish an online directory of members and to design a system for holding officer elections on the Web site.

*Fund-Raising.* Three separate 2010 campaigns raised $14,000. 2010 ACHA President Avella established the Presidential Graduate Fellowship of $500 each for two graduate students participating in an ACHA meeting. About $4000 was donated by former presidents of the Association for the fellowship. The ACHA Executive Council has committed to providing from its general budget an additional $2000 a year for three years to this fellowship. In addition, a second campaign from members of the church hierarchy raised about $6000. In November/December 2010 an additional $5000 was raised via an "end-of-year gift" campaign.

This year, the ACHA Finance Committee discussed the question of attempting a major capital campaign with committee chair Adam Dawkins, who is a professional development director. After some evaluation of the ACHA membership, Dawkins was uncertain whether such a campaign would be feasible.

This discussion will be continued during 2011, which also will examine the question of soliciting bequests from members—the principal source of much of the ACHA's present endowment.

*The Present Endowment.* The present endowment of the Association stands at $977,278. The assets are divided as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Deutsche Bank portfolio | 814,108.00 |
| Vanguard portfolio (2) | 106,739.06 |
| T. Rowe Price portfolio | 56,430.99 |
| Total: | 977,278.05 |

Last year at this time ACHA assets totaled $940,907.52, so some recovery has occurred from the recession. The investment returns, together with the modest fund-raising, have resulted in a better financial picture for the Association than the one of one year ago. Some of these mutual funds are restricted, which amounts to about $124,000 primarily within the Vanguard and T. Rowe Price accounts as well as the PIMCO account at Deutsche Bank and a new PNC money market account that holds some of the money garnered through fund-raising.

*Restricted Funds.* The following are details on restricted funds as of December 31, 2010:

| | |
|---|---|
| Howard R. Marraro Prize (T Rowe Price GNMA): | |
| Balance 12/31/2010: | 18,124.00 |
| Anne Wolf Fund (T Rowe Price GNMA): | |
| Balance 12/31/2010: | 5,832.00 |
| *The Catholic Historical Review* Fund: | |
| Balance 12/31/2010: | 2,000.00 |
| Endowment Fund (Vanguard GNMA): | |
| Balance 12/31/2010: | 4,642.00 |
| John Tracy Ellis Fund (Vanguard GNMA): | |
| Balance 12/31/2010: | 23,783.00 |
| Harry C. Koenig Fund (PIMCO GNMA): | |
| Balance 12/31/2010: | 60,575.00 |
| John Whitney Evans Fund for the John Gilmary Shea Prize (PIMCO GNMA): | |
| Balance 12/31/20010: | 9,250.00 |
| Total Restricted Net Assets: | 124,206.00 |

## Financial Statement

The ACHA budget breaks down into multiple categories: stipends (salaries), office expenses, meeting expenses, *The Catholic Historical Review*, awards, Web site updates, accounting, and miscellaneous items.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Income: 2010 (YTD as of December 15)* | | |
| Membership Fees | 31,517.00 | |
| Fund-Raising | 14,000.00 | |
| Endowment Income | 15,000.00 | |
| Awards Endowment | 3,200.00 | |
| Meetings: | | |
| Annual Meeting | 1,870.00 | |
| Spring Meeting | 1,236.00 | |
| Total Income | | 66,823.00 |
| *Expenses:* | | |
| Salaries | | |
| Secretary/Treasurer | 12,000.00 | |
| Sec/Treasurer Travel | 2,150.00 | |
| Admin Asst Half Salary | 19,500.00 | |
| Webmaster | 7,500.00 | |
| Total Salaries | 41,150.00 | |
| Meeting Expenses: | | |
| January ACHA/AHA | 5,288.98 | |
| Spring ACHA | 0 | |
| Awards: | | |
| John Gilmary Shea Prize | 750.00 | |
| Peter Guilday Prize | 100.00 | |
| John Tracy Ellis Prize | 1,200.00 | |
| Howard R. Marraro Prize | 750.00 | |
| Total Awards | 2,800.00 | |
| Web Site Construction: | 8,939.84 | |
| *The Catholic Historical Review*: | | |
| Jan/April/July/October (9,500 ea.) | 38,000.00 | |
| Office Expenses: | | |
| Office Repair | 1,200.00[1] | |
| Printing | 2,872.48 | |
| Postage | 1,200.00 | |
| Supplies | 300.00 | |

[1]Office repair was a one-time payment of $1200 to preserve the photo collection of ACHA presidents that was badly damaged by water leakage in the ACHA office in CUA's Mullen Library. This amount was not in the 2010 ACHA Budget.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Other: | | |
| Certified Public Acct | 2,373.00 | |
| C.I.H.E.C. | 40.00 | |
| Total Expenses | 104,165.07 | |
| *Totals* | | |
| 2010 Total Expenses: | | 104,165.07 |
| 2010 Total Income: | | 66,823.00 |
| Deficit: | | 37,342.07 |

*Deficit*. Some ACHA members may not realize that for more than a decade, the Association has run an annual deficit. In 1998 the deficit reached $21,000 and in 2004, $23,000. In years past the growth of the endowment more than covered the deficit. Today, this is no longer the case, and the deficit has grown to more than $30,000. The ACHA's greatest single expense is its payments to CUA Press, which owns *The Catholic Historical Review* (the journal is provided as a benefit of ACHA membership). The ACHA's principal source of income is membership dues, which brings in more than $30,000 per year.

Sadly, little is left to run the Association, as membership dues often come close to matching the cost of the journal. With each deficit, a small amount of ACHA stock holdings must be liquidated. The Association's long-term goal is to increase its endowment so that dividends meet its operational expenses and the principal remains intact. The endowment needs to be increased, which can only be done with member assistance. Although the deficit should decrease in 2011 as the costs for building the new ACHA Web site have been paid, the proposed budget still contains an operational deficit of more than $20,000.

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

## Editor's Report

Volume XCVI (2010) of *The Catholic Historical Review* came to 960 pages. It included twelve articles, one review article, two miscellanies, and 313 book reviews, of which nine were brief notices. The editor is grateful to those who generously contributed to the fund for adding extra pages.

The twelve articles were distributed as follows: zero ancient, two medieval, three early-modern, one late-modern, three American, one American/Canadian, one Near Eastern, and one African. Of the authors of the twelve articles, three came from outside the United States (Canada, France, and Israel). Subsidies allowed the authors in four cases to exceed the page limit.

The book reviews were distributed among the following areas: general and miscellaneous (twenty-seven), ancient (twenty), medieval (seventy-four),

early-modern (ninety-three), late-modern (fifty-two), American (thirty), Latin American (thirteen), Canadian (one), Far Eastern/Australian (two), and African (one). The authors of book reviews came from various countries: the United States of America (203 or 65 percent), the United Kingdom (forty-nine or 16 percent), and Canada (eighteen or 6 percent), with the remaining 13 percent from Germany and Italy (nine each); France and the Netherlands (four); Australia and Austria (three); Belgium and Ireland (two); and one each from Chile, China, the Czech Republic, Israel, Malta, Peru, and Spain. The review essay was by an author from a Canadian institution.

As the tables below reveal, the editor dealt with seventy-three articles. Of the forty-three on hand from the previous years, eleven were published in 2010, twelve were accepted for publication, none was conditionally accepted, three await a response from the authors, twelve were treated as abandoned, four were rejected, and one was withdrawn. Of the thirty-one articles received in 2010, one was published, four were accepted, one was conditionally accepted, eleven are pending evaluations or responses, twelve were rejected, and two were withdrawn.

The editorial staff of *The Catholic Historical Review* continues to function smoothly due to the devoted services of its staff. Monsignor Robert Trisco graciously and wisely handles the book reviews and associated correspondence as well as takes responsibility for the Periodical Literature and Other Books Received sections, advises the editor on manuscript evaluations, and helps in countless other ways. Elizabeth Foxwell serves as the dedicated staff editor and has capably assumed many of the copyediting tasks and the indexing of the volume. With her expert assistance the journal has been published on time. Daniel Frascella serves as the industrious book review assistant and provided an elegant translation of the essay by Jean Delumeau. Rita Bogley cheerfully assists the editor in many tasks. For all of this expert assistance the editor is deeply grateful.

The editor also is grateful to advisory editors Liam M. Brockey (Michigan State University), Simon Ditchfield (University of York), Thomas Kselman (University of Notre Dame), Maureen C. Miller (University of California, Berkeley), and Joseph M. White (The Catholic University of America) for their sage advice, helpful suggestions, and willingness to contribute in various ways to the smooth functioning of the journal.

With the July issue the journal inaugurated the series Journeys in Church History. For many years, I often have been saddened after reading the journal's obituary notices, realizing that the historian memorialized did not have a chance to share his or her perspective on his or her life and career. In 2007 I jumped at the chance to publish "My Life of Learning," an essay by John W. O'Malley, S.J. (Georgetown University), and found that it was well received by readers. With the help of the associate and advisory editors, a set of criteria

and a list of authors for potential future essays were developed. Jean Delumeau (Collège de France) graciously agreed to provide the inaugural essay, and another has been commissioned.

In September David McGonagle retired as director of The Catholic University of America Press. The journal owes a great debt of gratitude to him for his steady support of the journal over many years and for his wise counsel. Last year he increased the number of pages allotted to each issue. Previously that number was set at 160 pages, with the possibility of adding pages if there were sufficient contributions given toward the support of the journal and author subsidies. To eliminate the uncertainty of determining the amount of money available to expand each issue, McGonagle set the new page limit at 224 with the possibility of exceeding that number should an author provide a subsidy for exceeding the page limit for articles. Henceforth, contributions will be allocated to covering the cost of the Association's Web site.

NELSON H. MINNICH
*Editor*

TABLE 1. Manuscripts Submitted before 2010

| Area | Accepted | Abandoned | Rejected or Withdrawn (W) | Awaiting Author Response | Published in 2010 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ancient | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Medieval | 3 | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 9 |
| Early Modern | 4 | 2 | 1 | | 3 | 10 |
| Late Modern | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| American | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 3 | 7 |
| Latin American | | 1 | | | | 1 |
| Canadian | | | 1-W | | 1 | 2 |
| Near Eastern | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| African | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 12 | 4 R; 1 W | 3 | 11 | 43 |

TABLE 2. Manuscripts Submitted in 2010.

| Area | Accepted | Conditionally Accepted | Rejected or Withdrawn (W) | Pending | Published in 2010 | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ancient | | | 2 | | | 2 |
| Medieval | 1 | | 1 | 4 | 1 | 7 |
| Early Modern | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| Late Modern | 1 | | 2<br>1-W | 3 | | 7 |
| American | 1 | 1 | 5<br>1-W | 3 | | 11 |
| Latin American | 1 | | 1 | | | 2 |
| TOTAL | 4 | 1 | 12 R; 2 W | 11 | 1 | 31 |

TABLE 3. Book Reviews Published in 2010.

| Area | January | April | July | October | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General | 3 | 7 | 6 | 11 | 27 |
| Ancient | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 20 |
| Medieval | 18 | 16 | 13 | 27 | 74 |
| Early Modern | 21 | 14 | 41 | 17 | 93 |
| Late Modern | 14 | 12 | 8 | 18 | 52 |
| American | 10 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 30 |
| Latin American | 4 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 13 |
| Canadian | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Far Eastern/Australian | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| African | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 75 | 70 | 83 | 85 | 313 |
| Brief Notices | (3) | (4) | | (2) | (9) |

# BOOK REVIEWS

## General and Miscellaneous

*A Very Brief History of Eternity.* By Carlos Eire. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 268. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-691-13357-7.)

A history of the concept of eternity in Western thought is a brilliantly original idea, and Carlos Eire makes complex ideas easily accessible. Eire is deeply learned in history, philosophy, theology, literature, language, and popular culture. His underlying assertion, against the fad of current academic materialism, is that ideas have consequences: Beliefs and social conditions affect one another. His thesis is that ideas of eternity have had an enormous effect on people's behavior and on culture. His focus is on "eternity as it pertains to human existence, not eternity as abstractly conceived" (p. 17): on what he calls "lived religion" (p. 21). He discusses concepts of time, infinity, immortality, eternal life, afterlife, transcendence, eternal return, eschatology, heaven and hell, and the entropic fate of the material universe.

The author divides the book into four chronological sections, preceded by an important introduction and followed by an appendix with an analysis of important ideas. The four sections are the Jewish and Greek origins of the idea and their synthesis in early Christianity; the Middle Ages; the Reformation and rise of science; and the Enlightenment, modernism, and postmodernism. The organization works well, although it might have been better to divide the last section into modernism and postmodernism.

The first section shows how the Jewish eternal creating God and the Greek eternal first principle were melded in New Testament and patristic thought. A quibble is that Eire misunderstands the Gospel of John as being primarily influenced by stoicism (p. 41). The second section is a masterful discussion of both the scholastic and the mystical aspects of medieval religion.

The third section is the most interesting, treating Protestant views of eternity on society, which created "a wholesale . . . segregating . . . of the dead and the living" (pp. 108, 150). The Protestant critique moved from indulgences to rejection of purgatory and prayers for the dead. The Communion of Saints was postponed to vague eschatology, erasing the Catholic sense that the saints are eternally present in Christ and thus present to us at all times. Protestantism rejected the idea that we can do something for the dead "here and now" (p. 110) and replaced it with the idea that the deceased are *dead and gone*, at least until the end of time. Protestants have only two alternatives

at death, "only two small doors on the horizon . . . one leading to heaven and the other to hell" (p. 153). Since nothing could be done for the dead, the focus shifted to an emphasis on life in this temporal world; combined with Protestant individualism, this produced a world attuned to modernization and capitalism. A sharp shift in society and property characterized the Protestant Reformation. Earlier, much wealth had been given to churches and monasteries in return for services for the deceased and their families. Once such services were deemed nugatory, the churches' property was seized by the secular authorities (the most notorious being King Henry VIII), allowing the state to hugely enhance its military, economic, and social power. "The Reformation of eternity was a significant first step toward the elevation of this world as the ultimate reality" (p. 153).

The final section contains thoughtful criticisms of modernism and materialism on the one hand, and postmodernism and deconstruction on the other. Unfortunately, while criticizing the postmodern view of the relativity of truth, the author does not escape it. He bemoans the current rule of two false orthodoxies—individualism and collectivism—without offering the alternative of Christian communion in love freed from both selfishness and tyranny. This weakens the strength of his voice, so strong in the previous sections. Nonetheless, this is a book that deserves a lot of attention by historians, philosophers, and theologians, and it is written so clearly that it will also interest the literate public.

*University of California at Santa Barbara* JEFFREY BURTON RUSSELL

*The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotions and the Reinvention of Catholicism.* By Nathan D. Mitchell. (New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 324. $37.00. ISBN 978-0-814-79591-0.)

Numerous authors have conducted devotional and scholarly studies on the rosary, but in *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotions and the Reinvention of Catholicism*, Nathan D. Mitchell, professor of theology in the University of Notre Dame, has produced an innovative and significant addition to the literature. In this exhaustively researched and detailed analysis of this popular devotion, Mitchell has successfully argued that despite the variance of time, culture, and devotional popularity, not only has the rosary continually been used but also, beginning from its medieval roots, has served as the thread to capture the imagination of Catholics. Mitchell successfully argues that the rosary has not only survived but flourished, because it was able to absorb the reform, religious identity, and devotionalism that characterized early-modern Catholicism.

In six chapters, an introduction, and a conclusion, Mitchell shows that, contrary to popular belief, Catholicism after Trent was not monolithic, but rather adapted to changing times and needs. As time and situation change, he

shows how the rosary was reframed to allow it to become in many ways a badge of identification for Catholics. The rosary was found to be adaptable to individuals or to groups and thus ideal as a vehicle to maintain the faith through dangerous and at times perilous periods of Catholic history.

The heart of Mitchell's work describes how the rosary was reframed in varied ways, allowing it not only to be relevant but, more important, highly useful to Catholics in their daily practice of the faith. Artistically, Mitchell uses the work of Caravaggio, especially his master work *Madonna del Rosario* (1607), to show how the rosary became a symbol for the poor through the artist's depiction of Mary as an advocate for those on the margins of society. In describing the reframing of ritual and religious identity, Mitchell effectively argues that the rosary in some ways became "the Mass" for those for whom religious practice was proscribed. He uses the Church in England as an example of how Catholics, forced to be a church without a church building and a sacramental community without sacraments, used the rosary as a badge of distinctive religious identity and a method to foster the social structure of their faith community. For some Catholics in seventeenth-century England, the rosary, Mitchell suggests, became a "Eucharistic site" (p. 165). Even in the late-twentieth century the rosary continued to have an uncanny ability to bring together the sublime and prosaic. In short, it was the rosary's adaptability, to be prayed individually or in common, to be constructed of materials such as precious stones or simply knots of cord, that allowed it to continue to serve as a powerful witness of Catholic identity.

Mitchell's monograph is an innovative and highly engaging study that convincingly argues how the rosary, especially its ability to adapt, was in many ways the binding thread or common denominator to which Catholics turned to achieve continuity in their practice of the faith. This book, through its exhaustive research and detailed analysis, is for the scholarly community; it is not a monograph aimed toward those who simply desire more information concerning the history or devotion associated with the rosary. Mitchell has certainly given scholars a text that adds significantly to the literature by blazing a new, intricate, and highly enlightening path that sees the value of the rosary is a completely new way.

*Stonehill College, MA* RICHARD GRIBBLE, C.S.C.

*Lineages of European Political Thought: Explorations along the Medieval/Modern Divide from John of Salisbury to Hegel*. By Cary J. Nederman. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp xxiv, 375. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21581-5.)

Over the past quarter-century and more, Cary Nederman, one of the few specialists in medieval political thinking to find an enduring home in a political science department, has contributed to his chosen field a steady stream

of articles, book chapters, and monographs addressing an unusually broad array of topics ranging from John of Salisbury to Jean Gerson, from Marsiglio of Padua to Hegel, and from Henry de Bracton to Machiavelli. Though his impressive work in twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century political thought is not represented here, his other shorter pieces, revised in differential degree, are gathered together here in the twenty chapters of this useful and instructive book, and he is to be congratulated on having made this substantial body of work more readily available to his fellow scholars. The pieces in question he clusters loosely into five groups: "Historiographies of the Early European Tradition, Continuity and Change"; "Dissenting Voices and the Limits of Power"; "Republican Self-Governance and Universal Empires"; "The Virtues of Necessity: Economic Principles of Politics"; and "Modern Receptions of Medieval Ideas." These headings themselves attest to the challengingly disparate nature of these essays. There is in fact no obvious center of gravity to this whole body of work, and, within the compass of a short review, it is accordingly difficult to do justice to it. Most instructive is what he has to say on political representation, on Marsiglio of Padua, and on the continuing relevance of the much-criticized work of Walter Ullmann and the comparatively overlooked work of A. P. d'Entrèves. Least instructive, on the other hand, are his comments (versus A. J. Black) on republicanism and the tiresome polemic he directs against those historians whom he lumps together as "neo-Figgisites"— though here, I must identify myself as one of those so lumped.

The disparate nature of the pieces gathered together here appears also to have confronted the author himself with (self-confessed) difficulties when he set out to conceptualize the overall contents of the book with clarity and in appropriately synthetic fashion (p. xi). In the event, the introduction does little to integrate the book's five parts into any even quasi-unified enterprise; what it does do, rather, is to serve as an introduction to part I and as yet another vehicle forwarding his very single-minded enterprise of criticizing those historians (and inevitably his "neo-Figgisites") whom he portrays as having ignored or underestimated what others have called "this unsurmountable divide" between "medieval and modern" (p. xix). Scholarly disagreement, it is true, is often the engine that serves to move historians toward deeper historical understanding. But one cannot help being puzzled here by the species of aggrieved condescension that informs the tone of Nederman's critique of Brian Tierney's oeuvre and, though in lesser degree, the efforts of those Nederman fingers as historiographic fellow travelers. By dint of selective, inexact, and sometimes reductive readings, historians of subtlety and nuance like Tierney himself or Constantin Fasolt are shoe-horned into competing "schools" preoccupied, respectively, with "continuity" or with "rupture"—a tactic akin to Pope Benedict XVI's comparably tendentious portrayal of commentators on the Second Vatican Council. Nor can we overlook the essentialist way in which he deploys the terms *medieval* and *modern*. Nor, again, though it is no more than a Renaissance humanist contrivance, his lack of any qualms about simply taking for granted the very periodization of European

history into ancient, medieval, and modern. And yet at the heart of the disagreement to which he devotes so much attention is the growing realization among historians that that particular schema has become as much a hindrance as a help when it comes to understanding the course of European intellectual history. Firmly institutionalized though it still is, it has in effect taken on the appearance of a cumbersomely Ptolemaic system calling for an ever-increasing number of enabling epicycles in order to keep it functioning at all. The attempt, as here, to add to the whole groaning apparatus yet another such epicycle is hardly to be celebrated.

*Williams College* FRANCIS OAKLEY

*The Eve of Spain: Myths of Origins in the History of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Conflict*. By Patricia E. Grieve. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 312. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-801-89036-9.)

In this monograph, Patricia Grieve studies one of Spain's central myths of origin: the story of the last Visigothic king, Rodrigo, and his seduction (or rape) of his vassal's daughter, alternatively called La Cava or Florinda. This act purportedly led to the king's betrayal by La Cava's father, Julian, who allowed the invading Islamic forces of 711 into the peninsula. Tracing the evolution of this story through more than a millennium of Spanish history, Grieve argues that it plays a fundamental role in the development of Spanish national identity, providing an ideological framework for Spain long before the nation-state existed. She emphasizes one key feature of the Rodrigo-La Cava legend: that it permitted the construction of a national community through the vilification of "others"—specifically, women, Muslims, and Jews.

The book is divided into three sections (called "acts") treating successive eras of Spanish history: the Middle Ages, the early-modern period, and the modern era. In each section, Grieve traces the Rodrigo and La Cava story in historical and literary sources to see how it was shaped and reshaped into a seminal moment of the Spanish past. In the high Middle Ages, the story provided a fall-and-redemption narrative in which Rodrigo's sinfulness led to Spain's fall, later redeemed by the heroism of King Pelayo; in this form, the story provided ideological motivation for reconquest battles against Islamic forces. By the fifteenth century, however, the tale developed into a closer parallel with Adam and Eve, as the sexual act transformed from rape to seduction by La Cava, and Spain's fall was attributed to the treachery of women. The middle act, which covers the period 1492–1700, follows the legend during the era following the end of reconquest and the union of Castile and Aragon, which led to the development of a more coherent nationalist sentiment. In addition, early-modern Spaniards expressed increased concern—even hysteria—over lineage and "purity" of blood (that is, blood free from Jewish or Moorish ancestors). In this context, the Visigoths took pride of place as the ultimate purebloods, and the Rodrigo-La Cava legend proliferated in history,

theater, and literature. The third act connects the medieval and early-modern stories to the modern period, in which the Spanish nation-state came into being. It reads as a bit of an afterthought, although it does provide an intriguing discussion of the legend as interpreted by modern historians.

The exclusive focus on the story of Rodrigo-La Cava and its relationship to the legend of Pelayo permits Grieve to maintain focus while covering a vast period of time. Yet at the same time, it poses the danger of creating a teleological understanding of the development of the Spanish nation from the Middle Ages through the twenty-first century. Grieve adroitly demonstrates that La Cava and her legend shift meaning in the discourse about the Spanish nation, but she glides over the existence of competing discourses that do not necessarily fit into the model posited here. In addition, the vast scope of the work sometimes militates against deeper historical contextualization.

In spite of these relatively small concerns, Grieve presents a meticulously researched and thought-provoking study of the evolution of national identity over the *longue-durée*. She persuasively demonstrates that stories from the distant past inform and shape identity for centuries—even millennia—even as the stories and their meanings evolve. The work also illustrates the enduring significance of historical inquiry for understanding the present.

*University of Virginia* ERIN KATHLEEN ROWE

*Reliques modernes: Cultes et usages chrétiens des corps saints des Réformes aux révolutions*. Edited by Philippe Boutry, Pierre Antoine Fabre, and Dominique Julia. 2 vols. [Collection "En temps & lieux," 7.] (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales. 2009. Vol. 1: Pp. 429, Vol. 2: 431–903. Vol. 1: €28,50 paperback, vol. 2: €29,50 paperback. Vol. 1: ISBN 978-2-713-22174-3, vol. 2: ISBN 978-2-713-22188-0.)

As the title suggests, this book engages with two, normally quite discrete areas of inquiry. It is a brilliant engagement with the question of "modernity" and the abiding close association between it and "secularization," as Max Weber most influentially defined it. It engages obliquely with that thesis through an extraordinary collection of articles, taking up relics; offering a close, richly documented study; and suggesting the complexity—devotional, cultural, political, ecclesiastical, and colonial—of the bones of holy persons.

Piece by piece, these articles reveal a multilayered relationship between matter and spirit, bones and devotional identity. The two volumes are divided into six parts: I. "Lieux et corps saints: le temps des polémiques," II. "Le pouvoir et le sacré," III. "Le sacré dans la guerre," IV. "Inventaires et inventions de lieux," V. "Un espace en expansion," and VI. "Reliques et reliquaires: une archéologie du sacré." Some interrogate a single text, as in the case of the first article, "Le *Traité des reliques de Jean Calvin* (1543): Texte et contextes" (Pierre Antoine Fabre and Mickaël Wilmart). A number offer a layered study

of a single site, such as Fabre's "Le grande reliquaire de la chapelle du Crucifix: Recherches sur le culte des reliques dans l'eglise San Ignazio, XVI$^{e}$–XIX$^{e}$ siècles." Most situate specific relics within communities that the articles carefully delineate.

The titles of the six parts suggest something of the conceptual and geographic breadth of the volume. The first section takes up both critiques and apologies—Calvin's *Treatise on Relics*, the Council of Trent's decrees on relics (Dominique Julia), the restoration of relics in nineteenth-century France (Philippe Boutry), documentation of a relic (Alain Cantillon), and Collin de Plancy's *Dictionnaire critique des reliques* (Nicole Courtine)—placing them within complexly conceptualized "contexts." These contexts include the textual tradition of inventories that framed relics in certain terms and provoked polemics by those who abhorred the reification, not the relic itself; or the individual histories of authors and the dialectic between text and experience, devotion and polemic. The second section takes up "power" in precisely articulated specific instantiations: the girdle of the Virgin in Prato (Mario Rosa); the translation of relics from Roman catacombs to sites in France in the seventeenth century (Françoise le Hénand); King Philip II's complex relationship to relics he gathered in the Escorial (Guy Lazure); and the hand of St. Stephen, king of Hungary, and its life within Hungarian national history (András Zempléni). The third section takes up relics in three discrete historical instances of violence: the "temps des troubles de Religion" (Denis Crouzet), the French Revolution (Stéphane Baciocchi and Dominique Julia), and the Soviet Revolution (Bernard Marchadier). These articles document not the wholesale exhumation and expulsion of relics, but far more complex pictures of absences and remains. The next two sections take up the issue of space. The fourth part focuses on the places of relics—in addition to Fabre's study of San Ignazio, Pierre Cordoba's situating of relics and Catherine Maire's excellent explication (with graphs and maps) of Adrien Baillet's *Topographie des saints.* The fifth part focuses on vignettes of relics in worlds new to Europe, including Ines G. Županov's history of São Tomé de Meliapor, as relic, site, and locus of encounter; Leandro Karnal's complex consideration of relics and their multiple roles in the efforts to translate Christianity to Portuguese America; and Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile's delineation of the dialectic between Jesuits and the Tupinamba in "Le partage des reliques." The final section, again through close studies of individual objects, explores the relationships between relics and their worship in New France (Muriel Clair); among a small number of fragments of St. Geneviève that survived the French Revolution, their new siting in Paris, and their meaning to the person who relocated them (Yves Gagneux); and among relics, photographs, and other forms of "copy" (Muriel Pic).

This is a book to linger over because of its rich array of methods, its density of sources and analysis, and its sheer conceptual power. In rendering specificity of multiple kinds, the articles singly and together render something of

the fragmentation of the body that relics symbolize, even as they also suggest how fragments both carry the body to many places and become defined by practices, beliefs, and resonances specific to their own locus. As a whole, the volume brings home the clumsiness of "secularization" as a thesis, which in its broad sweep cannot comprehend the many ways that matter locates sanctity. In its consciously structured and narratively embedded interplay of specificity, materiality, devotional practice, and sanctity, this book is exemplary.

*University of Wisconsin–Madison* LEE PALMER WANDEL

*Reformation and the German Territorial State: Upper Franconia, 1300–1630.* By William Bradford Smith. [Changing Perspectives on Early Modern Europe, 8.] (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press. 2008. Pp. xviii, 280. $85.00. ISBN 978-1-580-46274-7.)

The confessionalization paradigm has been a mainstay of Reformation studies for decades, which still enjoys wide acceptance as an explanatory model, especially in the historiography of early-modern Germany. William Bradford Smith contributes to our understanding of religious reform and the rise of the territorial state by adding another piece to the puzzle. His piece is the patchwork of Franconian territories, perhaps the most complex puzzle of all, consisting as it did of a multiplicity of geographically interwoven prince-bishoprics, imperial cities, imperial knights, and lands of the Margraviate of Brandenburg-Ansbach/Kulmbach. In the main, the book concentrates on the territories of Upper Franconia, particularly the Brandenburg lands and those of the prince-bishop of Bamberg.

The Reformation further fragmented the region by introducing religious competition between Catholic and Protestant territories. Theoretically, Smith seeks to demonstrate that the novel religious differentiations were superimposed on preexisting structures and therefore evinced continuities in the political arena. However, Smith goes one step further, grafting Heiko Oberman's hypotheses on the pre-1517 origins of religious reform onto the confessionalization model. He puts forward events in Bohemia—the fifteenth-century Hussite revolt and the seventeenth-century defenestration—as chronological termini for the confessional age. Again, his goal is to demonstrate long-term continuities. Smith is also keen to integrate Blicklian communalism into his model so he can assess charges of "*etatismus*" inherent in the Weberian aspects of confessionalization and social disciplining.

Smith employs administrative sources (e.g., *Protokollenbücher*) in combination with the work of local historians and folklorists (e.g., Friedrich Merzbacher and Karl-S. Kramer) against the backdrop of contemporary local chroniclers. As he works at the regional level, he also analyzes the function of religion at the local level. This enables him to assess the complex interplay between the authorities and their subjects in the realm of religious reform and

identify aspects of lay piety that shaped territorial policy. One excellent example of this is his quantification of the shifting sources of ecclesiastical endowments (p. 19); between 1300 and 1529, noble endowments dropped by 50 percent while the influence of burghers and confraternities more than doubled.

The book consists of ten chapters plus an introduction and conclusion. Its strong point is in its detailed explication of social structures in small territories of the Empire. In this regard, Smith's approach is very traditional, and he provides a non–German-speaking audience with an immense amount of local detail. He also succeeds in demonstrating how the various social strata instrumentalized the message of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in their negotiations over *Herrschaft*. His comparative assessment leads to the suggestion that Protestantism catered to organic development, while the Counter-Reformation in Bamberg attempted a more fundamental restructuring of society from the top down and met, not surprisingly, with more fundamental resistance from the bottom up. The final three chapters focus on the latter areas, especially marriage reform and (alluding to Smith's current research) the massive witchcraft persecutions in Franconia that were among the most traumatic in early-modern Germany. In doing so, he has built on the research of numerous local historians, re-examining and integrating their material into broader and more current issues. Smith has thus succeeded in producing a valuable contribution to regional history on the Empire.

*National University of Ireland, Maynooth* DAVID LEDERER

*Historical Archaeology of the Irish Diaspora: A Transnational Approach.* By Stephen A. Brighton. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2009. Pp. xxvii, 226. $49.95. ISBN 978-1-572-33667-4.)

The epic immodesty of an insufficiently revised dissertation can almost be awe-inspiring. Stephen A. Brighton has analyzed the contents of four toilet pits in the late-nineteenth-century United States (two from tenements in the Five Points, New York City, and the others from two single-dwellings in Patterson, New Jersey). He has compared the material culture in those sites with baseline data: two pre–Potato Famine cabin sites in County Roscommon. Now, whether the rather small rural data base in midland Ireland and the rather small urban data base in the northeastern United States are miscible is not a matter about which he worries, since apparently everybody concerned was Irish Catholic and therefore socioeconomically comparable. In any case, to interpret his data he developed a theoretical frame that he broadcasts as having

> far-reaching applications for historical archaeologists and historians. Broadly speaking, its purpose is to serve as a multidisciplinary model of how material culture can be used to interpret continuities and changes in social identity within a critical and analytical discourse of the term diaspora. (p. xxvii)

Along with this hyperinflation of the importance of his own work comes the usual self-vaunting review of the literature that is standard PhD fare. Brighton's reading of Irish historical writing is notably eccentric. For example (p. 270), he sees the 1966 work of Raymond Crotty as being one of the influential levers of the "new history" of Ireland, of which Brighton seems to disapprove. In fact, if there ever was a forgotten and noninfluential historian of mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, Crotty fills that description. And one wonders how he could believe that "it was not until the 1990s that the Great Famine was considered an issue for serious academic study" (p. 29). Understudied it certainly was, but not for frivolous reasons, but because it was taken so very seriously. A modest respect for a massive subject is not something Brighton seems to understand. Indeed, he airily explains the problems with all views of historical diasporas, save his own. He introduces two overarching constructs—"proletarian diasporas" and "mobilized diasporas" (p. 25)—an exercise in false dichotomization that would not survive a first-year logic class.

Yet, wonderfully, surprisingly, when the half (or more) that is vapor is allowed to drift away, the actual analysis of the items in the various privy pits turns out to be clear, rigorous, and often deftly suggestive. Brighton makes a compelling case that in the Irish-Catholic cultures of the mid-nineteenth century, the commonalities between Ireland and America diminished as the later nineteenth century progressed.

This is a valuable, small start toward a comparative archaeology of aspects of Irish and U.S. culture. In future, one would like to see three sorts of studies. First, a comparison of rural material culture in Ireland with rural material culture among the Irish ethnic group in the United States. The work of John Mannion on eastern Canada would be a useful model. Second, scholars need to deal specifically with Irish-derived Protestant cultures, particularly as material transfer to the American South occurred. And, third, the material culture of religious observance, both in homes and churches, needs study, for religion undeniably was a central matter in the Irish diaspora.

*Queen's University, Canada* DONALD HARMAN AKENSON

*Receptive Ecumenism and the Call to Catholic Learning: Exploring a Way for Contemporary Ecumenism.* Edited by Paul D. Murray, with the assistance of Luca Badini-Confalonieri. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xxxv, 534. $99.00 cloth; $45.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-199-21645-1 cloth; ISBN 978-0-199-58798-8 paperback).

The origin of the modern ecumenical movement is conventionally dated to the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910. During the twentieth century, ecumenism waxed and waned, reaching a zenith in mid-century with the establishment of the World Council of Churches (1948) and the Consultation on Church Union (1962), along with the convening of the

Second Vatican Council (1962–65). These events produced such an ecumenical euphoria that many Christians anticipated a prompt resolution of centuries-old church separations; accordingly, many mainline church leaders and theologians entered into ecumenical conversations aimed at the achievement of church union in the foreseeable future.

To date, the results of these interchurch conversations have been decidedly mixed. On the one hand, ecumenical dialogues have produced a surprising and substantial number of consensus statements that collectively show that some traditional church-dividing issues are not necessarily as divisive as had long been thought; nonetheless, some issues seem more entrenched than ever. On the other hand, a notable number of churches have entered into an assortment of agreements, covenants, and even unions with due diligence and sometimes with considerable enthusiasm; however, many churches, although ecumenically courteous, have been essentially cautious about formalizing ecumenical partnerships. Some disappointed ecumenists speak of an "ecumenical winter" in which concrete ecumenical progress seems frozen in its tracks.

What should churches in general and the Roman Catholic Church in particular learn from decades of ecumenical conversations? This was the guiding question at a symposium at Ushaw College, Durham, on January 12–17, 2006. Thirty-two papers from this symposium, along with five bible studies, are presented in this large volume with a somewhat puzzling title. First, "reception" refers to the process whereby ecclesiastical decisions and theological findings become part of the faith life of churches; such a process can take years, if not centuries; for example, governments in the past often blocked the "receiving" of papal and conciliar pronouncements through the *imprimatur* and *exequatur*.

The formidable challenge of "ecumenical reception" is then to translate ecumenical agreements from the theological or notional level to the practical or pastoral level. A major obstacle in this process is that the people who are asked to receive such ecumenical agreements have not shared in the "learning process" of the people who drafted these statements; without a parallel type of experience, such agreements tend to be theoretical at best, misunderstood at worst, and most often simply ignored. This volume addresses the urgent task of a collateral process of "receptive learning" at the levels of theological understanding and practical implementation.

The chapters of the volume are grouped somewhat elastically under five headings: "vision and principles"; "learning through Catholic dialogue"; "receptive ecumenism and Catholic church order"—"order" in the sense of ecclesiastical structures; "the pragmatics of receptive ecumenical learning"; and "retrospect and prospect." Collectively considered, the chapters provide a rich and varied buffet of ecumenical "learnings"—theological insights, practical suggestions, programmatic possibilities, and prophetic proposals. In contrast

to the unevenness of many collections, the chapters are, with a few exceptions, of notably fine quality; in addition, the papers are often helpfully cross-referenced with dialogue evident between the participants. There is an extensive bibliography (pp. 469–513), along with an index of names and another of subjects.

In sum, this volume provides an insightful panorama of the current ecumenical scene and so is quite useful both to ecumenists and to anyone interested in ecumenism. This book, although not a textbook, would make an ideal companion piece for university-level courses on ecumenism.

*The Catholic University of America* JOHN T. FORD

*A History of Catholic Moral Theology in the Twentieth Century: From Confessing Sins to Liberating Consciences*. By James F. Keenan, S.J. (New York: Continuum. 2010. Pp. viii, 248. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-826-42929-2.)

James F. Keenan has crafted an insightful narrative reflecting the contributions of multiple theologians associated with moral theology during the past century. The classical manuals of moral theology from the first half of the century, represented by the writings of Thomas Slater, Henry Davis, and Heribert Jone, serve as the base point against which the contributions of subsequent moral theologians are assessed. The early reformers of the tradition (Dom Odon Lottin, Fritz Tillman, Gerard Gilleman, and Bernard Häring) turned to systematic theology and the scriptures to provide a more theological and/or scriptural foundation to moral theology. After a brief commentary on the manner in which *Humanae Vitae* and *Veritatis Splendor* impacted the new directions in which moral theology was headed, Keenan turns to a series of moral theologians (Joseph Fuchs, Richard McCormick, Bruno Schuller, and others) whose writings affected the ethical theory underpinning the tradition (intrinsic moral evil, the principle of double effect). The most significant revisions of the last twenty years of the twentieth century, Keenan proposes, were new understandings of the natural law and discussions regarding the distinction between the "good" and the "right." The final chapter is dedicated to issues associated with applied or special moral theology. Slater, Davis, and Jone may well have been able to engage in discussions of the issues discussed by Keenan until the final chapter. A special moral theology focused on issues of liberation associated with indigenous cultures beset with the outcomes of colonialism and the sexual exploitation of women would have been difficult for them to comprehend.

Bernard Lonergan has written:

> The historian wants to grasp what was going forward in particular groups at particular places and times. By "going forward" I mean to exclude the

> mere repetition of a routine. I mean the change that originated the routine and its dissemination. I mean process and development, but, no less, decline and collapse.[1]

Keenan seems to have written this book with such an understanding of the task of the historian of theology. He notes:

> . . . we need now to recognize that the innovators claimed that moral truth was not realized as much in solitary, external actions as in overarching internal personal dispositions. Integral to this claim was the belief that moral truth was not found primarily in negative principles —about what actions were to be avoided—but rather in the person who pursued the good. (p. 69)

He concludes by proposing that virtue ethics has emerged as a new foundation for moral theology: "Virtue ethics is rooted in the priority of being over action and argues that the cultivation of normative dispositions and attendant practices is the stuff of ethics" (p. 217).

Keenan has a plausible thesis of what was "going forward" under the rubric of moral theology over the past century. However, it is likely that alternative readings exist of this history. The received tradition of moral theology at the beginning of the twentieth century had more affinity to what had occurred within that discipline in the previous 400 years than to what was to occur within it in the last fifty years of the century. Might not the recent history of moral theology simply be an example of a classic text, a classic tradition confronting modernity? Is there a current viable foundation for Catholic theological ethics in the contemporary American intellectual environment? Keenan offers us a theory of virtue. Perhaps he is correct. Perhaps a future historian of this period will offer an alternative interpretation of what was "going forward."

*Catholic Health Partners, Cincinnati* JOHN A. GALLAGHER

## Ancient

*Catholicity and Heresy in the Early Church*. By Mark Edwards. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. vi, 201. $114.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-754-66291-4; $29.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-754-66297-6.)

In this typically combative and stimulating book Mark Edwards argues for the constructive and not merely catalytic role of so-called heresy in the formation of early Christian orthodoxy. Taking issue with the contemporary consensus that would speak of various competing Christianities, Edwards in

[1]Bernard Lonergan, *Method in Theology* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 178–79.

his introduction argues for the existence of a right-versus-wrong interpretation from the beginning, defining *orthodoxy* in terms of what in any epoch was taught by the majority of bishops, and *Catholic* not simply as worldwide, representative, and tolerant but as willing to incorporate ideas once deemed heretical. Thus in chapter 1, "The Gnostic Beginnings of Orthodoxy," he notes the pioneering views of Gnostics (always self-designated in the evidence, he insists) on the image of God; Basilides on sonship, divine and human; Valentinus on the mythical fall and redemption of wisdom; and Marcion on the end of the law. In chapter 2, "The Catholicity of Irenaeus," he argues that the system of the Gnostics' principal critic not only derives its shape but also some of its ideas from their views, such as his understanding of the Trinity and man in the image of God, while some of their views that he rejected became orthodox later. In chapter 3, "The Foundation of Catholic Teaching in the Third Century," he argues both that the great Alexandrians, Clement and Origen, derived a good deal from their Valentinian opponents and that the trinitarian assault on the Monarchian heresy led by their Western counterparts, Hippolytus and Tertullian, may have been occasioned by a terminological misunderstanding. In chapter 4, "Origen and Orthodoxy," Edwards seeks to defend Origen against later charges of heresy and show how his views on God, Christ, and the Resurrection, once condemned, became the basis of later orthodoxy. In chapter 5, "The Nicene Council and Its Aftermath," he argues for Eusebius as one of the architects of the homoousian victory, suggests the contributions of Origen to the ultimate definition, and represents the key role of the homoiousians as an augmentation of the Nicene teaching on the divinity of Jesus rather than a compromise. In the final chapter, "Apollinarius and the Chalcedonian Definition," Edwards argues that the definition was not, as usually presented, a compromise between the so-called Alexandrian and Antiochene schools of Christology, but rather was a vindication of Cyril's position, utilizing terms and ideas supposedly Antiochene but actually pioneered by Apollinarius of Laodicea. In the epilogue Edwards argues for the early Church as a single phenomenon in which disputes occurred more often between individuals than between the movements largely invented by modern scholarship (Origenists, and so forth), and which developed its doctrines by the absorption of ideas it had once found indigestible.

Edwards's argument is dense, allusive, and sometimes rendered incomprehensible by uncorrected errors, but often makes a plausible and illuminating case, as, for example, in discussing the contributions of Gnostics and Valentinians of Origen, Eusebius, and Apollinarius. Indeed, his overall thesis about the creative role of heresy and of how what once seemed heretical later became orthodox through assimilation by Catholic bishops is generally convincing and convincingly demonstrated. But at times, his argument is less clear and persuasive, as in chapter 3's discussion of Hippolytus, Tertullian, and the Monarchians. However, the main problem with the book is the very poor standard of editing. The text is riddled with misprints (for example, "there"

instead of "three" in trinitarian discussions), misspellings, and omissions; several works are cited that are missing from the bibliography. Overall, the author has been very poorly served by his publisher.

*University of Exeter* ALASTAIR H. B. LOGAN

*428 AD: An Ordinary Year at the End of the Roman Empire.* By Giusto Traina. Translated by Alan Cameron. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 203. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-691-13669-1.)

This deceptively slim volume represents a pioneering effort to illuminate the entire political and cultural zone of the Roman Empire and its immediate neighbors at a given moment in time. The geographical starting point where the author—an Italian Armenologist, now a professor at the University of Rouen (France)—begins his panoramic tour of the Mediterranean is the end of the Kingdom of Armenia after the deposition of its last king by the Sasanian Empire of Persia, an event that would not have been possible without the collusion of the Roman Empire. From there, a total of twelve chapters take the reader on a journey along the eastern, northern, western, and southern shores of the later Roman Empire. The chronological anchor is well chosen: a century after Emperor Constantine introduced Christianity onto the political scene, twenty-one years before the Council of Chalcedon resulted in the first lasting schism within Christendom, two generations before the year 476 spelled the end of imperial rule in Rome, at a time when "barbarians" were actively seeking the benefits of an association with the Roman Empire while Visigoths, Vandals, and Huns were threatening the territorial unity of the Roman Empire. In the course of this journey, we encounter emperors, generals, and influential women at the court, pagan philosophers and Christian monks, anxious aristocrats and feisty bishops, as well as enterprising and ambitious "barbarians" of all stripes.

Traina wears his erudition lightly. It is only documented in the endnotes (an excellent resource in themselves), the maps that precede each chapter, and the index. The value of the book for classroom use would have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of a bibliography, a list of abbreviations, and perhaps a glossary of terms.

The unique format requires a level of attention to detail that would otherwise be encountered only in historical novels, and Traina draws on recent archaeological findings to set the stage for his regional episodes. In contrast to a novelist, however, the historian cannot invent a plot to hold the narrative together or conjure up a protagonist to propel the action. Yet, Traina succeeds admirably in bringing out connections of people (imperial official Flavius Dionysius, Bishop Nestorius, and General Aetius make repeated appearances) or of ideas (the construction of the barbarian "other," the definition of "heresy").

It is here that he also shows his true colors as a historian. As the title suggests, Traina's interest is in the "end of the Roman Empire," a notion that cannot be pinned down to a single event and hence requires explanation rather than mere description. Traina's measure for the persistence of the Roman Empire is its territorial unity and integrity, combined with a strong and universally acknowledged imperial center. His tour around the Mediterranean is thus a well-chosen method to highlight the different fate of each region in terms of internal and external political challenges, economic prosperity, building and literary activity, and the slow progression of Christianization. Past events and future developments are conjured up to give historical depth into the narrative. Even with his spotlight on one specific year, the historian cannot escape the demand for a teleological narrative.

Written in an accessible style, Traina's book will be read with profit by anyone interested in the transition from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages, whether from a political, cultural, or religious perspective. His nuanced treatment of the interaction between an increasingly beleaguered paganism and an increasingly assertive Christianity in the urban centers and rural backwaters around the Mediterranean should be especially welcome to anyone interested in the history of the Church.

*University of California at Los Angeles* CLAUDIA RAPP

*The* Filioque: *History of a Doctrinal Controversy.* By A. Edward Siecienski. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 355. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-195-37204-5.)

A. Edward Siecienski dutifully reminds us that his account is by no means "a complete history" of the *filioque* (pp. 15, 215). If one thing is clear, the doctrinal debate generated by this famous addendum to the Nicene Creed still awaits final resolution. This is a relatively slim volume; if endnotes are excluded, the text's ten chapters total some 200 pages, whereas the history of the controversy stretches back nearly two millennia. It is certainly an ambitious, well-told story. That it manages to weave together in a timely manner a highly accessible tapestry that is also credible and even ecumenically valuable is no small achievement.

The origin of this controversy stems from the portentous resolve of the Western Church to add the phrase "and the Son" (*filioque*) to the creed. Eastern Christendom, it is fair to say, found the clause unsettling and promptly challenged it. If anything, it implicitly questioned the Spirit's eternal dependence on the Father. Not only was tampering with an ecumenical text inadmissible but also the idea of a "double procession" of the Spirit—from the Father and the Son—was an egregious error. Fittingly, the author begins his historical reconstruction with an analysis of the New Testament evidence. He then moves briskly to assess the patristic material, particularly the contribu-

tions of Ss. Maximus the Confessor and Augustine. Several chapters follow that describe the battles and debates of the Carolingian era and the high Middle Ages. The latter period especially was a turning point in terms of developments. The final chapters leapfrog to the dawn of the twenty-first century with a valuable critical survey of contemporary trends.

Although this is a straightforward historical guide, it also often reads as a detailed who's who of the subject. The approach in a way is a deft solution to the following difficult question: How does one chronicle a centuries-long controversy, with its myriad polarized participants and often-complex commentaries? On the other hand, the author never treats the wider historical and political context of the subject as secondary. Siecienski is also on secure ground when arguing that his topic was never some trivial tussle among theologians. The facts are indeed otherwise. To top it off, the author is suitably short on confessional bias and sustained angry polemic; clearing the air of old prejudices is undeniably useful. These strengths bring a level of balance, even freshness, to his account.

The author gives pride of place to Maximus the Confessor (†662), who is viewed as providing a powerful piece of promising Latin apologetic. Maximus was convinced the *filioque* did not ascribe causality to the Son; if anything, the Latins believed that the Spirit receives its hypostatic derivation solely from the Father, the one cause (*mia aitia*) of its primordial coming-into-being. Maximus, as an irreproachable Eastern witness, is hugely important. Yet whether his piece suffices *tout court* to resolve the problem or alter the discussion radically is debatable. The later Western contributions to the debate stand in the way. By the thirteenth century the dogmatization of the *filioque* by the Council of Lyons (1274) was an accomplished fact. Theologians (armed with the appropriate Augustinian-Thomist scaffolding) were already ascribing causality to the Son. Increasingly, too, canonists were alleging (*contra* the view of the wider Orthodox world), that the bishop of Rome, by virtue solely of his office, had the power to alter the creed. More dizzying still was the occasional Western assertion that the clause was originally part of the primitive text of the creed. Small wonder the Byzantine Orthodox Church became the subject of a formal anathema for refusing to endorse the Latin doctrine.

Without first considering these contentious developments, Maximus' viewpoint cannot have any significant bearing on the problem. There also is the ecclesiological problem of the interpolation that those following the Orthodox rite doggedly oppose. The gifted Dominican Yves Congar put it well when he memorably proclaimed that the West was responsible for introducing the emendation (in a clearly canonically irregular manner) and should suppress it. All told, the Siecienski thesis is vulnerable. Even the author implies as much and cautiously concludes that Maximus would not have endorsed the previously mentioned changes.

Although the bibliography of this study is comprehensive, it has omissions. The author's sketch of Nicephoros Blemmydes is misleading: Missing are the authoritative textual studies done in France by Michel Stavrou. This is equally true of the Greek scholarship published since the 1950s. Absent are the contributions by G. P. Theodoroudis, S. S. Mpilalis, N. Xexakis, Ch. N. Sabbatou, and N. Ioannidis. The editing is careless. Innumerable names are routinely given different spellings (startlingly, often in the same sentence), and phrases in sentences are repeated. Furthermore, there are odd errors in transliteration (*homoousias, eisogesis,* and so forth). Emperor John Cantacuzenos (1347) is correctly identified in one page and then several pages later is said to be present (as "Cantacuzene") at Florence (1439).

The above omissions are important, yet they pale in comparison to the book's many virtues. This is a hugely accessible, up-to-date survey of the field, free of the fog of polemic and bias.

*University of Maryland–Baltimore County* ARISTEIDES PAPADAKIS

*Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century,* Vol. II, Pt. 2: *Economic, Social, and Cultural History.* By Irfan Shahîd. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. 2009. Pp. xxiiv, 391. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-884-02347-0.)

Volume II, part 1 of *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* covered federate activities, lands, religious buildings, and writers of the Ghassānids, Byzantium's "Monophysite" Arab Christian allies. Part 2 deals with the Ghassānids' role in peninsular and Mediterranean economic history; their group social life including gender attitudes and daily-life customs; and their cultural productions in architecture, visual art, and literature. Every remaining piece of evidence—often unfamiliar to Western-centered scholarship—is unpacked for maximum information and effect, to disclose, in the author's words, "an entire Arab Christian culture that flourished in the shadow of Byzantium" (p. xxiii).

Section I ("Economic History") summarizes the Ghassānids' role in guarding the international trade routes that ran through Mesopotamia, western Arabia, and the eastern approaches to the Holy Land, as well as through the Red Sea—routes vital to both Byzantium and Persia. They protected fairs and markets, collected taxes, and even kept an eye on metal resources. Section II ("Social History") rests on the three interbraided strands of Ghassānid identity—namely, Arab ethnicity, Byzantine culture, and Christian religion. Extrapolation from varied sources yields information on private-life aspects such as families and education. Poetry especially mentions numerous ruling women who practiced hospitality, went on pilgrimage, and even waged war. The flavor of Ghassānid life is gleaned from Arabic-language sources that

describe food and wine, clothing and medicine, music, dance and festivals, and equestrian events, along with the characteristic enjoyment of the countryside (charmingly styled *villeggiatura*). This material will be a revelation to Western readers.

Section III ("Cultural History") amplifies earlier work on the settled Ghassānids' achievements both in building tangible structures and in constructing *mentalités* embodied in them. Although written sources mention churches and monasteries (along with tombs, gardens, and civil edifices), only recently has an actual Ghassānid church, dedicated to St. Sergius, been excavated (at Nitil in Jordan). Possible monastic remains have, sadly, been pillaged (see the depressing firsthand account on p. 288). It was the monasteries that served as prime cultural centers, combining art traditions from across the late-antique world and providing space for learning and literacy. Even the creation of what is romantically seen as the cultural ideal of "chivalry" (from the word for *horse*) is traced to Ghassānid equestrianism. Poetry and oratory complete the picture of this heavily oral society that interacted with its neighbors in many cultural spheres.

The closing section ("The Ghassānid Identity") again interweaves Roman, Christian, and Hellenic traditions with Arab foundations to promote the multicultural nature of Oriens as it would continue through the seventh century and beyond. Once more, this lifework tells its audience that many speakers of Arabic were, and are, Christians.

*Society for Coptic Archaeology (North America)* LESLIE S. B. MACCOULL

## Medieval

*Medieval Christianity in Practice.* Edited by Miri Rubin. [Princeton Readings in Religions.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 346. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-691-09058-0.)

A more correct title for this volume might be *Medieval Latin Christianity in Practice.* Miri Rubin mentions the lack of treatment of Eastern Christianity in her introduction. Unfortunately, this means that important topics, such as the iconoclastic question, have been largely passed over. Given the fact that during much of this period ties between East and West were close, we must recognize the problem in dealing with subjects such as eremitism that cannot be fully understood save in a context that reflects this continuing relationship. Although there is much of value in this volume, it is not the comprehensive collection its editors seem to promise.

Since it will undoubtedly find its way into many classrooms, in consideration of the fine group of contributors, it deserves serious consideration. The arrangement of the work is topical rather than chronological. Within each sec-

tion, the individual topics consist of a primary source and a discussion of that source. The source material is drawn chiefly from manuscripts and may range from lists to narratives. The discussions vary in length from short commentaries to extended essays. Several are notable and can provide the basis for interesting discussions, but most often there is not enough context to put the source into a background that adds to our understanding of the title given to the section. Those planning to use this volume in class should be prepared to provide additional background. Still, it may be especially useful in graduate seminars or as an aid to graduate training, where the emphasis on manuscript sources may enrich the experience of students.

Given the manner in which the volume was planned, it is not surprising that major changes in devotions such as the rosary or the development of new feasts such as Corpus Christi did not find a place. The impact of the mendicants on the devotional life of the Church does not emerge as an important feature. The religious life of the great majority of the population appears only in glimpses. Of course, this is understandable given the kinds of sources used, but greater use of sermons might have filled out the picture. The approach taken, although useful for interesting snapshots, does not provide an adequate picture of the changes that occurred in this long period. Yet it was during this period that the life of ordinary Christians moved from broad loyalties based on the promise of the afterlife to the meaning of the parish and the priesthood in concrete terms.

A sample of topics may open the way to a more positive evaluation of the book. Frederick Paxton opens the door on the final hours of Abbess Hathumoda in a way that reveals multiple dimensions of her life. William Chester Jordan shows how religious belief and practical knowledge coexisted in the effort to ward off sheep and pig murrain. Daniel Bornstein lets us experience the issues faced by a young candidate for the priesthood. Sharon Farmer deals with the miraculous cure of a deaf mute by sharing his experiences. Thomas Head studies ecclesiastical rivalries in the translation of the body of St. Junianus. John Van Engen provides a sympathetic portrait of the "Devotio Moderna." In one of the more complex studies, Gabor Klaniczay raises numerous points for a discussion of the stigmatization of women, focusing first on the controversy over the stigmata of St. Margaret of Hungary. Janet Nelson provides a contextual discussion of the early development of the consecration of Anglo-Saxon queens.

In sum, this is a difficult book. The editor was, without a doubt, constrained by the format of the series; moreover, working with forty-three contributions presented a major challenge. The resultant volume has limitations, but it also has some very interesting offerings. Professors should read it carefully before deciding about its use.

*Syracuse University (Emeritus)* JAMES M. POWELL

*Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World.* By Valerie L. Garver. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xxi, 310. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-801-44771-6.)

Carolingian elite women have received much scholarly attention in the last generation, ever since the publication of Suzanne Fonay Wemple's *Women in Frankish Society* (Philadelphia, 1981). Here Valerie L. Garver expands and builds on earlier work, with the purpose of demonstrating that aristocratic women in the eighth and ninth centuries, far from being relegated merely to the domestic sphere (although they certainly played a key role there), helped shape and disseminate much of Carolingian culture.

Garver begins by quoting Jonas of Orléans, who said that men desire women for their "family, prudence, wealth, and beauty" (p. 1). These four female characteristics, derived from Isidore of Seville and ultimately from Roman ideals of womanhood, become the outline of the present book, as the first four chapters address each in turn. A fifth chapter addresses textile work, which, although not directly referenced by Jonas or Isidore, was still taken for granted as appropriate for women and, Garver argues, brings together the four aspects of women's supposed characteristics.

This book, far more sophisticated (unsurprisingly) than Wemple's early path-breaking study, takes much of its strength from a wide-ranging selection of sources, including poetry, hagiography, and visual images as well as the more commonly used law codes, capitularies, charters, and chronicles. Throughout, Garver seeks to combine an analysis of how clerical intellectuals thought women ought ideally to behave, as seen in "mirrors" for laypeople and prescriptive ordinances, with a discussion of what aristocratic women's lives might actually have been like.

Thirty years ago it could have been assumed from the scholarship that medieval women barely existed. More recent scholars routinely characterized these women as marginalized, subservient, and unlearned, forced into convents by a misogynistic church and given little role to play even in their own families. In the last decade, however, scholars have recognized that elite women, far from being invisible, were often well educated and exercised power and authority. Garver's book should settle the question definitively for Carolingian-era women, as it was settled for twelfth-century women in *Aristocratic Women in Medieval France*, ed. Theodore Evergates (Philadelphia, 1999).

Some of the material covered here is already well known. Dhuoda comes in for much attention for her "Handbook for William," as she has for many previous scholars. But overall, Garver manages to provide new insights into a period about which, it was once thought, we already knew everything important. For example, her discussion of female beauty in chapter 1 includes an analysis of Carolingian aesthetics and brings in the iconoclast controversy.

Here she notes that religiosity need not preclude physical beauty; virtuous women were said to have their virtue reflected in their appearance. Although memorial books have long been used as a source for the ways in which families remembered their kin, Garver is the first to analyze the implications of nunneries as the place where a third of the surviving Carolingian-era memorial books were composed.

The chapter on textiles is the most original. Elite women did more than spin and weave cloth for daily use, although they certainly supervised such production; they also created opulent fabrics, both for high secular and liturgical occasions. Elaborate embroidered cloth, some of which still survives, indicates the great technical skill of the women who made it.

In all, this is a fine, clearly written book. The only major quibble is that the change in women's perceived status from the eighth century to the ninth, evoked at the beginning (p. 9), never really is conveyed.

*University of Akron* CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD

Codex Carolinus: *Päpstliche Epistolographie im 8. Jahrhundert.* By Achim Thomas Hack. [Päpste und Papsttum, Band 35/I und 35/II.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 2006, 2007. Pp. xx, 1290. Vol. 1: ISBN 978-3-777-20621-9; Vol 2: ISBN 978-3-777-20701-8.)

The detailed examination in two volumes of the ninety-nine papal letters addressed to the Carolingian rulers between the years 739 and 791 and collected by royal command in the *Codex Carolinus* is primarily designed by the author as a study of the elements of early-medieval epistolography. Formulary elements are the focus here: those that may or may not differentiate letters from other types of texts such as general documents, privileges, and historical narratives—a science that has been much neglected. The direct discussion of the *Codex Carolinus* itself (used in the MGH edition of W. Grundlach with occasional references to its facsimile edition by F. Unterkircher and its possible continuation in MS HAB Helmstadensis 254 at Wolfenbüttel with ten letters of Pope Leo III addressed to Charlemagne [p.133]) seems to make up a relatively minor part of the book (pp. 59–96; 869–928). But this impression is deceptive, for these letters form a constant background to Achim Thomas Hack's vast investigation of the history of the letter and its role in the network of communication stretching from antiquity to the end of the ninth century. Communication is understood in the widest imaginable sense, encompassing classical diplomatics, rhetoric and literature, history, philology, liturgy, anthropology, sociology, diplomacy with rituals and its agents, and economics. It is expressed in a most spectacular manner through the exchanges of gifts as reflected in the papal correspondence with the Carolingian rulers, including a letter to Queen Bertrada on behalf of her son. The author considers it desirable to compare the letters of the *Codex Carolinus*—compiled, as its preface

indicates, at the request of Charlemagne—to all extant parallel sources for the eighth century (pp. 56–57), but restricts himself for exclusively pragmatic reasons to the analysis of the *Codex* in comparison to the register of Pope Gregory the Great and the collected correspondence of St. Boniface (then bishop of Mainz) and his eventual successor, St. Lul. Another important primary source is the *Liber Pontificalis.* The results are fascinating. As Hack eventually explains—specifically with regard to gifts—early-medieval and late-antique traditions have usually left only thin traces and can be understood and evaluated only through a comparative approach (p. 822).

It is a difficult task to convey the rich contents of the volumes with an extensive historiography for each topic in a short review. An impression of their wealth can be conveyed by a list of appendices (pp. 930–1058): protocol and eschatocol of papal letters from the time of Gregory the Great to Leo III; letters by Carolingians from Charles Martell to Louis the Pious; summaries (*Regesten*) of lost papal, royal, or third-party letters that can be deduced from the text of letters that survived; summaries of the letters of Charles the Great in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript; prosopography of the Frankish and papal emissaries; and gifts mentioned in the register of Gregory the Great, the letter collection of Boniface and Lul, and the *Codex Carolinus*. Three valuable tables follow the appendices: a concordance of the manuscript with all its editions, a discussion of the date of the letters of the *Codex*, and a list of the references to its letters in the *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches* (pp. 1059–89). This is followed by a list of abbreviations and the bibliography organized by primary sources (pp. 1095–1107); secondary sources (pp. 1108–1235); and subdivided registers, including a list of all letters cited.

This impressive work is a significant addition to the scholarship of the Carolingian age and provides new insights regarding perennially debated issues such as the relationship between the papacy and the Frankish empire. The volumes are not entirely free from spelling errors, but this does not affect the general care and attention to detail that make them essential reading for scholars of the period.

*The Catholic University of America (Emerita)* UTA-RENATE BLUMENTHAL

*Odon de Cluny*. Vita sancti Geraldi Aureliacensis. Édition critique, traduction française, introduction et commentaires. Edited by Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen. [Subsidia hagiographica, 89.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2009. Pp. xviii, 327. €75,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-873-65023-0.)

A critical edition of the *Vita sancti Geraldi Aureliacensis* (Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac) has long been required: It is a seminal text surviving from the central Middle Ages. Gerald provides a unique example of a male saint who was a lay nobleman in a period when virtually all others were clerics or kings. This account of his life offers a rare glimpse into the era, revealing the

ubiquity of violence and the harsh lives of peasants, among other fascinating details. Anne-Marie Bultot-Verleysen's critical edition, then, with a French translation, a full introduction, and lengthy commentaries, is truly welcome. Before it appeared, scholars had either to rely on the imprecise version included in the nineteenth-century *Patrologia latina* (*PL*), itself taken from the seventeenth-century *Biblioteca cluniacensis*, or consult the medieval manuscripts themselves. Bultot-Verleysen rightly concludes that there is not much real difference between the *PL* text and these manuscripts (she relies especially on five that she considers closest to the original text)—except for some slight changes in word order or minor words, number and tense of verbs, spellings of proper names, and the like, as well as some obvious typographical errors—and she dutifully records these variants in the critical apparatus to her text. (She has perhaps oddly chosen to use the late-medieval *ę* throughout to represent what in the classical spelling most familiar to modern scholars is *ae* but what in the central Middle Ages was likelier to have been spelled simply as *e*.) Bultot-Verlysen's real accomplishment is not only in correcting all of these errors but also in restoring the few more serious errors and in publishing two episodes from the *Vita* that had been expurgated. Thus she restores the prologue to book 4 of the *Vita* (Gerald's posthumous miracles) that the *PL* had printed as the last section in book 3 (Gerald's death). She also prints for the first time two posthumous miracles that, although attested in early manuscripts, had been dropped from the *PL*: the first, in which Gerald caused the death of a man who raped one of his female pilgrims, and the second, in which Gerald prevented soldiers from blinding a man accused of spying (they were able to poke out one eye but not the other). Her other contributions include her discussions of Odo of Cluny, biblical and other literary influences on the *Vita*, its historical value, as well as extended descriptions of the manuscripts and their relationships. Her commentaries show her familiarity with modern scholarship on a wide range of issues touching the *Vita*.

However, where Bultot-Verleysen fails is in her too-easy acceptance of the traditional attribution of authorship of the *Vita*. She admits that there are two versions of the *Vita sancti Geraldi*, both attributed to Odo of Cluny and both present in multiple medieval manuscripts—and, indeed, the other version, called the *Vita brevior*, is found in two manuscripts older than this version, called the *Vita prolixior*. Since these versions differ in content as well as style, they cannot both be Odo's authentic writing. It is plausible that the version that Bultot-Verleysen has now edited is the forgery, made a century later, and that the other is the genuine article. In ignoring this possibility, she does a disservice to what is otherwise a most valuable contribution to scholarship.

*San Diego State University* MATHEW KUEFLER

*Die Papsturkunden des Hauptstaatsarchivs Dresden,* Erster Band: *Originale Überlieferung,* Teil I: *1104–1303*. Edited by Tom Graber. [Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae, Dritter Hauptteil: Papsturkunden, Band I.] (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung. 2009. Pp. lvi, 379. €88,00. ISBN 978-3-775-21903-7.)

After a hiatus of more than fifty years in the series *Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae*, Tom Graber published in 2006 the diplomas of the Cistercian monastery of Altzelle (reviewed by Charles Hilkin, *ante*, 94 [2008], 557–58). In quick succession a further volume of the Codex is now available, also edited by Graber. It is the first of a new subseries of the *Codex diplomaticus Saxoniae* that will be devoted to the edition of the originals of all papal records extant in the archives of Saxony and elsewhere (except for the Vatican) if they relate to Saxony. Most of these records are found at Dresden. Eventually the new subseries will comprise nine volumes, including—in addition to papal records (six volumes)—the edition of primary sources found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano regarding the history of Saxony (vol. 7) as well as general ecclesiastical records pertaining to Saxony (vol. 8) and, finally as vol. 9, calendars in chronological sequence for the entire subseries (p. viii). The present volume edits in an exemplary manner 157 papal diplomas and letters preserved in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (*Bestand "Originalurkunden"*) from 1104 to 1303. It includes three forgeries, relies in two instances (nos. 154 and 155) on early-modern copies, and reconstitutes on the basis of formularies nine items that were destroyed during World War II. Strictly speaking, these final items cannot be considered originals, but the author is careful to single them out, and the historian is grateful for the additional insights they provide not only concerning the history of Saxon dioceses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but especially for what they reveal regarding the diplomatic usages at the papal curia that evolved with dizzying rapidity in this period. The detailed knowledge of these usages is absolutely essential for determining whether records—all of them derived from Empfängerüberlieferung—are authentic or not. The extremely careful analysis and illustration of the evolution of papal diplomatics stretching over two centuries is perhaps one of the most remarkable achievements of this publication.

The large variation in the number of papal letters and privileges preserved by the recipients and now deposited in the Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden is noteworthy. The reign of Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) stands out in this respect. The earliest item, a supposed privilege for the monastery of Pegau dating from the pontificate of Paschal II (1099–1118), is unfortunately a forgery, with a manipulated lead bull naming Paschal III, but otherwise remarkably accurate for the time of Paschal II (+1). The first authentic document among the editions is one of the rare letters (*littera cum filo serico*) still extant from the pontificate of Pope Honorius II (1124–30), addressed to Margrave Konrad of Meissen dating to 1128 (no. 2). The margrave had

entrusted the collegiate church of Lauterberg to the protection of St. Peter and the Roman See, a donation confirmed by the pope, who stipulated that the canons should follow the rule of St. Augustine in perpetuity with the right to elect their own abbot. Honorius's brief missive also set an annual fee that was recorded in the *Liber Censuum*. The text of the letter itself (p. 10) covers not even half of a page, but the editor's comments, bibliography, and preceding calendar compose another six pages. Not all letters and privileges require an equally demanding set-up as this early, rare record that differs greatly from similar pieces issued a century later (p. 5), but Graber's methodology is the same for each one of the 157 originals presented. The calendar (*Regest* or summary) briefly indicates the content of an item and is followed by a precise description of the document itself with a notation concerning the presence or absence of curial annotations. A subsequent list of earlier editions is then followed by references to earlier calendars such as Philip Jaffé's *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*. All of this information precedes the editions. Comments in the footnotes are extremely detailed, covering paleography and diplomatics in general as well as bibliography. The editor notes in the preface that Paul F. Kehr's "Gottinger Papsturkundenwerk" or *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (for the period up to 1198) provided the basic pattern for his methodology as did the *Censimento Bartoloni*, an inter-European endeavor that intends to edit all papal original records for the centuries from 1198 to 1417.

The volume is a most valuable contribution to the *Censimento* as well as to the *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae*. It includes significant appendices (listing scribes, taxation and distributors, five types of annotations on the front of the document, names of procurators from the period after Innocent III and names of their employers, and four types of annotations on the back of the documents), detailed indices, and an excellent bibliography.

*The Catholic University of America (Emerita)* UTA-RENATE BLUMENTHAL

*Galbert of Bruges and the Historiography of Medieval Flanders*. Edited by Jeff Rider and Alan V. Murray. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 297. $37.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21719-2.)

With J. B. Ross's 1959 English translation, Galbert's seemingly eyewitness account of the murder of Count Charles of Flanders in 1127 and its aftermath has long been a staple in medieval history courses. Charles intended to reduce the Erembald family to serfdom and was subsequently murdered by members of the family, setting off a contest to determine his successor that involved most segments of Flemish society. This book by Galbert experts brings their earlier works conveniently together, with full footnotes and an extensive, up-to-date bibliography. Coeditor Jeff Rider has also produced a critical edition of Galbert's work.

The introduction sets the tone with a discussion of how to read medieval sources. The editors contrast the older "scientific" readings with the rhetorical, discursive, and intellectual aspects discussed here (pp. 9, 241). This is then a book about some of the mentalities lurking under Galbert's narrative. Thus, for example, Galbert is seen as a theorist of medieval bourgeoisie (p. 10) and his work as an autobiography (p. 35). In neither case, however, is the claim nailed down.

Perhaps the most striking new material here concerns gender relationships. We learn from Nancy Partner and Martina Häcker that Galbert found women to be subpolitical (p. 117). Bert Demyttenaere conjectures that Charles may have had a homoerotic relationship with Fromuold the Younger, but concludes that Charles's sexual behavior is a mystery (p. 168). At the same time there are problems with Demyttenaere's argument, since Bertulf married either his niece or his grand-niece to the same man (p. 147), and the canons of "the castral church" (p. 152) are not identified with the secular canons of St. Donatian (p. 159). These areas probably can be explained, but here they are not.

Galbert's account is widely seen as trustworthy and "journalistic," but throughout the book we are warned not to take Galbert's use of "facts" at face value and urged to see how he embellished his interpretation. Partner warns of the "artificiality of history through its emplotment" and the "fictionality of non-fiction" (p. 112). Specifically, we should be suspicious of Galbert's judgment of the Erembalds (p. 199). Galbert was living in a world where his assumptions were turned upside down, hence the struggle within himself to explain the meaning of events. (Ross already alluded to this.) It is thus no surprise that he turns to an eschatological view of sin and revenge as receiving divine punishment (pp. 252, 259).

Given its plan, there is much repetition between the articles, as if the authors are talking past each other and giving slightly different emphases to the same passages. Thus God's countermove (p. 147) is the same as God's stratagem (p. 134). A heavier editorial hand would have helped.

There is no need to choose between "scientific" and "artistic" readings of Galbert, as a fuller understanding requires both. Missing here is any discussion of consensus politics, as well as sufficient coverage of Galbert's rhetoric of persuasion. R. C. Van Caenegem's "scientific" reading is represented here, but his 1990 claim that Ivan of Aalst advocated popular sovereignty receives little mention.

Clearly, Galbert can be read on many levels, but there is little here that lends itself to an undergraduate audience. An overview of the main outlines of the story would have helped, as would a more thorough discussion of the main sources for our knowledge of Flanders in 1127. Something has been gained—an appreciation of Galbert's historical craft—but the earlier empha-

sis on the legal aspects has been slighted. However, it cogently points out new ways to study Galbert's work and pushes the discussion in new directions. No longer should Galbert's work be studied just as history.

*Rutgers University, Newark* FREDERICK H. RUSSELL

*Angelo Clareno Francescano: Atti del XXXIV Convengo internazionale Assisi, 5–7 ottobre 2006.* Edited by Enrico Menestò. [Atti dei Convengi della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani. Nuova Serie, Vol. 17.] (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo. 2007. Pp. x, 430. €48,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-879-88053-4.)

The annual Franciscan Studies Conference in Assisi reliably produces high-quality conference proceedings on important subjects. No exception is the volume dedicated to Angelo Clareno (†1343) whose *Liber Chronicarum* (*c.* 1320s) of Franciscan history, with its poverty controversies and persecution of "Spiritual" Franciscans, set a template for subsequent accounts.

The collection starts in earnest with Paolo Vian's "parallel lives" treatment of Angelo Clareno and Ubertino da Casale. Vian shows how two Spirituals could have opposing reactions to Popes Boniface VIII, Clement V, and John XXII; the difference is explained by a general fight-or-flight approach to the world: The eremitical Angelo wanted to observe literally the Franciscan Rule outside the order, the mendicant Ubertino struggled to do so within it. David Burr scrutinizes Angelo's commentary on the Rule with regard to the notion of obedience. Burr notes the irony that Angelo spent a "number of years . . . dodging his Franciscan superiors and at times the pope as well" (p. 30), but nevertheless emphasized obedience in his commentary. In fact, Angelo considered the Rule a divine revelation and thought that one must obey God rather than men. Felice Accrocca concentrates on the *History of the Seven Tribulations of the Franciscan Order* or *Liber Chronicarum* and skeptically considers G. L. Potestà's thesis about its redaction. Potestà hypothesized a two-step composition: The first redaction contained only six tribulations (*cf.* Job 5:19: "In six tribulations he shall deliver you, and in the seventh, evil shall not touch you") and ended with Clement V in 1314. Angelo then revised his work during the turbulent pontificate of John XXII, adding a seventh tribulation with a touch of evil. Accrocca finds this explanation too tidy and cautions against discarding the old single redaction theory. Marco Bartoli's piece, "The Eschatological Dimension of the Dispute between the Spirituals and Conventuals," notes that it was not a feature of the Council of Vienne debates and only appeared in the 1320s after a papal commission condemned statements from Olivi's *Apocalypse Commentary* (1297) that implied an identification of the Roman Church with the Whore of Babylon, and a supersession of previous ages of the Church by the last one. Bartoli's explanation for this absence is that much of the order, until then, subscribed to a historical vision

not much different from that of the Spirituals—and he looks at some Franciscan apocalypse commentaries (as Burr had done in the uncited *Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom* [Philadelphia, 1993]) to fortify this point. Roberto Lambertini, with typical insightfulness, investigates the wide semantic range of the term *Fraticelli* in the aftermath of John XXII's *Sancta Romana* that condemned Angelo Clareno's group with this label. Jürgen Miethke's "Pope John XXII and the Poverty Controversy" is a bibliographically updated version of the narrative in his *Ockhams Weg zur Sozialphilosophie* (Berlin, 1969). Miethke is old-school in seeing two discrete Franciscan controversies: a practical one over the observance of poverty with Spirituals like Angelo and a theoretical one with Michaelists like Ockham over Christ's poverty. Miethke's piece is on the whole stimulating, but its second part is stronger than the first, where no mention is made of the bull *Quorundam Exigit* (whose enforcement links the two controversies). For the theological debate, Miethke vehemently reasserts the primacy and reliability of Michaelist sources against recent revisionists who can only be grateful for his hard questions. The volume is brought to conclusion by Potestà—the world expert on Clareno—who gives an elegant and intellectually generous summing up of the papers. This Assisi conference must have been a memorable occasion; the commemorative volume is certainly a "must-have."

*University at Albany, SUNY* PATRICK NOLD

*The Letters of Pierre de Cros, Chamberlain to Pope Gregory XI (1371–1378).* By Daniel Williman. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 356.] (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University. 2009. Pp. xvii, 118, with CD-Rom. $59.00. ISBN 978-0-866-98404-1.)

The Avignon papacy marks a very interesting chapter in church history, not only because the fourteenth century itself was such a maelstrom of activity and disasters but also because the very oddity of the popes being exiled in southern France, away from their natural home, for seventy interminable years brought new pressures on the institutions and the men who staffed them.

Daniel Williman, an accomplished and always interesting student of the period, brings us a brief look at Pierre de Cros, cousin and chamberlain to Pope Gregory XI, and later a cardinal in the Curia of the antipope Clement VII. This small book is divided into four parts: a look at de Cros and his extensive family relations, his function as head of the Camera Apostolica, his role in the Curia, and the sources plumbed. There are two appendices: the *Itinerarium* of Pierre Ameilh, recounting Gregory XI's voyage back to Rome; and a family tree.

As with all of medieval society, the papacy was a beehive of clan members buzzing around their leader. During the Avignon period, no clan was more

prolific than the Rogers, which saw two of its members made pope, while a third refused election; twenty-three were created cardinal. Williman extends the research in this remarkable family.

Williman then presents a masterful overview of the Camera Apostolica, detailing its staffing and tax streams; the latter ranges from common services to spoils. Whereas others often assume the reader knows the intricacies of the papal Camera, Williman spells it all out clearly.

The third section, "The Ministerial Policies of Pierre de Cros," is less successful, but that is a function of the evidence available. Gregory XI was a strong leader, who kept his eye on much that was going on in his administration. This, of course, leaves less room for a subordinate's initiative, even someone as important as de Cros. In addition to the constant depredations, seizures, and bloodshed of the ongoing Hundred Years' War, the pope also had to deal with brigands in his own neighborhood and the bigger ones of the Italian peninsula. The Visconti brothers drew the wrath of Gregory, who, as always, threw himself into the fray. Calling on every ally and resource available, the pope launched armed forces against Bernabo and Galeazzo Visconti and had some signal, but temporary, success. Williman accepts an account by Pietro Gazata, who claimed that Galeazzo Visconti pounced unexpectedly on a shipment of 100,000 ducats intended for papal forces and thus turned the tide of war. That may have happened, but the pope does not refer to such a theft, and the condottiere John Hawkwood, in the pay of Avignon, explained that he retired his forces from battle because of high casualties—and the burden of profitable captives.

This is a book that helps us to gain a fuller picture of the papal court, especially in the 1370s. It is a fuller picture not only because Williman has shed more light on another important member of the Avignonese Curia but also because, in his meticulous descriptions of the activities of the likes of de Cros, we sense all the more strongly the worldliness that was steadily infiltrating the attitudes of the people surrounding the pope, the worldliness that would wreak such havoc on the papacy and Europe on the death of Gregory XI.

*Lancaster, PA* PAUL R. THIBAULT

*Basilio Bessarione: Lo spirito greco e l'occidente.* By Giuseppe L. Coluccia. [Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, Monografie 15.] (Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki. 2009. Pp. xxx, 444. €50,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-822-25925-7.)

Perhaps because of his eccentricity, the Hellenizing, likely pagan Platonist Gemistus Pletho (*c.* 1355–1452) has received plenty of attention from scholars, including works by François Masai, Christopher Montague Woodhouse,

and Brigitte Tambrun-Krasker. But it is a different situation for Gemistus's most celebrated and influential disciple: Cardinal Basilio Bessarion (*c.* 1402–72), who, although a strong defender of the Greek tradition and Platonic philosophy, maintained his loyalty to the Catholic Church. For many years, the only real monograph about Bessarion was the classic study *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann* by Ludwig Mohler (Paderborn, 1927); Mohler also issued an edition of the cardinal's masterpiece, *In calumniatorem Platonis*, and a volume of other texts by Bessarion and his *familiares*. Lotte Labowski, Concetta Bianca, James Hankins, John Monfasani, and Brunello Lotti later wrote other important articles, followed by recent monographs by Marian Cizewski and Héctor Delbosco.

Giuseppe L. Coluccia's book is not only the first Italian monograph devoted to a key protagonist in Renaissance cultural history but also offers a remarkably complete and updated bibliography (pp. 375–424) on the life, works, and intellectual circle of the cardinal—an important instrument for future work. Coluccia—who has written a biography of Nicholas V—is not involved in the academic milieu, so his monograph is aimed at introducing Bessarion to a wider public. Written chronologically, the book describes the life of the cardinal as a sort of *Bildungsroman*. This romantic tone is probably responsible for the principal flaw of Coluccia's work: He admires Bessarion too much to recognize the ambiguities of the cardinal's life and ideas. The political meaning of *In calumniatorem Platonis*, composed not only to defend Plato's reputation but also to protect Bessarion's position within the Roman Curia, is largely neglected. The conspiracy against Pope Paul II by the Accademia Romana, which involved many of Bessarion's *familiares*, is summarized in just a few pages. In one of a series of factual errors, Coluccia mistakenly describes Callimaco Esperiente and Filippo Buonaccorsi as two different individuals (p. 231). Although he largely relies on secondary literature, almost exclusively in Italian, Coluccia nevertheless unearths some unusual aspects of Bessarion's life: developing some observations by Giovanni Pugliese Caratelli, he offers an interesting chapter on the cardinal's pastoral activity in southern Italy. Coluccia is perhaps too optimistic when he states that modern translations of Bessarion's works might bring about peace in the Middle East (p. 277).

As a whole, the book is not always precise, and there are some sections that read more like notes rather than refined paragraphs. Yet, despite the ingenuousness of style and content, Coluccia's book contains a wealth of references that is useful for those who wish to learn about Bessarion and his world.

*Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* EVA DEL SOLDATO

## Early Modern European

*Offices et papauté (XIVe–XVIIe siècle). Charges, hommes, destins.* Edited by Armand Jamme and Olivier Poncet. [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 334.] (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2005. Pp. 1049. €118,00. ISBN 978-2-728-30694-7; ISSN 0223-5099.)

This large volume is the product of two conferences, at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano in 2001 and at the École Française de Rome in 2002. The topic is the offices and officers of the papal administration, especially those councils and officials that oversaw the papal state and, to a lesser extent, the diplomatic corps. Many of the papers discuss the structure of the administrative offices of the papacy and their development; other papers are prosopographical, that is, they offer lists of those who served in a particular office, along with information on their origins, preparation, and administrative careers. This is detailed, informative history of the administration of the papal state, a field much cultivated by Italian, French, and German scholars in the past thirty-five years, but generally ignored by English-language historians. The volume presents thirty-four papers: seventeen in Italian, twelve in French, and five in German. Many studies include useful appendices and tables. The volume offers short summaries of the articles, written in the same language as the articles, but lacks information about the contributors.

The editors open the volume with an introduction that reviews briefly previous scholarship on the development of the Renaissance state, a term proposed by Federico Chabod fifty years ago, although not used by the editors. Instead, they argue that the administration of the papal monarchy is an interesting case study of the development of the state from the Middle Ages into modern times. Andreas Rehberg writes about the relations between the curia and the city government of Rome, noting that they differed over taxes, and that beginning with the two Medici popes (Leo X, 1513–21, and Clement VII, 1523–34), the papacy gained greater control over the city while Roman nobles harvested more curial offices. This article is an exception to the pattern of the volume, because it discusses the political consequences of administrative actions to a limited degree. Christoph Weber writes about the Segnatura di Grazia and the Segnatura di Giustizia, which were growing in importance and becoming incubators for future bishops and cardinals. Maria Antonietta Visceglia discusses the *familiari* of the pope and the increasing number and growing importance of the offices they filled.

Silvano Giordano offers biographical information on the governors of the papal state during the pontificate of Paul V (1605–21). Massimo Carlo Giannini provides information on the treasurers-general of the papal treasury and their careers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Andrea Petrini lists the offices under Paul II (1464–71) on the basis of a newly discovered document. Irene Fosi discusses the distribution of justice in the papal state.

In a short article Antonio Menniti Ippolito comments on the mobility and immobility in curial offices in the seventeenth century. Knut Schulz demonstrates that Italians increasingly replaced non-Italians in the curia in the sixteenth century, whereas Alexander Koller lists the nuncios to the Holy Roman Emperor from 1560 to 1648. Andrea Gardi offers a survey of the changing administrative role of papal legates governing parts of the papal state from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Nicole Reinhardt discusses Bolognese men filling offices in Rome and Romans doing the same in Bologna.

Ralf Lützelschwab, Armand Jamme, Olivier Poncet, Étienne Anheim, Bernard Barbiche, Brigide Schwarz, Pierre Jugie, Germain Butaud, and Philippe Genequand focus on the Avignonese papacy. Some contributors offer studies of individual office-holders; see the articles of François-Charles Uginet, Germano Gualdo, Angela Quattrochi, and Francesca Boris. There are additional, sometimes short, articles by Bruno Laurioux, Birgit Emich and Wolfgang Reinhard, Birgit Emich alone, Manuel Vaquero Piñeiro, Giampiero Brunelli, Simona Feci, Stefano Tabacchi, and Stefan Brüdermann.

All of the articles are documented with an abundance of archival, manuscript, and secondary references. A neophyte scholar in this field will probably find every important study that has been done in the past thirty-five years listed in the bibliographies of the articles plus a great deal of new information. The volume is a fine achievement, and the editors and contributors are to be congratulated. On the other hand, the history of the institutions and officers of the papal state, while very valuable, is only part of a larger history. Men and councils administered, governed, and collected taxes for the papacy, and rose to higher offices, in a time of war, sack, the cultural and political changes of the Renaissance, and the upheavals of the Protestant and Catholic or Counter Reformation. These excellent studies provide material for the larger history of the papacy in these centuries.

*University of Toronto (Emeritus) and Chapel Hill, NC* PAUL F. GRENDLER

*Reforming Saints: Saints' Lives and Their Authors in Germany, 1470–1530.* By David J. Collins. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 227. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-195-32953-7.)

The title and subtitle of this book conceal the specificity of its important principal subject matter—namely, the substantial body of hagiographical writings produced by dozens of German humanist authors in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Despite oversights by generations of modern scholars who apparently "want the humanists to be something other than they were," Collins demonstrates that "[w]hen we allow the humanist authors to speak in their own voice, what we find is that they were exuberant writ-

ers about the saints" (pp. 14, 18). The book thus undermines simplistic and mistaken associations of Renaissance humanism with disdain for the "medieval" cult of the saints. Overlapping with some of the concerns in Alison Knowles Frazier's study of hagiographical writing of *Quattrocento* Italian humanists, it sheds revealing light on a neglected chapter in the history of Catholic hagiography between the *Golden Legend* and the *Acta Sanctorum*, a chapter long overshadowed by the traditional association of humanism with the Reformation and the latter's rejection of the cult of the saints.

Collins's deeply researched book is based on a meticulous analysis of more than forty free-standing Latin lives of saints that deal with men and women who were active in the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire, accounts that were either written or revised between 1470 and 1530. Many of them were published, whereas others remained in manuscript; some were revised in telling ways, others translated also into the vernacular. Collins finds no single, simple pattern among his authors—some of whom were more deeply marked by humanist training than others—but rather a variety of complex relationships to the sources with which they worked, the princely or civic patrons with whom they collaborated, and the audiences and devotional practices toward which they directed their *vitae*. What emerges clearly in the four chapters of his study is the extent to which hagiographical writers such as Jerome Emser, Sigismund Meisterlin, Albert von Bonstetten, Joannes Cincinnius, and Henry Gundelfingen were not erudite elites standing outside "popular religion," but rather were embedded within contemporary sociore-ligious contexts that presupposed the veneration of the saints "through a literature that was conceived not as 'conservative' so much as ordinary" (p. 127). At the same time, the German humanist authors revised and reworked medieval *vitae* in accord with their diverse aims, including a widespread desire to reform church and society—hence the predominance of exemplary bishops among their saintly types and of eremitic recluses who modeled radical holiness. In addition to their Latin usage and classical literary allusions, their use of poetry and poetic epigrams, the humanists' hagiographical writings are marked by that hybrid combination of descriptive geography, historical chronicle, and storytelling known as chorography, which also characterized humanist historical writing more generally. In the case of Nicholas of Flue (1417–87), "the fifteenth-century's saintly superstar" (p. 99) and the subject of the book's fourth chapter, the humanists seized on an extreme ascetic and holy hermit who functioned as a sort of patron saint not merely for his home territory of Unterwalden, but for the Swiss Confederation as a whole. Admiration for "Brother Claus" survived the confessional divisions of the Reformation era in Switzerland.

Although Collins's particular focus is humanist hagiography in Germanic lands from 1470 to 1530, the analytical reach of this important book is much broader. He incorporates a wide knowledge of the previous history of medieval hagiography of which his humanist authors made such extensive

use, and in his conclusion he compares their writings to early-modern hagiographical successors such as Georg Witzel, Laurentius Surius, and the early Bollandists.

*University of Notre Dame* BRAD S. GREGORY

*Luther: Out of the Storm*. By Derek Wilson. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 399. $24.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-800-69718-1.)

This book, in the weaving together of Martin Luther's story with its context, is told in fresh, appealing form. It announces its goal: replacing Roland Bainton's widely readable account, *Here I Stand* (New York, 1950), with one designed for a post-Christian audience. The author, Derek Wilson, even follows Bainton's example in reproducing sixteenth-century woodcuts, effectively selected to offer glimpses into Luther's age.

The opening, which Wilson labels "a fanciful reconstruction" (p. 1), is not typical of his modus operandi, which relates the story in lively fashion but with fairly consistent faithfulness to the original sources. It is just that such occasional "reconstructions" do not enable strangers to his subject to sort out reliably when he is using this kind of alternative narrative. Indeed, the footnotes are very sparse and indicate little engagement with the two generations of scholarship since Bainton's book appeared. Wilson's sense of historical context arouses interest throughout and is thick with the detailed flavor of the societal and religious context at points, but is superficial in this regard at others.

Wilson largely sticks to his biographical focus, but with a figure like Luther, some attention to his thought belongs to the story of his life. The author often shows sensitivity to Luther's way of thinking, as, for instance, in his interpretation of the reformer's doctrine of justification that is imparted not as a legal fiction but as a re-creative Word of God. Wilson would have enhanced this section by unfolding Luther's anthropology of the two kinds or dimensions of human righteousness, active and passive; failure to do so passes over an important piece of Luther's view of both God and the human creature. It would have been preferable to read an exploration of the fundamental hermeneutical statement of Luther's "theology of the cross" at the Heidelberg meeting of his Augustinian order in 1518, where he laid down the underlying foundation of his new way of practicing theology, rather than encounter an altogether too facile and simplistic comparison of his Dominican opponents with the KGB (p. 103). But such silliness should not discourage those who know the landscape from reading the book, for, in general, those who know the story can experience this retelling as a fresh vista, which deserves and rewards a critical reading.

It is not clear why Luther's biography must be enlisted in the author's wrestling with the twentieth-century "German problem" when tracing it to

several strands of the Enlightenment would have been more helpful. But this is a common instinct among Westerners. Much more justified is Wilson's placing of Luther's thought within the context of the twenty-first-century religious scene, which he largely accomplishes with sympathy and sensitivity.

This is not the book that should be assigned to students new to Luther, but it can serve as a review or expansion of view for those who know something of his life or thought and is a delightful encounter with Luther's person.

*Concordia Seminary, St. Louis* ROBERT KOLB

*The Correspondence of Wolfgang Capito,* Vol. 2: *1524–1531*. Edited and translated by Erika Rummel with the assistance of Milton Kooistra. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. xxx, 538. $165.00. ISBN 978-0-802-09955-6.)

The second part of this excellent project takes us to the heart of Wolfgang Capito's work as a reformer in Strasbourg. The years before 1524 had forced Capito to choose between the two lodestars of his career: his commitment to Erasmian humanism and his enthusiasm for church reform. It was not immediately apparent to Capito as he built his reputation that this parting of the ways would be necessary. As late as 1522 he was a trusted adviser to Albrecht of Mainz; in that year he visited Martin Luther in Wittenberg, a visit that seems to have been decisive in persuading him to abandon his previous support for Desiderius Erasmus on the key issue of free will. In 1523 Capito moved to Strasbourg as provost of the collegiate church of St. Thomas. His breach with Catholicism became manifest the following February when he was appointed parish priest of St. Peter's. By taking a wife, Capito made a further irrevocable statement of his new allegiance.

Once these steps were taken, Capito became a key member of the powerful group of reformers committed to the establishment of a fully evangelized church in Strasbourg. This was a complex and protracted process, involving three interlocking issues: the public proclamation of reformed allegiance and the building of an institutional church in conformity with the new order, the creation of a Christian people educated in their new faith, and the resolution of the jurisdictional and financial issues resulting from the transfer of church property. Capito gave himself willingly to these tasks, lending his support to collective appeals to the city magistrates. He also wrote fluently in defense of evangelical positions: here his close connections to the Strasbourg printing industry, through his relative Wolfgang Köpfel, were a further asset. But Capito also contributed his share to the problems that beset the Strasbourg reformers.

In many respects Capito, a renowned Hebrew scholar and intellectual, was ill-fitted for the hurly-burly of a turbulent urban Reformation. His polit-

ical antennae were often seriously deficient. Shortly after his arrival in Strasbourg his credulous support for the allegations of Hans Jakob Schütz, who claimed to have uncovered a plot against the reformers, damaged his credibility severely. His reluctance to join the condemnation of Anabaptists was a source of anxiety at a time when the growth of radicalism threatened the stability of the fledgling church. His encouragement of heterodox figures such as Caspar Schwenckfeld further strained the patience of his colleagues and may be the reason for his exclusion from the Strasbourg delegation to the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529. By 1530 his reputation was sufficiently tarnished that both Philipp Melanchthon and his old patron Albrecht of Mainz refused to meet him at the Diet of Augsburg. One cannot think these would have been happy times, even before plague claimed the life of his wife in 1531.

This second volume follows the sensible editorial practice of the first. Where correspondence is already published, the letter in question is generally presented here in summary form. Also included are all communications where Capito is involved in collective representations as one of the Strasbourg ministers. Alongside the pieces familiar from Olivier Millet's finding list of Capito's correspondence, this volume also includes a significant number of previous unknown letters, many of them discovered by Milton Kooistra in his investigation of the Strasbourg archives. This is, of course, one of the few projects of this nature that presents the letters only in English translation. These translations, by Erika Rummel, have an easy elegance that greatly increase the accessibility of the volume. Any student of the Reformation, or indeed of the sixteenth century, will find much of interest here. The contrast between the lofty high-mindedness of the ministerial exhortations and the hard-nosed financial negotiations for the surrender of Capito's canonry is particularly enjoyable (Letter 248a). A fine index and exemplary explanatory notes complete this splendid volume, the second of three that will carry this project through to the end of Capito's life.

*University of St. Andrews* ANDREW PETTEGREE

*Religionskonflikt und Öffentlichkeit: Eine Mediengeschichte des Kölner Kriegs (1582–1590).* By Eva-Maria Schnurr. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2009. Pp. 625. €69,90. ISBN 978-3-412-20395-5.)

In 1582 Gebhard Truchsess, the prince-elector and archbishop of Cologne, joined the Protestant confession, intending to marry and keep his title with the associated incomes. The decision delegitimized the Cologne government and instantly created a Protestant majority among the Imperial electors, raising the specter of a non-Catholic emperor at some future time. The ensuing War of Cologne, which eventually became mixed up in the hostilities between Spain and Holland, was not only a struggle of guns and pikes; it was also a war of words and a challenge to the communications

media of the late-sixteenth century. Eva-Maria Schnurr's careful and exhaustive doctoral dissertation analyzes 182 texts in German connected with the war, in the light of scholarship pioneered by Bob Scribner on early-modern publicity with special reference to Germany. The pamphlets, poetry, trade-fair reports, and news sheets discuss Truchsess's confessional switch, the petition by the Cologne Protestants to the emperor, and the events of the war. They also debate such basic principles as religious freedom; "German liberty;" and duty to God, Church, and state. Schnurr combines a qualitative with a quantitative content analysis; thus the account of differences in emphasis between the many Protestant and the fewer Catholic examples, and the careful tracing of intertextualities across various media that shows meanings and expressions shared between one work and another, is accompanied by tabulation of the relative importance of discussions of legitimacy over simple information (drawing here on Uwe Jochum), of emotional appeals over appeals to reason (referring to Miriam Chrisman), of the relative importance of oral versus written borrowings, and of geographical and chronological distribution. She uses the term *propaganda* guardedly, as is appropriate in this time period, while identifying such attitude-building elements as demonization of the enemy (p. 388), charges of "tyranny" (p. 392), and references to the Spanish "black legend" (p. 391). She finds that the more analytical writings, tending to reach into the political decision-making process and the cabinets of princes, are more prominent where the object of attack is weaker—in this case, the Protestant side (p. 403). Nor does she neglect the wider context in which this publication activity occurred, in the presence of efforts at persuasion in the realms of the visual, the theatrical, and the religious.

How effective was it all, considering contemporary rates of literacy and the limited print runs? That, of course, is the key question of this type of research, and there are no easy solutions. As is often the case, the best information we have regarding circulation and contexts of reading, including the crossover between oral and written accounts, comes from the dataset itself. At least the authors were apparently reading each other's works. No doubt, in principle, "through one communicative act, namely, the publication of a text, uncountable recipients were reachable, unknown to the author" (p. 428), as texts became objects of discussion and debate. Whether the publishing activity actually affected the conduct of the war in any way is almost impossible to assess; in spite of the overwhelming number of Protestant productions and their supposed morale-building function, the Catholic side won and Ernest of Bavaria took over definitively as prince-archbishop. The one potential reader who has left a trace of his impressions about events as they occurred, a certain Hermann Weinsberg, apparently, like many others living in cities, obtained his local news mostly by word of mouth and relied on the printed word only for faraway events. Was there a public sphere in late-sixteenth-century Germany? Because of the emancipatory implications of the concept of Jürgen Habermas, Schnurr, in the conclusion to this fine work, joins Wolfgang

Behringer in opting for a notion closer to Manuel Castells's "Space of Flows," where critical discussion was first made possible.

*University College Cork* BRENDAN DOOLEY

*The Pilgrims' Complaint: A Study of Popular Thought in the Early Tudor North*. By Michael Bush. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xiv, 307. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66785-8.)

This is Michael Bush's third major book on the Pilgrimage of Grace, a rebellion that saw as many as 60,000 people in northern England rise in protest late in 1536. One of Bush's earlier books studied the formation of the rebel armies; the other, coauthored with David Bownes, examined the set of smaller revolts that followed the December settlement that brought the main rebellion to an end. This book focuses on the Pilgrims' grievances and how they reflected popular political and religious thought in the north more generally. Bush argues that these people cannot simply be characterized as "traditionalists" nor their beliefs as "conservative." Rather, they sometimes used the language of custom to demand innovation. They sought to defend a "society of orders" by demanding changes both reversionary and new.

Bush devotes individual chapters to complaints about taxation, constitutional issues, and agrarian conflict. Another examines the degree to which a sense of "northern-ness" shaped the rebellion, concluding that the sense existed but played relatively little part in the origin or outcome of the rising. Distinctions between the Yorkshire Pilgrims and those further to the northwest are clearly mapped, with the latter's efforts marked by stronger expressions of agrarian grievance. Readers might well find the chapter on the Pilgrims' religious complaints of greatest interest. Here Bush makes the reasonable point that the Ten Articles and other such documents must be interpreted in the light of contemporary attitudes, as "from a historical perspective the meaning of the articles depends not upon what scholars now think but on how they were perceived at the time" (p. 82). Bush argues that underlying the Pilgrims' religious complaints were attachments to papal supremacy and the system of saintly intercessors. Part of his evidence for the depth of popular opposition to the royal supremacy—or at least to claims for the king's cure of souls—comes from the angry reactions of some to the December pardon, which required recipients to recognize the king's supremacy over body and soul. Given that so many Pilgrims accepted the pardon and oath, however, even while in a position of strength, further discussion of this point seems necessary. More generally, Bush argues that the Pilgrims' religious complaints can be characterized neither as proxies for underlying agrarian or economic concerns, nor as sentimental traditionalism. Rather, they were rooted in faith and a fear of heresy.

Although the bibliography is largely up to date, the book rarely engages directly with current discussions of popular politics and political culture,

nor with the sorts of theoretical approaches adopted by Andy Wood, for example, in his recent study of the 1549 rebellions. On the specific matter of the Pilgrimage, however, the book clearly stakes its position in the relevant debates. No elite conspiracy, the Pilgrimage was essentially a rising of the commons in defense of a society of orders. It was neither primarily religious nor predominantly economic in motivation, but both in tandem. Nor does Bush think that one category of complaint can be subsumed in the other, although he does frequently identify the overlapping elements. "A person and an event" linked both the religious and commonwealth complaints, for example, with Thomas Cromwell "detested as both a heretic and an expropriator of the realm's wealth" and the recent dissolution of the lesser monasteries seen "as both a major blow against the old religion and a cause of social impoverishment" (p. 4). Bush recognizes the problem of provenance in evaluating the Pilgrims' petitions, oaths, songs, and other such documents for evidence of grievances held by the commonalty as opposed to the gentry or clergy, weighing words against actions. The discussion is often speculative, but always careful. The book will not convince all readers on all points, but it does offer a lucid and often enlightening discussion of popular sentiment in the early Tudor north.

*Dalhousie University* KRISTA KESSELRING

*Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education*. By Ian Green. [St. Andrew's Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xviii, 373. $114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66368-3.)

This substantial study represents the author's revision of his Waynflete Lectures, delivered at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 2006. Like Ian Green's other books, *The Christian's ABC* (Oxford, 1996) and *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), it is an encyclopedic survey of almost an entire genre of English books—a staple of the publishing trade, textbooks printed to supply the rapidly growing numbers of grammar schools. The chief aim of the book is to explore the curious juxtaposition, perhaps tension, between the elements of Protestantism and humanism in English education.

The labors on show here are prodigious and, as far as they go, definitive. Hundreds of books are examined, many in some depth, and Green provides a detailed account of the content of an English classical education—and of the varying levels at which that education was offered—in the two centuries from Henry VIII to George II (chapters 3 and 4). Among the most interesting of his findings is the increasing role of English translations of classical works in education from the middle of the seventeenth century. Only in chapter 5 is the relationship between Protestantism and humanism addressed directly, and Green does discern tension here, although not any kind of radical dysfunction. But the case he makes there and in the summative chapter 6, "Assessing the Impact," perhaps could have been developed a little further. After detect-

ing a tension between an emphasis on practical virtue characteristic of the Erasmian and classical traditions and the "Protestant stress on divine grace" (p. 307), Green ultimately concludes that there was an "alliance of state religion and grammar school education" (p. 364) that prevailed until the nineteenth-century age of reform.

Yet what this precisely calls into question is the Protestantism (that is, the theology) of English Protestantism. Even Philipp Melanchthon's enormously influential reconciliation of Renaissance humanism with Reformation theology, to which the whole European Protestant tradition was massively indebted, was ultimately something of an intellectual sleight of hand. It was more shotgun marriage than love match. What Green's analysis of English educational textbooks suggests is that authentically Protestant soteriology made little impact in the mainstream channels of English education and therefore probably equally little among relatively broad swathes of the English elite and middling sort. A goodly, or godly, section of the clergy was always deeply committed to this theology, along with a rather narrower section of the laity. But, as Puritan ministers in the early-seventeenth century were wont to lament, all the preaching of the "Gospel" had made little difference to the majority of the population. This is not to say, of course, that the English people as a whole were not Protestant. They most emphatically were, and God help anyone who seemed to threaten their Protestantism—witness Archbishop William Laud, King Charles I, and King James II. But that Protestantism was more a matter of identity than of theology, and that identity was all about being English and not being Catholic or "popish" (that is, from an English point of view, superstitious, idolatrous, antichristian, foreign, traitorous, Jesuitical, casuistical, or equivocal). The cohesion, such as it was, of English Protestantism was entirely negative: a proposition abundantly illustrated by the unholy alliances that brought about the Glorious Revolution, and annually enacted in the November rituals of "Gunpowder Treason." But this Protestantism was hardly something that required formal schooling or even formal catechesis for its transmission, anymore than late-medieval Catholicism had done. It was by 1700 the DNA of English culture. Nor was this Protestantism even theoretically incompatible with a classical or humanist education. It may be that Green will have more to say about that in the promised final volume of his trilogy on early-modern English Protestantism. In the meantime, he has produced a work of solid scholarship that will have something for almost any student of early-modern English educational or religious history.

*Queens' College, Cambridge* RICHARD REX

*Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590.* By James Murray. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 353. $108.00. ISBN 978-0-521-77038-5.)

This is a new, profoundly researched, highly disciplined, and thoughtful study on efforts to both implant and repudiate the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Ireland. It emerges from the wave wash of new approaches, activated in the 1970s, to what was a sterile topic not helped by failed, monocausal explanations of failure. Originating as a doctoral thesis, the book has evolved over about fifteen years. Hence its depth and finesse—yielding a research outcome that will be hard to match in current circumstances of increasingly tight completion plans. Another benefit of the study is its "deliberately old-fashioned narrative form" (p. 18). Happily, this means departure from the virtual norm in historiography in recent generations—the sacrifice of form to content. Here, one has not only history proper and analysis but also a lively narrative—episodic, full of human interest and suspense, but earthed in factual evidence. The sources are chiefly church and government records, as most of the parochial sources crucial to regional micro-studies are not extant in Ireland.

The focus is on the keyword *enforcing* and the English enforcers, be they viceroys, lord-deputies, archbishops, or deans of Dublin. The task was Sisyphean. James Murray zooms in on responsible clergy and administrators down the chain of command. They were "English Irish," the old colonial English residing in the gated community of the "Pale"—Ireland's Cape Colony, as it were, that was antipathetic to the conquered but unpacified Gaelic Irish majority outside it. The narrative delineates the zigzags of different strategies born of frustration and exasperation. In the Pale, the new ecclesio-political problems were acute following various responses to government policies. There was formal conformity, grudging compliance, and semi-acceptance of a new bottle that retained the old wine, so that Catholic piety survived. There was also nonconformity, dissidence, recusancy, and increasing Catholic reaffirmation and confession. Catholic revivalism seems to have been nourished partly by the Elizabethan Protestant drive to command more obedience and partly by the impetus of Tridentine reform, usefully aided by some martyrs' blood.

In this book, *Ireland* refers to part of it: the Pale. Further restriction is to the county, city, and Archdiocese of Dublin. *Clerical resistance* pertains to that of the senior clergy ("clerical elite") below the archbishop forming the chapter of the secular one of Dublin's two cathedrals, St. Patrick's, which was of totemic significance to the colonials. Cathedral corporate identity, solidarity, and obstructionism are a central component of this book. The Reformation on the agenda is not related to any (known or recorded) local demand in any sector of society or ethnic group, but rather to the Tudor, constitutional, top-down one—Ireland being part of the English Crown's domains.

The introduction provides a magisterial survey of recent studies. The first two chapters illuminate the distinctive, confident, but rigid culture of Dublin Christianity. The double nature of its historic mission is clarified—an English Irish Church embodying not only a superior, more conscientious Catholicism but also a superior civil culture and legal system. The remaining chapters follow a chronological continuum, reporting and analyzing conservative neutralizing of progressivist pressures.

If Murray abides by the ineluctable conclusion of Reformation failure, his analysis is distinctive. He proposes that Protestant Reformation was rejected by most of the Old English community not just because it was un-Catholic but also because it was un-English. Its self-perception was as a bearer of traditional (medieval), indivisible, Anglo-Roman Catholic culture. Its founding charter was understood to be a papal bull, *Laudabiliter*, granted in 1155 by an English pope to an Anglo-Norman king authorizing invasion of Ireland to reform undisciplined Irish religion and life according to the "faith of Christ," canonical moral laws, Gregorian reform, and the *Ecclesia anglicana*. This vocation conditioned the English Irish mind indelibly—yet that mission, too, had failed woefully. The prospect of an all-Ireland, Protestant mission was unthinkable. It would endanger the English language, superiority, hegemony, essential apartness, and Catholic truth. The Christian elect (as it were) of Ireland were "the [resident] faithful Catholics of the English nation" (p. 48).

The resolute approach in this work to unappreciated aspects of the Reformation imbroglio in Ireland will help readjust the lenses of overall appraisal.

*University of Glasgow* IAN HAZLETT

*Monumenta Borgia,* Vol. VII: *(1550–1566). Sanctus Franciscus Borgia Quartus Gandiae Dux et Societatis Iesu Praepositus Generalis Tertius (1510–1572).* Edited by Enrique García Hernán. [Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Vol. 157.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana. 2009. Pp. 858. €35,00. ISBN 978-8-448-25185-7.)

Volume VII of the *Monumenta Borgia* follows 2003's volume VI, also edited by Enrique García Hernán. These volumes are the most significant scholarly contributions among several works celebrating the quincentennial of the birth in 1510 of St. Francis Borgia, duke of Gandía in the province of Valencia and superior general of the Society of Jesus. It is not hyperbole to say that García Hernán's work will transform our understanding of the early Jesuits and the order's interaction with early-modern politics and society.

Volume VI of the *Monumenta Borgia*, with its 1060 documents spanning the years 1478 to 1551, places the saint and the Society of Jesus in a larger Iberian and European context. Volume VII continues the work of volume VI,

with 1792 documents from 1550 to 1566 (the one exception is a previously unknown 1539 document from Emperor Charles V naming Borgia as a caballero de Santiago). As García Hernán did in volume VI, he includes important and relevant documents from archives both inside and outside of the order's own. Among the archives represented in the reviewed volume are the Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu de Madrid, Spain's Archivo Histórico Nacional, the Archivo de la Compañía de Jesús in Alcalá de Henares, the Archivo General de Simanca, and the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus. The documents are arranged chronologically, with placeholders of related correspondence from other volumes of the *MHSI*.

Volume VII begins with an excellent introduction of almost forty pages that includes the most recent literature on Borgia and his age. Throughout the rest of the volume, García Hernán clarifies the text in editorial notes, but balances the critical apparatus with making room in the volume for as many documents as possible. His success with this can be seen in the extraordinary range of the subjects covered by these letters: the Jesuit education ministry, court life under King Philip II, the Inquisition, the papal war with Spain, Rome's conflicts with France and the Ottoman Empire, missionary activity around the world, and the roles of both Europe's elite and *conversos* in the Society of Jesus.

The letters of volume VII cover Europe and missionary activities, but priority was clearly given to Borgia's Spain. Either directly or indirectly, documents refer to Borgia's entrance into the Society of Jesus (1547), his trip to Rome (1550), his service as a Jesuit in the province of Guipúzcoa (1551–53), his role as commissary to Spain (1554), his influence as confessor to Juana of Austria, his troubles with the Spanish Inquisition (1559), his arrival in Rome (1561), his ongoing contact with his family and the affairs of the Duchy of Gandía, and his election as superior general in June 1565 after the death of Diego Laínez in January of that year. Borgia's service spans an important period of transition for the Society of Jesus, one in which the identity of the order was formed during a process of expansion and consolidation. The documents in this volume speak more to Borgia's administrative, political, and social contributions to the Society than they do to issues of spirituality, but these documents are fundamental to an understanding of how he and the other early members of the Society centralized a worldwide order, with Jesuits in Brazil, South Asia, the Far East, and across Europe.

García Hernán has provided an important collection of archival sources that is useful for a broad range of fields and issues. Scholars of Jesuit studies, organizational studies, and sixteenth-century Spain and Europe will find much of value here. The documents reveal emerging state identities as well as the self-consciousness and self-editing of this first generation of Jesuits. This volume demonstrates that Borgia was uniquely suited for the culture and challenges faced by himself and the Jesuits; García Hernán has balanced earlier

works of hagiography with a nuanced and fascinating understanding of the saint and his age.

*United States Military Academy* MARÍA DEL PILAR RYAN

*Protestantism, Poetry and Protest: The Vernacular Writings of Antoine de Chandieu (c. 1534–1591)*. By S. K. Barker. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xiv, 336. $114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66491-8.)

Antoine de Chandieu's career as Protestant minister and writer spanned the whole period of the French civil wars: He became one pastor of the Paris Church in 1556 or 1557; was closely involved in the first National Synod of the Reformed Church (Paris, 1559); and played a role in the adoption of the founding documents of the new structure, the *Confession de foi* and the *Discipline*. He was also suspected of involvement in the Conspiration d'Amboise (March 1560). During the early days of the civil war he wrote some of the most eloquent rebuttals of Pierre de Ronsard's *Discours des misères de ce temps* (1562) and most likely a *Tragi-comedie* (published in 1561) on the theme of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace. During the civil wars in the 1560s he composed a martyrology of the Paris Church to encourage the faithful and was closely concerned with the controversy concerning Church organization provoked by Jean Morély's *Traicté de la discipline et police Chrestienne* (1562), which threatened the cohesion of the nascent Reformed Church at a moment when it most needed unity and single-mindedness. After years of an itinerant ministry in France, Chandieu moved to Lausanne, then to Geneva, in 1568. Thereafter he divided his time among various missions in France and posts in Lausanne and Geneva. He composed his beautifully devotional "masterpiece," *Octonaires sur la vanité et inconstance du monde* (1583). He also became involved in theological polemics against Catholic, notably Jesuit, writers as exemplified by his widely successful *Response à la Profession de foy publiée contre ceux de l'Eglise Reformée* (1586).

Thus Chandieu was an active participant throughout a particularly fraught period in the life of the Reformed Churches in France. The author makes a solid case for perceiving Chandieu as symbolizing the experiences of the French Protestant movement as a whole in this period. The author brings out clearly the evolving situation in which Chandieu operated—from the heady optimism of the 1550s, when it seemed that Reformed Christianity was about to carry all before it; through the persecutions and suffering of the 1560s, reaching a nadir in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572; and to the disillusioned *vanitas*-theme of the *Octonaires* (but never losing sight of the hope of better things to come). Finally, in the period of *Konfessionalisierung*, the theological confrontations on the questions of pastoral vocation and authority drew from him "his most complete defence of protestant belief" (p.

259) in the *Response à la Profession de foy*, as he confronted the rise of the Catholic League and the threat of a takeover in France by ultramontane and extremist intolerance.

The scope of the book is thus vast; the main lines are clearly drawn, and S. K. Barker well justifies this integrated study of Chandieu and his period. This is a book that needed to be written. On such a vast canvas, however, there are some points that need further clarification. For example, the author writes of the *Harmony of Confessions* (p. 260) that it was written in Germany by "Salvard." Actually, Jean-François Salvard was the mainstay of a group of writers working in Geneva and seeking to counter the German *Formula of Concord*, which counted Chandieu as a member. That involvement, overlooked here, sheds an important light on Chandieu's thought in the 1580s. More important, in the chapter on "Establishing a Church (1555–1560)," the author properly emphasizes the central role of the Consistory in the Reformed Church structure; but nowhere is there a definition of the consistory and its membership. Yet it would be important to explain the fundamental difference between the Genevan situation, where members of the government were integrated into the structure of the consistory; and the French situation, where that was impossible. One could take issue on other points such as the authorship of the preface to the 1559 *Confession de foi*, for which "Chandieu is one of the strongest contenders" (p. 75), whereas most authorities recognize John Calvin's inimitable style; or the political motivations behind the Amboise Conspiracy, which here remain unclear. The book would have benefited from closer attention to proofreading—for example, there are thirteen misprints in three footnotes on pp. 260–62.

Nonetheless, Barker has provided excellent insights into the career of Chandieu and the historical context in which he played so vibrant a part.

*Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation, Geneva* FRANCIS HIGMAN

*Alain de Solminihac (1593–1659). Prélat réformateur de l'Abbaye de Chancelade à l'évechè de Cahors*. By Patrick Petot. 2 vols. [Bibliotheca Victorina, Vol. XXI.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2009. Pp. 507; 509–1091. €140,00. ISBN 978-2-503-53277-6.)

Although scholars of seventeenth-century France are familiar with the name Alain de Solminihac, they have waited almost a century for a successor to the standard biography published by Eugène Sol, the diocesan archivist of Cahors (Aurillac, 1927). This was not due to a paucity of sources, for the archives of the Cahors Diocese are among the best preserved of the French Church, as this latest study of Solminihac demonstrates. Patrick Petot's two-volume study of the Venerable Solminihac (who was beatified in 1981) makes ample use of the 10,000 documents stored in the Fonds Solminihac to analyze his lengthy career and includes a useful annex of 143 of the more important and illuminating.

Petot's access to such documents has enabled him to track the dualism within his subject's career, and this forms the basic thematic structure of the biography. One of only a handful of religious who ascended to episcopal status during the heyday of Catholic reform in France, Solminihac found his vocation within the walls of the abbey of the Augustinian canons of Chancelade in Dordogne and carried its influence into his subsequent career as bishop. It is Petot's contention that it was the spirit of St. Augustine of Hippo that linked Solminihac's devotion to his religious and episcopal status, although it is obvious that the bishop was inspired by other model bishops such as Ss. Martin of Tours, Charles Borromeo, and Francis de Sales (he met the latter around 1619 when St. Francis visited Paris). His career cannot be broken into two neat segments of Augustinian canonry and Augustinian episcopacy, however, for Solminihac's progress from the abbey of Chancelade to the diocesan palace of Cahors in 1636–37 was the subject of private procrastination and anguish until he resolved to reconcile both in a form of religious prelacy and of public ecclesiastical dispute. In describing both aspects, Petot draws attention to the internal fissures within French Catholic Reform, which often placed varieties of reform at loggerheads.

Dedicated to his companion canons at Chancelade and to the rule of Augustine that they followed, Solminihac had little desire to abandon the monastery in favor of a public pastorate and a more secular rule of life. He finally determined to retain his abbatial office and to adopt as many of the customs of religious life as possible within his episcopal household, including the appointment of his fellow canons as diocesan officials. Coupled with symbolic gestures such as the combining of religious regalia with episcopal, this contributed to the turbulent nature of Solminihac's relations with the secular clergy of his diocese, often attributed simply to their reluctance to accept the reforming initiatives of a Tridentine bishop. Petot is quite correct to emphasize that Solminihac's intractable rigor, sometimes criticized by episcopal associates who knew him personally, was a further source of discontent; and he offers a detailed examination of the climax to these tensions in 1651, when a set of malcontents temporarily seized control of the bishop's synod.

Solminihac's devotion to his religious vocation was a source for a further conflict and related to the drive amongst reformers within religious congregations to restore pure and uniform discipline to associated monasteries throughout France. In Solminihac's case, Cardinal François de La Rochefoucauld interpreted his appointment as bishop of Cahors as a de facto resignation of the abbacy of Chancelade and the signal for his attempt to absorb Chancelade into the Congrégation de France. There followed an extended dispute that reached to the level of the royal council, as Solminihac strove to maintain reforms in Chancelade and to ensure that the abbey was not simply swallowed by Messieurs de Sainte-Geneviève. Whereas Joseph Bergin and Isabelle Brian have examined attempts at reform from the standpoints of La Rochefoucauld and the Benedictines of the Congrégation de

France, Petot's concentration on Solminihac provides an unusual and broader perspective on the competition between the forces of centralization and uniformity in the Tridentine Church across the hierarchical ranks of the upper Church.

Petot's study of Solminihac's interior life is less illuminating than his examination of his public acts as abbot and bishop, largely because Solminihac did not record his personal reflections at length in writing. His contacts with fellow reformers such as St. Vincent de Paul are documented in detail, although there is little in this discussion to enlighten as their relationship has been examined elsewhere. His associations with fellow bishops repay Petot's attention, however, for it is evident that Solminihac acted as a mentor to a number of younger and less experienced bishops in the southwest during the 1640s and 1650s, and an important conduit for the communication of contemporary concepts of episcopal piety and government. It is in evidence such as this that a biographical study such as Petot's makes its greatest contribution to the scholarship of the French Catholic Reformation, which still tends to rely on generalized commentaries in the absence of specific and comprehensive evidence.

*National University of Ireland, Galway* ALISON FORRESTAL

*Journey of Five Capuchin Nuns.* By Madre María Rosa. Edited and translated by Sarah E. Owens. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series.] (Toronto: Iter and Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies. 2009. Pp. viii, 212. $17.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-772-72050-4.)

Sarah E. Owens's edited translation of the *Journey of Five Capuchin Nuns* provides an enlightening glimpse into the experiences of early-modern religious women. This lively narrative gives voice to a group of adventurous nuns who were far from passive and cloistered. From the pen of María Rosa, a Capuchin nun of the early-eighteenth century, comes a candid and fascinating account of her and her sisters' efforts to found a Capuchin convent in Peru. Among other adventures, the women traveled from Madrid to southern Spain, were captured by the Dutch (one of Spain's enemies at the time), and made a harrowing journey across the Andes. Battling sickness and the elements, and supported by a network of ecclesiastical patronage, the nuns succeeded in transporting their model of female monasticism to the far reaches of Spain's empire. Owens has provided an engaging translation and helpful introductory notes. This translation will be of interest to a broad range of scholars including those interested in early-modern nuns and the participation of women in the Atlantic world of trade and travel.

Several features make this text distinctive. The first, as Owens notes, is that it was not written at the urging of a male ecclesiastic. Rather, María Rosa wrote for her fellow nuns in Madrid, who desired an account of their sisters'

efforts. Although composed, then, as a travel narrative, the text is nonetheless infused with María Rosa's particular objectives: to defend her monastic endeavor and the superiority of Spanish Catholicism and empire. She consistently upholds the Capuchin model of devout austerity. She is critical, for example, of convents in which they lodged where the nuns wore elaborate habits and lived in luxurious buildings. In recounting their capture at the hands of the Dutch, she highlights the religious barbarity of their captors (they profaned an image of St. Joseph), while suggesting that they were impressed by the nuns' vow of poverty.

The account is also significant because it provides a distinct perspective on the world of Spain's imperial expansion. Writing both as a woman and a professed religious, María Rosa has added an important voice to our understanding of the Atlantic world. In the introduction, for example, Owens makes a compelling argument for her familiarity with other accounts of the "new" world, especially José de Acosta's *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1590). Yet as a nun, she also saw this world through a distinctive lens. Along the route in South America to their final destination in Lima, Peru, for example, the nuns encountered curious crowds wanting to meet them. Far from typical circumstances where visiting parlors with partitions would separate the nuns from secular society, the women instead had to cover their faces when engaging in conversation.

The translation would be an excellent text to use with undergraduates. The nuns who emerge from these pages—devout, brave, and willing to enjoy a good laugh—will defy stereotypes and prompt a reconsideration of the role of religious women beyond the cloister.

*Cleveland State University* ELIZABETH A. LEHFELDT

*L'inquisizione in età moderna e il caso milanese. Atti delle giornate di studio 27–29 novembre 2008*. Edited by Claudia di Filippo Bareggi and Gianvittorio Signorotto. [Studia Borromaica, 23.] (Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana; Rome: Bulzoni Editore. 2009. Pp. 552. €28,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-878-70443-5.)

This volume is the product of a conference sponsored by the Accademia Ambrosiana and held at the Ambrosian Library in Milan in November 2008. The volume offers two kinds of articles. The first kind focuses on the Inquisition in Milan and Lombardy. Although the Milanese Inquisition's records were destroyed in the late-eighteenth century, scholars have made good use of the Inquisition records in the archive of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith opened to scholars in the late 1990s.

Alain Tallon discusses a north Italian count and soldier who served the French king and was arrested for heresy in 1570, then was freed as a result

of French diplomatic pressure. Massimo Carlo Giannini studies two Milanese Inquisition trials of Ascanio Marso, secretary to a high Milanese council; he concludes that politics more than heresy led to his arrest. Wietse de Boer studies the cases of four Swiss Protestant soldiers in the service of Venice who were arrested in Milan in 1619. He finds that a soldierly sense of honor made them steadfast in their faith; they were probably expelled rather than punished. Miguel Gotor discusses the Milanese cult of Elisabetta Peragalli, which came under the Inquisition's suspicion in 1657. Angelo Turchini discusses the jurisdictional powers and limits of the Inquisition in various parts of Lombardy and provides a useful list of Inquisition officials. Cinzia Cremonini studies the confraternity of the Sign of the Cross, the organization of the familiars of the Inquisition in Lombardy, and provides a membership list. Flavio Rurale studies the relations between the religious orders and the Inquisition in Lombardy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Gianvittorio Signorotto sees a crisis of the Milanese Inquisition in the seventeenth century in the face of the growing authority of the state. Claudia di Filippo Bareggi discusses issues concerning confession and the Inquisition.

The other group of articles addresses broader Inquisition topics. In the longest article Andrea Errera analyzes the rules and duties of the fiscal procurator of the Inquisition by studying Inquisition manuals. Ugo Baldini asks if there was change in ecclesiastical censorship of scientific books between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, and answers with a qualified and cautious "yes." Franco Buzzi asks if there was a theological justification for the Inquisition and pursues the answer from ancient Christian sources to Francisco Suárez. The Inquisition was justified as necessary for the public good of Christian society. Mario Infelise compares Venetian and Milanese press censorship and adds comments on Paolo Sarpi and John Milton, who visited Italy. Elena Brambilla analyzes the Inquisition criteria for judging miracles and holiness in the period 1680 to 1710 and sees Cartesianism influencing Inquisition thinking. John Tedeschi comments on the diaspora of Italian Protestant intellectuals, while Adriano Prosperi briefly assesses the Inquisition in terms of the history of justice. Gigliola Fragnito notes that the Congregation of the Index failed to implement a coordinated policy for the seizure and destruction of books at the time of the Clementine Index of 1596; it then lost the initiative to the Inquisition. Finally, José Martínez Millán surveys the statutes on the purity of the blood and the consequent disputes in the Spanish Inquisition.

Although a few authors reprise material that they have discussed in more detail elsewhere, there is much original scholarship in the volume. The overall quality is high. Almost all of the articles provide rich bibliography for scholars seeking to learn more.

*University of Toronto (Emeritus) and Chapel Hill, NC* PAUL F. GRENDLER

## Late Modern European

*Recent Catholic Philosophy: The Nineteenth Century.* By Alan Vincelette. [Marquette Studies in Philosophy, No. 58.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2009. Pp. 413. $42.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-874-62756-5.)

As Alan Vincelette observes in this book, it is a regrettable feature of standard histories of nineteenth-century philosophy that they tend to ignore or overlook the burgeoning of a distinctly Catholic philosophical tradition during this time. For Vincelette, it is all the more regrettable that Catholic historians of philosophy have done little to draw attention to this fact. As he puts it, "many Catholic historians of [nineteenth-century] philosophy either omit some important Catholic philosophers or fail to mention that a given philosopher was Catholic" (p. 8). The aim of this book, accordingly, is to "remedy this situation and so make known the central figures in Nineteenth-Century Catholic philosophy"; moreover, to show how "it is really in the Nineteenth-Century that Catholic Philosophy comes into its own" (p. 8).

Based on a lecture course, the book is clearly laid out, treating various nineteenth-century philosophical movements (and select representatives of these movements) with chapters on romanticism (François-René de Chateaubriand and Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel), fideism and traditionalism (Louis Eugène Marie Bautain and Louis de Bonald), semi-rationalism (Anton Günther and Georg Hermes), spiritualism (Jean-Gaspard Félix Lacher Ravaisson-Mollien), ontologism (Antonio Rosmini-Serbati and Orestes Brownson), Thomism (Joseph Kleutgen and Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier), Augustinianism (Auguste Joseph Alphonse Gratry and Maurice Blondel), and integralism (Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman and Leon Ollé-Laprune). As these pairings would suggest, and given the inevitable constraints of any survey work, Vincelette is selective in the figures and topics he treats (p. 9). Still, he succeeds in giving a rich impression of the diversity of Catholic philosophers during this time, including neglected figures such as the American Catholic philosopher Brownson (1803–76).

On the whole, however, the book is stronger in its treatment of the French philosophical scene than the contemporary German scene. To be sure, the inclusion of Schlegel, Günther, Hermes, and Kleutgen must be appreciated. But, perhaps due to the absence of a clear category for classification, missing is any treatment of the Tübingen school that includes its founder Johann Sebastian Drey (1777–1853), Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838), Franz Anton Staudenmaier (1800–56), and Johannes Kuhn (1806–87). This is not an insignificant omission, given the prominence of German idealism in the nineteenth century, its challenges to Catholic theology in Germany, and the brilliance of the Tübingen school's innovative philosophical response to it. Staudenmeier's monumental critique of Hegel and of Kuhn's masterful reception of Schelling and the whole of modern philosophy are relevant in this

regard. Admittedly, the omission of such figures can be justified on the grounds that they are theologians and together do not constitute a particular "ism"; but this only raises again the questions of selection and who exactly counts as a Catholic philosopher.

Another question implicitly raised by the book, which it does not answer, is whether the diversity of Catholic thinkers and movements, as represented here, militates against any notion of a unified tradition of Catholic philosophy in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the book does not address the larger theoretical question, which bears directly on the thesis of the book and demands serious consideration, whether there can be such a thing as "Catholic philosophy." (The differing views of Heidegger and Gilson are notable in this regard.)

A final, minor critical observation is that this book reads like a compendium, a volume of an encyclopedia, or an extensive bibliography of nineteenth-century Catholic philosophy. On nearly every page there are masses of dates, abbreviations, and citations, which can impede reading. But the textual apparatus is also impressive, laden with details, and testifies to the author's extensive historical erudition. Indeed, what makes this a difficult read is also what makes it a helpful and important single-volume reference work on the topic.

*University of Notre Dame* JOHN BETZ

*Captain Rock: The Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821–1824*. By James S. Donnelly Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 508. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-299-23314-3.)

James S. Donnelly Jr. has made such an extraordinary contribution over forty years to our understanding of central aspects of the Irish experience, revolving mainly around land and religion, that it is impossible to fully understand modern Irish history without immersion in his work. *Captain Rock* enhances his stature even further by providing an indispensable interpretation of the interrelationship between these two factors in exploring the Irish Agrarian Rebellion of 1821–24 in unprecedented detail and depth.

The Rockite agrarian movement in southwest Ireland, about a quarter of the country, is particularly interesting for the issues it raises about the blend of the material, religious, and political impulses underlying relationships between and within victors and vanquished in a colonial environment, broadly represented at this time in Ireland by the Protestant and English minority landlords in ascendancy over the Catholic Irish majority farmers/peasants.

Donnelly is so much the supreme master of his subject that queries have to be less about his work in particular than about the general challenge of the use of sources in the historiography of Irish protest movements. The source

material derives disproportionally from the world of the conqueror, looking in or looking down on the conquered. The issue is not so much that the "official mind" or even the conquest mind more broadly was hostile, as that it was so often uncomprehending. The material, evocative use though Donnelly makes of threatening Rockite notices, emanates disproportionately from the ascendancy side, despite some Catholic newspaper reporting. However rich in detail, this can often be more valuable for illuminating the mentalities of the rulers than of the ruled.

Although it is unlikely that the nuances of problematical sources in these situations can be captured entirely, Donnelly penetrates them to a depth that ensures an original interpretation of the composition and chronology of agrarian protest movements, which significantly adds to our understanding of the functioning of rural society.

Donnelly's delineation allows the relationship between material and cultural factors to be addressed in a more structured manner than ever before. Nevertheless, a conundrum remains. Donnelly argues that the Rockite movement owed much of its momentum and intensity to the widespread dissemination of the millenarian prophecies of Pastorini (aka Charles Walmesley, O.S.B.) predicting the overthrow of Protestantism in 1825. But if Pastorini's prophecies "gained a firm hold at the popular level" not only "in the affected region" but also "far beyond" (p. 4), a question then arises: Why did the areas "far beyond" remain so relatively unaffected by Rockite unrest? Donnelly traces the outbreak to a particular local agrarian dispute in west Limerick, which then spread far beyond the original source. But why did it stop spreading where it did? Insofar as the sources permit, intensive study of areas just beyond the restless counties or quieter areas within them, for counties were more administrative than socioeconomic units, might further illuminate the issue. However likely that the answer may lie in circumstances that would reinforce Donnelly's interpretation, that remains to be demonstrated.

It is churlish to hunger for more in the face of so rich a repast. No short review can do full justice to the assiduity and ingenuity of so probing an inquiry, which can have few equals in the study of agrarian protest movements anywhere. The entire work wonderfully illuminates an important field of research with implications extending far beyond the Irish experience.

*New York University* J. Joseph Lee

*Newman and the Alexandrian Fathers: Shaping Doctrine in Nineteenth-Century England.* By Benjamin John King. [Changing Paradigms in Historical and Systematic Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 289. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-199-54813-2.)

Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman's enthusiasm for the Fathers of the Alexandrian Church is well known, but in-depth study has been lacking in this

area. Benjamin John King now has rectified this omission, examining Newman's relationship with the Alexandrian Fathers in painstaking detail.

He presents Newman's understanding of these Fathers as passing through various phases. He explores first Newman's composition of *Arians of the Fourth Century* in the early 1830s, then examines the patristic background to Newman's sermons on Christ during the rest of that decade. He moves to expounding Newman's views on the Trinity between 1840 and 1858. He concludes by considering what Newman had to say when he returned to these matters in later life, from 1864 to 1881. King not only pays close attention to Newman's approach and use of his patristic sources but also weaves in the way the work of other writers can be detected in what he says, especially the Anglican scholarship of George Bull, William Cave, and Ralph Cudworth. It is evident from the stages in Newman's writings that he has identified that he has moved far beyond any simple consideration of an Anglican Newman and a Catholic Newman.

He illustrates Newman's movement from a static to a more dynamic view of the formulation of doctrines and indicates shifts in his sympathies, notably with regard to Origen. He also argues that, when Newman was in Rome to prepare for Catholic priesthood, his Latin treatises written there reflect a position more in tune with Roman Scholasticism. King claims that after Newman had become a cardinal and was reworking his *Select Treatises of Saint Athanasius* (1842) into a free translation, he was now reading his great Alexandrian hero through the neo-Thomistic lens that the new pope, Leo XIII, was encouraging.

King has done this area of Newman scholarship a real service. His book will be indispensable for future students who want to investigate these matters. His attention to detail is formidable. However, its very density of detail raises the question of the wood versus the trees. For example, did Newman really move into the Scholastic camp or seek to embrace neo-Thomism? Or was he just attempting to express himself in ways that his readers could understand? Do his writings present evidence of change in him or his pastoral instinct?

Newman is famous for the rarity of his footnotes, yet he read extensively. Perhaps it was less a matter of his failure to acknowledge his sources and influences than a consequence of the originality of his approach. What he read nurtured his understanding. He described portions of Alexandrian teaching as "like music to my inward ear."[1] He was recognizing what he already knew more than he was learning something fresh. What was truly novel—his new learning or his shifts of emphasis that King highlights so well? Were these rather further elements that were being integrated into

[1]John Henry Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua* (London, 1890), p. 26.

Newman's overarching vision? These are the fundamental questions that this fine book prompts.

*The Pontifical Beda College, Rome* RODERICK STRANGE

*Conscience & Conversion in Newman. A Developmental Study of Self in John Henry Newman.* By Walter E. Conn. [Marquette Studies in Theology, No. 71.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2010. Pp. 158. $17.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-874-62777-0.)

Walter Conn's concise, interdisciplinary case study of Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman's psychological self-development and conversions mines not only the English churchman's relevant major works but also his private letters, diaries, and journals, which, to paraphrase Newman, reveal the true character of a man. Conn succeeds in his hope that "some readers will find it a useful review of Newman's life" (p. 9), since it offers a specialized perspective, with well-chosen source references, surveying well-traveled ground. Tracking Newman's various conversions chronologically, each of the four chapters opens with a discussion of the events and Newman literature of the period, followed by Conn's use of psychological development theories from Erickson, Piaget, Kohlberg, Fowler, and Kegan to support his analyses of Newman's various conversions, although to those unfamiliar with this literature, the brevity of the psychological analysis can be challenging reading at times. However, a helpful chart on the final page of the appendix compares the stages of each developmental theorist with the four conversion stages drawn from Conn's prior research. Readers may profit by reading the very helpful appendix first, which provides a succinct overview of Conn's previous research on conversion.

Conn's thesis for interpreting Newman's conversion experiences is grounded in the dynamic relationship of conscience, "the radical drive of the personal subject for self-transcendence" (p. 132), and basic conversion, "an 'about-face' which moves one into a new world" (p. 22). These occur within the subject's fundamental dynamism for self-transcendence. Conn identifies Newman's multiconversions as they unfolded chronologically in three stages. First was a "basic Christian moral conversion" with evangelical overtones at age fifteen, accompanied by "important affective, cognitive, and religious dimensions" (p. 8). This led to a "structural cognitive conversion" (p. 8) during his twenties, with changes in both what and how religious knowledge was acquired. Finally, Conn suggests a "new interpretation" of Newman's "ecclesial conversion" as a "negative deconversion" from Anglicanism and a "positive conversion" to Rome at age forty-four, "best understood as a moral (religious) decision responding to a judgment of personal conscience . . . . after six painful years of reflection, discernment, and deliberation" (p. 8). The review of Newman's Roman Catholic period (chap. 4) concludes with Conn's elaboration of Newman's nonsystematic development of his insights on conscience,

which Conn summarizes as the threefold process of Augustinian desire, Aristotelian discernment, and Thomistic demand for the decision to act.

The brevity that affects the psychological analysis, however, appears to influence other notable aspects of the study, three of which deserve mention. First, theoretically, the aesthetic dimension of mind, which is the seat of the imagination, requires attention. For example, the works of Hans Urs von Balthasar and Viktor Frankl, in theology and psychology respectively, speak to the importance of this dimension of human experience. Although "imagination" is mentioned here, it is but the function of the aesthetic dimension of mind, an investigation of which would add to the study of conversion. Second, the Newman literature indicates that his lionhearted English self-will was the primary obstruction to his final conversion to Rome and deserves fuller examination. This is a prominent revelation, along with Newman's aesthetic experience, in his very important diary notes during his participation in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1843—a critical year in Newman's conversion process. The Exercises are mentioned here, but their effects on Newman are not explored. Third, Newman's interpersonal relationships were so influential as to be virtually determinative of his various conversions. For example, Newman writes in the *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* that the Irish priest Charles Russell "had more to do with my conversion, perhaps, than anyone else."[1] Yet Russell is mentioned only in passing.

A broader exploration of these major aspects would have further enhanced what is, nevertheless, an engrossing and well-documented addition to Newman conversion literature.

*DeVry University* ROBERT C. CHRISTIE

*Maria Katharina Kasper (1820–1898), Gründerin der Genossenschaft "Arme Dienstmägde Jesu Christi": Ein Beitrag zur Pastoralgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. By Renate Maier. [Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXIII, Theologie, Bd. 894.] (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. 482. $111.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-59395-0.)

It seems at times as though the biographies of nineteenth-century religious figures are as fixed as those of early-medieval saints. St. Maria Katharina Kasper came from a poor family in a small village. She suffered from ill health all her life, which was nevertheless of a respectable length. She underwent a number of trials, but was encouraged by several visions promising success. In the end, she was honored and successful in her spiritual endeavors.

This work is a dissertation for the faculty of the Philosophisch-Theologische Hochschule Sankt Georgen in Frankfurt-am-Main, where it was directed by Michael Sievernich, S.J. The work consists of an introduction,

[1]John Henry Newman, *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (London, 1908), p. 194.

three main sections, a conclusion, and extensive appendices. The first major section (pp. 23–136) consists of three chapters on the life of Kasper. The narrative is chapter 1; chapter 2 is an extensive collection of source materials; and chapter 3 covers the canonization process. Section 2 (pp. 127–230) discusses Kasper's order, the religious foundation known as the Poor Servants of Jesus Christ, again in three chapters—origins, establishments, and visitations. Section 3 (pp. 231–358) considers the relationships and spirituality of Kasper, with chapters on her connections to persons and movements, her spirituality as documented in her writings, and her relationship to the traditions of the Church. Finally, there is the interesting conclusion (pp. 359–62) "Die Bedeutung Kathartina Kaspers für die Gegenwart." Extensive appendices follow of the correspondence of the founder; constitutions of the foundation; unedited letters; official documents; and lists of sources, persons, members of the order, locations of houses, and places mentioned.

Kasper was born in the small village of Dernbach, part of the Archdiocese of Trier until it was included in the new Diocese of Limburg (the diocese covered the territory of the Duchy of Nassau, which was absorbed into the Kingdom of Prussia in 1866). She lived the greater part of her life in Dernbach. Her father died when she was twenty-one, leaving her to care for her mother. Stories are told that can be found in hagiographies from nearly every age—Kasper sharing food with the poor, showing little promise as a scholar but paying close attention in religion classes. Beginning in 1845, Kasper had several visions that pointed the way to her later work. After helping those in need, she came to the notice of church authorities and gained the support of an initially skeptical Peter Joseph Blum, bishop of Limburg. Blum assisted in the founding of an order of sisters devoted to elementary education and charitable work such as caring for orphans and looking after the sick, including wounded soldiers from the 1866 Austro-Prussian conflict.

The Poor Servants of Jesus Christ took its first vows as a religious community on August 15, 1851, with six members. Kasper took the name Maria. The order rapidly spread in the German-speaking lands and elsewhere, establishing a foundation in the United States at Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1868. During the time of the *Kulturkampf* in Prussia, the worldly wisdom of the foundress is reflected in a letter of 1881 to her bishop in exile, in which she describes her response to the prohibition of admitting new members. She simply put novices and postulants through formation, then sent them out of Prussian territory to take their vows at a daughter house. In this way, sixty-four novices and forty-two postulants were at that time working in daughter houses. This is an example of what Maier calls Kasper's seizure of the hour, the *kairos*, as enjoined in scripture. Kasper died in 1898 and was canonized by Pope Paul VI on April 16, 1978.

For the scholar, the most significant portions of this work are the extensive reproductions of documents by and about Kasper. They shed a com-

pelling light on social and religious conditions in the nineteenth century and beg for a comparative study with similar founders and foundations.

*Tennessee Technological University (Emeritus)* WILLIAM C. SCHRADER

*Christianizing Crimea: Shaping Sacred Space in the Russian Empire and Beyond.* By Mara Kozelsky. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 270. $42.00. ISBN 978-0-875-80412-5.)

This fine monograph examines the "Christianizing" of the Crimea—from the annexation in the late-eighteenth century to the Crimean War and its aftermath. After first mapping the myriad ethnic and confessional groups that populated the area, Mara Kozelsky examines how the Russian state and church came to grips with this complex, rapidly developing region. She shows that state and church authorities did not always agree (especially on the matter of converting Muslims), but that praxis varied considerably (with local officials subverting the general-governor's opposition, for example). This study also shows how public opinion, steeped in images of a glorious Greek and Christian past, helped shape attitudes even before the region was predominantly Russian and Orthodox. The turning point came under Archbishop Innokentii (Borisov) at mid-century, a zealot for buttressing the Christian identity of the region, most dramatically through the establishment of new monasteries based on the model of Mount Athos. The Crimean War completed this process, linking the Crimea with a national identity that was at once Russian and Orthodox. The author has mined an impressive array of sources, not only printed materials neglected by previous historians but also central and local archival materials, and places her findings within the larger context of current scholarship.

A short review can hardly do justice to the scale of research and close analysis. The author draws extensively on Innokentii's manuscript collections in the Russian National Library and the Russian State Historical Archive, and to a lesser extent on the provincial archives in Odessa and Simferopol. The review of secondary works is impressive, with little missing from the bibliography; a rare omission is L. V. Vel'nikova's 2007 article.[1]

Even so thoughtful, meticulously researched a work leaves some questions unanswered. The author seeks to argue that the discourse (whether sermons, archaeological reports, or magazine articles) "craft[ed] Russian identity" (book jacket) and played a major role in shaping public, even popular, opinion. Given the miniscule size of the press (ecclesiastical and secular), the abysmal, single-digit literacy rates, and the infrequency of preaching by parish priests

[1] L. V. Vel'nikova, "Patrioticheskaia deiatel'nost' arkhiepiskopa Innokentiia (Borisova) v gody Krymskoi voiny (1853–1856 gg.)," *Vestnik tserkovnoi istorii,* 4, no. 8 (2007), 73–88.

before the mid-nineteenth century (as is evident in the *klirovye vedomosti)*, it is precarious to assume that Innokentii's sermons had a broad impact. Indeed, the author examines only the discourse ("tropes"), not the reception—even in high circles, let alone the mass of unlettered Russian peasantry. Second, "Christianizing" here really pertains only to discourse; the reader learns little about parish life—about the miracles, conversions, apostasy, adultery, religious indifference, and parish-clergy conflict that fill the diocesan archive (including a collection in the State Archive of Odessa Oblast—the Odessa consistory, fond 173). Although the author has a coherent narrative, there is insufficient attention paid to priests and parishioners, who remain anonymous and inaccessible, despite the lengthy exegesis of sermons and references to "sacred landscapes." Finally, there are minor peccadilloes; Innokentii, for example, was previously appointed bishop in Vologda (not Vologod) and in 1841, not 1838 (p. 18).

Aside from such reservations, this study provides a valuable analysis of elite perception and writing about the Crimea on the part of the ranking clergy as well as state officials. It also helps to shed light on what the author calls "the pan-Orthodox sentiment and religious patriotism" that developed "throughout the empire and found expression in New Russia" (p. 67).

*Brandeis University* GREGORY L. FREEZE

*Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works,* Vol. 12: *Berlin: 1932–1933.* English Edition, edited by Larry L. Rasmussen and translated by Isabel Best and David Higgins; supplementary material translated by Douglas W. Stott. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 680. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-800-68312-2.)

Dietrich Bonhoeffer occupies a rare place in history. For example, he was one of the few Christians in Germany never charmed by any portion of what Hitler offered to the beleaguered German people. He, along with the rest of his family, recognized from the start what is acknowleged today—that this regime did not protect but violated moral values. He also occupies a rare place in history as a martyr, executed in April 1945 and now remembered, for example, at Westminster Abbey, where his statue is one of ten in a row of modern martyrs newly placed over the west entrance.

Bonhoeffer also occupies a relatively rare place in publishing, with sixteen thick volumes of his complete works offered to readers of English, thirteen of them now complete. This represents a project of the International Bonhoeffer Society, undertaken to make available in English the sixteen volumes completed in German by 1998. Bonhoeffer is well worth the trouble, on two counts. His life story is one of Christian courage and ethical acumen in response to Hitler and the Holocaust. Nazi horrors were perpetrated by a Christian nation with an extraordinary list of cultural accom-

plishments. Bonhoeffer's rare voice in opposition—including, finally, participation in the failed plot to assassinate Hitler—has an important place in the history of that period. Additionally, Bonhoeffer's writings increasingly became available and grew in stature during the postwar period, so that he now ranks among the most influential Protestant theologians of the twentieth century.

Volume 12 is of special interest, since it represents a crucial year, starting three months before the rise of Hitler. Born in 1906, Bonhoeffer was only in his mid-twenties at the time, but he had packed many accomplishments into his tender years. He completed his doctorate by age twenty-one and his second dissertation, the German *Habilitation*, at age twenty-four. He then spent 1930–31 at Union Theological Seminary in New York, befriending Reinhold Niebuhr and learning to know and respect the African American experience of worship at the Abyssinian Baptist Church in neighboring Harlem. Bonhoeffer began lecturing at the University of Berlin in 1931 at age twenty-five; this volume tells us much about his ideas, his students, and his unique approach to the trade of the German professor. He stood out for his students in his accessibility, the breadth of his knowledge, the sharpness of his theological insight, and the intensity of his political concerns. Larry Rasmussen, in his very useful introduction to this volume, argues that Bonhoeffer's lectures on Christology in summer 1933—available only through his students' notes—establish a foundation for both his theology and politics as they matured over the next twelve years.

During this period, Bonhoeffer also played a part in some of the most important decisions taken by the German Protestant Church, as can be seen in the letters and papers published in this volume. He helped the "Young Reformers" in their unsuccessful effort to thwart the pro-Nazi "German Christians" in the church elections of July 1933. He then worked with Martin Niemöller in developing the Pastor's Emergency League, a group opposed to "German Christian" attempts to impose the "Aryan Paragraph" in the church. Then he coauthored the Bethel Confession, which became a foundational document for Karl Barth's Barmen Declaration and the establishment of the Confessing Church. These writings and activities place Bonhoeffer at the heart of questions that remain important to our understanding of Protestants in Nazi Germany. Finally, this volume contains Bonhoeffer's "The Church and the Jewish Question," a document not without some controversy, but still a most prescient knife cutting through the anti-Jewish policies of the Nazi program. Published in June 1933, this document challenged the church to question the state "as to the legitimate state character of its actions" and to remember the church's "unconditional obligation toward the victims of any societal order, even if they do not belong to the Christian community." Then, if a formal church council found it necessary, the church was obliged "not just to bind up the wounds of the [Jewish] victims beneath the wheel but to seize the wheel itself" (p. 365), a foreshadowing of resistance that Bonhoeffer eventu-

ally undertook himself, with a small coterie of fellow conspirators but without benefit of a church body behind him.

*Pacific Lutheran University* ROBERT P. ERICKSEN
*Tacoma, WA*

*Confronting the Nazi War on Christianity. The* Kulturkampf *Newsletters, 1936–1939*. Edited and translated by Richard Bonney. [Studies in the History of Religious and Political Pluralism, Vol. 4.] (Bern: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. x, 578. $86.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-039-11904-2.)

Some of the most incisive and forceful descriptions and analyses of the Nazi campaign against the German churches and indeed against Christianity were contained in 135 *Kulturkampf* Newsletters written between January 1936 and the end of August 1939, which appeared at almost weekly intervals. Published first in Paris, they also appeared in a German edition, a British edition in 1937, and a U.S. edition in 1939. They have now been republished in an almost complete edition translated by Richard Bonney. As a contemporary source, these newsletters were extremely well informed and provided a valuable chronology of the Nazi persecution of the churches. They served as one of the first decided commentaries outlining the essential opposition and incompatibility between the Nazi Weltanschauung and Christian faith.

This repeated theme is supplemented by detailed documentation of the Nazis' overt harassment of dissident priests and pastors, the suppression of the churches' publications, and the closure of schools and organizations. In addition, extracts are given from the speeches and writings of prominent Nazis, outlining their deliberate hostility, which were all seen as part of a wider campaign not merely to control but eventually to eradicate Christianity from Germany. Fittingly, the final issue condemned the Nazi ideology, with its "divinization" of Hitler and its appeal to racial consciousness as the basis for a new state religion.

These newsletters also provide evidence of the attempts made by the churches to combat this ideological campaign. The sermons of Bishop Clement von Galen of Münster were quoted with approval, as was the Papal Encyclical of March 1937. Increasingly attention was paid in 1937 and 1938 to the campaign against the Protestant churches and to the valiant responses of the Confessing Church. In April 1938 a whole issue was devoted to the show trial of Pastor Martin Niemöller. His sentencing to a concentration camp, despite his legal acquittal, was seen as another example of Nazi plans for repression of all church opposition.

Further, another recurrent theme of these newsletters is the folly of those gullible churchmen who believed they could be good Catholics or Protestants and good Nazis at the same time. Here, these illusions were res-

olutely attacked. In April 1938, for example, the sad case of Cardinal Theodor Innitzer of Vienna and his craven submission to Hitler after the Anschluss was rightly castigated as an unforgivable betrayal of true Catholic interests, which foolishly ignored what had happened in Germany over the previous few years.

There are, however, problems with Bonney's edition. Curiously, he does not provide answers in his introduction to such important questions as the identity of the author or authors, the sources and provenance of the detailed and often local information provided, the intended audience, the size of the imprint, or the origins of the funding needed for this multilingual enterprise. Nor does he try to assess the impact these newsletters had at the time or explain why they ended so abruptly. He makes no attempt to place them in the wider context of exile German resistance efforts or literature.

Surprisingly enough, no one came forward during the war or afterward to claim responsibility for these newsletters. Thus there is still an unresolved mystery. A fuller attempt to find answers can be found in Heinz Hürten's edition of the German version, which appeared in 1988, but even Hürten admits puzzlement as to the authorship question. Nevertheless, the republication in English of these intrepid letters and commentaries adds to our picture of the German church struggle and stands as a warning against connivance with anti-Christian ideologies, which still needs to be heard.

*University of British Columbia, Vancouver (Emeritus)* JOHN S. CONWAY

*Exkommunikation oder Kommunikation? Der Weg der Kirche nach dem II. Vatikanum und die Pius-Brüder.* Edited by Peter Hünermann. [*Questiones disputatae,* Band 236.] (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 2009. Pp. 208. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-3-451-02236-4.)

The schism created by the decision of the late Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre to ordain four bishops for his Society of St. Pius X (SPPX) on June 30, 1988, without papal permission is little understood in the United States. Americans mostly assume that the split arose from a quarrel over liturgy: the insistence of the SPPX that the unreformed Tridentine rite is the only valid form of the Mass. The meticulous analysis of the schism by the five authors of this work shows that this assumption is a vast oversimplification.

Far more important for the SSPX than the liturgy is the society's rejection of central statements of the Second Vatican Council. A 1997 catechism issued by the SSPX identifies the issues with admirable clarity:

Q. What are the principal errors of Vatican II?
A. The two most pernicious errors of the Council are [its statements about] religious freedom and ecumenism . . . to which we must add its teaching about episcopal collegiality.

Q. How does the contemporary crisis in the Church differ from other Church crises?
A. The present crisis differs from all others in that it has been caused by the highest authorities in the Church, who promote it and resist all countermeasures.
Q. How must we judge the Assisi religious meeting on Oct. 27, 1986 [at which Pope John Paul II invited representatives of the world religions to pray for peace]?
A. The meeting was an unprecedented scandal leading souls astray, and a violation of God's First Commandment. (Ctd. by Hünermann, p. 208).

Behind these breathtaking statements is the belief that the source of all evil in the modern world is the French Revolution, which overthrew right order, based on the sovereignty of God, and substituted the humanistic trinity of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Stoutly resisted by the Catholic Church during the long nineteenth century, these pernicious principles were accepted (the SSPX insists) by the Second Vatican Council through its proclamation of religious liberty, ecumenism, and collegiality.

Unsurprisingly, the SSPX's appeal to tradition seldom goes beyond the statements of nineteenth-century popes, although there are also occasional citations from the Council of Trent—oblivious of Trent's statement that its dogmatic decrees were designed not to state the whole corpus of Catholic belief, but rather "to refute the errors of our times" (*ad condemnandos errores nostri temporis*; Denzinger, no. 1763). As the authors of this book point out repeatedly, citations from scripture are rare. This rigid understanding of tradition is oblivious, too, of Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman's dictum "To live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often."[1]

In an effort to heal the schism, Pope Benedict XVI has permitted wider use of the Tridentine Mass and lifted the excommunication that the four SSPX bishops incurred automatically (*latae sententiae*) by accepting episcopal ordination without papal permission. The authors point out that this was done despite the lack of any expression of regret for the schismatic ordination by any of the four. The SSPX has responded with statements interpreting these measures not as an expression of unprecedented generosity by the pope, but as a tacit acknowledgment that its views are correct.

Still lacking, it tells us, is a correction of the errors of the Second Vatican Council. Without that, it insists, it must continue to go its own way, confident that in so doing, it alone is the true representative of the Church founded by Jesus Christ.

*Archdiocese of St. Louis* JOHN JAY HUGHES

[1]John Henry Newman, *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (London, 1845), p. 39.

## American

*American Cicero: The Life of Charles Carroll.* By Bradley J. Birzer. (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books. 2010. Pp. xviii, 286. $25.00. ISBN 978-1-933-85989-7.)

In *American Cicero: The Life of Charles Carroll*, Bradley J. Birzer offers a sympathetic and engaging account of the man now best known as the only Catholic and the longest-lived among the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Birzer's intellectual and political biography focuses on the years during and immediately after the Revolutionary War. It persuasively argues that Carroll's contributions to revolutionary sentiment in Maryland, to the design of the Maryland and the federal Senates, and to the elevation of Catholics' status in the Revolutionary War era deserve admiration and attention.

In clear, graceful prose, Birzer introduces the reader to the factors that shaped Carroll's influential, if at times pained, republicanism. At the age of eleven, Carroll was sent to the College of St. Omer, a Jesuit institution in France attended by wealthy English Catholics as well as other members of Carroll's prominent Maryland clan; after studying law, he returned to the colonies in 1765. Throughout *American Cicero*, Birzer attends to Carroll's Catholicism while also exploring influences such as Enlightenment thought, great wealth, and the frustrations of colonial life. He cogently explores the neo-Thomist thought Carroll read at St. Omer, for example, and speculates that it may have bolstered Carroll's later commitment to American independence. Yet he scrupulously notes that Carroll never cited the Jesuit authors in his critiques of British rule, turning rather to Montesquieu as he articulated a theory of balanced government. Life as a Catholic did unmistakably shape Carroll's politics. He was moved by the vulnerability of his family in Maryland and of Catholics in England to mistrust both arbitrary governmental power and mob rule. Confiscation of property and loss of suffrage was not to him merely a theoretical proposition, and Carroll opposed each in a way that left him—as it did other founders—both a rebel and a conservative.

Birzer details Carroll's debates with Daniel Dulany in the *Maryland Gazette* during the colony's fee controversy. Carroll's writing, Birzer argues, moved the colony closer to rebellion, and brought Carroll himself, disenfranchised as a Catholic, authority within the initially extralegal institutions of America during the Revolutionary War era. The responses of Dulany and his supporters revealed both the presence and the limits of antipopery. Virulent attacks on Carroll as a "'patriotic nursling of St. Omer's [*sic*]'" (p. 57) appealed to long-held hostilities but failed to curtail Carroll's growing influence; he helped to draft Maryland's Declaration of Rights, was praised by John Adams, and after the war served in both Maryland's Assembly and the U.S. Senate. Throughout the book, Birzer points to the coexistence of inflammatory anti-

Catholic rhetoric and Protestant-Catholic alliances. Antipopery outlasted even Carroll, who still rode horseback in his ninetieth year. But criticism of Carroll after the Revolution focused as much on his mistrust of democratization as on his membership in a suspect faith; at his death, he was feted, in Birzer's words, as "an Old Testament prophet, a classical demigod, and an American republican, all wrapped in one" (p. 194).

Birzer's work is best read as a learned, lively appreciation of Carroll's thought. As Birzer details Carroll's writings and conflicts, he wholeheartedly praises this man whom other historians—as well as contemporaries—have often found self-interested and haughty. Carroll, Birzer writes, lived "a life seeking republican virtue and a deep Catholicism, whether one agrees with his understanding of the world or not" (p. 196).

*Arizona State University* CATHERINE O'DONNELL

*Un altro francescanesimo: Francescane missionarie da Gemona a New York tra immigrazione e servizio sociale*. By Giuseppe Buffon and M. Antonietta Pozzebon. [Biblioteca di Frate Francesco, 8.] (Rome: Centro Culturale Aracoeli; Milan: Edizioni Biblioteca Francescana. 2009. Pp. 410. €36,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-879-62153-3.)

Often church historical studies paint a glowing picture of the growth of religious orders from the founding idea to institutional development, glossing over details of challenges faced. *Un altro francescanesimo* is not one of those works.

The Congregation of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart was canonically erected in 1861 in the Italian town of Gemona, founded by the Servant of God, Father Gregorio Ludovico Fioravanti, and funded by Laura Leroux, duchess of Bauffremont. Through Fioravanti's guidance, these Franciscan tertiary sisters took a decidedly missionary turn. At the invitation of the Franciscan priests working among the Italian immigrants in New York City, the first group of Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart arrived in North America in 1865, establishing themselves in Peekskill, New York, to begin their work among the immigrants, orphans, and impoverished. The sisters continued expanding their efforts: in 1871 they spread their apostolate to New Jersey; in 1872 they began a mission in the Middle East, educating poor and abandoned youth; in 1874 they entered Pennsylvania; in 1879 they began work for abandoned and neglected children at St. Joseph's Home in Peekskill; in 1885, they opened a mission in Italy itself, to counter the effects of growing anticlericalism and to continue working with the poor; in 1900, they began Ladycliff Academy in Highland Falls, New York; in the 1960s the sisters expanded their educational labors and social work to Bolivia and Chile.

This book is a study of the order and its faithfulness to its original charism, while it developed and adapted to the changing realities of the modern

world. It is an interesting work, combining an understanding of religious life with sociological principles and statistics, as the authors delve into the life of the Franciscan sisters from the small town of Gemona to the big city of New York, moving from immigrant work to social services for the poor in the name of the Gospel.

In preparation for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the sad state of Italian immigrants was tackled. Bishop Thomas Becker of Wilmington wrote to Cardinal James Gibbons on December 17, 1884: "Ignorance of their religion and a depth of vice little known to us yet, are their prominent characteristics. The fault lies far higher up than the poor people. The clergy are sadly remiss in their duty." Although harsh, Becker's comments were correct. But they also posed the question of the Church's long-term response to the needy, not just to Italian immigrants. The Church's initial work for immigrants was the establishment of national parishes to foster the immigrants' faith, schools to educate, and religious orders of men and women to assist them. Of these, religious women had the greatest effect. Immigrants trusted nuns more than priests, as Mother Cabrini observed in a letter to Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York; among these were the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart. Their first pastoral responses to immigrants established the foundation for their pastoral response to all types of needy persons.

This book outlines their development from a small group of generous women inspired by *Il Poverello* in a small town in Italy to their growth as an institution in the world, looking beyond the years of mass immigration to their responses to contemporary needs and social works, bringing the Gospel and the Church to a changing, global society.

*The Basilica of St. John the Evangelist* STEPHEN M. DIGIOVANNI
*Stamford, CT*

*Demons, Saints, & Patriots: Catholic Visions of Native America through* The Indian Sentinel *(1902–1962).* By Mark Clatterbuck. [Marquette Studies in Theology, No. 69.] (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 2009. Pp. 288. $29.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-874-62746-6.)

In his book *Demons, Saints, & Patriots* Mark Clatterbuck provides an excellent analysis of the history and cultural conflicts of the U. S. Catholic missions to the Native Americans. He focuses his discussion of mission history on the *Indian Sentinel*, a journal produced by the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions to promote, defend, and seek funding for the missions. By careful interpretation of the *Sentinel*, Clatterbuck shows the perspectives, ideologies, and purposes of the various authors featured in the *Sentinel* who recount their firsthand experiences in the missions from 1902 to 1962. In the introduction, Clatterbuck notes that there have been many accounts of the missions that have either portrayed the missionaries as unselfish heroes or

have launched scathing attacks on the missionaries; Clatterbuck successfully avoids either extreme. Rather, he shows how the missionaries viewed the Native Americans and their culture during different periods on the missions. Clatterbuck also is interested in explaining the mind-set of the missionaries, many of whom were Europeans immigrants, and their adaptation to the American political and cultural landscape.

Clatterbuck provides a concise and accurate account of the controversies surrounding the federal funding of the mission schools prior to 1900. Here he explains the reasons for the founding of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, and he describes the hostile political climate toward the Catholic mission schools. The anti-Catholic climate of the time fostered a defensive attitude at the *Sentinel*; its writers consistently argued that the Catholic missionaries were promoting the best ideals of American patriotism in the missions.

In succeeding chapters, Clatterbuck argues that the authors of the *Sentinel*, particularly from 1900 until 1920, often portrayed certain groups of Native Americans in the missions as devotees of demonic, superstitious religions. Yet Clatterbuck provides evidence of the opposite in which priests describe other tribes with glowing praise as very religious, happy, charitable, and peaceful. However, Clatterbuck does not attribute the positive or negative reactions of the missionaries to the differences in Native American religions or cultures; rather, he attributes these divergent descriptions to the difficulties of the missionaries in expressing their attitudes about cultures unlike their own. He provides examples of missionaries accepting certain Native American practices and dances and rejecting others; however, he does not provide a clear explanation as to why they rejected certain practices. In his evaluation of the attitudes of the missionaries toward the Native Americans, Clatterbuck does acknowledge the Jesuit theology before the Second Vatican Council that emphasizes missionary adaptation and natural law: a tradition that looks for evidence of the presence of virtue in non-Christian cultures. He shows that this strain of thought was also at work in the writing of some of the contributors to the *Sentinel.*

Clatterbuck then describes the ending of the publication of the *Sentinel* in 1962 and the Church's increasing acceptance of Native American spirituality. By this time, he notes the *Sentinel* no longer portrayed Native Americans as a people with a foreign culture but rather as a group that had been converted and were patriotic American citizens. He then provides many examples of the new openness in the Church in the aftermath of the Second Vatican Council to inculturation and the inclusion of Native American culture and spirituality in Catholic practice.

In his work, Clatterbuck provides a good resource for understanding the Catholic missions and the missionaries' viewpoints. His account is balanced,

and he emphasizes that the missionaries, far from having a single monolithic approach, had a variety of perspectives on the different Native cultures.

*Marist College* ROSS ENOCHS
*Poughkeepsie, NY*

*The Look of Catholics: Portrayals in Popular Culture from the Great Depression to the Cold War*. By Anthony Burke Smith. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 284. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-700-61716-6.)

In presenting his study of media images of Catholics in America over forty tumultuous years, Anthony Burke Smith, associate professor and director of graduate studies at the University of Dayton, has opted for a variety of approaches. The complexity of topic demands no less. In each of the seven discrete but related chapters, he advances the exploration one step further through a chronological progression with perspectives borrowed from several academic disciplines. In his view, historical events in the United States and Europe set the context, but technology, economics, sociology, art, and theology all exerted an influence that must be included in his survey.

Movies learned to talk in 1927, not long after radio began to reach a majority of American homes. Within months the nation began its downward spiral into the depression. Photojournalism blossomed in the mid-1930s with the founding of *Life* magazine and flourished through the war years, only to be gradually supplanted by television during the cold war. American Catholics appeared in all these media through every period, and Smith explores the mutations and adaptations that their presence underwent, both as they were presented by the secular media and as they presented themselves. It was a reciprocal relationship. Catholics certainly influenced the media, while the media helped shape the perception of Catholics by themselves and non-Catholics alike.

In the early talkies, Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, appeared as gangsters and parish priests. Both roles represented the outsider striving for upward mobility in a hostile environment. In a period known for Catholic involvement in labor unions and social services, this image resonated remarkably well with the communitarian vision of the New Deal. As the nation prepared for war and valued unity over ethnic divisions, Pat O'Brien's streetwise Father Connolly of *Angels with Dirty Faces* (1938) mellowed into Bing Crosby's respectable but hip Father O'Malley in *Going My Way* (1944). In the early years of *Life* magazine, Catholics with their photogenic rituals and garb appeared as aliens to the American mainstream. In 1939, publisher Henry Luce proclaimed a new international order in his famous essay "The American Century," and after it appeared, *Life* pictured Catholics around the world as important collaborators in America's seemingly inevitable entry into the war.

During the cold war period, Catholicism embodied an identifiable alternative to communism. Bishop Fulton J. Sheen transitioned from the private spirituality he preached on the *Catholic Hour* on radio to personal responsibility as the Catholic response to the collectivism proposed by Soviet Marxism. Appearing in full ecclesiastical regalia, he made this a recurring theme in his enormously popular television program *Life Is Worth Living* (1952–57). In his last two chapters Smith traces the development of two Irish Catholic filmmakers, Leo McCarey and John Ford. As background, he provides brief biographical sketches and then shows how their films reflect the Catholic cultural transition from New Deal communitarian progressivism to cold-war conservative individualism.

In his all-too-brief epilogue, Smith obliquely suggests that his study may provide a model for our understanding for more recent developments in the Church's public presentation. He notes that Pope John Paul II paralleled Sheen in his anticommunist fervor and relied on elaborate Catholic imagery to popularize his message. Smith ends with the observation that once this vigorous pope declined and passed from the scene, the void in popular religious energy has been filled most remarkably by Mel Gibson's *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). Since the film found an enormous resonance among American Evangelical Christians, Smith concludes that "the cultural fortunes of Catholics in early twenty-first century America had come to rest more upon the evangelical nation than solidarity with the forgotten man" (p. 225).

*Boston College* RICHARD A. BLAKE, S.J.

*Monk's Tale: The Pilgrimage Begins, 1941–1975*. By Edward A. Malloy, C.S.C. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009. Pp. xi, 258. $25.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03516-7.)

The president of the University of Notre Dame from 1987 to 2005 provides an informative and readable memoir starting from birth to completion of graduate studies. Born May 3, 1941, at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, DC, Edward Aloysius Malloy, named for his father, was the first child of Catholic parents recently relocated to the nation's capital from their hometown of Scranton, Pennsylvania. Two sisters soon followed. In the fourth grade Edward shortened the nickname of schoolmate "Bunky" to "Bunk." Bunk returned the favor by coining the nickname "Monk." Since then Monk has consistently used his nickname, preferred over "Father," as he is "never big on the use of titles or other formal signs of deference" (p. 229).

The Malloys' home was an apartment in Washington's Brookland neighborhood or "little Rome"—location of The Catholic University of America, the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, and an array of Catholic institutions. Monk's parents, called Dad and Mom in the book, were high school

graduates. Dad supported a modest lifestyle as a claims adjuster for Washington's transit system. Mom was a full-time homemaker during her children's school years, then took office positions in local Catholic institutions.

Monk's thoughtful narrative recounts a faith-filled Catholic upbringing in Brookland's St. Anthony parish before the Second Vatican Council. Within that culture his parents modeled differing approaches to Catholic living. Dad was a devotional Catholic with attachment to the National Shrine; pride in Catholic celebrities; fervent anticommunism; and active membership in the Knights of Columbus, Knights of St. John, and the Serra Club. Mom as "low church" preferred "quick masses, brief homilies . . . and little folderol" (p. 14). She was not readily impressed with titles and ranks of the higher clergy she met as a church employee. They also had political differences: Dad an active Republican, Mom a liberal Democrat.

At St. Anthony School, Benedictine sisters launched Monk's life of learning; one influential teacher for three grades instilled a love of reading. Team sports were central to his upbringing. He flourished at John Carroll High School where Augustinian priests reinforced the importance of faith and learning. Enthusiasm for basketball was rewarded with his high school team's championship triumphs during his senior year. Monk reveals no adolescent rebellion, major personal crises, or religious doubts.

A basketball scholarship brought Monk to Notre Dame in 1959 with hopes of more athletic success and an engineering career. He faced two setbacks: basketball games spent mostly on the bench and discovering his talents were not suited to engineering. Instead, English literature became his absorbing intellectual interest. Faith and Kennedy-era idealism prompted him to volunteer in summer 1962 for Notre Dame's Council for the International Lay Apostolate (CILA) service program in Mexico with other students. While there, a quiet religious experience at the Cristo Rey Shrine revealed a call to the religious life and priesthood.

Monk describes his path to the priesthood within the Congregation of Holy Cross with close attention to the era's social and religious changes. From 1963, the story unfolds through a candidate year, novitiate, theological studies, and process of earning an MA in English. Volunteer adventures took him to Mexico, Peru, Detroit, and Washington, DC. Varied experiences by ordination in 1970

> all disposed me [Monk] to be an advocate for social justice and to be open to the rethinking of complicated social issues. I did not feel comfortable with fanatics of either the left or the right. I was a centrist by temperament and disposition who was convinced that positive change could be effected by good analysis, persuasive arguments, group mobilization, and hard work. (p. 230)

After ordination, Monk ventured beyond the familiar Catholic educational world for graduate studies in ethics at Vanderbilt University. Studying with Protestant faculty and students provided a broad intellectual experience before joining Notre Dame's theology department faculty.

*Monk's Tale* follows *Monk's Travels* (Kansas City, 2004), *Monk's Reflections* (Kansas City, 1999), *Monk's Notre Dame* (Notre Dame, 2005), and other books. Readers from Notre Dame's constituency, such as this alumnus, will find Monk's formative experiences and perspectives on Notre Dame persons and issues especially interesting. For historians and others, Monk reveals the early years of a major figure in higher education and a rich personal account of a Catholic priest's formation in an era of rapid change. Stay tuned for the next volume.

*The Catholic University of America* JOSEPH M. WHITE

*The American Catholic Revolution: How the Sixties Changed the Church Forever*. By Mark S. Massa, S.J. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 191. $27.95. ISBN 978-0-199-73412-2.)

In *The American Catholic Revolution* Mark S. Massa, S.J., dean of the School of Theology and Ministry at Boston College, is dismissive of the theological perspective of Pope Benedict XVI with regard to the nature of truth, revelation, and the Church in history. It is Massa's contention that the experience of the Catholic Church in the 1960s created a revolutionary change in the nature of revelation and the Church itself. The key to this interpretation, according to the author, is "historical consciousness," along the lines of the modernism condemned by Pope Pius X. According to Massa, historical evolution and change, especially in the decade under discussion and more particularly that which occurred in the United States, created a new reality, so that "what faithful Christians did and believed in the mid-twentieth century was not always a faithful replication of what the early Christians and the medieval builders of the great cathedrals had done and believed." (p. 162). This book is an unabashed and vigorous defense of the so-called "hermeneutic of discontinuity."

Massa makes his argument in very readable prose and with many historical facts, but with a largely polemical and overridingly cynical style, presuming that there is little significant or reasonable opposition to his theological perspective. Unfortunately, he never fully engages the work of Benedict, specifically in his doctoral habilitation on St. Bonaventure's theology of history, or that of Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman on the development of doctrine. Both works would have provided ample intellectual challenge to Massa. Instead, Massa appears to delight in announcing, perhaps for a more popular than theological audience, the theme of the "Dirty Little Secret" of church history (*pace* Gary Wills; see esp. pp. 8–14)—namely, that things have

always changed in the Church and that change is the only constant. If Massa had seriously engaged with the theologians suggested above, a better and much more nuanced book might have resulted.

The first chapter lays out the "historical consciousness" theory that guides the book. Wills, "Good Pope John" XXIII, and Bernard Lonergan are the heroes. Subsequent chapters have more heroes (for example, Monsignor Frederick McManus, Charles Curran, and the Los Angeles Immaculate Heart of Mary community) and an ample number of villains (for example, Pope Pius X, James F. McIntyre, and Patrick O'Boyle). There is little new research material in the remaining seven chapters, as the book relies primarily on secondary sources. The second chapter explores liturgical changes, largely through the lens of the 1960s work of McManus, especially his articles in the journal *Worship*. Here, the topic of "reception" of reforms and doctrine is also broached, but not explored deeply. The third chapter looks at the response in the United States to Pope Paul VI's *Humanae Vitae*, as well as some subsequent efforts to explain the teaching of the encyclical by means other than the kind of natural law presupposed therein.

The "Charles Curran Affair" (1966–68) at The Catholic University of America is the backdrop for Massa's meta-conclusion: that in light of the Second Vatican Council, with its embrace of "historical consciousness," the Church had changed from what it was, "[a]nd if the Church changes and adapts, so does its teaching—on contraception and a host of other things as well" (p. 74). In chapter 5, this theme of inevitable, radical change is explored in the field of religious life, as exemplified in the demise of the Immaculate Heart of Mary community in Los Angeles. Throughout this sad historical chapter, there is never a suggestion that the IHM sisters and leadership could have or should have done anything differently. The sixth chapter studies the antiwar movement of the 1960s as seen in Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan, and the "Catonsville Nine"; the various movements with which the Berrigan brothers were affiliated; and some of their most public demonstrations. Their work is almost always characterized as "prophetic" and is finally theologically considered in light of the writing of Johann B. Metz.

The seventh chapter is the most oddly situated in this book. Unlike the others, which focus on the persons and events of the 1960s, Massa chooses to highlight the life and work of Cardinal Avery Dulles, S.J., with special attention to his classic *Models of the Church* (Garden City, NY, 1974). In contrast to other figures in this book who defended a traditional vision of revelation and the Church, Massa treats Dulles with great respect. He concludes that despite the reasoned and nonpolemical theological work presented by Dulles, it had, in sum, "unintended consequences," and so, ultimately—and possibly most unwillingly—Dulles and his theology are used to support Massa's central thesis.

As a period piece, Massa's book might well be instructive for students of the 1960s and 1970s. But it would be unfortunate for anyone to embrace his thesis without studying the rather different theological conclusions that came from the pen of Newman, following his study of historical change. The book under consideration leaves little substance to consider and no tools for discerning that which is faithful to Catholic tradition and that which is not. Newman's labors, on the other hand, effectively distilled the difference between authentic change, which is desirable growth and necessary development, and that which constitutes deformity and infidelity.

*Mount Olive College* JAMES F. GARNEAU
*Mount Olive, NC*

## Latin American

*The Power of Song: Music and Dance in the Mission Communities of Northern New Spain, 1590–1810*. By Kristen Dutcher Mann. (Stanford: Stanford University Press; Berkeley: Academy of American Franciscan History. 2010. Pp. x, 300. $60.00 clothbound. ISBN 978-0-804-77086-6.)

This excellent book explores the place of music and dance in the development of the Spanish colonial mission system across northern New Spain, a vast region that extended from the Californias in the west to the Gulf of Mexico in the east. Primary data relevant to this topic are scattered through hundreds of colonial-period sources, most created by Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries and preserved today in repositories in Mexico, Europe, and the United States. This study represents the first attempt to bring these data together and interpret them in terms of the more encompassing social and cultural processes that characterized European efforts to dominate the Indigenous residents of the region and Indigenous responses to these efforts. The result is an insightful overview of continuity and change in the role envisioned by the Catholic Church for music and dance in evangelization and of the new cultural practices and social formations that emerged from the encounter of European and Indigenous musical traditions.

Informed throughout by perspectives drawn from musicology and ethnomusicology, the book's orientation is primarily that of social and cultural history, reflecting the author's training as a historian. In the introduction, she identifies the question, "How did music and dance function in mission communities?", as defining the focus of her study. She addresses this question in terms of three fundamental propositions about the significance of music and dance in human societies: (1) they serve to create and reinforce collective identities, (2) they can be utilized as instruments of social control, and (3) they are powerful communicative tools that can effectively convey religious concepts as well as information about ethnicity and gender.

The main body of the book is organized into three sections. The first summarizes the musical and dance traditions of Indigenous people in New Spain prior to European contact as these can be reconstructed from the colonial sources, followed by an overview of their European counterparts during the Spanish colonial period. The second section focuses on music and dance in the mission communities and Spanish colonial society in general during three successive time periods: the early colonial period from 1519 to 1680; the subsequent nine decades framed by the large-scale revolt of Indigenous people in New Mexico in 1680 and the Spanish Crown's expulsion of the Jesuits from its domains in 1767; and the final half-century of the colonial period, during which Franciscan missionaries assumed primary responsibility for establishing and administering the missions among the Indigenous people of northern New Spain. The third section considers the missionaries' reliance on music and dance to restructure the temporal, spatial, and social organizational frameworks within which the mission populations operated and how members of the mission communities both resisted such restructuring and adapted it to their own ends. The book concludes with a brief review of the principal themes developed in these three sections and a reiteration of the central point that the power of music and dance in the colonial mission context resided in their "ability to reshape colonial cultural encounters, restructure time and space, and forge new religious identities" (p. 260).

This study is a major contribution to an understanding of the colonial mission endeavor in northern New Spain, its value enhanced by situating music and dance at the center of this endeavor. The author accompanies her analyses of broader theoretical and topical issues with a well-chosen selection of missionary observations and perspectives on music and dance in the missions and compelling evidence of how Indigenous people actively participated in, and to a notable degree controlled, the creation of new musical and dance traditions within a dynamic, evolving colonial context. Written in a clear, engaging style and exemplifying the highest standards of scholarship, *The Power of Song* is an outstanding addition to the growing body of "New Mission History" that is generating significant new perspectives on the complex intercultural interactions engendered by the European colonial enterprise.

*Smithsonian Institution* WILLIAM L. MERRILL
*Washington, DC*

*The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain, 1600–1821.* Edited by Clara Bargellini and Michael Komanecky. (Mexico City: Antiguo Colegio de San Ildefonso, in collaboration with San Antonio Museum of Art, Museo de Historia Mexicana, Centro Cultural Tijuana, and Oakland Museum of California. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 371. $78.00. ISBN 978-6-079-52170-7.)

Coedited by the curators of the exhibition of the same title, *The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain* goes beyond general art history to place

the religious artistic traditions of Catholic Spain and its objects within the context of the geographical, social, and historical milieu of the regions that encompass present-day Texas, New Mexico, southern Colorado, Arizona, California, and northern Mexico.

In her introduction Clara Bargellini describes the catalog and exhibition as not only featuring the art of the missions but also mission life. This is achieved by including an ample number of scholarly articles by an international team of experts from many different fields such as historian David Weber, ethno-historian William Merrill, archaeologist and art historian Marie-Areti Hers, and architectural historian James E. Ivey.

The essays tell the stories of the mission enterprise in the north. Weber's essay details the uneasy relations throughout the mission-building period as he delves into components of force, fear, and violence that shaped the lives of both Natives and Spaniards. Hers's article deals with the diverse cultures and artistic expressions abundant in Northern New Spain before the arrival of the Spanish, while Merrill's article discusses the various indigenous societies and how their diverse cultures affected the colonial system. Ivey's article deals with the diversity of not only indigenous societies but also how landscape, geographical environs, and economy influenced and changed the set rules of mission building. Bargellini's article is an informative narrative of art in the missions themselves while Michael Komanecky's article bridges past the colonial period into an era when the image of the Spanish mission was romanticized by outside artists. A final article is authored by conservators Liliana Gioguli Chávez, Molanda Madrid A., Mercedes Murguía Meca, Fanny Unikel Santoncini, Jannen Contreras, and Rosa Lorena Román Torres.

The final section of the book is the exhibition catalog. This section is much more than a simple showcase of images and accompanying labels; it includes an in-depth description of each item from the exhibition. Interspersed are individual essays describing a specific artistic tradition such as Marina Garone Gravier's article on the printed word and the use of indigenous languages. Other detailed articles discuss painting on hide, metalwork, silver objects, and Native American basketry in Spanish missions.

This book includes images from the various regions in Northern New Spain depicting the landscape within which these people lived and the environs in which many cultures merged. A disappointment is that only one map is included in the book. This map, in Merrill's essay on indigenous societies and the colonial system, depicts the many diverse languages spoken throughout Northern New Spain. Other maps should have been included to illustrate the many place names mentioned in each article.

*The Arts of the Missions of Northern New Spain* will appeal to scholars and the general public alike. It is a wonderful compilation of articles depict-

ing the diverse cultures and artistic traditions that developed during the colonial period in New Spain.

*Museum of International Folk Art* NICOLASA CHÁVEZ
*Santa Fe, NM*

*Vida de Sor Francisca Josefa de Castillo*. Preliminary study, critical edition, and notes by Beatriz Ferrús Antón and Nuria Girona Fibla. [Biblioteca Indiana. Publicaciones del Centro de Estudios Indianos. Universidad de Navarra.] (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra; Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert. 2009. Pp. 320. €28.00/$36.00 paperback. Iberoamericana ISBN 978-8-484-89423-0; Vervuert IBSN 978-3-865-27516-5.)

The publication of early-modern women's spiritual writings in the Ibero-Atlantic world and the accompanying boom in scholarship has primed a readership for this new edition of the *Vida* of Francisca Josefa de la Concepción de Castillo (1671–1742). Out of print for much of the past forty years, two complementary editions are now available. Angela Inés Robledo's edition of the autobiography of Colombia's "national mystic" (Caracas, 2007) caters more to a scholarly audience, whereas the work by Beatriz Ferrús Antón and Nuria Girona Fibla reviewed here is more accessible to a general audience.

In their introduction, Ferrús and Girona give primary attention to Castillo's autobiographical self as an emergent modern subject. In a hierarchical and male-dominated colonial world, they argue, European women were relegated to the role of procreators, erasing them from much of colonial narrative representation. The mostly unpublished genre of spiritual autobiographical writing, which was available to them, required women to write themselves into the scripts of hagiography, making it difficult for them to express singularity and thus modern subjectivity. Ferrús and Girona read Castillo's *Vida* as staging her body as a feminine space of pain, illness, and melancholic alienation in which the trace of a modern subjectivity can be perceived (p. 38).

Ferrús and Girona's analysis of Castillo's feminine subjectivity provides a helpful approach to a genre so distant from our modern context, precluding, however, a broader presentation of recent scholarship on convent life, its colonial context, the writings of contemporary Ibero-Atlantic women, and Castillo's role in Colombia's national literary history. Their up-to-date resource bibliography partially makes up for this narrow focus, although it would be enriched by the inclusion of work by scholars such as Jennifer Eich, Stephanie Kirk, Kathleen Myers, Alexander Steffanell, and Sherry Velasco.

The editors returned to the original manuscript in the Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango (Bogotá). They employ the editorial criteria of the Grupo de Investigación Siglo de Oro of the University of Navarre, modernizing spelling, punctuation, and grammar: archaic forms such as *recebir*, *vide*, and *liciones*

become *recibir*, *vi*, and *lecciones*. They correct many meaningful transcription errors made by Darío Achury Valenzuela in his edition (Bogotá, 1968)—for example, replacing Achury's "me aterro" in the *Vida*'s opening passage to the correct "me alegro," as Castillo characterizes her attitude toward writing her life story. Unfortunately other errors remain, such as the transcription of the opening abbreviation P.M. as "Por ser" rather than the correct "Padre mío."

Ferrús and Girona's most valuable contributions are the footnotes to the text. They translate Latin phrases; note verses quoted from the *Breviarium*; and identify cultural, historical, and intertextual references. They provide key information including the identity of religious figures and spiritual directors, biographical data, common *vida* and hagiographical tropes, and historical customs; and they define the colonial vocabulary of illness that Castillo employs. This critical apparatus is essential for novice readers of early-modern nuns' spiritual writings. One detail that may confuse such readers, however, is the choice of art for the book cover: the "crowned nun" portrait of Sor María Antonia de la Purísima Concepción, born 1755 and professed in Mexico City. The portrait conveys an image of religious culture and agency at odds with those central to Castillo's *Vida*.

Robledo's edition, which displays an 1813 portrait of Castillo on the cover, caters to scholars' desire for a more conservative treatment of the original language and includes several letters to Castillo from her confessors, as well as the editorial documentation from the first edition (1817). Ferrús and Girona provide a highly readable text, in which cultural and historical references are more easily deciphered through their critical apparatus. Together, the Ferrús and Girona edition and the Robledo edition of this key colonial author are a welcome and long-awaited contribution to the study of early-modern women's writings.

*University of New Mexico* KATHRYN J. MCKNIGHT

## Asian

*Christianity and Cultures: Japan & China in Comparison 1543–1644.* By M. Antoni J. Üçerler, S.J. [Bibliotheca Instituti Historici Societatis Jesu, Vol. 68.] (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; published in collaboration with the University of San Francisco, the Ricci Institute, and the Macau Ricci Institute. 2009. Pp. xlvi, 410. €60,00. ISBN 978-8-870-41368-7.)

The study of Christianity in China and Japan for institutional and other reasons has generally taken place in mutual isolation; hence the great value of the comparative survey provided by this volume. It is appropriately based on a conference held at the end of 2006 in Macau, the place where the two Jesuit missions (in this period they were mostly Jesuit enterprises) interacted and from which they were controlled.

However, one conclusion that a China specialist would most likely reach from a study of this rich and rewarding collection of papers is that the two fields have more divergences than commonalities. Some of this no doubt derives from language differences and translation difficulties. *Worship* may mean in English extreme respect—as in the "with my body I thee worship" of the old marriage rite—but when used to translate Chinese *bai* or to describe ancestor rituals in a theological context, it begs the question.

Chinese rituals—especially Confucian rituals, when seen through Japanese eyes, at least as presented here—are necessarily idolatrous, and the issue is seen as whether idolatry may be tolerated. This was never the case in China, where the issue was precisely whether they were idolatrous, and, as Matteo Ricci concluded, the people were certainly not idolatrous and perhaps not even superstitious, a position not reversed until in 1704 the Holy See determined otherwise. A valid question is whether the Buddho-Confucian syncretism so common in Japan is the source of this apparent confusion.

There are so many original and stimulating contributions in the collection that it is impossible to do them justice individually. However, a few may be singled out for comment.

William Farge's study of "translating religious experience" through Japanese translations of Christian works in Latin points to an extremely fruitful area for further investigation, of Chinese Christian literature as well as Japanese. However, in China at least, the aim was always adaptation rather than translation (as shown in Li Sher-shiueh's contribution to this volume), and the Latin is not as intellectualist as Farge argues.

Asami Masakazu's study of Antonio Rubino's defense of the Jesuit position on Chinese Rites is long overdue. However, it suffers from some misconceptions about Rubino and the theological issues.

Amongst the cultural issues covered in this collection are artistic exchanges. Painting and sculpture are discussed but not, unfortunately, architecture and music, which are little explored. Macau is again and appropriately the focus. Thomas Lucas, in his commentary on this section of the book, points to the irony of a probable fourteenth-century European influence on the Guanyin/Kannon imagery of mother and child in China and then Japan. He might have added the further irony of a considerable export trade in porcelain figurines of madonna and child from China to Europe, the Philippines, and the New World.

The last substantial chapter, by Timothy Brook, is perhaps the most thought-provoking. Brook asks whether what was called *Xixue* in China or "Western learning" should rather have been labeled *Europaeology*, by analogy with Sinology. At stake is the basic question of universality of values and

knowledge. Joseph Needham states that the fundamental clash was not between East and West, but between a universalizing science, which the Jesuits, as good Renaissance scholars, upheld, and an equally universalizing Chinese science. This is not to deny the problem of restricted cultural horizons, but teaching Western philosophical and scientific paradigms was not necessarily cultural imperialism. Rather, it was, in intention at least, a "fusion of horizons" in Hans Georg Gadamer's terms. *Christianity and Cultures* advances such a fusion.

*Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco* PAUL A. RULE
*La Trobe University, Australia*

## BRIEF NOTICES

Berthelon, Pierre. *Antoine Chevrier: Prêtre selon l'Évangile 1826–1879.* (Paris: Editions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 143. €10,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09179-4.)

This is a fascinating, well-written, concise, and accessible biography of Blessed Antoine Chevrier (beatified 1986). The Christo-centric conversion experience of this newly ordained priest on Christmas Eve 1856 led to his decision to become a *un prêtre selon l'évangile.* For Chevrier and the community he founded at Le Prado in Lyon, this meant living a priesthood modeled on the person and ministry of Jesus Christ as revealed in New Testament texts: a servant-priest living with the greatest personal simplicity and in apostolic poverty so as to be free to preach the gospel in word and deed to the masses of the urban poor created by the Industrial Revolution.

Berthelon knows his subject, the influences directing Chevrier's spiritual journey, and the mature spirituality of Chevrier intimately, but he also succeeds in placing Chevrier within his mid-nineteenth-century contexts—socioeconomic, political, and religious. In doing so, the author illuminates the underappreciated role that Lyonnais Catholicism played in the revival of French Catholicism. In Chevrier's case this includes the example of a fruitful engagement with modernity that, through its preferential option of identification with and service to people who were poor, linked the Church's traditional charitable efforts with the first glimmerings of the nontraditional insights and pastoral experiences that would lead to the development of the Church's social justice teachings. It is not a coincidence that Blessed Frederic Ozanam, cofounder of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, also had Lyonnais roots.

The author's critical use of Chevrier's great spiritual work *Le Véritable Disciple* is key to his presentation of the down-to-earth and approachable priest not only as an innovative and charismatic figure in the history of

French and Lyonnais Catholicism but also as a precursor for modern priestly and lay vocations of Christ-like service to those most in need. This work leaves the reader with a desire to learn more about Chevrier. EDWARD R. UDOVIC, C.M. (*DePaul University)*

Cassity, Michael, and Danney Goble. *Divided Hearts: The Presbyterian Journey through Oklahoma History*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. 2009. Pp. xix, 340. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-806-13848-0.)

As the title, *Divided Hearts*, suggests, authors Michael Cassity and Danney Goble see tension at the heart of the Presbyterian experience in Oklahoma—tension between "theology and practice . . . 'civilization' and 'heathenism. . .' tradition and modernization, [and] faith and science" (pp. xv–xvi). The book charts this tension from the early-nineteenth-century arrival of missionaries in the southeast to minister to the Five Civilized Tribes, follows them down the Trail of Tears, and documents the controversial debates on slavery and the Civil War that led to the removal of the missionaries from the Indian Territory. This began a transitory period for Presbyterians as they grew from missionaries to establishment while Oklahoma itself grew from territory to state. As their story progresses through the twentieth century, the authors demonstrate how the Oklahoma Presbyterians dealt with the most important social issues of the day, especially issues of race and sex.

Tension defined Oklahoma Presbyterianism on both a congregational and personal level; it developed out of Presbyterianism's heavy emphasis on education (often state-supported) as a means to achieve salvation and belief in the necessity of participating in a civilized, market-based society. This twin emphasis required serving two masters, the sacred and the secular, which pulled Presbyterians in multiple directions and created sometimes intractable problems. The book does not seek to resolve these tensions; rather, the authors simply describe them and the difficulties they created.

The authors demonstrate well how the tensions that divided Presbyterians throughout the United States manifested themselves in Oklahoma; it would be instructive, however, to know more about how Presbyterianism fit into the religious landscape of Oklahoma. Regardless, the book is a solid starting point for further research dealing with Presbyterians and religion in Oklahoma, and the maps throughout the text and the appendix are especially useful for charting the growth of Presbyterianism in Oklahoma. SETH SMITH (*The Catholic University of America*)

Diefenbach-Popov, Natalia. *Das russisch-orthodoxe Kirillo-Belozerskij-Kloster zwischen Macht und Spiritualität.* [Theion: Studien zur Religionskultur/Studies in Religious Culture, Vol. XXIV.] (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp.vii, 121. $39.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-58355-5.)

In *The Russian Orthodox Cyril-Belozersk Monastery between Power and Spirituality* Natalia Diefenbach-Popov presents a history of the famous St. Cyril-Belozersk Monastery in northern Russia, with emphasis on its relations with the Muscovite state.Throughout the book the author attempts to demonstrate a cause-effect relationship between the monastery's growing economic prosperity (especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and its increasing dependence on the central government in Moscow.

The introductory chapter of the book offers a thorough overview of previous studies on the topic, followed by a rendition of the *Vita* of the monastery's founder, St. Cyril (†1427), including reflections on his character and ideology. This is followed by an exploration of the monastery's inner administrative structure and its initial attitude toward material wealth. The author contextualizes the latter issue within the so-called "Non-possessor" controversy of late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth-century Muscovy—that is, the much-disputed question whether monasteries should have material possessions. The study goes on to elucidate in detail the multifaceted economic activities of the monastery throughout the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, the monastic community's internal life and occasional conflicts, and the monastery's relations with the government. Special attention is paid to the tsars' utilization of the monastery as a place of exile and even incarceration for political outlaws, and as a military bastion in times of unrest. Finally, the author briefly traces the monastery's demise from the time of Peter the Great (†1725) to the Soviet period.

There are many good things to say about this book. First, it offers a detailed description of the secondary literature available on the question—primarily in Russian—and makes this product of Russian historiography available in a Western language. The object of the study, Russian Orthodox monasticism vis-à-vis political authority, is also a topically felicitous choice: The evident synergy of the modern-day Russian Orthodox Church and the Putin-dominated government not only raises the Western eyebrow but also raises historical questions demanding a look at Russian Orthodoxy's church-political tradition.

Despite some minor and mostly formal shortcomings, such as a lack of proofreading, this small volume draws attention to an important problem in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church and as such can be recommended as an impetus for further reflection on the issue. Sister Vassa Larin *(University of Vienna)*

Jetter, Christina. *Die Jesuitenheiligen Stanislaus Kostka und Aloysius von Gonzaga: Patrone der studierenden Jugend—Leitbilder der katholischen Elite: Untersucht in der Oberdeutschen und der Rheinischen Ordensprovinz bis zur Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens 1773.* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag. 2009. Pp. 137. €16,80 paperback. ISBN 978-3-429-03062-9.)

Christina Jetter's *Die Jesuitenheiligen* is a short but valuable analysis of how the Jesuit Order promoted Stanislaus Kostka (1550–68) and Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–91) as role models for the elite youth who attended its schools across the Holy Roman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both men came from noble families, entered the Society of Jesus, and died before priestly ordination. They were beatified jointly in 1605, four years before Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. The first section of the book offers a succinct overview of the early-modern Jesuits' involvement in education and religious formation, their associations with humanist learning, and the curricula vitae of the two saints. On these points the author depends heavily on German-language secondary literature, such as Bernhard Duhr's magisterial, if noticeably aging, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903). In the more stimulating middle section of the work, Jetter turns to German-language theater pieces about the young *beati* that Jesuits used in the schools. Relying on Jean-Marie Valentin's seminal research into Jesuit theater in German-speaking Europe, Jetter identifies representative works and thematic highlights such as the dramatic emphasis in St. Stanislaus's life on the veneration of Mary, his exemplary life at school, and his protective role for Poland against the Turks. She notes how St. Aloysius is cast with shades of difference as an ascetic peacemaker. She points to the emphases in Aloysius's theatrical fashionings on the virtues of steadfastness, penitence-readiness (even in innocence), chastity, and learned piety. *Die Jesuitenheiligen* is Jetter's deservedly prize-winning master's thesis at the University of Tübingen and is a welcome signal of what fruits can be harvested through careful analysis of the literary and artistic production characteristic of early-modern Catholicism. David J. Collins, S.J. *(Georgetown University)*

# NOTES AND COMMENTS

## Call for Papers, American Catholic Historical Association, Chicago, January 2012

In keeping with the American Historical Association's theme of "Communities and Networks," the American Catholic Historical Association seeks panels that explore the various dimensions of Catholicism in its engagement with society and culture. The 2012 ACHA annual meeting in Chicago provides scholars with the opportunity to reflect on a range of topics from transnational to local such as Catholic progressivism, the importance of material culture, and the changing role of the laity in relation to the institutional church. Topics regarding lay-directed reforms, the impact of religious sexual misconduct, the downsizing of Roman Catholic churches and schools, and the decline of religious orders have profound consequences for the direction of Catholic life and culture. ACHA welcomes panels of historians, architects, educators, journalists, and archivists interested in exploring how Catholic communities and networks have functioned in a pluralistic society. Graduate students are particularly encouraged to submit proposals. Proposals should be emailed to the 2012 ACHA program committee: Malachy R. McCarthy at mccarthym@claretians.org, Ellen Skerrett at ellenskerrett@gmail.com, and Larissa Juliet Taylor at ljtaylor@colby.edu. The deadline for ACHA individual or session proposals is May 15, 2011.

## Missionary Museum of Propaganda Fide

On December 9, 2010, a new museum opened in Rome near Piazza di Spagna on the main floor of the palace of the Congregation for the Evangelization of the Peoples that was begun by Gianlorenzo Bernini in 1643 and completed by his rival, Francesco Borromini, in 1664. A slideshow on monitors projects some of the 10,000 pictures from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries depicting the locations, conditions, and communities in which missionaries have worked over the centuries. A picture gallery displays many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century engravings, tempera-on-silk panels, and other items. The library, which was constructed in 1637 by Cardinal Antonio Barberini to serve the needs of the twenty-four future missionaries who lodged and studied in the palace, features a coffered wooden ceiling and contains portraits of some of the more illustrious students of the college. On large wooden tables in the library are displayed historic documents and books printed in non-European languages on the polyglot press housed in the palace. Two chapels also are part of the museum: one in which Blessed John

Henry Newman said his first Mass and the other, the Chapel of the Magi. It was built between 1662 and 1664 by Borromini, who had demolished the earlier elliptical chapel designed by Bernini to make room for his own cream-colored, curved-wall construction. The museum is open on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 2:30 to 6:00 pm; the entrance fee is €6 for students and €8 for others.

## Ukrainian Research Tools

The new guidebook *Arkhivna ukraïnika v Kanadi: dovoidnyk* (*Archival Ucrainica in Canada: A Guide*) lists Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Canadian holdings in Canadian archival repositories. Among the collections surveyed are those of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Canada and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. The book provides accession numbers, size, dates of acquisition, and detailed descriptions of the contents of the documents listed. It is available from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Alberta. Also sponsored by the institute is the research program "Sanctuary: The Spiritual Documentation Project" that photographs Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox and Russian Orthodox churches (their furnishings and images) and cemeteries (individual tombstones) in an effort to preserve a vanishing spiritual heritage.

## Lectures and Conferences

The Istituto per le scienze religiose in Bologna is sponsoring the following events: the exhibition "Videomostra Cristiani d'Italia" (March 16 to June 2, 2001); the seminar "Un cardinale francese a Roma: Eugène Tisserant (1884–1972)" (presenter Étienne Fouilloux, April 13, 2011); the lecture "Elementi di sinodalità nella Vita Constantini: ricezione ed elaborazione" (presenter Davide Dainese, April 27–30, 2011, in Perugia); the conference "*Pacem in Terris*" (organizer Alberto Melloni, May 29 to June 1, 2011, in Jerusalem); the seminar "Umanesimo spirituale cristiano tra Medioevo ed età moderna" (presenter Roberto Osculati, May 30, 2011); the seminar "Dossetti" (presenter Giovanni Bianchi, June 3, 2011); and the conference "La diplomatica e le missioni legatizie: Nicolò da Prato ed i frati Predicatori tra Prato, Roma e Avignone" (organizer Alberto Cadili, June 9–11, 2011, in Perugia).

At the end of September 2012, the Centro Culturale Agostiniano and the Associazione "Roma nel Rinascimento" plan to hold in Rome and Viterbo the conference "Convegno su Egidio da Viterbo nel V Centenario del Concilio Lateranense V (1512–2012)." It will examine from various perspectives the career and thought of this Augustinian friar, general of his order, preacher, humanist, theologian, and cardinal. Those wishing to present papers should contact Beatrice Mantovani at centroculturale@agostiniani.info.

## Causes of Saints

On December 10, 2010, Pope Benedict XVI approved miracles ascribed to the intercession of Blessed Guido Maria Conforti (1865–1931), bishop of Parma with the personal title of archbishop and founder of the Pious Society of St. Francis Xavier for Foreign Missions, and of the following Servants of God: Anna Maria Janer Anglarill (1800–65), Spanish foundress of the Institute of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Urgell; Marie Clare of the Child Jesus (1843–99, née Libania do Carmo Galvao Meixa de Moura Telles e Albuquerque), Portuguese foundress of the Franciscan Hospitaller Sisters of the Immaculate Conception; and Dulce (1914–92, née Maria Rita Lopes Pontes), Brazilian religious of the Congregation of the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.

On January 14, 2011, Benedict XVI approved the miracle ascribed to the intercession of Venerable Pope John Paul II (Karol Wojtyła). On May 1, 2011, which is Divine Mercy Sunday, Benedict XVI will beatify John Paul II in a ceremony in the Vatican. John Paul II died on the eve of Divine Mercy Sunday on April 2, 2005. Miracles were also approved for Antonia Maria Verna (1773–1838), Italian foundress of the Institute of the Sisters of Charity of the Immaculate Conception, and for Giuseppe Toniolo (1845–1918), Italian layman and father. The pope recognized the martyrdom of the following five Servants of God and professed religious of the Institute of the Daughters of Divine Charity; they were killed in hatred of the faith in Bosnia-Herzegovina between December 15 and 23, 1941: Marija Jula (née Kata Ivanisevič), Marija Bernadeta (née Terezija Banja), Marija Krizina (née Jozefa Bojanč), Marija Antonija (née Jozefa Fabjan), and Maria Berchmana (née Karoline Anna Leidenix). He also recognized the heroic virtues of the following five Servants of God: Antonio Franco (1585–1626), Italian bishop of Santa Lucia del Mela; Franziskus Maria vom Kreuze (1848–1918, né Johann Baptist Jordan), German priest and founder of the Society of the Divine Savior and the Congregation of the Sisters of the Divine Savior; Brazilian laywoman Francisca de Paula de Jesus (1810–95, also known as Nha Chica); Faustino Perez-Manglano Magro (1946–63), Spanish postulant of the Marianist Fathers; and Monsignor Nelson H. Baker (1841–1936), Civil War veteran, superintendent of Our Lady of Victory Homes of Charity in Lackawanna (NY), and vicar-general of the Diocese of Buffalo.

## Publications

In October 2008, a conference was held in Rome on the theme "I Servi di santa Maria tra intuizione carismatica e istituzionalizzazione (1245–1431)." The papers presented on that occasion have now been published in volume 99 of *Studi Storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* for 2009. They are divided into five sections: (1) Dalle origini all'approvazione (1304): Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, "Le *religiones novae* nel Duecento. I Mendicanti" (pp.

7–32); Franco Andrea Dal Pino, "I Servi di santa Maria tra origini e conferma definitiva (1245/47–1304)" (pp. 33–56); Pier Giorgio M. Di Domenico, O.S.M., "Madonna santa Maria e i suoi Servi (dalle origini al 1304)" (pp. 57–72); (2) I Servi nella Chiesa: Emanuele Boaga, O.C., "La Chiesa e gli Ordini religiosi sotto il papato avignonese e oltre il concilio di Costanza (1305–1431)" (pp. 73–85); Franco Andrea Dal Pino, "Strutture, svilippi e crisi dell'Ordine dei Servi dal 1304 al 1431" (pp. 87–151); Raffaella Citeroni, "Il papato e l'Ordine dei Servi tra l'età avignonese e il concilio di Costanza (1305–1431)" (pp. 153–212); "Cardinali e Servi di santa Maria dalle origini allo scisma d'Occidente (1249–1412)" (pp. 213–65); (3) I conventi nelle città: Gian Maria Varanini, "Nelle città italiane del Due-Trecento: I conventi dei Servi di Maria di fronte ai regimi comunali e signorili" (pp. 267–91); Roberta Monetti, "Lettere di vescovi ai Servi di santa Maria dal 1304 al 1417" (pp. 293–313); Odir Jacques Dias, "Espansione dell'Ordine dei Servi tra il 1304 e il 1430" (pp. 315–52); Gottfried M. Wolff, O.S.M., "Le fondazioni dei Servi in Germania" (pp. 353–86); (4) Dentro il chiostro, attorno al chiostro: Luigi M. De Candido, O.S.M., "Legislazioni: garanzia e monito" (pp. 387–416); Andrea Czortek, "Frati e laici: dagli oblati al Terz'Ordine" (pp. 417–55); Franco Andrea Dal Pino, "Il capitolo generale di Ferrara del 1404 e la rinascita di Monte Senario dopo i lunghi anni di quasi abbandono" (pp. 457–92); (5) La spiritualità: Piero Giorgia M. Di Domenico, O.S.M., "Liturgia e pietà mariana (1305–1431)" (pp. 493–517); Aristide Serra, O.S.M., "Il santorale e le *leggendae.* Appunti di riflessione" (pp. 519–35); and Sara Borsi, "Iconografia dei Servi (1245–1431)" (pp. 437–47); finally, Marco Bartoli, "Conclusioni del Convegno" (pp. 549–57) and an index of names of persons and places (pp. 559–993).

St.Athanasius is the topic of eight articles published in the June 2010 issue of *Church History & Religious Culture* (vol. 90, nos. 2–3). Following a preface by Paul van Geest (pp. 165–69) are "Athanasius on God as Creator and Recreator" by Eginhard Meijering (pp. 175–97); "'. . . seeing that for monks the life of Antony is a sufficient pattern of discipline.' Athanasius as Mystagogue in his *Vita Antonii*" by Paul van Geest (pp. 199–221); "Athanasius in Syriac" by Bas ter Haar Romeny (pp. 225–56); "Athanasius in Reformed Protestantism: Some Aspects of Reception History (1527–1607)" by Aza Goudriaan (pp. 257–76); "The Judgement on Athanasius in the Historiography of Christian Dogma (Mosheim—Baur—Harnack)" by Eginhard Meijering (pp. 277–86); "The Relevance of Athanasius in Dogmatics" by Abraham van de Beek (pp. 287–309); and "The Reception of Athanasius within Contemporary Roman Catholic Theology" by Arwin van Wilgenburg (pp. 311–37).

"Sacramental politics" is the theme of eleven articles published in the second issue of *Cristianesimo nella storia* for 2010 (vol. 31): Maria Teresa Fattori (who edited this issue), "Introduzione. Politiche sacramentali tra Vecchio e Nuovi Mondi nei secoli XVI–XVIII" (pp. 295–325); Fabrizio Mandreoli, "Note sulla teologia sacramentaria tra il XII e il XV secolo" (pp. 327–86); Riccardo Saccenti, "Quidam dicunt quod aqua sive ablutio, quidam

quod character. Discussioni sulla natura del battesimo fra la metà del XII e i primi decenni del XIII secolo" (pp. 387–417); Ângela Barreto Xavier, "'Conformes á terra no modo de viver': Matrimónio e império na Goa quinhentista" (pp. 419–449); Giuseppe Marcocci, "Teologia e missioni in um impero commerciale: casi di coscienza e sacramenti nel mondo portoghese, ca. 1550–1600" (pp. 451–82); Bruno Boute, "The Trial of Melchisedek. Bureaucrats of the faith in Rome and engineers of the sacred in Flanders, 1606–1610" (pp. 483–515); Boris Jeanne, "La pratique sacramentaire de la mission à l'épreuve de Rome. La dispense des sacraments dans la christianisation de la Nouvelle-Espagne au XVI$^{e}$ siècle et les retours davant la cours pontificale" (pp. 517–50); Eugenio Menegon, "Deliver Us from Evil: Confession and Salvation in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Chinese Catholicism" (pp. 551–98); Michela Catto, "'La legge de' Portughesi è la distruzione del nostro Regno': le pratiche sacramentali della Chiesa cristiana come rovina del grande Impero cinese" (pp. 599–619); Paolo Aranha, "Sacramenti o *samska¯ra ¯h*? L'illusione dell'accommodatio nella controversia dei riti malabarici" (pp. 621–46); and Sabina Pavone, "Tra Roma e il Malabar: il dibattito intorno ai sacramenti ai paria nella carte dell'Inquisizione romana (secc. XVII–XVIII)" (pp. 647–80).

The bicentenary of the birth of Gioacchino Vincenzo Pecci/Pope Leo XIII, which occurred on March 2, 1810, at Carpineto Romano in the Diocese of Anagni-Alatri, is celebrated in the second number for 2010 of *Lateranum* (vol. LXXVI) with a group of articles under the title "Leone XIII: tra modernità e tradizione" edited by Philippe Chenaux. Cardinal Paul Poupard contributed a "Prefazione" (pp. 189–91), and the other contributors are Philippe Chenaux, "Il pontificato di Leone XIII (1878–1903) alla luce della storiografia recente" (pp. 193–201); Nico De Mico, "Leone XIII e la cultura classica" (pp. 202–55); Mario Pangallo, "Il tomismo e la filosofia cristiana secondo Leone XIII" (pp. 257–66); Giovanni Manzone, "La questione sociale nella enciclica *Rerum Novarum*" (pp. 267–83); Antonio Pitta, "Attualità della *Providentissimus Deus*" (pp. 285–92); Giovanni Tangorra, "Il concetto di Chiesa in Leone XIII" (pp. 293–317); Angelo Lameri, "L'enciclica *Mirae caritatis* sulla SS. Eucaristia" (pp. 319–27); Lubomir Zak, "«Padre universale o abile stratega dell'universalismo cattolico-romano?» Opinioni degli ortodossi russi su Leone XIII" (pp. 329–63); Emil Kumka, "Leone XIII e la famiglia francescana" (pp. 365–79); and Maria Rosaria Del Genio, "Maria nella vita e nel pontificato di Leone XIII" (pp. 381–403).

Two issues of volume 28 (2010) of the *U.S. Catholic Historian* appeared in the autumn. The summer issue, devoted to "Catholic Higher Education," contains the following articles: C. J. T. Talar, "Seminary Reform and Theological Method on the Eve of the Modernist Crisis: Transatlantic Reception of J. B. Hogan's *Clerical Studies*" (pp. 1–17); Joseph M. White, "A Seminary for the Nation's Pontifical University: The Founding of the Theological College of The Catholic University of America" (pp. 19–42); Karen Kennelly, C.S.J., "An

Immigrant Drama: The College of St. Catherine and Phi Beta Kappa" (pp. 43–63); Robert Emmett Curran, "'Wave Her Colors Ever!': Writing Georgetown's History" (pp. 65-78); Philip Gleason, "An Academic Conversion Story" (pp. 79–91); David J. O'Brien, "American Catholic History and American Catholic Higher Education: Memories and Aspirations" (pp. 93–100); and Erik J. Chaput, "Battle over the Books in Rhode Island: The Case of *Bowerman v. O'Connor*" (pp. 101–15). "Essays in Honor of Moises Sandoval" compose the fall issue under the heading "Remembering the Past, Engaging the Present": Bishop Ricardo Ramirez, "Reflections on Moises Sandoval" (pp. 1–3); Juan Romero, "Musings on Moises Sandoval" (pp. 5–7); Mario T. García, "Liberation Correspondent: The Preachings of Moises Sandoval" (pp. 9–30); Timothy Matovina, "Remapping American Catholicism" (pp. 31–72); Robert E. Wright, O.M.I., "Mexican-Descent Catholics and the U.S. Church, 1880–1910: Moving beyond Chicano Assumptions" (pp. 73–97); Kristy Nabhan-Warren, "'Blooming Where We're Planted': Mexican-Descent Catholics Living Out *Cursillo de Cristiandad*" (pp. 99–125); and Olivia T. Ruiz-Marrujo and Alberto López Pulido, "Dismantling Borders of Violence: Migration and Deportation along the U.S.-Mexico Border" (pp. 127–43).

## Obituary

### Robert M. Kingdon (1927–2010)

Robert M. Kingdon, a longtime member of the American Catholic Historical Association and the foremost American historian of John Calvin and the Genevan Reformation, passed away on December 3, 2010, less than a month before his eighty-third birthday. After receiving his BA *summa cum laude* in 1949 from Oberlin College, he entered the graduate program in history at Columbia University where he took his MA (1950) and PhD (1955) under the direction of Garrett Mattingly. His dissertation and first book, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563* (Geneva, 1956), was a brilliant study of the French Reformed pastors trained at Geneva and subsequently dispatched for the conversion of their homeland. It was followed by *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564–1571* (Madison, WI, 1967); *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572–1576* (Cambridge, MA, 1988); and *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Cambridge, MA, 1995). Altogether, he wrote thirteen books and more than eighty articles.

In recent years his principal project was editing and publishing the transcriptions of the Genevan consistory minutes during Calvin's lifetime. The project developed from his deep interest in the Reformed tradition and his conviction that the manuscript sources housed in the State Archives of Geneva are essential for understanding Calvin's aspirations and achievements. Kingdon's goal was straightforward: The widespread availability of the pro-

ceeding of the consistory, an ecclesiastical disciplinary body established by Calvin, will advance the understanding of the reform of lifestyle (*reformatio vitae*) that accompanied the reform of doctrine (*reformatio doctrinae*). To date, five volumes of the *Registres du consistoire de Genève au temps de Calvin* have appeared.

Kingdon began his teaching career at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst in 1952. Five years later, he moved to the University of Iowa and in 1965 joined the History Department at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. He was made a permanent member of the University of Wisconsin's Institute for Research in the Humanities in 1974 and served as its director from 1975 to 1987. Over the decades, Kingdon held fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies (1960–61), the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton (1965–66), the Guggenheim Foundation (1969–70), and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (1992–94). He guided thirty-eight doctoral dissertations to completion. They cover an astonishingly diverse range of topics from Reformed France, Scotland, and Switzerland to Lutheran Germany and Catholic Italy. His interests as well as those of his students extended well beyond religious questions to political, social, and gender history.

No less formidable was Kingdon's commitment to the larger scholarly and professional community. He was an active member and presiding officer of the leading North American organizations for Reformation studies, serving as president of the Society for Reformation Research (1970–71) and the American Society of Church History (1980). He was one of the principal founders of the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference, the largest U.S. scholarly association devoted to the interdisciplinary study of the early-modern period. He helped to establish *The Sixteenth Century Journal* of the society and served as editor for twenty-five years, transforming it into the foremost journal for early-modern studies.

Kingdon's sister and three brothers, as well as many students, colleagues, friends, and admirers, will sorely miss his discerning comments and amiable manner.

*University of Iowa* RAYMOND A. MENTZER

# PERIODICAL LITERATURE

## General and Miscellaneous

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# OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

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Guasco, Alberto, and Raffaella Perin (Eds.). *Pius XI: Keywords. International Conference Milan 2009.* [Christianity and History. Series of the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies in Bologna, Vol. 7.] (Münster: Lit Verlag. 2010. Pp. 430. €34,90.) This volume contains the brief papers presented at a conference that was organized by the Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XXIII di Bologna and held at the Fondazione Ambrosianeum di Milano on June 9–10, 2009. The papers embody the results of research in the papers of the pontificate of Pius XI in the Vatican Secret Archives that were made available for consultation in 2006. Following an introduction by the editors (pp. 7–12) are two general papers—Emma Fattorini, "La chiesa negli anni Venti e Trenta: i nuovi studi"

(pp. 13–21), and Gianfranco Armando, "«Non osare dir nulla di falso, né tacere nullo di vero»" (pp. 23–24)—and seven papers under the heading "Il panorama delle ricerche": Hubert Wolf, "Un papa in ombra? Le opportunità di un network europeo di ricerca su Pio XI" (pp. 27–37); Vincent Viaene, "Il KADOC di Lovanio e il quadro delle ricerche su Pio XI" (pp. 39–43); Rupert Klieber, "Un progetto di ricerca nazionale e interdisciplinare. «Il pontificato di Pio XI e l'Austria»" (pp. 45–48); Jorg Hörnschemeyer, Maria Pia Lorenz-Filograno, Barbara Schüler, and Hubert Wolf, "L'edizione critica online dei rapporti delle Nunziature di Eugenio Pacelli (1917–1929)" (pp. 49–62); Jean-François Chauvard and Laura Pettinaroli, "L'École française de Rome e il progetto Pio XI" (pp. 63–65); Feliciano Montero, "La Iglesia y el catolicismo español durante el pontificado de Pio XI: la historiografia española y la investigación actual" (pp. 67–75); and Evgenia Tokareva, "Il pontificato di Pio XI. La storiografia contemporanea in Russia" (pp. 77–87). The remaining papers are divided according to the sessions of the conference: (1) Prima sessione. «Totalitarismo»: Alberto Guasco, "Un termine e le sue declinazioni: chiesa cattolica e totalitarismi tra bibliografia e ricerca" (pp. 91–106); Alfonso Botti, "Santa Sede e influenza nazista in Spagna durante la guerra civile nei documenti dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Un ruolo anti-totalitario della Chiesa?" (pp. 107–29); Lucia Ceci, "Santa Sede e impero fascista: contrasti, silenzi, fiancheggiamenti" (pp. 131–46); Raffaella Perin, "Pregiudizio antiebraico e antiprotestante: alcuni riflessi sull'atteggiamento della chiesa verso il fascismo" (pp. 147–62). (2) Seconda sessione. «Morale»: Emmanuel Betta, "La dottrina sulla famiglia nell'età di Pio XI tra storiografia e ricerca" (pp. 165–73); Martine Sevegrand, "Pie XI et la morale familiale" (pp. 175–83); Lucia Pozzi, "Sulla limitazione volontaria delle nascite. Rapporto di Agostino Gemelli" (pp. 185–205); Magali Della Sudda, "Les défis du pontificat de Pie XI pour l'Action Catholique féminine en France et en Italie (1922–1939)" (pp. 207–25); Maria Malatesta, "La formazione delle élites cattoliche femminili tra le due guerre" (pp. 227–44). (3) Terza sessione. «Russia»: Sergio Apruzzese, "Pio XI e l'orizzonte russo" (pp. 247–70); Étienne Fouilloux, "Pie XI et la «Russie» Bref état de la question" (pp. 271–77); Laura Pettinaroli, "Pio XI and Michel d'Herbigny: analisi d'una relazione al vertice della chiesa alla luce del materiale delle udienze pontificie (1922–1939)" (pp. 279–97); Filippo Frangioni, "L'URSS e la propaganda contro la religione. Per una definizione dell'anticomunismo nella Santa Sede degli anni Trenta" (pp. 299–371); Manuela Barbolla, "Genesi della *Mortalium Animos*" (pp. 313–22). (4) Quarta sessione. «Santa Sede, Stati nazionali e organismi internazionali»: Marie Levant, "«Facendo nostra la parola di nostro Signore». Pio XI di fronte alla politica della mano tesa in Francia" (pp. 325–38); Emilia Hrabovec, "Pio XI e la Cecoslovacchia: un rapporto difficile alla luce delle nuove fonti vaticane" (pp. 339–59); Mara Dissegna, "Il Concordato tra la Santa Sede e il Regno di Romania: un'introduzione" (pp. 361–81); Giulia D'Alessio, "Santa Sede, Stati Uniti e cattolicesimo americano negli anni di Pio XI" (pp. 383–92); Elisa Giunipero, "L'inchiesta sul comunismo in Cina" (pp. 393–405); Liliosa Azara, "Santa

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Nordenbrock, William A., C.P.P.S. *Beyond Accompaniment: Guiding a Fractured Community to Wholeness.* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2011. Pp. xv, 208. $19.95 paperback.)

Norris, Thomas J. *Cardinal Newman for Today.* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press. 2010. Pp. 230. $18.95 paperback.) Father Norris is a professor of systematic theology in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, Ireland.

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