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Abbreviations:
b.n.: brief notice
biog.: biography
men.: mentioned
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APPROPRIATING SACRED SPACE: PRIVATE-CHAPEL PATRONAGE AND INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ROME— THE CASE OF THE OFFICE OF CEREMONIES

BY

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The author explores the efforts of papal ceremonialist Paris de' Grassi (1504–28) to transform the Office of Ceremonies from a group of semi-corporate, specialized papal attendants into a curial college with fixed regulations and social clout. The reform bull Pastoralis officii *(1513) permanently reserved benefices at the Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano in Rome, where de' Grassi served as archpriest. Between 1524 and 1551 ceremonialists endowed three private chapels at Ss. Celso and Giuliano; in 1578 another ceremonialist established a chapel at the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina, where a personal monument did not reference or depend on de' Grassi's legacy. The construction of memorial chapels at Ss. Celso and Giuliano allowed ceremonialists to establish both individual and collected corporate identities and reveals the continued entwining of private and institutional goals in both patronage and the papal bureaucracy.*

Keywords: Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano; Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina; de' Grassi, Paris; liturgy; patronage

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In 1448 the Florentine merchant-banker Tommaso Spinelli received permission from the chapter of the Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano to endow a chapel for his private use. The license issued by the chapter confirmed the chapel's dedication to the Apostle Thomas, the chapel's location within the church, and the chapter's continued goodwill toward Spinelli. As patron and holder of *ius patronatus*, Spinelli's obligations included the chapel's decoration and provision, as well as financing a chaplain to perform religious services. In the 1440s Spinelli joined Pope Nicholas V and the dello Mastro family as patrons of the church in *rione* Ponte.[1] As a result of this endowment the chapter and Spinelli established a connection that provided substantial reciprocal benefits. The chapter of canons acquired a wealthy patron who was bound to contribute financially to the church for the foreseeable future. Spinelli expanded his patronal identity through valuable institutional and spiritual connections that asserted his honor and position in the Roman social and curial hierarchy. Emphasizing the practical benefits of this connection, in a will dated 1468, Spinelli instructed his heirs to maintain the chapel if they wished to continue doing business in Rome.[2]

This article presents a series of Roman chapels that go beyond the common mold of a private memorial chapel in the Spinelli vein, in which a single patron initiates the endowment through private wealth for the cultivation of his own soul. Although individually the chapels fulfill this model, the series reveals a pattern that reflects a greater strategy for institutional patronage and appropriation of ecclesiastical space. The earliest chapel foundation set the standard for later patrons, all of whom belonged to the same corporate group, the papal Office of Ceremonies.[3] The series includes three chapels, endowed by papal ceremonialists between 1524 and 1551 at the parish church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano in Rome, as well as a fourth chapel founded by a later ceremonialist at the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina in 1578. This series highlights the multipurpose nature of ecclesiastical

[1]Florence, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Notarile Antecosimiano, Protocollo 12518; this license is included in the appendix of Philip Jacks and William Caferro, *The Spinelli of Florence: Fortunes of a Renaissance Merchant Family* (University Park, PA, 2001), pp. 294–95.

[2]Fourth and Final Testament of Tommaso Spinelli, December 4, 1468; N.A., Prot. 357, Ser Pietro da Vinci, fols. 69r–74r; also see Jacks and Caferro, *The Spinelli of Florence*, pp. 347–48.

[3]For the Office of Ceremonies' archive, see Gregorio Palmieri, "De Archivio S. C. Caeremonialis," *Analecta ecclesiastica*, 1 (1893), 427–30.

endowments and the process of constructing identity through spaces and institutional connections over several generations.[4]

Paris de' Grassi, the papal master of ceremonies (1504–28),[5] endowed the earliest chapel in 1524 in his capacity as archpriest of Ss. Celso and Giuliano, and as part of a campaign to expand and codify the privileges and stature of the Office of Ceremonies. De' Grassi used his unique dual position to appropriate ecclesiastical space in the service of the Office. In the early-sixteenth century the Office was a semi-corporate collection of specialized papal attendants, which, following the 1513 reform bull *Pastoralis officii*, became a curial college that was bureaucratically consistent with the larger colleges of apostolic secretaries and protonotaries. This transformation was emphasized by the connection that de' Grassi formed between the Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano and the papal college through papal legislation, the appropriation of space, and chapel patronage. The success of de' Grassi's efforts, and the resulting financial and spiritual benefits, are reflected in the maintenance of this connection by his successor ceremonialists who endowed chapels and sought a permanent physical connection to the church through burial privileges. The series of memorial chapels functioned as a perpetual reminder of the institutional source of patronage within the church, not only appropriating space within the physical church but ultimately directing the chapter's liturgical life according to the ceremonialists' private interests.[6]

Chapel Patronage in Rome

The turbulent history of the papacy through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and its prolonged absence from Rome had a sub-

[4]For an example of this process of social entrenchment pursued by a layman, see Anna Maria Corbo, "La committenza nelle famiglie romane a metà del secolo XV: il caso di Pietro Millini," in *Arte, Committenza ed Economia a Roma e nelle Corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)*, ed. Arnold Esch and Christoph Frommel (Turin, 1995), pp. 121–53.

[5]Massimo Ceresa, "Grassi, Paride," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 58 (Rome, 1973–), pp. 681–84; Nikolaus Staubach, "'Honor Dei' oder 'Bapsts gepreng'? Zur Reorganisation des Papstzeremoniells in der Renaissance," in *Rome und das Reich vor der Reformation*, ed. Nikolaus Staubach (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), pp. 251–70.

[6]For a discussion of the importance of ceremony and ritual actions and spaces as a language of authority and politics: Martine Boiteux, "Linguaggio figurativo ed efficacia rituale nella Roma barocca," in *I linguaggi del potere nell'età barocca.* Vol. 1: *Politica e religione*, ed. Francesca Cantu (Rome, 2009), pp. 39–79; *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome* (*XVI^e^–XIX^e^ siècle*), ed. Catherine Brice and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Rome, 1997).

stantial effect on Roman church patronage. The fifteenth-century popes invested heavily in a *renovatio Urbis* while encouraging elite clergy, functionaries, and associated merchants and bankers to do the same. Infrastructure projects occupied the ledgers of fifteenth-century Roman popes and citizens in an effort to return the Eternal City to a state worthy of Ss. Peter and Paul, enhance an increasingly magnificent curia, and host thousands of pilgrim visitors annually.[7]

The papacy's campaign to assert its leadership over the Church, as well as its temporal control over the Papal State and the city of the Apostles, resulted in the absence of any substantial guild powerbase or municipal authority (*popolo Romano*) in Rome. Although there was considerable guild membership, the individual Roman guilds did not acquire the political power that historians cite in other Italian cities. Thus, the patronal role that guildsmen might have played fell to elite clergy, noble families, religious corporations, and expatriate communities.[8] Through the second half of the fifteenth century a substantial portion of the papal bureaucracy sought sacral space for private devotions and public display. Many of these men added private chapels to a portfolio of spaces (bishopric, parish, family chapel) that established their ecclesiastical identity. Clergy could entrench institutional associations by patronizing chapels in churches under their influence. Cardinal Oliviero Carafa (1430–1511) is a good example of a cleric whose patronage reflected his ecclesiastical and political interests. As Diana Norman has shown, Carafa's chapel, dedicated to St. Thomas Aquinas and situated in the Roman Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, emphasized his role as cardinal-protector of the Dominican Order and his personal connection to the saint. In addition, Carafa endowed a second chapel called the *Succorpo* chapel in the crypt of the cathedral of Naples, recalling his position as archbishop of Naples (1458–84, 1503–05) and as the king's resident representative at the Curia.[9]

[7]Mary Hollingsworth, *Patronage in Renaissance Italy: From 1400 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1995), pp. 234–75.

[8]Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome, 1978), p. 7; Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl, Introduction, in *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Italy: Ritual, Spectacle, Image*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl (New York, 2000), pp. 1–19, here pp. 3, 11–12.

[9]In addition to these primary chapels, Carafa contributed to his family's chapel in the Church of San Domenico Maggiore, also in Naples; Gail L. Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel: Renaissance Art in Rome* (Kirksville, MO, 1986), p. 35; Diana Norman, "The Succorpo in the Cathedral of Naples: 'Empress of All Chapels,'" *Zeitschrift für*

Although most patrons did not wield the immense resources of a cardinal, there was a growing interest through the fifteenth century in acquiring private chapels among the group of men whose professional success derived from a combination of benefices, venal offices, and activities at the papal court. Scholars of Florence have argued that a similar demand from the merchant and patrician classes resulted in 600 new chapels constructed in expanded parish and monastic churches through the fifteenth century.[10] Although there are no similar measurements for Rome, this period coincided with the expansion of the papal bureaucracy, which created more offices, attracted more men to Rome, and diffused more ecclesiastical wealth.

Institutional or Personal Space?

The acquisition of patronage rights to a private chapel was a desired but potentially contentious achievement.[11] As the Florentine banker Giovanni Rucellai stated, his private chapel "serve[d] the glory of God, the honor of the city, and the commemoration of myself."[12] The glorification of these three figures stood at the heart of all ecclesiastical patronage, as the omnipotent Lord was thought to benefit the people who improved their community in his name. The virtuous quality revealed in an individual's custody of a chapel also was eminently practical. The patron undertook to decorate the chapel in a manner befitting its character as sacral space, relieving the church *opera* from an onerous financial burden. This custodial responsibility allowed the patron an opportunity to prove his piety to both God and the earthly community by preserving the church from financial hardship and cultivating communal devotion via patronage.

The appropriation of space lies at the heart of the Office of Ceremonies' concern for Ss. Celso and Giuliano. De' Grassi's initial interest in the church stemmed from its desirability as a benefice. Although de' Grassi did not seek to monopolize the church for the

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Kunstgeschichte, 49 (1986), 323–55; Diana Norman, "In Imitation of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Art, Patronage and Liturgy Within a Renaissance Chapel," *Renaissance Studies*, 7 (1993), 1–42.

[10]Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1995), p. 123.

[11]Jill Burke, *Changing Patrons: Social Identity and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence* (University Park, PA, 2004), esp. pp. 101–38.

[12]Quoted in Jonathan K. Nelson and Richard J. Zeckhauser, *The Patron's Payoff: Conspicuous Commissions in Italian Renaissance Art* (Princeton, 2008), p. 1.

exclusive benefit of his own family,[13] he did search for space that would expand his portfolio of benefices and accommodate the institutional needs of the Office of Ceremonies. The process began with de' Grassi's provision to the benefice of archpriest in 1509, an office previously occupied by a cardinal that was of a higher stature than any other benefice held by de' Grassi. The attraction of Ss. Celso and Giuliano also was geographic. The church was situated on the bustling Piazza di Ponte, only a short walk from the Vatican Palace. Moreover, the archpriest enjoyed the use of a *palazzetto* nearby.[14] De' Grassi served as archpriest from 1509 to 1517 when he resigned the office to his nephew, Ippolito Morbioli de' Grassi,[15] but he continued to reside at the *palazzetto* and maintained strong ties to the chapter until his death in 1528.

One historian has described Ss. Celso and Giuliano as "one of the most noted parishes in Rome"[16] (see figure 1). Although the parish church attracted worshippers from all social classes, its major fifteenth-century patrons included families whose wealth derived from business with the papal court—specifically the Spinelli, Bonadies, dello Mastro, and Damiani families.[17] As archpriest, de' Grassi led a chapter of eight canons, through which he could exert some independent patronage within a local environment.[18] The connection forged with a parish that already had close ties to the papal court extended opportunities for de' Grassi to project an identity founded on his role as a professional ceremonialist. The Office of Ceremonies held responsibility for the liturgy of the papal chapel, overseeing the

[13]De' Grassi also contributed to a family chapel located in the cathedral of San Pietro in Bologna, first endowed by his uncle, Antonio de' Grassi, in 1478; Mario Fanti, "La cattedrale di san Pietro dal IX al XV secolo e il suo Battistero. Lineamenti di una storia complessa," in *La cattedrale scolpita: il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna*, ed. Massimo Medica and Silvia Battistini (Bologna, 2003), pp. 19–48, here 37–40.

[14]G. Constant, "Les maîtres de cérémonies du XVI[e] siècle," *Mélanges d'Archeologie et d'Histoire, École Française de Rome*, 23 (1903), 161–229, 319–44, here 222–23.

[15]When Ippolito died in 1527 the office reverted to his uncle for a brief period before Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci acquired it; Marc Dykmans, "Paris de Grassi: I–II," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 96 (1982), 407–82, here 425; Marc Dykmans, "Paris de Grassi: IV," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 100 (1986), 270–333, here 281–82.

[16]Carlo Grigioni, "Biagio da Cesena," *Studi Romagnoli*, 5 (1954), 349–88, here 356.

[17]Jacks and Caferro, *The Spinelli of Florence*, pp. 4–5, 60–61.

[18]For a discussion of de' Grassi as an absentee bishop and his efforts to exert ecclesiastical leadership in other venues, see Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Pluralism, Liturgy and the Paradoxes of Reform: A Reforming Pluralist in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, forthcoming.

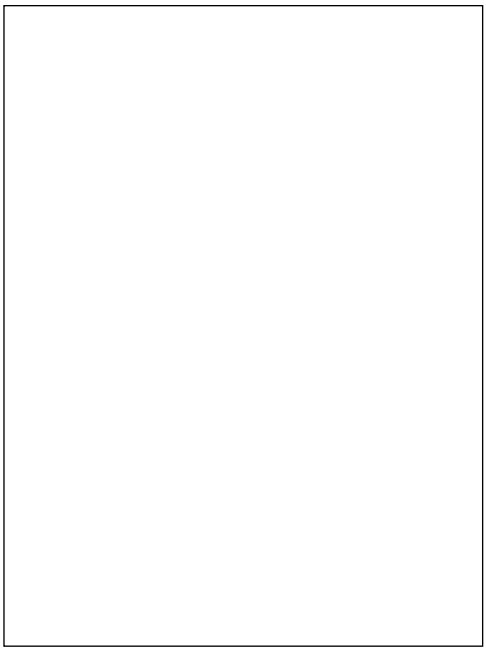

FIGURE 1. The facade of the modern Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano on the Vicolo del Curato, Rome. Photograph courtesy of the author.

rituals of consistory meetings, and planning any extraordinary ritual events (such as funeral, conclave, and public processions).[19] All of these activities involved the papal court and Curia, many of whom resided in de' Grassi's parish.[20] By establishing the Office of Ceremonies as an institutional patron of Ss. Celso and Giuliano, de' Grassi raised the profile of its members amongst his peers and parishioners, emphasizing the patronage power of a vital but often overlooked college.

Unlike the colleges of secretaries and abbreviators, which enjoyed a large membership and occupied a designated space within the Vatican Palace, the Office of Ceremonies was significantly smaller and

[19]Constant, "Les maîtres de cérémonies du XVI[e] siècle," pp. 161–229, 319–43.

[20]Egmont Lee, "Gli abitanti del rione Ponte," *Roma capitale (1447–1527)*, ed. Sergio Gensini (San Miniato, 1994), pp. 317–43; Melissa Meriam Bullard, "*Mercatores Florentini Romanam Curiam Sequentes* in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance History*, 6 (1972), 51–71.

did not produce the profits or paperwork of other colleges.[21] The essential character of the Office of Ceremonies did not lend itself to the venal trend of office multiplication that seized other papal colleges as part of papal attempts to raise funds. In this way, the Office of Ceremonies remained anomalous among the administrative colleges, for its constant involvement in daily life at the papal court and its specialized knowledge. In 1506 the population of the Office of Ceremonies included only four men;[22] this remained the standard throughout the century. The Office's consistently small size and easy operation provided no impetus for the pope to establish a similar institutional structure or space as he had for colleges that involved significantly more men and greater bureaucratic chaos.

Practically, the acquisition of designated collegiate space would provide storage space for the accoutrements of papal ritual beyond the *credenza* where the ceremonialists stood during rituals performed in the Sistine Chapel.[23] In addition, the space would act as the headquarters of the Office, providing meeting space for the ceremonialists and allowing them to maintain a chapel. Although several pontiffs insisted that apostolic abbreviators and scriptors attend Mass before commencing work and designated a chapel within the palace for this purpose, the ceremonialists received neither such scrutiny nor privilege.[24] Moreover, a papal review of the Office's practices reinforced the elite and essential position that de' Grassi considered cere-

[21]"Non debet reprehensibile," *Magnum bullarum Romanum: bullarium privilegiorum ac diplomatum romanorum pontificum amplissima collectio* ([repr.] Graz: Akademische druk—U. verlagsanstalt, 1964), 3.1:213; "Divina aeterna Dei," *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, 3.1:256.

[22]Johannes Burchard (*praesidens*), Paris de' Grassi (*magister*), Baldassare Nicolai (*supernumerarius*), and Michael Sander (*supernumerarius*).

[23]In the diary chronicling his tenure as master ceremonialist, de' Grassi noted frequently that he brought the Book of Ceremonies with him to Mass for consultation, suggesting that the Office kept important resources off-site, possibly at the home of the current senior master of ceremonies. Only the articles in immediate use remained on the *credenza* or temporarily were kept in the *camera dei papagalli* or *aula dei vestimenti* in the Vatican Palace; Bram Kempers, "Ritual and Its Images: Paris de Grassis, Raphael and the 'Signatures' in the Vatican Stanze," in *Functions and Decorations: Art and Ritual in the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Tristan Weddigen, Sible de Blaauw, and Bram Kempers, [Capellae Apostolicae Sixtinaeque, Collectanea Acta Monumenta, 9], (Vatican City, 2003), pp. 71–93, here pp. 74–75.

[24]Sixtus IV mandated that the abbreviators attend Mass daily and thus should have a chapel or portable altar reserved for them at the house of the vice-chancellor where they assembled most frequently; "Divina aeterna Dei," p. 256. As the ceremonialists were directors of the papal chapel, mandating attendance at daily Mass would be repetitive.

monialists to have at the papal court. In Rome, size was less important than proximity to the pope.[25]

As a ceremonialist, de' Grassi understood that the acquisition and decoration of a private chapel was a sign of both economic and social status, whereas the acquisition of space itself was an opportunity to align oneself with ecclesiastical organizations and sacred figures as well as assert a geographic identity.[26] Ambitious men, most of whom came from the patrician or merchant classes, who hoped to rise within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, could project an identity of wealth, local leadership, and piety in a Roman church of middling stature, like Ss. Celso and Giuliano, without breaking the bank.[27] The population of ambitious men seeking advancement through curial office was significant, numbering around 500 men in 1500. Many of these men were in minor orders and held several ecclesiastical benefices, as well as one or more curial offices.[28] Membership in a papal college responsible for bureaucratic functions, combined with family and national ties, were important parts of Roman identity. As well as providing access to wealth and social connections, advertising a personal role in the papal bureaucracy established a local audience for the message projected by the chapel supported by the patron.

Curial Organization and *Renovatio Urbis*

John F. D'Amico noted that the traffic of petitions to Rome grew through the late-fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, capitalizing on the papacy's assertion of its position as a court of final appeal and its prerogative to dispense ecclesiastical impediments, forgive censures, and distribute benefices.[29] Due to this growing interest in the Curia's

[25]The truth of this statement is seen in the frequent debates over precedence that ceremonialists adjudicated in both consistory meetings and public processions.

[26]Rab Hatfield, "The Compagnia de' Magi," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 33 (1970), 107–61.

[27]In 1524 de' Grassi spent 300 ducats acquiring the rights to a chapel at Ss. Celso and Giuliano, which was approximately equal to the annual income that an apostolic secretary or a clerk of the Camera could expect from their single office; Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 52, 54. In contrast, it is likely that in 1486 Carafa paid a more substantial amount for his chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, even though the chapel was already built. The gilded altar frame alone cost 250 gold florins, and Carafa donated thirteen houses to the church to maintain the chapel and fund the celebration of two Masses each day; Geiger, *Filippino Lippi's Carafa Chapel*, p. 46.

[28]Partner, *The Pope's Men*, pp. 38–39.

[29]John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore, 1983), p. 21.

power, in the period after 1450 there was an increasing concern in Rome to organize the papal bureaucracy in a fashion that most efficiently met the needs of the pope as well as the expectations of the officeholders. This reorganization did not necessarily equate with establishing a "modern" bureaucracy, but undoubtedly the institution and expansion of venal colleges were related to the papacy's need for money and the desire of skilled men to rise through the Curia. Professional advancement depended on a man's wealth and skills, but also on the connections forged through office-holding and the social perquisites of the position.[30] The pope and the city of Rome depended heavily on these men for an infusion of cash through purchased offices, but, in turn, they composed a network of mid-level patrons whose public identity depended on their patronage projects and connections with both papal colleges and mid-level churches. Hence, the interest in organizing officeholders was founded on social as much as financial concerns and linked to a more broad effort to disseminate curial wealth through patronage.

Both Sixtus IV (1471–84) and Innocent VIII (1484–92) organized substantial portions of the papal bureaucracy into venal colleges with distinct rules, fee schedules, and positions within the curial hierarchy. Sixtus was particularly energetic, establishing a collegial structure for the auditors of the Roman Rota in 1472, the apostolic abbreviators in 1478,[31] the solicitors of benefices in 1482, and the notaries in 1483.[32] His successor, Innocent VIII, transformed the apostolic secretaries into a venal college in 1487, which Peter Partner has identified as the organizational model for future bureaucratic reform initiatives.

Sixtus IV emphasized the importance of curial organization in the *proemium* of *Divina aeterna Dei* (1478), which established a venal collegiate structure for apostolic abbreviators. Rational improvement reflected the divine mandate imparted by God to the popes "to guide, institute, and fix by means of the highest diligence, tireless vigilance,

[30]For a discussion of curial advancement at the Roman court, see D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*.

[31]Pope Pius II had established this college, which Pope Paul II notoriously dissolved. Pope Sixtus IV re-established and expanded the College of Abbreviators.

[32]Sixtus IV dissolved this college after only one year due to criticism of the notaries' monopolistic privileges. Pope Julius II reformed and expanded the notaries as the College of Archivists.

and a blameless system . . . especially the whole Church of God . . . through laws, constitutions, customs and decrees."[33] The pope's interest in the well-being of officeholders reflects the institutional aspect of Sixtus's *renovatio Urbis*. Although the bull *Divina aeterna Dei* focused on the creation of a bureaucratic system, the fruits of the restructuring provided abbreviators with the financial independence and social position necessary to contribute to the *renovatio* of cultural and ecclesiastical patronage more traditionally associated with Sixtus.[34]

The wealth that collected in the community of papal bureaucrats was substantial and thus necessitated careful attention from the pope and gentle guidance toward appropriate behavior and an institutional identity. In 1514 Pope Leo X exhorted cardinals and curialists to patronize the institutions at which they held benefices, ensuring that their behavior was dignified and that their contributions of leadership and wealth were equally substantial and honorable. Men who adopted the pope's wider social and financial expectations were more likely to advance to a more elite office through which their resources and their patronage could expand respectively.[35]

Following this theme of private patronage in publicly accessible monuments, a cursory analysis of the extant tombs of apostolic secretaries contemporary with de' Grassi shows an interesting pattern.[36] Although these men were amongst the most privileged officeholders in the Curia, both in terms of financial remuneration as well as social standing,[37] the majority of secretaries have only tomb slabs in church floors. Although secretaries who received burial in Rome chose elite churches for their earthly resting place (frequently at a cardinal *titulus*), rarely did they establish a private

[33]"[P]raedecessores nostri Romani Pontifices . . . inprimis Ecclesiam Dei universam . . . legibus, constitutionibus, moribus et decretibus summa diligentia, vigilantia indefessa et ordinatione irreprehensibili, dirigere, institutere et stabilire conati sunt";"Divina aeterna Dei," p. 252.

[34]Much like his Roman model Octavian Augustus, Sixtus IV sought a renovation of Roman civic and curial administration. For contemporary comparisons to Augustus, see Jill E. Blondin, "Power Made Visible: Sixtus IV as *urbis restaurator* in Quattrocento Rome," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 91 (2005), 1–25.

[35]"Supernae dispositionis arbitrio," *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, 3.1:608.

[36]These men do not include secretaries who died outside of Rome (such as Angelo Colocci and Baldassare Turini) or secretaries who became cardinals (such as Ludovico Podocataro and Pietro Bembo), but only include men who progressed to the episcopate and other offices commensurate with de' Grassi.

[37]In the mid-fifteenth century an apostolic secretary could expect to reap from 250 to 350 ducats *per annum* in fees; Partner, *The Pope's Men*, p. 54.

burial chapel.[38] Sigismondo dei'Conti, Pope Julius II's *secretarius domesticus*, was buried in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (1512) with a tomb slab on the right near the high altar, where the church displayed his donation of Raphael's *Madonna of Foligno* (1511–12). Pomponio Leto also received burial in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (1498). The tomb of Bartolomeo Platina (1481), also the first Vatican librarian, remains in Santa Maria Maggiore, whereas Giovanni Andrea Bussi, secretary and bishop of Aleria, chose interment in San Pietro in Vincoli (1476).[39]

The secretaries invested in churches of greater cultural prestige, but surely did not have the resources to acquire a private chapel. Thus they settled for less prestigious memorials in communities that emphasized their connection to (but not dominance of) the elite church via the surrounding tombs of popes and cardinals. In contrast to these secretaries, de' Grassi chose a financially accessible church with curial connections and ensured the permanence of its association with the Office of Ceremonies.

Reform, Expansion, and Codification: *Pastoralis Officii* (1513)

In the early-sixteenth century the larger campaign of expanding and reorganizing office-holders into colleges collided with a more general criticism of the papal court's wealth, pluralism, and corruption. As an early product of the Fifth Lateran Council, the bull *Pastoralis officii* was an attempt at quelling criticism that papal bureaucrats acted simply to increase their wealth.[40] The bull promulgated reforms to the structure, privileges, and behavioral norms of all of the papal colleges, including the Office of Ceremonies. *Pastoralis officii* played a pivotal role in de' Grassi's efforts to raise the ceremo-

[38]Conversely, secretaries who were buried outside of Rome more often commissioned private chapels such as Domenico Bertini (†1504) in Lucca's cathedral and Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene (†1506) in Urbino's cathedral.

[39]Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, pp. 112–13, 189; Gabriele Bartolozzi Casti and Giuliana Zandri, *San Pietro in Vincoli* (Rome, 1999), p. 162.

[40]The bull's *proemium* states its goal: "in order that all the Christian faithful fleeing to this Holy Apostolic See for grace and justice even as to a kind mother, after having their requests satisfied without being burdened by improper exactions, they may be able to return to their affairs, not without the highest praise of this See"; Nelson H. Minnich, "Paride de Grassi's Diary of the Fifth Lateran Council," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum*, 14 (1982), 370–460, here 390–391; "Pastoralis officii," *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, 3.1:372–393. The author thanks the editor of *The Catholic Historical Review* for assistance with this passage.

nialists' stature as a college and made the connection between the Office and the church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano permanent. As the first codification of the Office's norms and rights, the bull produced a standard fee schedule for the rituals supervised by the masters of ceremonies and strove to eliminate disputes between the Office and delinquent individuals who neglected to pay for services or attempted to negotiate the fee.[41] *Pastoralis officii* presented the Office of Ceremonies as an organ of ecclesiastical administration structurally similar to the colleges of secretaries and protonotaries, but more simple in its history and needs.

Unlike other papal colleges, the venality of the Office of Ceremonies was a minor characteristic. The true emphasis within this college was on performance,[42] for a successful ceremonialist needed a keen eye for detail and an extensive knowledge of liturgical history and ritual. Nonetheless, the bull emphasized that, like other curialists, ceremonialists depended on an income that could only be amplified with guaranteed benefices. The combination of monthly stipend, accumulated fees for services, and the periodic *servitio minuto* dispersed by the papal court would not maintain a ceremonialist in the style expected by Roman curialists.[43] To this end *Pastoralis officii* reserved for the sole use of the Office of Ceremonies the benefices of the archpresbyterate, a canonry, and a prebend from Ss. Celso and Giuliano. The language of the bull emphasizes the improvement of ceremonies through the receipt of benefices "in order that they may be able to exercise their office in a more fitting way and sustain themselves more commodiously."[44]

The codification of the Office of Ceremonies' privileges and its official transformation into a papal college underlined the importance of

[41] "Pastoralis officii," p. 373.

[42] Although a ceremonialist purchased his office from a retiring ceremonialist and could resign the office and reserve the right of regression like other offices in the papal bureaucracy, in practice the trade was neither brisk nor fully open to all interested parties. See below for a discussion of the Office's oligarchic venality. Also, for de Grassi's ideas of a new emphasis and conception of ceremonial performance practice, see Jörg Bölling, *Das Papstzeremoniell der Renaissance. Texte—Musik—Performanz* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), pp. 91–106.

[43] For an estimate of de' Grassi's income solely from fees for ritual services (May–December 1504), see Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "Ritual Negotiations: Paris de' Grassi and the Office of Ceremonies under Pope Julius II and Leo X (1504–1521)" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2007), Appendix 1.

[44] "Et ut decentius officium eorum exercere, & commodius"; "Pastoralis officii," p. 373.

ritual and the ceremonialists' efforts contributing to a strong papacy and an effective papal court. The institutional recognition provided by *Pastoralis officii* codified the ceremonialists' connection to the wider papal mandate of articulating relationships through rituals and hierarchies, and provided them with an increase in status and wealth, and the appropriation of space at Ss. Celso and Giuliano. As a self-proclaimed personal favorite of both Popes Julius II and Leo X, de' Grassi encouraged a minor legislative act that had substantial results for the ceremonialists. In actuality, *Pastoralis officii* little altered the daily ceremonial experience, but did improve the lot of the ceremonialists. The bull reduced arguments over fees due for ritual supervision,[45] whereas the benefices provided a stable financial base and connections to a church known for its curialist congregation. Beyond income, the bull provided an opportunity for ceremonialists to become patrons of a church well known to the curialist community.

As *Pastoralis officii* dictated, the president of the Office of Ceremonies received the title of archpriest and his assistant, the junior ceremonialist, received a canonry at Ss. Celso and Giuliano,[46] with the junior ceremonialist succeeding to the archpresbyterate at the death, retirement, or resignation of the senior master.[47] The permanent reservation of these offices for ceremonialists essentially coopted the institutional character of Ss. Celso and Giuliano. Unlike the two previous archpriests, Cardinals Giovanni Jacopo Schiafenati (†1497) and Giovanni Antonio Sangiorgio (†1509), both of whom as cardinals implicitly emphasized the distance between the parishioners and the elite clergy (pope and cardinals) on which they depended, initially de' Grassi was only a mid-level curialist. His appointment as leader of the collegiate chapter reinforced the character of the parish as a community of mid-level importance within the Roman hierarchy, with a congregation that made a substantial contri-

[45]One of the earliest topics discussed in de' Grassi's ceremonial diary is the variability of payments made by orators and prelates to members of the papal court for assistance at rituals; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5635, fols. 8v–11v.

[46]"Pastoralis officii," p. 373; Minnich, "Paride de Grassi's Diary of the Fifth Lateran Council," p. 391; Constant, "Les maîtres de cérémonies du XVI^{e} siècle," p. 222.

[47]Leo X's reform bull *Pastoralis officii* reaffirmed that the creation of a president was an extraordinary measure, mandated only for a ceremonialist who became a bishop, and that necessitated the consent of the current pope. Both Johann Burchard and Paris de' Grassi became president on their elevation to the bishoprics of Orte and Città Castellana (1503) and Pesaro (1513) respectively; "Pastoralis officii," p. 373.

bution to the papal court but lacked the titles of cardinal or elite lay functionary. Through the sixteenth century the appropriation of space within the church via the construction of ceremonialists' chapels would reveal this character tangibly.

The Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano

The connection with Ss. Celso and Giuliano reflects the responsibilities of a papal ceremonialist, whose chief preoccupation was to direct and frame access to the pope through rituals. Situated at the edge of the *abitato*, the sixteenth-century church faced the Tiber and the Castel Sant'Angelo, which marked the edge of the Vatican enclave.[48] All processions from the city approaching St. Peter's basilica passed under the observation of the church, just as they would in the ceremonialist's professional capacity.

Although from 1198 Ss. Celso and Giuliano bore the honor of a *cappella papalis*,[49] from at least the mid-fifteenth century relics from the left foot of St. Mary Magdalene and the offer of an indulgence worth up to 100 years ensured the church's position on the pilgrimage circuit.[50] At Ss. Celso and Giuliano, de' Grassi's chapel combined his own memorial needs with those of the Office of Ceremonies and a desire to expand devotion to the church's relics. Although many patrons expected their private chapels to lead to burial rights in the same church, de' Grassi did not intend to receive burial at Ss. Celso and Giuliano but in the Bolognese cathedral of San Pietro where his family

[48]In the early years of de' Grassi's tenure as archpriest at Ss. Celso and Giuliano, the church experienced a period of intermittent building from 1510 to 1513. Although Segui, Thoenes, and Mortari have argued from a later anonymous document for Donato Bramante's involvement in the church's renovation based on a sketched plan by him (Soane Museum, London, Codex Coner, fol. 12f, image 18), the church languished unfinished. Although de' Grassi's diary notes an incident in 1512 of Pope Julius II's interest in the progress of renovations, it would be premature to suggest that this was a papal project based on Bramante's sketch and the relationship between the archpriest and the pope. Gabriele Segui, Christof Thoenes, and Luisa Mortari, *Ss. Celso e Giuliano collegiate e cappella papale* [Le Chiese di Roma illustrate, 88], (Rome, 1966), pp. 31–32, 40–41; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 12268, fol. 331v; Hubertus Günther, "Bramante, Donato," *Encyclopedia of the Renaissance* (New York, 1999), 1:282.

[49]Segui, Thoenes, and Mortari, *Ss. Celso e Giuliano*, p. 9.

[50]*Il museo d'arte sacra di San Giovanni de' Fiorentini*, ed. Lydia Saraca Colonelli and Rosanna Thau (Rome, 2002); Segui, Thoenes, and Mortari, *Ss. Celso e Giuliano*, p. 14.

supported a chapel.[51] Instead, the Roman chapel would act as his historical legacy, emphasizing his leadership of the collegiate chapter, and his work in the Office of Ceremonies. Although scholars have paid little attention to de' Grassi's attempts to initiate ceremonial events outside the papal court, de' Grassi's description of the endowment (codified as *The Institution of the Chaplain*) provides an opportunity to discern his understanding of the use of private chapels for both private and public advantage.

In 1524 de' Grassi dedicated the new chapel to St. Mary Magdalene and the Holy Cross in gratitude for recovery from a terrible illness on the saint's feast day.[52] The endowment included an initial fund of 300 ducats for the acquisition of *ius patronatus* and the provision of the necessary accoutrements, as well as an agreement to pay an annual stipend of 20 ducats for the chaplain's salary and expenses.[53] The chaplain's duties included singing a daily Mass in commemoration of St. Mary Magdalene and the Holy Cross, and for the soul of his patron de' Grassi. On three other special occasions, the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (July 22), the feast of the Discovery of the Holy Cross by St. Helena (May 3), and the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14), there would be vespers and another Mass. On the day of de' Grassi's burial in Bologna the chaplain would celebrate a Mass for the Dead, and on successive anniversaries there would be vespers and a Mass.[54] The exhortation to the collegiate chapter to attend services on these feasts[55] emphasizes the primary goals of the chapel: to enlarge devotion to these cults and to preserve de' Grassi's memory as patron. Moreover, this endowment marks the beginning of the ceremonialists' projection of their own liturgical interests through feast-day commemorations at the church.

As Jill Burke has noted, it was not uncommon to find a correlation between the recipients of patronal rights to altars and chapels and members of the church's *opera* or the collegiate chapter.[56] The bull

[51]De' Grassi, "Institutio Capellaniae sub titulo Sa[n]ctae Crucis & S[anct]ae Mariae Magdalenae in Ecc[lesi]a S[anct]i Celsi de Vrbe per E[pisco]pum Pisaurien[sem] & eiusdem Ar[ch]ipresbyteru[m] facta" (hereafter *The Institution of the Chaplain*); Rome, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, Capitolo SS. Celso e Giuliano, vol. 373, *Istromenti, Testamenti ed altre Scritture*, fol. 161, chap. XVII.

[52]De' Grassi, *The Institution of the Chaplain*, chap. I.

[53]The 20 ducats included 16 ducats for the chaplain's salary and 4 ducats for the chapel's expenses; De' Grassi, *The Institution of the Chaplain*, chap. IV.

[54]De' Grassi, *The Institution of the Chaplain*, chaps. XI–XIV.

[55]De' Grassi, *The Institution of the Chaplain*, chap. XIV.

[56]Burke, *Changing Patrons*, p. 73.

Pastoralis officii and de' Grassi's chapel established a permanent connection between the church and the papal college, placing ceremonialists in a position of authority that made the appropriation of space for burial and patronal activities quite convenient.[57] In the years following de' Grassi's first endowment, there is clear evidence that his successor ceremonialists willingly embraced the church as a corporate spiritual center and a site for personal patronage.

De' Grassi's immediate successor in the post of senior master of ceremonies, Biagio Martinelli (1518–40), followed his lead, contributing to the restoration of a chapel at Ss. Celso and Giuliano sometime between 1532 and 1538.[58] The chapel's dedicatees included the Holy Trinity and All Saints, and Martinelli bequeathed funds for the celebration of Masses on the anniversary of his death, in addition to three Masses each week in perpetuity.[59] At de' Grassi's death in 1528, Martinelli expressed eagerness to take possession of the archpresbyterate as the succeeding ceremonialist. In his diary, Martinelli noted de' Grassi's death and his inquiry to Pope Clement VII about the benefice in the same sentence. Clearly the attraction of Ss. Celso and Giuliano persisted, as did the memory of its transformative effect and institutional importance, for Martinelli also recorded the reservation of the archpresbyterate for the Office of Ceremonies at the Fifth Lateran Council fifteen years earlier.[60] In three extant testaments from 1532 to 1543, Martinelli expressed a consistent desire to receive burial in Ss. Celso and Giuliano, but only his third testament (1538) provided detailed instructions for a burial marker in the chapel that he helped to restore.[61]

[57]The archpriest's acquisition of *ius patronatus* over a chapel was not automatic based on his position of authority in the parish. Between 1509 and 1513 the chapter had shown de' Grassi that it was capable of resisting directives found to be unsatisfactory. This further explains de' Grassi's care to emphasize the chapter's support for his chapel from the beginning; De' Grassi, Preface, in *The Institution of the Chaplain*; Constant, "Les maîtres de ceremonies," pp. 222–23.

[58]Grigioni, "Biagio da Cesena," p. 359.

[59]Rome, Archivio di Stato di Roma, Fondo Segretari e Cancellieri della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, vol. 76, fols. 328r–329r; Capitolo SS. Celso & Giuliano, vol. 373, fol. 128v.

[60]"In principio Julij veni in cistis super mulum R[everendissi]mi card[inali] de valle in civitate Castellana, et die xv eiusdem propter pestem discussi versus Romam. Vbi intellexi de obitu Episcopi Pisaurien[sis], scripsi ad Papam pro Archipresbyteratu s. Celsi vigore unionis in lateranen[si] concilio, et interim cepi possessionem de novo"; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 12276, p. 103.

[61]Grigioni, "Biagio da Cesena," p. 359; Fondo Segretari e Cancellieri della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, vol. 176, fols. 78r–79v, vol. 76, fols. 328r–329r.

When Martinelli became archpriest, he resigned the canonry to his junior colleague Onofrio Pontano, who had been a member of Ss. Celso and Giuliano's collegiate chapter from as early as 1516 and entered the Office of Ceremonies in 1527.[62] Pontano's will ordered the endowment of an altar dedicated to the full life of the Virgin Mary, including the celebration of her six feast days: Immaculate Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Visitation, Presentation, and the Assumption. Pontano provided funds for a sung Mass in his chapel on each feast day in perpetuity, in addition to the liturgy requested for the repose of his own soul. For two months after his death each day a chaplain would celebrate a *missa plena*, in addition to vespers. Thereafter, two Masses each week would suffice in addition to the customary Office of the Dead on the anniversary of his death.[63]

Although no other papal college established a common space for burial or liturgical commemoration, de' Grassi's appropriation of the church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano brought greater institutional cohesion through liturgical acts embodying institutional memories and focusing on patronal monuments.[64] As Sharon Strocchia has argued, funeral and memorial liturgy acted to re-create bonds between the deceased and mourners, as well as project identities with specific topographical and social connotations.[65] The connection between the papal college and its chosen church would be reaffirmed each time the chapter convened to memorialize a deceased ceremonialist or venerated a cult connected to one of their chapels.[66]

[62]In 1516 an inventory of the items in the sacristy at Ss. Celso and Giuliano lists Pontano as a witness; Vatican City, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, Capitolo SS. Celso e Giuliano, vol. 199, fol. 86r. Biagio Martinelli's diary notes that Onofrio Pontano succeeded Ippolito Morbioli in the position of *participans* ceremonialist in May 1528; Vat. lat. 12276, p. 102.

[63]Pontano willed two houses to the chapter of Ss. Celso and Giuliano to maintain his chapel and provide an appropriate liturgy; Capitolo SS. Celso e Giuliano, vol. 373, fols. 96r–96v.

[64]The word *appropriation* has been used to emphasize de' Grassi's personal involvement in tying benefices from Ss. Celso and Giuliano to the Office of Ceremonies. In 1509 de' Grassi vociferously lobbied Julius II for provision to the archpresbyterate, long before there was any hint of using a reform bull to further institutionalize the Office of Ceremonies. Without de' Grassi's presence at the church and commitment to the endeavor it is unlikely that Leo X would have bound the archpresbyterate to the Office, thus minimizing the holder's ability to profit from the benefice through its resignation and regression.

[65]Sharon T. Strocchia, *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore, 1992), pp. 55–104.

[66]According to Gustav Constant, from de' Grassi's death in 1528 Ss. Celso and Giuliano served as a mortuary chapel for ceremonialists who held the title of archpriest.

Moreover, the anniversary Masses argued for a continuation of the link between the two groups based on clear financial benefits to each, as well as the prestige gained from identification with a vital papal college and a church of historical importance. The endowment of further chapels by Martinelli and Pontano reinforced de' Grassi's work and emphasized the continued desire to elevate both private and corporate professional identities through the appropriation of space.[67]

Another practical effect of the three chapels was the domination of the church's calendar with liturgical events commemorating the cults favored by ceremonialists. Pontano's enthusiasm for the Virgin's full life-cycle introduced the observance of all six feast days included in the Roman liturgy,[68] in addition to the four feasts observed in the chapels of de' Grassi and Martinelli (see figure 2). A seventeenth-century liturgical calendar from Ss. Celso and Giuliano shows that only January and October bear no obligations toward ceremonialist chapel patrons.[69]

According to their successors' diaries, Paris de' Grassi, Biagio Martinelli, and Onofrio Pontano's remains lay in the church. This contradicts de' Grassi's own wish to be buried in Bologna, and generally the location of his tomb remains an uncertain issue; Constant, "Les maîtres de ceremonies," pp. 222–224; Grigioni, "Biagio da Cesena," p. 359; Capitolo SS. Celso & Giuliano, vol. 373, fols. 96r–99r.

[67]The inscriptions of both de' Grassi and Martinelli were destroyed during the eighteenth-century renovations of Ss. Celso and Giuliano, yet Pontano's tomb slab (1551) remains *ex situ* at the church. Pontano describes himself as "HONOPHRIVS PONTANVS HVIVS ECC[LESIAE] CANONICVS ET CIRIMONIAR[UM] MAG[ISTE]R." The author thanks John Christopoulos for his invaluable assistance in viewing and photographing the inscription. See Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edificii di Roma*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1869), p. 148n429.

[68]Although it was not uncommon to find chapels devoted to two intercessors, as with Carafa's chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (initially the Annunciation and the Assumption of the Virgin, and later the Virgin's Annunciation and St. Thomas Aquinas), six feast days is exceptional.

[69]January also includes the anniversary of the death of Simon Bonadies (†1518), the bishop of Imola (1488–1511) and Rimini (1511–18), who was a substantial (and rare) early-sixteenth-century patron with no affiliation to the Office of Ceremonies. However, de' Grassi surely knew him as the vice-legate of Bologna in 1509. Interestingly, the calendar shows no evidence of fifteenth-century influence from the Bonadies family or continued memorials for the Spinelli, Damiani, or dello Mastro families. On the Bonadies family houses in the Ponte region, see Mariano Armellini, *Un censimento della città di Roma sotto il Pontificato di Leone X tratto da un codice inedito dell'Archivio Vaticano. Estratto dal periodico Gli studi in Italia Anno IV e V* (Rome, 1882), pp. 58 ("Un altra del Vescovo de Arimini"), 60 ("Un altra de Bapta de Gaspare Bonadies vacua . . . et laltra mettà per li heredi de Benedies").

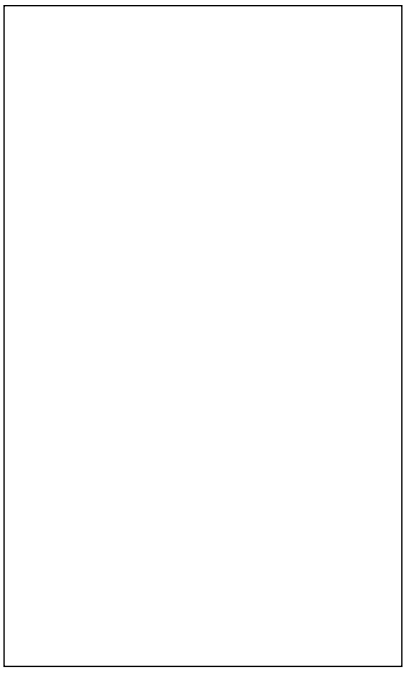

FIGURE 2. Image and inscription on the tomb slab of Onofrio Pontano (1551) in the Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano. Photograph courtesy of the author.

Every other month includes either an anniversary of a death or a feast day celebrated through chapel patronage.[70]

The collection of ceremonialist chapels at Ss. Celso and Giuliano shows similarities to the increasing construction of national churches in Rome through the early-modern period. Whereas the ceremonialists wished to reinforce their shared professional connection, the patrons of the national church wished to advertise their shared patriotism and often maximize devotion to their hometown's saintly protector.[71] The national church provided the same advantages that de'

[70]"Dies Festor[um] Co[m]munium, et Anniuersarior[um] pro animabus Defunctor[um]" (1639–40); Capitolo SS. Celso e Giuliano, vol. 373, n. pag.

[71]Anna Esposito, "I 'forenses' a Roma nell'età del Rinascimento: aspetti e problemi di una presenza 'atipica,'" in *Dentro la città. Stranieri e realtà urbane nell'Europa dei secoli XII–XVI*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Naples, 1993), pp. 163–75; Renata Ago, "Burocrazia, 'nazioni' e parentele nella Roma del Settecento," *Quaderni storici*, 67 (1988), pp. 73–98.

Grassi sought at Ss. Celso and Giuliano—space, spiritual credit, and public renown. Through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Tuscan community in Rome lobbied for the permission and patrons necessary to build a space that was known to be Florentine. In 1462 the archpriest of the Church of Sant'Agostino encouraged Tommaso Spinelli to patronize a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the patron saint of Florence, explicitly noting Spinelli's reputation as an ecclesiastical patron and his patriotism.[72] Nearly sixty years later Leo X, also of Florence, would authorize the early construction of the Church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini—a fully autonomous, national Florentine church—on land annexed from Spinelli's parish.[73]

Yet, had Spinelli endowed a chapel at Sant'Agostino, his expatriate identity might have eclipsed the chapel he founded at Ss. Celso and Giuliano. The social and spiritual benefits found in the later chapel were individualistic for Spinelli, but for the ceremonialists there was a permanent institutional character combined. Just as de' Grassi established a clear separation of purpose (familial versus professional) between the burial chapel in Bologna and Ss. Celso and Giuliano, ceremonialists who wished to privilege their familial identity above their institutional character opted for another patronage space.

Although the chapels at Ss. Celso and Giuliano over time might have incorporated the memories of their founders' descendents, de' Grassi, Martinelli, and Pontano did not succeed in establishing many heirs in the Office of Ceremonies.[74] Ippolito Morbioli, De' Grassi's nephew and junior ceremonialist, died prematurely in 1527, extinguishing the family line in the office.[75] Two further generations of

[72]New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, Spinelli Archive, Box 89, 1686; see also Jacks and Caferro, *The Spinelli of Florence*, pp. 249–50, 337.

[73]Irene Polverini Fosi, "Il consolato fiorentino a Roma e il progetto per la chiesa nazionale," *Studi Romani*, 59 (1989), pp. 50–70; Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX* (Vatican City, 1891), p. 352.

[74]Throughout this period the Office of Ceremonies reveals the existence of an "oligarchic venality" in which participating ceremonialists (men who receive a monthly stipend plus fees) were drawn from a restricted group, usually the relatives or associates of the other participating ceremonialist. By contrast, the nonparticipating ceremonialists (men only receiving fees based on their participation) are more varied in their backgrounds.

[75]Although de' Grassi designated Ippolito as his "heir and successor," Martinelli in 1524 noted the presence of Ippolito's brothers, Achilles and Alexander Morbioli, at certain ceremonies, perhaps in preparation for future introduction to and total family

Martinelli's kin served in the Office, as his relative, Francesco Mucanzio, resigned his position to a nephew, Giovanni Paolo Mucanzio.[76] Although Pontano's family had its roots in the church chapter,[77] it was his colleague Giovanni Francesco Firmano (1529–65) who established a multigenerational presence in both the chapter and the Office that lasted into the mid-seventeenth century.[78]

Later Ceremonialists and the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina

Although late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents show that ceremonialists continued to hold benefices at Ss. Celso and Giuliano, and use the resources marked for the Office by *Pastoralis officii*, they did not endow any further chapels at the church chosen by de' Grassi. Instead, in the late-sixteenth century, the descendants of Giovanni Francesco Firmano looked to the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina in the newly expanding neighborhood around the Campo Marzio.[79] This new line of ceremonialists, all of whom acquired their positions after the death of de' Grassi, dominated the Office of Ceremonies but avoided establishing personal monuments at Ss. Celso and Giuliano, the traditional space devoted to ceremonialist patronage. Instead these men chose a more prestigious church, a cardinal's *titulus*, which was clear of associations with an earlier institutional patron to whom they had no association, unlike both Martinelli and Pontano.

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dominance of the Office of Ceremonies; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 12308, fols. 109r, 115v, 116r. Moreover, the chapter archive reveals that Cardinal Carlo Grassi, de' Grassi's grand-nephew and bishop of Montefiascone, continued to support the chapel's liturgy through the 1550s, although he held no office at Ss. Celso and Giuliano; Vatican City, Archivio Storico del Vicariato, Capitolo SS. Celso e Giuliano, vol. 374, fols. 46r–46v.

[76]To reinforce his position as the beneficiary of Martinelli's offices and acts, Francesco Mucanzio became the rector of his chapel at Ss. Celso and Giuliano; Capitolo SS. Celso e Giuliano, vol. 373, fol. 119r.

[77]For a discussion of the relationship between the Pontano family and the Church of Ss. Celso and Giuliano, see Pasquale Adinolfi, *Il Canale di Ponte e le sue circostanti parti*, vol. 1 (Narni, 1860).

[78]In the Office of Ceremonies Giovanni Francesco Firmano was succeeded by six generations of relatives: Ludovico de Branca, Cornelio Firmano, Paolo Alaleone, Giovanni Battista Alaleone, Gaspare Servanzio, and Fulvio Servanzio.

[79]For a discussion of the expansion of Rome in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries away from the late-medieval Leonine city, see Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven, 2006), pp. 73–84; Dorothy Metzger Habel, *The Urban Development of Rome in the Age of Alexander VII* (New York, 2002); Tod A. Marder, "Sixtus V and the Quirinal," *The Journal of the Society for Architectural Historians*, 37 (1978), pp. 283–94.

In 1548 Pope Paul III provided Firmano's nephew, Ludovico de Branca, with the position of ceremonialist, thus ensuring the family's continued presence in the Office. Although *Pastoralis officii* established a connection with Ss. Celso and Giuliano to provide space and income for the Office of Ceremonies, the bull did not dictate the focus of ceremonialists' liturgical patronage. In 1578 de Branca endowed an altar at San Lorenzo in Lucina devoted to St. Francis of Assisi and the Virgin Mary. His nephew, Paolo Alaleone, significantly expanded the family's contribution by expanding the chapel and commissioning painted scenes of the life of St. Francis of Assisi (1623–25) from Simon Vouet.[80] An inscription dated 1624, displayed on a pilaster on the left side of the chapel, notes Alaleone's physical contribution to the expansion and decoration of the space (see figure 3). Moreover, the inscription emphasizes the chapel's spiritual contribution via a plenary indulgence secured from Pope Gregory XV for Masses heard there on the feast of St. Francis of Assisi (October 4).[81]

The movement of patronage from Ss. Celso and Giuliano coincided with Firmano's descendants seeking more illustrious connections. Notably, in 1595 Paolo Alaleone resigned his archpresbyterate in favor of a canonry at St. Peter's basilica.[82] By the early-eighteenth century, the chapel passed from Alaleone's heirs to the Ruspoli family, which added St. Giacinta Marescotti to the chapel's dedication but maintained the cult of St. Francis of Assisi and the plenary indulgence.[83] The last ceremonialist descended from Firmano was Fulvio Servanzio, whose tenure ceased in 1674.[84]

At the time of de Branca's endowment, which privileged his familial identity over his institutional identity, the Office of Ceremonies

[80]M. Marini, "L'opera di Simon Vouet nella Capella Alaleoni in San Lorenzo in Lucina," *Arte illustrate*, 7 (1974), 197–203.

[81]Maria Elena Bertoldi, *S. Lorenzo in Lucina*, [Le Chiese di Roma illustrate, n. s., 28], (Rome, 1994), pp. 95–101.

[82]In addition the inscription of 1624 identifies Alaleone as a papal chamberlain and familiar; Marini, "L'opera di Simon Vouet," p. 201; Leone Caetani, "Vita e diario di Paolo Alaleone de Branca, Maestro delle Ceremonie pontificie 1582–1638," *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di storia Patria*, 16 (1893), 5–46, here 23.

[83]Bertoldi, *S. Lorenzo in Lucina*, pp. 97, 99, 101.

[84]In the 1650s a lay branch of the Alaleone family patronized a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph in the Church of Sant'Isidoro in Rome. It is possible that this newly built chapel monopolized the family's attention after the end of its interest in the Office of Ceremonies. This period coincides with the presence of the Ruspoli at San Lorenzo in Lucina. On the chapel, see Aedan Daly, *S. Isidoro*, [Le Chiese di Roma illustrate, 119], (Rome, 1971).

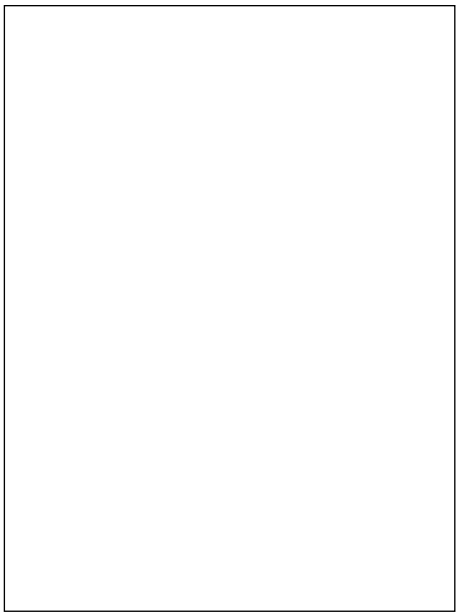

FIGURE 3. A pilaster in the chapel at San Lorenzo in Lucina notes Paolo Alaleone's physical contribution to the expansion and decoration of the space. Photograph courtesy of the author.

was still small, but no longer struggled for institutional recognition. Moreover, following the Council of Trent's assertion that Catholic liturgy should be based on a Roman model, the Office discovered greater institutional influence through the Congregation for Sacred Rites and Ceremonies, founded in 1588.[85] The expansion of the chapel at San Lorenzo in Lucina by Alaleone and a later foundation at the Church of Sant'Isidoro emphasizes the movement of the family up

[85]The members of this Congregation included the dean of the College of Cardinals, who functioned as the congregation's prefect; the senior master of ceremonies, who acted as the congregation's secretary; and the remaining ceremonialists, who were listed as consultors. The Congregation's responsibilities included supervision of the extraordinary tasks entrusted to the Office of Ceremonies, excluding daily supervision of the papal chapel and the irregular rituals of the papacy (conclave, coronation, and funerals). Constant, "Les maîtres de cérémonies du XVI^{e} siècle," pp. 338–39; Frederick Richard McManus, *The Congregation of Sacred Rites* (Washington, DC, 1954), pp. 32–35; Giovanni Papa, "La Sacra Congregazione dei Riti nel primo periodo di attività (1588–1634)," in *Miscellanea in occasione del IV Centenario della Congregazione per le Cause dei Santi (1588–1988)* (Vatican City, 1988), pp. 13–52.

the Roman social hierarchy and beyond the Office of Ceremonies. The danger of abandoning Ss. Celso and Giuliano, the sphere of a powerful precursor and institutional support, was mitigated by continued patronage through subsequent generations and the family's movement toward more prestigious spaces and offices.

Conclusion

As the senior master of ceremonies and the archpriest of Ss. Celso and Giuliano, de' Grassi crafted a strategy for both corporate and individual patronage, fulfilling the memorial needs of ceremonialists and appropriating space for the Office's corporate needs. This strategy reflects the contemporary combination of personal and institutional motivations that Max Weber considered opposites in bureaucratic evolution.[86] In early-modern society the domination of an office by one ambitious family often resulted in the equation of personal goals with institutional change that benefited that family politically, socially, or financially. With the bull *Pastoralis officii* ceremonialists gained access through increased curial status to Ss. Celso and Giuliano, where they erected monuments to their personal successes. These private chapels, as public signs of status, reinforced the benefits that accrued from the Office becoming a papal college and de' Grassi's efforts to further institutionalize papal ceremonies.

Although the Office remained the smallest papal college, the ceremonialists, unlike curial contemporaries, displayed a unified and prestigious institutional character by elevating institutional over familial

[86]Whereas Max Weber and Paolo Prodi traced a movement from patrimonial to modern bureaucratic organization, Partner's view seems more plausible: "The papal government of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was typical of its period in the way in which it combined archaic, patrimonial ways of running a government with managerial methods which in some respects looked forward to more modern times. It presents a special difficulty for the theory of modernization, in that its ideological basis was something which has to be defined as traditional, even though its methods have very often been as modern, or more so, as those of other contemporary governments. That, perhaps, is only a problem for those who care to make it so." Understanding the process by which the papal bureaucracy functioned lies in the examination of the motives, effects, and beneficiaries connected to institutional change, which was frequently effected through reform, nepotism, and personal campaigns as seen in the Office of Ceremonies. Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, trans. and ed. Hans Heinrich Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London, 1991), pp. 296–98; Partner, *The Pope's Men*, pp. 40–41, 45–46; Paolo Prodi, *The Papal Prince: One Body and Two Souls. The Papal Monarchy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Susan Haskins (New York, 1987).

ties so as to maximize patronal resources. The development of the Office of Ceremonies and the patronage of its members emphasize the interconnection of individual and institutional goals and changing strategies in ways that reveal the complexities of space, politics, and identity across Rome and the papal bureaucracy. Moreover, the movement of ceremonialists to a church of higher status outside the Leonine city reflects Rome's urban expansion through the late-sixteenth century and the belief that public ceremonial played an essential role in both papal authority and the individual's identity and quest for salvation.

VATICAN DIPLOMACY AFTER THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS: NEW LIGHT ON THE RELEASE OF JOSYF SLIPYJ

BY

KARIM SCHELKENS*

The author, drawing on original documentation from several archives, examines the February 1963 release of Josyf Slipyj, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic archbishop, by the Soviet government. Slipyj's liberation is explored against the complex background of the Second Vatican Council and the emergence of Catholic ecumenism, as well as the diplomatic and political aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis. The significant roles of Pope John XXIII; Belgian friar Felix A. Morlion, O.P.; U.S. journalist Norman Cousins; and Dutch monsignor Johannes Willebrands—who all played a part in Slipyj's release—are described.

Keywords: Cousins, Norman; Cuban Missile Crisis; Slipyj, Josyf, Cardinal; U.S.-Holy See relations; Willebrands, Johannes, Cardinal

For contemporary church historians the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in the mid-twentieth century is a particularly interesting, yet highly complex, subject of study. The Second Vatican Council (1962–65) and the process of *aggiornamento* set major changes in motion for the Church.[1] A major concern was the rising

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[1]A full history of the most recent Council has been published in *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, 5 vols. (New York, 1995–2006). The first and second volumes set the church historical background for this study. For a more general background to the issue of the Vatican Ostpolitik, see Philippe Chenaux, *L'église catholique et le communisme en Europe (1917–1989): De Lénine à Jean Paul II* (Paris, 2010). For the change in attitude from the pontificate of John XXIII onward and its heritage, see Agostino Casaroli's book *Il martirio della pazienza: La Santa Sede e i paesi comunisti 1963–1989* (Turin, 2000), esp. pp. 71–75.

tension between the two major political powers that emerged in the post–World War II world: the United States and the Soviet Union. Historians and political scientists alike have underscored the importance of Pope John XXIII in establishing a "détente" after the repeated condemnations of communism uttered by his predecessor, Pope Pius XII.[2] The extraordinary capacity of John XXIII's humane and conciliatory attitude became most tangible in his remarkable encyclical letter, *Pacem in Terris,* of April 11, 1963. The encyclical was promulgated at a time when anticommunist sentiments were a strong presence within the gatherings of "his" ecumenical council; it is a document that can be seen as a worthy testament to the pope's peacekeeping efforts.[3] This article will tend—once again—to confirm the pivotal role of John XXIII, but will by no means describe the full scope of his geopolitical impact. A detailed analysis of the way in which the Vatican repositioned itself within the overall context of the cold war also falls outside the scope of this article.[4]

Rather, based on original documentation from several archives, the focus will be on a significant event of the era: the release by the Soviet government of Josyf Slipyj, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic archbishop, in late January 1963 (see figure 1). Given that it took place not long after the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 22–29, 1962, when U.S.-Soviet tensions were still high, the archbishop's release was momentous indeed.[5] In a bipolar world marked by the arms race and vivid

[2]For Pope Pius XII's attitude toward communist regimes, see Philippe Chenaux, *Pie XII: Diplomate et Pasteur* (Paris, 2003).

[3]See, for example, Vincenzo Carbone, "Schemi e discussioni sull'ateismo e sul marxismo nel Concilio Vaticano II: Documentazione," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 44 (1990), 10–68, here 11–12.

[4]The particular relationship between Rome and the communist world has been the subject of various excellent studies such as those by HansJakob Stehle, *Geheimdiplomatie im Vatikan: Die Päpste und die Kommunisten* (Zurich, 1993), and Andrea Riccardi, *Il Vaticano e Mosca, 1940–1990* (Rome, 1992). On the Russian Orthodox Church under communist rule, see Dimitri Vladimirovich Pospielovsky, *The Russian Church under the Soviet Regime 1917–1982*, 2 vols. (New York, 1984); Bohdan Rostyslav Bociurkiw, "The Formulation of Religious Policy in the Soviet Union," in *Readings on Church and State*, ed. James E. Wood Jr. (Waco, TX, 1989), pp. 303–18; and John Anderson, *Religion, State and Politics in the Soviet Union and Successor States* (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

[5]See Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York, 1969). An interesting study of Europe's political reactions to this crisis is found in *L'Europe et la crise de Cuba*, ed. Maurice Vaïsse (Paris, 1993). Also see studies such as James G. Blight and David A. Welch, *On the Brink: Americans and Soviets Reexamine the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York, 1989); and *The Kennedy Tapes: Inside the White*

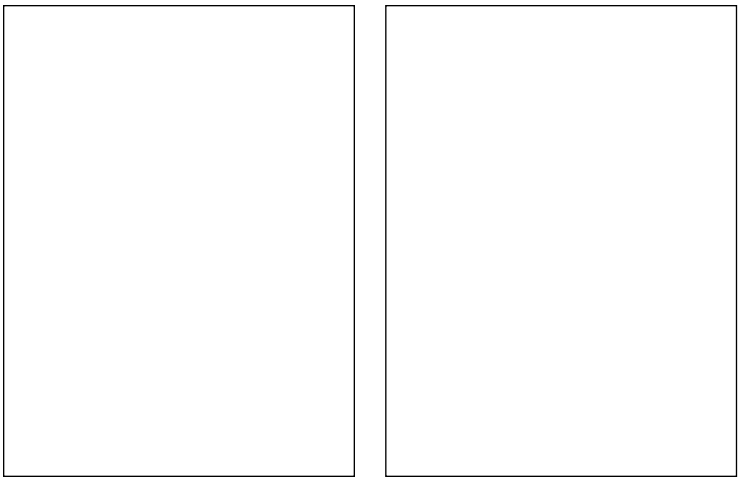

FIGURE 1. At left: Josyf Slipyj, Ukrainian Greek Catholic archbishop, later cardinal. Photo courtesy of Kirche in Not, Königstein, Germany. At right: Then-monsignor Johannes Willebrands, secretary of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. Photo courtesy of the Cardinal Willebrands Archives Foundation, Utrecht, the Netherlands.

memories of the casualties of World War II, political tensions reached a fearful climax in the Cuba crisis. In that context, the interaction of protagonists such as U.S. Catholic president John F. Kennedy,[6] Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, and Pope John XXIII, who all contributed to Slipyj's release from exile, should be acknowledged as a surprising act of confidence and goodwill from all sides.[7] The accounts of

House during the Cuban Missile Crisis ed. Ernst R. May and Philip D. Zelikow (Cambridge, MA, 1997).

[6]Among the overabundance of literature on Kennedy, see, for example, Arthur Meier Schlesinger Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (New York, 1983).

[7]Events from an insider's point of view are described in the highly interesting and well-documented volume by Norman Cousins, *The Improbable Triumvirate: An Asterisk to the Hopeful Year 1962–1963* (New York, 1972), esp. pp. 20–22, 47–53, and 62–65. In the period discussed in this article Cousins met with Khrushchev, Kennedy, and John XXIII and maintained contacts among these leaders. Many other accounts appear to have been based largely upon Cousins's book. See, for example, on the so-called "Andover Talks," Roland Flamini, *Pope, Premier, President: The Cold War Summit That Never Was* (New York, 1980); Alberto Melloni, *L'Altra Roma: Politica e S. Sede durante il Concilio Vaticano II, 1959–1965* (Bologna, 2000); and Gerald P. Fogarty, "The Council Gets Underway," in Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, II:69–106,

Slipyj's release after almost eighteen years of Siberian exile have rarely referenced archival material. The intention here is not to offer a simple repetition or a synthetic overview of the existing literature; rather, a reassessment of this event will be presented from a church historiographer's perspective. In doing so, several lacunae will be filled in. In addition, the often underestimated, if not unknown, role played by individuals such as Félix A. Morlion, O.P., and Johannes Willebrands (then a monsignor, later cardinal; see figure 1) will be highlighted.[8] In this account, details of the contacts between Vatican officials and politicians on both sides of the ideological divide, as they took place in the days before and after Slipyj's release from Moscow, will be presented. On the basis of unpublished materials found in the Vatican Secret Archives, the personal files of Willebrands and Cardinal Leo Joseph Suenens,[9] and the private diaries of Ukrainian bishops,

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particularly pp. 94–104. The same is to be said for several studies briefly discussing Slipyj's release in *Vatican II in Moscow, 1959–1965*, ed. Alberto Melloni (Leuven, 1997). Also see Ivan Choma, "Storia della liberazione del metropolita Josep Slipyi dalla prigiona sovietica," in *Intrepido Pastore* (Rome, 1984), pp. 323–47; Giancarlo Zizola, *L'Utopia di Papa Giovanni* (Assisi, 1973), pp. 205–06; HansJakob Stehle, *Die Ostpolitik des Vatikans, 1917–1975* (Munich, 1975), pp. 342–48.

[8]The author thanks Maria ter Steeg of the Cardinal Willebrands Archive Foundation for granting access to Willebrands's private papers held at the Catholic Documentation Centre/Katholiek Documentatiecentrum (henceforth KDC) at Nijmegen, the Netherlands. On Willebrands's biography, see Karim Schelkens, *Johannes Gerardus Maria Willebrands*, in *Bio-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 31 (Nordhausen, 2011), pp. 1530–48, highlighting the importance and characteristics of Willebrands's diplomatic skills amid tensions. Interestingly, Melloni's *L'Altra Roma* deals with Willebrands's involvement in only a few lines of text: "Fanfani, otto giorno dopo, viene a sapere dall'ambasciatore dell'URSS a Roma, Semeion Kozyrev, che Slipyj sarà liberato ed espulso; Willebrands riceve l'incarico di accogliere Slipyj a Mosca, di consegnarli il passaporto diplomatico dell'URSS che gli è stato preparato e di scortarlo a Rome" (p. 166).

[9]The author thanks Archivist Gerrit Van den Bosch for access to a collection of private memoranda and correspondence in the personal archives of Suenens, held at the archives of the Archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels. These items were delivered to Suenens through the mediation of Curtis Roosevelt (grandson of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt) and Morlion, with permission from Monsignor Igino Cardinale, chief of protocol at the Vatican Secretariat of State. Given the fact that Suenens was asked to present John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris* at the UN headquarters in New York in May 1963, Roosevelt and Morlion intended that the Belgian cardinal would be well informed for the occasion. See Archives Archdiocese of Mechelen-Brussels (hereafter AAM), Personal Archives Suenens, Box 20, "Voyage États-Unis. Papiers Cousins-Morlion." For more information on Suenens's journey to New York, see Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal L. J. Suenens at Vatican II," in *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*, ed. Doris Donnelly, Joseph Famerée, Mathijs Lamberigts, and Karim Schelkens (Leuven, 2008), pp. 61–217, here pp. 150–52.

new light can be shed on the relationships among the protagonists. Moreover, this study will benefit from recent publications that feature other relevant sources.

Given the distinctive nature of Slipyj's personal situation,[10] some background information is necessary about the position of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) in the post–World War II era, the rise of Roman Catholic ecumenism in the same period, and the clash between the Ukrainian diaspora hierarchy and the Russian observers during the first weeks of the Second Vatican Council. Within this complex setting, a detailed reconstruction of the timeline of Slipyj's release will be offered.

A Church in Exile: Ukrainian Greek Catholicism after World War II

To understand the difficulties surrounding the release of Slipyj from Soviet incarceration, it is necessary to look at the origins of his exile. These are to be understood within the context of the bipolar political situation characterizing the post–World War II era. When Andrej Sheptytsky, the Lviv metropolitan for the UGCC, passed away in November 1944 his territory in Western Ukraine had already become part of the Soviet empire.[11] This situation had begun with the occupation and annexation of Galicia in September 1939, yet during the war the communist occupier's primary concerns had not been in the religious field, thereby providing a relative amount of freedom for the Ukrainian Greek Catholics who had been in communion with the Holy See since the Union of Brest in 1595–96.[12] Moreover, the repu-

[10]For more detailed biographical information on Slipyj, see Ivan Choma, "La vita e le opere del card. Slipyj," *Euntes docete*, 2 (1985), 217–36; Franz Loidl, *Josyf Kardinal Slipyj und seine ukrainische Kirche* (Vienna, 1987); Jaroslav Pelikan, *Confessor between East and West: A Portrait of Ukrainian Cardinal Josyf Slipyj* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1990), pp. 146–231; and Ivan Choma, *Josyf Slipyj: Vinctus Christi et defensor unitatis* (Rome, 1997).

[11]Stella Hryniuk, *To Pray Again as a Catholic. The Renewal of Catholicism in Western Ukraine* (Minneapolis: Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota, 1995), pp. 2–4. Especially see the excellent study by Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State, 1939–1950* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 80–83.

[12]Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae,* 4 vols. (Rome, 1860–64), III:234–37. On this union, which produced long-term tensions between the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church that the Soviet treaty would only worsen, see also Bernard Dupuy, "L'union de Brest jugée avec le recul du temps," *Istina*, 35 (1990), 17–42; and *Four Hundred Years Union of Brest: A Critical*

tation of the widely known and respected Sheptytsky also had served as a restraint on communist authorities, thereby protecting the metropolitan from open attacks. Sheptytsky had established four Ukrainian exarchates in October 1939, and two months later he secretly ordained Slipyj—then the rector of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv—as bishop. Thereupon, Slipyj was appointed coadjutor for the Archeparchy with right of succession, and on the death of Sheptytsky, Slipyj succeeded him. The end of the war and the death of Sheptytsky led to the subordination of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Communist Party, paving the way for a persecution of churches that were not incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church and thus subject to Moscow Patriarch Alexis.[13]

On April 11, 1945, the Ukrainian Catholic bishops, including Slipyj, were arrested. Most of them were accused of collaboration with Nazi rule and sentenced to forced labor and exile. These draconic measures prompted a strong reaction from Pius XII, expressed in his encyclical *Orientales Omnes* of December 23, 1945.[14] In it, the Vatican did not only condemn communism but also openly and specifically attacked Moscow Patriarch Alexis. The situation worsened when on March 8–10, 1946, some 200 Greek Catholic priests were forced to revoke formally their Union with Rome, declare the Brest Union annulled, and convert to Russian Orthodoxy in a *sobor* set up by the Kremlin[15]—

Re-Evaluation, ed. Bert Groen and Wil Peter Van den Berken (Leuven, 1998). The best historical study devoted to it thus far is that by Borys A. Gudziak, *Crisis and Reform: The Kyivan Metropolitanate, the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Genesis of the Union of Brest* (Cambridge, MA, 2001).

[13]Ivan Bilas, "The Moscow Patriarchate, the Penal Organs of the USSR, and the Destruction of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church in the 1940's," *Logos,* 34 (1993), 532–76.

[14]In "Orientales Omnes," *AAS*, 38, no. 2 (1946), 33–63, Pius XII wrote: "Ita Rutheni ritus clerus, ut affertur, in litteris ad rei publicae moderatores datis, conquestus est quod sua Ecclesia in Ucraina occidentali, ut hodie vocatur, in difficillimis rerum condicionibus posita sit, propterea quod omnes Episcopi atque ex suis sacerdotibus multi comprehensi sint, unaque simul prohibitum sit ne quis eiusdem Ruthenae Ecclesiae regimen suscipiat." The pope stated later: "Sed res ipsae atque eventus facile declarant in suaque luce ponunt quaenam fuerit ac sit harum saevitiarum causa. Quis enim ignorat Alexium Patriarcham, nuper a dissidentibus Russiarum Episcopis delectum, in litteris Ruthenae Ecclesiae datis—quae non parum ad eiusmodi insectationem ineundam contulere—defectionem ab Ecclesia catholica aperte efferre ac praedicare."

[15]On Khrushchev's involvement in the 1944–46 persecution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, see William Taubman, *Khrushchev: The Man and His Era* (New York, 2003), p. 195. See Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church*, pp. 104–06. For a study of the Lviv sobor, see pp. 148–88.

all without any say from the Ukrainian Catholic bishops.[16] These dramatic events set the tone for decades to come, and the UGCC would become a "Church of Silence." Even when religious liberty was included in the USSR's constitution, it was merely a formal liberty, for in reality, the Greek Catholic Church had no real right to existence. In reaction, the Vatican under Pius XII repeatedly rebuked communism[17] and sharply criticized the Russian Orthodox Church, which had become subject to state government.[18] Although the Kremlin had a somewhat less restrictive attitude—due to the de-Stalinization of the USSR to which Khrushchev's February 25, 1956, "Secret Speech" contributed—the end of that decade was marked by new repressions of Ukrainian Catholics as well as other religious minorities.[19]

The Rise of Catholic Ecumenism: The Secretariat for Christian Unity

Simultaneous with the Vatican's presentation of itself as an anticommunist stronghold in the decades before the Second Vatican Council, the establishment of new ecumenical contacts on an international level facilitated attitudes quite different from the one found in the 1928 encyclical *Mortalium Animos*. Although ecumenical initiatives were not lacking before and during World War II,[20] it was mostly thereafter that a Roman Catholic awareness and engagement in the ecumenical movement was seen. One year after the establishment of the World Council for Churches (WCC) in Amsterdam in 1948—led by Dutchman Willem Adolf Visser 't Hooft—Pope Pius XII published an *Instructio de Motione Oecumenica* on December 20, 1949.[21] A year later Willebrands established the Catholic Conference

[16]The documents on this mock synod of 1946 were published by Patriarch Pimen, *L'vovskij tserkovnyi sobor. Dokumenty i materialy 1946–1981*, Moscow, 1983. Also on this era, see the excellent study by Bernard Dupuy, "La dissolution de l'Église gréco-catholique en 1945 par le régime soviétique dans les territoires conquis," *Istina*, 3–4 (1989), 290–305.

[17]Andrea Riccardi, "Antisovietismo e Ostpolitik della S. Sede," in Melloni, *Vatican II in Moscow*, pp. 227–68.

[18]This attitude can be seen in a 1949 decree published by the Holy Office, declaring all sympathizers with communism to be excommunicated. See *AAS,* 41 (1949), 334. Further information can be found in Giuseppe Alberigo, "La condanna della collaborazione con i partiti communisti, 1949," *Concilium,* 11 (1975), 145–58.

[19]Repressions included the resentencings of Slipyj in 1953 and 1959.

[20]See Jörg Ernesti, *Ökumene im dritten Reich* (Paderborn, 2007).

[21]This instruction was an important step toward a somewhat less restrictive attitude and soon prompted the foundation of new ecumenical organs within the Roman Catholic Church such as the Foyer Unitas in 1950.

for Ecumenical Questions as a way to gather ecumenical expertise within Roman Catholicism from international sources, uniting members from institutes such as Istina, the Foyer Unitas, and the Johann-Adam-Möhler Stiftung. The Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions was engaged not only with the WCC but also with individual members of other religions, including those behind the Iron Curtain.[22]

Most relevant in this context were the contacts between the Russian Orthodox Church and other denominations. In 1948 the Moscow Patriarch Alexis had declined an invitation to join the WCC. As a result, and *a fortiori* after the second WCC assembly at Evanston in 1954, an ongoing process of correspondence was set up between Geneva and Moscow, resulting in a meeting on August 8–10, 1958, in Utrecht.[23] These initial contacts between Eastern and Western Church representatives proved to be crucial, even when no Roman Catholic participants were officially present and even when the Soviet regime controlled every move made by the Russian Orthodox Church on the international scene. The Utrecht talks revealed the internal complexity of the Russian Orthodox Church and its attitude to the West, as well as its willingness to engage in further communication. It also is striking that the Russian delegates at the Utrecht meeting inquired about the relationship between the WCC and the Roman Catholic Church, and that both the 1949 Instruction and the activities of the Catholic Conference and Istina were discussed.[24] Significantly, at the

[22]On the origins and importance of the Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions, see Mauro Velati's *Una difficile transizione: Il cattolicesimo tra unionismo ed ecumenismo* (Bologna, 1996).

[23]KDC, Archives Willebrands, 68, "Confidential Report of a Meeting between the Russian Orthodox Church and Delegates of the WCC at Utrecht," p. 9.

[24]See the correspondence on the Utrecht talks between Willebrands and Cardinal Bernard Jan Alfrink in Archives Willebrands, 223. The "Confidential Report" reads: "The delegates of the Church in Russia asked about the relationship of the WCC with the Catholic Church. Dr. Visser 't Hooft replied:

"(a) There is no official relationship.

"(b) There is a common prayer for the unity of the church as both keep the Unity Octave at the same time. The intentions are somewhat differently formulated by Fr. Watson, Père Couturier, and the WCC's Commission on Faith and Order, but the idea is the same.

"(c) There is a 'Catholic Conference on Ecumenical Questions.' This has studied several times—independently of the WCC—the themes which have been treated by the WCC.

"(d) Dr. Visser 't Hooft drew attention to the existence of the Instructio of the Holy Office: 'De Motione Ecumenica.'

WCC Central Committee meeting held in Rhodes in August 1959 the presence of two "Catholic journalists" caused serious difficulties.[25] As a result of the Utrecht talks, the Russian Orthodox Church decided to join the WCC in April 1961,[26] and this would be confirmed and accepted during the WCC conference in New Delhi.

Meanwhile, matters had undergone a thorough transformation at the Vatican. On October 28, 1958, John XXIII was elected pope, and on January 25, 1959, he convoked an ecumenical council.[27] This decision would have far-reaching consequences for both the development of Catholic ecumenism and the relationship among the Vatican, the Kremlin, and the Moscow Patriarchate. The Rhodes incident had made it painfully clear that the Vatican urgently needed an "official address" for ecumenical affairs. Now, within the context of conciliar preparations, the June 5, 1960, *motu proprio Superno Dei Nutu* announced the establishment of ten preconciliar commissions and three secretariats that included a Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU) with Cardinal Augustin Bea[28] as its first president and Willebrands as secretary.[29] Given the SPCU's mandate to invite

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"(e) There were some difficulties with the Roman Catholic Church concerning the persecution of Protestant minorities in Catholic countries.

"The delegates of the Russian Church have, at no time, said anything unfavourable or aggressive towards the Catholic Church during the course of this meeting."

[25]See Karim Schelkens, "L'affaire de Rhodes au jour le jour. La correspondance inédite entre J.G.M. Willebrands et Ch.J. Dumont," *Istina,* 54 (2009), 253–77.

[26]KDC, Archives Willebrands, 223, Letter from Visser 't Hooft to Willebrands, April 25, 1961. In this letter, the WCC secretary general informed the SPCU of the upcoming press announcement regarding the membership of the Russian Orthodox Church; in this private letter he wrote: "Une des raisons principales pour laquelle nous avons adopté une attitude positive vis-à-vis de cette demande est d'ailleurs aussi que nous avons l'impression qu'en admettant l'église russe, nous pourrons du moins dans une certaine mesure aider au soutien de la cause du christianisme en Russie dans un temps où ceci est très nécessaire." In the same archive folder, see Visser 't Hooft's note "Les faits qui ont marqué le rapprochement entre l'Église Orthodoxe de Russie et le Conseil Oecuménique des Églises." This note mentions the fact that two delegates from the Moscow Patriarchate (Borovoj and Alexejev) had come to Geneva in June 1959 to study the WCC organization, as well as arrange a December visit by Visser 't Hooft to Moscow.

[27]Giuseppe Alberigo, "The Announcement of the Council. From the Security of the Fortress to the Lure of the Quest," in Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, 2:1–54.

[28]Stjepan Schmidt, *Augustin Bea: Der Kardinal der Einheit* (Graz, 1989).

[29]Mauro Velati, "La proposta ecumenica del segretariato per l'unità dei cristiani," in *Verso il Concilio Vaticano: Passaggi e problemi della preparazione conciliare*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (Bologna, 1993), as well as Mauro Velati, *Una difficile transizione: Il cattolicesimo tra unionismo ed ecumenismo* (Bologna, 1996).

observers from other denominations to the upcoming Council, increasing contacts between Rome and the WCC,[30] as well as between Rome and Moscow, were seen. The latter arose from the SPCU's invitation to Moscow to send official observers to the Second Vatican Council, which Moscow had initially rejected.[31] Although at the WCC's 1962 Paris meeting Boris Nikodim, the metropolitan of Leningrad and Minsk, spoke in favor of sending WCC observers, the issue of Russian Orthodox observers at the Second Vatican Council turned out to be far more complex, because of the difficult bilateral relationships between various Orthodox Patriarchates.[32] On that occasion, on August 13, Willebrands, present in Paris, had private talks with Visser 't Hooft; Nikodim; and archpriest Vitali Borovoj, a professor at Leningrad Ecclesiastical Academy. During these conversations he learned that establishing further contacts was not impossible, but would require his presence in Moscow as a condition for obtaining cooperation from the Russian Orthodox Church.[33] Willebrands discussed briefly the fate of the Catholic Church under Soviet rule with Nikodim,[34] then asked Bea for permission to undertake the journey.

[30]For example, Jérôme Hamer, O.P., attended the WCC Central Committee meeting in Paris on August 7–17, 1962; he was the first official Roman Catholic SPCU representative. In his report on the meeting he underlines the important role of Nikodim in obtaining a positive reaction to the SPCU's invitation for sending WCC observers to the Council. KDC, Archives Willebrands, 68: "Rapport du P. Hamer, Comité central du Conseil Oecuménique des Églises," Paris, August 24, 1962. Also see "Report by John B. Sheerin," September 10, 1962: "It was noteworthy that Archbishop Nikodim of the Russian Orthodox Church spoke in favor of the resolution and his support may have forestalled opposition from other quarters."

[31]During a conversation with Patriarch Alexis on June 15, 1960, Vladimir A. Kurojedov, the new president of the Soviet Government Council for Church Affairs, had taken a very negative stance toward John XXIII's initiative to convoke the Council. See Adriano Roccucci, "Russian Observers at Vatican II: The 'Council for Russian Orthodox Church Affairs' and the Moscow Patriarchate between Anti-Religious Policy and International Strategies," in Melloni, *Vatican II in Moscow*, pp. 45–69, esp. p. 55. This had resulted in the publication of the anonymous article *Non possumus* in the June 1960 issue of *Žurnal Moskovskoj Patriarchii*—the periodical of the Moscow Patriarchate.

[32]For a more detailed study on these problems, see Roccucci, *Russian Observers*, pp. 45–69.

[33]KDC, Archives Willebrands, 68, Letter from Willebrands to Bea, August 12, 1962: "À la fin, Nicodème a précisé: Nous espérons beaucoup que vous puissiez venir à Moscou et encore une fois je vous assure que ce voyage ne sera pas infructueux."

[34]Nikodim's answer was the following: "Je suis incapable de vous donner des informations sur la situation des évêques catholiques en Union Soviétique ou leur possibilité de se rendre à Rome à l'occassion du Concile. Cela dépend du gouvernement russe. Or il y dans le gouvernement deux commissions pour les affaires religieuses: une pour l'église orthodoxe, une autre pour toutes les autres églises."

Well aware that the KGB was watching the Russian Orthodox Church, Bea responded positively, but stated some conditions: First, the Russian government had to grant permission to Catholic bishops in Russian territory to participate in the Council. Second, Willebrands was to be granted an official passport and visa for a visit to the Moscow Patriarch so as to avoid accusations that the Vatican has sent a "spy disguised as tourist."[35] So, only days before the solemn opening of the Second Vatican Council and only weeks before the Cuban Missile Crisis, Willebrands traveled to Moscow. He kept complete records of the conversations he held there from September 27 to October 2, 1962.[36] On this occasion, the main discussion topic was the practical organization of the Council, including the role of the observers. Also, the Russians pointed out that the Council should avoid an explicit connection of communist atheism with specific nations.[37] Yet, it is significant that Willebrands also cites Nikodim, who was the Moscow Patriarchate's president of the Department for External Relations, raising the following issue:[38]

[35]KDC, Archives Willebrands, 68, Letter from Bea to Willebrands, August 15, 1962: "Per l'accettazione nostra di Osservatori della Chiesa Russa la condizione 'préalable' è che il governo russo concede ai Vescovi che stanno nel territorio russo, di prendere parte al Concilio, e che non—nè materialmente nè moralmente—impedisca gli Stati con essa alleati o associati di fare lo stesso." Bea proceeds: "Data questa assicurazione ufficiale e autorevole si può continuare di trattare la questione degli Osservatori. Non vi è alcuna obiezione di principio che V.S. Rev.ma vada per questo scopo anche a Mosca, come ha visitato altri Patriarcati. Ma vi è una condizione: che non vi vada come 'turista.'"

[36]For an account of this journey, see Giovanni Turbanti, "Il problemo del comunismo al Concilio," in Melloni, *Vatican II in Moscow*, pp. 157–59. Also see Johannes Willebrands, "La rencontre entre Rome et Moscou. Souvenirs," in Melloni, *Vatican II in Moscow*, pp. 331–38.

[37]KDC, Archives Willebrands, 68, "Visite de Mgr. Willebrands au Patriarcat de Moscou," 13 pp., here pp. 2–3, on atheism: "Peut-on éviter d'en parler de telle façon qui permettrait une interprétation politique, dirigée contre certains nations? Ne pensez-pas que nous, comme évêques russes orthodoxes, défendent l'athéisme! Cela n'est pas vrai, mais nous demandons de comprendre notre situation. On peut parler de l'athéisme sans mentionner ou faire allusion à une nation déterminée, ce qui risquerait facilement de tourner un document religieux en un document politique."

[38]KDC, Archives Willebrands, 68, "Visite de Mgr. Willebrands au Patriarcat de Moscou," p. 4: "Concernant la position des évêques catholiques en Russie, l'archevêque Nicodème a entendu des rumeurs que certains Vicaires apostoliques en Russie ont demandé un visa pour aller au Concile. Pourront-ils y aller? N'est-ce pas une situation délicate si l'Église Orthodoxe Russe sera représentée, même par ses observateurs, si les évêques ou leurs vicaires ne pourront pas être présent? Nous serons très contents de rencontrer éventuellement à Rome des compatriotes catholiques."

> Concerning the situation of the Catholic bishops in Russia, Archbishop Nikodim heard rumors that some apostolic vicars in Russia applied for a visa to go to the Council. Will they go? Would it not be an awkward situation if the Russian Orthodox Church be represented, even by its own observers, without the presence of their bishops or vicars? We will be glad to finally meet our Catholic compatriots in Rome.

Nikodim articulated the central issue with powerful clarity. To understand the reaction of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic hierarchy to the SPCU's invitation to the Moscow Patriarchate, a look at the preparation in Rome for the Council is necessary.

The Hot Month of October 1962: Cold War in Rome

In the Council's preparation phase, the bishops' *vota* were collected and organized into a manageable list of topics.[39] From summer 1960 onward the preconciliar commissions were active in Rome, which included several UGCC representatives. Noteworthy is the conversation between Maxim Hermaniuk, C.Ss.R., the Ukrainian metropolitan of Winnipeg (see figure 2), and John XXIII at Castel Gandolfo on September 30, 1961. In his personal diary, Hermaniuk wrote:

> Upon entering the Holy Father greeted me in Bulgarian—*kak su*—"how are you", offering me the courtesy of using a Slavic language.
>
> The discussion was very relaxed and cordial. The topics of the discussion were the following:
>
> 1. The invitation, in some form (to show a solidarity of faith in one God against atheistic communism), to the representatives of all who profess one God (Jews, Muslims) on the occasion of the Ecumenical Council.
> 2. The invitation, in some form, of Orthodox and Protestants to this Council.
> 3. The first provincial Synod of the Archeparchy of Winnipeg.
> 4. The persecution of the Church in Ukraine and the martyrdom of our nation, especially the great Metropolitan J. Slipyj.
>
> The Holy Father confirmed, concerning the first two points, that this is very complex and is in the stage of study. He, with a sincere heart, con-

[39]Many bishops asked for clear condemnations of communism, which explains why the *Synthesis Finalis* of the Antepreparatory Commission of Vatican II places items such as *De communismo*, *De atheismo*, *De totalitarismo*, *De marxismo*, and *De socialismo* under the heading "Errors to Be Condemned." See *Acta et Documenta* I.2.1:197–231.

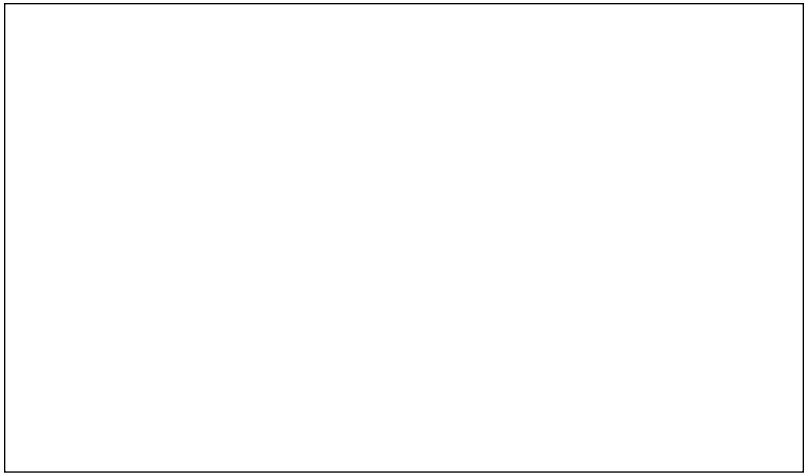

FIGURE 2. At center: Maxim Hermaniuk, C.Ss.R., Ukrainian metropolitan of Winnipeg, at the Second Vatican Council. Photo courtesy of the Center for the Study of the Second Vatican Council, Catholic University of Leuven.

> veyed his apostolic blessings to our Synod and to the whole Ukrainian nation. The picture of Metropolitan Slipyj stands on his table.[40]

Members of the Ukrainian diaspora episcopate were hoping that the Council would address the suppression of the Greek Catholic churches in the Soviet Union. On the eve of the Council's solemn opening session, fifteen members of the Ukrainian diaspora hierarchy gathered in Rome to set a public agenda. Several steps were initiated at that meeting such as the preparation of a brochure and a letter to the Council Fathers informing them of the situation of Catholic martyrs of the UGCC and Slipyj; a plan to publish an article on the imprisonment of Slipyj; and an intention to ask Cardinal Gustavo Testa[41] to appoint a procurator for Slipyj.[42]

[40]Archives Metropolitan See Winnipeg, Canada (hereafter AMW), Council Diary Maxim Hermaniuk (hereafter Council Diary Hermaniuk), September 30, 1961. The diary will be published as *The Council Diaries of Maxim Hermaniuk, C.Ss.R., Metropolitan of Winnipeg, 1960–1965*, annot. Karim Schelkens, trans. Jaroslav Skira (Leuven, 2011).

[41]John XXIII, who was well acquainted with the Oriental Churches because of his experience as a nuncio in Bulgaria, had asked his friend, Testa, on July 31, 1962, to take up the post of prefect to the Congregation for the Oriental Churches. Testa agreed and was officially appointed on August 2, 1962.

[42]AMW, Council Diary Hermaniuk, October 10, 1962.

Meanwhile, Patriarch Alexis and the Russian Orthodox Synod had gathered at Zagorsk on October 8, 1962, and agreed to send two observers to the Council: Borovoj, who had attended the Utrecht and Paris meetings and also frequently visited the WCC headquarters at Geneva as a delegate for his church; and Vladimir Kotliarov, vice-superior of the Russian Religious Mission at Jerusalem.[43] They arrived in Rome on October 12 (see figure 3), and action was swiftly taken by the Ukrainian diaspora bishops. Hermaniuk's diary entry of October 17, 1962, notes:

> Meeting at the College of St. Josafat with Most Rev. Ivan Bučko, Most Rev. A. Sapeljak and Most Rev. A. Hornjak on the issue of the ratification of the text of a common letter of our Ukrainian Bishops to all the Fathers of the Council regarding "the observers" of the Russian Orthodox Church at the Council. The discussion was very interesting and beneficial. I was entrusted with preparing an outline of our lines of thought, and Most Rev. Bučko is to prepare the full text in Italian. Afterwards we will determine when that letter is to be given to the Fathers of the Council.[44]

As Nikodim had predicted, the Ukrainian diaspora bishops were deeply shocked by the presence of Russian Orthodox observers, given that many of their own bishops were still in exile or imprisoned.[45] During these days just before the Cuban Missile Crisis, the conflict between the Russian Orthodox Church and the heavily persecuted Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was about to come to a head. Over the next days, Hermaniuk drafted a public repudiation of the Russian Orthodox observers invited by the SPCU, in which the

[43]See the leaflet distributed by the SPCU, *Observateurs délégués et hôtes du Secrétariat pour l'Unité des chrétiens au deuxième concile oecuménique du Vatican* (Rome, 1965), p. 11.

[44]AMW, Council Diary Hermaniuk, October 17, 1962.

[45]On October 21, one day before Kennedy presented the public with photographs of Soviet missiles in Cuba, Hermaniuk noted: "in the afternoon a reception hosted by His Eminence Cardinal Agagianian in honour of the Patriarchs, Metropolitans, Archbishops and Bishops of all the Eastern rites participating in the Council. At the reception also were Cardinals Feltin, Tisserant, Amleto Cicognani, and . . . V. Valeri. Apart from the cardinals there were also patriarchs: Maximos IV from Antioch, the Patriarch of Armenia and the Maronite Patriarch. Among those present there were also—one knows not why and what for—the 'observers' of the Russian Orthodox Church—Vitali Borovoj and Vladimir Kotliarov. This is a real misfortune for the Council and for all its manifestations. It is painful, especially for us Ukrainians, who have suffered so much and our brothers who still continue to suffer under Moscow and its Orthodox Church—especially our Confessor Josyf Slipyj—for fidelity to Christ and the Church." See AMW, Council Diary Hermaniuk, October 21, 1962. Also see Melloni, *L'Altra Roma*, p. 132.

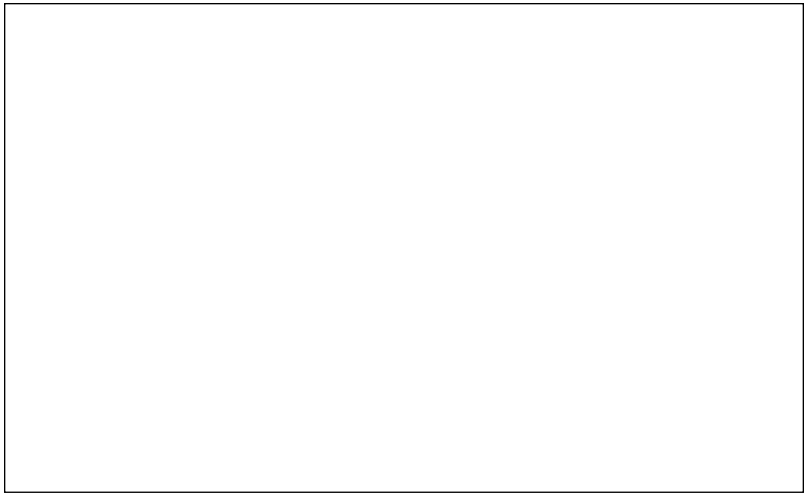

FIGURE 3. Russian observers at the Second Vatican Council. Photo courtesy of the Center for the Study of the Second Vatican Council, Catholic University of Leuven.

Russian Orthodox Church and the Soviet government were presented as a single entity, making clear that the Council should denounce both rather than invite "communist representatives" to Rome. At this point, the Ukrainian hierarchy felt deserted by the Vatican administration, and the Ukrainian hierarchs felt that they needed to respond to the patronizing attitude of Vatican diplomats, who considered the UGCC only as a small Eastern entity. Their initiative was hardly welcomed by the SPCU.[46] On October 25, Willebrands and Bea were aware of the intention of the Ukrainian bishops to protest publicly the presence of the Russian observers at the Second Vatican Council, and both informed Monsignor Igino Cardinale, chief of protocol at the Secretariat of State of the Holy See. Cardinale, in turn, made a note on the matter for Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, secretary of state for the Holy See.[47]

[46]For an insider's perspective, see Emanuel Lanne, "La perception en Occident de la participation du Patriarcat de Moscou à Vatican II," in Melloni, *Vatican II in Moscow*, pp. 120–21.

[47]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Report on the Events of October 23–27," p. 2. Also see Archives Willebrands, 324, "Diary Notes on the First Weeks of the Council," for October 25, p. 3: "The Russian observers ask about the presence of Catholic bishops from Soviet territory. According to the information of Msgr. Lupi, none of them are present at the

On that same evening, Bea had a private audience with John XXIII,[48] in which he informed the pope that, at earlier meetings, Ivan Bučko had favored inviting representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate, but had now changed his mind under pressure from the Ukrainian diaspora episcopate. He, too, felt the risk that the Vatican diplomats would opt for a *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Union, rather than for a clear support of the Ukrainian martyrs. John XXIII personally asked Bea to prevent such an action by the Ukrainian bishops, and on October 27 Bea met with Ukrainian Metropolitan Ambrosij Senysyn—responsible for the U.S. Ukrainian diaspora—to inform him that the pope wished the Ukrainian bishops to refrain from action against the Russian observers. Also, Bea explained that the SPCU had invited the Russian delegates on its own initiative and not by order of the Holy See. These factors contribute to the extremely complex background against which the negotiations leading to Slipyj's release must be understood.

From Andover to Rome

When it came to the Vatican's attitude toward communism, John XXIII showed an astoundingly open and humanist attitude from the earliest period of his pontificate. This is illustrated by a remarkable peacekeeping initiative from the pope's side. In August 1959 John XXIII had private conversations with Belgian Dominican friar Félix A. Morlion, who had previously been actively involved in actions against Nazism and Stalinism (see figure 4). Morlion, now a director of the New York-based American Council for the International Promotion of Democracy under God (CIP), discussed two issues with John XXIII. First was the possibility of establishing an "international university"

Council. Both of the Russian observers cannot understand this and deplore the fact that, while they themselves are present, no Catholic representatives from the Soviet Union are here. . . . Cardinal Bea informs me that he has learned from a reliable source, that the Ukrainian bishops are planning to make public objections against the presence of Russian observers, with Msgr. Bučko as spokesman. It is needed to prevent such action from happening and the cardinal orders me to contact Msgr. Cardinale. Upon returning to the office I did so, and Cardinale's spontaneous reaction was: 'is he crazy', he would immediately prepare a note for Cardinal Cicognani."

[48]The audience was not noted in the pope's diary (Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, *Pater Amabilis. Agende del papa, 1958–1963*, ed. Mauro Velati [Bologna, 2007]), but Bea reported it to Willebrands. See the diary note in Archives Willebrands, 324, p. 1: "Cardinal Bea has had an audience with the Holy Father, who appeared to be fully aware of the Ukrainian initiative. The pope told the cardinal that he did not wish to see such actions, and has ordered Cardinal Bea to inform the Ukrainian episcopate of this."

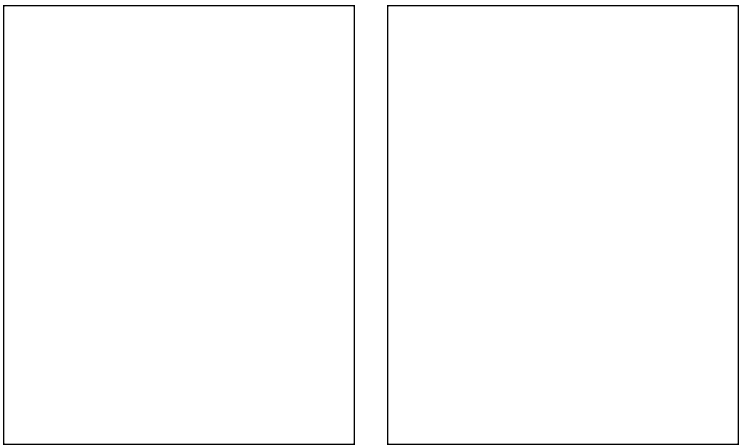

FIGURE 4. At left: Félix A. Morlion, O.P. Photo courtesy of KADOC, the Documentation and Research Center for Religion, Culture, and Society of the Catholic University of Leuven. At right: Norman Cousins, January 1943. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, reproduction no. LC-USE6-D-006885.

under CIP auspices, which ultimately was formed in November 1961 as the International Pro Deo University with Morlion as its first president. Second, Morlion and John XXIII talked about the need for a series of books to explain to nonbelievers, including those under communist rule, the new and more pastoral approach of the Catholic Church.[49] The pope intended that these six books would be issued after events at the Vatican. With John XXIII's approval, Morlion contacted Harper and Brothers in search of a writer who could advise him on his project. In early 1960 the publishing house referred Morlion to U.S. journalist Norman Cousins, editor-in-chief of the *Saturday Review* and a founding member of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE; see figure 4). Cousins and Morlion quickly became friends, and this friendship would have significant ecclesiastical and political implications. Cousins, who had had private contacts with Khrushchev in Moscow and New York, was already acquainted with some of Khrushchev's close friends through semi-official US-USSR meetings held at Dartmouth. Another such meeting would be held in October 1962 at Phillips Exeter Academy in Andover,

[49]AAM, Archives Suenens, Félix A. Morlion, "Memorandum for John XXIII and John F. Kennedy," November 1962, p. 1.

Massachusetts. This time, through the mediation of Cousins, Morlion observed talks that took place on the eve of American congressional elections amid the mounting tensions of the Cuba crisis.

On October 24, at the height of the crisis, Cousins, well informed by his Washington connections, told Morlion of the political risks at hand and asked him "if Pope John could make a very special appeal for restraint on all sides." Morlion then telephoned Cardinale, who stated that such a plan was underway and that Kennedy would be kept informed.[50] On that day Morlion twice telephoned the Vatican, making the case for Cousins as a possible link between the Vatican and the Kremlin.[51] The result of these communications is indicated by Cardinale, who made clear that the pope was interested in receiving Cousins. Then, on October 25, 1962, John XXIII delivered a speech on the radio that asked all parties to avoid nuclear warfare and casualties. His appeal was published in the *New York Times*[52] as well as in Moscow's *Pravda*.[53] In the course of the next days both Khrushchev and Kennedy gave proof of restraint.[54] Meanwhile, at Andover on October 25, Morlion met privately—without Cousins and without the pope's knowledge—with Evgueni Fedorov, chair of

[50]AAM, Archives Suenens, Morlion, "Memorandum for John XXIII and John F. Kennedy," November 1962, pp. 3, 3a.

[51]AAM, Archives Suenens, Morlion, "Memorandum for John XXIII and John F. Kennedy," November 1962, pp. 2–3. Regarding Cousins, Morlion wrote:

> 1. He is a rather unique case in having obtained special personal confidence of Nikita Khrushchev as proved by certain questions asked him which cannot be explained as ordinary moves of dissimulation. This has been favored by his books and actions for peace which have been linked by Khrushchev and his friends, to organizations as SANE which are not under his control.
> 2. He is widely known as a humanist who is not identified with any particular creed and owes no allegiance to any church. My experience with him demonstrates that he is a deeply spiritual man of sacrifice and prayer worthy of special confidence of our headquarter [Vatican].
> 3. He is seen by Nikita Khrushchev and his friends as a typical leader of a new peace loving generation, which in a certain sense can be expected to owe primary allegiance to the human family and the cause of peace.

At the time the United States did not have a formal diplomatic relationship with the Holy See. For details on the U.S. relationship with the Holy See from the eighteenth century onward, see Andrew M. Essig and Jennifer L. Moore, "U.S.-Holy See Diplomacy: The Establishment of Formal Relations, 1984," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 741–64.

[52]"Text of Pope's Appeal," *New York Times*, October 26, 1962, p. 20.

[53]*Pravda*, October 26, 1962, p. 5.

[54]See Fogarty, *The Council Gets Underway*, pp. 100–01.

the Russian delegation, and Russian journalist Grigory Shumeiko. Morlion's three-hour talk with these men would prove quite important, as he solicited and obtained permission for Cousins to travel to Moscow and meet with Khrushchev[55] after a visit to the Vatican. In other words, Morlion had managed to send Cousins to Moscow with a specifically religious agenda. On October 29 Morlion had another transatlantic phone conversation with Cardinale regarding the possibility of a visit by Cousins to the Vatican, which was planned sometime between December 8 and 13.[56] In the days thereafter, Washington was informed of this private initiative,[57] and in late November Cousins received a phone call from Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to the United States, who indicated that Cousins could meet with Khrushchev on December 14. As a result, a broader triangular structure of private contacts was established among Washington, Rome, and Moscow based on the personal contacts established by Cousins and Morlion.

The presence of Russian Orthodox observers at the Second Vatican Council stirred controversy, but could have been expected, given John XXIII's overall approach to outreach. Without the knowledge of members of the Ukrainian episcopate, contacts had been evolving between the Vatican and the Kremlin since 1961. Such contacts were largely separate from the SPCU's ecumenical endeavors, but were equally important. It was highly symbolic that in late November 1961, John XXIII addressed a personal letter to Khrushchev,[58] who in March 1958 had become premier of the Soviet Union. Such private letters

[55]AAM, Archives Suenens, Morlion, "Memorandum for John XXIII and John F. Kennedy," November 1960, p. 5: "When asked [by the Russians] if I could give them this information in writing [on the Second Vatican Council and on the new policies developed by the Vatican] I answered yes on the condition that NC [Cousins] will be accepted by them to visit NK [Khrushchev] and inform him further on what he would learn through private contacts with PJ [John XXIII]." On October 29, Morlion had a second conversation with the Russian delegates and handed them a note he had prepared for Khrushchev that described the intentions of John XXIII and the upcoming book project on the new Vatican policies.

[56]AAM, Archives Suenens, Morlion, "Memorandum for John XXIII and John F. Kennedy," November 1960, pp. 10–11.

[57]AAM, Archives Suenens, Letter from Ralph A. Dungan (special assistant to Kennedy) to Cousins, December 6, 1962: "The President, knowing of your impending visit to Rome, has asked that you convey to the Holy Father the President's great relief at the Holy Father's recovery and asks that you extend his best wishes for the Holy Father's continued good health."

[58]Giorgio La Pira, *Lettere a Giovanni XXIII: Il sogno di un tempo nuovo*, ed. Andrea Riccardi and Augusto D'Angelo (Milan, 2009), p. 393.

between the pope[59] and the premier, however negligible in terms of content, point to the growth of a mutual trust and openness. This would become tangible in a much debated press statement offered by Cardinale on November 9, 1962, in which the Vatican stated that it was "ready to engage in relations with any state, but they have to be founded on the reliable guarantee of the other party to assure freedom for the church and the sanctity of the moral and spiritual interests of its citizens."[60] Significantly, this statement went further than John XXIII's October 25 appeal: "I always speak well of all those statesmen here and there, in this or that land . . . who promote, favor and accept negotiations, at all levels and at all times."[61] Even before Cousins and Morlion's arrival in Rome in early December 1962, Roman events in the public sphere, as well as behind closed doors, in November would prove to be quite eventful. For a start, the Ukrainian bishops at the Council, who noted the turn taken in Cardinale's press conference, decided to continue their course of action. On November 22, 1962, a statement was published in the Italian press, representing a "Solemn and Dramatic Declaration on the Silent Church."[62] In agreement with the Vatican Secretariat of State and in close contact with Borovoj, the SPCU reacted the next day, issuing another press statement that distanced itself from the Ukrainian initiative.[63]

[59]Moreover, the pope was constantly informed of the ongoing contacts between members of the Italian government and the Kremlin in the same era such as Fanfani and Giorgio La Pira, the mayor of Florence, as is evident from their recently edited correspondence. See La Pira, *Lettere,* esp. letters 63, 79, 107, 108, 113, and 115.

[60]Krassikov, "The Second Vatican Council in the Context of Relations between the USSR and the Holy See," in Melloni, *Vatican II in Moscow,* pp. 313–30, esp. p. 325.

[61]Quoted in Zizola, *L'Utopia*, p. 7. See AAM, Archives Suenens, which contain a "Very Restricted Memorandum" by Morlion titled "A Principle of Holy See Policies Applicable in Relations with the East." In it, the Vatican press conference is explained as follows: "The occasion for the press conference was the necessity of counteracting pressures of all kinds by less diplomatically subtle people in favor of the Holy See breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba."

[62]See F. Pucci, *Una solenne e drammatica dichiarizione sulla "Chiesa del silenzio": Invocata da 15 Vescovi ucraini al Concilio sulla libertà per i sacerdoti detenuti oltrecortina*, in *Il Giornale d'Italia*, November 21–22, 1962. Later, Hermaniuk would comment on this in an interview with the *Ukrainian Weekly*, July 26, 1987, p. 4, stating that "[a]s chairman of the Ukrainian Catholic delegation I and the other 14 signed a joint letter calling for goodwill in releasing Slipyj. Up until that point, the issue was too sensitive for any of the bishops to want to handle. So we printed it in the daily newspaper, *Il Giornale d'Italia*[,] on November 22, 1962. That day all of the bishops attending Vatican II learned first-hand that we had no official voice. It was a day that the whole Church listened to our voice."

[63]Vatican City, Vatican Secret Archives, Conc. Vat. II, Papers SPCU 1463, "Report of the SPCU-Meeting of November 23, 1962," which contains the following passage: "Mgr le

Moreover, Willebrands met with the Ukrainian bishop conference on November 24, explaining to the bishops the precise reasons and circumstances behind the invitation extended to the Russian Orthodox observers.[64] The Ukrainians had clearly not realized that their action was hardly appreciated by the pope, given John XXIII's efforts in diplomacy geared toward obtaining Slipyj's release. For a start, on the day that the Ukrainian press statement appeared in *Il Giornale d'Italia*, private conversations took place between Semeion P. Kozyrev, the USSR ambassador to Italy, and Amintore Fanfani, the Roman Catholic prime minister of Italy.[65] After these conversations, Kozyrev believed an improved Holy See-Soviet Union relationship was on the horizon,[66] although this would later prove to be a somewhat premature expectation.

From Rome to Moscow

On December 12, after Morlion and Cousins had cleared their trip to Rome with Washington, they traveled to Rome and held conversations with Cardinals Cicognani and Bea, Monsignor Angelo Dell'Acqua, and Cardinale. The non-Catholic Cousins—who did not meet with John XXIII due to the pope's illness—was now acting as an unofficial intermediary for the pope on this trip to the Kremlin and was preparing for his talk with Khrushchev. He studied the first chap-

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secrétaire Willebrands met au courant l'assemblée au sujet du communiqué paru dans la presse et attribué à l'Épiscopat Ukrainien en exil. Certains évêques ukrainiens se sont désolidarisés de cette déclaration. Mais le Secrétariat a jugé bon, d'accord avec la Secrétairerie d'État, de faire un communiqué de presse. Ce communiqué, conçu en termes assez larges, peut aussi se référer à des allusions faites dans la presse allemande et aussi aux États-Unis sur la question des observateurs. Il a semblé utile de faire ce communiqué. Mgr Willebrands en a parlé avec l'archiprêtre Borovoj. On espère que la déclaration des évêques ukrainiens n'aura pas de conséquences."

[64]AMW, Council Diary Hermaniuk, November 23–24: "Msgr. Willebrands spoke to our bishops at the College of St. Josafat: 1. He spoke at length about the work of the Secretariat in general; 2. He went to Moscow on behalf of the Secretariat; 3. In Moscow, he wanted to raise the topic of Metropolitan J. Slipyj, but His Eminence Card. Cicognani (Secretary of State) said to him that this is not his business and that he should not pursue it."

[65]It should be noted that during this period, Fanfani led a coalition of Christian Democrats and Italian socialists, rendering Italian politics open to left-wing political ideas and softening its attitude toward the Kremlin. On Fanfani's role and contacts with the Vatican and Moscow, see Pietro Neglie, *La stagione del disgelo: Il Vaticano, l'Unione Sovietica e la politica di centrosinistra in Italia, 1958–1963* (Siena, 2010).

[66]Krassikov, *The USSR and the Holy See*, pp. 325–26.

ter of the first volume in Morlion's book series; talked to his Russian friends Fedorov, Shumeiko, and others; and consulted with Vatican officials. During his talk with Bea—who had been fully informed about the state of church affairs in Moscow by Willebrands only three weeks before[67] and about the attitude of the Ukrainian hierarchy only a week before—the topic of Catholic suppression under Soviet rule was broached. Cousins stated:

> For many years he [Bea] said, members of the religious community had been imprisoned inside the Soviet Union. It would be a most favorable augury if at least one of them could be released. Would there be any particular person he had in mind, I asked. "Yes", he said, Archbishop Josyf Slipyj of Ukraine, who has been imprisoned for eighteen years. He is a very fine man. The Holy Father is concerned about him. The Holy Father would like the Archbishop to live out those few years [left] in peace at some seminary, where he would be among his own. There is no intention to exploit the Archbishop's release for propaganda purposes.[68]

On December 14, Cousins flew from Rome to Moscow for a long conversation with Khrushchev.[69] Many issues were discussed during this meeting, including the Cuba crisis and Khrushchev's Soviet Communist Party reform. Cousins explained to Khrushchev the importance of Morlion's book project as well as the major role of the pope during the Cuba crisis and the pope's opinion that "the Church should go deep into the spiritual problems of peace. A nuclear war is not only a war against man, but a war against the Creator and his plans for humanity's future."[70] Cousins underscored the need "to avoid that the pope's mediation, his wish to serve the cause of peace, should promote crisis."[71] The subject of religious freedom then was

[67]See AAM, Archives Suenens, Cousins, "Report of the Meeting between Mr. Nikita Khrushchev and Mr. N.," December 14, 1962. This sixteen-page report by Cousins offers a full report of the dialogue. An English version was sent to Kennedy, and an Italian version was sent to John XXIII, Cardinale, Dell'Acqua, Tisserant, and Bea. Cousins's report mentions that Khrushchev was well aware of Willebrands's first Moscow visit just before the Cuba crisis.

[68]Cousins, *The Improbable Triumvirate*, p. 30.

[69]AAM, Archives Suenens, Cousins, "Report of the Meeting between Mr. Nikita Khrushchev and Mr. N.," December 14, 1962, p. 1.

[70]AAM, Archives Suenens, Cousins, "Report of the Meeting between Mr. Nikita Khrushchev and Mr. N.," December 14, 1962, pp. 5–6.

[71]AAM, Archives Suenens, Cousins, "Report of the Meeting between Mr. Nikita Khrushchev and Mr. N.," December 14, 1962, p. 6, adding that "one could think that it would be an expedient to have crisis, knowing that it would be possible to have recourse of the Holy See to overcome them."

addressed as well as the UGCC's situation, with Cousins asking for a sign of good intentions toward the Catholic Church by allowing it to disseminate its holy literature and, to show that religious freedom was taken seriously, liberating Slipyj. The latter request triggered some reactions. Cousins's private report of the meeting states:

> Here Khrushchev used about fifteen minutes to explain thoroughly the case of Bishop Slipyj, whom he had known; he had followed this case personally, from 1940, when he was President of the Cabinet of Ukraine. He gave a detailed history of the religious events in Ukraine, expounding thoroughly the political questions around the figure of Slipyj's predecessor, His Excellency Bishop Prince Sheptytsky.[72]

Later, Khrushchev says that "I do not know where bishop Slipyj is now, nor whether he is alive or not; but I shall deal with the matter and have his case examined," which seems to recognize the potential for enormous scandal should Slipyj be released. But Cousins pressed further, stating that the Vatican would promise that it would not exploit any publicity, whereupon Khrushchev stated that "I will have the case examined, and I do not exclude a release, provided there are guarantees that nobody will make a political case out of it. I had other enemies, too, and one more in freedom wouldn't make me afraid."[73] At the end of his report, Cousins made clear that the conversation had surpassed his expectations, as all of the points he had prepared had been received positively. Some signals can testify to the mutual sense of a positive atmosphere of the talk such as the fact that Shumeiko

[72]AAM, Archives Suenens, Cousins, "Report of the Meeting between Mr. Nikita Khrushchev and Mr. N.," December 14, 1962, pp. 11–12. Regarding Sheptytsky, Khrushchev indicated that "it was not possible to go back to the situation that had existed under the Czar, when the priests were his gendarmes. His Excellency Sheptytsky made a declaration in this sense. Then he was immediately struck by an illness, and died under rather mysterious circumstances. There are reasons for suspecting that his death had been accelerated."

[73]AAM, Archives Suenens, Cousins, "Report of the Meeting between Mr. Nikita Khrushchev and Mr. N.," December 14, 1962, pp. 11–12A. The elaborate account given in Cousins's private report differs from the story published in *The Improbable Triumvirate*, pp. 48–49: "I [Cousins] said that over the years, many attempts had been made to obtain the release from prison of Archbishop Slipyj of the Ukraine. Pope John was hopeful that something could now be done. He was not addressing himself to the reasons for the internment; these reasons went back many years and there was no point in rearguing the case." Khrushchev then says: "It is not a good idea. I would like to have improved relationships with the Vatican but this is not the way to do it. In fact, it could be the worse thing we could do. The Chairman said if the Archbishop became free there would be large headlines proclaiming, 'Bishop Reveals Red Torture.'"

and Fedorov insisted on sending an "open" (not codified, as was customary) telegram to Morlion, or the fact that Khrushchev sent along a handwritten Christmas card for John XXIII.

Back to the Vatican

A few days later, Cousins headed back to Rome. There, the tumultuous first period of the Second Vatican Council had come to a close, and an overall new direction shaping Roman Catholicism was gradually evolving. In Rome Cousins met with Morlion, Dell'Acqua, Cardinale, and Bea, plus the dean of cardinals, Eugène Tisserant. To these men he reported on his conversation at the Kremlin and again noted Bea's vivid interest in the possibility of religious amelioration and the request for the release of Slipyj.[74] He also had a private audience with the pope on December 19, 1962. On the basis of his own report he had a lengthy conversation with John XXIII in which both the pope's diplomatic sensitivity and personal desire for world peace on a humanitarian basis were clear. In a report on this conversation written for Kennedy on January 17, 1963, Cousins recalls:

> Pope John has profound convictions about the issue of war and peace in our time. War can no longer be considered a purely political question. The effects of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons on man, on the human germplasm, on the natural environment, on hundreds of millions of people outside the nuclear nations, and on generations to come—these effects clearly make the issue of war and peace a profound spiritual one. Every resource must be tapped in behalf of the human situation. But the Holy Father has no desire to create any embarrassment for the President or to undertake any initiatives that are unacceptable to the President or to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.[75]

[74]Cousins, *The Improbable Triumvirate*, p. 58.

[75]AAM, Archives Suenens, Cousins, "Report for President John F. Kennedy," January 17, 1963, p. 1. In the same report to Kennedy, Cousins also articulates four aspects to explore during the Moscow portion of his trip:

> 1. What are the prospects for enlarged religious freedom inside the Soviet Union? Would it be possible to obtain the release of bishop Slipyj? What about publication and distribution of holy literature?
> 2. How much could be ascertained about the nature and strength of the opposition to N. K.'s no-war policy inside the Communist world in general and inside the Soviet Union in particular?
> 3. What are the alternatives to the present Soviet leadership?
> 4. What are the prospects for opening up a responsible line of communications between Rome and Moscow?

Also, it is evident that Cousins and John XXIII addressed topics beyond the geopolitical implications of atomic warfare, including the situation of religions under Soviet rule as well as the possibility of securing the release of Slipyj.[76] In his letter to the pope a few days later Cousins would return to these topics:

> I was grateful for the opportunity to report to you personally concerning my visit with Mr. Khrushchev, from whom I sought assurances of enlarged religious freedom inside the Soviet Union. He recognizes your desire to do everything possible to keep the differences now separating the nations from becoming the combustible material of a nuclear war. He welcomes the establishment of unofficial and confidential contacts or communications. He will give consideration to your request that Holy Literature be made increasingly available, with respect to both publication and distribution. He will look into the case of Bishop Slipyj.[77]

Cousins concluded that, like Vatican policy, Soviet policy at the summit was in transition, with Khrushchev searching for a workable relation to the West. Thus, a basic agreement among the three parties was moving toward fruition. In examining this process, several conclusions can be drawn:

> (a) First, the pope allowed for the offices of the Vatican to be made available for the purpose of averting or abating geopolitical crisis. Seemingly, the Vatican was even willing to engage in actual mediation between political powers. Thus, the Vatican was emerging as a fully accredited subject in international politics, maintaining its "third way" between Washington and Moscow.
> (b) Second, the absence of nuclear conflict, described in terms of peaceful coexistence or competitive coexistence, was to be maintained through mutual respect for the conditions that make this possible.
> (c) Third, beyond the negative condition of absence of nuclear conflict, the possibility emerged for positive action. Such positive action was to be rooted in a broad "humanistic consensus" designed to foster the full development of human resources and capacities on the planet. This perspective could be shared by all parties involved.[78]

[76]Cousins, *The Improbable Triumvirate*, p. 64, reports that John XXIII said the following: "I have prayed for many years for the release of Archbishop Slipyj. Can you imagine what it must be like to be cut off for so many years from the kind of service you have prepared yourself to live, and from life itself? What is your impression? Do you think the Archbishop will be released?"

[77]AAM, Archives Suenens, Letter from Cousins to John XXIII, December 21, 1962. *Cf.* La Pira, *Lettere*, p. 393.

[78]The U.S. position is clear in AAM, Archives Suenens, Letter from Kennedy to Cousins, January 31, 1963: "I want to thank you for keeping me informed so fully about

Against this background of growing consensus, the release of Slipyj, as a result of the changing relationships between the political forces and the Holy See, can be regarded as an important token of mutual confidence and goodwill from the Kremlin and as a personal gesture from Khrushchev to the pope. However, reducing the fate of Slipyj to a simple result of grand diplomacy among major political players does not reflect the full picture.

Moscow Revisited: February 2–4, 1963

Although there is no proof that Willebrands and Cousins met in the last months of 1962, both had been key players behind the scenes in Slipyj's release. Both had interacted with major figures behind the Iron Curtain and were therefore well aware that any type of accusation of political bias against the Vatican or the Council must be avoided. Moreover, both were skilled in diplomatic encounters within their domain—Cousins in cultural and political milieux, Willebrands in ecumenical venues. In addition, both knew of the pope's personal longing[79] for the liberation of Slipyj; in Willebrands's case, it had become clear that John XXIII had asked his old friend Testa to contact the Russian observers at the Council in view of a possible release.[80] Now, after Cousins's return to the United States, a period of calm set in. In early January 1963 Soviet government officials discussed a report by Borovoj on the Second Vatican Council and invited him to elaborate on it. Borovoj's presentation addressed two main points: the conversation with Testa regarding the release of Slipyj; and his intention to offer a full report on the Council to the patriarch of Constantinople, as no official representatives from the Ecumenical

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your trip to Rome and Moscow. It has been a most interesting and fruitful journey. Certainly the results so far have been promising. As you know, any betterment of the human situation in this world—whatever the country involved—is of importance to the United States. The national interest and the human interest come together in our fundamental objectives as a nation. I am certain that you have reflected this approach in this important undertaking."

[79]It is noteworthy in this context that, via Don Giuseppe De Luca, John XXIII also had approached Palmiro Togliatti, the leader of the Italian Communist Party, regarding religious liberty in the USSR and the situation of Slipyj. See Riccardi, *Il Vaticano e Mosca*, pp. 240–41.

[80]See *La politica del dialogo. Le carte Casaroli sull'Ostpolitik Vaticana*, ed. Giovanni Barberini (Bologna, 2008), pp. 798–801. Such contacts had indeed taken place in November 1962. See the confidential note in KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités du Patriarcat de Moscou," in which a conversation is mentioned in view of Slipyj's liberation among Testa, Bea, Willebrands, Borovoj, and Kotliarov.

Patriarchate had been present in Rome. Afterward, Borovoj stated the reactions of these government members: "The first reaction to both points was rather negative, and concerning the release of Metropolitan Slipyj, they objected that the Vatican could exploit this against the Soviet Union by means of hostile publicity."[81] Borovoj insisted that Testa's request came directly from the pope, and Borovoj himself was personally guaranteeing that the Vatican would not abuse such a gesture from the Kremlin.[82] Borovoj's statement had several implications. It was clear that the pope was highly respected inside the Kremlin, as had become evident during the December 14 Cousins-Khrushchev talk. Also, it indicated a kind of benevolence toward the West and a more open stance toward ecumenical engagement, given the personal risk that Borovoj was taking to obtain the release of the Ukrainian archbishop.[83] Meanwhile, in Vatican circles, Monsignor Pietro Pavan was preparing an encyclical letter, which would be promulgated on April 11 under the title of *Pacem in Terris*.[84] This encyclical, to be presented by Suenens at the headquarters of the United Nations in May 1963, would prove to be a worthy and lasting testimony of John XXIII's endeavors to safeguard world peace and for Vatican diplomats meant the official opening up of a "third way" between Washington and Moscow. In that regard the encyclical remains a milestone that inaugurated a long process of the Catholic Church's dealings with the communist world.

"Slipyj Is a Free Citizen"

On January 18, Cousins received a phone call from Dobrynin, inviting him for a private lunch. At the lunch Cousins and Morlion were informed of Khrushchev's decision to release Slipyj from his Siberian exile without further conditions and without a new trial.[85] Morlion

[81]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités du Patriarcat de Moscou," p. 1: "La première réaction à tous les deux points a été plutôt négative, et au sujet de la libération du métropolite Slipyj ils ont objecté que le Vatican pourrait exploiter ce fait contre l'Union Soviétique, par moyen d'une publicité hostile."

[82]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités du Patriarcat de Moscou," pp. 1–2: "À la demande des autorités soviétiques, 'quelle garantie avons-nous que le Cardinal Testa tiendrait la parole?', l'archiprêtre Borovoj s'est fait garant personnellement."

[83]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités du Patriarcat de Moscou," p. 6, refers to the following conversation as recorded by Willebrands: "Je lui ai demandé: Pourquoi êtes-vous intervenu d'une manière si efficace, mais qui n'a pas été sans risques, dans la question de la libération du métropolite Slipyj? Borovoj m'a repondu: je

and Cousins used a public telephone to inform Cardinale of the news; Cardinale then informed the pope.[86] From that moment on the news spread quickly, and by January 25 Kozyrev had informed Fanfani of Slipyj's release.[87] On that same day, Cardinale and Dell'Acqua met with Willebrands[88] from the SPCU—in the absence of Bea, who was in Copenhagen—and commissioned Willebrands to meet with Kozyrev that evening to have the news officially confirmed.[89] Their conversation dealt mainly with practical issues regarding Slipyj's release and his journey from Moscow to Rome. Questions arose as to whether Willebrands—who was charged with accompanying the

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suis convaincu qu'en agissant ainsi j'ai servi l'Église, non seulement votre église, mais l'église du Seigneur." Borovoj goes on: "La libération du Métropolite Slipyj peut devenir le signe d'un dévéloppement nouveau qui aura une importance très grande pour la situation de votre église dans notre pays et d'une manière indirecte aussi pour l'église orthodoxe. Deux problèmes se présentent encore, un grand et un petit. Le grand problème, c'est le dévéloppement de votre église en Russie. Le petit problème, c'est ma part et mon risque personnel."

[84]On January 7, 1963, John XXIII wrote in his diary: "Ho poi consacrato tutto il Vespero, circa tre ore, nella lettura dell'enciclica di Pasqua in preparazione, fattami da mgr. Pavan: *La pace fra gli uomini nell'ordine stabilito da Dio e cioè*." See Roncalli, *Agende*, p. 482. On the preparation of this encyclical, see also Turbanti, *Un concilio per il mondo moderno*, p. 227.

[85]Cousins, *The Improbable Triumvirate*, pp. 68–70; Melloni, *L'Altra Roma*, p. 166.

[86]On January 28, 1963, during a reception for the cardinals and bishops of the conciliar Coordination Commission in Rome, the pope had confidentially expressed his personal joy regarding the news of the release.

[87]Barberini, *La politica del dialogo*, p. 800, writes: "In Italia, l'On. Fanfani consegnava alla Segretaria di Stato, su richiesta Sovietica, un appunto (25 gennaio 1963) nel quale, fra l'altro, si ribadiva che il governo russo aveva ritenuto possibile soddisfare la domanda in considerazione dell'interesse del Vaticano e particolarmente di Papa Giovanni XXIII, come esclusivo atto di buona voluntà." Also see KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversation avec S. Exc. Mons. Kozyrev," January 25, 1963, p. 1: "Pour ce cas, tu devrais prendre contact avec le citoyen italien, avec lequel j'ai parlé de cette affaire. L'ambassadeur pensait à Fanfani."

[88]Former SPCU member Thomas Stransky mentioned that Bea and Willebrands had been informed on January 24—probably by the Vatican Secretariat of State—of Slipyj's release. See Thomas Stransky, "Memories of Johannes Willebrands at Vatican II: An Insider's Story," in *Les agendas conciliaires de Mgr. J. Willebrands. Secrétaire du secrétariat pour l'Unité des chrétiens*, ed. Leo Declerck (Leuven, 2009), pp. vii–xviii, here p. xiv.

[89]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversation avec S. Exc. Mons. Kozyrev," January 25, 1963, p. 1: "Je lui ai dit que le Saint Siège avait reçu des nouvelles que l'archevêque Josyf Slipyj serait mis en liberté sans conditions. L'Ambassadeur a répondu: Je peux vous confirmer cette nouvelle, Slipyj est citoyen libre." Willebrands proceeds, stating that: "Nous voudrions le voir à Rome, prenant garde autant que possible qu'une publicité inopportune soit évitée. On m'a désigné pour aller à sa rencontre."

archbishop from Moscow—and Slipyj should return via Vienna or not and whether the two men would return by airplane or train. In these matters the central issue was the avoidance of press sensationalism, as the actions of the Ukrainian episcopate were still fresh in memory. The same sense of diplomacy surfaced when Willebrands expressed a need to visit the Moscow Patriarchate during his trip to ensure that inadvertent offense was not given.[90] Kozyrev's wish to improve the relationship between the Holy See and the Soviet Union also was evident. Given the positive sign offered from the Kremlin side, the expectation clearly was that the Vatican would now take the next step, as is seen by the insistent questions in that direction. Willebrands wrote:

> Then the Ambassador said: "Isn't there something else that you should speak to me about?" When I said "No", he was a little disappointed and said: "I thought there was something else you needed to tell me again. Are you not aware that there have been contacts concerning the possibility of relations with the Holy See?" I said, "I know there were contacts about such a possibility in theory, but I do not know the details." The Ambassador responded: "In my opinion, the time has come to discuss the details.[91]

In the subsequent days Willebrands would prepare for his second journey to Moscow, with departure scheduled for February 1, 1963. Two days before, John XXIII had a personal message delivered to him, as well as the gift of a rosary for Slipyj.[92] As for Slipyj's release, it appeared that the Soviets thought it crucial that it was not to be considered a rehabilitation. It was emphasized that, even though a new trial would not be held and conditions were not attached to the

[90]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversation avec S. Exc. Mons. Kozyrev," January 25, 1963, p. 2: "Dans l'éventualité d'un voyage à Moscou de ma part, je voudrais bien faire une visite aux autorités du Patriarcat, étant donné que j'ai fait autrefois une visite au Patriarcat. Si je ne ferais pas une visite au Patriarcat, cela créerait une mauvaise impression."

[91]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversation avec S. Exc. Mons. Kozyrev," January 25, 1963, p. 3: "Ensuite l'Ambassadeur a dit: Vous n'êtes pas chargé de me parler d'une autre chose? Quand j'ai dit: 'Non', il était un peu déçu et disait: J'avais pensé que vous devriez me parler d'une autre chose encore. Ne savez-vous pas qu'il y a eu des contacts au sujet de la possibilité de rapports avec le Saint Siège? J'ai dit: Je sais qu'il y a eu des contacts au sujet d'une telle possibilité en principe, mais je ne connais pas les détails. L'Ambassadeur a répondu: À mon avis, le temps est venu pour entrer dans les détails."

[92]KDC, Archives Willebrands, Letter from John XXIII to Willebrands, January 30, 1963: "Santo Padre augura particolarmente a Msgr. Willebrands il buon viaggio, e lo assicura della Sua preghiera. Voglia Monsignore gradire medaglia d'oro. Il rosario benedetto dal Papa per l'ecc.mo. Mr. Slipyj. Si possono dare a Msgr. Willebrands almeno una ventina di medaglie d'argento del Concilio. Possono servire."

release, the release was to be regarded as an amnesty and that Slipyj was still considered an enemy of the Soviet government. This specification posed potential difficulties in Slipyj reassuming his position as archbishop of Lviv. This account shows Borovoj questioning whether Slipyj, in the event that a "new leader" is sought for the UGCC, would be the most suitable candidate.[93]

On Friday, February 1, 1963, Willebrands arrived in Moscow and was met by Borovoj, who escorted him to the Hotel Metropol. The next morning, he met with Vladimir A. Kurojedov—the president of the Soviet Council for Ecclesiastical Affairs who in 1960 had been vehemently against Russian participation in the Second Vatican Council—as well as with Peter Makkarsev from the Soviet Council for External Affairs.[94] After mutual congratulations, Willebrands explained that, once they reached Rome, Slipyj would spend some time at the Greek Catholic Abbey of Grottaferrata; during this period the Vatican would distribute a brief and sober press statement.[95] The possibility of establishing an official diplomatic relationship with the Vatican was broached, which Willebrands again avoided discussing, explaining instead the nature and role of the SPCU. Willebrands made clear that the SPCU's intentions lay primarily in the field of reuniting Christianity as well as developing improved relationships with other religions[96] and secular entities and organizations. Finally, another con-

[93]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités du Patriarcat de Moscou," p. 2: "La libération a été un acte de faveur du gouvernement soviétique, et surtout du premier ministre Khruscev, pour répondre à une demande de Sa Sainteté le Pape. Un retour éventuel du métropolite à Lemberg doit être traité avec beaucoup de prudence. Il s'agit ici d'une question de première importance, notamment la position de votre église dans l'Union soviétique. À mon avis, il y a la possibilité d'un nouveau dévéloppement, mais vous comprendrez aisémenent que cette question est extrêmement délicate et compliqué. Si votre église à Lemberg devrait avoir un nouveau chef pour l'avenir, est-ce-que le métropolite Slipyj serait la personne la plus indiquée, dans les circonstances actuelles, ou une autre?".

[94]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités civiles," p. 1.

[95]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités civiles," p. 2: "J'ai demandé Mr. Kurojev et Mr. Makkarsev de ne pas être exigeant au sujet de ce communiqué. Il sera impossible, et d'ailleurs il n'y a pas de raisons, de tenir secrète la libération du métropolité, mais nous lui demanderons de ne pas donner d'interviews ou de ne pas faire des déclarations, etc."

[96]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités civiles," pp. 2–3, has Willebrands referring to a recent initiative involving Morlion: "Récemment, l'université catholique 'Pro Deo' à Rome avait organisé un 'agape', à laquelle ont été invités des représentants non seulement de l'église catholique et d'autres communautés chrétiennes, mais aussi d'autres religions, par ex. les Juifs, les Musulmans, etc."

cern expressed during this conversation was the unpredictable reaction of the diaspora Ukrainians to the news of the release.[97]

In the afternoon of that day Willebrands paid his visit to the Moscow Patriarchate's Office for External Relationships, where he had a short conversation with the Estonian bishop Alexis of Tallin, and the day after he visited the monastery at Zagorsk for a meeting with Archimandrite Pimen and the rector of the Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy.[98] Of greater interest is the fact that on the early morning of that day Willebrands met with Slipyj at the Hotel Moskva. After presenting the pope's rosary to the archbishop, Willebrands explained the conditions of his release and the need to avoid publicity. Then, once again, travel practicalities came to the fore, as well as Slipyj's personal wishes:

> The Metropolitan desired to visit Lviv before leaving Russia. Due to the great distance, a visit to Lviv would have taken four days. I told him that I understood deeply his desire to see his church and his family again, but I could not determine the possibility of such a journey.[99]

In a second meeting that evening the same wish was expressed again, with Slipyj making clear that this was a question of conscience, and the issue recurred until Willebrands, on the morning of February 4, presented Slipyj with a schedule for the journey outlined by Testa and Dell'Acqua, making clear that Slipyj was expected to come to Rome. By that time, Slipyj had decided to ship his luggage to Lviv and stay with Willebrands, but he also was considering how he should respond to the Russian accusation that he had simply acted to save his own life and liberty.[100] Finally, Slipyj sets aside all doubt, telling Willebrands the following story:

[97]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités civiles," p. 4: "Une autre préoccupation est l'attitude de certains cercles d'émigrés; quelquefois ils semblement ne pas comprendre le dévéloppement des choses."

[98]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Contacts avec les autorités du Patriarcat de Moscou," pp. 4–5: "Le recteur de l'Académie a exprimé sa joie de me recevoir ensemble avec l'archiprêtre Borovoj et a dit: "Vous êtes les deux anneaux d'une chaîne, et je me réjouis que la chaîne ne soit pas rompue. Vous êtes les deux hirondelles qui annoncent un nouveau printemps. Comme théologien je me demande quelquefois: 'pourquoi ne sommes-nous pas unis?'"

[99]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversations avec Son Exc. le Métropolite Joseph Slipyj," p. 1: "Le métropolite aurait bien voulu faire une visite à Lwow, avant de quitter la Russie. À cause de la grande distance, une visite à Lwow demanderait quatre jours. Je lui ai répondu que je comprenais très bien son désir de revoir son église et sa famille, mais que je ne pouvais pas encore juger de la possibilité d'un tel voyage."

[100]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversations avec Son Exc. le Métropolite Joseph Slipyj," p. 2: "J'ai montré au Métropolite le schéma du voyage fait par son Éminence le

> Before leaving the camp where he was interned, the commander asked him if he was prepared to go to Rome in case the pope had expressed his desire to go. And to this question he replied that, in this case, he would not hesitate to go to Rome.[101]

In the afternoon, Slipyj clandestinely ordained Basil Velychskovsky as bishop,[102] thereby strengthening the underground episcopate in Ukraine under Soviet rule. That evening, Slipyj and Willebrands took the train to Vienna, where Papal Nuncio Opilio Rossi received them on February 6, 1963.[103] From Austria they traveled to Rome. On February 10 Slipyj arrived at Grottaferrata, where "for the first time in seventeen years he fully celebrated the high Slavic rite. Willebrands, [Monsignor Jean-François] Arrighi and Stransky witnessed the tears."[104]

The Long Road toward Diplomatic Relations

At the moment of Slipyj's arrival in Rome, most Council Fathers were absent from the city, and so most diaspora Ukrainians received the news quickly. For example, Hermaniuk heard the news on a Canadian radio broadcast on February 10[105] and met Slipyj in Rome

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Cardinal Testa et d'accord avec Son Exc. Mgr. Dell'Acqua. Je lui ai dit que j'avais une grande liberté. Le schéma est plutôt une indication qu'un ordre, mais la pensée des autorités à Rome est claire: il nous attendent à Rome. Le Métropolite a répondu qu'il avait beaucoup réfléchi pendant la nuit et que sa décision était prise: a) il ne veut pas me quitter un instant avant l'arrivée à Rome; b) il expédiera ses bagages à Lwow."

[101]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversations avec Son Exc. le Métropolite Joseph Slipyj," p. 3.

[102]The Willebrands report only states: "Dans l'après-midi du 4 février, une personne de Lwow est venue faire une visite au Métropolite à Moscou. Cette personne avait reçu la lettre que le Métropolite lui avait envoyée, en lui communiquant sa libération et son adresse à Moscou. Cette visite a donné au métropolite la possibilité d'expliquer tout et a enléver sa dernière hésitation." Also see Choma, *La vita e le opere del card. Slipyj*, pp. 217–36; and Ulisse Alessio Floridi, *Moscow and the Vatican* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1986), pp. 172–80.

[103]KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Conversations avec Son Exc. le Métropolite Joseph Slipyj," p. 4: Avant de quitter le camp où il était interné, le commandant lui avait posé la question s'il était prêt de se rendre à Rome, au cas où le Pape aurait exprimé ce désir. Et à cette question il a répondu que, dans ce cas, il n'hésiterait pas de se rendre à Rome.

[104]Stransky, "Memories," p. xv. Also see Roncalli, *Agende*, p. 489.

[105]AMW, Council Diary Hermaniuk, February 10: "Today in the morning the Canadian Radio conveyed the extraordinary joyful news from the Vatican, namely, that our heroic Confessor of the faith Met. Josyf Slipyj, released from Bolshevik captivity, arrived last night in Rome and has already been received by the Holy Father John XXIII. The Vicar

on March 2, 1963. But this event had a larger effect. On the same day in February Morlion wrote a letter to Khrushchev at the request of Bea, stating that "your personal gesture in liberating Bishop Slipyj and the manifestation of good will avoiding political exploitation from our part are proof that the revolution of esteem and mutual understanding has started a new kind of peaceful relations."[106] Yet the letter's main concern was the Kremlin's hope that official bilateral diplomatic relations could be established, with Morlion acting on behalf of Bea.[107] Along with his letter to Khrushchev Morlion sent a detailed report of a February 6, 1963, meeting between Bea and Kozyrev,[108] mentioning four fields of human life and liberty summed up by Cousins on which agreement needed to be reached:

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of Christ welcomed him with tears in his eyes." Two days later his diary recorded the following: "Today I received a very nice letter from the Apostolic Delegate in Ottawa, His Eminence Sebastiano Baggio, on the occasion of the liberation of our dear Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj. That was an extraordinarily nice gesture from the side of a personal representative of the Vicar of Christ. A representative of the *Winnipeg Free Press* appealed to me for information and stated that he will correct that unfortunate mistake in the communiqué about the release of Metropolitan Slipyj, where the Metropoltian is called: 'Polish Bishop.' In fact, the evening edition of the *Free Press* delivered today contained that correction."

[106]AAM, Archives Suenens, Letter from Morlion to Khrushchev, February 12, 1963.

[107]The letter states: "Acceptance by the Holy See of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union implies that not only Catholics but also many other people would be guided to change their image of the Soviet Union which has grown to be rather dark during the Stalinist era." Next, Morlion states that "before creating the sensational news that Soviet Russia has asked and obtained diplomatic relations the Holy See must be able to prove that it has guarantees that stalinist terror and totalitarianism are irreversibly suppressed. This is why His Eminence has insisted in further discussions first through private contacts and then through mutual accreditation of a person or organization empowered to discuss these questions on a semiofficial level."

[108]AAM, Archives Suenens, Morlion, "Report of a Conversation between Bea and Kozyrev," February 6, 1963. In this report constant tension is evident between Bea, who insists on preparatory unofficial contacts, and Kozyrev, who hopes for the immediate establishment of official diplomatic relations. In the end, both conclude to the following, with Cousins in mind. See p. 5: "It seems that we must try what Khrushchev proposed: indicate an intermediary person that can inform the soviet Government of the ideas of the Holy See and vice versa can inform the Holy See of the ideas of the Government of Moscow." A week later, on February 15, Willebrands met with Kozyrev to inform him of the events during his Moscow trip. See KDC, Archives Willebrands, "Visite de Mgr Willebrands à l'Ambassadeur russe auprès du Quirinal," February 15, 1963. During that meeting Kozyrev made it quite clear that "si le Vatican désire des relations avec l'Union soviétique—et je crois bien que cela serait utile—on ne peut pas poser des conditions. Il s'agit de sauver la paix. Les autres choses, qui intéressent l'église catholique, viennent après."

> (1) Freedom of worship with guarantees that church communities, seminaries, etc. can appeal to higher authorities if local organs hinder development, or refuse building permits or materials, when the legally required number of signatures has been obtained.
> (2) Freedom outside the school, of family meetings in which children are given supplementary spiritual instruction in the tradition of their great nation and full loyalty to the rightful authorities.
> (3) Freedom of expression for organs (similar to the one permitted for the Russian Orthodox Church) on which different religious and spiritual tendencies can develop, holy literature can be disseminated and commented.
> (4) Freedom of charitable action, particularly in the use of savings and individuals and of enterprises for the help to the underprivileged in undeveloped nations.

It was clear that the road toward official relations between Rome and Moscow would not be an easy one. Yet it was significant that John XXIII granted an audience on March 7 to Alexei Adjubei, son-in-law of Khrushchev,[109] who was attending the presentation of the International Balzan Peace Prize to the pope on March 10. Nevertheless, the events preparing, surrounding, and following the liberation of Slipyj did constitute a unique testimony to the importance of personal human encounter and to the courage required to maintain confidence in the other individual. As *Pacem in Terris* stated:

> We are hopeful that, by establishing contact with one another and by a policy of negotiation, nations will come to a better recognition of the natural ties that bind them together as men. We are hopeful, too, that they will come to a fairer realization of one of the cardinal duties deriving from our common nature: namely, that love, not fear, must dominate the relationships between individuals and between nations.

[109]In this context note that on that day, John XXIII jotted down the name "Josyf Slipyj." See Roncalli, *Agende*, p. 507. John's decision to receive Adhzubei and to accept the prize was highly controversial in Italian right-wing circles and received much negative press attention. As a result, for a planned meeting between Bea and Adhzubei, Bea did not attend, but sent Willebrands in his stead. See KDC, Archive Willebrands, "Rencontre de Mgr Willebrands et Mr. Adjubei," March 13, 1963, p. 1: "Le Saint Siège avait désigné, pour le rencontrer, Son Éminence le Cardinal Bea. Après la publicité provoquée par l'audience chez le Pape, on voulait éviter une nouvelle agitation, et pour cette raison, le Cardinal m'avait demandé d'aller le voir à sa place." At this meeting, Willebrands clearly and openly addressed the problematic issue of the UGCC under suppression. See on p. 2: "Nous ne savons pas exactement quelle est la situation de notre église en Russie. En Lithuanie, il y a un seul évêque en fonction, Mgr. Meselis, mais il n'est pas normal de n'avoir qu'un seul évêque dans ce pays catholique. En Ukraine notre église, qui autrefois comptait cinq millions de membres, officiellement n'existe plus. Comment voulez-vous traiter avec quelqu'un qui officiellement n'existe pas!"

THE VATICAN AND THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION: A COLD WAR ALLIANCE?

BY

MARIE GAYTE*

Vatican-American relations were closer in the second half of the twentieth century than at any time in their history; they were said to have been particularly close during the presidency of Ronald Reagan and the pontificate of John Paul II, in light of their common anticommunist feelings. However, a closer look at the nature of the relationship indicates that, although the United States and the Vatican had a convergence of interests, this did not mean that the Holy See backed all American initiatives, for the Vatican pursued its own agenda and was not likely to change its stance simply to satisfy the United States.

Keywords: cold war; diplomacy; Reagan presidency; U.S.-Holy See relations

Regarding the relationship between the Vatican and the United States during the cold war, the acute awareness by the United States of the role of moral and religious forces in its ideological struggle with the Soviet Union is evident. Vatican support was considered of particular value, as few other religions could boast as visible a leader as the pope. Various administrations had the view that involving the Church in their struggle would help challenge the morality of Soviet actions in the face of global public opinion and bolster support for their policies from certain constituencies at home. From Harry S. Truman to Ronald Reagan, relations with the Vatican were of differing intensity, yet one remarkably constant preoccupation is clear: the need to secure Vatican support, at least publicly, for American foreign policy decisions. If, at times, the United States seemed to take Vatican support for granted, this was not always the case. The question is particularly relevant in the context of the Reagan administration, inasmuch as a

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perfunctory look seems to indicate a perfect ideological convergence between the United States and the Vatican, which should have led to an endorsement by the Holy See of major foreign policy and defense choices. Furthermore, little exists in the various accounts of the period that addresses the claims of an "alliance" between the pope and the Reagan administration; the literature on Vatican-American relations in the 1980s deals almost exclusively with the establishment of diplomatic relations.[1] Now that a wider access to archival material is possible (specifically the Reagan administration papers, as well as those of William Wilson, first U.S. ambassador to the Holy See), a preliminary analysis of the nature of Vatican-American relations in the 1980s seems appropriate. The case made here is that the relationship between the Reagan administration and the Holy See, although close, was nowhere near the perfect alliance as some have represented it. The Vatican of Pope John Paul II, although undeniably moved by very strong concerns about communism, pursued its own agenda as a church consistent with the legacies of John XXIII and Paul VI—something that the Reagan administration had a hard time understanding as it tended to see its interactions with the Holy See solely through the prism of East-West relations.

In 1949, Pope Pius XII published a decree excommunicating all Catholics collaborating in communist organizations. The pope's hostility to this ideology and its manifestations was no secret, and it led to a cooperation of sorts with President Truman. When, after trying to convince the pope throughout World War II—to no avail—of the benign attitude of Soviet Russia toward religion (the pope well under-

[1]For accounts of a "secret alliance" between John Paul II and Ronald Reagan, see Carl Bernstein, "The Holy Alliance," *Time,* February 24, 1992, pp. 28–35; Carl Bernstein and Marco Politi, *His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Times* (New York, 1996); Peter Schweizer, *Victory: The Reagan Administration Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (New York, 1994). For accounts of the establishment of diplomatic relations, see Gerald P. Fogarty, "The Vatican and the American Church since World War II," in *The Papacy and the Church in the United States*, ed. Bernard Cooke (New York, 1989), pp. 119–40, and Gerald P. Fogarty, "The United States and the Vatican: From Personal Representative to Ambassador," *Pro Fide et Iustitia, Festschrift für Agostino Kardinal Casaroli* (Berlin, 1984), pp. 577–89. For discussions on the legal implications of diplomatic relations, see James A. Coriden, "Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Holy See," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 19 (1987), 361–73; Michael Galligan, "United States-Vatican Relations: Present Benefits and Future Precautions," *Journal of International Affairs*, 38 (1985), 337–47; Samuel Bettwy, "United States-Vatican Recognition: Background and Issues," *The Catholic Lawyer,* 29 (1984), 225–65.

stood the intensity of suffering and persecution inflicted on Catholics under the Soviet regime), the United States under Truman became convinced of the expansionist aspirations of Stalin's regime, it found in Pius XII an eager partner. The pope felt no other nation but the United States could protect Western Europe from Soviet expansion; his fear of a communist takeover and the annihilation of Christian culture was all the more acute as the strongest communist party in Western Europe was the Italian Communist Party. Therefore, in spite of some reservations about the choice of dividing the world into two blocs, he welcomed American aid to Turkey and Greece, as well as the Marshall Plan, granting numerous audiences to congressional representatives. According to J. Graham Parson, who was assistant to Myron Taylor, Truman's personal representative to Pius XII, "it [was not] too far to go in saying that most probably all the top people in the Vatican saw the United States as the only possible salvation of the values which they fundamentally stood for"; likewise, he noted "a very real convergence of interests in relation to the Marshall plan" that "the Vatican greeted with profound relief, satisfaction and hope" and as "directly consonant with its own interests."[2] More generally, according to J. Bryan Hehir, "Pius XII placed the full weight of Catholic teaching and politics against the USSR and its allied governments," and "while careful reading of Pius XII teaching reveals a desire not to be simply a voice for the West, the church's de facto posture translated into religious and moral support for the Western alliance in its struggle with the East."[3]

The advent of Pius XII's successor, John XXIII—as well as changed circumstances in the USSR in the wake of Stalin's death—led to a shift in Vatican relations with the Soviet bloc and, as a result, with the United States. The new pontiff wanted to obtain some latitude for the Church behind the Iron Curtain, opening a dialogue with communist regimes so as to reach a *modus vivendi* (conversations focused mostly on the nomination of bishops, as many episcopal sees had been vacant for some time, which had a significant impact on the health of the Church in Eastern Europe). Pope Paul VI institutionalized and expanded this policy with the help of Cardinal Agostino Casaroli,

[2]Dianne Kirby, "Harry Truman's Religious Legacy: The Holy Alliance, Containment and the Cold War," in *Religion and the Cold War*, ed. Dianne Kirby (Basingstoke, UK, 2003), pp. 77–102, here p. 88.

[3]J. Bryan Hehir, "Papal Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy,* Spring 1990, pp. 26–48, here p. 29.

the secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. The new attitude of the Church toward communist regimes was probably best embodied by the audience granted by John XXIII to Rada and Alexei Adjubei, Khrushchev's daughter and son-in-law; this, as archives reveal, caused quite a stir in the Kennedy administration, something of which the Church was aware, as noted by Ralph Dungan, special assistant to the president and his personal liaison with the Catholic community: "[U]ndoubtedly the question of the Church's attitude toward modus vivendi with the Soviet Union will be raised since they [Church officials] are anxious that we not be unduly disturbed by the contacts which have already been made."[4] Similarly, U.S. Ambassador to Italy Frederick Reinhardt reported that Cardinal Augustin Bea, president of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, thought that the pope's encyclical dealing with peace would not find favor with the United States:

> Pope expected to make public encyclical *Pax in Terris* [sic] in near future reading text to diplomatic corps at special service in Vatican. Informed source says this is what Cardinal Bea was probably referring to when he recently said in effect if US was concerned about certain events at Vatican recently (by which he probably meant Pope's reception of Adjubei) it would even be more "concerned" by something else that Vatican would do in near future. Implication is that *Pax in Terris* will contain inference that certain degree of peaceful cooperation is possible between Catholic Church and Communist world—a reiteration on a higher level of encyclical of Pope's already expressed ideas on "perfect" neutrality, essentially coexistence with communism.[5]

The encyclical was published in April 1963 amid heightened international tensions, two years after the erection of the Berlin Wall and only months after the Cuban Missile Crisis, which had brought the world to the brink of destruction. In his encyclical, the first one addressed not only to Catholics but to all men of good will, John XXIII explained that conflicts should not be resolved by recourse to arms, but rather by negotiations.[6] The situation led *Time* magazine to spec-

[4]Boston, John F. Kennedy Library (hereafter JFKL), Memo, Ralph Dungan to President Kennedy, June 22, 1963, Folder: Vatican General 16 June–28 June 1963, Box 191A, National Security Files-Countries.

[5]JFKL, Telegram, Frederick Reinhardt to Secretary of State, April 5, 1963, Folder: Vatican General, 1 January–30 April 1963, Box 191, National Security Files-Countries.

[6]*Pacem in Terris*, *Encyclical of Pope John XXIII on Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty*, April 11, 1963, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem_en.html

ulate about the April 1963 visit of Bea to the United States that had the official purpose of promoting interfaith dialogue: "In Washington, through unofficial intermediaries, Bea will let the White House know the reasoning behind John's surprising new willingness to negotiate with communism, perhaps explain what further diplomatic moves are afoot."[7]

Further, the two pontificates had a strong focus on peace (see John XXIII's encyclical *Pacem in Terris*) and social justice and development (see Paul VI's *Populorum Progressio* in 1967), with social justice and peace clearly linked in the latter encyclical, as Paul VI stated that "development is the new name for peace."[8]

In this context of Vatican "realignment," the Holy See kept the administrations of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon apprised of its strong reservations about escalation in Vietnam. Although it did not go as far as publicly stating its strong reluctance at the modalities of American involvement in Vietnam, it called time and again on American presidents to end the violence. Before Johnson's meeting with Paul VI in New York in 1965, where the latter had traveled to address the United Nations General Assembly, the president was advised to emphasize the following: "it is of great importance to impress the pope with our passion for peace in Vietnam, and everywhere else. There have been faint indications that not all Vatican circles are persuaded on this point."[9] The United States seems to have been keen to avoid a Vatican portrayal of the United States as morally equivalent to the other belligerents, lest such a representation benefit its opponents in the war and its critics at home. This led to U.S. efforts to influence Vatican pronouncements on several occasions, something of which there is ample evidence in the archives of the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

[7]"Ecumenical Voices," *Time*, April 5, 1963, http://time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,830066,00.htm. Archival material seems to suggest that the cardinal did not visit the White House, and, according to Monsignor Igino Cardinale, head of Vatican protocol and a close adviser of the pope, "it was unfortunate that *Time* magazine had seen fit to print the "silly things" it did about Cardinal Bea's carrying a secret message to the President." JFKL, Memorandum of Conversation, April 25, 1963, Folder: Vatican, General 1/1/63–4/30/63, Box 191, National Security Files-Countries.

[8]Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, March 26, 1967, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum_en.html

[9]Austin, TX, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Memo, Dean Rusk to Lyndon Johnson, "Your Meeting with Pope Paul VI," September 25, 1969, Folder: Ex CO 310 Vatican City, Box 76, White House Central File.

Thus, in the 1960s and 1970s, although the Vatican did not engage in outright condemnation of American actions, the time was no longer one for open support and de facto alliances, as the Vatican tried to reposition itself on more neutral ground between East and West and started to emphasize other global issues vis à vis a North-South axis. In the words of Hehir, "the basic change over this period [was] the Vatican's shift from a de facto alliance with the West to a position of nonalignment with either East or West and critical of both."[10] The Carter years constituted a reprieve of sorts in these somewhat more tense relations, as the president's human rights-based foreign policy seemed very much attuned to Paul VI and John Paul II's focus on peace and development. The United States was indeed able to secure support from the Vatican for several of its foreign policy pursuits such as the Panama Canal Treaty, the Camp David accord, and efforts to find a new home for Indochinese refugees.[11]

When President Reagan was inaugurated in January 1981, John Paul II had been pope for more than two years. The new administration's tone toward communist regimes was strongly ideological and confrontational. As for the pope, he had openly attacked the Polish regime's religious liberty record in front of massive crowds during his trip to his homeland in June 1979.[12] The Vatican and the United States under Reagan shared concern for certain areas of the world, with Eastern Europe as an obvious focus of attention, and more specifically Poland after martial law was imposed in December 1981. The pope was unmistakably hostile to communism after living under a communist regime. His attitude toward the Eastern bloc marked a departure from the more accommodating stance of his immediate predecessors; some even believed the days of Pius XII to be back.[13] The pope did engage in dialogue with communist authorities, but on his own terms. His demand was for unadulterated religious liberty. Central America also was an area of mutual concern; the spread of liberation theology caused disquiet at the Vatican, not only because of its Marxist-inspired

[10]Hehir, "Papal Foreign Policy," p. 27.

[11]Mark R. Day, "The Checkered History of Vatican Envoys," *National Catholic Reporter*, October 2, 1981, p. 20.

[12]Homily of His Holiness John Paul II, Victory Square, Warsaw, June 2, 1979, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/homilies/1979/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19790602_polonia-varsavia_it.html

[13]Agostino Giovagnoli, "Karol Wojtyla and the End of the Cold War," in *Reinterpreting the End of the Cold War: Issues, Interpretations, Periodizations*, ed. Silvio Pons and Federico Romero (London, 2005), pp. 82–90, here p. 83.

theories but also of the threat it posed to church unity. For the president, that movement was a source of uneasiness on account of the challenge it posed to the political and economic status quo, and the moral legitimacy with which it seemed to endow some pro-Marxist regimes (notably the Sandinista junta of nearby Nicaragua). This parallel concern is evidenced in the "Santa Fe document," published by Republican advisers of Reagan during the 1980 campaign, which read:

> US foreign policy should begin to confront liberation theology (and not just react after the fact). . . . In Latin America, the role of the church is vital to the concept of political freedom, unfortunately Marxist-Leninist forces have used the church as a political weapon against private ownership and the capitalist system of production, infiltrating the religious community with ideas that are more communist than Christian.[14]

As for the pope, he had used the forum of CELAM, the Latin Americans Bishops' Conference, in Mexico in 1979 to voice strong condemnation of those who attempted a rereading of the Gospel in the light of liberation theology:

> . . . people claim to show Jesus as politically committed, as one who fought against Roman oppression and the authorities, and also as one involved in the class struggle. This idea of Christ as a political figure, a revolutionary, as the subversive man from Nazareth, does not tally with the Church's catechesis.[15]

Because of the shared anticommunist feelings and regional concerns between the Reagan administration and the Vatican, it could be expected that the administration would be closely associated with the Vatican in this later stage of the cold war. To be sure, they maintained close ties throughout Reagan's two terms; after Reagan appointed a personal envoy to the pope early in his first term (in February 1981), he established diplomatic relations with the Holy See in January 1984.[16] A long list of top-ranking U.S. officials requested audiences with the pope and his deputies (including Vice-President George H.W.

[14]David Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology* (Boston, 2002), p. 27.

[15]"Address of His Holiness John Paul II," Third General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate, Puebla, Mexico, January 28, 1979, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1979/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19790128_messico-puebla-episc-latam_en.html

[16]For details about the history of diplomatic relations until 1984, see Andrew M. Essig and Jennifer L. Moore, "U.S.-Holy See Diplomacy: The Establishment of Formal Relations, 1984," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 741–64. In February 1981,

Bush; CIA Director William Casey, a Catholic; Secretary of State George Shultz; Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger; Attorney General Edwin Meese; and National Security Adviser William Clark, a Catholic, and his successor, Robert McFarlane). The establishment of martial law in Poland led to a close collaboration, with the United States and the Holy See exchanging information as well as the president asking the pope and Curia officials for guidance and support for policies such as economic sanctions against Poland.[17] Likewise, the Holy See let it be known when sanctions, in its view, should be lifted.[18]

This led some, like journalist Carl Bernstein in a 1992 *Time* article, to go as far as to assert the existence of a "holy alliance," in which the pope and the president, acting on their allegedly identical visions of global issues in the 1980s, solemnly undertook to help sustain Solidarity in Poland through a secret partnership, with the defeat of communism as their ultimate goal.[19] Yet, available evidence suggests that the Vatican and the United States were not always on the same wavelength during the Reagan administration. How can an undeniably close collaboration about Poland be reconciled with the fact that the United States had to lobby intensively on numerous other issues to convince the Vatican to back its policies, which seems to indicate that Vatican support for U.S. foreign policy was not always forthcoming? The answer seems to lie in the fact that the United States tended

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Reagan called William Wilson, a friend from California, to appoint him as his ambassador to the Holy See. Wilson had to correct the president and tell him that diplomatic relations did not exist yet between the United States and the Holy See. Washington, DC, Georgetown University Library (hereafter GUL), Letter, William Wilson to [Sen.] Charles Percy, October 30, 1981, Box 1, Folder 9, William A. Wilson Papers (hereafter WAWP), Special Collections.

[17]After sanctions were announced by the United States in late December 1981, the United States was informed by Silvestrini that the pope in fact approved of the sanctions for the time being (Simi Valley, CA, Ronald Reagan Library [hereafter RRL], Memo, Dennis C. Blair to William P. Clark, January 7, 1982, Folder: The Vatican: Pope John Paul II (8107378-8200051), Box 41, NSC: Executive Secretariat, PA: Head of State File). The president apparently felt he could avail himself of the Vatican's approval in public, because he therefore declared at a press conference, "I've had a lengthy communication from the Pope. He approves what we've done so far. He believes that it has been beneficial. . ." ("The President's News Conference," January 19, 1982, http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1982/11982b.htm). Reagan's statement led the Vatican to issue a denial quickly.

[18]RRL, Cable, Donald Planty to National Security Council, "Vatican's Views on Walesa's Sanctions Statement," December 23, 1983, Folder: January 1984, Poland Memos 1984–1985, Box 90892, Paula Dobriansky Files.

[19]Carl Bernstein, "The Holy Alliance," *Time,* February 24, 1992, pp. 28–35.

to consider Vatican actions solely through the prism of anticommunism. Yet, this was only one of the motivations—albeit a crucial one—of Vatican action at the time. Speaking to Wilson, at the time Reagan's personal representative to the Vatican, about U.S.-Vatican cooperation on Poland, Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs, gave this enlightening insight:

> The United States must operate on the political plane and the Holy See does not comment on the political positions taken by governments. . . . The Holy See for its part operates on the moral plane. The two planes (politics and morality) can be complementary *when they have the same objective. In this case they are complementary because both the Holy See and the United States have the same objective: the restoration of liberty to Poland.*[20]

Cooperation was possible indeed, but the Holy See's agenda was not always aligned with that of the United States. Very few members of the Reagan administration seemed to have been fully acquainted with this reality, something that led Martin Van Heuven, director of the Office of European Affairs at the State Department, to comment that

> [t]here is a disposition in Washington to think that the Vatican is always on our side. . . . The notion is that the Pope embodies the core of Western values which we claim as our own. It is therefore assumed the Vatican supports our policies. The White House, in particular, tends to assume the Vatican always backs us. Pope John Paul, with his anti-Soviet line and his reputation as a conservative seems particularly compatible with this administration. . . . The White House assumption leads to a sense of dismay whenever Vatican policies depart from ours, and has triggered strong—almost knee-jerk—Washington efforts to get Vatican views aligned with ours.

After listing a number of instances in which the Vatican's official position differed from that of the U.S. government, he concluded:

> The Vatican has its own agenda which leads it to statements and actions not always compatible with our policies. . . . I believe that the Vatican's activities are understandable and follow naturally from the position of the pope as the spiritual leader of the Catholic world. . . . Automatic assumptions in Washington that the Vatican is always on our side are misplaced. I

[20]RRL, Cable, Vatican Office to William Clark, "Letter from Pope John Paul II to President Reagan," January 1982, Folder: The Vatican: Pope John Paul II Cables [1 of 2], Box 41, National Security Council: Executive Secretariat, PA: Head of State File. Emphasis added.

> think we should also be aware that the Vatican's agenda is not likely to be adjusted by quick efforts on our part.[21]

These discrepancies between U.S. and Vatican positions on foreign policy can be explained if the pontificate of Pope John Paul II is not examined from what historian Agostino Giovagnoli calls an "American perspective."[22] Although the pope unambiguously opposed communism and adopted a much more confrontational stance than both John XXIII and Paul VI, his pontificate also was one of continuity with his predecessors as far as defense of the third world, peace, and social justice were concerned; for Hehir, the shift from a de facto alliance with the West to a position of nonalignment with either East or West and critical of both, although effected by two of John Paul's predecessors, "[had] become more visible and [carried] greater political significance in this [John Paul II's] papacy."[23] Similarly, Giovagnoli noted that the change in Vatican policy tends to be exaggerated and that the strong emphasis placed by John Paul II on religious freedom had already been central in the work of Paul VI; likewise, the new pope set out to further the Vatican's dialogue with communist regimes after retaining the "foreign policy team" of Paul VI.[24]

The United States received an early warning in autumn 1981 that the Vatican would not provide unqualified support of U.S. policies. The pope had commissioned a study from the Pontifical Academy of Science on the medical consequences of a nuclear attack (at a time when the Reagan administration was talking about fighting, and winning, a limited nuclear war). He also was known to be preparing a letter to Reagan and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev that called on them to seek genuine disarmament. The Reagan administration was worried that the Vatican would imply that the two superpowers were morally equivalent, which officials believed would weaken the U.S. position in the upcoming negotiations with the Soviets in Geneva; they also believed that this risked undermining arguments in favor of increasing nuclear stockpiles, a policy already criticized at home and in Western Europe. This led the president to write to the pope to

[21]GUL, Memo, Martin Van Heuven to Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, "The Vatican and US Policy: Saturday Reading," November 25, 1985, Box 2, Folder 25, WAWP, Special Collections. Ridgway had served as U.S. ambassador to Finland and East Germany. At the time this memo was written, she was assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs.

[22]Giovagnoli, "Karol Wojtyla and the End of the Cold War," p. 83.

[23]Hehir, "Papal Foreign Policy," p. 27.

[24]Giovagnoli, "Karol Wojtyla and the End of the Cold War," pp. 84–85.

explain his motives, in the hope that John Paul II would reconsider his decision. Wilson, who was entrusted with delivering Reagan's letter, received the following instruction from the State Department:

> In delivering this message, Vatican office should draw on the following talking points: we are pleased at the Pope's interest in the negotiations; it would be misleading, we believe, to imply in any way that the US and the Soviet are equally responsible for having created the conditions that pose a danger of nuclear war. We would hope that His Holiness would give due weight to this consideration as he determines the most appropriate means of giving expression to the church's views.[25]

Despite these efforts, the Vatican sent Brezhnev and Reagan the same letter on November 25, in which both leaders also were asked to receive a delegation from the Pontifical Academy of Science to present the findings of the study on nuclear war. Once again, the administration was worried; as Deputy National Security Adviser James Nance wrote to Reagan, "we want to avoid any suggestion that the Soviet Union and the United States are to be equated in the Vatican's antinuclear campaign."[26] The president eventually received the delegation on December 14, 1981, but, as noted in the *New York Times*, he gave it a rather frigid reception:

> In 1981 the Academy held a study of the medical consequences of nuclear war, after which the pope sent small groups of academy members to government leaders in Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the United States. The delegations said they had been received cordially and had engaged in substantive discussion by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, of Britain and by Leonid I. Brezhnev, then the Soviet leader, but had been only given a 20 minute stand-up meeting with President Reagan.[27]

As recounted in the minutes of that meeting, the president told the delegation members: "I may sound warlike, but I believe that unless the Soviets know we can outbuild [sic] them if necessary, they will not sit down and negotiate with us."[28] In addition, it took the presi-

[25]RRL, Cable, Secretary of State to Vatican Office, November 20, 1981, Folder: The Vatican: Pope John Paul II Cables [1 of 2], Box 41, National Security Council: Executive Secretariat, PA: Head of State File.

[26]RRL, Memo, James W. Nance to Ronald Reagan, December 4, 1981, Folder: The Vatican: Pope John Paul II (8100301 810 6715), Box 41, National Security Council: Executive Secretariat, PA: Head of State File.

[27]Philip M. Boffey, "Once-Hostile Vatican Forges Close Links with Scientists," *New York Times*, November 14, 1983, p. A1.

[28]RRL, Handwritten note, Folder: Vatican [7 of 10], Box 90587, Peter Sommer Files.

dent several months to thank the pope for his letter and the delegation's visit—probably a sign of discomfort about the papal initiative. In a memo, Dennis Blair of the National Security Council noted that, although "messages have been flying back and forth between the White House and the Holy See on Poland," the administration had not yet acknowledged the study and the letter.[29] This was eventually rectified, with the president writing to the pope on January 11, 1982.[30]

From then on, it seems that the need to influence the Vatican and secure its support for U.S. foreign and defense policy decisions (or, at least, prevent any pronouncement that could be interpreted as critical) took center stage in the relationship. The administration sought Vatican endorsement for several reasons: first, to occupy the moral high ground as the Soviet Union tried to promote its image as "peacemaker," and second, to offset critics at home who were challenging the morality of certain U.S. foreign policy options such as support for the contras in Nicaragua or nuclear deterrence as the cornerstone of defense policy. Representatives from several religious denominations were among the critics, with the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops as one of the most vocal groups.

The need to secure Vatican support for key U.S. foreign policy decisions is one factor that motivated the decision to establish diplomatic relations on January 10, 1984, when Reagan appointed Wilson as the first U.S. ambassador to the Holy See. Several U.S. officials clearly formulated this aim. A Department of Justice brief making the case for diplomatic relations thus indicated that

> [t]o the extent that the views of the Holy See command respect and attention on the world scene, it is imperative that the positions and interests of the United States be communicated and understood before the views of the Holy See are formulated and aired to the world.[31]

Pertaining to Wilson, the brief explained that "[h]aving a full time ambassador here and a pro-nuncio in Washington would improve

[29]RRL, Memo, Dennis C. Blair to William P. Clark, "Letter to the Pope on Effects of Nuclear War," January 8, 1982, Folder: The Vatican: Pope John Paul II (8100301-8106715), Box 41, National Security Council: Executive Secretariat, PA: Head of State File.

[30]RRL, Cable, State Department to Vatican office, January 14, 1982, "Reply to Pope's Letter on Nuclear War," Folder: The Vatican: Pope John Paul II (8100301-8106715), Box 41, National Security Council: Executive Secretariat, PA: Head of State File.

[31]Thomas J. Reese, "Diplomatic Relations with the Holy See," *America,* March 16, 1985, pp. 215–16, here p. 216.

communications and provide more opportunities to ensure that the Holy See understands and takes into account our position on important world issues and vice-versa."[32]

Another factor that seems to have weighed in favor of diplomatic relations was the pastoral letter published by U.S. Roman Catholic bishops. In this document, the American episcopate challenged the morality of a U.S. defense policy based on nuclear deterrence.[33] The letter, which took more than two years to prepare and received unprecedented media coverage, was problematic for the Reagan administration, as it could not dismiss the bishops' claims as Soviet-inspired propaganda (as it did for other peace groups). This made the possibility of permanent contacts with the Holy See more appealing in the hope that the United States would be able to convince the Holy See of the bishops' "errors." In addition, an established ambassador would help counter the impression that the Church was not on the president's side—something to be avoided for an administration that prided itself on the morality of its actions. According to Elliot Abrams, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, establishing diplomatic relations with the Holy See "might signal that there is a greater understanding between the Reagan administration and the Pope that there is with some radical Catholic bishops in the US on such issues as nuclear freeze."[34] For Wilson, who pushed hard for his position of representative to be upgraded to that of ambassador, "[i]n the current situation where the bishops are taking a public position in opposition to the administration on an important issue, the pro-nuncio could and in this case would be a mediating influence on the US bishops' conference."[35]

[32]RRL, Cable, Vatican Office to State Department, "Recommendation that Full Diplomatic Relations Be Established between US and the Holy See," February 1, 1982, ID#062639, CO 170, WHORM: Subject File.

[33]"The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," May 3, 1983, http://www.catholicbishops.org/sdwp/international/TheChallengeofPeace.pdf

[34]RRL, Memo, Elliot Abrams to William Clark, July 12, 1982, Folder: Vatican 1983–84 [9 of 10], 90587, Peter Sommer Files.

[35]GUL, Cable, William Wilson to Kenneth Dam, "Subject: Diplomatic Relations with Holy See," December 14, 1982, WAWP, Folder 43, Box 3, Special Collections. When establishing diplomatic relations in 1984, the Holy See sent an accredited diplomat to the United States for the first time. Vatican ambassadors usually possessed the title *nuncio*, which implied that the diplomat also was dean of the diplomatic corps of the country to which he was accredited. In 1984, however, Pio Laghi was appointed pro-nuncio, which meant he would not be dean of the diplomatic corps. The distinction was discontinued in 1991.

Initiatives by the United States to convince the pope that he should not publicly reject the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the ground and space antimissile project launched by Reagan in March 1983, come across, as Van Heuven remarked, as one of those "almost knee-jerk Washington efforts to get Vatican views aligned with ours" and avoid public criticism of the morality of a major defense policy option.[36] In early 1985 the administration was concerned by the news that the pope had asked the Pontifical Academy of Science to carry out a study on SDI. The academy was to meet in January 1985 and subsequently submit its report to the pope. Carlos Chagas, the Brazilian scientist who served as its chair, stated that "the weaponization of space is the next step in this terrible, incredible race . . . to annihilate the whole world."[37] According to Peter Murphy, who was chargé d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy to the Holy See during the report's preparation and debate phase:

> It was well-known that Pope John Paul II was against such initiative, but, in all fairness, he requested the prestigious Pontifical Academy of Sciences to study the American initiative and report their findings to him; [it included] distinguished members, many Nobel Prize laureates. Thus a report by such a distinguished group of scientific leaders, members of the Academy, would carry much weight in world scientific and public opinion.[38]

As a result, the administration became very worried that the pope might issue a public condemnation of its initiative. According to Murphy,

> [the American Embassy to the Holy See] had calls day and night from Washington asking us to confirm if the rumors [that the report was negative about SDI] were indeed true. If true—to somehow convince the Holy See of our defensive point of view.[39]

He further explained that he spoke regularly with the president of the academy and that Wilson "also worked quite diligently in stemming the tide," speaking with several influential people at the Vatican to expound the U.S. point of view.[40] As the United States tried to per-

[36]GUL, Memo, Martin Van Heuven to Ambassador Ridgway, "The Vatican and US Policy: Saturday Reading," November 25, 1985, Box 2, Folder 25, WAWP, Special Collections.

[37]Samuel Koo, "Vatican Asks Soviet, US Scientists for Star Wars Talks," Associated Press, January 18, 1985.

[38]Peter K. Murphy, Web Interview with Author, October 22, 2007.

[39]GUL, Peter K. Murphy, Oral History Interview, April 4, 1994, Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection.

[40]Murphy, Oral History Interview.

suade the pope to endorse SDI, the Soviet Union was running a counter initiative, sending Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to the Vatican in February 1985 for discussions with the pope for the first time in six years. According to *Newsweek*, the aim of the audience, which lasted two hours, was "to drum up a little opposition to President Reagan's Star Wars initiative to persuade the Pontiff to oppose the US plan."[41] At the end of the day, as noted by Murphy:

> Nothing was ever issued by the Vatican . . . no paper . . . no press conference. The Pontifical Academy's report was sent to the pope and nothing more heard of it. The Embassy never received a copy of the final report and several sources told us that it had been destroyed.[42]

Was the pope's decision not to release the report or to speak publicly against SDI due solely to Washington's "lobbying"? Although American arguments were likely to have influenced the Vatican, the pope also was pursuing his own agenda as someone with a realistic view of the East-West confrontation. In June 1982 at the United Nations Disarmament Session, Casaroli had read a statement on his behalf in which the pontiff declared himself in favor of nuclear deterrence, provided it was a step toward disarmament. Similarly, the pope told Weinberger in 1986: "you know we are for peace of course, but we are not for pacifists—unilateral pacifists. We know that is not the way to keep the peace."[43] Yet, the Star Wars episode shows that Vatican support was not automatic, because the Church, as an institution with a strong tradition of peace and justice advocacy since the days of the Second Vatican Council, had consistently displayed disapproval of the arms race, as it diverted resources from those most in need while escalating global tensions; this situation seems to have made the pope engage in a delicate balancing act.

Another area in which the Reagan administration was keen on obtaining the pope's support was Central America—more specifically Nicaragua, where it was involved in a protracted campaign to destabilize the Marxist Sandinista junta through military aid for a right-wing resistance movement, the "contras." The pope's pronouncements, it was felt, would carry much weight in this very Catholic country; in addition, the morality of U.S. policy in the region was being severely

[41] "Off Balance—But on Cue," *Newsweek*, March 11, 1985, p. 47.

[42] Murphy, Oral History Interview.

[43] RRL, Memo, Caspar Weinberger to Ronald Reagan, October 22, 1986, Folder: The Vatican 1986 [1 of 2], Box 90901, Tyrus Cobb Files (hereafter TCF).

challenged at home by none other than the Catholic bishops themselves, who regularly lobbied members of Congress and spoke publicly about the immorality of U.S. interference; the pope's public endorsement of U.S. policies in the region would have taken some edge off the criticism. Although the pope was equally worried about developments in the region, his endorsement for U.S. Central American policy was far from a foregone conclusion; it involved strong lobbying efforts throughout Reagan's two terms by Casey, Ambassador-at-Large Vernon Walters, Wilson, and even the president himself. According to theologian David Tombs, "the Reagan administration took every opportunity to encourage the Vatican's fears by projecting their own concerns that the Sandinistas were a hostile Marxist-Leninist force."[44] From the early days of the Reagan administration, Central America was pivotal in conversations with the Holy See. A letter from National Security Adviser Richard Allen to newly appointed personal representative Wilson leaves no doubt as to its pivotal nature in his future conversations with Vatican officials:

> Your discussions with the Vatican on the situation in Central America are of the highest importance. We need the closest possible cooperation with the Church in securing democracy, stability and social justice in the region. You may wish to convey to Secretary of State Casaroli and others that the President places the highest priority on achieving a working relationship with the Church in securing our mutually shared goals for Central America.[45]

The Reagan administration made concerted efforts to secure public Vatican endorsement for its policies; thus, in April 1985, Reagan wrote to the pope on April 4, 5, and 19, asking for "anything that His Holiness could do on behalf of the democratic opposition in Nicaragua" in the context of the "peace initiative" launched by the contras and the "democratic resistance," an initiative that Reagan was promoting.[46] The plan had been devised to facilitate the president's request for renewed congressional aid to the contras.[47]

[44]David Tombs, *Latin American Liberation Theology* (Boston, 2002), p. 232.

[45]GUL, Letter, Richard V. Allen to William Wilson, June 24, 1981, Box 1, Folder 4, WAWP, Special Collections.

[46]RRL, Memo, Robert McFarlane to Ronald Reagan, July 23, 1985, Folder: Vatican City, Holy See 1987–1988 [Memos-Letters-Cables-Intel-Press-Bios] (1 of 3), Box 92092, Nelson C. Ledsky Files (hereafter NCLF).

[47]Military aid was first suspended in late 1982 by an amendment (known as the Boland amendment, named for Rep. Edward Boland [D–MA], chair of the House Intelligence Committee) to the Defense Department Appropriation Bill. It prohibited

Yet, his persistent quest for Vatican support did not yield the expected results. In the wake of his letter-writing campaign, the president was told by McFarlane that although the pope in his reply had "indicated that the Church [stood] ready to assist in devising a means to reduce the distance between the 'two sides,'" he had added that "the situation currently [was] not favorable for a meaningful intercession by the Church, particularly in Nicaragua."[48] In addition, according to Tyrus Cobb, director of Soviet, West European, and Canadian affairs at the National Security Council, "the Vatican was somewhat confused by this flurry of letters, which arrived rather close together."[49] The president seemed to have been so eager for his peace initiative in Nicaragua to be endorsed by the pope that he publicly invoked papal support without having received it. At a conference on religious persecution on April 16, 1985, where he had strongly criticized the Sandinistas for what he described as their harassment of churches, he declared, "I just had a verbal message delivered to me from the pope urging us to continue our efforts in Central America."[50] This statement caused quite a stir, especially as, when pressed about it at a photo session the following day and asked specifically if the pope supported military aid to the contras, the president reaffirmed that "he [the pope had] been most supportive of all of our activities in Central America."[51] This forced the administration to backtrack and the Vatican to issue a public denial. According to Murphy, "as far as the 1985 claim by President Reagan

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the use of U.S. funds "for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua." Following efforts by the Reagan administration to bypass the prohibition and revelations that the CIA had mined three Nicaraguan harbors, a second Boland Amendment was passed, much more restrictive than the first, which read: "During fiscal year 1985, no funds available to the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, or any other agency or entity of the United States involved in intelligence activities may be obligated or expended for the purpose or which would have the effect of supporting, directly or indirectly, military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua by any nation, group, organization, movement, or individual." It was this amendment that led the administration, through the National Security Council to resort to "alternative" means of funding, which would become public in 1986 as part of the Iran-Contra scandal.

[48]RRL, Memo, Robert McFarlane to Ronald Reagan, July 23, 1985, Folder: Vatican City, Holy See 1987–1988 [Memos-Letters-Cables-Intel-Press-Bios] (1 of 3), Box 92092, NCLF.

[49]RRL, Memo, Tyrus Cobb to Robert McFarlane, July 15, 1985, Folder: The Vatican 1985 [1 of 2], Box 90901, TCF.

[50]Ronald Reagan, "Remarks at a Press Conference on Religious Liberty," April 16, 1985, http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1985/41685d.htm

[51]RRL, "Network News Summary," April 17, 1985, Folder: The Vatican 1985 [1 of 2], Box 90901, TCF.

that "the pope supports everything we do," with regard to these events, I would say that this was *not* true."[52]

More generally speaking, the administration continuously sought support for its contra initiative. According to Murphy:

> [B]oth Elliot Abrams [now assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs] and Colonel Oliver North [deputy director for political-military affairs at the National Security Council and one of the key architects of Iran-Contra] attempted to convince Vatican officials of the validity of their support for the "Contras" to no avail. I spoke with both men on various occasions and they tried their best to convince us to have the Holy Father or the Cardinal Secretary of State back their position in a public way—to no avail of course.[53]

The minutes of a June 1987 meeting during Reagan's second visit to the Vatican give an interesting insight into the Vatican's stance on Central America. As recounted by U.S. Ambassador Frank Shakespeare, during the meeting "Casaroli said that the Vatican wanted to see "a true democracy" in every Latin American country, but that this meant democracy "in the fullest sense of the word," including socially and economically just societies. The Vatican was concerned about proponents of liberation theology, certainly, but even more concerned about the "concrete conditions" of economic and social injustice."[54] According to Cobb:

> For John Paul II the concern was very much about the disparity of wealth. In many meetings, the Vatican argued in favor of lesser developed countries; while there was some agreement on [Nicaraguan President Daniel] Ortega (he did trample on the Catholic Church in Nicaragua), they also said that the situation was unfair in Honduras. There was not the same unanimity on Central America that existed on Poland. Thus when we had discussions on it, it often resulted in "discussions."[55]

Yet Pope John Paul II did issue strong condemnations of liberation theology and made no secret of his aversion to the Sandinista junta. During his trip to Central American and Caribbean countries in March 1983, he was very critical of the "popular church"—this parallel church of the people who saw it as its mission to free the oppressed

[52]Murphy, Web Interview. Emphasis in original.

[53]Murphy, Web Interview.

[54]RRL, Cable, Frank Shakespeare to U.S. Delegation, June 6, 1987, Folder Vatican City, Holy See 1987–1988 [Memos-Letters-Cables-Intel-Press-Bios] (1 of 3), Box 92092, NCLF.

[55]Tyrus Cobb, Interview with the Author, September 27, 2007.

(which often led to political involvement) and who was often at variance with its bishops, something John Paul II considered a threat to church unity. Footage of the pope chastising Father Miguel D'Escoto for serving in the Sandinista government was well remembered. In his sermon during the Mass he celebrated in Managua, the pope laid heavy emphasis on the need for Church unity, using the word twenty-nine times (without counting the adjectives *united* or *divided*) and condemned unequivocally the tenets of liberation theology, declaring "the unity of the Church is challenged when to the powerful factors that constitute it and maintain it, faith, the revealed word, the sacraments, *obedience to the bishops and the Pope* . . . are substituted worldly considerations, unacceptable ideological compromises, including conceptions of the church which supplant the true one."[56] These words must have been highly welcomed by the Reagan administration, as it maintained close contact with Managua Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo, an ardent foe of the Sandinista who had received U.S. funds on several occasions; the pope in his sermon had called on Nicaraguan Catholics to obey the archbishop. The American weekly *National Catholic Reporter* therefore concluded that "in El Salvador and Nicaragua, the pope played 'Washington's game.'"[57] In September 1984, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith published an *Instruction on Certain Aspects of the "Theology of Liberation."* The aim of the document was, as stated in the first sentences, to "draw the attention of pastors, theologians, and all the faithful to the deviations and risks of deviations, damaging to the faith and to Christian living, that are brought about by certain forms of liberation theology which use, in an insufficiently critical manner, concepts borrowed from various currents of Marxist thought."[58] Wilson

[56]Homily of His Holiness John Paul II, Managua, Nicaragua, March 4, 1983, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/homilies/1983/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_19830304_managua_sp.html. Author's translation; emphasis in original: "En efecto, la unidad de la Iglesia es puesta en cuestión cuando a los poderosos factores que la constituyen y mantienen, la misma fe, la Palabra revelada, los sacramentos, *la obediencia a los obispos y al Papa*, el sentido de una vocación y responsabilidad común en la tarea de Cristo en el mundo, se anteponen consideraciones terrenas, compromisos ideológicos inaceptables, opciones temporales, incluso concepciones de la Iglesia que suplantan la verdadera."

[57]Werner Levi, *From Alms to Liberation*: *The Catholic Church, the Theologians, Poverty and Politics* (New York, 1989), p. 118.

[58]Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Instruction on Certain Aspects of the "Theology of Liberation,"* August 6, 1984, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19840806_theology-liberation_en.html

declared, shortly after the instruction was published, that U.S. officials had been "glad to see the document. . . . We thought the time had arrived when the world was interested in hearing what the Vatican had to say on Liberation theology."[59] Furthermore, in 1985, Obando y Bravo was made a cardinal.

Do these moves point to an underlying collaboration with the Reagan administration? Not according to Juan Hernandez-Pico, a liberation theology proponent:

> John Paul II's trip to Nicaragua in 1983 and his later appointment of Archbishop of Managua Miguel Obando as cardinal helped undermine support for the Sandinista government, already shaken by serious political, economic and military mistakes, as well as crass errors in its relations with the Catholic Church, . . . [yet] none of this leads us to conclude that there necessarily was a strategic conspiracy between John Paul II's Vatican and Reagan's imperial government. Coinciding objectives are not necessarily strategic. In practice the two men simply functioned according to the firmness of the ideologies or beliefs that sustained them: Cold War and National Security interests on the one side, and on the other a profound distrust of atheist communism and rejection of the existing form of socialism because it had been largely imposed by the Soviet Army.[60]

The imperative of church unity and the decisions resulting from it seem to have sprung from the pope's experience in Poland under a communist regime. The only way for the Church to survive against the threat of the Iron Curtain was to remain united, as Marxist regimes tried to divide and rule by setting up "patriotic" or "national" churches with government-appointed clergy. In addition, John Paul II had a very hierarchical vision of the Church, in which obedience to the bishops and the pope was central. As a consequence, the Holy See made declarations that sometimes turned out to be advantageous to the United States, which did not mean that they resulted from the same motivations. Van Heuven understood the advantages of the situation for the Reagan administration, commenting that

> [w]e profit from the fact that this influential pope frequently expresses views convergent with our own—and does so independently. . . . We risk jeopardizing this happy situation if we undertake an effort (not likely to

[59]"Wilson Oversees Varied US Interests at Vatican," *National Catholic Reporter*, December 7, 1984, p. 5.

[60]Juan Hernandez Pico, "From John Paul II to Benedict XVI: Memories, Analyses, Fears and Hopes," May 2005, http://www.envio.org.ni/articulo/2936

> be successful, in any case) to transform this powerful friend into a quasi-ally. The Vatican will resist our embrace.[61]

Reluctance to establish diplomatic relations with the State of Israel is one example of the Holy See acting according to its own agenda. In spite of energetic American efforts during Reagan's two terms to secure Vatican recognition, it was not until December 1993 that this occurred. It seems that the Vatican's position as head of the Catholic Church and as a body concerned with humanitarian issues prevailed over the "holy alliance." The Vatican had always set a number of conditions to diplomatic relations with Israel such as internationally recognized borders, a special status for Jerusalem, and a homeland for Palestinians. In addition, the Holy See was said to be concerned about the repercussions that recognition of the State of Israel might entail for Christian minorities in neighboring Arab countries. Toward the end of his tenure as ambassador, Wilson, writing to Jewish Americans, explained:

> I have personally discussed this matter with some of the high authorities in the Vatican, and it is also a matter of public record that Secretary of State Shultz has discussed this matter with the Secretary of State of the Vatican.[62]

His successor, Shakespeare, who was appointed in 1986, continued pressing for relations.[63] Murphy, when asked about the events that occupied him at the embassy from 1984 to 1988, he replied: "top of the list [were] Vatican-Israel relations."[64] Yet, in the course of a June 1987 audience with Casaroli, government officials were to learn that the Vatican was not yet ready to move on the issue; Shakespeare reported that Casaroli, although emphasizing the Holy See's friendly feelings toward Israel and its frequent consultations with Israel, had explained that:

> The Vatican and Israel must continue without formal relations. Casaroli said that formalizing Vatican-Israeli relations now would only prevent the Holy Father from playing any role on bringing peace to the Middle East, because all the Arab states except Egypt would break relations and stop talking to the Vatican if it exchanged ambassadors with Israel. Casaroli also

[61]GUL, Memo, Martin Van Heuven to Ambassador Rozanne Ridgway, "The Vatican and US Policy: Saturday Reading," November 25, 1985, Box 2, Folder 25, WAWP, Special Collections.

[62]GUL, Letter, William Wilson to members of the Jewish American Community, June 30, 1986, Box 1, Folder 83, WAWP, Special Collections.

[63]RRL, Cable, Frank Shakespeare to Ty Cobb, May 6, 1987, Folder: Vatican City, the Holy See 1987–88 [Memos Letters Cables Intel Press Bios] (1 of 3), Box 92082, NCLF.

[64]Murphy, Oral History Interview.

mentioned "Occupied Palestine" and the status of Jerusalem as other obstacles to formalizing relations with Israel.[65]

Despite the closeness of the relationship between the United States and the Vatican, the latter was not disposed to change a long-held policy merely to satisfy the Reagan administration.

Similarly, during Reagan's second term, the pope was considering a pastoral visit to Cuba, much to the dismay of the administration. Talking about reports of a possible papal visit to Cuba in 1986 or early 1987, Van Heuven commented that "having spent considerable effort keeping international meetings and visitors away from Havana, a papal visit to Cuba is not what we want." [66] Yet, the pope had his own reasons for visiting Cuba, including the need to promote religious vocations and revitalize the Church in the face of dwindling membership, and he had to balance these pastoral concerns with the boost in legitimacy that his visit was certain to give the Castro regime. As a matter of fact, when John Paul II eventually visited Cuba in 1998, he called the U.S. embargo "oppressive" in his farewell speech.[67]

Besides, the Holy See under John Paul II also pressed the United States for measures in favor of the third world and chastised the United States for its failure to do more at a time when the bulk of American aid was directed to countries based on their ideological affiliation and military value. According to historian Michael Schaller, during the Reagan administration,

> [n]early all American assistance flowed to a handful of countries, generally for military purposes. Israel and Egypt received several billion dollars annually, followed by the Philippines, Turkey, Pakistan, and El Salvador. These six nations accounted for nearly three-fourths of all foreign aid. The United States devoted less than one-third of 1% of its GNP to helping others, a lower percentage than any other industrialized democracy.[68]

The Vatican was particularly keen on securing debt relief for developing countries. Shakespeare reported the following regarding a June 1987 meeting of Vatican and U.S. officials:

[65]RRL, Cable, Frank Shakespeare to U.S. Delegation, June 6, 1987, Folder Vatican City, Holy See 1987–1988 [Memos-Letters-Cables-Intel-Press-Bios] (1 of 3), Box 92092, NCLF.

[66]GUL, Memo, Martin Van Heuven to Ambassador Ridgway, "The Vatican and US Policy: Saturday Reading," November 25, 1985, Box 2, Folder 25, WAWP, Special Collections.

[67]Address of John Paul II, Farewell Ceremony, Cuba, January 25, 1998, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/travels/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_25011998_lahavana-departure_en.html

[68]Michael Schaller, *Reckoning with Reagan* (New York, 1992), p. 125.

> Casaroli said that for the Vatican, the North-South problem was no less important and no less dangerous, than the East-West problem. . . . Casaroli stressed that the Vatican was aware of the complex nature of international indebtedness, and that the Vatican did not expect instant solutions to the problem. But, he said, the potential dangers of the debt situation warranted greater attention and sympathy on the part of everyone concerned, both debtors and creditors.[69]

Those calls for increased aid to developing countries point to the core of the discrepancy between the Holy See and the United States in the 1980s, which made for a less than perfect "alliance." If the Holy See shared the U.S. fear of upheavals in Latin America, it did not agree with the American diagnosis; whereas the Reagan administration saw most conflicts of the time as the more or less direct consequence of Soviet or Cuban interference, the Vatican saw them first as the consequence of problems intrinsic to the social and economic fabric of those countries, problems that needed addressing. If the Holy See was deeply concerned about Mexico, for instance, where it feared an antireligious revolution might take place (as had occurred from 1917 through the late 1930s), to Casaroli, it was "poverty and injustice [that could] lead the faithful and even some clergy toward 'socialism.'"[70] John Paul II himself reminded U.S. officials on various occasions of the need to refrain from seeing everything through the lens of East-West relations. After an audience with Reagan in June 1982, the pope laid heavy emphasis on the necessity to promote development:

> Relations between nations are greatly affected by the development issue, which preserves its full relevance in this day of ours. Success in resolving questions in the North-South dialogue will continue to be the gauge of peaceful relations between various political communities and continue to influence the peace of the world in years ahead. Economic and social advancement, linked to financial collaboration between peoples, remains an apt goal for the renewed efforts of the statesmen of the world.[71]

He pressed the point further when receiving the credentials of Wilson on April 9, 1984, reminding the United States of its duty toward the world's peoples:

[69]RRL, Cable, Frank Shakespeare to U.S. Delegation, June 6, 1987, Folder Vatican City, Holy See 1987–1988 [Memos-Letters-Cables-Intel-Press-Bios] (1 of 3), Box 92092, NCLF.

[70]RRL, Cable, Frank Shakespeare to U.S. Delegation, June 6, 1987, Folder: Vatican City, Holy See 1987–1988 [Memos-Letters-Cables-Intel-Press-Bios] (1 of 3), Box 92092, NCLF.

[71]"Il Contributo dell'America alla Causa della Pace Mondiale," *Osservatore Romano*, June 7–8, 1982, p. 1. The pope's speech appears in English in the Italian version of *Osservatore Romano*.

> Part of the greatness of the American ideal is, without doubt, openness to other peoples: not in the sense of "foreign entanglements", but in the sense of fraternal concern "for the well-being", as you have stated it, "of our fellowmen throughout the world". On this occasion I cannot fail to express my conviction that the condition of today's world depend in great measure on the way the United States exercise her global mission of service to humanity. . . . It is my prayer, Mr. Ambassador, that America will not fail to be herself and to renew her identity in fidelity to moral and religious principles, and in service to a world in need of peace and human rights, a world hungry for bread and thirsting for justice and fraternal love.[72]

It is this strong concern for developing countries that led the pope to set aside the distinctions usually drawn between East and West on human rights, and more particularly religious freedom, to lament in his 1987 encyclical, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, that "each of the two blocs harbor in its own way a tendency towards imperialism, as it is usually called, or towards forms of neo-colonialism: an easy temptation to which they frequently succumb as history, including recent history, teaches."[73]

If, to the United States, Vatican support was seen as an important token of morality for its cold war foreign policy decisions, and if, obviously, the United States was better positioned than the Soviet Union to benefit from this "morality boost," Vatican endorsement was not always forthcoming. Fearing the communist threat and the erosion of rights of Catholics behind the Iron Curtain as well as the spread of Soviet-backed regimes elsewhere in the world, especially in regions with a high Catholic population, the Vatican may have made pronouncements that appeared to "play into the hands of Washington" in its struggle against Marxist regimes. Nevertheless, the Vatican saw most cold war conflicts and tensions not solely through the East-West prism; following in the footsteps of John XXIII and Paul VI, John Paul II believed the North-South dimension to be equally (if not more) important in explaining current conflicts, something the Reagan administration at times failed to take into account in its relations with the Holy See.

[72]"Il Papa: Collaborazione con gli Stati Uniti per la Difesa dei Diritti della Persona," *Osservatore Romano*, April 10, 1984, p. 6. The pope's comments appear in English in the Italian version of *Osservatore Romano*.

[73]John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, December 30, 1987, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_30121987_sollicitudo-rei-socialis_en.html

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

The Encyclopedia of Christian Literature, Vol. 1: *Genres and Types/ Biographies A–G*; Vol. 2: *Biographies H–Z.* Edited by George Thomas Kurian; James D. Smith III, coeditor. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 347; iv, 349–711. $180.00. ISBN 978-0-810-86987-5.)

"Literature" in this encyclopedia is understood very broadly indeed. It is not a gathering of articles on literature in the romantic sense—poetry, fiction, and the drama—but rather in the preromantic and postmodern sense of "writing." That it aims to be encyclopedic is admirable, although potential readers should be warned that it has a heavy bias toward the United States.

The encyclopedia has two volumes. The first begins with the genres and types of Christian writing, and here one finds useful entries ranging from apocalyptic literature to women's literature. Thereafter, both volumes are devoted to a wide range of authors, entries on whom are arranged alphabetically. The editor rightly distinguishes "Christian writers" from "writers who are Christians" (1:xxi), as well as notes the inclusion "for the most part" of "writers who are professing Christians" (1:xxi) and the exclusion of "works by authors whose philosophy is in open conflict with Christianity" (1:xxi). The last criterion must be laxly held, since there is an entry on John Hick who, we are told, rejects the claim that Jesus is God incarnate and advises that an afterlife is improbable (2:364).

Potential readers drawn to "religion and literature" will find pieces on G. K. Chesterton, T. S. Eliot, George Herbert, G. M. Hopkins, Flannery O'Connor, R. S. Thomas, and many other rightly expected literary figures. They will not find anything on William Wordsworth, however, and will look in vain for Frederich Hölderlin, Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, Angelus Silesius, and Marco Girolamo Vida. Some choices make the American flavor of the venture intense. There is a long entry on the younger American poet Scott Cairns and a shorter one on Luci Shaw; yet in an anthology that seeks to be global, one would expect articles on two important Australian Catholic poets: James McAuley and Francis Webb. The British poet Geoffrey Hill certainly deserves an entry. One might reasonably have expected an article on Canadian literary critic Northrop Frye.

Looking outside the fields of creative writing and literary criticism, readers will be enriched by familiarizing themselves with great Christian writers:

Ss. John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus, for instance. There is an outstanding entry on Hugh of St. Victor. Why some important figures—St. Gregory of Nyssa, for example—are mentioned in several entries but have no article devoted to them must be due to oversight or to lack of space. Yet space could have been saved by eliminating entries on some of the many American evangelicals who are better known for their energy than their literary excellence.

The game of finding odd inclusions and unacceptable exclusions is one that no editor of an encyclopedia likes a reviewer to play. Yet blind spots need to be identified in a large-scale reference work. Alvin Plantinga is a fine philosopher, but does his writing fall in any significant sense under "literature"? If it does, why is there no entry on Alasdair MacIntyre or Jean-Luc Marion? Ludwig Wittgenstein is a groundbreaking philosopher, to be sure, but is the information that he "has had a major influence on Christian thinkers" (2:649) sufficient to warrant inclusion? There is far more reason to include Immanuel Kant and J. G. Fichte, although neither appears in the encyclopedia.

Reference works need to be proofread to a very high standard; they may be read and cited by many students over many years. We are told that Simone Weil converted to Catholicism (1:122); later, we are correctly informed that she *might* have been baptized on her deathbed (2:635). There is a world of difference between the two statements. We are told that Karl Barth "began producing" the *Church Dogmatics* in 1919 (1:158), yet he did so only after finding the first volume of the *Christliche Dogmatik* (Munich, 1927) unsatisfactory. The philosopher's name is Paul Ricœur, not "Ricouer" (2:518). To say that Oswald Chambers "read philosophers like Plato, Socrates, Aristotle. . ." (1:248) is misleading: Socrates wrote nothing. Amazingly, Peter Damian is named as "St. Peter Damian"; although Pope Leo XII named Damian a Doctor of the Church in 1823, he has never been formally canonized. The honorific is justified by saying "he was revered as a saint from the moment of his death" (1:274). Yet the Venerable Bede, for instance, is simply listed by his surname without reference to Pope Leo XIII naming him a Doctor of the Church in 1899. The bibliography of Dietrich Bonhoeffer should give the Augsburg Fortress translation of the critical edition of his works, not dated English translations from the 1950s and 1960s. This catalogue of similar errors, omissions, and inconsistencies could be extended far beyond what is acceptable in a work of this size.

Some of the articles end with several "Principal Ideas" in bullet points. Almost always, these are to be regretted. For example, do we really need to be told of Evelyn Waugh that he thinks, "The struggle to maintain and spread civilization is continually threatened by barbarism"? (2:635). How could this commonplace be one of anyone's "principal ideas"?

Australian Catholic University and the University of Virginia KEVIN HART

Vines Intertwined: A History of Jews and Christians from the Babylonian Exile to the Advent of Islam. By Leo Duprée Sandgren. (Peabody, MA: Hendrikson Publishers. 2010. Pp. xxvi, 838. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-598-56083-1.)

Over the last two generations there has been a revolution in the understanding of the relation between Christianity and Judaism in the ancient world. Sixty years ago, the study of early Christian history was carried on almost wholly without reference to the Jews. Scholars showed great interest in the Judaism that existed prior to the beginning of Christianity, but once the Church was established, the Jews were all but forgotten. Christian scholars learned biblical Hebrew, but saw no need to master the language of the rabbis or to study the Jewish communities that existed alongside of Christians in the great cities of the Middle East.

Although it was well known that early Christian thinkers had written works in response to the Jews (for example, Tertullian's treatise *Adversus Iudaeos*), it was thought that these treatises were dealing with a "*Scheinproblem*"—an apparent, not a real, issue. With the publication of James Parkes's *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (London, 1934) and Marcel Simon's *Verus Israel. Étude sur les relations entre chrétiens et juifs dans l'empire romain (135–425)* (Paris, 1948), Christian scholars began to realize that the Jews were very much part of the foreground of early Christian thinkers during the formative years of the Church's history. At the same time the growing awareness in the West of the enormity of the crimes against the Jews during World War II profoundly altered Christian sensibilities toward the Jews.

Vines Intertwined, a bird's-eye view of the history of Jews before the rise of Christianity and the interaction between Jews and Christians during the first six centuries, is the fruit of more than two generations of scholarship. Sandgren's aim is neither to offer a new and overarching interpretation of this long period nor to call attention to neglected or forgotten sources. He has set out to write a survey of a vast historical period with many different players, institutions, cultural contexts, events, and ideas. For scholars in the field, the book may cover familiar terrain, but there is no book that sees things in such a long historical perspective.

Sandgren has done his homework, and he deals with a number of writings that are known only to specialists in the field—for example, the early Byzantine work "The Teaching of Jacob Newly Baptized." He has a long section on Christians and Jews in the Persian Empire, a topic to which few western scholars give much attention. At the same time he deals with major figures such as Ss. John Chrysostom and Augustine, along with Pope Gregory the Great's dealing with Jews, Julian the Apostate, imperial laws on the Jews, the Persian occupation of Jerusalem, and the Muslim conquest. Although in his

account of the travails of Jerusalem he fails to emphasize that by the seventh century Jerusalem was a Christian city.

Sandgren's tone is irenic, and his judgments are fair-minded. He has no obvious ax to grind. Because of the scope of the book, the treatment of individuals and events is brief and seldom touches on the theological issues underlying the conflict between Jews and Christians. For a survey of the interaction between Christians and Jews and a précis of the modern secondary literature on many persons and events, readers will find *Vines Intertwined* a useful guide.

University of Virginia (Emeritus) ROBERT LOUIS WILKEN

Christianity in India: From Beginnings to the Present. By Robert Eric Frykenberg. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xxxii, 564. $165.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-198-26377-7; $45.00 paperback, ISBN 978-0-199-57583-1.)

From the 1990s Robert Eric Frykenberg has increasingly focused his historical attention on Christianity in the Indian subcontinent, and in this latter work in particular Frykenberg's South Asia expertise reflects his upbringing in southern India, his identification as a Christian who believes in the positive influence of that belief system on the subcontinent, and his professional training. The text covers the immense period between the first century to the 1990s with varying depth of coverage. It also introduces the varieties of Christian expression in the subcontinent—Thomas Christians, Roman Catholic, and "evangelical" as each became manifest within the myriad of "Indian" ethnic and socioeconomic identities across the past 2000 years.

Frykenberg organizes what is by necessity a complex study in a manner that both follows linear historic developments and that is partially organized around the critical analysis of Christianity within the interface between the subcontinent and its neighbors. After offering contextual arguments on the physical, ethnographic, and religious environment to which Christianity was introduced, he develops his history around the "nodes" of the genesis of the Thomas Tradition—the introduction and development of *Pfarangi* and *Padroado* Catholicism of the early-modern era, the developments of evangelicalism from early-modern continental pietism to the broad array of modern evangelicals that traveled alongside modern European empires—and finishes in the postcolonial era focusing on developments in the various Indian Churches and Pentacostalism. Chapter 6, "Evangelical Christians as Missionary *Dubashis* Conduits of Cross-Cultural Communication," is of particular value in its analysis of Christian practice and belief as embedded in the ethnic identities and historic specifics of a modernizing Europe—traveling alongside and sometimes in opposition to formal imperial economic, political, and military networks—and as re-embedded in and variously

accepted, modified, and rejected in the three communities discussed in this chapter. The analytic approach continues, examining denominational struggles, the contribution made by Christians within formal imperial structures and the field of education, and the criticisms levied by Christian converts against missionaries and Western officials. The mostly southern-focused study is broken by Frykenberg's shift in chapter 14 to a case study of nineteenth-century *Adavāsi* movements in the northeast of the subcontinent. It might be further developed—as it is, the rather short treatment feels added on to the much more in-depth treatment of the southern half of the subcontinent, which is in no way unsurprising given Frykenberg's expertise. Additionally, the text also could benefit from more detail about Christian communities from the subcontinent in modern diaspora—there are apparently hundreds of Thomas congregations in the United States alone, and that postcolonial development is important. A more serious criticism has to do with any sort of substantive treatment of the gender of imperial structures, faith, and institutional religious practice; the only substantive inclusion of gender focuses on the exceptionalism of Pandita Ramabai, when a more full treatment might have provided a link among structures, identity, and belief throughout the text. The text's notes alone make it an important addition to any library in that they will lead readers to follow up on specific localized studies and perhaps those that allow local voices themselves to be heard, as in the approach taken by editors Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross in *Atlas of Global Christianity* (Edinburgh, 2009). Given all this, Frykenberg's volume provides rich ground, in particular for students of historiography and the Christian study of history; for example, the tension of belief and evidence evident in Frykenberg's rendering of foundation stories of the Thomas Tradition are promising, given additional analysis.

Saint Francis Xavier University RHONDA A. SEMPLE
Antigonish, Canada

Image, Text and Church, 1380–1600: Essays for Margaret Aston. Edited by Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski, and Colin Richmond. [Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 20.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2009. Pp. xiv, 289. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-888-44820-0.)

This *Festschrift* in honor of Margaret Aston is testimony to the influence of an extraordinarily gifted scholar. In chronological range and breadth of subject matter it is a fitting tribute to the scope and depth of Margaret Aston's own research and publications. The latter are fully documented in a bibliography at the end of the volume. An introduction, including a brief biography, is followed by a touching personal appreciation by Colin Richmond.

Anne Hudson's illuminating investigation of the books consulted by John Wyclif during his time in Oxford is the first of eleven essays. Hudson makes a persuasive case for Wyclif's extensive and surprisingly pragmatic use of the

library of the Oxford Greyfriars, perhaps right up to his departure from the university in 1381. The other most likely source of material was the Merton College library, where Wyclif had friends and supporters.

Ann Eljenholm Nichols examines the elaborate figural illustrations in late-fourteenth-century copies of non–Wycliffite glossed gospels of Mark and Luke in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 32. Containing an English commentary on the Latin gospels, the manuscript was probably intended for lay liturgical and devotional use within the household. It provides further evidence of the circulation of non-Wycliffite English biblical material for the laity before the fifteenth century.

Alison McHardy's fascinating study of John Scarle, chancery clerk, reflects Aston's doctoral research on Thomas Arundel, Scarle's master in the royal chancery and later archbishop of Canterbury. Scarle advanced through royal service, legal and parliamentary work for religious houses, money-lending, and ecclesiastical preferment and prospered from the political turbulence of the 1380s and 1390s. King Henry IV made Scarle chancellor at Arundel's suggestion and bestowed on him the archdeaconry of Lincoln. Scarle recorded some of King Richard II's least flattering episodes in the Parliament Rolls and provided eyewitness testimony and official documents for the Westminster Chronicle's uniquely well-informed account of Richard's reign.

Arundel is the central focus of a typically perceptive essay by Jeremy Catto; in this case, his personal devotional interests and efforts to mount an orthodox response to the Wycliffite challenge that went beyond the often ineffective use of the law. Arundel pursued scholarly tastes and shared an interest in the contemplative life and the production of compilations for private meditation with his family circle and members of his household. From his restoration in 1399 personal interest became national project as Arundel strove for higher educational standards among the clergy and a revitalisation of public religious rites alongside the dissemination of the mixed life to an increasingly independently-minded laity.

Maureen Jurkowski's reconstruction of the career of the Lollard preacher Robert Herlaston is the first of three chapters on heresy. Ordained in 1392, Herlaston was preaching Wycliffite ideas from at least 1409 and, until his arrest in 1427, enjoyed the patronage of midlands gentry families either sympathetic to, or on the fringes of, Lollardy who had close connections with families associated with the Lollard knights. Gentry support for dissent clearly continued for some years after the Oldcastle Rebellion. Norman Tanner widens the focus to the ecumenical and general councils and the ways that they addressed dissent. For a variety of reasons councils did not always name individual dissenters in decrees that condemned their teachings, but the Council of Constance (1414–18) did not just name Wyclif but issued the longest personal critique of all the twenty-one councils, and emphatically constructed Wyclif as the root of wider European religious dissent, not least

that led by John Hus. Tanner demonstrates just how seriously the council took Wyclif's thought and underlines the very significant part played in its condemnation by senior English clerical figures. Ian Forrest sheds light on the social dynamics of judicial procedure against heresy in fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century England in a valuable piece on defamation. There was a fine line between defamation as slander—"bad" speech—and defamation as legitimate reporting of a crime—"good" speech. *Fama* or the social reputation of both the defamer and the defamed could tip cases one way or the other leading either to the prosecution of individuals for slander or to the investigation of the alleged heresy. Located within the limited social group of the respectable, defamation was just one means of reinforcing that group's values and, somewhat paradoxically, its cohesion.

Two essays build on Aston's pioneering work on the interrelated uses of image and text in devotional culture. Richard Marks examines the use of text in parish churches prior to the Reformation. There was a surprisingly large amount of religious text in the pre-Reformation church after 1400. Much, but not all, complemented images, and, although English became more prevalent from the middle of the century, Latin remained the language of choice for liturgical, biblical, and catechetical texts, perhaps because of Arundel's Constitutions. Elizabeth Eisenstein extends the chronological focus into the seventeenth century in a nuanced chapter on disputes between Catholics and Protestants on the relative merits of hearing and sight in devotional life. When it came to accessing the truths of the Bible, Catholics favored orality and hearing, whereas Protestants prioritized writing and sight. This was complicated, however, by a greater polemical divide: the continuing store that Catholics placed on devotional images and the rejection by Protestants of visual representations of the divine. Hearing and seeing came to be seen as distinct modes of communication, and yet silent reading of the scriptures by Protestants was still described as "hearing God's voice."

Andrew Hope's essay provides a fresh assessment of the significance of John Colet within the religious changes of the early-sixteenth century. It rescues Colet from "the anachronism of a Catholic–Protestant binary divide in religious thought" (p. 237) by identifying his "peculiar vision" (p. 236) of ecclesiastical reform. Hope charts points of contact between the three accusations of heresy drawn from Colet's sermons and the reported beliefs of Lollards who favored his preaching. Colet's opinions on images and pilgrimages, vernacular translation of the Bible, and on tolerance of heterodoxy struck a chord with pre-Reformation dissenters and enabled early Protestants to co-opt him as a precursor of reform, despite his adherence to an uncompromising clericism.

The final piece, by John Bossy, is a sensitive examination of the devotional compositions of Lord Henry Howard. Howard, the leading intellectual aristocrat of his day, converted to Roman Catholicism in 1577 and was placed in

custody in 1584. Around this time he set out to provide a set of devotions for private prayer that built on, but reformed, pre-Reformation traditions. The six Latin offices that he composed for his own use were Christocentric to the point of excluding the Virgin Mary and the saints. The English version was aimed at a sympathetic audience of interested friends and selected establishment figures who had taken against more radical Protestantism from the 1570s. Howard hoped that the offices might enrich an Elizabethan Church of England that he viewed as part of the larger Catholic Church and counter the rise of atheism.

The editors are to be commended for producing a volume that so eloquently demonstrates the pioneering nature of Aston's work over the last five decades and the advantages of working across divides of periodization and the often unhelpful boundaries of orthodox and heterodox, Catholic and Protestant. Long may her influence continue.

University of Nottingham ROB LUTTON

The Papacy since 1500: From Italian Prince to Universal Pastor. Edited by James Corkery and Thomas Worcester. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 275. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-521-50987-9.)

The ideal of analyzing the history of an institution—be it a religious order or, in this instance, the postmedieval papacy—by means of a chronological sequence of "case studies" is something associated with an editor of the present volume. Here it can be judged to have proved its value, fully justifying the incisive summary provided by the editors' conclusion, which extends to remarks on the present pontificate of Benedict XVI. More clearly in the conclusion than in the introduction, the editors argue convincingly that an evolving context of Italian, European, global, and media history has most influenced the changes demonstrable in the development of the popes' roles since 1500. Despite a notional centrality of pastoral care constant in the office of the bishops of Rome, there has been a dramatic shift, in the words of the book's subtitle, "from Italian Prince to Universal Pastor." In that process, for example, a painful reordering of papal response to war, however "just," and prioritizing of an imperative for peace have been necessary. Obvious turns in this usually unsought and therefore essentially reactive modification of behavior are identified, as with Revolutionary and Napoleonic captivity, loss of the Papal States, and the perplexities of two world wars. Admittedly the earlier chapters of the book, examining Julius II, Clement VII, Pius V, Sixtus V, Urban VIII, and Clement XI, are accomplished syntheses of existing research, such as one would expect from the scholars of stature who are the chapters' authors, rather than pioneering studies. But Kenneth Gouwens makes a good case that the often-criticized Clement VII rescued from seeming disaster not just Medici power in Tuscany but also some precarious stability in Italian affairs. At about the halfway point, one of

the volume's editors, Thomas Worcester, introduces his chapter on Pius VII with a valuable summary of some of the themes emerging in papal history from 1500 to 1800. The development of Catholicism in the United States, not neglected elsewhere in the later sections of the book, is included in the discussion of Pius VII, who also is treated appropriately to illustrate another role of certain popes: patron of the arts. Comparably, the troubled history of Irish Catholicism is brought within the chapter on the long and dramatic pontificate of Pius IX, alongside even larger considerations for the relationship of popes, the Catholic Church, other Christians, and post-Revolutionary society. Next analyzed is the pastoral sensitivity of Leo XIII as he responded to the conditions initially associated with industrialization and arguably laid the foundations for modern papal insistence on social justice as a human obligation. So, too, the subsequent exposition of the agonized decision of Benedict XV to declare "impartiality," not just "neutrality," in World War I, provides a splendidly instructive prelude to the vexed question of Pius XII in World War II. To John F. Pollard falls the task of assessing the notoriety (for some) of Pius XII and his supposed "silence." A magisterial balance is achieved by placing the pontificate within a survey of papal use of newsprint, radio, cinema, and television from Pius IX to John XXIII. The further advances on those fronts, as on that of global travel in person, are accordingly noted in the final chapter on John Paul II. This comes after a sensitive, penultimate reflection on the questionable "reception" of teaching by Paul VI and John Paul II on sexual behavior and war; although the volume went to press before the recent possibility, identified by some commentators elsewhere, that Benedict XVI intends to adjust a crucial element in the foundations of the former.

University of Leeds A. D. WRIGHT

Returning Home to Rome. The Basilian Monks of Grottaferrata in Albania. By Ines Angeli Murzaku. [Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης, 7.] (Grottaferrata [Rome]: Monastero Esarchico. 2009. Pp xxi, 309. €25,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-889-34504-7.)

The new book by Ines Angeli Murzaku, an associate professor of church history at Seton Hall University, has added a new chapter to the understanding of the land on the other side of the Adriatic Sea, so close to the important cultural centers of Greece and Italy and yet so different from them. It presents the contribution of the community of the Basilians in Albania in a broad context, ending with the year 1946, when the Communist Party seized power in Albania, expelled foreigners, and began the process of annihilation of the religious element in the daily pulse of the nation.

Murzaku may humbly describe the survey as an "interesting case study" (p. 9), but there is much more to it than that. Based on the rich archival material from the Albanian and Italian archives and the extensive literature,

she gives an in-depth overview of the history of Christianity on the ground of the present-day Albania—especially its southern part, in the slow death of Christian communities after the occupation of the land by the Ottoman Empire, and in the formation of the Albanian refugee communities in Italy. In addition, she outlines the relationships between Eastern and Western Christian churches that met in the area settled by the Albanian tribes and in southern Italy. This is the setting of the Basilian monastic community and its unique historical role. Monasticism brought from the East to southern Italy all the wealth of the East, becoming a bridge between East and West and thus enriching the communities in the Western Church. With the settlement near Rome in Grottaferrata shortly after the end of the first millennium of Christian history, the Basilian monks became "'as a bridge between East and West, as a living memory of the undivided Christendom'" (p. 31).

The Eastern origin, organization, and discipline of the Basilian monks made them, in the opinion of the church leadership, the most appropriate individuals to strengthen the Christian communities on the border between the Greek and Latin worlds settled by the Albanian tribes and to establish links between the two Christian traditions. They took over this task twice in history. Their role was to maintain the image of the Church as it had been before the Great Schism, to sustain the wealth of both communities, and to point to the goal ahead of them. Since they were the only living institution that had existed before the division, their testimony and standing were significant. When the Albanian population in the south started to show interest in greater integration with the Latin Church, the authorities felt that the Basilian monks were best equipped to perform the task of integrating and restructuring. The author clearly states that the Roman institutions and their leaders had poor knowledge of the traditions and spiritual wealth of the East, perhaps versed more in principles rather than practice, and their requirements and expectations were unrealistic. When the initiatives came from the Albanians, it often happened that they adopted the wait-and-see policy, which failed to reflect the interest shown by the people in the pope and in better integration with the West. Before World War II, the Basilian monks were again sent to the Albanians, but the opportunity had been lost. It appeared that, during the Italian occupation of Albania, which should have stimulated greater interest on the part of the Albanians for linking with the Roman Church, the expectations of the Holy See were too high. With Muslims assuming the dominant role in Albanian society, it was now the Albanians who adopted the wait-and-see strategy. Together with the Sisters of Saint Macrina, who focused mainly on education and social work, the Basilians did not have many opportunities to forge deep links with the people. Despite the Albanian roots of the Basilians, the authorities and the people considered them foreigners. At the time of the awakening national values and the emergence of a homogenous ethnic country, the Albanians also were disturbed by the Greek language used in the liturgy.

The survey may not devote much attention to the situation in the monastic community or the attitude of individual members toward open questions, which was ultimately not the purpose of the research, but it provides much new information about the Grottaferrata Abbey. Indeed, the book aims to inform readers about the original place of the Basilian community in the Latin Church and about the history of connections of the Albanian nation with Rome. The book helps us better realize how the "the Sons of the Eagle" entered history and to understand Catholicism as their original faith and the role of the Basilians in the relations between the Latin and the Eastern Churches.

University of Ljubljana BOGDAN KOLAR

Vita Communis: The Common Life of the Secular Clergy. By Jerome Bertram. (Leominster, UK: Gracewing. 2009. Pp. x, 316. £15.99 paperback. ISBN 978-0-852-44201-2.)

Jerome Bertram presents an analysis of the common life of the secular clergy from the early Christian centuries into the modern era. Conceding that it often has been argued that the unmarried clergy of the Catholic Church would be better served if they lived in communities rather than in isolation, Bertram proposes that rather than simply revive ancient models, the contemporary Catholic Church would be advised to reflect on precedents and the reasons that such precedents were abandoned. The discussion and analysis is informed by his own practical and personal experience as a priest of the Oxford Oratory and by a detailed investigation of the history of the communal life, in theory and practice, over the best part of two millennia. What emerges from the pages of *Vita Communis* is a convincingly articulated argument that diocesan bishops need to ponder the way in which priests in the twenty-first-century Church live and are called on to serve the faithful.

Although seeking to address some of the problems and challenges facing the Church today, almost half of Bertram's study is devoted to the first thousand years of the history of the Church. The discussion of the communal life of the secular clergy is informed by broader reflections on the nature of Church and faith in the apostolic era, the early-medieval period and the Carolingian reforms, and the significant debates of the Gregorian era. Although the primary focus is on the historical function and living of the secular clergy, due consideration also is given to the parallel developments in the history of monasticism, particularly in its prioritization of poverty. In a study of this length, covering such a substantial chronology, discussion is, of necessity, general in tone, but the broader argument is punctuated by a number of valuable and perceptive case studies, including an analysis of the relationship between St. Chrodegang of Metz's authentic Rule and the Rule of St. Benedict.

Bertram highlights some of the continuities in the life of the secular clergy between the tenth and eleventh centuries; the common representa-

tion of the eleventh-century reforms as an almost revolutionary moment in the history of the Church is rejected in favor of a more sympathetic approach to what can be learned from the models of the past. Chapter 7 provides a methodical and helpful commentary on the emergence and evolution of canonical foundations in England and on the Continent, and the increasing prominence of the canons regular, whereas subsequent chapters examine cathedral chapters and other collegiate churches in the high Middle Ages. A concern to outline the principal developments laid out in conciliar decrees and episcopal demands is balanced by useful discussion of local impact and examples. Many illustrations are drawn from the English context, but there are some instructive comparisons made with developments in continental Europe; a section dealing with foundations by laymen ranges widely from the well-documented lay foundation of Astley College in Warwickshire to the role of the canons of St. Quiriace in Champagne. Surprisingly, perhaps, the impact of the Protestant Reformations receives rather less attention. Bertram reflects in rather more detail on the English context and the Henrician suppression of the monasteries, but the potential impact of evangelicalism on the understanding of the priesthood and priestly life is left to the margins. The consideration of the "Glorious Catholic Reformation" (chapter 12) focuses more substantially on developments outside England and includes a detailed discussion of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri as well as the emergence of new congregations in France.

Some significant, related topics are discussed alongside the central theme. The opening chapter reflects on the nature of the clergy, differences between clergy and laity, and the shifting role of the priest between the cultic and the pastoral. The question of clerical celibacy is woven through the narrative, and, perhaps unusually, a good deal of attention is paid to the minor clergy. Throughout his analysis, the author is at pains to point out the important lessons that can be learned from the experiments and experiences of the past. A final chapter, "Reaffirmation and Renewal," makes this important theme explicit in its call to approach the changes of the (often recent) past in terms of what Pope Benedict XVI referred to as a "hermeneutic of continuity." Bertram draws on the broad historical scope of his work to propose a series of potential models for the modern clergy and church, in the hope of enlivening debate while appreciating the extent of practical limitations. The concluding sentiment, that "we may call upon the experience of the past to redress the problems of the present, for the future has a traditional flavour" (p. 290) should serve as an incentive to maintain precisely this kind of reflection and discussion.

University of Reading, UK HELEN PARISH

Making Confession, Hearing Confession: A History of the Cure of Souls. By Annemarie S. Kidder. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2010. Pp. xv, 349. $34.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-814-65497-2.)

Historical changes in the practice of the sacrament popularly known as confession have been such that it can be difficult to discern continuity. When Annemarie S. Kidder uses *confession* to include spiritual direction and other practices and takes an ecumenical approach, the history becomes even more convoluted. It is to her credit that she tells the story in a manner that is both interesting and involving. In the first two parts she provides an historical overview, first from biblical beginnings through the Middle Ages and then the Reformation and after in both Roman Catholicism and Protestant traditions. Part 3 looks at contemporary confession, including decline in practice, and the theologies of four twentieth-century figures (Karl Rahner, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Eugene Peterson, and Adrienne von Speyr). The final part offers practical considerations for contemporary practice.

Inconsistencies in the use of *confession,* outdated translations of sources when there are recent critical editions, and historically and theologically questionable points are serious flaws. It is questionable, for example, that there was "corporate knowledge of the sins committed" in the *exomologesis* of public penance (p. 29), that private penance originated in pre-Christian Celtic practice (p. 36), that it developed in Celtic society before the end of the fourth century (p. 23), and that medieval penitentials have a value in assigning penances today (p. 311). Her claim that clerical absolution ended the practice of lay confession also is problematic, as it contradicts what she says about lay spiritual direction. She is apparently unaware of Amédée Teetaert's *Confession aux laïques* (Paris, 1926), which analyzes the practice through the fourteenth century; isolated instances are documented in the sixteenth century.

Some statements regarding Catholic theology and practice also are problematic. Catholics are not required to confess their sins "prior to partaking of the Eucharist or at least annually during Holy Week" (p. xiii). Nor does Catholicism regard ordained male clergy as "Peter's apostolic successors" (p. 35). Not every sin leads to the loss of the Holy Spirit and trinitarian Communion (p. 320). Her description of indulgences in relation to remission of sin is misleading (p. 52). Neither screen (p. 167) nor confessional (p. 172) has been required except for hearing women's confessions. Comments regarding the sequence of the act of penance and absolution and implications of the changed sequence (e.g., p. 312), the relationship of forgiveness and absolution (p. 316), and the meaning of reconciliation in relation to the sacrament (p. 317) need clarification. Gabriel Marcel was a philosopher, not a theologian (p. 277).

The ecumenical perspective is valuable. The survey of contemporary Protestant practice broadens the understanding of spiritual and pastoral

care—preaching; pastoral visits, exhortations, and discipline; small accountability groups; altar calls; and revivals and crusades, including the use of counselors in Billy Graham's crusades. But was it Christ's "real presence" in the Eucharist or the theology of transubstantiation that sixteenth-century Lutherans and Anglicans rejected? (p. 157). Weren't there English martyrs under Elizabeth I as well as Mary Tudor? (p. 159). The first three volumes of Hughes Oliphant Old's *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1998–99) indicate more pre-Reformation preaching than Kidder acknowledges. She does not examine Eastern Christian practice after the fourth century.

Kidder writes well, and her book is enjoyable to read. Unfortunately, it has historical and theological inconsistencies and flaws that peer reviewers or editors should have corrected. The book will likely be of most value to non-Catholic pastors and spiritual directors in all traditions who have been "hearing confession" without realizing it.

Gonzaga University JAMES DALLEN
Spokane, WA

From Altar-Throne to Table: The Campaign for Frequent Holy Communion in the Catholic Church. By Joseph Dougherty. [ATLA Monograph Series, No. 50.] (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press and the American Theological Library Association. 2010. Pp. xxxv, 225. $80.00. ISBN 978-0-810-87164-9.)

One Sunday morning in spring 1899, a Boston priest noted in his diary that, of the more than 700 Irish and German immigrant parishioners attending his 7:45 a.m. Mass, exactly forty of them came forward for Communion. He did not do the calculation, but that is a little more than 5 percent, and he was encouraged that it was as high as that. Today, most parishes report reception rates of 90 percent or above at every Mass. How Catholics, especially those in the United States, got from Point A to Point B is the subject of Joseph Dougherty's study. The completeness and relative speed with which lay Catholics changed longstanding habits regarding Communion richly merits study. This book is far from exhaustive, and other scholars will want to refine and expand it; but as an introduction to the subject, it is a welcome addition to recent historiography.

In the first several chapters, Dougherty surveys reception of the Eucharist from ancient times to the end of the nineteenth century. This is obviously a huge subject and the evidence is highly fragmentary, but a disposition against frequent Communion settled on the Church early and lasted a long time. Bishops and priests consistently denounced laypeople who were too presumptuous in approaching the sacrament often—why, even married men were doing it, one seventeenth-century hierarch exclaimed in horror—and elaboration of the doctrine of Real Presence encouraged a lay piety that

emphasized looking at the Eucharist, usually from a distance, rather than consuming it. This began to change in the nineteenth century, and Dougherty is helpful in identifying some early sources of change. He reconstructs the theological arguments and overstates the impact of the newly created Eucharistic Congresses: Were they not effect rather than cause? Nevertheless, there is more to this story than we might have expected. The fight over frequency was really a fight over the proper dispositions a Catholic should have when receiving, and the theological ground was well prepared for new attitudes by the time the decrees of Pius X—"the Pope of Holy Communion," (p. 81)—validated changing practice at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The second half of the book shifts away from theology and attempts a social history of the question, particularly in America. Theologians argued and popes decreed, but what did laypeople do? Dougherty tries to get at this question by looking at two periodicals that "orchestrated" (p. 111) a campaign for greater frequency—one the organ of the Priests' Eucharistic League, the other of the People's Eucharistic League. Unfortunately, there are inherent shortcomings in this method. Both magazines were official in nature, produced under clerical auspices, and the lay role, even in the "people's" league, is hard to discern. Eliza O'Brien Lummis founded the People's Eucharistic League, but she merits only two sentences here. As a first approach to the subject, all this may be forgivable, but the book only underscores the need for more focused studies, including local cases, if real laypeople are to be discussed. Among other things, we will want to know more about why resistance to frequent Communion lasted as long as it did (until after the Second Vatican Council), a topic about which Dougherty's conclusions seem tentative and not fully persuasive.

In all, the book is clearly written, although the absence of a summary conclusion brings it to a very abrupt end. The bibliography is helpfully extensive, as can be expected of a revised dissertation. The absence of an index is surely a failing, the more so in a volume published under the auspices of a library association. But any future studies of this important topic will have to begin here.

Boston College JAMES M. O'TOOLE

Ancient

Ignatius of Antioch and the Parting of the Ways: Early Jewish-Christian Relations. By Thomas A. Robinson. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers. 2009. Pp. xiv, 285. $27.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-598-56323-8.)

Catholic and Protestant scholars have debated the seven letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch since the Reformation. After all, Ignatius is an early witness to the threefold ministry of bishops, elders, and deacons, and a vital the-

ological link between the New Testament period and the so-called early-Catholicism of the second century. In the last half of the nineteenth century, the Zahn-Lightfoot consensus resolved many of the historical ambiguities surrounding the Syrian bishop (although by no means all); however, this was challenged in the twentieth century by new concerns no longer focused on the authenticity of Ignatius's writings but rather on the authenticity of their claims. Was Ignatius really a celebrated bishop carried off to martyrdom for his faithful leadership of the Church in Antioch, or was he somehow a tragic figure who was psychologically suspect and writing apologetically to defend the discord over which he presided (or possibly caused) while shoring up his legacy through voluntary martyrdom?

The debated figure of Ignatius also features largely in another debate: the parting of the ways between Jews and Christians in antiquity. It is into this matrix of unresolved issues that Thomas A. Robinson steps with remarkable confidence and clarity. Whereas modern scholars have tended to view Ignatius as an eccentric and unrepresentative figure in early Christianity, and other scholars have begun to blur the alleged boundaries between "Judaisms and Christianities" in the age before Constantine, Robinson has edged carefully but decisively in the opposite direction.

Methodologically, Robinson provides an historical overview of key features in the debate: the demographics and history of Antioch, the question of proselytes and God-fearers on the boundaries of Judaism, and the motive for Ignatius's letters to the seven churches. In each case, supported by a comprehensive engagement with modern scholarship, Robinson disentangles key suppositions and hypotheses that undergird much of modern scholarship's deconstruction and reconstruction of the two issues.

In chapter 1 key demographic and historical presuppositions are ferreted out of the sparse but available evidence on Antioch, arriving at an account that affirms the privileged, but politically contingent, place of Jews in Antioch. By the time of Ignatius, this position was likely more fragile than at other times, due to the war with Rome. The ambiguous position of the Jewish community in Antioch must have been a feature in anxiety over boundaries following the war and the rise of an increasingly gentile-Jewish Christianity.

Chapters 2 and 4 deal with the question of the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity. In these analyses, the issue of boundaries plays a major role. Was the Jewish community diverse and its boundaries fluid, or were they aware of Christians and proselytes, and did the historical exigencies of the war and refugees narrow their sense of insiders and outsiders? In particular, can the place of proselytes and God-fearers have featured largely in this question about the boundaries and belonging? Robinson does not think so, and he buttresses his view by undermining some untested notions about these two allegedly significant groups.

In chapters 3 and 5 Robinson takes on the Ignatian enigma by assessing the fruits of twentieth-century scholarship on the new Ignatian perspective—that Ignatius was a failed bishop embroiled in discord and moved by an unanchored psyche toward voluntary death. Robinson shows, first of all, that Ignatius was a representative figure of a normative Christianity, as opposed to the pluriform "Christianities" of the Bauerian hypothesis, and that he understood boundaries between "Christianity" and "the other" quite clearly, whether this was "Judaism" or the docetic heretics. Second, Robinson undermines many of the arguments used to construe an alternative narrative to the traditional "persecution and martyrdom" hermeneutic that posit discord, personal ambition, and a rivalry between "Christianities" in Antioch.

The concluding chapter 6 addresses the weaknesses of revisionist interpretations of the parting of the ways that wish for no real animosity between Jewish and Christian communities, or that minimize difference in theology, demographics, and identity. Robinson notes with insight and caution the influence of twentieth-century questions on the scholarship of the first centuries of the early Christianity and offers a new direction for research on both Ignatius and the parting of the ways by appealing to a reasoned and historical re-engagement with the sources and a hermeneutic that is characterized by better critical reserve and historical discipline.

Robinson succeeds in a remarkable doublet: He has reset the Ignatian debate back to the Zahn-Lightfoot consensus and has critically undermined much of the undisciplined ideology of the parting-of-the-ways perspective. If his arguments are engaged with widely, they offer a major correction to contemporary trends on both fronts.

Christ Chapel JOHN-PAUL LOTZ
Centerville, MA

The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity. By David Brakke. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 164. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-674-04684-9.)

In this book the author takes up the issue of diversity in early Christianity, with special attention to a group that he identifies as "Gnostics." In the first chapter ("Imagining 'Gnosticism' and Early Christianities") he discusses the current controversy on the use of the term *Gnosticism* and adopts the position of some scholars that there was no such thing. In his surveys of the history of scholarship on Gnosticism he takes strong issue with historians of religions who claim that Gnosticism can be seen as a religion that originated independently of Christianity. I am one of his favorite targets ("easiest to criticize," p. 25), especially because of my inclusion of the Mandaeans in my delineation of ancient Gnosticism. David Brakke erroneously dates the origin of Mandaeans to the fifth century—Jorunn Buckley has dated the earliest Mandaean colophons to the second century—and overlooks the strong cor-

respondences between the Mandaean texts and some of those of the Nag Hammadi corpus, as pointed out by Kurt Rudolph.

In chapter 2 ("Identifying the Gnostics and Their Literature") Brakke adopts the position of Bentley Layton (to whom he has dedicated the book) that there was a special group of Christians known to Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.29–31) who called themselves Gnostics. Some of their writings are preserved in the Nag Hammadi corpus. Brakke identifies as Gnostic the writings that belong to a group identified by some scholars (such as Hans-Martin Schenke) as "Sethian." Brakke argues that the Gnostic myth reflected in those texts was "one distinctive attempt to tell the story of God and humanity in the light of the Jesus event" (p. 42). At the end of the chapter Brakke provides a list of the surviving works of the Gnostics and various ancient testimonia. As is well known, some of the "Gnostic" texts have no Christian elements in them at all.

Chapter 3 ("The Myth and Rituals of the Gnostic School of Thought") is the central chapter of the book. Brakke discusses what he sees as the essential features of the Gnostic myth: "God and the Divine Realm;" and "The Material World, Biblical History, and the Possibility of Gnosis" (pp. 53–70). He rightly regards the *Apocryphon (Secret Book) of John* (NHC II.1, III.1, IV.1, BG 2*)* to be of central importance. Although he observes that *Ap. John* and other Gnostic texts "do not explicitly claim that Jesus is the embodied incarnation of the savior" (p. 68), he insists that the Gnostics based their myth on salvation through Jesus. He ignores the arguments of some scholars (including myself) that the only Christian elements to be found in *Ap. John* occur in its secondary "Christianizing" framework featuring the risen Christ in dialogue with his disciple, John. In his discussion of Gnostic ritual Brakke acknowledges that Gnostic baptism "appears to have shared few features with the versions of baptism found in other early Christian sources" (p. 77). He rightly argues that the Gnostics did not observe a Eucharist or other ritual meals. Surprisingly, he gives no attention at all to the Ascent ritual discussed by Schenke and others, for which the *Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII.5) provides attestation.

Chapter 4 is devoted to "Unity and Diversity in Second-Century Rome" and includes discussions of Marcion, Valentinus, and Justin Martyr. In the final chapter ("Strategies of Self-Differentiation") Brakke argues that there was no single church that could accept or reject anything, even if Irenaeus and other bishops laid the basis for the "catholic church" at the end of the second century. He ignores the work of St. Ignatius of Antioch, who provides the earliest attestation to the "catholic church" and the monarchical episcopacy.

It unfortunately must be concluded that Brakke's book is disappointing, especially in its treatment of ancient Gnosticism.

University of California, Santa Barbara BIRGER A. PEARSON

Der Kaiser und sein Gott: Das Christentum im Denken und in der Religionspolitik Konstantins des Grossen. By Klaus Martin Girardet. [Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr, Band 27.] (New York: de Gruyter. 2010. Pp. x, 213. $98.00. ISBN 978-3-110-22788-8.)

For almost two centuries, the field of Constantine scholarship was dominated by a single, overarching question: Was he, or wasn't he? That is, was Constantine truly converted to Christianity, or was he rather a supremely ambitious politician who simply saw the Christian Church as a vehicle to achieve world dominion? The main proponent of the latter view was Jacob Burckhardt; an English translation of his *Zeit Constantins des Grossen* is still in print more than 150 years after his work's first publication.

Girardet's book follows a counterargument by Norman Baynes in *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church* (London, 1929). Here Baynes argued for the sincerity of Constantine's conversion, which followed a test of the Christian God's power at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in October 312. Henceforward, Baynes said, Constantine sought consistently to achieve "the triumph of Christianity and the union of the Roman state with the Christian Church" (Baynes, p. 421n57). Like Baynes, Girardet dismisses any apparent accommodation of the old religion as no more than expediency due to a population, and particularly a Senatorial aristocracy, that remained overwhelmingly pagan. But he has updated Baynes's case, primarily in two ways. First, he accepts the argument that Constantine's "vision of the cross" occurred not in 312 but in 310 and was a "halo phenomenon"—an atmospheric condition that makes ice crystals form what appears to be a cross superimposed over the sun. Second, Girardet not only accepts the authenticity of Constantine's "Oration to the Saints"—dismissed by Baynes as a forgery—but also provides it with a specific date (314) and place (Trier). Girardet has also broadened and deepened Baynes's basic argument. A veteran scholar with a long list of his own writings on church and state in the fourth century, Girardet has read widely, and most of his chapters contain a full discussion of the evidence and literature for each period or topic, followed by systematic and fully annotated discussion.

Nevertheless, an air of staleness hovers over this work. The problem lies in the rigidity of Girardet's approach. Intent on laying to rest once and for all any doubt about the sincerity of Constantine's conversion, he introduces at the outset a monotheism/polytheism dichotomy that serves as an impenetrable defense of his argument. Because there is such a vast and irreconcilable gulf between monotheistic and polytheistic thought, he observes, once Constantine started to believe in a single god, he had no alternative but to reject polytheism completely and utterly. For this reason, Girardet depicts the 310 vision, usually described as a "pagan vision" because the orator who relates it identifies the god as Apollo, as the beginning of a process of con-

version that was fully completed with Constantine's victory in 312. To the same end, Girardet holds that recent scholarship on "pagan monotheism" is mistaken since, at best, such thinking could only be labeled *henotheism*, and, because henotheists recognize lesser gods, the same gulf does not exist between them and polytheists; therefore, only Christians qualify as true monotheists (Jews do not enter the argument). Accordingly, Constantine's own utterances demonstrate the gulf between the two systems and prove that Constantine was Christian. This approach works well as a refutation of Burckhardt, but it also freezes Girardet into a historiographic time warp. The question of Constantine's sincerity arose as a subset of theology and church history; few serious scholars now see any reason to doubt that Constantine became a Christian. The issue instead is to understand the coercive turn that Christianity took in the decades following Constantine: was it inevitable, because of Christianity's inherent intolerance? To deal with this issue, the important question is, "What *kind* of Christian did Constantine become?" For this question, broader parameters than the rigid binaries on which Girardet relies are needed.

In the compass of a brief review, two examples must suffice.

(1) *Solar symbolism*. Intent on refuting old arguments about Constantine's attachment to Sol Invictus, Girardet slaps down any suggestion that Constantine might have seen the sun cult as a way to create a space large enough to accommodate Christians and non-Christian monotheists (or henotheists). This is a daunting task, for Constantine's use of solar symbolism was rampant; see, for example, Martin Wallraff, *Christus Verus Sol* (Münster, 2001). In particular, there is the striking example of a gold multiple-image coin now in the Bibliothèque Nationale that shows Constantine and Apollo/Sol in twin profile. This coin was issued in 313, months after the victory at the Milvian Bridge, and surely was meant to convey an important message. As part of a late-Roman imperial ideology that demanded an emperor demonstrate close ties to a divine "companion," the coin makes sense; seen as part of a policy to neutralize the toxic atmosphere created by the Great Persecution, it takes nothing away from the sincerity of Constantine's own belief. But Girardet has nothing at all to say about this coin, other than two glancing references (pp. 81n372, 128). Instead, he is content with the general observation that Christians could accept Apollo—the same Apollo they blamed for inspiring their persecution—as a symbol for Christ (p. 85).

(2) *Constantine and Arius*. Girardet devotes a chapter to Constantine's handling of the Arian controversy, but his interest is limited to the traditional concerns of church historians with the Council of Nicaea and what it demonstrates about Constantine's Christianity. He makes no mention of two of the emperor's letters regarding Arius, although these speak volumes about his priorities. The first, included by Eusebius in the *Life* (VC 2.64–72), is a letter the emperor sent to Arius and his bishop, Alexander, in an initial attempt to settle

the controversy. Here he repeatedly dismisses their dispute over the relationship between Father and Son as trivial, disruptive, and unnecessary. Such fine points, Constantine insists, can be left to individual bodies to debate; public order does not require them. The second is a letter written some years later, after the exiled Arius petitioned him for permission to return. In that letter, Arius said his only wish was to avoid "superfluous questions" and "offer our accustomed prayers for your tranquil reign and on behalf of your whole family" (Soc., *HE* 1.26, trans. NPNF). Even though Arius completely sidestepped the central issue, Constantine was overjoyed and wrote Alexander that he was now completely satisfied (Gel., *HE* 3.15). These letters leave little doubt that Constantine valued public order and loyalty over theological nicety; they add point to Eusebius's observation that "those [Christians] who stayed unyielding he turned away from" (VC 1.44.4).

Girardet's response to Burckhardt may be described as definitive, and his methodical mustering of primary and secondary scholarship makes his book extremely useful for scholars trying to work their way into a vast literature. But for the same reason, his book can at best be only a starting point for further work.

University of California, Santa Barbara H. A. Drake

Monachesimo orientale: Un'introduzione. Edited by Giovanni Filoramo. [Storia, Vol. 40.] (Brescia: Editrice Morcelliana. 2010. Pp. 312. 22,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-837-22412-7.)

Students seeking an introduction to early monastic history have had few good options in any language. Derwas Chitty's *The Desert a City: An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism in the Christian Empire* (Oxford, 1966) remains the classic narrative, but its usefulness as an introductory survey is limited by the fact that it deals only with two regions of monastic development, and even its accounts of these have been considerably outmoded by recent scholarship.

Most welcome, therefore, is the publication of *Monachesimo orientale: Un'introduzione*. Clearly and elegantly written by a group of specialists drawn mainly from the University of Turin, it provides a comprehensive introduction to the different "eastern" traditions that makes ancient monasticism so complex and interesting to study: not only the Egyptian and Palestinian traditions but also those of Antatolia/Cappadocia and Syria that developed independently in the East Roman and Persian empires, as well as the Gallic traditions of Cassian and Sulpicius Severus that evolved in dialogue with the East. Each regional tradition receives its own separate essay. Indeed, the book offers almost everything to be desired in an introductory survey: concise description of major regional figures, trends, and developments; explanation of historical dynamics (with special focus on the production and circulation of texts); discussion of hagiographical, archaeological, legal, and papyrological

sources, including the interpretative challenges posed by each; and a generous engagement with a wide range of current scholarship, displayed in both its essays and general bibliography.

The book begins with an historiographical overview that explains how early monastic history, once mainly a subject of sectarian debate, has become a lively field of secular inquiry, due not least to the impact of anthropology and archaeology. The next four essays deal with historical developments in Egypt, Anatolia/Cappadocia, and Syria, focusing not only on standard questions of origin, precedent, and innovation by figures both familiar (e.g., Pachomius, Evagrius Ponticus, Basil of Caesarea) and less so (e.g., Eustathius of Sebaste, Philoxenus of Mabbug, Babbai the Great, Emperor Justinian) but also on key debates within monastic culture (e.g., *Origenism*, *anthropomorphism*, *Messalianism*) and on the relation of monks to church hierarchies before and after the Council of Chalcedon. Egypt receives two essays, the second examining the regional dispositions that developed after Chalcedon up to the Arab Conquests; most sweeping is the essay on Syria, a remarkable synthesis that ranges from the second to the eighth century, showing how Syria eventually broke from its own monastic traditions to adopt Egyptian (especially Evagrian) monastic principles. The final two essays focus on Gaul and Palestine and Sinai, explaining, among other things, how monastic life in these regions also came under the influence of Egyptian or Anatolian/Cappadocian traditions.

Specialists will not find many surprises here. This itself may be deemed a virtue in a book that explicitly presents itself as an introduction; nonetheless, it would have been interesting to have a concluding chapter that posed alternative ways to conceptualize ancient monastic traditions besides the regional configurations around which the book is organized. For example, an exploration of evidence for tensions between an "apostolic" monastic model and a "philosophical" or contemplative model (associated especially with Egypt), or an analysis of other models or methods that transcend regional differences, might be suggested. There also is little on female asceticism, gender issues, or the role of lay patronage on early monastic formation. These omissions may not be noticed, however, due to the laudably detailed and balanced attention that so many other important topics receive. It is hoped that this book may soon be translated into English.

University of Connecticut, Storrs DANIEL F. CANER

La religione impura: La riforma di Giuliano Imperatore. By Giorgio Scrofani. [Studi biblici, 163.] (Brescia: Paideia Editrice. 2010. Pp. 190. €21,90 paperback. ISBN 978-8-839-40777-1.)

The careful and well-organized scholarly research of Giorgio Scrofani—a professor of philology, linguistics, and classical history at La Scuola Normale

Superiore de Pisa—has afforded his readers with an important reminder of the flawed and failed imperial policy of Julian the Apostate during his eighteen months (December 11, 361, to June 26, 363) as emperor. Julian's attempt to cleanse and purify the state from the destructive "pollution" of the Galileans was completely ineffectual. The future development of Christian civilization in Europe and elsewhere would prove that his efforts in "cleansing" did not succeed.

Flavius Claudius Julianus (331–63) was a well-educated, energetic, and wide-ranging ruler of the Roman Empire and the last Roman emperor of the Constantine dynasty (306–63). Although he was to be the emperor of Rome only for a short time, he proved to be remarkably involved in his task of governance with his own personal policies.

Although Julian was reared as a Christian, he became disgusted with the religion of the Christians—or the Galileans, as he derisively termed them. His Hellenic religion was his personal synthesis of neo-Platonism, theurgy, and the worship of the traditional Roman gods. As far as he was concerned, the Galileans were a pestilence or sickness that had been polluting the Roman religion and institutions for the last fifty years since the Emperor Constantine began his rule.

Constantine's dynasty would prove to be an extremely unstable period in the Empire's history, and this instability would touch and influence directly Julian's life. When Julian was in charge of Gaul, he himself would contribute to this instability when his Gallic army revolted and proclaimed him emperor. He and Constantius were on the verge of civil war when Constantius died of fever. But surprisingly enough, he bequeathed to Julian, as his sole heir, the imperial throne.

When the young Julian had inherited the full power as emperor, he was convinced that he had a divine mission to reform the Empire's corrupt administrative structure and cleanse it from the impure religion of the Galileans. He refused, however, to follow the route of Diocletian, who as emperor (303–11) had tried to eradicate the Christians through a state bloody persecution. Instead, the Emperor Julian would issue imperial decrees that would indirectly undermine the unclean Galilean religion among the Roman elite.

For example, he issued in early 362 the edict assuring freedom of religion in the Empire that was intended to encourage the return to pagan sacrifices and to restore the neglected temples of the gods. His edict concerning education required all public school teachers to be approved by the emperor since the state provided for most of their salaries. The Christian schools and teachers were not supposed to teach the Hellenic classic literature.

In winter 362–63, before his disastrous and fatal campaign against the Persians, the emperor found time to compose his polemic against the impure

religion of the Galileans. He certainly hoped that this effort would bring the Christian elite to their senses and that they would return to the pure and true religion of Roman and Hellenic paganism.

His principal reason for characterizing the religion of the Galileans as impure was their rejection of the stipulations of Mosaic Law, especially as affirmed in the Book of Leviticus. Although Julian considered the Jews to be barbarians, he admired the purity of their religion with its dietary laws and other distinctions between pure and impure foods and activities. Another reason for the impurity of the religion of the Galileans was their cult to the martyrs; he accused the Galileans of impure worshiping of dead bodies.

Scrofani's labors are admirable because his efforts to provide acquaintance with Julian's ideology and imperial policy can stimulate his readers to reflect on the contemporary conflict between the state and religion. The objective historical research into Julian the Apostate's life and his intolerant imperial policies should reinforce the conviction that the long-term search for peace and human progress must be rooted in irenic dialogue and respect for the dignity and human rights of all.

Ignatian Institute of Religious Education Foundation WILLIAM J. MALLEY, S.J.
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Theodor von Mopsuestia. De incarnatione*: Überlieferung und Christologie der griechischen und lateinischen Fragmente einschliesslich Textausgabe.* By Till Jansen. [Patristische Texte und Studien, Band 65.] (New York: De Gruyter. 2009. Pp. xii, 311. $140.00. ISBN 978-3-110-21862-6; ISSN 0553-4003.)

Till Jansen offers a careful and clear examination of the complicated tradition of the fragments of Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia's *De incarnatione* and argues for their value in understanding Theodore's Christology. The two parts, the tradition and analysis of the fragments (chapters 1–2) and an examination of the Christology of the fragments (chapters 3–5), are followed by a new edition of the Latin and Greek fragments of the *De incarnatione* as well as a German translation.

The contributions of Jansen's work are twofold: first, the new edition of the Latin and Greek fragments delivers a necessary update of Henry Barclay Swete's 1880–82 edition. Second, Jansen posits that a cohesive reconstruction of *De incarnatione*'s Christology is possible and argues against Marcel Richard, who discredits the fragments as falsified. Such a historical theological contribution demands a meticulous setup. He first analyzes the Latin compilations for the Fifth Ecumenical Council and then turns to the Greek tradition. He reads Leontius of Byzantium (utilizing Brian Daley's "Leontius of Byzantium" [Oxford, 1978]) and Justinian concurrently. Noting that the coun-

cil shows more usage of Theodore's *Contra Apollinarium* and in a different order, he concludes that although both traditions used florilegia, they drew from different collections (p. 75). Jansen maps the tradition of the fragments into four phases: the controversy arising after Theodore's death; the *Collatio cum Severianis* of 532; the Fifth Ecumenical Council preparatory writings of Leontius, Justinian, and Innocent of 532–49; and the Council itself in 553 (which drew on the writings of Pelagius and Vigilius). Jansen's focus on Facundus of Hermiane—independent of the prominent textual material that seems to have been drawn up for the express purpose of denouncing Theodore—opens up the questions of reliability and the ever-present claims of falsification that loom over Theodore's work. These claims and the highly biased selections of obscure passages by opponents lend a degree of uncertainty to what the fragments can indeed deliver as a resource for Theodore's Christology. Jansen does not succumb to the danger of overreaching. He does not reject wholesale the compilations of critics, but in assessing their reliability and outlining the polemical context behind the selected passages, Jansen offers a tempered perspective on the historical reliance on these sources and demonstrates the importance of this for the reception of Theodore's Christology.

Jansen's work succeeds in presenting a clearer and more nuanced view of the tradition of the fragments that lets Theodore out from under the thumb of later redactors and resituates his Christology back into its polemical context. The rub, however, is whether the limited, but important, fragments can deliver as a resource for Theodore's Christology—specifically on the unity of natures in Christ—as Jansen claims. At the end, Jansen succeeds in this venture. By arranging the fragments in four groups with porous boundaries, Jansen demonstrates the polemical nature of Theodore's work against the Apollinarians and Eunomians and shows how his terms and Christology are formed as a defense within these boundaries (p. 159). Theodore lodges the same basic complaint against both groups: the denial of the true and perfect humanity of Christ. Jansen demonstrates that Theodore's context (especially terminology used for unity and the concept of indwelling) brings clarity to Theodore's conception of God. In shedding light on the development of presumptions and sources that fueled the discussions of fourth- and fifth-century Christology in which Theodore plays an important role, Jansen not only brings Theodore's Christology into sharper focus but also shows how this important dogmatic work is key to current discussions of the Nestorian/Cyrillian debates. Jansen's work is highly recommended.

Wheaton College AMY BROWN HUGHES
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Medieval

Remi de Reims: Mémoire d'un saint, histoire d'une Église. By Marie-Céline Isaïa. [Histoire religieuse de la France, 35.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 919. €67,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-08745-2.)

This book originated as a French doctoral thesis submitted in 2004. Like most French theses turned into books, it is a weighty tome. In more than 900 dense, although elegantly written, pages, Marie-Céline Isaïa documents the history of St. Remi of Reims and his construction as a holy figure from his lifetime up to the reign of the Capetian King Philip I (1060–1108), thereby covering seven centuries and three dynasties (the Merovingian, the Carolingian, and the Capetian) in Francia.

Rather than presenting an overarching argument, the book simply follows a chronological structure. Chapter 1 retraces the life of Remi, emphasizing the senatorial Gallo-Roman nobility to which he was born and his long-time partnership with Clovis, which resulted in the baptism of the Merovingian king in the late-fifth century or early-sixth century (Isaïa proposes 507 or 508, instead of an earlier date put forward by other historians), a watershed event that served to shape the cult of Remi in relation to the Frankish kings in the following centuries. Chapter 2 focuses on the Merovingian period and the composition of the first (extant) life of the saint in the middle of the eighth century. Isaïa sheds interesting light on the competition between different political lineages, Neustrian as well as Austrasian, in the appropriation of his cult, up to the time when Charles Martel definitively associated the saint with the Pippinid family in the second quarter of the eighth century. The subsquent chapter is devoted primarily to Hincmar's tenure as archbishop of Reims (845–82) and his promotion of the cult of Remi. The national vocation of the saint, whose baptism of the first Frankish king led Hincmar to proclaim him the "apostle of the Franks," signals an important shift in Remi's constitution as a royal patron and protector of the Frankish monarchy, a process that, following various developments discussed in chapter 4, comes to full fruition only in the reign of the first Capetians—in particular, that of Philip I.

The broad chronological scope of the study, combined with its minute examination of the extant documentation, forcefully establishes the slow formation of the cult of Remi and the constant interplay between local interests and national pretensions that contributed to project Remi as the premier saint of France. However, the reader can regret Isaïa's somewhat parochial approach and exclusive focus on Remi and Reims, which prevents her from exploring the broader political and religious contexts that would have, for instance, allowed her to situate the development of Remi as a royal saint in comparison with the competing figures of Ss. Martin and Denis. In that respect, a fuller treatment of Hincmar might have proven valuable, since he spent the first part of his career at the abbey of St. Denis, at a time when the

monastic community was busy promoting the role of the St. Denis as a Frankish patron, before his appointment at Reims. Similarly, the establishment of Remi as the protector of the Frankish monarchy at the time of Philip I could have been compared to contemporary efforts on the part of the abbeys of St-Denis and Fleury to attract royal attention by composing royal genealogies and histories of the Capetian dynasty.

Such reservations should not deter anyone interested in hagiography to welcome this important contribution to the field. In the wake of previous works by Felice Lifshitz and Thomas Head, Isaïa's study illustrates the fact that the cult of saints always lies at the intersection of religion and politics; of individual faith and personal ambitions; of local affairs and national aspirations.

University of Liverpool DAMIEN KEMPF

Erzbischof Hinkmar und die Folgen: Der vierhundertjährige Weg historischer Erinnerungsbilder von Reims nach Trier. By Olaf Schneider. [Millennium-Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr., Band 22.]. (Berlin: de Gruyter. 2010. Pp. xii, 470. $137.00. ISBN 978-3-110-20056-0.)

In 863 Archbishop Hincmar compiled a document for use in the trial of one of his suffragan bishops, Rothad II of Soissons (832–62; 865–69). Among many juridical and historical topics, Hincmar's document outlined what he thought should be the proper relationship between metropolitans and their bishops. Olaf Schneider's meticulous study focuses on seventeen lines of the eighteen-page document in its Monumenta Germaniae Historica edition (*Epistolae* 8/1 [1939], no. 160, ed. Ernst Perels, pp. 122–40). These lines make up the eighth paragraph of the first part of the document and take the reader back to the eighth-century history of Hincmar's see when Milo, "by tonsure, but not by living, a cleric," "occupied" both Reims and Trier. The lands that Reims lost during this time of turmoil were later restored with the support of King Carlomann and the leadership of Archbishop Tilpin of Reims. Carlomann was buried in the church of Saint-Remigius of Reims after he died in 771. Schneider subjects all the rich details of this brief account, for which Hincmar is the only source, to meticulous scrutiny. A good part of the analysis focuses on the historicity of the "facts" of the account: Who were Milo and Tilpin? Was Carlomann actually buried in Reims, and, if so, what happened to his tomb? Establishing what can be known about the facts of the narrative allow Schneider to explore a much larger canvas, the canvas on which historical memories are created and then selectively viewed by later audiences. In the case of the Milo, Reims, Trier, and Carlomann cameo, he builds a convincing case that Hincmar had his own ninth-century lost property issues firmly in mind when he re-created eighth-century Reims. A master impresario of historical texts with a rich cathedral archive, Hincmar worked as a mosaicist might to construct a memory of eighth-century Reims that would serve ninth-

century circumstances. (Was Hincmar a second Tilpin [p. 65], or Tilpin a first Hincmar?) Only a perceptive viewer such as Schneider would detect that the pieces do not quite fit together snugly. In the tenth century, when Flodoard came to write his history of the church of Reims, Hincmar's constructed account of the eighth century had become canonical. The second part of the book traces how bits and pieces of the memory Hincmar created lived on in other lands, circumstances, and centuries to serve other needs. Here, Schneider leads his readers away from Reims to Trier where, in the wake of particularly destructive raids by Northmen, Trier lost not only its buildings to fire, but its archives and libraries and with them its past as well. As tenth-century Trier clerics rebuilt the memory of their past, Hincmar's account of their city's connection to Reims and especially to Milo proved helpful. Bits and pieces of Hincmar's construction took on new life in many different documents connected with Trier. Twice in his book Schneider makes the point that "[i]n the beginning there was Hincmar" (pp. 1, 387). The second time he uses the aphorism to preface his observation that by the end of his study Hincmar is nowhere to be found. Such is the contingency of memory and historical reconstructions. Schneider's fascinating case study of seventeen lines of carefully crafted text that went on to have multiple lives joins a growing number of fine studies of how memory was formed and re-formed in the Middle Ages.

Purdue University JOHN J. CONTRENI

Dark Age Bodies: Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West. By Lynda L. Coon. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 390. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24269-0.)

Lynda Coon says that her purpose in this book is to "reconstruct the gender ideology of clerical masculinity through an investigation of early medieval readings of the body" (p. 2). She has chosen for her subject the work of Hrabanus Maurus (780–856), a monk of Fulda who was one of the most prolific and influential Carolingian authors. The text of Hrabanus that is her main focus is the remarkable *In Honor of the Holy Cross*.

Beyond the writings of Hrabanus, Coon also analyzes some other Carolingian remains—namely, the *Westwerk* of Corbey, the *Michael Rotunda* of Fulda, and the Plan of St. Gall. In all these productions, Coon stresses the element of *bricolage*—that is, the collecting of items from another culture to make a point. Coon claims that the Carolingians liked to display materials from Roman times to emphasize their role as the guardians of the frontier against the barbarian east.

Overall, Coon's analysis of these monuments is interesting and insightful. However, the acrostic poem on the Holy Cross is so complex and esoteric that it leaves the reader gasping. The author admits that even Hrabanus did not fully understand what he was doing. But Coon proposes to read this material

through gender theory—a method that poses problems, given that medieval monasticism is heavily patriarchal, and it can be misleading to view any institution through a single analytical lens. Coon applies the theory to the Carolingians and states that, for them, the great thing was proper speech. Whoever could speak proper Latin could lead; he was a "mouth person." Whoever could not was a "body person," fit only to listen and be led. In the monastery, illiterates and boys were obviously in the second category. But through the rubric of gender theory, that means they are "feminine," which means passive, heavy, subordinate.

When Coon applies this theory to the Rule of St. Benedict, she says that the abbot is the quintessential "mouth man." He does most of the talking in the monastery; he is the main teacher. He also is the main disciplinarian, who must sometimes physically beat dull or recalcitrant disciples (RB 28.3). Coon adds: "In terms of the Benedictine gender pyramid, being able to beat others (the abbot's *ultimate charge* [emphasis added]) . . . is a key marker of status." A few sentences later we learn that the rod for beating (*virga*) is "capable of inflicting blows from sexual penetration" (p. 87). Thus a view of abbot as pederast is presented.

In case the reader doubts that Coon is serious about this view of medieval monasticism, read what she says about the dormitory: "Whereas the refectory is a space devoted to the ascetic gullet, the dormitory is, symbolically speaking, a zone for the anus, itself a metaphor for illicit entry into the ascetic community" (p. 196). Apparently the Benedictine monastery is really just a male brothel.

Despite this dubious representation of a respected institution, the reader can learn a great deal from this book in terms of seeing things from a different angle. The author is extremely learned and a good writer. But casting the Rule of St. Benedict as a "queer" document seems unfounded.

Assumption Abbey TERRENCE G. KARDONG, O.S.B.
Richardton, ND

Die Päpstin Johanna: Biographie einer Legende. By Max Kerner and Klaus Herbers. (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2010. Pp. 173. €20,50. ISBN 978-3-412-20469-3.)

Near the end of this brief, bracing book the authors ask if we *need* Pope Joan. A reviewer might well ask if we *need* another book about her. But to answer their question as they do: Yes, we need Joan because, since the thirteenth century, succeeding generations have needed her, or found her useful, for various ideological and polemical reasons.

The authors leave no doubt that by any standard of historical scholarship there was no Pope Joan. Joan's medieval inventers and later defenders situate

her 2.5-year "pontificate" after Leo IV (847–55), but the record is clear: Benedict III succeeded Leo, and there is no gap in the succession. The idea occasionally floated that the Vatican expunged the record is nonsense.

Treatments of the Joan story usually begin in earnest with Martin of Troppau in the thirteenth century. Max Kerner and Klaus Herbers deal extensively with Martin but also add a good deal of material from the ninth century to the thirteenth that has not always found a place in the discussion. For instance, John VIII (872–82) was seen by Cesare Baronius (1538–1607) as a pope of "womanly weakness" because he recognized Photius as patriarch of Constantinople. This may have been an inchoate local Roman legend. Then, too, Onofrio Panvinio (1529–68) quoted a letter of Leo IX (1049–54) to Patriarch Michael Cerularius, alleging that there had once been a woman patriarch. Panvinio believed that such a charge could not have been entered if there was a risk that it might have been hurled back at Rome. Once again, however, there were apparently legends swirling in Rome.

The authors pick major periods—quarrels over papal authority in the thirteenth century, Avignon and schism, humanism, reformation, enlightenment, democratization, secularism, feminism—and then representative writers from each period to show how Joan was used, or misused, to score debating points. Their writers range from famous to obscure, and their material includes novels, plays, and operas. Kerner and Herbers explicitly write the biography of a legend and use the legend to shed light on contemporaneous debates. At the end, they observe that since Durckheim and Weber began teaching us to see reality as socially constructed, the boundaries between fact and fiction have been steadily eroded. The enduring legend of Pope Joan, therefore, makes new and more interesting work for historians to do.

University of Notre Dame THOMAS F. X. NOBLE

The Lives of Monastic Reformers, 1: *Robert of La Chaise-Dieu and Stephen of Obazine.* Introduced and translated by Hugh Feiss, O.S.B.; Maureen M. O'Brien; and Ronald Pepin. [Cistercian Studies Series, No. 222.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications. Distrib. by Liturgical Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 255. $32.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-879-07322-0.)

For those who teach the history of twelfth-century monasticism, the arrival of this translation of the lives of two reformers from that age is a happy occasion. This volume has two lives of Robert of La Chaise-Dieu (d. 1067), who oversaw the creation of a congregation of new Benedictine houses from the mother-abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in the Auvergne. The first is by Marbod of Rennes (1035–1123) and the second by a monk of Robert's own abbey, Bernard of La Chaise Dieu, written *c.* 1160. The third life, of the hermit and monastic founder Stephen of Obazine, is composed in three books. The first of these was written about 1166, and the second and third

books were composed about 1180. These were all by an unnamed author who became a monk at Obazine after Stephen's death, but had met Stephen before Obazine's foundation.[1]

In terms of elucidating the lives of monastic reformers of the twelfth century, this volume bears comparison to recent publications of the two lives of Robert of Arbrissel (d. 1116) by Baudri of Dol (or Bourgeuil (*c.* 1118) and that by a Robert's chaplain Andreas of Fontevrault (*c.* 1120).[2] Not only did Stephen of Obazine cross paths with Robert of Arbrissel in western France, but another companion was Blessed Bernard of Tiron, whose life as written by Geoffrey Grossus *c.* 1147 has recently been published in English translation.[3] As these *Lives* become more available, it should be possible not only to compare them to one another but also to the great exemplars on which they are based: the lives of such heroes as St. Benedict of Nursia or St. Martin of Tours. As our bookshelves of saints' *Lives* expand, we can move as well in the direction of standard presentation, including manuscript tradition, date of composition, and possibly the library context within which such lives were composed. Even undergraduates might then be able to correlate the relationships with earlier lives, making it possible that incorporating saints' *Lives* into our courses would include more than asking which miracles might be scientifically explained or what the tangential details of them may tell us about medieval life more generally.

University of Iowa CONSTANCE H. BERMAN

Preaching the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages. By Kimberly A. Rivers. [Sermo: Studies on Patristic, Medieval, and Reformation Sermons and Preaching, Vol. 4.] (Turnhout: Brepols. 2010. Pp.xviii, 377. €70,00. ISBN 978-2-503-51525-0.)

In this well-informed and clearly written book (despite its somewhat awkward title), Kimberly Rivers has consolidated the explorations of her 1995 University of Toronto dissertation and a handful of articles published since then. She is basically concerned with the function of memory in later medieval preaching, especially among the mendicant orders. The book proceeds along historical lines and investigates various aspects of the study and use of memory from the twelfth to the early-fifteenth century.

[1]See the Latin edition and French translation by Michel Aubrun, *Vie de Saint Étienne d'Obazine* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1970), which establishes several possible manuscript traditions and provides the only modern Latin edition. Corrections to that Latin text by editors of the volume under review do not appear to have consulted the manuscripts or be based on the conventions of medieval as opposed to classical Latin.

[2]Robert of Arbrissel. *A Medieval Religious Life*. ed. Bruce L. Venarde (Washington, DC, 2003).

[3]Geoffrey Grossus. *The Life of Blessed Bernard of Tiron*, ed. Ruth Harwood Cline (Washington, DC, 2009).

The early Middle Ages had inherited a precise technique for a speaker to remember his subject matter by assigning the latter to imaginary places he would, during delivery, visit in his mind sequentially such as the furniture of a room or the stations on a journey. This was part of the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Although preachers throughout the Middle Ages studied and quoted this work, its memory technique evidently fell into disuse, with one exception: the *ars praedicandi* by Francesc Eiximenes, O.F.M. (d. 1409), which included a detailed account of *Ad Herennium*'s method. None of the other two-dozen works on preaching available in modern editions refers to or advises the use of this *ars memorativa*, and in fact one of the earliest formal treatises on composing the sermon (by Thomas of Chobham, d. *c.* 1233–36), distances itself from it and instead recommends the preacher to rely on "practice and diligence" (p. 41), stressing especially the need for compositional order and coherence. Rivers leaves open the possibility that the *ars memorativa* was in fact taught, but clearly the advance of Scholasticism demanded and brought with it other means by which students, and by implication preachers, would fix and order material in their memory such as note-taking, dividing a text into smaller sections, assigning them to topics, and so forth. In nine chapters Rivers leads us from *memoria* in monastic, particularly Cistercian, meditation to the advice given to students by Hugh of St. Victor, the scholastic interest in cognitive psychology, and finally the invention of moralized pictures by fourteenth-century English friars. She then pursues the influence of the latter in France (Pierre Bersuire and Jean de Hesdin), Germany (Johannes von Werden and his sermon collection *Dormi secure*), and Italy (Giovanni da San Gimigniano, Bernardino da Siena, and others). Such new devices helped preachers to structure their sermons and to teach the laity about vices and virtues, and helped the audiences to remember what they had heard. In contrast to the more academic interest in "memory" among the Dominicans, she finds that Franciscans tended equally strongly to connect memory with meditation, especially in an effort to stir up emotions. A major focus of her study here lies on David of Augsburg.

This rich study follows very much in the wake of the now classic work of Frances Yates and, especially, Mary Carruthers, as well as of Beryl Smalley's bringing to light the "classicizing friars" of the fourteenth century. It takes its place in ongoing concerns with "memory," which for medieval thinkers ranged from using simple or sophisticated techniques to reflecting on practically whatever is contained in human consciousness.

University of Pennsylvania (Emeritus) SIEGFRIED WENZEL

Financing Cathedral Building in the Middle Ages: The Generosity of the Faithful. By Wim Vroom. Translated by Elizabeth Manton. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2010. Pp.ix, 734. $89.50 paperback. ISBN 978-9-089-64035-2.)

This monumental study of financing of medieval cathedral-building projects was first published in 1981 in the author's native Dutch. This welcome English-language version presents a revised and updated version of his original work, incorporating new scholarship done on the topic over the past three decades. It is the most complete, authoritative, and nuanced work of scholarship yet published on the topic. As such, it will be welcomed by anyone wishing to learn about all aspects of how Europe's great medieval cathedrals were financed.

Wim Vroom addresses four key questions: Where did the resources to pay for cathedrals originate? By what means were these sources amassed? What is the order of magnitude of the sums available to fund the building campaigns? What was the pattern of ebb and flow of monies available to support major building projects over time, and how did this affect the pace and timing of building?

To answer these questions, Vroom has amassed an impressive body of data drawn from the surviving fabric records of some eighty cathedrals where construction projects were undertaken during the later Middle Ages. He then presents an exhaustively detailed case study (*c*. 130 pages) of the three centuries of building entailed in the construction of the Utrecht Dom, in turn supplemented by briefer accounts from the fabric rolls that have survived for building projects at eight additional cathedrals: Sens, Bourges, Exeter, Troyes, Toledo, Milan, Segovia, and St. Peter's in Rome.

The result is an analysis presented in two main parts that is at once broad and deep. Part 1 of his book explains the common understandings of the time about which parties—i.e., bishops and canons—should properly commission building works and their obligations to draw on sources of income available to them to help pay the costs. He then provides a systematic overview of the various sources of income on which they drew to finance building works and explains the methods they used to do so. His descriptions of the patterns of funding in his individual case studies shows in illuminating detail the exact impact that financing had on the pace and scope of building campaigns and the modifications that were required in the face of funding shortages.

Several conclusions emerge from his study. One is that construction projects were never funded by any single source, or even a handful of them. The bishops and cathedral chapters responsible for paying the bills drew on every imaginable source of funds they could identify. The list includes gifts from founding bishops and cathedral chapters responsible for paying the bills; initiation fees charged canons for becoming chapter members; fines levied

against them for violating chapter rules; gifts from popes, kings, and other secular rulers; tithes levied against parish churches within the jurisdiction of the bishopric in question; sales of indulgences; gifts given by pilgrims visiting the shrines of saints housed by the cathedral; profits from fairs held in connection with major feast days; loans; and other sundry sources of income. Vroom shows how the circumstance of each cathedral dictated the pattern of its financing and in turn affected the scope of the design that was affordable and the pace of work to implement it.

The result is a work so encyclopedic that it marks the essential beginning point for any future study of cathedral financing that may be undertaken. Scholars of the topic owe Vroom a major debt of gratitude for the care with which he has assembled this detailed overview of an important aspect of cathedral building during the Middle Ages.

Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences ROBERT A. SCOTT
Stanford University

Kirche, Magie, und "Aberglaube": Superstitio *in der Kanonistik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts*. By Patrick Hersperger. [Forschungen zum kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht, Band 31.] (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2010. Pp. 533. €64,90 paperback. ISBN 978-3-412-20397-9.)

Emerging from a doctoral dissertation at the University of Zurich, this book is an extremely detailed study of magic and superstition as treated in texts of canon law from Gratian's *Decretum*, written around 1140, to the publication of the *Liber extra* in 1234. In the third chapter, Hersperger lays out the development of canon law in this period, discussing the composition of the *Decretum*, then methodically working through subsequent commentary and scholarship on that text in Bologna (long the greatest center of legal scholarship in medieval Europe and the place where the *Decretum* was composed), France, Germany, and the "Anglo-Norman" realm (meaning Angevin England and Angevin holdings in France). Finally, he turns to recount more briefly the emergence of *decretales* (subsequent papal rulings, eventually collected into the *Liber extra*) and treatment of matters of canon law in confessors' manuals. This typology of sources forms Hersperger's basic structure of analysis, not only in this chapter but throughout much of the book.

Before turning to the issue of superstition, Hersperger provides some general background. After an introductory first chapter, he dedicates a brief second chapter to an overview of the intellectual renaissance of the twelfth century, of which the growth of canon law was a part. Chapter 3, already described, is a detailed, text-by-text explication of the "Development of Classical Canon Law." With chapter 4, Hersperger addresses the topic of superstition, offering a relatively brief survey of how superstition, magic, and demonic power were treated in antiquity and in patristic and early-medieval

sources. Chapters 5 and 6 are the analytical heart of the book. Chapter 5 examines how the *Decretum*, decretist commentaries, and other sources dealt with superstition. In more than forty pages, Hersperger moves systematically through each text introduced in chapter 3, explaining the manner in which it addresses superstition. A gigantic chapter 6 (more than 200 pages) provides topical analysis. Here, subsections dealing with the terminology employed for superstitious and magical practices, with demonology, casting lots, astrology and observance of days and times, incantations and amulets, *maleficium*, and with penance and punishment for such activities are themselves chapter-length units. Within each unit, Hersperger's approach is again to proceed text by text, detailing how the particular topic is addressed.

Hersperger's scholarship is exhaustive within the strict limits he defines. The result is an extensive catalogue of what canon law in its classical period says about superstition. As such, the book will appeal mainly to experts interested in specific details. Broader points, although present in the work, can get somewhat buried in the painstakingly systematic approach or can be addressed too quickly in various concluding sections. For example, given the extreme conservatism of canon law and its reliance on earlier rulings, a looming question throughout the book is the degree to which canonists writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were depicting actual contemporary practices, versus simply recapitulating traditional tropes. Hersperger engages with this issue briefly in his overall conclusion (chapter 7), acknowledging the problem but asserting that in general most of the material dealt with by canonists must have had some contemporary relevance. No doubt his judgment here is based on the massive amount of data he has assembled in previous chapters, but very little direct argumentation is offered to support the point. Certainly no contemporary cases are invoked. This is, first and last, a study of a textual tradition.

Iowa State University MICHAEL D. BAILEY

St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne: Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity in Late Medieval Europe. By Scott B. Montgomery. (Bern: Peter Lang. 2010. Pp. xvi, 207. $60.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-039-11852-6.)

As Scott Montgomery argues, the cult of St. Ursula and her companion martyrs deserves attention as the most widespread in Europe. Given the treasure trove of relics discovered in a cemetery under the medieval walls of Cologne, identified and disseminated from the early-twelfth century as the relics of the saint's cohort (both male and female), such ubiquity is not surprising. Montgomery's task, however, is not primarily that of discussing the "bones," but rather, as an art historian, "to explore . . . collective imaging, investigating how text, image and relic display . . . fashion[ed] a total cult environment that expressed the power, presence and cohesion of [the] company of the Holy Virgins of Cologne" (p. 3). Excepting the excellent 1997 study by Joan Holladay

in *Studies in Iconography*, most work on Ursula is in German; so this book, with its extensive bibliography, is a welcome addition for English readers.

Montgomery examines the visual manifestations of the cult from the fifth-century stone plaque of the "Clematius" inscription to the seventeenth-century Golden Chamber of *Sankt Ursula*, the storehouse of the church's some 120 reliquary busts, 670 additional skulls, and the many other bones that line the walls—arranged to spell out prayers of invocation. Medieval Cologne, with its busts, narrative paintings, and altarpieces, is clearly the primary focus of the author's attention, but discussion makes substantial forays to Basel (a silver-gilt reliquary head), Bruges (Memling's painted shrine), and Renaissance Venice (Carpaccio's frescoes). Unfortunately for the reader, some pieces under discussion are not illustrated, and too often the small black-and-white images do not always reveal the details mentioned in the text.

A discussion of the early foundation of the cult in the second chapter is summary. The treatment of the Clematius inscription is minimal (what is its archaeological status?), and we move quickly through sermons, martyrologies, and *vitae* to the eleventh century—a moment when Ursula has been identified, in the vita *Regnante Domino*, as the leader of troupe of 11,000 virgins (not eleven anonymous virgins as per the inscription). The more than 100 surviving copies of the *Regnante Domino* attest to the new urgency of the cult and seem to have led in short order to the discovery and excavation of the Roman cemetery in 1106 and the rebuilding of the church of "the Virgins."

Nothing is more characteristic of the visual culture of later medieval Cologne than the hundreds of pretty, smiling reliquary busts of painted wood produced beginning in the thirteenth century and, for example, displayed in its churches on the Feast of All Saints or carried in procession by Cologne's young women in an affirmation of civic unity (attested in the seventeenth century, p. 77). Montgomery gives a useful tour of the German scholarship on this and other visual material and emphasizes certain themes he finds compelling: the identification of Ursula with the Virgin Mary, especially as protector; the association of the Virgins with church walls and city walls; the "corporate identity" of the Virgins; and finally, a notion that to enter the spaces of the shrine(s) meant to "become" part of the cohort oneself.

At certain moments, the author digs deeper—as when he provides an explanation of how anonymous relics in Basel were transformed into those of Ursula herself and further supplemented through a gift from Cologne of the head of Pantalus, the Basel bishop who was martyred with Ursula. The result was the creation of a second major center of the cult and a pair of beautiful head reliquaries for the Basel treasury (chapter IX). This short book, however, is primarily a survey of the many artworks inspired by the cult of Ursula. It is filled with appreciative description, historical nuggets, and speculative suggestions of lines of investigation yet to be explored.

Hunter College, City University of New York CYNTHIA HAHN

Una leggenda in cerca d'autore: la Vita *di santa Chiara d'Assisi. Studio delle fonti e sinossi intertestuale.* By Marco Guida. [Subsidia hagiographica, 90.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2010. Pp. x, 255. €65,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-873-65024-7.)

About the same time that Pope Alexander IV canonized Clare of Assisi in 1255, he commissioned a hagiographical legend to support her cult. The resulting *Life of Saint Clare* never identifies its author, although surely it was known to some contemporaries. Modern scholars have debated its authorship since early in the twentieth century as part of the "Franciscan Question"—shorthand for the debates surrounding early sources for the life of St. Francis of Assisi and his followers. Following some medieval manuscripts, St. Bonaventure was identified as Clare's biographer, whereas others claimed it was Thomas of Celano, who had written three biographical works on Francis. Giovanni Boccali suggested an anonymous cleric within the papal curia as author, based on its use of biblical citation and relatively little detail concerning Francis. Marco Guido now presents a compelling argument in favor of Thomas. In addition to resolving this issue, his important study sheds additional light on the relationship between the early Franciscan brotherhood and the female community at San Damiano, as well as the transmission of Clare's writings and biographical records.

The centerpiece of Guida's study is a synoptic comparison of the three thirteenth-century biographical sources for Clare's life: the process of canonization, the bull declaring her sainthood, and the legend itself. A complex table uses varying colors and typefaces to show the interrelationships between these texts, as well as borrowings from other contemporary documents including Francis's biographies and Clare's writings. His methodology follows that of the Federazione Santa Chiara di Assisi delle Clarisse di Umbria-Sardegna, a research team of Franciscan sisters, whose similar treatment of the Rule of Saint Clare in *Chiara d'Assisi e le sue fonti legislative. Sinossi cromatica* (Padua, 2003) provided new insights into the circumstances of its composition.

This chart demonstrates how the *Legend of Saint Clare* frequently uses literal phrases from the canonization process. This is more significant than it may seem. Clare's process exists only in a vernacular version, prepared by the Clarissan nun Battista Alfani in the late-fifteenth century. The correspondences between process and legend indicate that her translation is a faithful version of an earlier Latin text. It is thus not simply the best text we have, but an authoritative one.

Guida also identifies fifteen direct borrowings from Thomas's writings on Francis. These passages—along with the use of similar liturgical phrases, analogous descriptions of events, and stylistic commonalities—contribute to his identification of Thomas's authorship. Furthermore, he establishes that the author had to be someone with an intimate knowledge of Franciscan con-

cerns and emphases, a description that fits the friar who effectively was the order's "official" hagiographer prior to Bonaventure.

Guida develops this connection by examining how oral testimony and evidence from Clare's writings were incorporated into the legend. He convincingly argues that details about her conversion and the early days of the female movement could only have come from new testimony from sisters at San Damiano and from those friars who were close to the women. These included Ruffino, Angelo, and Leo, Francis's so-called *socii* ("companions"), who, the *Legend* uniquely records, attended Clare's deathbed. These witnesses provided information about Francis's role in Clare's formation and her confrontations with successive popes over the sisters' ability to live without possessions. Leo even may have collaborated with Thomas, Guida suggests, and provided access to Clare's writings (he has been identified as the scribe of the earliest manuscript containing her works). Here Guida is following other scholars in identifying a "magic circle" of figures (including Clare) who testify to the early Franciscan movement, a resource that Thomas was best suited to access.

In sum, anyone interested in early Franciscan history will benefit from reading this convincing argument for Thomas's authorship of the *Legend of Saint Clare*. Guida confirms Thomas's skill as an effective hagiographer, although the friar and his relationship with the *socii* remain somewhat opaque at the end of his study. For example, one of the legend's most noteworthy omissions is any reference to Clare's Rule, which is both mentioned in the process and whose composition was shepherded by Leo, as recent scholarship has shown. Guida's study closely focuses on the textual evidence and so addresses this omission only briefly and nonconclusively. He does not speculate here about competing interests in the papal curia and Franciscan Order, both of which advocated a more traditional form of female religious life than that represented in Clare's rule. It will be interesting to hear more about Thomas's compromises from this important new scholar.

Marquette University LEZLIE KNOX

Greater than a Mother's Love: The Spirituality of Francis and Clare of Assisi. By Gilberto Cavazos-González, O.F.M. (Scranton: University of Scranton Press. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xx, 308. $28.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-589-66213-1.)

In the last couple of decades a number of significant works have been written about Francis and Clare of Assisi in which the authors attempt to situate the two saints in the context of their social, economic, and religious world of the thirteenth century. Authors Jacques Dalarun, Michael Cusato, David Flood, and others have focused our attention on the issues of power, money, and prestige (honor) in the religious world of Francis and Clare. They have taught us that we must always begin with the writings of the two

founders of the Franciscan movement before we turn to the early biographies (hagiography). Many mistakes have been made in recent years by writers who do not take these writings into consideration and base their studies on the early biographies of the two saints. What is significant is that Gilberto Cavazos-González in *Greater Than a Mother's Love* bases most of his presentation on the writings of Francis and Clare and puts them to good use, but incorporates what the biographical literature has to tell us about their families and kinship relations as well.

The book is divided into five chapters, the first of which discusses the role of the family in the high Middle Ages. This is an informative introduction to situating a particular person in the society of his or her time through the use of cultural and human sciences. These many forms of knowledge contribute to showing how the Holy Spirit (grace) worked on Francis and Clare in the everyday social and cultural experience of the two saints (nature). Cavazos-González discusses not only the role of the family but also the role of marriage and children, which is extremely helpful to understand the family of origins and family development of the two saints. Chapters 2 and 3 deal with the similarities and differences of Francis and Clare's respective family and social status (merchant class versus noble class) as revealed mainly in the early hagiographical writings and modern studies. Chapters 4 and 5 delve into the world of the writings of Francis and Clare to discuss their respective perspectives on kinship as reflected in their opuscula. Treated by way of exception are the issues of the role of *Paternitas*, Christology, and spirituality in these last two chapters.

The book is an excellent introduction to the everyday spiritual lives of Francis and Clare in their familial and communal context. Cavazos-González shows how the experiences of their families of origin helped to shape, but did not determine, their respective approaches to their newly founded Franciscan family/religious community. He is successful in helping us "enter into the 'living personal images' of mother, father, brothers, sisters, and spouses as experienced in the *cotidiano* [everydayness] of Francis, Clare, and their readers" (p. 205). He shows how their writings, in particular, reveal how they approached living their respective lives, after their break from their family of origin, in the spiritual family of the Franciscan community. Based on his approach and methodology, excellent use of the sources, and judicious findings, this book will be a standard textbook for any further studies on the spirituality of Francis and Clare.

Prior Lake, MN STEVEN J. MCMICHAEL, O.F.M.CONV.

The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness. Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics. By Helen Birkett. (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press in association with Boydell & Brewer. 2010. Pp. xii, 326. $115.00. ISBN 978-1-903-15333-8.)

Little is known of the life of Jocelin of Furness. He was a priest-monk of the Cistercian abbey of Furness is what is now Cumbria, and his writings indicate that he was active from about 1174 to 1214 (when he probably died). Efforts to identify him with two other Jocelins—one the abbot of Furness, the other the abbot of Rushen (a daughter-house of Furness)—remain unconvincing. Jocelin's literary endeavors compose the four saints' lives that are the subject of Helen Birkett's detailed study, and (according to Thomas Tanner) a work *De Britonum episcopis*, which, if it was indeed a product of Jocelin's pen, has not survived.

The four saints' lives are those of Patrick who, as everyone knows, expelled the snakes from Ireland (Jocelin is the earliest source for this tale); Helena, the mother of Constantine; Kentigern († *c.* 612), the Scottish missionary who was bishop of Strathclyde; and the more obscure but attractive figure of Waltheof or Waldef *(c.* 1100–59), an Austin canon who transferred to the Cistercians and became abbot of Melrose. Birkett's admirable study of these four *vitae* reveals the contexts in which they were composed, the audiences for which they were intended, how they reflect the complex political and ecclesiastical situation of the times, and how the author adapted the material to satisfy the interests of his patrons. Who were these patrons?

The *Life* of Patrick was commissioned by Tomaltach, archbishop of Armagh; Malachy, bishop of Down; and John de Courcy, the Anglo-Norman ruler of what are now the counties of Down and Antrim, and the work attests to "the close alliance of the reformed church and the new Anglo-Norman regime in the north of Ireland" (p. 170). De Courcy was the founder of the Cisterian abbey of Inch in County Down, and Inch was a daughter-house of Furness. The *vita* is a decidedly political document, in which Jocelin clearly reveals his talent for adapting older narratives to the current concerns of his patrons. His life of Kentigern is similar. This was commissioned by Jocelin's namesake, Bishop Jocelin of Glasgow (formerly prior of Melrose), who died in 1199, and was intended to show that the diocese deserved an ecclesiastical status independent of the English church. Jocelin, who was always happy to moralize, also shows what, in his view, are the duties and responsibilities of a true bishop.

The *Lives* of Helena and Waltheof are rather different. Birkett shows that the former was probably commissioned by the nuns of either Elstow in Bedfordshire or St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, in London, and the work should be understood "as both a window onto the Helena legend and a mirror of contemporary failings—both an idealized biographical study and a religio-political commentary on the early thirteenth century" (p. 256). As to the life of

Waltheof, this, certainly, was intended to promote the cause of the abbot's canonization, although it did not succeed in its purpose. Waltheof was never formally canonized, although he was the object of a popular cult until the Reformation. Unlike the other *vitae*, Jocelin here includes eyewitness accounts of undoubted historical importance.

Birkett's excellent volume, rich in detail and with comprehensive footnotes, presents a wholly convincing reason for re-evaluating Jocelin and his works. He is, she says, a writer "who has been undervalued for too long" (p. 285), and the book may be recommended unreservedly to any student of hagiography and its purposes.

Memorial University of Newfoundland DAVID N. BELL

Jocelin of Wells: Bishop, Builder, Courtier. Edited by Robert Dunning. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, Vol. XXXVI.] (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press, an imprint of Boydell and Brewer. 2010. Pp. xiv, 202. $95.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83556-1.)

This collection of essays on one of the most important bishops of his generation is divided into three sections: Jocelin as bishop, Jocelin as builder, and Jocelin's palace at Wells. Nestled between the covers of this volume is the collected wisdom of ten scholars, who have brought their expertise to the problem of understanding Jocelin of Wells (bishop from 1206 to 1242).

The outstanding essay in the collection is Sethina Watson's delightfully well-written piece exploring the relationship between the bishop and his two urban communities of Bath and Wells, and placing the development of that relationship within the general context of urban development in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Watson examines the reasons for Bath's failure to thrive as an episcopal seat and then shows how Wells emerged as a preferred location for the center of the bishop's administration. In addition, Watson has included a short and valuable essay on the hospital of St. John the Baptist at Wells. Watson's contribution has an extraordinary level of research embedded within it and makes a genuinely new contribution to our understanding of developments of episcopal towns; as such, it deserves to be cited by urban and ecclesiastical historians alike.

Matthew Reeve's essay on Robert Burnell's transformation of Jocelin's episcopal palace at Wells is equally well provided with high-quality research, if perhaps deployed without the wider vision so tellingly applied by Watson. He shows that Burnell (*r*. 1275–92) was a builder of considerable influence who played a crucial role in the development of Decorated style in domestic architecture. His is an important piece of reconstructive archaeology that will need to be referenced by anyone interested in the Decorated style and in episcopal palaces in general.

Tim Tatton-Brown and Jerry Samson discuss Jocelin as a builder in Wells, the former putting palace building in the wider context of episcopal building works in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the latter looking at the archaeological evidence for Jocelin's works on the palace and the cathedral; his is an important and informative essay that brings up to date the published findings on the standing remains of Jocelin's work. Alex Turner, Christopher Gerrard, and Keith Wilkinson report on the geophysical and geoarchaeological surveys undertaken in 1998 and 2003–04. The evidence is presented in a clear manner, so that even the uninitiated can make sense of the important results achieved by those who conducted the surveys. Mark Horton sets the palace in its historic landscape raising questions about the relationship between the medieval bishop and his residence.

Three historical essays by Nicholas Vincent, Jane Sayers, and Diana Greenway look at Jocelin, the thirteenth-century bishop in general, and the cathedral chapter. All three pieces provide useful insights into Jocelin and his milieu, although the hypercritical reviewer might notice that there is an unfortunate degree of repetition between them, which a fiercer editor would have eliminated. David Hill has a fascinating exploration of the lichens that are to be found on the walls of the palace, illustrating the importance of the palace as habitation for these composite organisms.

The volume is lavishly provided with illustrations, including twenty-two color plates. These illustrations, in color and black and white, make a wonderful addition to the volume. The editor is to be congratulated for bringing together such a distinguished group of scholars. This is a splendid volume and is destined to become an important reference point for future studies.

University of East Anglia S. D. CHURCH

Sensual Encounters: Monastic Women and Spirituality in Medieval Germany. By Erika Lauren Lindgren. [Gutenberg-e Online History Series.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 190. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-231-14238-0).

Erika Lindgren's *Sensual Encounters* has a very interesting scope: The author tries to unravel the interaction between environment and experience of Dominican sisters in the upper Rhine area; she chooses six convents from a wide range of possibilities (Unterlinden in Colmar, St. Katharinenthal, Diessenhofen, and three convents in Freiburg/Breisgau: Adelhausen, St. Agnes, and the Penitents of St. Mary Magdalene). These houses offer her a broad variety of sources; three of them left so-called Sisterbooks to posterity (which Lindgren, unfortunately, uses quite uncritically). The author includes liturgical and other manuscripts, economic and legal documents, materials related to architecture, and artwork. However, Lindgren does not provide a reason why she refers to these particular convents. She does not justify her inclusion of

the Freiburg Penitents, which, strictly speaking, were not part of the Second Order of St. Dominic at its inception, despite its close links to the Dominicans. On the other hand, she excludes, for example, Töss and Oetenbach, the Strasbourg houses. Her decision to concentrate on the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries prevents her from using the rich source material extant from the reformed convents since the end of the fourteenth century. In the first chapter Lindgren turns to the "spatial environment" (p. 27), moving from the center (church and choir) to the—arguably—less spiritually charged areas (such as kitchen, dormitory, and garden); here, she detects a tension between the legally prescribed uses of these spaces and "the female Dominicans subverting the specific officially designated functions of monastic spaces" (p. 50). The second chapter explores the visual environment that has already received wide-ranging scholarly attention, especially through the groundbreaking research of Jeffrey Hamburger; Lindgren relies predominantly on remains of St. Katharinenthal and the Freiburg convents and correlates the material sources with the written testimonies, giving a valuable insight into the sisters' spiritual interaction with and practical, hands-on use of the objects in their environment. The next chapter scrutinizes the acoustic environment, and appropriately Lindgren does equally refer to silence and sound in the sisters' environment. Silence was as much part of the official regulations as it was part of the women's spirituality; but, as Lindgren points out, the sisters could be quite noisy at times: they did not only sing the prescribed divine services but also incorporated sounds of joy and suffering into their devotion and, Lindgren argues, so defied the official regulations. The last chapter refers to the "textual environment" (p. 142); the multiple tasks fulfilled by the sisters required the daily use of written material. Since Lindgren restricts herself to the prereform period she has to rely mainly on liturgical manuscripts that were, of course, written in Latin. The author stresses the bilingual culture within the Dominican convents and concedes that "the individual devotions were often in the vernacular," but does this not contradict her earlier statement of the "prevalence of . . . [the Latin] language in their conception of spirituality"? (p. 148).

On the whole, Lindgren provides an interesting insight into the lively spirituality of Dominican sisters in the context of their material environment. However, at times she overstates the antagonism of male/official regulation and female/spontaneous spirituality. Additionally, the book would have profited if Lindgren had referred to the large number of more recent publications on her subject; the omission of Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton's *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, VT, 2006) is especially regrettable.

King's College, University of Aberdeen MARIE-LUISE EHRENSCHWENDTNER

Die ältesten Viten Papst Cölestins V. (Peters vom Morrone). Edited by Peter Herde. [Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series, XXIII.] (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung. 2008. Pp. xii, 282. €38,00. ISBN 978-3-775-20223-7.)

The oldest hagiographies of Pietro da Murrone, also known as Pope and Saint Celestine V (1294), are three: an "autobiography," the text *De continua conversatione*, and the *Tractatus de vita et operibus atque obitu ipsius sancti viri*. Peter Herde, who wrote *Cölestin V (1294)* (Stuttgart, 1981), provides an edited version here of the sole surviving medieval manuscript and two earlymodern ones. The "autobiography" has been printed several times before: by the Bollandists in 1866, by Arsenio Frugoni in 1954, and by Vincenzo Licitra in 1992. These editions are deficient: the Bollandists merely reprinted a faulty seventeenth-century text; Frugoni made transcription errors and did not provide an *apparatus fontium*; and Licitra, not immune from typographical errors himself, had his edition published by an obscure Italian research institute which never distributed the volume to the public. Licitra's "publication" is the lone product of an ambitious project begun by Raoul Manselli (1917–84) to re-edit all of the material related to Celestine V. Out of deference to this project, Herde waited to publish his own edition, turning in the typescript to the Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH) in 1983. Some twenty-five years later, the MGH has published his updated work. In his introduction and notes to the texts, Herde gently corrects minor misapprehensions in his previous publications and, more pointedly, substantial mistakes in works of other scholars. His long introduction (pp. 1–62) provides a clear and careful consideration of the provenance of the three texts. Although the incipit of the "autobiography" states that it is a "tract . . . written by his own hand and left in his cell," the work is not really an autobiography: The conceit of first-person narrative is abandoned abruptly after little more than a paragraph. Herde suggests that this work was actually written, perhaps before the papal election that it does not acknowledge, by a confrère who knew the pope from an early age. *De continua conversatione* (pp. 91–100) is shorter than the autobiography (pp. 67–88) but more sophisticated in its range of references (e.g., Virgil, Ovid, Livy). *De continua conversatione* describes da Murrone's routine of prayer and ascetic exertions; only at the end does it allude to his elevation to the throne of Peter in 1294 and resignation shortly thereafter. Herde dates *De continua conversatione* to the beginning of the canonization process under Clement V (1305–14) around the year 1306. The last text in the volume is the longest (pp. 103–222) and most recognizable as a conventional *Vita*. It covers the entire life of the saint and ends with a miracle collection. Herde suggests that this text, too, dates to 1306 or so.

As is typical of MGH volumes, this is a learned edition of medieval texts that is unlikely to be superseded; it also is beautifully produced with a *Veuve Cliquot*-orange cover.

University at Albany, State University of New York PATRICK NOLD

William Durand, On the Clergy and Their Vestments*: A New Translation of Books 2 and 3 of the* Rationale divinorum officiorum. Translated and with an introduction by Timothy M. Thibodeau. (Scranton: University of Scranton Press. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 262. $35.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-589-66191-2.)

The *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, compiled *c.* 1292–96 by William Durand, bishop of Mende, was the high-medieval synthesis of a long and important tradition of liturgical commentaries. From the Carolingian era, these commentaries were a key tool in the education and formation of the Western clergy. Their production was closely linked to reform initiatives, and Durand compiled his *Rationale* after a particularly fruitful period in the development of the genre. He drew heavily on treatises by Lothario of Segni (the future Pope Innocent III), Sicardus of Cremona, and William of Auxerre. The comprehensiveness of Durand's *Rationale* made it a medieval "best seller"; Durand himself issued two editions that survive in more than 139 manuscripts.

This new translation of an important part of a very important work, therefore, is most welcome. The translator, Timothy M. Thibodeau, worked on the critical edition of the text with Anselme Davril, O.S.B., in the series Corpvs Christianorvm Continuatio Mediævalis and so knows this material intimately. He published a translation of the prologue and book I, which treats church buildings and furnishings as well as their dedications and consecrations (New York, 2007). He now provides this volume, covering book II on the ecclesiastical orders and their offices (from cantor to bishop) and book III on vestments, insignia, and other liturgical equipment. Thibodeau gives a straightforward historical introduction that should be easily comprehensible to undergraduates and seminarians alike. The translation is faithful to Durand's own workmanlike prose and errs only in some minutia of ecclesiastical vesture (e.g., p. 172: *compagi* are not "boots," but elegant black leather slippers depicted in numerous late-antique mosaics). Scholars using this translation will want to keep two things in mind. First, for anything regarding ecclesiastical vestments, the learned Jesuit Joseph Braun's *Die liturgische Gewandung* (Freiburg, 1907) is still essential (for example, on *compagi* or *campagi*, p. 385). This encyclopedic and erudite guide is far superior to anything published in any other language on vestments, and its numerous indices ease consultation. Second, the annotation here—although perfectly appropriate to its primary audience of students and seminarians—does not convey the full richness of Durand's sources. That is available in the apparatus of the critical edition, and any scholarly use of Durand should rely on it and not the abbreviated notes here.

This translation certainly makes a salutary contribution to the study of medieval ecclesiastical history. Those interested in the history of Holy Orders, clerical education, and the material culture of Western Christendom will find

it particularly rewarding. Thibodeau has provided, moreover, an inviting gateway to the rich and important genre of liturgical commentaries. One can only hope that many enter it.

University of California, Berkeley MAUREEN C. MILLER

Marriage Advice for a Pope: John XXII and the Power to Dissolve. By Patrick Nold. [Medieval Law and Its Practice, Vol. 3.] (Leiden: Brill. 2009. Pp. xcviii, 206. $158.00. ISBN 978-9-004-17111-4.)

The standard histories of marriage law, at least the marriage law of the Church, jump from the thirteenth century to sixteenth. Only the more careful writers pause to say that, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the popes began, quite quietly, to dispense couples who had formed a marriage by the exchange of present consent but had not had sexual intercourse to marry others—that is, to dissolve unconsummated present-consent marriages. Prior to that time, only the entry of one of the couple into the religious life would release the other to marry a third person. That this was the only ground for dissolving an unconsummated present-consent marriage was the result of a decretal of Pope Innocent III (*Ex parte tua*, X 3.32.14). Innocent's predecessors had experimented with other possible grounds for dissolving such marriages.

Virtually everyone who has told this story has ignored Pope John XXII's decretal *Antiquae concertationi* (December 1, 1322; Extrav. Jo. XXII 6.un). Those simply tracing changes in legal doctrine can ignore it, because it simply confirms the holding of *Ex parte tua*: Entry into religion is the only way in which an unconsummated present-consent marriage can be dissolved. The taking of higher orders, but remaining a "secular"—that is, not entering a religious order—does not serve to dissolve the marriage. Any man who is party to an unconsummated present-consent marriage who takes higher orders must either enter the religious life (in which case the marriage is dissolved) or must return to his spouse (in which case the orders are invalid). In the context of the development of ideas, this decretal should have given rise to more consideration. Why was the pope in the mid-1320s issuing a decretal on this topic? After all, he did not think it necessary to confirm any of the other doctrines about marriage that had been established over the course of the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries.

The answer, of course, is that the issue was controversial in the early-fourteenth century and had been controversial for some time (the *antiqua concertatio* referred to in the *incipit* of the decretal). The great mid-thirteenth-century canonist Hostiensis had suggested that it was hard to distinguish between entry into religion and the taking of higher orders (which contained an implied vow of chastity even if one was not expressly taken). The sayings of Jesus on divorce in the New Testament were based on the state-

ment in Genesis that the two had become one flesh—a fairly clear reference to sexual intercourse (Mk. 10:6–10; Mt. 19:4–6, both quoting Gn. 2:24)—and the sacramentality of marriage suggested in Ephesians 5:31–32 also relies on the same Genesis text. If the divine prohibition on divorce was based on a marriage's being consummated, then the normal indissolubility of unconsummated present-consent marriages was a matter of church law, which the pope could change.

What Patrick Nold has discovered is not only that there are hints of this debate in the already published texts concerning marriage but also that John XXII commissioned a group of thirteen cardinals, theologians, and canonists, to advise him on the matter (some members gave two opinions). One manuscript of these consultations survives, and it is this manuscript that is edited here.

The edition is a fine piece of craftsmanship. The text itself should have been edited years ago. It is one of the few that shows in one place the range of possible views that lies behind a papal decision. Interestingly, all but one of the consultants takes the position that the pope should not expand the grounds for dissolution of unconsummated present-consent marriages. Most of them, however, come to the conclusion that he has the power to do so. Indeed, both the grounds for the dispensations that the popes began to issue approximately a century later and their failure to publicize the fact that they were doing so can be illuminated by the arguments presented here. The grounds suggested for not changing the current practice vary and will need to be studied with more care, but a basically conservative impulse seems to be at stake (one should not lightly change what has been decided) and a perception of a quite wide gap between the secular life (even of the clergy) and the religious life (even if not accompanied by orders). An interesting argument also is reported based on the equality of men and women in marriage: If simply taking orders were enough to dissolve an unconsummated present-consent marriage, then a man could unilaterally dissolve such a marriage in circumstances where a woman could not.

Nold's introduction is a careful exposition of all these issues. The relationship between John XXII's method of proceeding in this case and in the case of apostolic poverty is delineated. Nold's command both of the theology and the law of marriage is impressive. Perhaps most interesting is his argument that the dialogue between theologians and lawyers on the topic of marriage continued into the fourteenth century. The prevailing view is that it had ceased by the middle of the thirteenth century, and that view is clearly wrong.

Harvard Law School CHARLES DONAHUE JR.

Nuns and Nunneries in Renaissance Florence. By Sharon T. Strocchia. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 261. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-801-89292-9.)

This book can be considered the mature fruit of an intense literary production on nuns and Italian and European nunneries in the medieval and early-modern periods. For more than twenty years, under the aegis of social history and women's studies, research on female monasteries has emerged from the exclusive circle of studies of ecclesiastical and religious history to become the relevant object of the history of the Ancien Regime. The fortunate encounters between the prevailing socio-anthropological directions of English-speaking historians and Italian, political-institutional historians whose work is concentrated on the history of the city has brought into focus the importance of the monastic institution under the various headings of the history of the family, society, and culture. The book of Sharon T. Strocchia fills a lacuna, focusing on a problem that up to now has been scarcely investigated, such as the work of the nuns and the social relevance exercised by the nunneries in the urban economy.

The research, which utilized numerous unedited sources, investigated the Florentine monastic institutions of the fifteenth century. The chronological limits fixed by the author (1348, the year of the Black Death, and 1529–30, the siege of Florence) indicate clearly the intent to examine the proper object of study in the ambit of social and political urban history, considering the importance and role carried out by the nuns in the context of the repopulation and of the economic recovery in the Renaissance period preceding the return of the Medici to the city and the setting up of the Grand Duchy.

The volume is divided into five chapters that analyze the following topics in depth: (1) the demographic aspect and the institutional development of female monasteries in the chronological time span indicated; (2) the occupation and redefinition of the urban space through the neighborhood, the extent of the property, and the competition among rival convents; (3) the economy and financial structure of the convents, the rapport between the private and communal property of the nuns, the relation between public finance and monastic property; (4) the role of the labor of the nuns in the ambit of conventual finance and the urban economy, the destination of the production for the market, and the level of professionalization attained by the nuns in silk production, culture, and education; and (5) the discipline of the convents, the open monasteries, and reactions to the obligation of cloister.

The picture traced by this articulate volume shows an unedited aspect of the development of female ecclesiastical institutions of the Quattrocento that should necessarily be considered by those who study the religious movements of the Observance and seek to interpret the proliferation of the small groups of tertiaries who lived in community supporting themselves by their own labor. The volume also provides elements useful for a discussion of the

concept of monastic poverty. A greater attention to the adherence of the individual monasteries to various religious orders and their institutional adjustment (true and proper monasteries or convents of tertiaries) could have enriched the description of the interweaving among religious impulses, economic reasons, and social origin. That not withstanding, the design of a relevant female presence in the economic, social, and cultural reality of fifteenth-century Florence is finely drawn and should be fully considered by scholars of the Renaissance period.

The historiographical perspective of political, economic, and social history of the city does not exhaust the spectrum of visual interpretations. In addition, some of the questions posed in the last decades from the historiography of women are present: the problem of female identity in relation to the possession and transmission of money, the role of women in social mediation and patronage, and the problem of cloister and sexuality in the convents. Regarding the last theme, the author shows in the fifth chapter the interest of civic institutions in the maintenance of monastic discipline and illustrates the role exercised by the magistracy of the "officials of the night" in the repression of sodomy and in the exercise of a control over its monasteries. She properly points out, moreover, that the repeated accusations of scandals in the convents on the part of male ecclesiastical reformers did not always correspond with actual facts, but often concealed a particular interest in a control of the institution. Thus, the popular image of sexual abuses committed within monastic walls pertains to a literary tradition that appears in contrast to disciplined industry of the Florentine nuns of the Renaissance period.

Although the volume does not consider the religious purpose of the female monasteries and does not take into consideration aspects of monastic life concerning worship and spirituality, it nonetheless represents an original and high-quality contribution to the knowledge of the monastic institute and to its relevance in the civil society of the fifteenth century.

Università degli Studi di Firenze GABRIELLA ZARRI

Saint Sergius of Radonezh, His Trinity Monastery, and the Formation of the Russian Identity. By David B. Miller. (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2010. $38.00. Pp. x, 348. ISBN 978-0-875-80432-3.)

The Trinity Monastery north of Moscow, founded by St. Sergius of Radonezh in the fourteenth century, was and is the most important Russian monastic foundation. Until the eighteenth-century secularization of monastic lands, it was the richest of the Russian monasteries and for the whole of its history was one of the principal spiritual centers of the Orthodox Church. Like other Russian monasteries, it has come late to historians. There is a considerable literature on the life of St. Sergius and on the texts that inform us about it, and there have been studies of the estates. David Miller has put

together their work and his own extensive studies of the manuscript evidence to draw a convincing portrait of the cult of St. Sergius and the monastery as a center of devotion from the saint's death in 1392 to the end of the sixteenth century. For in spite of the title, the subject is not Russian identity but the veneration of St. Sergius and the institutional structure of the monastery.

Miller begins with a brief account of the life of St. Sergius, a thorny topic because the principal texts come from the fifteenth century and present many textual dilemmas. Miller has thought through the literature but judiciously avoids getting drawn into the intricate battles of the textologists and presents a spare picture uncluttered with speculation and patriotic ideology. The core of the book, however, consists of the chapters on the development of the cult, the donations to the monastery as acts of piety (he leaves the economics to others), female veneration, and the practice of burial at the monastery. He also provides us with a profile of the monks, their social and geographic origins, and the internal ordering of the monastery.

Many of his conclusions parallel the findings of the few other studies of Russian monasteries in the period such as those of Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Zimin and Ludwig Steindorf for the monastery of St. Joseph of Volokolamsk. He finds that both the donors and the monks were overwhelmingly small landholders with a sprinkling of aristocrats and some of lower rank. Not surprisingly the monks of higher social origins became the cellarers and hegumens of the monastery. Many of the monks, including those in higher positions among the brothers, also came from the Moscow clerks, the *diaki*, who were so central to the formation of the Russian state in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His chapter on female veneration raises issues rarely investigated. Women, mostly widows, gave fewer donations, mostly in memory of husbands and children. They seem to have had control of their property—one more confirmation of an important aspect of the life of women of the Russian landholding classes.

Miller's work is not an account of Russian identity. (Why "the" in the title? Was there only one form?) In the conclusion he describes the appearance of St. Sergius in texts narrating the history of major events such as the conquest of Kazan'. It is the case that the recorded miracles and appearances of St. Sergius are rather "political," but that does not provide a basis for the rather broad claims sketched out by Miller. A few lesser issues: to demonstrate his points about veneration and social origins he lists hundreds of names that make reading difficult at times. It is misleading to describe the Golden Horde in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as "the Mongols." These quibbles aside, Miller has produced a convincing portrait of the Trinity Monastery as a center of veneration and spirituality—a major contribution.

Yale University PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

Tradition and Innovation in Later Medieval English Manuscripts. By Kathleen L. Scott. (London: The British Library. 2007. Pp. xiv, 194. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-712-34936-0.)

This volume examines five little-studied English manuscripts of the later medieval period that contain rare or enigmatic decoration and iconography. Scott uses these examples to argue that although fifteenth-century manuscript illumination has often been derided as derivative and dull, these specific manuscripts not only contain strikingly inventive pictorial elements but also raise intriguing questions about the broader contours of English book production and the function of illustrations in late-medieval manuscripts. The first chapter concerns Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 156, an English modelbook for a work known as the *Postilla litteralis super totam Bibliam*, a widely used literal exegesis of the Bible composed by Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1349). Although this manuscript does not include the full text of the commentary, which typically ran from three to five volumes, it contains illustrations intended to accompany the text, including images that depict practical information about the Bible such as diagrams, plans, and illustrations of the Temple of Solomon, the Table of Shewbread, the Brazen Sea, the Altar of the Holocaust, and so on. She posits that the Bodleian manuscript was a kind of archetypal exemplar or modelbook that provided copyists with a repertoire of imagery for use in the numerous other copies of the work produced during the period. The second chapter considers All Souls Library, Oxford, MS 10, the only surviving copy of an illustrated French Bible written in England. The origins of this manuscript are especially mysterious, as the text was written in French at a time when Wycliffite Bibles were readily available, but produced in an English illuminating shop by a prolific and well-known artist who seems to have moved in the highest circles of noble book-commissioning patrons. Although the manuscript contains many of the standard features of English book art, some of its iconography was clearly influenced by French models; moreover, it prominently features miniatures of readers and books. Scott unravels some of the potential implications of this evidence for ownership and, intriguingly, proposes that the book may have been commissioned by a French patron in forced residence in England such as Charles d'Orléans. Scott then focuses on British Library, Stowe MS 39, the only surviving English manuscript of the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost*, a Middle English treatise of spiritual guidance that employs architectural motifs to depict aspects of interiority. This manuscript was made for a Northern Benedictine nunnery and contains two adjoining pages of miniatures following the text that depict allegorical nun figures within architectural frames performing the diverse tasks involved in "building" the abbey. Scott shows that this "afterpiece" is innovative in both form and content, notably showing nuns in a range of social roles, while also offering an independent summary reading of the text. The fourth chapter turns to a densely illustrated codex of the fifteenth century (BL Royal MS 1.B.x, [part]), which contains a genealogical chronicle by Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205), *Compendium historie in genealogia Christi*. The text is a summary of

biblical history written in the form of a diagrammatic genealogical chart, tracing Christ's descent from Adam and Eve, usually represented in scroll format. Scott focuses on the manuscript's high-quality pen-and-ink drawings, which contain elaborate scrollwork and architectural imagery as well as other unique pictorial subject matter. She connects the manuscript to John Dygon, scribe and recluse of Sheen priory, who probably commissioned the volume, which was then used as an educational tool for training clerics. The last chapter discusses BL Additional MS 21974, an early-sixteenth-century liturgical manuscript produced at two distinct artistic periods, with Gothic decoration and script and (later) Renaissance miniatures. This manuscript is an interesting example of recycling, as John Longland, bishop of Lincoln from 1521 to 1547 and onetime confessor to King Henry VIII, was responsible for the second stage of production and had two full-page miniatures and other decoration added in the continental style of Bruges that was fashionable then. Scott uses the manuscript to illustrate a mid-century divide in the style of book illustration, between the Gothic and humanistic modes of writing and illuminating manuscripts.

One of the real strengths of this collection is Scott's encyclopedic command of related examples of late-medieval English and Continental book art. Because of this wide learning, she is able to contextualize these manuscripts and show the dynamic interplay between tradition and innovation in their design, decoration, and illustration. In short, this book provides an indispensible guide to some of the finest products of English book art while highlighting some of the most significant but little-known facets of manuscript production during the period.

Hunter College, City University of New York MARLENE VILLALOBOS HENNESSY

Commonwealth and the English Reformation: Protestantism and the Politics of Religious Change in the Gloucester Vale, 1483–1560. By Ben Lowe. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2010. Pp. xvi, 308. $124.95. ISBN 978-1-409-40045-5.)

From this case study of the middle-rank English city of Gloucester and its surroundings, Ben Lowe argues that it was a combination of prophetic message and social and economic conditions that caused leading men in both town and county to join and support the early Tudor Reformation. Rather than seeing the disruptive nature of religious change, the analysis suggests there was a growing momentum of reform from the 1530s through to King Edward VI's reign, only to be reversed under Queen Mary. Lowe takes issues with other recent interpretations of the Reformation that have emphasized extensive Catholic resistance to change, religious indifference among the laity, or the economic interest of leading Protestants. His account returns to an older multidimensional approach in the tradition of A. G. Dickens. In considerable measure it is persuasive. Early chapters examine the economic, political, and ecclesiastical state of Gloucester before the Reformation with serious municipal

conflict with the nine or so religious houses in and around the city, many in decay; by comparison, parish religious life was more vibrant but (an important point) selectively so. A further chapter looks at the rise of new gentry families from the late Middle Ages, some trained in the law and officiating for religious houses, others linked to Crown administration. Intermarrying and working closely together, they took their functions seriously as local agents of the Crown and as guardians of religious life. From the 1530s they consolidated their own position by becoming chief enforcers of royal religious policies. Both in city and shire the local elite tended to prop up the existing religious order until the Reformation gave them the opportunity to seize church property for themselves and to endow a range of schools and charities—a concrete local version of a Commonwealth program much talked about at the Henrician Court. Lowe emphasizes the broad coalition of city leaders, county gentry, and Court politicians and leading clergy that promoted these initiatives in Gloucestershire. All this was reversed under Mary but at the cost of alienating a large part of the ruling class in both city and county.

In the last part of the book Lowe argues that there were important parallels between the early Tudor reform movement and the early Stuart Puritan regime of the city, when acute economic and social problems and civic patronage of Puritan preachers and godly discipline turned Gloucester into a famous bastion of radical Protestantism. But this may be misleading. In the early-sixteenth century economic conditions in Gloucester (and the county) were relatively good (western cities did better than those in eastern England), and the acute pressures of large-scale poverty and immigration had yet to make much of an impact. Even more important, although Lowe shows in the early Tudor period city and landowners in close cooperation, by 1600 they were at daggers drawn over jurisdictional disputes. The early Stuart city on the hill was in part founded as a bastion *against* the shire. Overall, however, this is an interesting, well-written book that provides useful detailed material on both town and countryside. Hopefully, Lowe can be encouraged to write a comparative study of the English urban Reformation in the future.

University of Helsinki PETER CLARK

Early Modern European

A Renaissance Education: Schooling in Bergamo and the Venetian Republic, 1500–1650. By Christopher Carlsmith. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2010. Pp. xvii, 435. $75.00. ISBN 978-0-802-09254-0.)

Recent years have witnessed the publication of a number of important studies on education in early-modern Italy, including books by Paul Grendler and Robert Black. With this multi-faceted study, Christopher Carlsmith has made a worthy contribution to the literature. Carlsmith advances a number of arguments about education in Bergamo (located on the western border of the Venetian *terraferma*), but the most important is to emphasize the wide range

of educational choices offered by the commune, lay confraternities, the diocese, religious orders, and noble parents.

Carlsmith begins with the efforts of the commune to instruct local youth at the pre-university level. These fluctuated dramatically over time due to a lack of consistent funding. From 1482 to 1524 the commune emphasized grammar and humanities by hiring humanist masters such as Giovanni Batista Pio and Giovita Ravizza, who were from outside the city. After 1525 the educational endeavors of the commune waned, and it experimented with a variety of approaches, including a public college, a joint venture with a local confraternity, sporadic efforts to teach law, and arrangements with religious orders to supervise public instruction. The commune was unable to maintain a school for more than a decade or two. When a dedicated teacher could be found, the schools displayed some continuity, but when the master departed or retired, the schools declined.

Lay confraternities, led by the powerful Misericordia Maggiore, were remarkably prominent in promoting education among both lay boys and clerics at Bergamo. The confraternities provided scholarships and hundreds of one-time gifts to students. But the most significant contribution was the Misericordia's establishment of a day school in 1506 to remedy the problem of clerical ignorance. The school functioned until 1566, when it was replaced by a residential academy for clerics, which continued until 1610, and then a new academy that was founded in 1617 and continued into the eighteenth century.

The Council of Trent was a milestone in that the Church tried to reclaim its primacy in education. New initiatives included the development of schools of Christian doctrine, conducted by laypersons and open to all children of the city, and the diocesan seminary, which was founded in 1567 with meager resources and only twenty-five students. The post-Tridentine bishops encountered many difficulties when raising funds for the seminary, but by the seventeenth century the seminary was on stable ground. Carlsmith also devotes a chapter to the work of the religious orders. Here it was the Somaschans who succeeded in establishing a college (1632), whereas the Jesuits were repeatedly rebuffed, in part because the commune and the Venetian Republic were wary of their reputation for close ties to Rome.

As in other cities, the wealthier families of Bergamo contributed to the mix by attempting to provide private instruction for their children. Perhaps because of a lack of suitable tutors, the families pooled their resources to found their own schools, most notably the Caspi academy that functioned from 1547 until 1556–57 and focused on younger boys between the ages of five and thirteen.

Carlsmith's work is based on extensive research at the archives of commune, diocese, seminary, religious orders, and lay confraternities, to name only

the most important. His study centers on dozens of contracts with teachers, supplemented by letters, orations, treatises on education, and inventories of books. Carlsmith brings to life the stories of numerous teachers, lay and religious leaders, and educational foundations that graced Bergamo in this era. He also develops a number of secondary themes, including the popularity of humanism, the resurgence of Church-led education, the efforts of the noble families to provide for their children, and the surprising degree of cooperation among commune, confraternities, bishops, and the religious orders. He ends with a comparative analysis of other towns and cities in the Diocese of Bergamo and in the Veneto to support the conclusion that in early-modern Italy, Bergamo was not the only city to offer a complex and vibrant array of educational opportunities.

St. Thomas More College THOMAS DEUTSCHER
Saskatoon, Canada

That Men Would Praise the Lord: The Triumph of Protestantism in Nîmes, 1530–1570. By Allan A. Tulchin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xxii, 297. $74.00. ISBN 978-0-199-73652-2.)

Because the southern French city of Nîmes was one of the success stories of French Protestantism, it has been the subject of many scholarly works; Allan Tulchin's contribution is one of the best. It is more than a history of how Nîmes became Protestant; it becomes, for Tulchin, a test study of how religious conversion takes place in a hostile society.

After a short but essential introduction to the social, political, and economic structures of Nîmes at the mid-sixteenth century, in which he shows that law professionals were the most powerful group in the city (a valuable appendix further explicates his methodology), Tulchin examines the religious atmosphere of that era, concluding that although there were as yet no Protestants among the elite, they clearly were dissatisfied with the Catholic Church and its clergy. In setting the scene for the rise of Protestantism, he provides an excellent summary of the interpretations of Eucharist and its importance for the people of that time. He gives due attention to the arrival of humanism in Nîmes but identifies the problem of poverty and the inability of the Catholic clergy to remedy it as more crucial in allowing Protestants to gain a toehold in the town, especially as bad harvests and other economic problems drastically increased the number of poor in the 1550s. More seriously the 1557 flood put severe pressure on the city's ability to cope while serving as a portent of God's wrath. Compounding the problems were the monarchy's tax demands as it waged war on the Habsburgs, which caused loyalty to it and its institutions, including the Catholic Church, to fray.

Tulchin does not assume that these circumstances explain the rise of Protestantism in Nîmes; he provides a highly detailed analysis of the process of conversion. One valuable opportunity for the Protestants came when the

king convoked the Estates general in 1560, which required the drawing up of *cahiers des doléances* to petition the monarchy. The author shows how Protestants on the city council used the third Estate's *cahier* to formulate the grievances of the vast majority of townspeople, thus identifying themselves with popular resentments and desires. It was "powerfully seductive" (p. 119). Tulchin turns to anthropology for the concept of *betweenness*—a way to measure social networking, for which he draws from the vast number of surviving notarial contracts (and provides a valuable discussion of how he used them in a lengthy appendix). Protestants among the city's elites, he demonstrates, showed a substantially higher connectedness than those who remained Catholic; conversions most often occurred within a family or a social network, and converts with a broad social network were most likely to bring in larger numbers of additional converts. Less persuasive, however, is Tulchin's use of cognitive dissonance, another social science construct.

The book shows how Catholic efforts to derail Protestant growth floundered on inconsistency in royal policy after King Francis II's death in 1560 and the rapid turnover in royal officials in Nîmes's region. By late 1561, the Protestants felt bold enough to attack Catholic churches and priests. Still, the city was relatively peaceful during the First War of Religion, but in the second, Nîmes was the site of a violent Protestant uprising and massacre of Catholics known as the Michelade (for the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, September 29) in 1567. Tulchin can give only an estimate of Catholics killed, but with the names he could determine, he demonstrates that about half were clergymen, and most of the rest were from the Catholic lay elite. Thus he concludes that politics were as essential to the event as religion: "It seems clear that one cause of the Michelade was that the Protestants of Nîmes felt deprived of what they saw as their right to rule" (p. 173).

Tulchin comes to two important conclusions from his study of Nîmes. First, those prior studies of the religious wars that emphasized the fewer Catholic deaths in Protestant uprisings are misleading in that they fail to recognize that religious massacres occur when one side has superiority of force yet perceives the other as an existential threat; Protestants only occasionally were in such a position. Second, conversion is a complicated affair that cannot be ascribed simply to an individual's sudden recognition of the truth; numerous other factors, including social pressure from relatives and friends, are important as is the forging of compromise among the converts.

The book is solidly based on archival sources, and Tulchin is careful not to overreach in the conclusions he draws from those materials. One point is worth noting: In Tulchin's discussion of the seizure of power by the Guise brothers under Francis II, he needed to mention the pertinent fact that their niece was Mary Stuart, Francis's wife.

This is a provocative book that provides crucial insights into the rise of Protestantism in Nîmes; it should stimulate similar studies in other cities

(where the local archival resources allow) to test its conclusions for the rest of France.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

Anne Boleyn: Fatal Attractions. By G.W. Bernard. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 237. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-300-16245-5.)

G.W. Bernard's *Anne Boleyn* is Anne Boleyn as we have never known her. Despite the claim of the inside cover, it is not really a biography. It is a book about interpretation—a series of intricate arguments unpicking previous interpretations of a historical character whose role and importance have always been contested. Interpretation is everything, because, in Anne's case, the surviving evidence is regrettably incomplete and impressionistic. Indeed, much of the evidence comes down to little more than early interpretations. Even Bernard's favorite source, Lancelot de Carles's contemporary poem on the queen's unhappy fall and fate, was originally drawn up as an object lesson in mutability, an exploration of patience and providence, and not in any sense a simple history or testimony. The scantiness of the sources gives the book an inevitably unbalanced structure. Anne's reign as queen—her last three years—takes up two-thirds of the book, and half of that focuses on her fall, her last three months. Yet the book is both entertaining and instructive. Bernard is nothing if not argumentative, and the reader is always drawn into the debate, applauding as the author slaughters another sacred cow or else raising an eyebrow at some dubious move in the argument.

The absence of evidence is Bernard's stock in trade, and it is in negative mode that he is at his best. His book is an extraordinarily successful demonstration of how much less we know of Anne than we had thought. A shrewd critical eye is turned on the circumstances and motives of those who created the historical record on which our limited knowledge depends; and an even sharper eye distinguishes between evidence and interpretation or opinion. Thus he points out that there is simply no contemporary evidence for the almost universally shared opinion that Anne resisted Henry's advances for years, making marriage the price of sexual surrender—although there is no more evidence for his own theory that it was Henry, not Anne, who wanted marriage rather than an affair. Bernard's insistent skepticism has many triumphs along the way. The notion that Anne's final and miscarried pregnancy delivered a deformed foetus is decisively swept away, as is the equally curious notion that accusations of witchcraft were overshadowing the queen in her final months. The idea that Cromwell orchestrated a fiendish plot to bring about Anne's destruction is shown to rest on nothing more than a somewhat ambiguous remark of Cromwell's, hearsay evidence after the event. Bernard's skepticism, however, is not entirely consistent. His most eye-catching, albeit tentative, claim is that maybe Anne really was guilty of at least some of the charges of adultery on which she was convicted. Yet the evidence here is thin

and for the most part goes no further than the charges formally brought in court. These charges, as Bernard himself acknowledges, contain some striking inconsistencies and hardly constitute evidence in their own right.

In other directions his skepticism can go too far. There is rather more evidence for Anne's religious interests than for most other aspects of her life and character. Yet Bernard is so determined to brush aside any idea of "Lutheran" or "evangelical" sympathies on her part that this evidence is neither fully presented nor always fairly handled. Thus his discussion of Anne's ornate vellum copy of the 1534 edition of Tyndale's New Testament veers into special pleading. The significance of this artifact is not adequately dismissed with the comments that it was "sent to her as a present" and that it does not "offer convincing proof that Anne herself was a Lutheran" (p. 97). There can, moreover, be a surprising lack of sensitivity in Bernard's assessment of religious issues, evident for example in his claim on the same page that Thomas Gascoigne's *Mirror of Our Lady*, by providing English translations of the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Creed, "in some respects anticipated the Book of Common Prayer" (p. 97): a judgment that is literally true but utterly misleading. Important facts can be overlooked. In emphasizing the lack of evidence that Anne lobbied to have William Barlow promoted to the episcopate (pp. 111–12), Bernard does not remind us that Barlow was "one of her chaplains" (as reflected on p. 45). Nor is there any mention of the fact that in 1531 Barlow was forced to publish a book recanting Lutheran opinions, an episode that puts heresy well within touching distance of Anne herself.

Anne Boleyn is a fascinating but also a flawed book. Its most important lesson is that we do not know enough about Anne to attempt a proper biography. The book is more a collection of essays on various aspects of her life—an unfailingly provocative and intriguing series of reflections and ruminations in which forensic brilliance jostles with special pleading and even a certain naïveté—as in the idea that what de Carles meant by the "many signs" of "dishonest love" shown by the countess of Worcester "can only be" that she was pregnant (p. 154). Yet, whatever its weaknesses, it remains a bracing read. The reader might almost call it an antidote to Tudor history, or to a lot of what passes under that label. Bernard never leaves the reader thinking about a subject exactly the way he or she did before. *Anne Boleyn* is not the last word, but Anne Bullen will never be the same again.

Queens' College, Cambridge RICHARD REX

The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations. By Henry A. Jefferies. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2010. Pp. 302. $70.00. ISBN 978-1-846-82050-2.).

Henry Jefferies's aim in his new book is "to put religion back at the heart of the on-going debate on the Reformation in Ireland" (p. 12). This is a laud-

able objective, and he deserves commendation for reminding us that Ireland's Reformation experience is unintelligible unless due consideration is given to the religious convictions of its sixteenth-century inhabitants. It is disappointing, then, to discover that his own treatment of religion is self-consciously regressive and that ultimately he presents an account of the religious developments of the period that closely resembles the traditional and, prior to the 1970s, predominant Catholic-nationalist narrative of the failure of the Reformation in Ireland.

Given the rhetorical method employed, this outcome is inevitable. Jefferies pits himself against the "revisionist successors" of the older generation of Irish Catholic/nationalist historians, who, he argues, have "tended to project their own secularist mentalities onto the past and deny religion its significance as an important influence in Tudor times" (p. 11). As a remedy, he elects throughout his book to set those modes of inquiry and argument that do not focus specifically on religion in opposition to those that do, suggesting, repeatedly, that the former are necessarily inferior when they are utilized to explore any aspect of the history of the Reformation in Ireland. This uncompromisingly dualistic approach is particularly marked in the final chapters of the book, where the author offers an analysis of the series of rebellions that erupted in Ireland from the late 1570s. Here, the historians who have advanced political, constitutional, or economic explanations for the outbreak of the rebellions are successively dismissed, generally because they are adjudged to have "played down," or "failed to appreciate" the religious dimensions of the revolts (pp. 208, 278).

Jefferies's implicit rejection of the possibility that secular modes of inquiry may offer useful perspectives on the religious history of Tudor Ireland is symptomatic of a more general tendency to simplify or reduce any argument, and the supporting evidence, that complicates that history. Consequently, far from putting religion back at the center of the debate on Ireland's Reformation, he merely reframes that debate as a closed and problemless entity, which enables him to create a clear, untroubled space in which to establish his own narrative. That narrative is ultimately revealed in the final part of the book in a committed and lengthy description of pan-Irish resistance to the Elizabethan settlement. Familiar motifs emerge as this narrative unfolds: a steadfast Irish communal attachment to traditional Catholicism, the buttressing effect of a steadily emerging Counter-Reformation Church, and the ineffectiveness of a weak and corrupt Church of Ireland. His conclusion—that these factors led inexorably to the failure of the Reformation—is reminiscent of historians such as M. V. Ronan and Robin Dudley Edwards not only in terms of the final judgment but also in regard to the evidence used to support it, namely, the series of despatches preserved in the Irish State Papers in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, which were penned by ecclesiastical and state officials and which lament the obdurate nature of Irish religious conservatism.

This approach is unsatisfying because it not only accepts uncritically the evidence for the existence of an undifferentiated, communal attachment to Catholicism but also endeavors to construct a late-medieval wellspring for the phenomenon built on an equally questionable evidential base. In the opening section of the book, the Irish Church is portrayed as a healthier and more coherent, island-wide entity than many contemporaries were prepared to admit, on the basis of a dubious simplification of the island's complex politics, culture, geography, and economy; through his avoidance of contemporary evidence detailing the widespread lay despoliation of ecclesiastical property; and through some extravagant claims made for a relatively modest renewal of the late-medieval Church's physical infrastructure. Although Jefferies's account certainly challenges the old view that the medieval Irish Church was everywhere in decay, the modest vitality he reveals—when compared to that of the English Church which, as Eamon Duffy's ground-breaking scholarship shows, underwent a more spectacular renewal but still succumbed to the Reformation—hardly explains the emergence of staunch Catholic resistance under Queen Elizabeth I. Indeed, the author does not carry the theme forward with conviction in the succeeding section of the book, which provides standard modern accounts of the religious changes effected under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary. Here, the author might have done better to follow the older school of historiography more closely, which, for all its faults, correctly identified the reinforcement of Catholic identity in the mid-Tudor period as the progenitor of the church papism, recusancy, and rebellion that emerged in Elizabethan Ireland. Jefferies's explanation, in contrast, is an implausible alternative both to this and to the complex, nuanced, and altogether more broadly informed arguments that he expends so much energy rebutting elsewhere in his book.

National Qualifications Authority of Ireland JAMES MURRAY

The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print 1550–1625. By Walter S. Melion. [Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series, Vol. 1.) (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 431. $90.00. ISBN 978-0-919-10160-2.)

Walter Melion, professor of art history at Emory University, investigates how and why devotional prints and printseries produced in the Low Countries (mostly in Antwerp) in the period 1570 (not 1550 as the title suggests) up to 1620 were seen and used, as the book jacket notes, "as instruments of Christian meditation and contemplation." After an introductory chapter, which makes a cogent case for choosing to concentrate on the given period and geographical boundaries, Melion analyzes nine different cases in depth, using examples ranging from well-known and often discussed illustrated books such as Jeronimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1595) to series that have escaped attention by scholars such as *Septem Psalmi Davidici*, produced and published by the Wierix family in

1608. In most chapters the focus is on what is generally, though not without problems, defined as reproductive printmaking, whether it be series of prints or single sheets that are in most cases part of a larger publication. In two chapters Melion, however, also shows how individual works of art in other media stand in the same tradition of meditation and contemplation such as Hendrick Goltzius's 1608 drawing of *The Adoration of the Magi* (chapter 7) and Otto van Veen's painting *The Carrying of the Cross* (*c.* 1610, chapter 8). In contrast to the first sentences of his introduction, where Melion presents the outline of his study, this broadening of the scope, in fact, only reinforces his argument and demonstrates the strength of the tradition of using devotional images as a source of meditation. Although Melion occasionally refers to images in other media in his case studies, a more systematic inclusion of such examples would have enhanced this rich and rewarding study.

The strength, wealth, and importance of Melion's study—as in most of his other publications—lie in his extraordinary understanding of religious (printed) Catholic and Counter-Reformation imagery in the Netherlands as well as related theological and ethical literature. His analysis of the images selected is convincing and proves that in Antwerp—with the Jesuits as a determining actor—an entirely innovative range of printed images was created. *The Meditative Art* certainly stimulates us to re-examine the Antwerp production of devotional images with fresh eyes and is without a doubt a major and lasting contribution to the study of religious imagery in this period.

There are, however, some drawbacks. More attention to the importance of artistic means (style, composition, artistic rivalry, and so forth) to reach specific visual results would have been welcome. Addressing the intended audience for the particular work and its relationship with that work are crucial in this context. In this sense, the magnificent Goltzius drawing, created for an unknown purpose and patron; the rather boring Van Veen painting made for a church; and Wierix's print series of David's psalms are all entirely different. Unfortunately, too little attention is paid to such major differences in use and intended audience. In addition, Melion largely ignores the variety of, and differences in, artistic and intellectual networks that surround the creation of the individual works of art. A quintessential study such as Evelyne Verheggen's *Beelden voor Passie en Hartstocht: bid- en devotieprenten in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Zutphen/Nijmegen, 2006)—missing from the bibliography—shows how and in which context devotional prints were effectively used and provides a welcome counterpoint to the more theoretical and theological approach by Melion.

These comments, however, do not in any way diminish appreciation for Melion's study. It stands as a major contribution to our understanding of religious imagery in one of the important crossroads in art history.

Musea Brugge MANFRED SELLINK
Brugge, Belgium

Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor. By Eamon Duffy. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 249. $28.50. ISBN 978-0-300-15216-6.)

Few other living historians have had as much of an impact on the history of the English Reformation as Eamon Duffy. He boldly challenged many long-held assumptions in *Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, 1992), proposing that England did not turn into a Protestant nation very eagerly, as had been argued for generations. Opposition to Duffy's *Altars* was intense. Chief among the charges leveled against Duffy was that of stacking the evidence—that is, hand-picking facts that would support his thesis and ignoring those that would not. Later Duffy offered a counter-blast to his critics, *The Voices of Morebath* (New Haven, 2001), an exhaustively detailed microhistory of a Devonshire village during the most critical years of the Tudor dynasty. In *Voices*, as in *Altars*, Duffy contested the notion that the English Reformation was a smooth and well-received transition.

Now, another nine years later, Duffy continues his revisionist campaign in *Fires of Faith*, a reassessment of the reign of England's most vilified monarch, Mary Tudor, otherwise known as Bloody Mary. Revising the history of Mary's reign is perhaps the greatest challenge yet to be tackled by Duffy, not just because of her role as chief villain in English history and in the dominant Reformation narrative but also because of the indisputable fact that she did execute 284 Protestants during her five-year reign. In our day and age, such unenlightened cruelty seems so unacceptable that it is next to impossible to attribute any positive qualities to those responsible for it.

Undeterred by such obstacles, Duffy offers as serious a challenge to the dominant Reformation narrative in this book as in his previous ones. Acknowledging up front that the burning of so many men and women was reprehensible, Duffy quickly moves on to contest a series of longstanding myths about Mary's reign. In the process, ironically, a historian who has never viewed Reformation iconoclasm in a positive light proves himself a master iconoclast. One by one, he gleefully strikes down conventional assumptions.

First, he argues that the Marian persecution was not a tactical error in the struggle against Protestantism. Appalling and inexcusable though it was, Mary's reign of terror did manage to cripple seriously the Protestant movement. Moreover, it should not be assumed that all of her efforts were in vain, or that England had already become irreversibly Protestant. Popular support for Mary's policies was intense, Duffy insists. The Marian persecution cannot be ascribed solely to the queen and her rabidly Catholic clergy, he claims, for the persecution of Protestants was also enthusiastically embraced by lay people and especially by magistrates, informers, executioners, and spectators who assumed their roles with evident relish. At the very top, he also argues, cruelty was never the objective: Cardinal Reginald Pole seemed even more tolerant than many in his flock, favoring conversion over punishment.

Duffy tackles a long list of long-held assumptions about Mary's re-Catholicizing efforts, building up to his central argument: Queen Mary was no mere reactionary, he avers, but a true reformer who in many ways was leagues ahead of the Council of Trent. The same can be said of Pole, who is portrayed as England's own version of St. Carlo Borromeo, the ultimate reforming prelate. Preaching? Yes, he says, preaching was central to the work of Pole's clerics. How about the quality of the clergy, especially the bishops? Exemplary, he says: Mary appointed more learned and zealous bishops than any other monarch of her age: "Marian England was the hare to the rest of Europe's tortoise," he concludes (p. 25). Seminaries? Mary and Pole were not only ahead of Trent on this issue, but provided the Council with patterns to follow. Printing and publishing? Mary did not neglect books, as previously thought. If liturgical and devotional texts are taken into account, the number of titles published under Mary compares most favorably or even surpasses that published under the non-Catholic Tudors. How about insularity? Was Mary's Catholic reform an aberrant exception, a deformed shoot from an already damaged and isolated branch of the Church? No, not at all. The Marian reform, argues Duffy, was most definitely well connected to currents on the Continent.

Duffy's summation of Mary's reign is as bold and controversial as they come: The Marian church was so progressive, he says, that it not only preceded the Counter-Reformation, but actually "invented " it (p. 207).

Two factors, above all, make Mary's reign a minefield for any historian. First, there is the highly argumentative, intensely polarized, either/or dialectic that guides most historians of the English Reformation. At one extreme there are those who cling to the traditional Whig narrative, which portrays Protestantism as an inevitable step forward in England's steep and rapid climb toward modernity, enlightenment, and empire-building. At the other extreme, there are those who, like Duffy, view English Catholicism with no small measure of sympathy and prefer to see England's Protestant turn as a painful and ultimately unnecessary turn of events. Between these two extremes, too few historians dare to argue for complexity and the both/and rather than the stark either/or. Second, all must also contend with the brevity of Mary's reign and the limits naturally imposed by time itself on her efforts to re-Catholicize England. Mary attracts speculation and counterfactual approaches, for her every move led to a dead end, literally, since her own death marked the end of Catholicism in England. This leads many to ask the "what if?" question implicitly and explicitly: What if she had lived longer?

Ultimately, Duffy is not only keenly aware of these two factors, but actually relies on them and enhances their intensity. *Fires of Faith* is a daring and masterful reinterpretation of a key moment in English history and also in the history of Catholicism. Although many will surely challenge its assertions, this book's significance is beyond dispute, precisely because it encourages disputation. Duffy questions the dominant narrative created by Protestants long

ago and, in the process, opens doors that only the timid and the foolhardy will dare to ignore.

Yale University CARLOS M. N. EIRE

Lost Girls: Sex and Death in Renaissance Florence. By Nicholas Terpstra. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 244. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-801-89499-9.)

This unusual and ingenious academic book, written in the manner of a detective story, has a great many advantages, but the snag is that most of them are double-edged. It is set in Florence, the city at the heart of the Renaissance, with the greatest potential to attract a wide readership; had it been set, for example, in Perugia, no one would have cared. The topic of the Casa della Pietà, a home for abandoned or unprotected young girls in the second half of the sixteenth and first two decades of the seventeenth centuries, is felicitous, mirroring as it does the interest in contemporary and recent church-run institutions supposedly concerned with child protection. The book's subtitle contains the words *sex* and *death*, two areas of constant human interest across the centuries as well as the two words most guaranteed to attract sales and media attention. It is written with gusto and panache, in a nonacademic, accessible style, but with a good scholarly apparatus. The crime victims are obvious enough—the vulnerable young girls themselves—although the causes of death, and consequently the human perpetrators, are more elusive. The author has set himself the task of analyzing why the death rate of girls entering the Pietà in the early years was so high; of 526 who entered between 1554 and 1558, only 202 survived (two other comparable shelters had death rates of 11 percent and under 20 percent). His constant refrain is "What was killing the girls of the Pietà?", and his possible explanations include dangerous working conditions, pregnancies and abortifacients, and syphilis. What is indisputable is that in sixteenth-century Florence there was a culture of prioritizing male interests, whether sexual or political, over female interests, and shelters for young girls would never have been able to exist outside this cultural context. The tensions inherent in addressing historical material academically, while writing it up methodologically as a true-crime mystery set in the past, are navigated with considerable skill, but the tensions do not evaporate. There are several excellent pieces of documentation from or about the Pietà such as a pledge book, account books, a run of recipes, and a chronicle, seemingly offering the possibility of clarification and understanding. Yet on close inspection, these prove illusory: The benefactors give minuscule amounts; the account books focus on food and basic materials; the recipes are from the recipe book of the guild of doctors and apothecaries and their purpose remains unknown; and the multi-author chronicle peddles its own version of events, some of which are untrue. The book is pleasingly broad-based in its approach, able to make effective use of much recent secondary literature in areas such as the histories of female confraternities and silk weaving.

However, this breadth also exposes drawbacks, because in the absence of 'hard' facts, there is a surfeit of suggestively scandalous hypotheses. The tortuous lurches, inspired guesses, and numerous dead ends of archival research are well incorporated into the narrative of detection, making it a good read, but archival historians in particular may feel either that these are best when filtered, or that they are best experienced in person. Even the dust jacket is perplexing, as the rather lovely, melancholic, solitary, scantily clad young girl holding a skull on her lap was painted not by a Florentine in the mid- to late-sixteenth century, but by a Frenchman in the mid-seventeenth century. Nevertheless, those interested in the history of early-modern Catholic Europe and Catholic institutions on the Italian peninsula will find much to think about while reading this book.

Queen Mary, University of London KATE LOWE

Il cardinale Giovanni Morone e l'ultima fase del concilio di Trento. Atti del convegno "Il cardinale Giovanni Morone e l'ultima fase del Concilio di Trento." Trento, 5–6 giugno 2009. Edited by Massimo Firpo and Ottavia Niccoli. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Quaderni, 80.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2010. Pp. 293. €23,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-13811-8.)

This volume illuminates significant facets of one of the most prominent clerics in early-modern Italy, Cardinal Giovanni Morone. Massimo Firpo and Dario Marcatto blazed the trail leading to the sophisticated, nuanced portrait of Morone that emerged over the past thirty years, and the essays here collected represent a substantial further contribution. All who study the age of the Council of Trent will find this book valuable.

In the introduction, Firpo and coeditor Ottavia Niccoli set the stage perfectly for the excellent studies that follow. Firpo and Niccoli insist that Morone, as legate to the final sessions at the council, beautifully reflects the diversity and complexity—if not to say the contradictions—of the sixteenth-century Church. Readers learn thereafter of interesting twists in the work of Morone after the election of Pope Pius IV until the death of the cardinal in 1580. Elena Bonora, Umberto Mazzone, Alain Tallon, and Alessandro Paris focused their fine studies on the well-established political savvy of Morone and his diplomatic relationships, but related some surprises. Morone, the great ecclesiastical politician and diplomat, apparently was manipulated by the very pope who rehabilitated him when negotiations with the Hapsburgs required it. Political expediency seemingly determined a great deal of his own operation as legate at Trent, as he attempted to divide adversaries, and to forge compromise when necessary with unlikely partners—like the cardinal of Lorraine—to secure the papal agenda. Some of Morone's closer collaborators were politically suspect in the papal curia such as the pro-imperial Cristoforo Madruzzo, who strongly criticized Pope Paul IV's early appointments of cardinals. So, when Morone stared down the barrel of an inquisitorial investiga-

tion, his enemies were apparently motivated by an anti-imperial political agenda, not just by Paul IV's storied intransigence toward heresy. Likewise, when the path for Morone to the papal throne was blocked, it probably had as much to do with the political role he had played as with his infamous trial before the Roman inquisition.

Gigliola Fragnito, Lucia Felici, and Maurizio Sangalli have contributed rich works on the reform commitments exhibited by Morone in relationships with Ludovico Beccadelli; Egidio Foscarari, O.P.; and St. Carlo Borromeo. They found Morone taking sides at times with pope and curia against members of the *spirituali* on significant reform matters while assisting to secure, through publication, the ideas of its most prominent members: Gasparo Contarini and Reginald Pole. Morone may thus have spent his last years struggling to reconcile pro-papal activities against fidelity to his intellectual, cultural, and religious patrimony. Surely, the best essay in this volume is Sangalli's contribution on Morone's interaction with Borromeo. To Sangalli, Morone was neither a revolutionary reformer nor the quintessential ecclesiastical prince, whereas Borromeo appears more conciliatory, less austere, and more willing to take the advice of his friend, Morone, toward compromise on reform matters. Much more, that is, than we have been conditioned to think.

Two other essays here—a study of images of Morone in art by Roberto Pancheri and one on images of the prelate in history by Pierroberto Scaramella—are fascinating but less satisfying. Pancheri provided more of a list of works with illustrations than an analysis of iconography. Scaramella traced presentations of Morone in historical works from Iohannes Georg Frickius in the early-eighteenth century to Hubert Jedin in the twentieth, but apparently in part to discredit Jedin. Scaramella began noting that differences in interpretation—and, it would seem, in the level of familiarity with Morone's complexity—were affected by the focus chosen by individual scholars. We could not expect the same on Morone, he implied, from historians telling the tale of the Council of Trent, as from biographers. But the courtesy of scholarly understanding suggested here Scaramella extended to all except Jedin. He finds Jedin in the fourth volume of his monumental history voicing the same opinion of Morone as the inquisitor Guido Ascanio Santoro did in 1580, renouncing further study of Morone's personality, and choosing to say no more. Now, Jedin did not say what Santoro said, and that is a matter of fact. We could endlessly debate whether or not Jedin implied what it seems Santoro did: that Morone was a man of little religious integrity. Of course, it is somewhat commonplace in Italian historiography—by Tommaso Bozza, by Paolo Simoncelli, and now by Scaramella—to treat the memory of Jedin as a whipping-boy, an ideologue who ignored evidence or fabricated narratives to serve a doctrinal agenda, and perhaps that is the real point.

But Jedin did not miss complexity and contradictions in this era. He found complexity beyond the demonized portrait of counter-reform drawn by nine-

teenth-century nationalist inspired, anticlerical historians. Still greater complexity surely marks the personal history of reform protagonists, as the editors and authors in this volume admirably argue and persuasively illustrate. So, our pictures may be better than those of Jedin, but these, too, are hardly the final word. An author here presents an image that could be found only through our contemporary historical practice: one of sexual abuse of a minor by an employee in a cardinal's household. The perpetrator was in Morone's employ, and an extrajudicial settlement was arranged by none other than Borromeo, considered heroic by so many over the 500 years since. Historians of the next generation will find still more truths to further enrich understanding of the early-modern world. It will be most productive to abandon any search for heroes and demons—whether historical or historiographical—as our investigation continues.

Bloomsburg University WILLIAM V. HUDON

Recusancy and Conformity in Early Modern England: Manuscript and Printed Sources in Translation. Edited by Ginevra Crosignani, Thomas M. McCoog, and Michael Questier; with the assistance of Peter Holmes. [Studies and Texts 170; Catholic and Recusant Texts of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods, 2.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2010. Pp. xxiv, 464. $95.00. ISBN 978-0-888-44170-6.)

In 1567, an Italian merchant whose extensive trading network throughout England made him an ideal intelligencer sent an account to Rome on the condition of Catholics that he had seen in his travels throughout the country. At least two-thirds of the population remained true to "the authority of the Holy See and of our Sovereign Pontiff," he wrote, but they could not "show this openly in act on account of the severe edicts of her who reigns at present, which obliges them to the contrary" (p. 81). He portrays here the practice of occasional conformity, one to which this large percentage of the population had resorted in the face of the legal demand that they attend Protestant services or suffer the consequences of financial ruin, imprisonment, and—in some cases—execution. By physically attending the services of their parish church, they avoided these stringent penalties, but even as they did so, they remained spiritually committed to the Catholic faith. In other words, they dissimulated.

Church Papists, Alexandra Walsham's landmark work on church papism (Rochester, NY, 1993), opened up for scholars the complex landscape of casuistical argument within which the theological and political problems that faced Catholics after Queen Elizabeth I's accession and subsequent legislation for religious practice were debated and negotiated. Until this publication, the view had been somewhat obscured by confessional historiographical tradition and, dare we say it, seemingly unapproachable texts, pamphlets, and manuscripts. We now know, thanks to Walsham's careful reading and exegesis, and

later work by others such as Michael Questier and Stefania Tutino, the debates, arguments, and counterarguments that surrounded this complex theological dilemma.

The editors have succeeded admirably in gathering together representative key documents by Catholic polemicists that show the nature of the debate and how it developed throughout the reign up to, and just beyond, the accession of King James I. Some of these, including the report from the Italian merchant previously mentioned, are published here for the first time. It also is pleasing to note the inclusion of documents relating to the Scottish recusant dilemma of occasional conformity. This is a field of study that, although there presently appears to be a lack of primary sources, is ripe for research. Within a few years of the accession of James I, the criterion of Catholic orthodoxy had changed; it was no longer the issue of occasional conformity but the question of the oath of allegiance. We might perhaps look forward to a second volume of texts and documents relating to this debate.

The editors are to be congratulated for their meticulous transcription of this collection of documents in their original language with careful English translations and for providing in the introductory essay a lucid exposition of their background and context. Together with the excellent footnotes, bibliography, and indices, they provide an invaluable resource for scholars and students not only of post-Reformation Catholicism but also for everyone working on the history, literature, and theology of this period.

University of Exeter ANNE DILLON

The Correctores Romani: Gratian's Decretum *and the Counter-Reformation Humanists*. By Mary E. Sommar. [Pluralisierung & Autorität, Band 19.] (Munster: LIT Verlag. Distrib. Transaction Publishers. 2009. Pp. xxii, 139. €24,90. ISBN 978-3-643-90019-7.)

This book is prefaced by Peter Landau's account in German of the history of the Roman Correctors of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* and of Mary E. Sommar's undertaking. In Sommar's introduction she discusses the official, three-volume edition of the *Corpus* issued in 1582; the first volume, composed of Gratian's *Decretum*, included not only the marginalia of the Correctors but also extensive notations in the body of the text. In referring to this edition, she uses the page numbers of the volumes on the UCLA Library Web site.

The Roman Correctors were a group of mainly humanist scholars who, in the wake of the Council of Trent, set about editing the texts of canon law. Sommar responds to the mainly negative or apologetic assessments that have been made of their work, first by examining the charge that the scholarly credentials of the committee were insufficient. Three of the five cardinals who composed the core of the original congregation (established in 1566 under

the direction of Pope Pius V) were renowned scholars: Ugo Buoncompagni (later Pope Gregory XIII), probably the most expert canonist in the papal curia; Guglielmo Sirleto, expert in both Greek and Latin manuscripts, and director of the Vatican libraries since 1554; and Francesco Alciati, former professor of law at the University of Pavia. There were twenty-eight other members, both lay and clerical, many with outstanding dossiers. The effective leader of the committee was Miguel Thomás Taxaquet, protégé of the famed canonist Antonio Agustín, archbishop of Tarragona (who preferred to stay outside the group; his assessment of their work was published in 1587, the year after his death).

In the second chapter Sommar examines the finished product, the first volume (Gratian) of the 1582 edition; and in the third chapter she studies the minutes and working papers of the Correctors that survive in Vatican manuscripts, which are summarized in an appendix (pp. 105–22). She demonstrates that they did their work diligently and intelligently, although there was a division "between those who believed that good Humanist text-critical practice was of primary importance and those who were reluctant to part with medieval tradition" (p. 62). One point in which tradition triumphed was their defense of the Donation of Constantine (pp. 79–81, 95). In her analysis of the edition itself, she sums up (pp. 27–29) the Correctors' statement of purpose in their long note to the reader and discusses their corrections and additions to the text. In chapter 4, she presents specific examples from Gratian's Causa 2. She summarizes her findings in a conclusion.

The two most important tools for using the 1582 edition of Gratian are the *Margarita* at the end, which is not a commentary but a subject index to the canons, and the *Notatu digna* table at the beginning, an index not only to the Ordinary Gloss but also (it claims) to *novae notationes*, but these indexed "new notations" do not include the even newer notations of the Correctors (for instance, the long comment on the Donation of Constantine). It should be noted that Sommar states (p. 46) that I suggest that the Correctors were following the texts of the canons and decretals as found in the edition of Jean Chappuis at the beginning of the sixteenth century. However, I was speaking not of the canons and decretals but rather of the additions to the Ordinary Gloss, which, like the indices and other front-matter and back-matter, were inherited from earlier editors and which received only occasional comments from the Correctors in marginalia.

Sommar's book is a solid achievement, which may stimulate others to study further how the great *corpus* of canon law evolved up to its official presentation in 1582.

University of California, Los Angeles HENRY ANSGAR KELLY

The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae. Edited by Rebecca Zorach. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. 184. $25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-943-05637-1.)

Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, "The Mirror of Rome's Magnificence," is one of the more remarkable publishing ventures of the sixteenth century, an ingenious do-it-yourself kit that allowed even moderately well-off visitors to Rome to assemble a collection of prints showing the city's ancient and modern monuments and supply it with a lavish title page, engraved, *c*.1575, for the project's creator, the French-born, Rome-based printer Antonio Lafreri. Because the sheets, including the title page, were sold individually, no two *Speculum* collections are alike; many of them contain prints from Lafreri's competitors, and many contain later material that has nothing to do with Lafreri, but everything to do with Rome. The most extensive *Speculum* collection to survive to the present day is housed in the Department of Special Collections of the University of Chicago libraries: It includes 994 pieces ranging in date from the 1540s to 1762. In many ways Lafreri's project represented a triumph of new media in his own era, and it seems eminently appropriate that the Chicago Speculum collection can be consulted today online as well as in situ. A special exhibition in 2007–08 called attention to the completion of the digital project, to the Chicago *Speculum* collection itself, and to the extraordinary supplemental holdings of the university's Department of Special Collections. Curated by University of Chicago art historian Rebecca Zorach, it includes specialized essays by Zorach, Birte Rubach, David Karmon, Rose Marie San Juan, and Nina Dubin, as well as catalogue entries by Chicago graduate students. The book follows the extremely attractive format used by Special Collections on other occasions, with lavish illustrations and elegant graphics, enabling readers who have never seen this remarkable collection to garner a vivid idea of its depth and quality. As a whole, the catalogue provides a series of glimpses into the *Speculum*'s holdings rather than a commanding overview. On the other hand, there is really no more effective way to capture the peculiar, episodic nature of this uniquely open-ended publishing and collecting venture than by showing some of the ways that the *Speculum* and especially its supremely extensive Chicago version can be used to shed light on a bewildering variety of subjects—from Lafreri's other publications and printmaking to urban planning and historic preservation. In addition, David Karmon's excellent account of protecting monuments in early-modern Rome demonstrates some ingenious ways to use the digital *Speculum*.

As Zorach notes, Lafreri stressed the "public utility" of his enterprise. His virtual Rome promised tangible benefits to artists, antiquarians, pilgrims, and individuals on the Grand Tour. The mood and quality of the prints vary widely, from Lafreri's own stately classical views to the atmospheric ruins of Hieronymus Cock, the most evident precursor to Piranesi. At times, the cata-

logue shows its origins in Chicago rather than Rome; otherwise, Dubin's essay on the eighteenth-century French printmaker Jean Barbault would have made more of the fact that Barbault's title page selects, of all the Eternal City's possible monuments, Francesco Borromini's quintessentially Baroque San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane. Another Barbault illustration in Dubin's text focuses on yet another Borromini treasure, Sant'Ivo. To current tastes, Borromini certainly ranks alongside Hadrian among the greatest architects of all time, but it was not always so.

All told, this virtual Rome is thoroughly enchanting, and, best of all, available online in its entirety—a "public utility" indeed.

University of Notre Dame, Rome INGRID ROWLAND

The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance. By Henry Kamen. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 291. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-300-16244-8.)

The belief that great buildings are the work of those who commissioned them is as old as history, even if this is never strictly speaking true. It is said "Julius Caesar built a bridge," but neither he nor Solomon—any more than Hadrian, Justinian, Abbot Suger, Pope Julius II, or King Philip II of Spain—mixed mortar for their great works of architecture. We hold them responsible, although this is not to say that there were not professional master builders, architects, designers, and artisans of all sorts who were also involved. The person art historians call "the patron" is given a pre-eminent place in discussions of great buildings, because we believe this person has a uniquely creative part in the conception and design of the building even as it was executed by others.

The distinguished historian Henry Kamen has taken this view very much to heart in *The Escorial: Art and Power in the Renaissance,* which is ostensibly about the huge monastery of San Lorenzo el Real at El Escorial outside Madrid that Philip II founded in 1563 and saw to completion (except for some of the memorial statues for the cenotaphs in the basilica) before his death in 1598, but is really a book about Philip II as Kamen wishes us to see him. He writes:

> It is apparent that the Escorial has seldom been judged simply on its own merits, but rather as a reflection of the personage who created it, a fact that makes it even clearer that we should first seek to understand Philip II before evaluating his masterpiece. (p. 241)

Kamen sets out well armed—he is the author of the serious biography *Philip of Spain* (New Haven, 1998)—to dissipate the dark clouds of the "Black Legend" that still linger over Philip II's reputation and replace the old "black spider of the Escorial" and the evil bigot of Friedrich Schiller's *Don*

Carlos with the humanist prince he believes the king to have been. In each of nine chapters, he takes up a different aspect of Philip II's personality (and the legend and scholarship that surround it) and adjusts the portrait to depict Philip II as more like other contemporary rulers. Much of this is welcome: Philip II's intelligence, personal tolerance, skillful governance, peace-loving character, and profound religious faith are clearly brought out in this well-written book. However, in seeking evidence of the inner man and assuming this to be knowable, Kamen plays down external pressures in the culture that were certainly present and must have been internalized by the king to some extent. No CEO, no matter how principled, can be fully in control of an organization if he or she is to lead it; and no human is free of contradictions.

What does Kamen's portrait of the king reveal about the Escorial? It is always interesting when a historian uses visual evidence as collateral for arguments founded on written texts. Kamen gives an excellent overview of Philip II as a collector (of information, books, paintings, and much else besides), but to see architecture as one of the king's "great hobbies" (p. 52) fails to capture the intensity and scope of Philip II's relationship with building. Philip II's involvement with architecture was deeply felt; however, it is not wise to ignore that it also was a dimension of his statecraft, a vital part of the magnificence and attention to *reputación* that were expected of kings. Philip II's style of architectural patronage—down to his intimate involvement in the creation of his buildings—followed the humanist project that was first fully articulated by Leon Battista Alberti in the fifteenth century and was carried out with all the tools that Renaissance artists had devised to make it possible. To have undertaken a project such as the Escorial is to have entered assertively into an existing culture of relationships among buildings that always transcends and transforms personal idiosyncrasies.

Brown University CATHERINE W. ZERNER

Faith and Patronage: The Political Career of Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, c. 1560–1629. By Benjamin Hazard. [New Directions in Irish History.] (Dublin: Irish Academic Press. Distrib. ISBS, Portland, OR. 2010. Pp. xviii, 222. $64.95. ISBN 978-0-716-53048-0.)

Flaithrí Ó Maolchonaire, also known as Florence Conry, was undoubtedly one of the most gifted and energetic Irish Franciscan friars of the seventeenth century; in an age in which there were many notably talented Irish Franciscans, Ó Maolchonaire was truly a man of many parts: poet, exiled scholar, military chaplain, founder (in 1607) of the Irish Franciscan friary of St. Anthony in Leuven, catechist, proto-Jansenist theologian, European power-broker, military strategist, political agitator, author, translator, bishop, and pastor—a figure at various times of immense influence and importance for the Irish at the Spanish court of King Philip III. Although many facets of Ó Maolchonaire's career have been examined in broader contexts in the past

(often in connection with Ireland's political relations with the Iberian peninsula or in the context of Ó Maolchonaire's catechetical concerns), this is the first real attempt at a full biography. What makes it particularly welcome are Hazard's efforts in uncovering and comprehensively treating little-known primary source materials such as letters, papers, and dispatches found in archives at Simancas, in the Vatican Library, in Brussels, and other places. Consequently, Hazard's chapters are heavily but not intrusively annotated, running to well over 400 endnotes in some instances.

Hazard's work consists of four chapters, detailing Ó Maolchonaire's upbringing and family background (especially the change in landholding in his native Connacht in the 1580s that affected the future friar's exile and political leanings). He traces Ó Maolchonaire's rise to prominence on the Continent, his education at Salamanca, and his difficulties with Jesuit authorities that led him to embrace religious life with the Friars Minor (he alleged that the Jesuits favored Irish students from Munster and Leinster who were loyal to the Crown rather than their more rebellious counterparts from Connacht and Ulster). During the Nine Years' War, Ó Maolchonaire became confessor and adviser to chieftain Red Hugh O'Donnell, and he petitioned Pope Clement VIII in 1600 to grant crusade-like indulgences to those fighting with the native Irish earls. By the following year, Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell were petitioning King Philip III to nominate Ó Maolchonaire for a bishopric in Ireland. From 1603 to 1606, he functioned as intermediary at the Spanish court, working to accommodate the ever-increasing numbers of Irish military migrants petitioning the Spanish Crown. His influence at the Spanish court and proclivity for favoring the claims of the native Irish over their Old English counterparts created much resentment and led to accusations by the Jesuit James Archer that Ó Maolchonaire was abusing his position as *relator*. One of the greatest legacies of this friar was the foundation of St. Anthony's College, Leuven, in 1607. This community of Irish friars would go on to become a powerhouse of catechetical, theological, and devotional publications in the Irish language, including large-scale scholarly projects such as the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*.

Ó Maolchonaire's nomination as archbishop of Tuam in 1609 proved to be a highly divisive move that deeply concerned Old English émigrés. His frequent absences from his see of Tuam and continued embroilment in political affairs, especially on behalf of O'Neill in Madrid, also concerned prominent prelates such as Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh. Ó Maolchonaire's continued support for O'Neill's return to Ireland at the head of an army was dealt a serious blow with O'Neill's death in 1616. Later years saw a decline in his influence at the Spanish court and his return to the College of St. Anthony at Leuven.

The publication of this highly readable yet meticulously scholarly work three years after the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the foundation

of St. Anthony's College is timely and should be warmly welcomed. Hazard also helpfully includes a biographical chronology and selected transcripts of key primary source documents relating to this fascinating friar.

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth SALVADOR RYAN

Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles. The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate. By Trevor Johnson. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xvi, 354. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66480-2.)

In the short period that he was a graduate mentor at Cambridge during the 1980s and 1990s, Bob Scribner trained a brilliant stable of early-modern German historians. As a group, they have ensured Great Britain's continued prominence in the field for at least another generation, as well as the ongoing fertility of Scribner's methods of historical investigation. Among these scholars, Trevor Johnson proved to have an eye for the highly unusual and distinctive, as evidenced in a number of articles he published in the early years of his career. Specialists thus anxiously awaited the publication of his first book. Unfortunately on June 25, 2007, Johnson died suddenly, claimed by an undiagnosed congenital heart defect.

This volume presents the text of Johnson's study of religious change in the early-modern Upper Palatinate, largely as it stood at the time of the author's death. The Upper Palatinate's tortured sixteenth- and seventeenth-century confessional history has long called out for treatment in English, for in the course of the later sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, the state changed its confessional allegiance no fewer than seven times among Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. Eventually, as a result of the misfortunes of its ruler, Frederick V, the "winter king" of Bohemia, the Upper Palatinate reverted to Bavaria, and in the 1620s a careful process of Wittelsbach reconversion began that was to continue for much of the rest of the seventeenth century.

Of the three religions practiced in the state in the period before the reconversion, Johnson found that Calvinism seemed to have had the least appeal, setting down only shallow roots in places where the nobility favored Frederick's policies. The rigors of its reforms had never appeared particularly attractive to most *Oberpfälzer,* who lived in a remote region, where a rich lore of lay practice had long been of almost equal importance to the highly structured liturgical religion practiced in parish churches. Certain Lutheran reforms—most notably hymn singing and the wedding rite—had been actively embraced in this milieu; yet as Lionel Rothkrug once argued in his controversial *Holy Shrines, Religious Dissonance and Satan in the Origins of the German Reformation* (Waterloo, Can., 1987), Johnson sees that many Protestant reforms faced strong headwinds from perceptions that singled out the preservation of home and community as the proper sphere of religion.

Yet for Counter-Reformation Catholicism to be firmly established, parishes needed to be restocked with clergy devoted to the catechization of the laity in the specifics of Catholic teaching and ritual practice. In addition, monasteries and convents needed to be rebuilt, seminaries constructed, and the network of Catholic sodalities built up that would serve as an enduring wellspring of affection for the early-modern Church. To accomplish these long-term goals, the Wittelsbach state at first proceeded slowly, only replacing Lutheran and Calvinist ministers when their livings fell vacant and allowing Lutherans to be buried in church yards upon application to the state. Interim-like measures, which gave nods to certain innovations of the Protestants in worship, were another tool by which evangelicals found re-admission to the Catholic Church. Such measures found a degree of resistance among the local nobility, many of whom remained tied to the territory's former duke, the ill-fated Frederick. Yet over time, the patience the state evidenced bore fruit. By the fourth quarter of the seventeenth century, the Wittelsbach state saw the task of re-Catholicization as largely complete.

Johnson's study thus reads as a fascinating case study of a region that had one of the most controversial histories of reform and counter-reform in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is lamentable that this text, so admirably edited by Simon Ditchfield and Raingard Esser, represents the author's final word, for as this volume shows, this would have been a career of unique achievement.

University of Maryland–College Park PHILIP M. SOERGEL

The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century. By Bernadette Cunningham. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2010. Distrib. by ISBS, Portland, OR. Pp 348. $70.00. ISBN 978-1-846-82203-2.)

Like iconic texts the world over, the *Annals of the Four Masters*, an early-seventeenth-century manuscript compilation of Irish history in Gaelic, is a work frequently cited, seldom read, and rather poorly understood. From John O'Donovan's partial edition of 1851 through the various instrumentalizations of the text by cultural agents associated consecutively with the Gaelic revival, the nascent Irish state, and the reformed "brown" Franciscans, this seminal text has been rather badly served by the Irish academic community, who acknowledged it without explaining its significance. Thus, the work of Paul Walsh and other twentieth-century scholars notwithstanding, Bernadette Cunningham's volume is both timely, in that it subjects yet another cultural icon to dispassionate intellectual scrutiny, and also significant, because the *Annals* emerge from this study with their importance contextualized not only within the early-modern Irish but also the European intellectual world. The contrast frequently drawn by Cunningham between the apparent insularism of the *Annals* and the internationalism of contemporary Gaelic works like

Geoffrey Keating's *Foras Feasa ar Éireann* (*c.* 1634) serves to specify rather than devalue the importance of the continental link.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first, consisting of three chapters, Cunninghnam sets the background for the text in the continental connections of the Irish Franciscans (one of the *Annals*' editors, Micheál Ó Cléirigh, belonged to the order). She then presents an overview of the Irish annalistic traditions before engaging in a detailed investigation of the approach of the text's editors (traditionally called "The Four Masters") to the past. In the second part, she examines the form and structure of the text, the methodology of the editors, and the way that the material was collected, transcribed, and arranged. She takes two case studies (the annalists' treatment of secular heroes and religious figures) to explain how the Four Masters' reverence for the tradition in no way stymied their central aim of establishing *the* history of Ireland as chronological, contextualized, and continuous. The last part of the book consists of a chapter on the scholarly and patronage networks that made the work possible. In the tantalizingly and somewhat disappointingly brief concluding chapter she draws the many threads of the investigation together in a more philosophical commentary on the *Annals* as a paradigmatic exercise in making history, or, as she puts it elsewhere,

> weaving together a new and comprehensive historical compilation, encompassing origin legends, genealogies of saints and king lists as well as annals . . . in the manner of the great medieval miscellanies, but now addressed to a wider readership because of the potential of access to print. (p. 42)

The potential of publishing looms large on the horizon of the editors' motivation and goes far to explain the editing and selection processes that took the *Annals* from their multiple manuscript sources to the versions of the text now held in the libraries of University and Trinity Colleges and the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin. It also explains, Cunningham suggests, why the editors eschewed the term *king* (*rí*) when speaking of the minor "kings" in Ireland, preferring *tighearna* ("lord") to underscore the importance of the high kingship of Ireland and hence its historical conformity with the emerging nation-states familiar to the eventual intended audience. Interestingly, there is no hint here of a transfer of sovereignty by disgruntled Gaelic underlings to the king of Spain (p. 122), but rather a practical acceptance of the legitimacy of the Stuarts. For these editors, what counted was the sovereign power of the king of neither Spain nor England but rather the kingship of Ireland. In chapter 7, Cunningham discusses the ideological concerns underpinning the selection and arrangement of the entries, stressing their belief in the value of memory itself in the new Ireland emerging from the great travails of the sixteenth century. This superseded the editors' commitment even to the Catholic reform (although entries inconsistent with current church custom were omitted, p. 236), as the changing balance between ecclesiastical and secular entries suggests. Secular history is neatly nested within the

religious, and the overarching concern is with continuity, as the stress on Malachy's twelfth-century church reform illustrates. The nonspecialist reader will probably find chapter 9 on scholarly networks the most immediately accessible. That they transcended religious differences is not really surprising, but Cunningham's discussion of the political loyalty and official standing of the work's secular patrons will give traditional cultural nationalists pause. The crucial role of the Franciscans in providing patronage and scholarly infrastructure in a time of profound transition is emphasized. This important book, however, is much more than an homage to the Friars Minor. It is a fresh contribution to the study of early-modern intellectual life in Gaelic Ireland and its continental disapora.

National University of Ireland, Maynooth THOMAS O'CONNOR

Paul V. Borghese (1605–1621): Mikropolitische Papstgeschichte. By Wolfgang Reinhard. [Päpste und Papsttum, Band 37.] (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag. 2009. Pp. xxv, 715, with CD-Rom. €218,00. ISBN 978-3-777-20901-2.)

Wolfgang Reinhard stands out as perhaps the most prominent German historian of early- modern Europe, although he is not as well known in North America as he deserves to be. He has written extensively on the expansion of Europe and on the Reformation and Catholic Reform, where he has contributed significantly to the development of the confessionalization theory. Yet the first and principal object of his research since the late 1960s has been the history of the papacy, especially the "micropolitics" of Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese, 1605–21). Making use of the rich materials in the Vatican Archives for the Borghese pontificate and especially the correspondence of the papal nephew, Scipione Borghese (readers may recall the magnificent bust of Scipione by Bernini in the Villa Borghese), Reinhard, his many students, and his colleagues have produced so many articles and books that one can only agree when he asserts that the Borghese papacy has attracted more scholarship than any other early-modern pontificate. The hefty volume at hand attempts to lay out a summary of this research. Some chapters, Reinhard notes, for the most part summarize work of his students—for example, Birgit Emich's *Bürokratie und Nepotismus unter Paul V. (1605–1621)* (Stuttgart, 2001), which was reviewed *ante*, 90 (2004), 127–29.

Fundamental to understanding Reinhard's approach are the concepts of *Mikropolitik* (micropolitics) and *Makropolitik* (macropolitics), which he has taken over from organizational sociology and, to a lesser degree, political science. Analysis of its micropolitics can tell us much about the character of a pontificate, Reinhard believes correctly. Micropolitics is a "depth politics" analogous to depth psychology. It has to do with persons, not institutions, with the allocation of offices or positions and the granting of favors and privileges for the advancement of private interests, not the formulation of policy

for the common good. Macropolitics, on the other hand, is concerned with visible decisions made for the welfare of the particular political entity or state and their execution. The practice of micropolitics may undermine or foster the welfare of the community; the two types of politics can overlap; for example, a prince might not be able to conclude a favorable peace treaty without buying off the minister of the other state. Nor should we identify micropolitics with corruption. Fairly clear norms existed—albeit informal ones, according to Reinhard—for the practice of micropolitics. In this context he stresses the importance of the virtue of *pietas* that dated back to the Romans and required that one honor one's obligations to parents and children, family and clan, ancestors and compatriots. St. Thomas Aquinas, he notes, defined *pietas* as "the practice of charity towards one's parents and native country." This virtue provides a positive foundation for nepotism, local patriotism (campanilismo), and clientism. It is by no means dead today.

For Reinhard, the case of the Borghese represents a model instance of the rise of a papal family. The author sketches the normal career path of a papal bureaucrat with its many variations; the goal was usually the cardinalate. Cardinal Scipione then played a major role in many aspects of papal government. For this reason, Reinhard argues, similar to Emich, that he and other papal nephews should be considered "favorites" just like his contemporaries Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, the duke of Lerma, in Spain or George Villiers, the duke of Buckingham, in England, even though they operated in an elective monarchy. But the literature on favorites has ignored them. Although most of the correspondence of the secretariat of state went out under the cardinal-nephew's signature, he held this office only briefly. As time went on, he focused on the micropolitics of the pontificate, serving as a chief of patronage, as it were, charged with the responsibility of building up networks of Borghese clients and advancing the fortunes of the family. He acquired wealth to the extent of 6.5 million scudi between 1605 and his death in 1633, so beyond the end of the pontificate. He tended to interpret the norms of micropolitics more broadly than the pope, who conscientiously sought to remain within the letter of the law, especially regarding the residence of bishops. Reinhard hesitates to assess the influence that the cardinal-nephew exercised on the macropolitical policy of the pope, foreign or domestic, given that the documentary record does not support such an analysis, as much of their business was carried on verbally. Nor does the author state clearly whether, on balance, Borghese micropolitics in the circumstances genuinely advanced the welfare of the Church and the Papal States.

The first half of the book deals with the methods and objects of patronage: benefices, offices (venal and nonvenal), reservations, pensions, privileges, export licenses, intervention in court cases, and many other items. The most valuable gift that a pope could bestow was the cardinalate. Reinhard distinguishes ten categories of cardinals, some overlapping, among the 125 that served during the papacy of Paul V. The whole pattern and operation of papal

government are described. At one point Reinhard analyzes the many letters of recommendation in Cardinal Borghese's correspondence, distinguishing the levels of warmth to be assigned to various formulations in the letters. He also looks at the families for which the cardinal served as godfather. Both methods help to uncover Borghese's clients and friends.

The second half of the book analyzes the Borghese networks, an important term for micropolitics; they constitute a universal historical, anthropological phenomenon. Paul V, who had served as an extraordinary nuncio in Spain, generally inclined to that nation rather than to its rival, France, although he tried to preserve a reputation as a neutral *padre comune*. Spain and the Duchy of Tuscany represent the foreign states where the Borghese networks penetrated most fully. According to Reinhard, the king of Spain took in as much revenue from the Church in Spain as from the mines of the Americas. One striking transaction with the king of Spain exchanged the gift of the cardinalate and archbishopric of Toledo, the wealthiest and most prestigious ecclesiastical office in Spain, for the ten-year-old Ferdinand, the Spanish Infante and later victor at Nördlingen, in return for the title of grandee of Spain for the pope's nephew, Marcantonio. The value of micropolitical networks appeared in 1605 to 1607 in papal conflicts with Genoa and Venice over issues of jurisdiction. Many informal contacts existed between Rome and Genoa, but this was not the case between Rome and Venice. Thus the dispute with Genoa was quietly resolved, whereas that with Venice led to the famous controversy over the Interdict.

The book is a difficult one that does not read easily, sometimes overwhelming the reader with detail. A rigorous editorial hand would have been helpful. Nonetheless, it constitutes a major contribution to scholarship and includes an enormous amount of information. An index adds to its usefulness. Accompanying the book is a CD-Rom with a rich prosopographical data bank of the persons and positions of the Roman Curia; it can be purchased separately from the publisher.

Loyola University Chicago ROBERT BIRELEY, S.J.

Leonarde's Ghost: Popular Piety and "The Appearance of a Spirit" in 1628. Translated with introduction and annotations by Kathryn A. Edwards and Susie Speakman Sutch. [Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 82.] (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 127. $19.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-931-11279-6.)

In 1628 a feverish and bedridden woman who had recently given birth claimed to receive numerous visitations from a spirit. At first, the ill woman (Huguette Roy, the wife of a guard in the local militia who was most likely a tradesman) could not identify the ghost, and the ghost was stubbornly unforthcoming about her identity. Eventually, however, it was revealed that it

was the spirit of Roy's deceased aunt, Leonarde Colin. Colin, so Roy reported to the clergymen who were notified of the visits, had been sent by God to assist Roy in her daily housekeeping duties that she could not perform herself. Eventually Colin revealed that this was penance for her earthly sins and had to be performed to release her from purgatory. Roy was the only earthly creature who ever heard or saw Colin, but the local clerical authorities, and Christophe Mercier in particular, were convinced of the reality of the ghost. Indeed, Mercier wrote "The History of the Appearance of a Spirit which Happened in the City of Dole" (1628), the text that the editors translated for this volume.

The editors/translators try to preserve "the roughness, vitality, rhythms, and ambiguities of the original manuscript" (p. xiii), but they are cautious to avoid didactically telling readers how to interpret the text. They do, however, offer an extended introduction (forty-one pages) that provides a useful setting for Mercier's account. We are encouraged to see the connections between the popular piety in the daily lives of ordinary people alongside and in conjunction with the concerns and teachings of the institutional church during a period of intense Catholic reformation. A sort of skepticism was invoked by the authorities to determine the veracity of the spirit (demonic or not), but along the way, we glimpse how ordinary people like Roy understood theological teachings of purgatory and, in the demand by the spirit for pilgrimage to Marian shrines in the region, how redemption immersed itself in their own sense of salvation. Roy's religiosity comes through clearly, but, given the apparent skepticism in the gossip of townsfolk and neighbors, readers might wish for more of an interrogation of how the news of this spirit spread and might have been understood by fellow townsfolk.

This modest volume could be useful as an ancillary text in an undergraduate course on early-modern religiosity. It holds few surprises for specialists in the field, but the able introduction provides useful insights into popular piety not easily gained from printed texts. If readers grant that the story is based on Roy's projection of what spirits are and can do, then they can discern from this text popular notions of the other world—how it intrudes on this one, what spirits from it can do, what the relation between the living and the dead might be, and what role these notions can fulfill in the ever-changing schemes of salvation to which early-modern folk like Roy and her neighbors were presented with, and upon which they did so earnestly seize.

Purdue University JAMES R. FARR

War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648–1713. Edited by David Onnekink. [Politics and Culture in North-Western Europe, 1650–1720.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xvi, 274. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66129-0.)

The treaty of Münster has been considered a watershed of early-modern history for a considerable period of time. Whereas up to 1648 religion—or, to

be more precise, the confessional divide—was the determining factor of internal and external politics, it ceased to be so once the Thirty Years' War had come to an end; instead, politicians (mostly monarchs) began to form alliances and wage war purely from considerations of "reason of state"; if religion played a role in international politics at all, it merely served as a convenient means of conveying higher dignity to "Machiavellian" interests that were in need of benevolent disguise. This understanding of early-modern international relations, the conviction that war and peace underwent a rapid process of secularization after 1648 has been questioned for at least the last ten years; the diplomacy of individual nation-states such as England and France or the "international" outlook of the semi-sovereign principalities of the Holy Roman Empire have come to be interpreted as mirroring their power politics as well as the religious convictions of their princes. This reinterpretation of post-Westphalian politics, however, has not yet led to a fundamental reappraisal of the international system of that period; in so far, the eleven articles collected in this volume (together with the editor's introduction and Benjamin Kaplan's concluding remarks) represent a new approach to the political history of the second half of the early-modern age and to the complex question of the relationship between politics and religion on the eve of the Enlightenment. The majority of the contributions deal with British and Dutch phenomena; during the reign of William III of Orange (1689–1702), Great Britain and the Netherlands were, indeed, hardly distinguishable as factors of international politics. Consequently, the volume can hardly be considered a balanced account of Western European perceptions of international politics between 1648 and the end of the War of the Spanish Succession, let alone of Protestant and Catholic perspectives alike (as is suggested in the introduction); instead, the reader is presented a picture of the growing fears of Protestant Europe toward an inexorable Catholic supremacy embodied by belligerent France, which had come to supplant Habsburg Spain as the epitome of an aggressive Counter-Reformation Catholicism. Although it is, without a doubt, correct to assume that many English and Dutch politicians in that period conceived Louis XIV's France a threat to European Protestantism and, consequently, felt the need to unite against the universal aspirations of the Bourbon monarchy, this does not imply either that the cause of Protestantism was in truth at risk at the time or that Catholics did not feel more or less the same toward the emerging Protestant powers, notably Great Britain and the States General.

One of the major results of the essays collected by David Onnekink is that religion did play a considerable role in the politics of war and peace at the turn of the seventeenth century. This is the case both for the concrete ways of doing politics, fighting wars, and forming alliances, as well as for the perception and discussion of international affairs in pamphlets and manifestos. The greater part of the contributions illustrate the high degree to which politicians perceived and judged political developments in late-seventeenth-century Europe according to their religious convictions. This holds equally

true for English envoys at Catholic courts under the reigns of Charles II and James II, as is demonstrated by Stéphane Jettot; for aristocratic Huguenot émigrés in the service of William III, as discussed in Matthew Glozier's article; and for the "Puritan Whigs," whose convictions and political outlooks can be deduced from Roger Morrice's "Entring Book," as it is analyzed by Stephen Taylor. Public opinion in the Netherlands was very much shaped by the conviction that the defense of liberty, Protestantism, and "fatherland" were basically synonymous and that the fight against Catholic aggressors, notably Louis XIV and James II, was a sort of patriotic duty—a theme discussed by Donald Haks, Jill Stern, and Emma Bergin.

The rhetoric of religion did not disappear from the political discourse after 1648; on the contrary, it maintained a very prominent presence and, in this respect, did not only affect the political language of the time but also politics itself. On the other hand, religious or confessional considerations did not determine hard-and-fast political decisions (such as the forming of international alliances) that likewise had not been the case in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The question that is open to debate is the degree to which religious convictions influenced politics in comparison with other factors of *Realpolitik*; it is the volume's great merit to have drawn attention to this issue.

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität CHRISTIAN WIELAND
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"The Horrid Popish Plot": Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late-Seventeenth-Century London. By Peter Hinds. [British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monographs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 457. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-197-26443-0.)

The story of the Popish Plot of 1678 and the subsequent alarums, trials, and executions often has been told. Frequently it is treated as the prologue to the profound political crisis, labeled (among others) as the exclusion crisis or the succession crisis, which lasted from 1679 until about 1682. The greater part of this book by Peter Hinds, however, focuses on the plot, and its subtitle gives an accurate description of its contents. Although there is considerable discussion of events and politics, the main emphasis is on the rumors, controversy, and polemic provoked by the plot and the most prolific—and in some respects the most effective—writer who contributed to them. It is about reporting, representation, and reception, understanding and misunderstanding. The major part of the discussion is based on texts, particularly printed texts (with due emphasis on the form of those texts, as well as their content). But there also is material on visual images, street theater (especially pope-burning processions), and word of mouth. Much of this is fairly familiar territory, but Hinds covers it with greater breadth and depth than most. There are many reproductions of prints and texts, making this a handsomely pro-

duced book. The approach is scholarly and careful, with little that is provocative or tendentious. There is much interesting and illuminating detail, but few big surprises.

Two major points need to be made. First, there is a great deal about Catholics and Catholicism, and many aspects of antipopery, but very little on how antipopery could include hostility to Protestant Dissent. There was a widely held belief that the papists had contrived the Civil War and King Charles I's death. Titus Oates's narrative included this, as well as claims that Jesuits, disguised as Presbyterians, were to incite Scotland to rebel against the king. The most effective print of Presbyterian plotting was titled "The Committee or Popery in Masquerade." Just as there were similarities between the king-killing doctrines of Jesuits and Presbyterians, so (argued Roger L'Estrange) there were increasingly sham popish plots and increasingly real republican plots hiding behind a veil of antipopery. As he wrote in 1679, the popish plot had been investigated and the guilty men punished, but the plotting of "the faction" went on. The second point is that for a book about controversy and conflict, it focuses too much on texts and decoding meanings. Dialogues in print score debating points but do not end in blows. There is little sense of the day-to-day viciousness of partisan politics in the tavern and the street—of clashes between the supporters of the dukes of York and Monmouth, and their attempts to compel passersby to drink the health of their hero and to suffer great indignities if they did not. There is little of the sense of menace and anger found in Tim Harris's work on London crowds or Mark Goldie's recent rumbustious account of popular politics.

These are not negligible weaknesses, but they should not distract attention from the fact that this is a solid, scholarly book that appreciably advances our understanding of the politics of the period.

Queen Mary, University of London JOHN MILLER

Religion and the Politics of Time: Holidays in France from Louis XIV through Napoleon. By Noah Shusterman. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 299. $74.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21725-3.)

By the end of the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church controlled the calendar just as the liturgical year organized the daily lives of millions of ordinary individuals. In Noah Shusterman's words: "In Old Regime France, people perceived and understood the passage of time through a religious framework" (p. 57).

In this richly detailed study, a revised version of his doctoral dissertation completed at the University of California, Berkeley in 2004, the author examines the "politics of time" in the largest Catholic country of Europe over 175

years. Not only did the liturgical calendar with its fifty-two Sundays require attendance at Mass but also marked these as obligatory days of rest (*fêtes chomées*). It also mandated observance of various sacred holidays, most notably Easter and Christmas. Days devoted to local saints added to the proliferation of *fêtes chomées.*

According to Shusterman, in the mid-1600s an average of thirty-three weekdays were religious holidays. By the end of the 1700s, however, this number had fallen to only eighteen (p. 38). Such a gradual reduction in holidays was achieved by bishops who recognized that idleness on such days of rest resulted in heavy drinking, debauchery, and even devil worship. In addition, excessive days of religious observance when labor was forbidden deprived poorer Frenchmen of income needed to support their families. Consequently, both religious and economic reasons induced bishops to reduce the number of holidays either by outright suppression or by transferring their celebration to a Sunday (p. 83).

But it was the Revolution of 1789, with its brutal assault on the Catholic Church, that instituted state control over the politics of time. During the Terror the republican government sought to replace the Catholic liturgical year with a new, secular calendar that would regenerate France while rationalizing time. This republican calendar, with its twelve equal months composed of three *décades* each, and a leap year of five or six days, brought the state into sharp conflict with traditional French society. As Shusterman observes, the new decimalized calendar "was the national government's first attempt to regulate time without the aid of the Catholic Church" (p. 138).

After the Terror ended in 1794, traditional religious practices regained much of their authority. Although enforcement of the republican calendar declined, it remained official, at least for state purposes. However, after the *coup* of 18 fructidor year V (September 4, 1797), the government of the Directory moved vigorously to enforce its usage in everyday life.

The author devotes considerable space to the period 1797–99, when strict measures were introduced throughout the country mandating that Tenth Day (*décadi*) and national festivals were obligatory days of rest. Marriages could now only be celebrated on Tenth Day, and fairs and markets were strictly regulated. Enforcement, however, remained difficult.

Napoleon's seizure of power in November 1799 led to the undoing of the republican calendar. To improve relations with the Catholic Church, the new master of France relaxed the Directory's strict enforcement policy and, by 1806, completely abandoned the Revolutionary system of time. Simultaneously, thanks to an indult issued by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Caprara, even most traditional religious holidays also were eliminated or relegated to Sunday observance. As Shusterman concludes, "There was a shift in the authority over the holidays from the Catholic Church to the French State" (p. 242).

The author's study rests on extensive research in the French archives. His bibliography alone occupies twenty-two closely printed pages. Shusterman's direct prose enables the reader to follow his argument with little difficulty.

In summary, *Religion and the Politics of Time* is a model of both scholarly thoroughness and skillful analysis. It provides a valuable source for historians of religion and society in France over a wide swath of time. It is an impressive achievement.

Montana State University Billings JAMES FRIGUGLIETTI

L'Islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Milano, Università degli Studi, 17–18 ottobre 2007). Edited by Bernard Heyberger, Mercedes García-Arenal, Emanuele Colombo, and Paola Vismara. (Milan: Casa Editrice Marietti. 2009. Pp. xxii, 356. €24,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-821-19409-2.)

This volume grew out of a 2007 conference held in Milan, which brought together scholars from France, Great Britain, and Italy to consider the European response to Islam over the course of the long seventeenth century. Organizationally, the book begins with an introduction that places the somewhat disparate essays into dialogue with one another and situates them in a broader historiographical context. The volume is then divided into two sections: "Images and Practices of Islam in European Culture," which considers ways in which scholars, travelers, philosophers, and others depicted Islam; and "Politics and Religion Confronted by Islam," which examines how political, diplomatic, and military encounters informed evolving European views of Islam.

Some of the volume's more notable essays include Mercedes García-Arenal's examination of how Spanish historians dealt with the problematic Islamic past of Andalusia. The standard early-modern narratives portrayed Spain's Islamic period as an anomalous interlude of foreign invasion; however, in the case of Granada this did not work since the city's long Muslim history left it lacking the ecclesiastical chronology that was integral to these histories. The solution was found in a number of spurious ancient texts that remade the region's early Arab and Jewish settlers into more acceptable groups, all in the service of manufacturing a purer and less problematic Spanish identity.

Loubna Khayati argues in her contribution that, although the Enlightenment is held to have had a generally favorable view of Islam, the persistence of highly critical stances with deep historical roots often is ignored. Also overlooked is the existence of more nuanced views on Islam that preceded the seemingly more tolerant eighteenth century. This is evident in the works of various seventeenth-century libertine writers who found in Islamic attitudes toward sex and politics ideas quite compatible with their own.

In her essay on Veneto-Ottoman relations, Maria Pia Pedani shows that the hostilities of the second half of the seventeenth century had a profound impact on Venice's dealings with its powerful neighbor. Prior to the outbreak of the War of Candia, the Venetians maintained a policy of pragmatism and accommodation. The half-century of war saw a fundamental shift in which Venice ceased to fear the Ottomans, who became instead the object of both growing study as well as some derision. Emanuele Colombo also examines the failed Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 and its impact on Jesuit views of Islam. The victory was perceived as an act of God, and its aftermath saw a reassessment of the appropriate approach to Islam. Some Jesuits held that the time was ripe for a renewed evangelical attempt in the Islamic world, which flew in the face of centuries-old assumptions that Muslims were nearly impossible to convert.

These and the other essays in the volume fit into an extensive and well-established historiography on European responses to Islam. Groundbreaking studies by Clarence Dana Rouillard, Samuel Chew, R. W. Southern, Norman Daniel, and Robert Schwoebel developed a synchronic depiction of hostility and misunderstanding that varied little during the medieval and Renaissance periods that were their focus. More recent works by Maxime Rodinson, Lucette Valensi, Joan-Pau Rubiés, and others have complicated this monochromatic picture and have instead suggested a more nuanced and historicized understanding of changing early-modern views of the Ottoman Empire influenced by evolving political and economic ties with Europe.

L'Islam visto da Occidente fits squarely and modestly into this new scholarship; its contribution is in expanding the conversation into the often overlooked gap between these early treatments and those of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries discussed by Edward Saïd in his influential *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). As this volume contends, the long seventeenth century "marked an important step forward in western knowledge of Islam" (p. xvii), giving rise to a plurality of views of Islam that ranged from antagonism to derision and from Orientalist curiosity to Jesuit hopes for conversion.

Brigham Young University ERIC R. DURSTELER

A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe. Edited by Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy. [Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, Vol. 20.] (Leiden: Brill. 2010. Pp. vi, 462. $230.00. ISBN 978-9-004-18351-3.)

This is the first of the companions in Brill's series to deal with a topic that is itself questionable. A good many scholars of the Enlightenment and probably a good many more students of the Roman Catholic Church reject the notion of *Catholic Enlightenment* as a contradiction in terms. That was evidently what Pope John Paul II thought, and it also is the view of Jonathan Israel, the author of the latest blockbuster account of the Enlightenment.

Sebastian Merkle coined the term *Catholic Enlightenment* as long ago as 1908, and the concept has been under discussion ever since, although more intensively from about 1970. The nine authors of the chapters in this volume accept it. But they define it in a variety of ways, and some of them are much concerned to distinguish it from other related tendencies. For example, Harm Klueting's valuable chapter on "Austria or the Habsburg Lands"—a particularly tough assignment—contains this statement (p. 143):

> I do not use the term "Reform Catholicism." I speak about "Enlightenment in a Catholic country" contrary to "Catholic Enlightenment". Catholic Enlightenment was anti-baroque and reform-orientated. Catholic Enlightenment sometimes overshot the mark but it was consistently Catholic. Therefore the Catholic Enlightenment was truly Catholic. . . . What some scholars call "Reform Catholicism" was not Catholic. It was heretical.

There is perhaps a translation problem here, as in some other places in the chapter. But this statement as it stands is more puzzling than helpful, especially since other contributors strongly disagree—for example, coeditor Michael Printy, whose fine chapter focuses on "Catholic Enlightenment and Reform Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire." Coeditor Ulrich Lehner claims that "one root of the Catholic Enlightenment" was "the application of Tridentine Reform" (p. 18), and Jeffrey Burson tells us that "the Catholic Enlightenment in France, as in the rest of Catholic Europe, was a child of the sixteenth-century Catholic Reformation" (p. 66). This can reasonably be said of the concept of *Reform Catholicism*, but hardly of *Catholic Enlightenment* as naturally understood. The dogmatic rigor of the Council of Trent was surely anti-Enlightened, and it is questionable to talk of Enlightenment of any kind before the later seventeenth century. In a path-breaking chapter on Poland-Lithuania Richard Butterwick argues for the formula *enlightened Catholicism* rather than *Catholic Enlightenment*.

If some of the terminology used by the contributors seems problematic, their essays are all thoughtful and well researched, showing the continuing significance of the Church and religion in a supposedly secularizing age, and bringing out the interaction of Catholic with Enlightened thinking. They also address the relationship between Catholic Enlightenment and a range of other contemporary tendencies: Gallicanism and regalism, enlightened absolutism or despotism, Jansenism, and Protestant thinking. The campaign to suppress the Jesuits is, of course, much mentioned, but distinguished by most of the authors from Catholic Enlightenment: it comes over as an especially equivocal case, since the Society of Jesus had taken Descartes's philosophical method to its bosom and yet was assailed as reactionary and papalist.

Perhaps the wisest and most rounded chapter is Mario Rosa's, discussing the position in Italy within an exceptionally broad frame of reference and with cautious application of the concept that he interestingly calls "the

Catholic *Aufklärung*" (p. 215). He is unusual among the contributors in discussing the place of "positive science" in the story (pp. 240–41) and in suggesting that 'the Catholic *Aufklärung* . . . had given the Church a boost that would allow it over a long period to open itself up to the modern world" (p. 246). Burson, dealing skillfully with the rich topic of France, is at pains to distinguish "the Augustinian Enlightenment" from "the Pro-Unigenitus Enlightenment." Frans Ciappara produces a lively essay on the strange special case of Malta in which he identifies with unusual clarity those aspects of Catholic Enlightenment that can be found there and those that cannot. Evergton Sales Souza on Portugal and Andrea Smidt on Spain bring out the peculiarities and limitations of Enlightenment in these countries.

Some of the articles seem too much in the shadow of the ultramontanism of modern Roman Catholicism. More should perhaps have been said about the low reputation and limited power of the eighteenth-century papacy, sidelined by Gallicanism and Febronianism as well as damaged by its botched condemnation of Jansenism, its acceptance of the suppression of the Jesuits, and by the political imprudence of Pope Clement XIII. The doctrine of papal infallibility, though already cherished in Rome, was a joke to many Catholics. Hence it did not trouble them much if the pope declared an Enlightened position heretical or forbade them to be Freemasons. More might also have been said of the laicism of the Enlightenment—the resentment of lay writers and thinkers at priestly domination of education and intellectual life. But this is a distinguished collection of essays, which can claim to "serve as a recovery of a forgotten episode" (p. 166), of a time when the Catholic Church was in many respects a broader church than it was to become in the nineteenth century after it was confronted by revolution.

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge DEREK BEALES

The Rise and Fall of Theological Enlightenment: Jean-Martin de Prades and Ideological Polarization in Eighteenth-Century France. By Jeffrey D. Burson. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xxiv, 494. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-268-02220-4.)

The abbé Jean-Martin de Prades is well known to students of the French Enlightenment. He figures in all the standard accounts and works of reference, both as the author of a controversial entry in the *Encyclopédie* (*Certitude*) and as the victim in 1752 of a condemnation by the Sorbonne. After approving his doctoral thesis without dissent, the faculty suddenly reversed its position and stripped him of all his degrees. The Parlement of Paris then ordered his arrest, and he was forced to flee the country. Diderot and Voltaire took up his case, and thanks to Voltaire, he received a position at the court of Frederick the Great in Berlin. There he flourished as a famous martyr to religious bigotry and intolerance, before the king began to suspect

him of spying for France. Never able to return home, he died in obscure exile in Prussia, thirty years after his brief moment of notoriety.

Jeffrey D. Burson argues that Prades deserves much more than a footnote or passing mention in the history of the Enlightenment. He sees the condemnation of 1752 as nothing less than a turning point in its whole evolution. He contends that, without the unpredictable set of contingencies that brought it about, rational religion and advanced free thought might have managed to coexist without the bitter antagonism that marked their relationship right down into the French Revolution. They had already coexisted, he argues, since the expulsion from the Sorbonne of Jansenist doctors under the impulsion of Fleury in 1729. Unencumbered by Augustinian intransigence, the Sorbonne over the next quarter of a century espoused a theology born of Jesuit attempts to integrate the arguments of Malebranche and Locke into Christian doctrine. Burson's term for it is *theological Enlightenment*, and he suggests that Prades's ambition was nothing less than to synthesize it into a form that the most modern thinkers might broadly accept. This was why Diderot invited him to contribute to the *Encyclopédie*. Several impressive chapters are devoted to the key elements of this modern theology. But Prades submitted his thesis at a bad moment, when Jansenist zeal was being rekindled by the provocative determination of a new archbishop to make the dying attest their orthodoxy in confession notes. This in turn stirred up Jansenist magistrates in the parlement, who saw an opportunity to avenge the exclusion of their fellow travelers while pursuing the sovereign court's old ambition to oversee the affairs of the proudly autonomous Sorbonne. To fend off such interference, the faculty felt constrained to flaunt its orthodoxy, encouraged to do so by the archbishop. The thesis of Prades offered the occasion, but not only he paid the price. Enlightenment theology was squeezed out. While freethinkers, disgusted by the vicious infighting among divines, turned increasingly toward an anticlerical atheism, believers began to close ranks against them. In these developments lay the seeds of the Jesuits' downfall in the next decade, not to mention the emergence an aggressive counter-Enlightenment so recently highlighted by Darrin McMahon. At the other extreme the radical Enlightenment broke into the intellectual mainstream for the first time.

Yet none of this, Burson insists, was inevitable. He reaches this conclusion through careful and exhaustive combing through all the evidence, including some fairly esoteric theology. In the process he resolves numerous side issues such as the role played by Diderot and others in Prades's writings to vindicate himself. To make the hapless abbé the catalyst of the entire later Enlightenment is to make him bear a huge burden, but no future students of the subject will be able to avoid engaging with Burson's very impressive scholarly achievement.

University of Bristol WILLIAM DOYLE

Carteggi con Quadrio . . . Ripa. Edizione Nazionale del Carteggio di L. A. Muratori, Vol. 35. Edited by Ennio Ferraglio and Marco Faini. [Centro di Studi Muratoriani, Modena.] (Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki. 2008. Pp. 654. €120.00. ISBN 978-8-822-25767-3.)

Fortunately, a re-evaluation of the role played by the historian and reformer Ludovico Antonio Muratori in the Italian pre-Enlightenment has not had to wait for the completion of the national edition of his correspondence, but has accompanied this ongoing editorial venture, which is now in its thirty-fifth year and still has some twenty-nine volumes to go. The editors of the most recent installment, covering somewhat more than one letter of the alphabet, have adhered scrupulously to the project's high standards and strict criteria. They have looked far and wide to add material supplementing the main body of documents that exists in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena. In the case of letters by Muratori himself, rather than simply reprinting those published by Matteo Cámpori at the beginning of the twentieth century (14 vols., 1901–22), they have corrected the transcriptions against the originals wherever possible and have added any recently discovered letters. They provide detailed introductions to each correspondent, ranging from mini-dissertations up to eight pages long (for the more important figures) to short paragraphs (for the lesser-known figures), along with explanatory footnotes. The appendices round out the collection, adding letters not to or from Muratori himself but clearly intended for his perusal.

The letters here constitute a particularly challenging portion of the series, including no fewer than seventy-one correspondents from all over Europe, referring to every period of Muratori's long career—from the early studies on poetry and good taste to the later ones on legal and political reform to the immense masterworks on medieval and modern history—during a key period in Italian and European culture: from the War of the Spanish Succession and the rise of Frederick II to the papacy of Benedict XIV. They show the difficulties of obtaining and confirming knowledge in a regime of bibliographical fragmentation and the trials of publishing in a regime of censorship, experienced not only by Muratori himself for the *Annali d'Italia* and other works in various states around Europe but also by Francesco Algarotti, author of a layman's manual on Newtonian philosophy, and many others. They convey a sense of the debate on witchcraft and the spread of Jansenism, as well as the attempts of intelligent Europeans to come to terms with the first classics of the French Enlightenment.

Highlights include the 169 letters exchanged with Angelo Maria Querini—antiquary, Vatican librarian, and eventually a cardinal based in Brescia and Rome. These contain much about Querini as priest and prelate, publishing his periodical bulletins to members of his diocese, with words of edification and church news, in the midst of a tireless search for information about local literary history and lore. Another highlight is the series of 114 letters by

Giovanni Giuseppe Ramaggini, to whom none by Muratori survive. Although a minor figure, Ramaggini spent much of his career in the retinue of various prelates in Rome and eventually as a secretary to the reforming minister Karl Firmian, who would become the Austrian plenipotentiary in Milan. His long communications to Muratori give an intensely reflective account of intellectual developments at the time, from some of which Ramaggini remained aloof, closing his mind to the more radical contributions such as La Mettrie's *L'homme machine* of 1748 ("such monstrous abortions of human ingenuity!" p. 258). Fewer in number but important because of the reputation of the sender are the letters by Emmanuel de Richecourt, Tuscan grand duke Francis Stephen's regent in Florence; Bernardino Ramazzini, the father of occupational medicine; Luigi Riccoboni, actor and author of a manual on theater performance; Francesco Saverio Quadrio, Jesuit author of a history of poetry; and Giambattista Recanati, author of an early anthology of women poets. Overall, we are reminded that the innovative trend of the eighteenth century did not only arrive at the conclusion suggested by Jonathan Israel but also at the one proposed by Franco Venturi, and it is encouraging to see more of this story come to light.

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BRENDAN DOOLEY

Late Modern European

Realism, Tolerance, and Liberalism in the Czech National Awakening: Legacies of the Bohemian Reformation. By Zdeněk V. David. (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. xxi, 479. $70.00. ISBN 978-0-801-89546-3.)

This impressively-researched work argues that the Czech national awakening was neither rooted in the nineteenth century nor in language. Zdeněk David advances a revisionist thesis arguing that its roots may be located in the "happy marriage" of the Catholic Enlightenment and the Bohemian Reformation. He agrees with Thomas Masaryk against Josef Pekař and mainstream historiography. Unlike the former, David prefers the utraquist stream of the Hussite tradition rather than the Czech Brethren, suggesting that the toleration and liberalism exhibited by utraquism formed the intellectual basis for the national awakening.

There are two major foci: first, the nature of the Czech national awakening, and second, an interpretation of later Hussite history. On the first, David is masterful. Eschewing the calamity of the Counter-Reformation, David regards the Catholic Enlightenment as the incubator. German ascendancy was foisted on Czechs by Austrian bureaucrats rather than voluntarily embraced by the awakeners. Johann Gottfried Herder was not a key player, and David presents compelling supporting evidence for that conclusion.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel is left out (quite rightly), whereas Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling are overshadowed by the towering influence of Bernard Bolzano. Chapters 5–11 constitute a mighty achievement that no student of modern Czech history can ignore.

The other focus of the study is not as convincing. David consistently stresses utraquist tolerance, which is a problematic claim. The utraquists actively persecuted the Czech Brethren, were opposed to any legal recognition of the Brethren, and lobbied to exclude them from the "Peace of Kutná Hora" (1485). At least one man was burned alive (1511) for protesting idolatry at a Utraquist Mass. The preacher at Prague's utraquist Tyn Church collaborated in the repression of the Brethren, and the sixteenth-century Utraquist Consistory was sometimes a tool used by royal authorities to suppress and persecute. David mentions none of this. He glosses the history as "liberal," "mellow," "irenic," "tolerant," and "permissive" and suggests this formed the basis of the national awakening.

In his earlier work, David noticed that a large number of sixteenth-century works were republished in the late-eighteenth century, and the present book is a fuller exploration of that phenomenon. Adopting R. G. Collingwood's "theory of reenactment," David argues that reading historical sources allows the reader to think the thoughts of the writer and bring the past to actuality in the present. The republication of sixteenth-century utraquist texts presents David with *prima facie* evidence supporting the Czech national awakening as the legacy of the Bohemian Reformation. David quotes Frantisek Pelcl, who claimed in 1781 that any Czech reading Czech-language books and familiar with Bohemian history was already something of a Hussite. The claim is spectacularly specious. Political uses of the past are detectable in the Czech revival. For example, the expulsion of a professor from his university post in Prague was likened to Hus's execution.

Although the book is not an easy read, it exhibits tremendous erudition, deep reading of the sources, and expansive knowledge; it is superbly researched and characterized by unusual dexterity especially on the national awakening. One can only admire the industry and learning of the author. The connections to the Bohemian Reformation are less convincing and considerably more tenuous, and the plot is nearly lost in the denseness of the "epiphenomena of a reified national spirit" and "ontically individualistic, epistemologically empirical" philosophy that characterized the awakening. Historians of philosophy and those interested in the emergence of Czech nationalism will find the book useful and provocative. For the student of the Bohemian Reformation, David's thesis must be tempered by the fact that at the height of the putative appropriation of utraquist history by the awakeners, Jan Hus's Bethlehem Chapel in Prague was pulled down.

Washougal, WA THOMAS A. FUDGE

Inquisizione spagnola e riformismo borbonico fra Sette e Otttocento. Il dibattito europeo sulla soppressione del «terrible monstre.» By Vittorio Sciuti Russi. [Studi e testi per la storia della tolleranza in Europa nei secoli XVI–XVIII, Vol. 13.] (Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki. 2009. Pp. xxii, 374. €39.00. ISBN 978-8-822-25808-3.)

Vittorio Sciuti Russi's intellectual history, *Inquisizione spagnola e riformismo borbonico fra Sette e Ottocento*, is an important and useful addition to our knowledge of the Spanish Holy Office, particularly in its last decades. Sciuti Russi's work is significant for two reasons: first, it provides an understanding of the Holy Office and its fortunes in the period in which it has been least studied—namely, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and second, it provides an understanding of the intellectual and political context in which these courts operated, and distinguishes between the place of the Spanish and Sicilian courts in local politics in the Age of Enlightenment. In the process, Sciuti Russi provides a persuasive explanation for why the Sicilian court system was suppressed so much earlier than its Spanish counterpart, even though both were technically under the authority of the Suprema.

In the first part of the book, "*La tigre annichilata: I Borbone di Napoli e l'inquisizione,*" Sciuti Russi demonstrates that the Holy Office in Naples was not simply an element of Spanish imperial power over the Two Sicilies. As in places such as the Crown of Aragon, the establishment of the Spanish Holy Office was fiercely resisted on the Italian peninsula. But as the Two Sicilies passed from Spanish to Hapsburg to Bourbon rule, the inquisition became a distinctly provincial institution, under the control of the cadet branch of the Bourbon family ruling there. Enlightenment thinkers, together with government reformers, succeeded in ending long-standing prerogatives and powers associated with the Spanish inquisition in the Two Sicilies, before abolishing it entirely in 1782.

In Spain, by contrast, those arguing in favor of the continued existence of the Holy Office had much greater influence, as Sciuti Russi explains in the second part of his book, "*La tigre ostinata: I Borbone di Spagna e l'inquisizione*." There, Enlightenment reformers waged a slow, pitched battle with higher clergy who argued for the continued importance of the inquisition as a bulwark of public morals. Yet here, too, an international group of bishops, diplomats, liberals, and thinkers that included Spaniards and other Europeans weighed in on the merits and significance of reforming this institution. The cast of characters here ranges from the *abbé* Grégoire; Lutheran theologian Friedrich Münter; and Spanish Enlightenment figures such as Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos to the cleric and writer Juan Antonio Llorente; José Nicolás de Azara, Spanish ambassador to the Holy See; and the artist Goya. Carlos III and Carlos IV attempted to reform the Holy Office in a move toward liberalization and strengthened royal authority, weakening the institution as the eighteenth century drew to a close. The year 1797 was, Sciuti Russi says, a year of crisis

for the tribunal (p. 205). Napoleon's abolition of the Holy Office marked the beginning of decades of debate, abolition, and brief periods of restoration for the Inquisition before its final demise in 1834—a process made elegantly clear by Sciuti Russi.

The political and intellectual context described by Sciuti Russi makes for fascinating reading. Even those inquisition historians familiar with Llorente will find much here to contextualize and help explain that first great history of the Holy Office. Equally helpful is Sciuti Russi's discussion of Friedrich Münter, whose earlier history of the inquisition should be better known. The useful appendices include Münter's work, a letter by the *abbé* Grégoire, and a late defense of the Spanish Holy Office, as well as a letter regarding the Sicilian Holy Office. In short, this is a monograph well worth reading.

University of Kentucky GRETCHEN STARR-LEBEAU

Katholische Aufklärung, Volksfrömmigkeit und "Religionspolicey": Das rheinische Wallfahrtswesen von 1816 bis 1826 und die Entstehungsgeschichte des Wallfahrtsverbots von 1826. Ein Beitrag zur aufklärerischen Volksfrömmigkeitsreform. By Volker Speth. [Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien, Band 5.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2008. Pp. xii, 555. $124.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-58009-7.)

This volume studies a pivotal moment in the social history of modern German Catholicism, when church and state officials joined efforts to bring order and reason to popular religion. But history did not pivot as the reformers intended. Volker Speth's book details the ten years of administrative machinations leading up to the official 1826 ban on pilgrimages in the Prussian Rhine Province, an event that set the stage for a massive religious revival. Speth focuses on the Rhineland pilgrimages as the clearest indicator of a growing social and cultural confrontation among popular religious identity, statist social discipline, and local communal autonomy.

Prussia was just beginning to assert authority over the Rhine Province, part of the post-Napoleonic conservative Restoration, and Rhenish Catholics viewed Prussian rule as foreign. In truth, Prussia had reason to question the loyalty and political stability of the new province. Public assemblies such as pilgrimages, involving the orchestrated movement of large or small groups of people through villages and towns en route to a mass gathering, were a security concern. Some of the popular pilgrim destinations such as Kevelaer and Neuss involved sizable numbers of people crossing district territorial borders.

Pilgrimages were a unique problem for the contemporary Catholic hierarchy as well. From the perspective of church leaders whose careers advanced during the Enlightenment, Revolutionary, and Napoleonic periods, pilgrimages were part of an outdated folk culture. The destinations were deemed

sacred through long-established folk tradition. Whereas the participants saw pilgrimages as an act of piety—and an excellent opportunity to get away from home for a brief time—officials reported instances of public drunkenness and carousing as well as pointing up the moral dangers for young women and men trekking across the countryside and sleeping in barns or the open air. For churchmen advancing a more enlightened faith, these pilgrimages were a cultural accretion at best.

In the interest of compromise, church and state officials first hammered out schemes for regulating pilgrimages. As Speth shows, however, these attempts only led to frustration as local communities, district administrators, and diocesan clerics could not agree on the pilgrimages to permit or the rules to enforce. Ultimately, the authoritarian state's interest in controlling public assemblies was more pressing than church efforts at convincing peasants to abandon their pre-modern rituals. The study thus culminates with the pilgrimage *Verbot* in 1826 by Baron Ferdinand August Spiegel, archbishop of Cologne. At first glance, it was an overwhelming victory for modern reformers. But, as Speth argues, the 1826 ban was only a temporary victory for the state administration and a failure for the Enlightened religious reform movement. As an expression of popular piety and local identity, the pilgrimage remained important in the small towns and farming communities. The official ban only deepened the chasm between Catholic Rhinelanders and the Prussian government.

What makes this volume particularly important is its exhaustive research on church and state practices as well as its detailed social analysis of the pilgrims. Speth thoroughly covers the historiography of early-nineteenth-century German Catholicism, and his work deepens our understanding of the face-off between popular religion and the Prussian state. Officials interpreted *Volk* pilgrimages as an expression of an unruly and superstitious culture. Speth's research provides the detailed and nuanced analysis of precisely how the bureaucracies attempted to hem in popular Catholicism.

University of Wisconsin–Stevens Point ERIC YONKE

Konfession, Nation und Rom. Metamorphosen im schweizerischen und europäischen Katholizismus des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. By Urs Altermatt. (Frauenfeld: Verlag Huber, an imprint of Orell Füssli Verlag, Zurich. 2009. Pp. 442. €39,90. ISBN 978-3-719-31457-6.)

The well-known Swiss historian Urs Altermatt, emeritus professor of the University of Fribourg, has published an impressive study on the relation between Catholicism and the nation-state in Switzerland. He mainly focuses on the cultural discourse about the religious and national identity of Swiss Catholics in connection with the process of their political emancipation.

After the defeat of the Catholic cantons in the *Sonderbundskrieg* and the formation of a federal *Bundesstaat* in 1848, Catholics stood outside the Swiss nation, which in fact was constructed by Protestant and liberal elites. Catholics were branded as enemies of the fatherland, and they withdrew into their own subculture. Slowly, they regained ground in the political institutions of their *Stammländer*, but on the federal level they were confronted with a national government that was monopolized by Protestants and radical Liberals. In those difficult circumstances, they strove for the greatest possible autonomy of their Church and for a policy of decentralization. As was the case in other countries, international ties with the papacy strengthened the cohesion among Catholics in the *Pianische Epoche*. A number of very interesting pages in the book are devoted to this aspect.

As in Germany, anti-Catholicism culminated in the 1870s in a virulent *Kulturkampf*. This culture war forced Catholics onto the defensive, but at the same time it increased their strength. Social mutations and the starting process of democratization further extended their political influence. Anticlerical Liberals subsequently saw themselves compelled to abandon their politics of exclusion. In 1887 the *Katholisch-Konservativen* acquired the status of a recognized opposition, and in 1891 they obtained, for the first time, a representative in the federal government. Consequently, Catholics gradually accepted the 1848 constitutional framework and associated themselves more and more with the nation. Their slow march out of cultural exile began after 1900. Changes in the electoral system (the introduction of proportional representation in 1919) reinforced even more their political power, and, in 1948, during the celebration of the centenary of the modern *Bundesstaat*, they manifested themselves as unconditionally loyal Swiss citizens.

Their successful integration into Swiss society weakened the cohesion among Catholics. Different other factors, such as an increasing secularization and growing individualism, caused the religious-cultural factor to become less important to their sense of identity. The secular culture of the nation state showed itself stronger than religion, which was slowly reduced to its ethical dimension. The assimilation with the dominant cultural pattern amounted to a kind of "Protestantization" of Swiss Catholicism. Analogously, bonds with the papacy gradually weakened as a binding element in the Catholic community. This is explained in detail in a very interesting and clarifying chapter (pp. 227–59).

The changing relationship between Swiss Catholicism and the papacy constitutes the most important European dimension in Altermatt's book, together with a short account of "religion and nation in Europe" (pp. 27–54). The rest of the study deals exclusively with Swiss Catholicism and has to be seen as an excellent case study in that area. It offers a solid and well-founded survey of the interrelationship between Catholicism and the nation state in Switzerland.

Catholic University of Leuven EMIEL LAMBERTS

Eglise et nation: La question liturgique en France au XIX^e siècle. By Vincent Petit. [Collection «Histoire»] (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2010. Pp. 199. €18,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-753-51014-2.)

Vincent Petit offers this study of the Romanization of the liturgy in France in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. The Ultramontane movement in the Catholic Church was a great ecclesio-political and ecclesiological movement away from older, largely national, forms and modes of Catholicism and toward a universal, international Catholicism centered on the papacy and the Church of Rome. In liturgy, this entailed the replacement of older national and local forms of worship in various countries by those favored and practiced in Rome.

In relating how this came about, Petit, a professor of history at Université Paris-I and Fribourg, really does not do justice to the great idealism of the first generation of Ultramontanes inspired especially by Félicité de Lamennais in the 1820s. They were reacting to centuries of Gallican state control of religion, to the Revolution's attempt to regiment religion in renewed and largely unfriendly ways, and to the continuation of Gallicanism by Napoleon and the Bourbon Restoration. They turned their eyes beyond the Alps to the distant Holy Father down in Rome, revering him rather uncritically as embodying the lofty Christian values they found lacking in the French state system. In pressing for the adoption in France of the Roman liturgy, they thought of themselves as reviving the earliest forms of liturgy that had been preserved in Rome and largely lost in other countries, especially in France. Thus, it is not really correct historically to keep calling their ideas, as Petit does, reactionary, integralist, and foreign.

But Petit does very scholarly work on an abundance of primary sources in tracing the rapid growth in acceptance of Roman modes in France. The most prominent figure is, of course, Prosper Guéranger, O.S.B., in his youth an admirer of Lamennais. Like other Mennaisians offended by the Gallican state system, he turned to what he considered earlier and more authentic Catholic history and tradition, and in the spirit of Romanticism, wrote numerous works promoting the acceptance of the Roman liturgy. The number of French clergy and some laity impressed by this grew steadily and rather rapidly. There had been regional and local missals, breviaries, and hymnbooks across France, and the process of replacing these with Roman books is Petit's main subject. He has gone through a large number of books, articles, and ecclesiastical documents and shows clearly and succinctly how the process of replacing French with Roman modes took place. By the 1860s, before the First Vatican Council, the adoption of Roman forms of liturgy in France was largely complete.

The book is rather brief. The main text is 106 pages, followed by fifty-eight pages of annexes that offer charts, maps, and key texts of French bishops. He gives a listing of sources in chronological order in seven double-columned pages. There is no other bibliography, but there are abundant references in

footnotes to primary and secondary sources. The book includes a useful glossary of terms that appear in the text. Thus, Petit offers a historical study that is quite scholarly and informative.

Saint Louis University RICHARD F. COSTIGAN, S.J.

Sainte Thérèse de Lisieux (1873–1897). Biographie. By Guy Gaucher. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 683. €29,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-09270-8.)

In the introduction the author tells us that his work will be based on authentic documents, and his method will be chronological. The enormous amount of available documentation has made the publication of this volume possible. The average reader would not have the time to seek out and read all the materials that are now accessible. Guy Gaucher has put this information at the disposal of the interested reader. His work is based on the eight volumes of the Nouvelle Edition du Centenaire and the Archives de famille published in the revue *Vie thérèsienne*.

The author has made every effort to keep his work faithful to St. Thérèse of Lisieux, as befitting someone who said that we must not say unlikely things concerning the lives of the saints. Our reflection and devotion should be based on facts, not on conjecture. Gaucher's impressive work follows this directive. His work will enable the reader to better appreciate all Thérèse's surroundings: her family, her Carmel, and the Church of her time. Her writings and words will become more understandable in the light given by this biography.

The author deals with the following periods and events in the life of Thérèse: the Martin family in Alençon (1858–77); the move from Alençon to Lisieux (1877–81); Thérèse's experience as a student at the Benedictine Abbey School (1881–86); her complete conversion during Christmas 1886 (Ms A, 45r); the pilgrimage to Rome, 1887 (Ms A, 55v); the solitude of Carmel (1888–97); and her move to the infirmary (July 8–September 30, 1897). Gaucher has included a posthumous history and a plan of the Lisieux Carmel in 1897. There also is a general chronology, a glossary of religious terms, the bibliographical sources, and the genealogy of the Martin and Guerin families.

The longest chapter is that concerning Thérèse's life in Carmel. The author begins with her postulancy and describes Carmel as it existed at the time. Her experience in the novitiate and her life as a professed nun are all included. Gaucher discusses in chronological order the significant amount of writing produced by Thérèse during her short life: the Manuscripts, the Pious Recreations, the poetry, and the letters.

Of particular note is the description of Thérèse's "Little Way." She always wanted to be a saint. Such an ideal seemed impossible to her, yet she realized that God would not inspire desires that could not be fulfilled. Basing her phi-

losophy on Proverbs 9:4 and Isaiah 66, she accepted that she must remain little; only then could the arms of Jesus lift her up. The author provides helpful background material to enable the reader to appreciate her remarkable contribution to spirituality.

Thérèse and others in her time suffered from a certain atmosphere where fear of God was all pervasive, reinforced by the frightening sermons of some of the clergy and the widespread Jansenism of the period. Given this atmosphere, Thérèse's "Little Way" and her "Offering to Merciful Love" are quite extraordinary.

In conclusion, this book is a welcome addition to the Theresian literature. It is full of important, detailed information and accurately relates the background, the life, and the death of the Little Flower to those who would want to know her better.

Carmelite Monastery SALVATORE SCIURBA, O.C.D.
Brighton, MA

Friedrich Loofs in Halle. Edited by Jörg Ulrich. (New York: DeGruyter. 2010. Pp. x, 349. $140.00. ISBN 978-3-110-24634-6.)

Ulrich has edited a scholarly and lucid collection of essays devoted to the life and work of Friedrich Loofs (1858–1928), a Protestant professor of the history of dogma at Halle University. Loofs was the oldest of eleven children, and his father was a pastor in Hildesheim. He academically matured in a culture permeated by neo-Lutheranism, which he studied in Leipzig. He also was interested in the cultural Protestantism taught by Albrecht Ritschl and the developmental dogma ideas propounded by Adolf Harnack, who was consumed with investigating the origins of early Christian dogma.

A portion of the research on Loofs is based on his archive at Halle, which contains more than 3000 letters that offer reflections on a variety of topics, including the work of his contemporary, Harnack. The first edition of Loofs's *Dogmengeschichte* appeared in 1889. He subsequently wrote a number of shorter pieces, including those on St. Augustine and Pelagianism, which solidified his reputation as an expert in classical Christian history. Two themes seem to have influenced his academic endeavors and his theological reputation. The first is the doctrine of justification and its existential consequences for evangelical Christians. The second theme is focused on the relation of Jesus of Nazareth to the Christological dogma of the patristic church. Within this context he defined *church history* as the theological and historical discipline that interacts with all the models of historical, critical research but is oriented to the needs of contemporary and future pastors.

Church history is theological knowledge, according to Loofs, developed in the context of ecclesial activities in the present and yet retains its critical

capacities. In essence, Loofs has offered the contextual theological model characterized by the relationship of Theorie to praxis. In this respect he shows his rootedness in the work of Friedrich Schleiermacher. Dogmas for Loofs, therefore, emerge out of the community as a whole or at least out of its theological component. Significantly, while Catholics were assaulting modernism, Loofs insisted that the history of dogmas had to be seen as a genuine theological discipline that did not lead to relativism. Although sensitive to Harnack's hellenization theory of early Christianity, Loofs nevertheless opted for a narrower connection between the New Testament kerygma and subsequent dogma formulations. In brief, Loofs offers a substantive example of an eclectic theologian who does not seem to be constrained by any specific systematic theological perspective.

Essays in this collection also point out the effectiveness of Loofs through his homilies as well as through his social concerns. One of his concerns revolved around the German horror toward the sanctioned murder of the Armenians during World War I. Before the war, Loofs and others were quite focused on bringing Armenian students to German universities and formed a German Armenian Society to improve relations. The essay by Hermann Goltz suggests that the German compassion toward the Armenians was developed through intimate associations, a condition that would later be lacking toward Jews. This essay nicely addresses the formation of bystander empathy.

This collection of essays leads the reader to wonder if more figures like the eclectic Loofs could have changed the outlook of Protestant theology when confronted with the Third Reich. Some of the authors in this volume also question the insidious role of nationalism in the formation of theological perspectives. Such an insight would be useful in helping both Protestants and Catholics in critiquing the nexus of faith and culture.

Boston College DONALD J. DIETRICH

Maurice Blondel: A Philosophical Life. By Oliva Blanchette. [Ressourcement: Retrieval and Renewal in Catholic Thought.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2010. Pp. xvi, 820. $45.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-86365-2.)

Without any exaggeration, it can be said that for a second time in his career, Oliva Blanchette has made the most substantive English-language contribution to date to study of the French Catholic philosopher Maurice Blondel. Back in the 1980s, dissatisfied with the earlier translation of Blondel's early masterwork *Action* (Paris, 1893), Blanchette provided an improved version that long ago became the standard for Anglophone Blondel scholarship. The contribution he makes now with the present book is an intellectual biography, in the truest sense, of this seminal, difficult, and often overlooked thinker. The book superlatively satisfies needs of a number of related fields.

Historians of ideas interested in the intellectual, social, and religious milieu of 1860s–1940s France will appreciate Blanchette's handlings of the background to Blondel's works and thought. He provides nearly full overview of the wide ambit of Blondel's thought for church historians and others curious about this polarizing, energizing, original thinker who disliked controversy and whose influence is discernible in *nouvelle théologie* and transcendental Thomist thinkers who played important roles in the Second Vatican Council and later Catholic theology. For anyone interested in Blondel's philosophical development, commitments, positions, and works, Blanchette has worked out invaluable explorations whose length and depth go far beyond mere summaries. He discusses the main features of nearly the entire Blondelian corpus and introduces, where appropriate or illuminating, the voluminous archived, unpublished Blondelian materials.

Given that the majority of Blondel's published works remain untranslated, Blanchette's detailed and accurate discussions of nearly all of Blondel's texts assume even greater importance. In five chapters (and more than 200 pages), he renders accessible to the reader who is unfamiliar with French the main arguments and systematized insights of Blondel's later metaphysical and moral masterwork: his trilogy of *Thought*, *Being* (*and Beings*), and the radically reworked *Action*. Another two chapters are devoted to Blondel's ultimately unfinished philosophy of the (Christian) supernatural, the culminating work planned to turn the trilogy into a tetralogy. The availability in translation of most of Blondel's early works does not nullify the usefulness of Blanchette's studies in this volume, providing both clear and correct overviews to Blondel neophytes and thought-provoking interpretations for Blondel scholars. Blanchette also examines nearly every untranslated piece of Blondel's hitherto under-researched but very fertile middle period, blazing trails for further Blondel scholarship.

Every period and each piece are contextualized not only within the French intellectual scene but also within the scope of Blondel's life, vocation, teaching, and relationships. Blanchette brings Blondel to life as a human personality by making copious use not only of Blondel's published correspondence, memoirs, interviews, and notebooks but also materials from the Centre d'Archives de Maurice Blondel. For example, we discover not only the multifarious contents of the courses Blondel taught but also that he antedates Étienne Gilson (who is more typically credited) in introducing medieval thinkers to the French philosophy curriculum. Blanchette offers reasons why Blondel employed so many pseudonymous personae in commenting on his own work and combating his opponents. The turns, developments, decisions, setbacks, and triumphs of Blondel's philosophical vocation—his "intellectual apostolate" (p. 181)—are mapped out.

Given a work of this value, it seems pedantic to fault Blanchette's eminently readable style for frequently calling Paris an "intellectual Mecca" (e.g., pp. 37, 188) or for a few repetitions from one chapter to another. The bibli-

ography of Blondel's works is nearly, but not entirely, comprehensive, since it includes only those that Blanchette references; and one chapter, "The Problem of a Catholic Philosophy," does uncharacteristically neglect several Blondelian interventions within the 1930s Christian philosophy debates. That these are the worst complaints a fellow Blondel scholar can make of an 800-page tome hopefully speaks volumes about the admirable quality of Blanchette's work as a historian and a philosopher.

Marist College GREGORY B. SADLER
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Il modernismo in Italia e in Germania nel contesto europeo. Atti della L settimana di studio, Trento, 23–26 ottobre 2007. Edited by Michele Nicoletti and Otto Weiss. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Quaderni, 79.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2010. Pp. 498. €33,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-13720-3.)

A distinct approach of this volume of papers is to explore possible crosslinks of modernism with other fields of scholarship. Some pertinent connections with developments of the period 1890–1930 are brought to light, often for the first time, in the contributions dealing with ecumenism (by Annibale Zambarbieri); feminism (by Vittorio Carrara and Roberta Fossati); canon law (by Carlo Fantappiè); secular historiography (by Franziska Metzger); "folkish" movements (by Uwe Puschner); Italian neo-idealist philosophy and politics (by Mauro Visentin and Rocco Cerrato); literature (by Paolo Marangon on Antonio Fogazzaro); university life in Germany (by Christopher Dowe); and pedagogy, through such figures as Maria Montessori (Fulvio De Giorgi). Fantappiè draws attention, for example, to the significant overlap in both period and personnel between the Vatican's campaign against modernism and the drafting of the 1917 Code of Canon Law. Weiss's unusually helpful introduction serves to direct the reader to other contributions of most interest to individual research interests.

The conference where these papers were originally presented was a "study week" that convened German and Italian scholars; the German papers have been translated into Italian for this publication. It took place one hundred years after some modernist figures consulted with each other in Molveno, near Trent, shortly after the antimodernist syllabus, *Lamentabili,* came out (July 3) and before *Pascendi* (September 8, 1907), as Michele Nicoletti discusses.

Beside the new questions explored, the central issues of modernist research receive renewed attention, especially those affecting German or Italian actors. Giovanni Vian tries to get a handle on censorship and self-censorship among the consequences of antimodernism that characterized the years after *Pascendi*. Claus Arnold examines German theologians after 1918 and concludes that their pro- or antimodernist leanings were not much of a

predictor in regard to their stance toward Nazism. The inspiration of scripture was another delicate subject, as was the historicity of dogma (discussed by Peter Neuner) and issues of church authority in matters of belief (examined by Davide Zordan), provoking antimodernist disciplinary measures.

Vatican players such as Louis Billot, S.J., figure prominently in Weiss's thematic paper; Modernists Ernesto Buonaiuti and Romolo Murri in those by Nicoletti and Cerrato. Two cases deal with progressive figures who nevertheless escaped public disavowal by the Vatican: Although Franz von Hummelauer, S.J., was forced out of scriptural studies, Erich Wasmann, S.J., as a Catholic biologist who softened the apologetic stance against evolution, was merely asked to stick to noncontroversial subjects (as Klaus Schatz explores). Ambroise Gardeil, O.P., seems even more surprising (as Wolfgang Mueller discusses): How did he manage to escape censure as founder of the Dominican scholasticate of Le Saulchoir?

All papers are sedulously footnoted, bringing the reader up-to-date with all but the most recent editions and publications.

Marquette University (Emeritus) PAUL MISNER

De Constantinople à Athènes: Louis Petit et les Bollandistes. Correspondance d'un archevêque savant (1902–1926). Edited with commentary by Bernard Joassart. [Tabularium Hagiographicum, 6.] (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2010. Pp. 183. €45,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-873-65025-4.)

The enigmatic figure of Louis Petit (1868–1927), the French Assumptionist priest who served as archbishop of Athens from 1912 to 1926, has been the subject of a number of studies in recent years. In 1997 the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome sponsored a colloquium dedicated to his life and work; the acts were published in 2002. One paper was by Bernard Joassart, S.J., on the correspondence between Petit and members of the Bollandist Society in Brussels, the prestigious institute for the study of hagiography founded by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. The great majority of his correspondence was with Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J., the Bollandist president from 1912 until his death in 1941. In the present volume, Joassart has edited and published these letters and offers a more in-depth analysis of their contents.

Petit was born in France in 1868 and joined the Assumptionists in 1885. Without finishing his formal studies, Petit was named superior of his community's new foundation in Kadiköy (ancient Chalcedon, across the Bosphorus from Constantinople) in 1895. Under his direction the foundation would become an important center of research, publishing the influential review *Échos de l'Orient* beginning in 1897. In the meantime, Petit had taught himself the skills needed to undertake serious research in various aspects of Byzantine studies and published an increasing number of articles and books in the field.

It was the Bollandist publication of an edition of the *Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople* in 1902 that occasioned the first contact between Petit and the Belgian Jesuits. He wrote for a copy, asking if he could delay payment as well. The Bollandists were understanding of his financial situation and sent him a copy on credit, beginning a correspondence that would last throughout the final twenty-five years of Petit's life.

Altogether seventy letters have survived. Joassart has edited and painstakingly annotated all of them, carefully identifying the people and publications mentioned and providing historical details where needed. In the missives it is Petit who comes across as the more interesting personality. He writes quite openly about his disappointments and frustrations, and reveals an inquisitive mind with very broad interests and a voracious appetite for new publications in what was then the quickly expanding field of Byzantine studies. By contrast, Delehaye is more austere, writing more briefly, much less often, and never veering away from strictly scholarly matters.

The letters in this volume show that Petit's devotion to scholarly activity did not lessen after he was appointed archbishop of Athens in 1912. His correspondence with Delehaye continued unabated, and he was constantly asking for books, planning new publications, obtaining manuscripts, etc. Although Pope Pius XI's decision to ask for Petit's resignation in 1926 was attributed to a lack of pastoral skills and an overzealous promotion of French interests in Greece, one must wonder if another reason was the extent to which Petit was distracted by his scholarly activity. In his letter to the Bollandist president in July 1921, for example, Petit wrote that he had just returned to Athens after spending "six or seven weeks" on Mount Athos; a great wealth of Byzantine manuscripts were held in its monastic libraries. No doubt the Roman authorities noticed such lengthy absences from his diocese.

Joassart and the Bollandist Society have rendered a great service in publishing this correspondence, for it provides us with a remarkable window into the beginnings of the revival of Byzantine studies at the turn of the last century.

Secretariat for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
RONALD G. ROBERSON, C.S.P.

Modernists & Mystics. Edited by C. J. T. Talar. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 152. $44.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21709-3.)

If the modernist crisis is a crucial key to understanding the tensions in the Roman Catholic Church today, as the preface claims, then this collection of essays about our past sheds important light on the present situation.

C. J. T. Talar and William Portier provide a useful introduction to contextualize the essays. They argue that part of the context of the modernist movement was the constriction of Catholicism exemplified in the rejection of quietism in the seventeenth century and the increasing institutionalization of propositional theology as a definitive and limiting religious norm. They also helpfully explore the historiography of "mysticism," indebted to Michel de Certeau's analysis in volume 1 of *The Mystic Fable* (Chicago, 1992) that shows the profound significance of the different historical understandings of the mystical, symbolized by the adjective *mystical* becoming the substantive *mysticism*.

Lawrence Barmann argues that Baron Friedrich von Hügel was a modernist because he was a mystic and vice versa. Barmann's analysis of the baron's "Official Authority and Living Religion" (1904) masterfully explicates the point. Talar exegetes Henri Bremond's *Apologie pour Fénelon* (Paris, 1910) to show the sympathy of Bremond in particular (and many of the modernists in general) with Fénelon over Bossuet regarding quietism, uncovering a rarely recognized context for the modernist movement. Michael Kerlin examines the mystical *telos* of philosophy in Maurice Blondel's work. Talar analyzes Albert Houtin's "exposé" of the alleged mysticism of Mère Cécile (1845–1909) of Solesmes as a way of highlighting the inevitable prejudice of historians; this is the least interesting essay in an otherwise enlightening volume. Harvey Hill explores Alfred Loisy's book-length response to Henri Bergson's *Two Sources of Morality and Religion* (Paris, 1932). Bergson contrasts static religion and closed (tribal) morality with dynamic religion and an open (universal) morality; the latter erupts (divinely) in the context of the former, as Jesus did in late-Second-Temple Judaism. Loisy finds that all religious traditions developed both patterns, that Jesus was not such an eruption, and that Bergson has tailored history to fit his philosophy. Although Hill grants points to both in their battle, today Loisy seems far more plausible, at least in method.

These essays remind us that all the major "modernists" (save George Tyrrell) did substantial work long after the movement was suppressed. It is necessary, as they remind us, to see the modernists in the full range of their work to understand their contributions. That almost all were mystics in some sense also is clear.

Yet *mysticism* is an essentially contested concept. That the older senses of the term did not limit mystical practice to an esoteric elite is clear. That the increasing rigidity of the Roman Catholic Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made mysticism suspect and contributed both to the esotericization of mysticism and to the unbalancing of the mystical (sacramental and embodied practical), intellectual (theological), and institutional elements of religion (as von Hügel so brilliantly put it) is clear. That the solution to the present crises is not the heightening vigilance of the third element of reli-

gion, but the increased vitality of the other two elements is the subtext of this fine collection of historical explorations.

Fordham University TERRENCE W. TILLEY

George Tyrrell and Catholic Modernism. Edited and introduced by Oliver P. Rafferty. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. ISBS, Portland, OR. 2010. Pp. 187. $65.00. ISBN 978-1-846-82236-0.)

This collection of strong contributions to Roman Catholic modernism studies originated from a laudable desire to commemorate George Tyrrell, a so-called modernist and former member of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, on the centenary of his death. Oliver Rafferty's chapter I historically contextualizes what follows. The book's centerpiece is Clara Ginther's superb essay on Tyrrell's seminal article, "The Relation of Theology to Devotion" (1899). Ginther smartly shows how this article gives his corpus coherence. Anthony Maher's equally superb essay on Tyrrell's ecclesiology flows from his understanding of "devotion" as rooted in religious experience, which, in Tyrrell's case, was grounded in his Ignatian spirituality and Christology. For Tyrrell, religious experience is what primarily authorizes, a view that coheres with Blessed Cardinal John Henry Newman's view of authority: It is, first of all, internal. Out of a thorough knowledge of Tyrrell's writings, Maher shows how false was the ecclesiology of Pope Pius X and Cardinal Merry del Val compared to Tyrrell's, which inveighed against an idolatrous ultramontanism that led to abuse of authority such as virtually ignoring the religious experience of the laity and regarding bishops as mere delegates of the pope. Readers will find cogent resonances between Tyrrell's ecclesiology and what many Catholics today desperately long for. The richness of these two essays suggests that Ginther and Maher are working on monographs. They are to be strongly encouraged.

Andrew Pierce's essay on the relationship between Tyrrell and Newman is the very best of a substantial body of such literature. This work is especially helpful in showing how Tyrrell could emerge from a formation in neo-Scholastic philosophy and theology into a mode of thinking that was open to what could be most fruitfully mined of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment thought for Catholic theology. However, Pierce's characterization as "bizarre" of my failure to include Newman under "greater and lesser lights" (in *George Tyrrell*, [Shepherdstown, WV, 1981], pp. 189–207) may be misguided. I think I made it clear that Tyrrell regarded Newman as not so much a greater or lesser light in his firmament, but as the supernova that guided him toward a more fruitful way of reflection than could be found in neo-Scholasticism.

The other essays in the collection are complementary. Certainly not to be missed is Anthony Carroll's "The Philosophical Foundations of Catholic Modernism." The essays by Michael Hurley and Michael Kirwan interestingly

relate Tyrrell's thought to "ecumenical spiritualty" and "the theology of Vatican II." Rafferty rounds off the collection with a poignant, if derivative, treatment of Tyrrell's relationship to the Jesuits of his English province.

This text is best suited for graduate students. Although uneven in terms of richness and marred by inconsistent copyediting, the essays are intelligently conceived and well written. This valuable collection belongs in every academic library.

Marquette University DAVID G. SCHULTENOVER, S.J.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works, Vol. 8*: Letters and Papers from Prison*, English Edition. Edited by John W. de Gruchy; translated by Isabel Best, Lisa E. Dahill, Reinhard Krauss, and Nancy Lukens. "After Ten Years" translated by Barbara and Martin Rumscheidt, and supplementary material translated by Douglas W. Stott. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press. 2010. Pp. xxiii, 750. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-800-69703-7).

Fortress Press has devoted nearly two decades to the publication of sixteen annotated volumes of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's writings. The arrival of volume 8, *Letters and Papers from Prison*, means that only two volumes, 11 and 15, remain in this prodigious undertaking that is now under the general editorship of Victoria Barnett and Barbara Wojhoski and assisted by numerous Bonhoeffer scholars and translators. The entire project relies, of course, on the original German edition, edited by Bonhoeffer's friend and biographer, Eberhard Bethge, plus seven others, and completed in 1998. Few theologians or historical figures inspire this level of interest and effort. It is clear, however, that Bonhoeffer is worthy of the attention. He first emerged in the 1950s and 1960s as a major figure of both historical and theological interest. It is now clear that Bonhoeffer was no passing fad.

A large part of the interest in Bonhoeffer rests on his nearly unique response to the horrors perpetrated by Germans under Hitler. Instead of welcoming him, as many Christians mistakenly did, Bonhoeffer opposed Hitler and the Nazi ideology from the start. Furthermore, after he could not convince even the Confessing Church to criticize Nazism as he did, he joined the conspiracy trying to overthrow the regime. This activity led to his arrest and imprisonment in April 1943, followed by his execution in April 1945, even as the Nazi regime was crumbling. We now admire Bonhoeffer's political insight and moral courage. Bonhoeffer also emerged as one of the most influential Protestant theologians in the second half of the twentieth century.

All sixteen volumes give us important access to Bonhoeffer; however, this volume concentrates on two of the most central aspects of his story: the human cost of his courage and martyrdom and the radical nature of his theology for "a world come of age." *Letters and Papers from Prison* also is the book—now greatly enlarged, heavily annotated, and newly translated—which

first brought Bonhoeffer to the attention of the postwar world. In 1945 Bethge dug up a cache of letters buried in the backyard of the Bonhoeffer home in Berlin. For six years he held onto these and other letters written and received by Bonhoeffer during two years in prison. Some of these—between Bonhoeffer and his family—had been legally written and thus were self-censored. Others represented an illegal correspondence, mainly between Bonhoeffer and Bethge, smuggled in and out of prison by a friendly guard.

Bethge published a selection of these letters under the title *Widerstand und Ergebung* (Munich, 1951). They appeared two years later as *Letters and Papers from Prison*, placing Bonhoeffer quickly into the theological conversation. John Robinson, Anglican bishop of Woolwich, made headlines with his reading of Bonhoeffer in *Honest to God* (London, 1963), and Bonhoeffer soon became the starting point for various developments in secular theology, God-is-dead theology, and liberation theology. Most of this was rooted in eight so-called "theological letters" that Bonhoeffer wrote to Bethge from April 30 to July 21, 1944, supplemented by two papers from the same period: "Thoughts on the Baptism of Dietrich Bethge" and "Outline for a Book."

John de Gruchy, the editor of volume 8, gives an excellent introduction to what Bethge called the "new theology" produced by Bonhoeffer in prison. As a biographer of Bethge in *Daring, Trusting Spirit* (Minneapolis, 2005) as well as a longtime Bonhoeffer scholar, de Gruchy alludes to Bethge's significant role in these developments, and he largely accepts Bethge's understanding of the relationship between the early and late Bonhoeffer. De Gruchy acknowledges that Bonhoeffer first seemed to preach a church "against the world" (p. 21). His *Discipleship* (originally, *The Cost of Discipleship*, Munich, 1937) criticized the "cheap grace" to be found in casual Christianity, and his *Life Together* (Munich, 1939) described a Christian life virtually monastic in its religious intensity. His later "theological letters," by contrast, advocate a more secular Christian message and a Christian behavior more accepting of a world in which people are strong, intelligent, and able to lead good lives without relying on the church.

According to both Bethge and de Gruchy, the roots of the "new theology" can be found even in Bonhoeffer's doctoral dissertation, *Sanctorum Communio* (Berlin, 1927). Throughout his career, but especially in his last two years, he was thinking of a Christian message that could be appreciated by people like his physicist brother, Karl-Friedrich, and a message that could reach out to a pluralist world. In de Gruchy's words, "Bonhoeffer's concern now was how to speak of the God of Jesus Christ without the need for a religious worldview that was no longer credible" (p. 23). De Gruchy also sees "the persecution, incarceration, and death of the Jews and other 'undesirables' in Nazi Germany" as "undoubtedly" sparking this new emphasis: "If Jesus exists only for others, then the church must not seek its own self-preservation but be 'open to the world' and in solidarity with others, espe-

cially those who are oppressed and suffering" (p. 26). The Christian community might retain its rituals and practices as an "arcane discipline," but its public face should now become only that of a loving church, a church emulating Jesus, a church "for others."

Pacific Lutheran University ROBERT P. ERICKSEN
Tacoma, WA

A Heart in My Head: A Biography of Richard Harries. By John S. Peart-Binns. (New York: Continuum. 2007. Pp viii, 275. $33.95. ISBN 978-0-826-48154-2.)

An experienced biographer of modern Anglican bishops, Peart-Binns turns his attention to one of the Church of England's major recent figures. Until his retirement in 2006 Harries (born in 1934) was bishop of Oxford for nineteen years, thus holding one of the Church's most influential and ancient sees; he currently is a member of the House of Lords with the title of Baron Harries of Pentregarth. Before that he had served various parishes and academic institutions. In the process he had become a noted leader and author. His influence as bishop would deepen considerably.

Yet Harries cut a different path and emerged as a different sort of bishop. To be sure, his theological orientation and positions on social issues could be stamped as liberal. But Peart-Binns gets beneath labels. Harries brought intellectual acumen and a commitment to Christianity's core affirmations. He saw himself as avoiding the pitfalls of uncritical liberalism or conservatism. On some issues his position was clear and grounded. But as a whole, the mosaic of his views and actions proved complex and difficult to explain.

Peart-Binns has faced a considerable challenge in trying to assess Harries's career. First, the volume of his activity has been extraordinary. A biography becomes a dizzying account of committees chaired, books and articles published, national and international issues addressed, and international and religious leaders consulted. The reader struggles through a numbing sequence of meetings, issues, and personalities.

Second, Harries has been a private figure—warm and receptive at one level, but obscure about himself and his deeper motivation. Access to him and to a large amount of unpublished material has given Peart-Binns an enviable opportunity to probe his subject closely. Although admiring, he has not hesitated to reveal aspects of Harries's personal struggle or to question his actions at points. No simple key to the man emerges, but the narrative suggests a theme that the author could have done more to develop.

While functioning readily within the Church of England, Harries instinctively sought impact beyond it. In effect, he intended to update the church's role as a religious establishment. As one of its senior bishops, he assumed

responsibility for addressing the major issues of the day. More even than a church leader, Harries achieved wider public influence in this way. Like many of his colleagues he spoke out against apartheid in South Africa and communism in Eastern Europe. He reached out to Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Muslim leaders. He encouraged nuclear disarmament and a thoughtful approach to ethical issues.

What distinguished Harries, even as his role within the church grew, was the extent of his attention to the world beyond it. As Peart-Binns notes, Harries was alert to the changing status of religion within English life. He revealed an ability to deliver publicly compelling statements on major social issues. He intended less to change the church than to impact public discussion. He grasped the truth of new forms of human experience without compromising basic tenets of Christian commitment. This fueled his core intention, for which he encouraged the rise of various extra-ecclesial interest groups and untraditional groups within the Church.

He was convinced that Christianity must be restated in a way that was morally compelling for a new age. Judging by the sheer weight of his activities, Harries developed considerable influence. It is not clear that he changed the church, but he advanced public understanding and, in doing so, presented the Church of England in a more substantial public light.

After tracing Harries's accession to the episcopate, Peart-Binns turns to a more thematic and less strictly chronological approach. Yet the blur of detail remains. In Peart-Binns's effort to encompass all that Harries has done, he risks losing narrative control. But he has ample command of his material and insight into a subject whom he admires. What results is an account that is important, if difficult, reading. The quality of Harries's endeavors and his person make this biography worth pursuing. Peart-Binns's dedication to his task is rewarded by the sympathetic insight into an influential leader that emerges.

Richmond, VA WILLIAM SACHS

La revue «L'Art sacré»: Le débat en France sur l'art et la religion (1945–1954). By Françoise Caussé. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2010. Pp. 683. €58,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-08891-6.)

This exhaustive work investigates the dominant personalities, artistic projects, and theological controversies surrounding the highly influential periodical *L'Art sacré* in the wake of World War II. As its subtitle indicates, the contentious debates were framed in terms of reconciling religion and art. Today, we can see the conflict as a flashpoint within larger battles over relationships between Catholicism and modernity, Christ and culture, grace and nature. *L'Art sacré* was of a piece with other postwar phenomena: biblical renewal, liturgical reforms, social engagement (e.g., worker-priests), the *nouvelle théologie*.

Françoise Caussé arranges her vast study under three large tents. Part I surveys *L'Art sacré*'s inception and evolution. By starting out with late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century invented qualifiers of art—for example, "sacred," "religious," "Catholic," and "Christian"—Caussé situates the "art versus religion" opposition within the broader context of European secularization and, more particularly, French anticlericalism. After noting earlier ventures such as sacred art ateliers, Caussé moves on to the launch of *L'Art sacré* in 1935. An ambitious project in the midst of the depression, it was soon suspended with the outbreak of world war in 1939.

Following the 1944 liberation, *L'Art sacré* resumed publication under the formidable directorship of Dominicans Marie-Alain Couturier and Pie-Raymond Régamey. By 1949, however, awareness dawned that the war had been a watershed. Old formulae would no longer suffice, and changed conditions required new perspectives. "The haunting problem was the divorce between the Church and living art: the works for the church needed to stop 'crying out mediocrity, timidity'"; the periodical needed to shed its "overly didactic" tone (pp. 141, 142). For the next five years, *L'Art sacré* engaged in daringly bold projects. In 1954 Couturier's untimely death at age fifty-seven dealt this enterprise a critical blow.

Part II surveys "Protagonists, Places, and Highlights." After biographical overviews of the two main actors (Couturier and Régamey), Caussé considers their visionary projects in detail. Three especially stand out. Prominent modernists (including Pierre Bonnard, Marc Chagall, Fernand Léger, Jean Lurçat, Henri Matisse, Germaine Richier, and Georges Rouault) created pieces for the Alpine church of Notre-Dame-de-Toute-Grâce at the Plateau d'Assy. Matisse lovingly and lavishly adorned the Dominicans' convent chapel at Vence. Le Corbusier designed the Chapel of Notre-Dame-du-Haut at Ronchamp, dedicated a year after Couturier's death. These and other works actualized a prophetic vision of the Church in the modern world.

Predictably, others quickly and fiercely contested this vision, and part III provides an intellectual history of these "Debates and 'Disputes' [*Querelles*]." One chapter considers the theoretical positions staked out in *L'Art sacré*. Another surveys disputes arising out of specific projects: for example, whether a non-Christian or Marxist creator could produce "religious possibilities." A specifically twentieth-century problem arose at the Audincourt church of the Sacré-Cœur: Could "nonfigurative" (i.e., "abstract") art convey "religious" or "sacred" meanings? This question strikes a present-day reader as particularly curious—not only because such abstraction is so widespread in today's Catholic churches; but also because of ecumenical awareness of Jewish, Muslim, and certain Protestant practices avoiding all "figurative" representations in observance of the Decalogue's prohibition against "graven images" and of centuries of iconoclastic struggles between Latin and Eastern Christianity. However, as Caussé notes at the beginning of her study:

"Catholicism was the religion of images *par excellence*," making it the logical arena for this confrontation (p. 9).

It should also be remembered that these "disputes" of 1945–54 occurred contemporaneously with postwar shifts in the art world. Within the Church itself, these disputes were related to the *nouvelle théologie* crisis, the response of *Humani Generis* (August 1950), and consequent disciplinary actions imposed on French Dominicans. Caussé includes nuanced considerations of two ecclesiastical documents regarding "sacred art" promulgated in 1952: the French bishops' declaration on April 28 and the Holy Office's Instruction of June 30. The latter reaffirmed earlier directives from Trent: nothing should "shock," be "profane," or seem "out of place." It also applied Pope Pius XII's 1947 liturgical instruction rejecting representations that seemed to be "a deformation and a depravation of healthy" (or sane = *sain*) art. The popular press predictably formulated provocative headlines such as that appearing in *Arts*: "Does the Pope Condemn Abstract Art?" (pp. 537–39).

Caussé perceptively notes that the terms of these debates, although "multiform" in their particulars, were nevertheless "strangely constant," because they were fundamentally about "the difficulty of thinking through art and the Church in a secularized society [*dans une société laïcisée*]" (p. 500). The point might be made more strongly: "art" represented "modernity."

This comprehensive volume is rounded out by wonderful historical photographs and meticulously annotated indices, the periodical's tables of contents, and bibliography. Caussé has produced an indispensable resource.

Loyola University Chicago STEPHEN SCHLOESSER

American and Canadian

Marguerite Bourgeoys and the Congregation of Notre Dame, 1665–1700. By Patricia Simpson. [McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series 2, No. 42.] (Montreal: McGill-Queens's University Press. 2006. Pp. xxvii, 292. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-773-52970-0.)

In *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640–1665* (Montreal, 1997), Patricia Simpson chronicled her subject's participation in the founding of the colony of Ville-Marie (Montreal) as an experiment in Christian living. This follow-up volume focuses on the efforts of St. Marguerite Bourgeoys to establish what became the first uncloistered community of women in North America.

Simpson's narrative of the years 1665 to 1680 focuses on Bourgeoys's two trips to France to obtain letters patent and advice about securing ecclesiastical recognition for the fledgling community. During this period, several women from France and Canada joined the original four French women, and

the group established missions in the Montreal area, Trois Rivières, and Champlain. They provided elementary education for the children of settlers and native peoples, training in homemaking skills for young women, and religious instruction for children and women. Serving initially through *missions ambulantes*, they lived with local families in more distant areas until the Congregation was able to purchase property.

The last two decades of the seventeenth century saw geographic expansion as far as Île d'Orléans and Quebec city, as well as an increase in the number of Canadians, along with some native women and two English-speaking former captives who had converted to Catholicism. Those years also were marked by three major crises for the Congregation: a fire that destroyed their main house; an ultimately unsuccessful movement to establish a single "spiritual" community replacing the Congregation, Hotel Dieu, and Sulpicians; and controversy with Bishop Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier over their rule and possible incorporation into the cloistered Ursulines of Quebec. In Simpson's view, de Saint-Valler and his predecessor, François de Montmorency Laval, understood the Congregation's uncloistered way of life to be simply a temporary expedient, whereas the sisters believed it to be the way God had called them to live. The intervention of Louis Tronson, the Sulpician superior general, caused the bishop to mitigate some provisions of the rule and remove all direct reference to cloister, and thirty Congregation sisters agreed to the rules and pronounced vows in 1698, less than two years before the death of Bourgeoys at age seventy-nine.

The fact that most Congregation records from the seventeenth century have been destroyed by fire presents a major challenge to historians. Simpson supplements the fragmentary writings of Bourgeoys with such contemporary sources as the letters of Tronson and the Sulpician Dollier de Casson and the annals of the Quebec and Montreal Hôtel-Dieu communities. She draws on the work of earlier biographers, including the eighteenth-century Sulpician Étienne Montgolfier, on the assumption that some of his material came from interviews with sisters who had lived and worked with their founder. Simpson carefully mines the information contained in parish, court, and other government records to provide details concerning several of the seventeenth-century Congregation sisters, notably Marie Barbier, the first Montrealer and second superior.

Where the sources disagree, Simpson usually presents the evidence for each perspective and leaves it to the reader to determine what most likely transpired. As a result, this work is more demanding than a simple narrative would have been, but the effort is well repaid for anyone who seeks a greater understanding of early Canadian history, early-modern religious history, or the evolution of religious life for women.

University of Scranton MARY ANNE FOLEY

Missions, Missionaries, and Native Americans: Long-Term Processes and Daily Practices. By Maria F. Wade. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 2008. Pp. xxiii, 301. $69.50. ISBN 978-0-813-03280-1.)

This comparative study is woven around the leitmotiv of *conversion.* Its conceptual framework centers on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, interpreted by Maria F. Wade as the habits of nourishment and requirements of subsistence among native peoples, in which their seasonal movements contrasted with the daily and weekly schedules established in the missions. The book provides a broad view, stretching from Florida to the Californias, but skipping over the longstanding mission fields of Sonora-Sinaloa and Nueva Vizcaya. Wade brings her anthropological training to bear on the questions of directed culture change and the unintended consequences of mission programs that were focused on the indigenous groups gathered in the *reducciones* of northern New Spain. Her comparative framework opens a fresh perspective on questions of intent and the methods for establishing and maintaining missions by the Franciscan and Jesuit orders; Wade's overview and thoughtful comparative summaries in a number of chapters as well as the final conclusions helps us to understand that mission methodologies were not religious blueprints for conversion, but rather projects that underwent considerable experimentation and modification in different natural environments and cultural settings. The discussion in part 1 of the basic philosophies and internal conflicts within the Society of Jesus and the Order of Friars Minor provides a useful preface to the author's examination of the mission programs and their outcomes in the regions she has chosen to compare.

Perhaps because of the author's ambitious comparative scope, the analysis of historical processes in each region is at times thin, and the treatment of the book's main themes is uneven across the geographical and temporal perimeters of the study. Wade's discussions of the failed Jesuit sixteenth-century mission to the Calusa in Florida and of the early Jesuit and Franciscan missions in Coahuila and Nuevo León are weaker than those of the Franciscan missions in Texas and of the Jesuits and Franciscans in Baja and Alta California. The author focuses on settlement, work regimes, and patterns of religious conversion, presenting very interesting information drawn from inventories and mission reports on handicraft production, crop cycles, and livestock in different mission districts; however, she stops short of quantitative analysis or even tabular presentation that would clarify the comparison across these regions and permit meaningful engagement with recently published historical literature on the missions. Similarly, Wade's treatment of the thorny issues of repression and punishment in the missions remains at the level of description, drawn largely from missionary manuals rather than from litigated cases that might have yielded unexpected complaints and illustrated the ways in which indigenous peoples framed their mission experiences.

The author returns repeatedly to the question of *conversion*, understood to mean the degrees of acceptance by the Indians of Christian precepts and practices. She offers interesting observations concerning the alteration of native life ways (*habitus*) through both the work regimes and the sacramental life course that marked the central tenets of ritual and discipline in the missions. Even so, she does not bring to this discussion the cosmographies recorded in published ethnographies and anthropological archives that would permit formulating hypotheses concerning the transculturated construction of spiritual power by indigenous groups that lived in the missions—in some cases, over multiple generations. The depth and persuasiveness of this comparative study would have been strengthened if the author had made more extensive use of archival sources. Unquestionably she has mined well the microfilm and manuscript collections available at the University of Texas at Austin, and Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio. Her findings are limited primarily, however, to transcribed formal reports that Franciscan and Jesuit mission administrators prepared for their superiors, which Wade paraphrased and summarized in several chapters of the book. The impressions drawn from them are telling, but they could have been nuanced and enriched by the candid remarks that frequently appear in less guarded correspondence, ledger sheets, and chance notes exchanged among the missionaries themselves or with presidial officers, merchants, and colonial settlers in the region. Despite these limitations, the book raises foundational questions for the ethnohistory of missions and opens a broad comparative perspective on five mission provinces of northern New Spain.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill CYNTHIA RADDING

A Cheerful and Comfortable Faith: Anglican Religious Practice in the Elite Households of Eighteenth-Century Virginia. By Lauren F. Winner. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 272. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-300-12469-9.)

Lauren F. Winner's ambitious new work attempts to redraw the historiographic landscape of colonial Virginia's Anglican past. Strategically placing her book between competing historical interpretations of the established church as either hegemonically functionalist or as penitently pious, Winner argues that Anglican elites seamlessly blended the sacred and secular into "a cheerful and comfortable faith"—a religious worldview simultaneously at peace with both sincere devotion and the hegemonic secular aspirations of a slave-owning oligarchy. Importantly, Winner argues that elite Virginians demonstrated this worldly-wise yet deeply spiritual faith, most often within the confines of their homes. Her emphasis on elite domestic spirituality permits Winner to utilize a wide range of material evidence. A silver bowl intended to cool wine glasses but also used to baptize members of the Mason family, a satin baptismal gown, two pieces of religiously inspired needlework, elegantly bound prayer books, recipes for food served in liturgical seasons, articles of

mourning attire, and genealogical lists in family Bibles are all used to suggest the vitality of elite Virginians' home-bound piety.

Although Winner describes eighteenth-century Anglicanism as a "religion at ease with the world" and attempts to highlight the blending of devotional and secular life in colonial Virginia, she devotes much of the book to describing Anglican domestic "lived religion" as intensely devout (pp. 2, 15). Indeed, the Anglicans she describes were more spiritual than worldly; these were Christians who prayed with fervor, aspired to personify biblical heroes of the faith, and firmly believed in the doctrines of their church. Although elite parishioners may have modified the prescriptive messages of their ministers to suit their social positions—especially with reference to their preference for having baptisms and burials conducted in their homes rather than in churches—they, nevertheless, wholeheartedly embraced most of their church's teachings. Although Winner describes deviance from Anglicanism—manifested by evangelicals and slaves—she does not describe deviance *within* Anglicanism. There is no indication in her work that some Anglicans, particularly those of the middling sort not addressed in her work, may have been less than enthusiastic devotees of even a "cheerful and comfortable faith." There is little room in Winner's book for the snoozing and inattentive parishioners that were perennial features of Virginia church services.

Despite its monolithic and monochromatic view of Anglican piety, Winner's work makes some important interventions into the field of early American religious studies. Through a creative emphasis on material culture, Winner makes a poignant case for the religious piety of some Virginia women. For example, in deconstructing the religiously themed needlework of two Virginia girls, Winner extrapolates the religious messages—obedience and virtue—that presumably preoccupied the minds of their creators. Yet, the reader is left questioning whether Winner's interpretations of material objects—as universal harbingers of intense domestic piety—are the only way that such objects were understood by their original owners or creators.

Winner's depiction of Anglicanism as both worldly-wise and especially pious does not succeed in redrawing the historiographical landscape of Anglicanism in colonial Virginia. Even in a faith attuned to the world, multivalent parochial responses—ranging from the sacred devotion she describes to the secular disinterest she ignores—undoubtedly existed. Nevertheless, Winner's book is an important, if incomplete, addition to studies of material culture, lived religion, and the established church in colonial Virginia.

Texas Woman's University JACOB M. BLOSSER

A History of Georgetown University, Vol. 1: *From Academy to University, 1789–1889;* Vol. 2: *The Quest for Excellence, 1889–1964;* Vol. 3: *The Rise to Prominence, 1964–1989.* By Robert Emmett Curran. (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 2010. Vol. 1: pp. xix, 476, ISBN 978-1-589-01688-0; Vol. 2: xix, 476, ISBN 978-1-589-01689-7; Vol. 3: xix, 348, ISBN 978-1-589-01690-3. $39.95 each volume; $119.95 boxed three-volume set, ISBN 978-1-589-01691-0 for the set.)

Robert Emmett Curran's three-volume history of Georgetown University is a magnum opus that reflects credit on both subject and author. Lavishly and copiously illustrated, these volumes appear in a large format (8 × 10-inch pages) and are handsomely boxed. The full text runs to 1328 pages, including more than 200 pages of appendices, notes, and bibliographies. Thoroughly researched and meticulously presented, this history of Georgetown University sets a high standard as the definitive scholarly account of the oldest Catholic and Jesuit university in the United States. It is a complex institution and a multifaceted story that Curran introduces with a preface that successfully lays out the general organization and the structure of the three volumes.

The first volume, presenting the first century, was published separately in 1993 and has been slightly revised (reviewed by Philip Gleason, *ante*, 81 [1995], 103–05). Gleason drew attention to the rich database that disclosed the demographic characteristics of students and alumni as well as described "the uncertain, up-and-down rockiness of Georgetown's development, and . . . the crucial role of individual leaders in moving it ahead" (p. 104). Those patterns of irregular progress and uneven leadership were to persist during Georgetown's second century.

The second volume, covering 1889 to 1964, is divided into three parts, roughly corresponding to the interval before the depression, years of depression and war, and the postwar period. This period, Curran notes, was "bookended" by two very strong Jesuit presidents: Joseph Havens Richards (1888–98) and Edward Bunn (1952–64). Richards was a man of vision who labored hard to make Georgetown a modern university with the requisite facilities, faculty, and resources. Besides his support for the law and medical schools, he expanded the undergraduate curriculum, began allowing elective courses, and established formal programs in graduate studies. Over the next six decades, his successors opened the schools of business administration, continuing education, dentistry, foreign service, languages and linguistics, and nursing. But it took Bunn to bring this highly complex enterprise up to a level of true excellence with an ambitious building and fund-raising program, centralized administration, professionalized standards, institutional support for the faculty, and a formal planning process. He succeeded in unifying Georgetown as "an actual university rather than a collection of schools" (2:391).

The third volume covers Georgetown's "rise to prominence" as an international university during the quarter-century before the bicentennial. There are two sections. Part 1 offers three chapters, including an inevitable and lively chapter on the institutional impact of the 1960s. The second part's two chapters consider the presidency of Timothy Healy (1976–89). This volume concludes with a brief but useful epilogue of a dozen pages that carries the story forward into the administration of the first non-Jesuit president, John DeGioia (2001 to the present). President Gerard Campbell (1964–68) refashioned Georgetown as a modern university by opening governance to faculty participation, according a full welcome to African Americans and women, sponsoring the first comprehensive capital development campaign, and facilitating separate incorporation of the Jesuit community. Healy was, arguably, the most forceful president in the school's history. He could be arbitrary, as in his decision to discontinue the dental school, his tendency to disregard faculty views, and his decision to override protests and award honorary degrees to President Ronald Reagan and Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. But his personality, insight, and energy made him an influential national leader in higher education; he made the university more diverse, helped define the Jesuit and Catholic nature of the institution, and raised the endowment substantially. Under his leadership, Curran asserts, Georgetown adopted an identity with four characteristics: "a Catholic institution, academic renown, a location in Washington, and an international composition and focus" (3:188). Building on those four pillars, Healy was able to bring Georgetown "to the brink of becoming a truly great institution" (3:xv).

Both the second and third volumes contain appendices detailing student enrollment and listing the presidents and deans of the various schools. Imbedded within the chapters are data regarding the religious identity of students and faculty, and lists of prominent alumni and faculty and their achievements. Curran takes up the issues of Georgetown's religious identity, as the faculty and student body became proportionally less Catholic, and the responses that were devised—a strong commitment to the Catholic intellectual tradition, a task force during the 1990s to report on religious identity, and a 2001 mission statement that defined Georgetown as "a Catholic and Jesuit, student-centered research university. . . , [promoting] education in the Jesuit tradition—for the glory of God and the well-being of humankind" (3:281). Accounts of student life and varsity athletics are highlighted in these volumes, including a lively narrative of the tensions that arose during the Vietnam War, and an enthusiastic account of the rise of varsity athletics—especially Hoya basketball—that sidesteps controversies over athleticism.

A History of Georgetown University might be viewed as two distinct books. The first volume can stand on its own as a brilliant work located in the nineteenth century, the period in which Curran has done much of his work. The wealth of demographic information and the comparative intimacy of an institution that was still small are among the advantages that communicate a

special quality to the first volume. Its wonderful data banks could not be carried forward into the second century as the university grew in numbers and complexity. The second and third volumes are long. The editorial decision to allot more than 700 pages of text and notes to the second century proves to be a mixed blessing: on one hand, many details are now available in print in a well-structured presentation; on the other hand, the lists and accounts can read more like reportage than history. That may be a result of the fact that Curran has been associated with Georgetown since 1972; inevitably, his personal experiences and memory influence his analysis of recent years. To his credit, he addresses this issue in the preface, explaining his decision to bring this history as close as possible to the present,

> knowing that recent history is always different from the older kind to which there is paradoxically greater access with less of a tendency to bring presuppositions to the weighing of people and events. Georgetown . . . should have a living history that tries as best it can to tie past to present. However realized, that has been my aim. (1:xiii)

In this history, his aim is true and effective.

College of the Holy Cross ANTHONY J. KUZNIEWSKI, S.J.

St. James' Church in the City of New York, 1810–2010. By Francis J. Sypher Jr. Foreword by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Mpilo Tutu. (New York: St. James' Church. 2010. Pp. 383. $35.00.)

Francis Sypher's recently published history of St. James' Episcopal Church, commissioned in celebration of the church's bicentennial celebration, gives a clear and well-written introduction to this urban church's founding and 200-year history. Sypher weaves the history of St. James' together with the story of New York City and the history of the Episcopal Church in America, and creates a readable and interesting introduction to these topics.

Throughout its history, the leadership and congregation of St. James' has worked to live out its Christian mission through evangelization and direct social service work. Sypher describes how, from its first years, St. James' worked to help the poor. In 1811, Samuel F. Jarvis, the first rector of the church, helped start a "free day school 'for poor people'" (p. 57), and, over the years, the church continued to adapt "its concept of social mission" as the situation in the city changed (p. 185). For instance, as homelessness became a larger issue in New York City in the 1970s, St. James' started a nonprofit corporation that partnered with other local churches and synagogues to address the homeless crisis, eventually buying a building to serve as a residence for homeless people (p. 224). In the late 1970s and 1980s, the rector, Hays Rockwell, and the congregation began to support Bishop Desmond Tutu in South Africa in his struggle against apartheid and Bishop Gordon McMullan in Northern Ireland as the latter pursued efforts to heal the violence between

Protestants and Roman Catholics (pp. 228–29). The parish continues to support international causes of justice and peace in the present day.

Yet, in describing the parish's individual history, Sypher also merges the history of St. James' with the history of New York City—specifically with the Upper East Side. He links the changing neighborhood and city with corresponding change in the church's congregation, following the transformation of the church's neighborhood from a place where families came for the summer in 1810 to the bustling neighborhood of today, observing how the city's economics have affected the size of the church's congregation. He points out how decisions such as the one to replace the elevated trains on Second and Third Avenues with an underground subway increased property values and thereby changed the size and make-up of the church's congregation (p. 183).

Through the lens of St. James', Sypher also focuses on the changing history of the Episcopal Church. For instance, with the calling of the charismatic John Coburn to be rector in 1965, St. James' began to engage with contemporary questions facing the larger church: questions about the role of the laity in church services; the revision of the Prayer Book; and women's ordination, including the ordination of Carol Anderson in 1977, the first woman to be ordained in the Diocese of New York (p. 217).

Sypher concludes with a description of the last twenty years at St. James', including a portrait of Brenda Husson's current tenure as rector of the church. Husson, at the time of her installation in 1997, became the first woman rector of a "cardinal church" on the East Coast (p. 244).

The book provides not only a comprehensive and balanced portrait of the rapidly changing ethos of one parish but also reveals how the Episcopal Church has coped with the realities of urban and social change.

New York, NY MEDORA BROSS GEARY

Catholics, Slaveholders, and the Dilemma of American Evangelicalism, 1835–1860. By W. Jason Wallace. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 200. $30.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-04421-3.)

Due to their increasing numbers, Catholics became threatening to the Protestant-dominated United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Animated by the Irish Potato Famine and the failed 1848 revolutions in Europe, many European Catholics had fled to a largely unwelcoming United States, swelling the ranks of U.S. Catholics into a visible minority. W. Jason Wallace's fine monograph—drawn from the antebellum religious press, books, and sermon literature—explores the significance of this infusion of Irish, German, and French Catholics in the cauldron of American Protestantism after the Second Great Awakening. Set against the backdrop of the sectional discord involving

slavery and competing visions of nascent nationalism, this increasingly vocal Catholic presence helped shape the antebellum debate over God and country. For the New England Protestants, Catholics and slaveholders became the dreaded other—threats to a millennial vision of a righteous, free-labor, Constitutional Republic. In defending themselves against Protestant assaults, Catholic apologists appeared to support Southern Evangelicalism's understanding of the Bible and social relations. In reality, the Catholic defense constituted more of a critique of the loose, subjective theology of much of the "Benevolent Empire," rather than an affirmative defense of slavery.

Catalyzed by a belief that the self-evident principles of the Declaration of Independence found fullest expression in its view of constitutional government and that its reformed Calvinism constituted the purest soteriology, antebellum New England Protestantism imagined itself as the *de facto* national church. Although Catholicism represented an ecclesiastical threat, it was its alleged ties to papal hierarchy and European despotism that invited the ire of Protestant writers and preachers. Furthermore, Protestantism considered Catholicism a relic of the social, economic, and political order of the Middle Ages, rather than an expression of moral and material progress represented by the antebellum United States. The newly constituted Leopoldine Society served as proof of Catholicism's desire to destroy political and religious liberty in the United States. The anti-Catholic arguments of Lyman Beecher, Albert Barnes, and Samuel Morse, among many others, provided grist for the emerging American Party, whose anti-Catholic nativism held sway in many parts of the antebellum United States.

Slavery provided the other target for Northern evangelical ire. Like Catholicism, it represented an outmoded system of despotism, and Northern evangelicals targeted it for extinction, because it was anti-American and thoroughly un-Christian in concept and practice. Although a few Catholic laymen undertook to defend Southern social relations from Northern evangelical critiques, Catholic bishops such as Augustine Verot, John England, Patrick Kenrick, and Martin John Spalding (along with Bishop John Hughes of New York) wrote lengthy defenses of the welter of social relations that Catholicism tolerated as a consequence of human sin, slavery being among these. Although slavery did not represent God's law, it was protected under natural law that accommodated the sinful nature of humanity. The Thomistic Catholic defense of slavery was not unlike the evangelical defense of slavery, which held that slavery, *in se*, was not unscriptural, although it could be practiced in a sinful manner. Slavery, like the republic extolled by Northern evangelicals, was a temporary and imperfect human institution operating in a sinful world. For Catholics, a Protestant theology that extolled progress and human perfection at the expense of traditional theology was both an expression of hubris and expediency. In both its Northern and Southern form, Protestantism lacked the "vigorous political realism that took seriously both the history of church-state relations and the development of moral doctrine over time" (p.

150). Thus, in Wallace's treatment, a diverse, rather than unitary, American Protestantism became one symbol of nationalism, rather than the arbiter of nationalism.

Adams State College EDWARD R. CROWTHER
Alamosa, CO

Citizens of a Christian Nation: Evangelical Missions and the Problem of Race in the Nineteenth Century. By Derek Chang. [Politics and Culture in Modern America.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 237. $39.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24218-8.)

Derek Chang's title reflects two unrealized dreams: that of full citizenship on the part of African Americans and Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century, and that of a wholly Christian nation on the part of evangelical missionaries in the United States. Together, the three groups imagined a "national citizenship based on shared Christianity" (p. 3).

Chang focuses on white missionaries in the American Baptist Home Mission Society and their converts in an African American mission in Raleigh, North Carolina, and a Chinese mission in Portland, Oregon. He argues that mission participants renegotiated the meanings of race, citizenship, and Christianity during a brief window of opportunity after the Civil War and before the end of Reconstruction in the South and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act.

Chang demonstrates that American Baptists and other Northern missionaries believed African Americans and Chinese immigrants to be a threat to their expanding evangelical empire. But they also believed in their own power and obligation to meet that threat with conversion rather than to repel it through restrictive laws. Even as they stood up to exclusionary white supremacists, American Baptist missionaries of European descent crafted equally exclusive—and rather more insidious—depictions of cultural and racial difference. White missionaries argued that black Southerners and Chinese immigrants could become Christian, but then deemed them defective Christians and defective Americans—African Americans with all the spirit and none of the understanding of their faith, and Chinese with the reverse. The missionaries spoke widely of these perceptions, their words ringing with the authority of the racial expert.

But the missionaries' commitment to what Chang terms "evangelical nationalism" also helped to create physical space and points of cultural contact through which African Americans and Chinese immigrants challenged white supremacist understandings of race fostered both within and without the missions (p. 7). They applied "the creativity of their solutions to the problem not of difference but of white supremacy" and took advantage of the

opportunity to connect with supporters across racial lines and to build autonomous institutions of their own (pp. 157–58).

Participants in the Raleigh and Portland missions experienced and responded to white supremacy in distinct ways. African Americans in Raleigh "balanced the hierarchy of uplift with a commitment to material and structural change" (p. 125), clashing with white administrators who denied them access to leadership and power. Chinese immigrants in Portland enlisted elite white supporters to help build a network among West Coast Chinese Christians. Even after the Exclusion Act was passed, they worked to demonstrate their worthiness of citizenship in a Christian nation—sometimes at the risk of reprisal not only from anti-Chinese whites but also from Chinese immigrants who rejected Christianity.

A few years separate the two missions' establishment, but Chang compares them at equal stages of development, rather than at the same moment in time. If it sometimes takes the reader a moment to catch up to his quick shifts from East Coast to West and small jumps in chronology, Chang always makes it worth the effort. The interwoven analysis of the two missions makes Chang's story national rather than regional and buttresses his argument regarding "the mutually constitutive nature of race, religion, and the nation" (p. 8). Chang's creative use of denominational and institutional archives is a model for historians of religion and race, and his argument that evangelical nationalism had broad and lasting implications make his book essential reading for anyone interested in race and ethnicity, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and American religious history.

Mississippi State University ALISON COLLIS GREENE

Holy Jumpers: Evangelicals and Radicals in Progressive Era America. By William Kostlevy. [Religion in America Series.] (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiv, 240. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-195-37784-2.)

Holy Jumpers offers a well-crafted account of the small but influential Metropolitan Church Association (MCA), a communitarian Wesleyan Holiness group that made a colorful splash onto the American religious scene at the turn of the twentieth century. With roots in the Methodist church and parallels to the rise of other radical social and political movements, the MCA challenges modern assumptions about theological and social uniformity among evangelicals.

The MCA was founded in the 1890s in Chicago, emerging from urban working-class culture. Founded by two successful businessmen, the group rejected private property and was one of at least a dozen Holiness communal societies at the time. The group relocated in 1906 to Waukesha, Wisconsin, and started a number of missions in the United States and abroad, most notably a thriving project in India. By 1901, the group had adopted two controversial

practices that distinguished it from other Holiness groups: holy jumping (the MCA's jumping worshipers were widely caricatured in religious and secular newspapers); and the expectation that truly sanctified Christians would sell their personal possessions and live communally.

The MCA was popularly known by the title of its caustic periodical, the *Burning Bush*, which imitated the muckraking journalism of the day and ridiculed more moderate Holiness leaders. "Burning Bushers," also known as "holy jumpers," served, variously, as an inspiration, irritant, or a source of humor to a generation of radical evangelicals.

Holy Jumpers enriches the understanding of the development of other Holiness groups such as the Salvation Army, the Free Methodist Church, and the Church of the Nazarene, which share overlapping histories with the MCA. The MCA influenced key Holiness leaders, including Seth C. Rees, Alma White, and Bud Robinson.

Importantly, the MCA was a catalyst in the emergence of Pentecostalism. MCA leaders excoriated the "tongues movement," rejecting it as based on ethical and doctrinal irregularities. Although the MCA objected to the Pentecostal identification of glossolalia as evidence of Spirit-baptism, the MCA had its own evidence—jumping. Kostlevy points out that the MCA contributed many members and leaders to the Azusa Street Revival (1906–09) in Los Angeles, California, which was a focal point of the young Pentecostal movement. MCA leader A. G. Garr folded his Los Angeles congregation into the Azusa Street mission and, in 1906, became the first missionary commissioned at Azusa Street. Oneness Pentecostal pioneer Glenn Cook also came from the MCA. Curiously, Kostlevy did not mention that Church of God in Christ cofounder and publisher D. J. Young also had roots in the MCA.

Kostlevy, a noted bibliographer of the Holiness movement, based his research on the MCA's extensive archives (now housed at Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California), which were previously inaccessible. This important study of the MCA, which Kostlevy calls the "anarchists of the Holiness Movement" (p. 10), is a lively account of how one group at the margins left its mark on the broader Christian tradition. *Holy Jumpers* sheds light on currents and fissures in evangelicalism usually neglected in the standard church histories and will be warmly welcomed by those interested in the history of American religion, the Holiness movement, and Pentecostalism.

Flower Pentecostal Heritage Center DARRIN J. RODGERS
Springfield, MO

American Crusade: Catholic Youth in the World Mission Movement from World War I through Vatican II. By David J. Endres. [American Society of Missiology Monograph Series, 7.] (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, an imprint of Wipf and Stock Publishers. 2010. Pp. xiv, 197. $23.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-608-99071-9.)

Throughout the nineteenth century America was a mission field for the Roman Catholic Church, a status it retained until 1908. Ten years later, the American Catholic Church became a mission-sending church. This timing is ironic in that the great explosion of American Protestant interest in missions had occurred in the generation before World War I and probably peaked in terms of its visibility in the general culture just as American Catholics were entering the field in the years immediately following the war's end. One of the great engines of this Protestant movement, which saw the number of American Protestant missionaries soar from about 900 in 1890 to perhaps 14,000 in the 1920s, was the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM). The SVM was a recruiting and mobilizing organization for missions that worked on behalf of all the mainline Protestant denominations. American Catholics, marveling at this organizational juggernaut, attempted to create one of their own: the Catholic Students' Mission Crusade (CSMC).

The SVM and the CSMC were similar in that they both reached out to youth, adopted the heroic rhetoric of the period, attempted to mobilize youth in an effort to evangelize the world, and were energized by the optimism and belief in a special American destiny that characterized nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century America. Until the 1920s, the SVM reflected a broad Protestant consensus that embraced both evangelical Christianity and the Social Gospel. When this consensus became untenable in the 1920s as the battle between modernism and fundamentalism roared to life, the SVM soon lost its way and ceased to be an effective organization. The CSMC, unencumbered by this crisis of authority in American Protestantism, was rapidly rising in stature just as the SVM was becoming moribund. The CSMC would endure for another half a century, becoming a fixture in American Catholic life.

David Endres does an excellent job bringing this history to life, charting the CSMC's story through four generations: the World War I generation that mirrored the Victorian optimism of the SVM; the interwar generation that saw itself as producing Crusaders to conquer the infidel; the post–World War II generation that produced Cold Warriors for Christ; and the generation of the 1960s that alternately gloried in and was mired in the social and ecclesial revolutions of the period. Endres's account, well written and convincing in its depiction of the evolution of the organization, is essential reading for anyone interested in twentieth-century Catholic missions.

The reader, however, is left wondering at times just how influential and important the CSMC actually was. We are told, on the one hand, that in the late 1960s, the organization had 1 million student members in 3100 American edu-

cational institutions, but, on the other hand, that these numbers were clearly inflated because some dioceses simply enrolled all the students in their schools into the organization. Moreover, the reader is never told how much money for missions the organization raised or how many missionaries it succeeded in recruiting. Perhaps this type of hard evidence is difficult or impossible to obtain. One would expect, then, that the writer would provide copious amounts of anecdotal evidence, but even this is scant.

The CSMC disbanded in 1970, just one year after the SVM was formally terminated. Endres uses this and other evidence to conclude that "the collapse of the CSMC was impacted by broader changes in the mission world and Christianity in general" (p. 158). This is true as far as it goes, but he fails to note that the decline in mission activity was largely limited to the mainline churches associated with the World Council of Churches, and that the SVM had long since been replaced as a missionary recruiter of college students by the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship and the Student Missionary Conventions at Urbana, Illinois. Moreover, the American Protestant missionary effort had been growing by leaps and bounds since the end of World War II and would continue to see dramatic increases in the numbers of long-term missionaries through the 1980s.

As a rising tide lifts all boats except those with holes in their hulls, the collapse of the CSMC ought to be seen, frankly, for what is was: a failure in the midst of a general success. Endres concludes on a celebratory note; indeed, there are things to celebrate. But the story of CSMC also might have been told as a cautionary tale.

World Mission MICHAEL PARKER
Presbyterian Church U.S.A.

Bob Drinan: The Controversial Life of the First Catholic Priest Elected to Congress. By Raymond A. Schroth, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press. 2011. Pp. xviii, 393. $32.95. ISBN 978-0-823-23304-5.)

It is difficult to categorize this book. It lacks the depth of research and analysis to be considered a scholarly biography, but is more than a simple memoir by a sympathetic fellow Jesuit. Raymond A. Schroth, currently an associate editor of the Jesuit magazine *America*, has had a long career as a journalist, teacher, and commentator on culture, politics, and religion. Perhaps it is the result of Schroth's own social and political perspectives that this book might provide the reader with more of an insight into the tenor of the radical politics of the 1970s than into the life and motivations of the subject, Robert Drinan (1920–2007).

Schroth is careful to acknowledge the difficulty of exploring the early as well as the inner life of a man who, although a very public figure, appeared to maintain the cloak of privacy intact throughout the course of his life. There is

little insight provided even by those who lived and worked with him in academia, Congress, or Jesuit communities. This was, apparently, a man of some enigma and mystery. To compensate for what we do not know, Schroth embarks on some lengthy explanations of the Jesuit subculture of the 1940s and 1950s in the hope of suggesting what might have influenced and motivated the man. If this was his purpose, he is not very successful. The result is two stories: the somewhat inexplicable contradictions involved in the public life of Drinan, the professed Jesuit and the politician, and a thickly descriptive account of some aspects of the Jesuit world that provided a platform for his public life.

Admirably, Schroth is not hesitant to raise repeatedly the question of Drinan's changing position on abortion as well as his apparent dissimulation with regard to ecclesiastical permission to run for public office. What Schroth does not directly address or explore is the culture of support within the leadership of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus for Drinan's political and moral public stances. This culture is what perhaps provided the grounds as well as the "political cover" for the generation of self-identified Catholic politicians who have believed that their support for "abortion rights" is compatible with their religious commitment and profession as Catholics. As Schroth points out, Jesuit superiors in the United States were ever-ready to threaten their superiors in Rome with the supposed dire consequences of intervening in the case of Drinan. The authors of fin-de-siècle Americanism would have been proud that their tactics were still proving useful.

Schroth's perspective on Drinan's opponents is at least partially summed up in his scathing judgment on

> those who strongly disliked him . . . because of his abortion position; they were one-issue pro-life, often more concerned for life in the womb than for starving children of the poor throughout the world, the victims of war and torture, and prisoners on death row. (p. 344)

In the end, on this matter particularly, we know much less about Drinan than Schroth appears to know about the motives of his critics. As to Drinan's own take on his opponents in any of the significant battles of his life, we are left with little insight into his thoughts. He was evidently a very hard worker who had ambitions for influence on the national scene. As the Jesuits did not provide this opportunity for him as a university president, the Democratic Party of the day did.

According to Schroth, Drinan often was publicly ruthless with those who did not agree with his moral judgments, which appear to have consistently coincided with the most liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Schroth paints a picture of a man who believed himself to be "the moral architect" of a new generation, particularly suited to pronounce judgment, and dis-

missive of those who failed to reach the same conclusions. He also was dismissive of the senior members of his party and of Congress, assuming that he was much more in touch with politically active youthful sentiment of his day than they were.

There is much important information in this volume, and it provides a fuller picture of the ecclesiastical and political framework of the times than is often available; however, sadly, it lacks significant theological analysis. Cardinal Humberto S. Madeiros, a significant figure in the story, does not appear in the index. This priest of the Diocese of Fall River, Massachusetts, is dismissively referred to as having "[flown] in from Texas" (p. 144), when he was transferred, in 1970, from his post as bishop of Brownsville, Texas, to become the archbishop of Boston. His predecessor, Cardinal Richard Cushing, who is reported to have supported the candidacy of Drinan for Congress, is treated much more warmly.

The book might be recommended for students of the period. At the end of the day, Schroth, despite his conclusion that Drinan left a legacy of friends and satisfaction in his work, leaves the reader with the image of a distant figure, whose ambitions were never quite met.

Mount Olive College JAMES F. GARNEAU
Mount Olive, NC

The FBI and the Catholic Church, 1935–1962. By Steve Rosswurm. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 330. ISBN 978-1-558-49729-0.)

The author, a professor of history at Lake Forest College in Illinois, spent two decades filing Freedom of Information and Privacy Act requests with the FBI, attempting to learn how close the relationship was between J. Edgar Hoover's investigators and high Roman Catholic prelates in this country during the Depression, World War II, the Second Red Scare, and the Kennedy administration. This book is largely a recounting of what was in the files, supplemented by other scholarly works and interpreted in the standard left-of-center approach. Sadly, Steve Rosswurm's research reveals little new information, and this study will probably be of importance only to a handful of specialists. The book also has some irritating flaws.

After all of his labors, Rosswurm discovered, apparently to his shock, that in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, J. Edgar Hoover and his top agents, several leading Catholic clergy, and the public in general believed in Christianity, patriotism, the traditional family, and anticommunism; perhaps worse, they rejected sodomy. All of these Americans, he contends, had "a profound distaste for modernity" (p. 71). That would draw titters in a historical methodology class.

We also read that the FBI engaged in some underhanded tactics to defend the morality and safety of the vast majority of Americans. This is not exactly news. Rosswurm informs us as well that church figures such as Cardinal Francis Spellman, Cardinal John O'Hara, Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, and Father John F. Cronin, not to mention numerous Jesuits, shared the values of the period and helped the FBI in numerous, unofficial ways such as exposing communists. A few of his details are interesting (the chapter on Cronin is the book's best), but the thesis will surprise no scholar in the field. Rosswurm sheds no new light on Spellman or Sheen. Curiously, he fails even to mention Senator Joseph McCarthy (R–WI), a Catholic with close ties to both his Church and the FBI.

The book is not well written (see esp. pp. 12–13, 19, 227, 275–77). Feminist jargon appears on some pages; in chapter 6, the narrative turns into a first-person account; the introduction appears (p. 227); and we encounter sentences such as "[t]he Catholic seminary trained men to be priests" (p. 30), and "[o]ne of the problems with zeroing in on just one part of a person's life is that the rest gets lost" (p. 227).

To his credit, Rosswurm acknowledges the recent research revealing the presence of several hundred Soviet spies in the United States during the period. So, then, was Hoover right? Were the clerics correct? And what about McCarthy and the Second Red Scare? Was it all just a political trick, or was the country in danger? The author does not answer these questions with any clarity. For example, we are told (p. 176) that Cronin was right about Red spies in America, but the author assures us at the same time that we are not to take Soviet imperialism as seriously as Cronin did. The book might well have been improved by a conclusion.

Franksville, WI THOMAS C. REEVES

The Spirit of the Law: Religious Voices and the Constitution in Modern America. By Sarah Barringer Gordon. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 316. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-674-04654-2.)

Given the author's attention to and repetition of the phrase "the new constitutional world" (starting on p. 1), Sarah Barringer Gordon, a law and history professor at the University of Pennsylvania, is clearly seeking and should win a patent on the invention. An invention is something one finds or makes, and Gordon does both. She finds that this "world" has existed since the 1940s but has needed a name, and she also makes it by providing a framework for interpreting the U.S. Constitution and then building on that framework by presenting five chapter-length case studies.

The world she discusses implies but is not focused on the whole Constitution; in fact, some U.S. Supreme Court decisions of 1940 and espe-

cially 1947, her concern, dealt chiefly with the religion clauses of the First Amendment to the Constitution. Readers of this review in Myanmar, Vladivostok, or even some U.S. cities may need to be informed or reminded that the Establishment clause reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." From 1789 until 1940, only two explicitly religious cases had been settled at the Supreme Court level, and they were argued on grounds other than those in this clause. During that period, religious legal judgments were left up to the several states.

The *Everson v. Board of Education* case "incorporated" the substantive provisions of the Bill of Rights to limit state and local governments as they had in the historic federal cases. This was new. Since the original Bill of Rights stipulated that there be no *state* establishments of religion, the new understanding or declaration had to be controversial. With "incorporation," everything—from using public funds to transport children to parochial schools to allowing for special arrangements for religious education and displays on public property—was up for grabs federally, and many grabbed. Most decisions on the new grounds were unpopular on the local level—the setting of the battle scenes covered by Gordon. They have been bloody.

The author quotes Alliance Defense Fund litigator Jordan Lorence: "Every time religion is denied in one place, it squirts up in another" (p. 295). The chosen squirted-up cases receive mention in the book's final paragraph: "The constitutional practice that drew Jehovah's Witnesses, Protestants devoted to separation of church and state, the Nation of Islam, conservative evangelical women, and progressive clergy to law has become a staple of religious life over the past seven decades" (p. 216). Staple? Yes. Stable? No, Gordon herself judges this new world to be unstable.

She isolates the problem of definition as a plague in the "new constitutional world," which has become old, and is in danger of being "bull-dozed." More and more legal and religious scholars point out that it is difficult if not impossible to define religion, and even attempts to define whatever it is are themselves religious acts. A fair-minded scholar, she shares the uneasiness of many citizens with the effects of living in this "new-old" world. At the end, however, she calls on former Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, who said that, for all the flaws and the controversies, the system "worked." Gordon is not so sure that in many respects it has been a success, but judges, with O'Connor, that it has helped the polity and citizens within it to sustain a subworld marked by religious tolerance on a global stage in which all alternatives are destructive. So: "Two Cheers for the New Constitutional World," ill-defined and unstable though much in it may be.

University of Chicago MARTIN E. MARTY

Latin American

The History of the Catholic Church in Latin America: From Conquest to Revolution and Beyond. By John Frederick Schwaller. (New York: New York University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 319. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-814-74003-3.)

John Frederick Schwaller has taken on a most monumental task in writing the history of the Catholic Church in Latin America from the late 1400s to the present. This overview of an enormous topic provides the necessary information on Iberian religions, including the Jewish and Muslim faiths, and the history of Portuguese and Spanish exploration of Africa as background to the "discovery" of the Western Hemisphere and the Treaty of Tordesillas, which dates to the start of international law. Then, the author leads readers through the intellectual debates over sovereignty and property rights, "just war," and whether or not the native peoples were human and capable of becoming Christians. He rightly notes that despite the many missionaries in Mexico and Peru, many native peoples remained uncontacted and uninitiated for many years. His discussion of church finance, the Bourbon initiatives of the eighteenth century, and the Enlightenment's impact end his discussion of the colonial era.

After Schwaller's discussion of independence, his narrative summarizes the checkered history of the Church. The section on how governments negotiated or not with the Holy See and how agreements could potentially affect everyday life is followed by a fascinating few pages on the role of family politics in Chile, through which one large patrilineage controlled both church and state. The nineteenth century also saw popular religion and uprisings gaining prominence in Brazil; the rise of the "Protestant ethic," especially in Central America; and the conservative First Vatican Council in 1869–71.

Regarding the twentieth century, he retells the history of the Church against a background of revolution in Mexico; "la violencia" in Colombia; and the rise of fascism, socialism, the populists, the Marxists, and Catholic-based trade unions. Throughout, the Church was viewed by many as a stabilizing influence. However, the Church was not a homogeneous institution. It included groups that ranged from those against the reforms of the Second Vatican Council who supported a Tridentine church to progressive liberationists and Catholic socialists. Furthermore, he notes the increasing challenges to the once near-monopoly of spirituality exercised by the Catholic hierarchy, citing popular religion, like Candomblé in Brazil, secularization, and Protestant and Evangelical inroads. To summarize, Schwaller reiterates the diversity within the Church, focusing on two dominant perspectives: the top-down view, or the view of Church as a hierarchy of divine authority; and the bottom-up view, or the view after the Second Vatican Council that represents the Church as the pilgrim people of God. Over time, the latter position has gained ground over the former.

Congratulations are due for the concise way in which the author populates the major trends with representative persons or key organizations or meetings. This makes the text both more interesting than a straight, unembellished institutional history, and not a catalogue, especially after independence. His review of papal initiatives such as the establishment of the Colegio Pío Latino Americano in 1859 and their repercussions emphasizes how Latin America cannot be studied and understood in a vacuum. The history of the Latin American Catholic Church and the peoples and nations of the region need to be placed in the proper temporal and wider international contexts.

The book, however, leaves the reader wondering about the rise and influence of the Masonic Orders, which are mentioned (pp. 161, 168, 207) but do not receive full coverage. Native religious antecedents to Catholic contact also need more space to appreciate better the challenges of the early missionaries. Furthermore, Schwaller territorializes religious jurisdictions such as bishoprics before boundaries were clearly designated and marked (compare pp. 77 and 151). Parishes and bishoprics were originally jurisdictions defined as power over groups of people; they were not defined by fixed and demarcated geography until the middle of the nineteenth century in Argentina, for example. His use of words such as *pagan* (p. 85) and *dictator* (pp. 126, 137, 143–44) seems value-laden and somehow out of place in this increasingly pluralistic era. The mention of Cuba (p. 227) emphasizes the fact that the Caribbean is almost entirely missing from the volume, as is a discussion of the role of nuns and *beatas* on the islands and the mainland. Finally, grammatical, spelling, and proofreading errors in the text distract from the easy flow of the narrative (pp. 30–32, 62, 115, 123, 127, 137, 144–45, 193, 196, 255, 263–64).

These relatively minor points detract little from this conceptualized chronology of one of the foundational institutions in Latin America. This book merits space on the bookshelf of any serious scholar.

Texas Christian University SUSAN ELIZABETH RAMIREZ
Fort Worth, TX

Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670. By Gabriela Ramos. [History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 356. $39.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-04028-4.)

Gabriela Ramos has produced a deeply researched study that argues that the Christianization of death was crucial to the conversion of indigenous Andean peoples and to the construction of a colonial order. Her work compares the urban settings of Lima, a Spanish-created site with a small indigenous (mainly migrant) population, and Cuzco, the former capital of the Inca Empire. In her examination of mortuary practices, notions of the body and the beyond, and the relationship between the dead and the living, she draws on archaeological and ethnohistorical findings, church council records, notarial

sources, and studies on early-modern European Catholicism. She concludes that by the mid-colonial period, former burial stone towers (*chullpas)*, caves, and other sacred sites were no longer at the center of the religious and political life of these urban Andean people; in fact, their mortuary practices had transformed completely.

Chapter 1 considers the diversity of burial practices in the coast and highlands and the way that distinct ancestor veneration practices "contained and symbolized the past of these groups" (p. 20). The conquest (chapter 2) led to a collision of Spanish and Incan mortuary practices and brute force on the bodies of people now categorized as *indios*. This included the use of fire (also common in Castile for criminals) to mutilate mummified ancestors of the sinful *indios* and to erase their past. Ramos then provides a richly detailed analysis of several versions of the death of the Sapa Inca, Atahualpa, which, she argues, became a key metaphor for the conquest of the Andean polity, in life and in death. During the Civil War period, Spaniards gradually gained mastery over indigenous spaces through public executions, even when the victims were tyrannical Spaniards. In the "Conquest of Death" (chapter 3), Ramos shows how church and secular authorities grappled with how to explain Christian ideas about the body and the existence of an eternal soul, how to discourage Andeans from tending to the dead and making offerings, and how to emphasize the need to bury their dead in churches. Indoctrination through sermons proved successful in explaining the "good death" and concepts of purgatory and sin. In chapter 4 she explains why the creation of new institutional spaces—including hospitals (organized and administered differently in Lima and Cuzco), parishes, confraternities, and even funerary vaults in churches—reunited displaced families (and the departed) in one location and became the centers of ritual activities. Further elaboration on how confraternities in Lima and Cuzco enabled immigrants to forge new kinship bonds, connect themselves to specific devotions, and gain leadership roles would have further strengthened her argument. Ramos is strongest in her analysis of more than 500 indigenous wills that details the distinct funerary rites and processions in Cuzco and Lima, and how the complicated inheritance practices (especially among caciques) helped crystallize new social bonds and preserve memory (chapter 6). The appendices detail the comparative findings from wills on confraternity memberships, burial practices, heirs, and executors between 1571 and 1670.

If, as Ramos asserts, a complete transformation of the funerary beliefs occurred among the indigenous inhabitants of colonial Lima and Cuzco, her thesis remains to be tested in other Andean locations. But even in the urban contexts she examines, questions remain. Although she shows clearly how externalized manifestations of faith such as burial requests in wills (part of a larger prescribed Catholic narrative) or participation in confraternities dominated in these urban milieus, can we tease out the mutual sense-making (what made these rituals meaningful) that occurred among native peoples (many of

them migrants) and the priests administering to them? What was colonial Catholicism? Despite the overarching goal to create a unified Christendom, studies on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Castile and Peru reveal a plurality of local practices (including some "borrowed" from native Andeans) and a wide array of beliefs about death, salvation, the beyond, and the body (and especially relics) among nonindigenous Catholic peoples. But, indeed, these are large questions left to future projects.

Ramos has produced a fine and important work of scholarship that is key to Andean studies and will contribute to ongoing discussions of how and why native Andean peoples responded, adapted, and made sense of Catholic tenets about the here and now and the hereafter.

Queen's University NANCY E. VAN DEUSEN
Kingston, Canada

The Jesuits in Latin America, 1549–2000: 450 Years of Inculturation, Defense of Human Rights, and Prophetic Witness. By Jeffrey L. Klaiber, S.J. [Series III: Scholarly Studies Originally Composed in English, No. 21.] (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 2009. Pp. viii, 463. $28.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-880-81071-9.)

The Society of Jesus has been a central player in the historical development of Latin America. Klaiber presents a fascinating survey of the contributions of the order to the region and studies the interplay of the region and the order. This is a broad, sweeping history, providing fascinating details while covering much ground and 450 years.

The book has three main themes, as reflected in the title: inculturation, human rights, and witness. Klaiber explains the importance of inculturation. Coined by Pedro Arrupe, superior general of the Jesuit Order from 1965 to 1983, the term refers to the action of evangelization that brings out the best in the non-Christian culture without destroying that culture. Klaiber sees this as springing directly from the Jesuit "Spiritual Exercises" that also ensure that Jesuit spirituality is forever modern and is continually improved through the use of reason. From this point he then outlines the broad units through which the order worked in Latin America, including the geographical areas, the higher education institutions, and the rural estates in his discussion.

Chapter 1 focuses on the activities of the Jesuits in Peru, from the important ethnographic and historical works of José de Acosta and the extirpation to the eighteenth-century expulsion of the order and possible ties to an indigenous uprising. The impact of the order on colonial policy aimed at the natives and on African slaves in Peru, Chile, and Brazil in the colonial period is the topic of chapter 2. The frontiers form the background for chapter 3, where Klaiber considers the contributions of the Jesuits to the evangelization of the far north (Florida to Sonora) and the far south (specifically Paraguay). With the

expulsion of the order from the Hispanic realms after 1762, Jesuit intellectuals created works of great importance in helping modern scholars understand the cultural realties of the Americas in that period. Chapter 4 outlines the contributions of those Jesuits in exile. Independence in Latin America and the restoration of the Society of Jesus occurred at roughly the same time.

In chapter 5, Klaiber considers the role of the order in the creation of the political environment of Mexico up into the 1930s, where the Catholic Church, in general, played an active role in politics. Klaiber studies the role of the Jesuits in the less confrontational political environment of the Church in Brazil and Chile, in chapter 6, which contrasts with the Mexican experience. Chapter 7 is extremely important in that it focuses on the period of political turmoil and social change that followed the Second Vatican Council in Latin America. The order played a critical role in interpreting the various arguments of the period, particularly in Brazil, Venezuela, and the Antilles. In chapter 8, Klaiber continues his analysis of the order in the period after the Second Vatican Council to the close of the twentieth century, looking at the Southern Cone, the Andean Republics, Central America, and Mexico. The last chapter takes an overview of the whole work and interprets the trajectory of the order in the light of inculturation and the implications for faith and social justice. The role of the Jesuit universities and liberation theology also are considered here.

Covering a vast amount of material in a relatively short space, the book is a significant work that will prompt much discussion and, one hopes, enlighten many about the contributions of the Society of Jesus to Latin American culture and history.

State University of New York at Potsdam JOHN F. SCHWALLER

Report on the Island and Diocese of Puerto Rico (1647). By Don Diego de Torres y Vargas. An annotated translation into English by Jaime R. Vidal, with historical essays and commentary by Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo. [Ecos, Vol. 1.] (Scranton: University of Scranton Press. Distrib. University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 264. $25.00 paperback. ISBN 978-1-589-66189-0.)

Don Diego de Torres y Vargas, a canon of the San Juan Cathedral in the middle of the seventeenth century, was asked by Don Juan de la Calle, royal Spanish chronicler of the Indies, to write a history of Puerto Rico as part of a major work on the history of the Spanish colonies. Don Diego's final work is important, since it is the first history of the island written by a *criollo*, or son of Spaniards born in America.

This book is important because it is the first translation of Don Diego's seventeenth-century Spanish text into the English language. It also is significant because of the essays that accompany the translation. The author

of these essays, Anthony Stevens-Arroyo, provides useful information that can help resolve many doubts of readers regarding how this history came into existence and the background in which it took place. Through these essays, we learn about Don Diego's lineage, education, and social position as well as how this background influenced his ability to gather the official governmental, ecclesiastical, and private documents that he used to write his history.

For those who are already acquainted with the original Spanish edition of Don Diego, Stevens-Arroyo's essays may be the most important part of this edition. However, for those who have not read the text in the original language, the book provides a good opportunity to understand the history of a colonial Spanish Caribbean island and its development from 1493, the year of its discovery by Columbus during his second voyage, to 1647, when Don Diego finished his work on the text.

This book helps clarify some aspects of Don Diego's text as well as uses sidebars instead of footnotes. The translator, Jaime R. Vidal, created the latter to provide further explanation on aspects of the text. The language used throughout the text in the Spanish edition corresponds to that spoken by an illustrious clergyman of the seventeenth century. Therefore, the section "Glossary Items" at the end of the book assists readers in understanding many words and concepts no longer in use. Likewise, the essays provide clarity on aspects from Don Diego's time that were common knowledge then but now have lost most of their original meaning for the modern reader.

For English-speaking historians, the work of Vidal and Stevens-Arroyo has shed new light on the development of a small Spanish colony in the Caribbean from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. For the Spanish-speaking historians who already know Don Diego's history, the tools provided by the authors are very useful in better understanding that time.

Inter American University at San Germán FLOYD L. MCCOY JORDAN
Puerto Rico

The Very Nature of God. Baroque Catholicism and Religious Reform in Bourbon Mexico City. By Brian R. Larkin. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 312. $27.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-826-34834-0.)

Is the essence of God contained in the objects of liturgy and worship? The dispute over the concept of transubstantiation was at the bottom of the split of Christianity in the sixteenth century, with the Roman Catholic Church adhering firmly to the canon that at the height of the Mass, the host is changed into Christ. Were most faithful aware of centuries of discussion over this point? Possibly not. It certainly was a moot point among most Catholics in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico. Their belief in sacred immanence was

unquestioned. They also believed in the efficacy of prayer, the sacredness of charity, and the active involvement of spiritual beings in daily life.

In this work Brian Larkin dives into the difficult waters of the nature of belief to assess the nature of devotion in Mexico throughout the colonial period. One of his objectives was to learn whether there was a discernible change in the character of observance that would reflect any departure in the understanding of the linkage between humankind and the divine. Since the expression of devotion was so tied to the belief that there was immanence in the sacred objects, he addressed all the material expressions of faith to capture the way in which the splendor of liturgy wrapped the senses in music, sound, and a feast of ornaments and helped to heighten the religious experience of the devout. This is the base for understanding the meaning of other acts of devotion and worship.

Scholars have proposed that the dynastic change from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons in the eighteenth century prompted a switch toward undercutting baroque piety in style and content affecting the expression of worship. Using the sermons of three leading eighteenth-century archbishops, Larkin leads the reader to understanding their desire of seeing a more transcendent faith that was less attached to costly pomp, miracles, and physical expressions of piety such as flagellation. They wished to guide their flock toward a more conscious distinction between outward piety and a truly interior search for God. The use of sermons as a venue to gauge changes among the clerical hierarchy calls our attention to this often neglected approach to religious culture. A similar treatment of seventeenth-century sermons could have helped to make the contrast even sharper. Despite the best intentions of reforming bishops, Larkin contends that in everyday life the faithful continued to observe traditional forms of worship and, therefore, that a true change in religious culture did not take place. He surveys wills, almsgiving, and confraternity practices as more realistic venues to ascertain how people in general satisfied their religious needs, disregarding calls for change coming from ecclesiastic authorities. His sources tell him that "baroque" sensibilities survived through the end of the colonial period. He sees meaningful differences between hierarchical directives and personal practices and argues that the influence of the former over the latter was neither profound nor significant.

Testing cultural parameters by any means will remain a challenging task. Larkin proposes a complex model whereby the "reformist" movement toward a more simplified observance was an outer skin concealing a deeper affective interior that remained alive despite reforms. Devotion remained traditional among the general population and even among the lower clergy. For Larkin, the renovation of religious observance to achieve a modern form of piety was a long-term process rather than a palpable reality at the end of the colonial period. It is true that architectural styles changed and that bishops and civil authorities preferred less melodrama in religious expressions, but at the pop-

ular level, people stuck to known and tried practices that satisfied their emotional needs. Overall, his conclusions are sound. Attention to liturgy and writings such as devotional books continue to be necessary to balance the picture, but this work fits well among others that search for the inner meaning of faith through its outward devotional expressions. Those who see value in this approach will welcome this book.

Arizona State University (Emerita) ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Peripheral Visions: Politics, Society, and the Challenges of Modernity in Yucatan. Edited by Edward D. Terry, Ben W. Fallaw, Gilbert M. Joseph, and Edward H. Moseley. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2010. Pp.x, 275. $46.50 clothbound, ISBN 978-0-817-31680-8; $25.00 paperback, ISBN 978-0-817-35564-7.)

This volume includes eleven papers by diverse authors, plus a final note, that address aspects of "modernizing" in Yucatan at some time between the achievement of independence and the present day.

The seven papers of part I, "Society and Politics," are especially diverse, although arranged in roughly the chronological order of their specific subjects. Marie LaPointe provides a summary background of the Caste War, the rebellion of eastern Yucatecan campesinos that stretched over the second half of the nineteenth century. Helen Delpar describes Yucatan's indifferently successful participation in the World Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. This is followed by Paul Eiss on the liberal-proclaimed politics of labor following the 1910 revolution, which freed peons from debt servitude but left them with no place to go from the haciendas. Stephanie Smith treats socialist-inspired attempts to improve the position of women, with headway limited to upper urban classes. Ben Fallaw discusses presidentially supported and minimally successful efforts in the 1930s to change agrarian practice within the declining remnants of the Yucatecan henequen boom. Eric Baklanoff treats minority Lebanese immigrants as entrepreneurs significant in the post-henequen shift from fiber production toward diversified industry. Finally, Othón Baños Ramirez considers the rocky course of privatization of henequen *ejidos* lasting into the modern period.

The second section, "Religion," provides the closest approach to an integrated sweep of events. Lynda Morrison focuses on reasons why Yucatan was less militant in its nineteenth-century anticlericalism than was the general case in Mexico, finding that Yucatecan priests were frequently active in liberal politics whereas the Yucatecan church was relatively impoverished as an institution that was never a major landowner. Terry Rugeley, on popular religion, covers the period from 1815 to the twentieth century, including the cult that began in the 1850s of the divinely speaking crosses of the Caste War rebels; he finds that it was based on popular elements of church-derived religion and that it survives today in the hinterlands as the Church has become more

urban in appeal. Hernán Menéndez Rodriguez and Ben Fallaw focus on "The Resurgence of the Church in Yucatan," bridging the time of shortly after independence from Spain to the revolution of the early-twentieth century, when—especially following the French Intervention of the 1860s—Yucatecan liberals were split. The moderate branch established closer ties with the Church, encouraged by a pair of bishops of the late-nineteenth century. The economic position of the Church was improved by the de facto renewal of tithe collection, which had been officially outlawed in Mexico since the mid-nineteenth century. In the final paper of part II Fallaw traces the slow increase in church influence between 1915 and 1940—even under socialist governors of the state—as the dovish but persistent efforts of Archbishop Martín Tritschler y Córdoba encouraged a Yucatecan retreat from the anticlericalism then strong in Mexico.

One of the "Final Thoughts" in conclusion (Gilbert Joseph) is that "good regional history cannot be insular" (p. 254). But from the reader's viewpoint, with each of the diverse papers referring to conditions across national boundaries, there is little in the volume to explain an essential part of the story—the sweep of Mexican history in which an anticlerical liberalism has shifted in strength from period to period, in a counterdance with a proclerical conservatism. This conflict provides a crucial backdrop to every paper in the collection, but nothing is provided to give this larger scale. Although the national sweep is not the subject of this collection, it is crucial—for it is this that Yucatan has modified in one degree or another.

University of Oregon DON E. DUMOND

Asian

Ancestors, Virgins, & Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China. By Eugenio Menegon. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 69.] (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 450. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-674-03596-6.)

Eugenio Menegon's *Ancestors, Virgins, & Friars: Christianity as a Local Religion in Late Imperial China* is a path-breaking contribution to scholarship on Christianity in China. Drawing on Chinese and European archival and published materials, Menegon examines the Chinese Catholics of Fuan county in Fujian, an area evangelized by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish Dominicans, and shows how Chinese Catholics made Christianity a Chinese religion.

Christianity may be universal, equally true in all places and at all times, but it also is a historical phenomenon, a product of a particular time and place. In *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* (New York, 1982), Jacques Gernet argues that

> everything that goes to make up Christianity—the opposition in substance between an eternal soul and a perishable body, the kingdom of God and the earthly world, the concept of a God of truth, eternal and immutable, the dogma of the Incarnation—all this was more easily accessible to the inheritors of Greek thought than to the Chinese, who referred to quite different traditions.

Christianity and China were incompatible, Gernet suggests, because of "fundamental differences between two mental universes."[1]

Menegon effectively refutes this view. He demonstrates that Chinese Catholics transformed Christianity from a foreign religion into a Chinese one with "a new religious identity, both Chinese *and* Catholic, local yet universal in aspiration" (p. 8, emphasis in original). He shows as well what the localization of Christianity in this part of southeast China reveals about the relationship between late-imperial Chinese society and religion. Although proscribed in 1724 and thereafter regarded as a heterodox sect, Christianity, like other illegal popular religions, generally enjoyed local de-facto toleration. Menegon shows that it functioned much like indigenous lay devotional groups in popular Buddhism and Daoism such as the Non-Action Sect and the cult of the Lady of the Water Margins.

Chapters 2 to 4 offer a chronological overview of Catholicism in Fuan. Chapter 5 shows how Christianity embedded itself within kinship networks and found a place for itself in local society. Chapter 6 deals with the role of priests, both Chinese and Europeans, in pedagogical and catechetical instruction, as healers and exorcists, and as enforcers of control and discipline over Christian communities. Incidentally, Menegon's assertion that marriage, although a sacrament, "remained outside the purview of missionaries in China" (p. 221n22) is questionable. This may have been the case in the Dominican Fuan mission, but evidence from eighteenth-century Sichuan shows that European missionaries and Chinese clergy labored, persistently but often unsuccessfully, to enforce canon law on marriage, even though Catholic norms often conflicted with Chinese custom. Church practice in late-imperial China varied from time and place, and no place was completely representative.

Menegon is particularly insightful in examining the religious life of Chinese Catholics. Chapter 7 offers fresh perspectives on the issue of Chinese rites, showing how the Dominicans tried and largely succeeded in redefining the central Chinese virtue of filial piety in a way that would not conflict with the Church's prohibition of ancestral rites. Chapter 8 deals with the *beatas*, women who took vows of celibacy as members of the Third Order of Dominicans. Chinese culture valued female chastity but rejected virginity as

[1]Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures* (New York, 1982), pp. 3–5.

an ideal. Menegon examines how the *beatas*' embrace of religious virginity gave them agency and gradual acceptance, challenging patriarchal authority both in their society and the Church.

Ancestors, Virgins, & Friars is superb. Grounded in Chinese and European missionary materials and informed by Menegon's training in Chinese social history, it is well written and analytically rigorous. It is an important original contribution to both Chinese history and the history of Christianity.

St. Olaf College ROBERT ENTENMANN

Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China. By Florence C. Hsia. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 273. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-226-35559-7.)

There is no shortage of books, in several languages, on the Jesuit missionaries in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China, and on the European science that a few of these Jesuits taught in China. If any subject in the history of late-imperial or early-modern China has attracted enough scholarship to do it justice, it would probably be this one. But much of the more recent scholarship on this subject rather neglects the European audience and background of the scientific mission of the China Jesuits (just as Robert A. Heinlein's *Stranger in a Strange Land* [New York, 1961] does not tell us much of what we might like to know about Valentine Michael Smith's Martian background and support network).

But whereas Heinlein does tell us quite a bit about Smith himself, Hsia's account of the China Jesuits is cast more as a "biography in a collective mode" (p. 7) in which individual personalities do not stand out as clearly or vividly as in the Jesuit historiography of an earlier generation. Although Hsia demonstrates an admirable competence in the field of spherical astronomy (starting on p. 100), neither does the book focus on the science that Jesuits taught in China or even much on the Chinese reception. Hsia's niche in this comparatively oversubscribed field is, rather, "the historical emergence and fortunes of this puzzling figure" (p. 2) of the Jesuit missionary scientist in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China—an individual who transmitted European science and personal discoveries to the Chinese literati, European savants, and other interested parties of the European proto-Enlightenment.

But what is really mystifying about this book is Hsia's own apparent puzzlement about the figure of the Jesuit "missionary scientist," "saintly mathematician" (p. 147), and "missionary as a man of scientific expertise" (p. 2) and her presentation of such phrases as if they were evidently oxymoronic. Had Hsia read more carefully John L. Heilbron's *The Sun in the Church* (Cambridge, MA, 1999), which is included in her bibliography, she might have been struck by the first sentence: "The Roman Catholic Church gave more financial and social support to the study of astronomy for over six centuries,

from the recovery of ancient learning during the late Middle Ages into the Enlightenment, than any other, and probably, all other institutions" (p. 3). Granted that the Jesuits of this era might be fairly characterized as "shape-shifters" (p. 1) or even as "masked men," where is the evidence that the guise of missionary-scientist was one of the more unusual, if not the "most peculiar" (p. 2), of these shapes? Indeed, the figure of the missionary scientist was not that uncommon a sight in colonial Latin America. In that case, the authorities, as well as the colonial audience, might have occasion to ask, "Who was that masked man?" (title of Hsia's chapter 1).

The most valuable part of the book is the discussion of the literary genres through which the Jesuits communicated with one another and their various publics. It is clear that China became a sort of scientific colony in which the Jesuits began the process of mapping out the universalist pretentions of European science, which in turn transformed China into a not-so-strange land—still exquisite, perhaps, but no longer exotic.

Louisiana State University JOHN B. HENDERSON

Growth and Decline: Essays on Philippine Church History. By John N. Schumacher, S.J. (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 291. $43.00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-715-50588-8.)

John N. Schumacher is a recognized authority in Philippine Church history. His works *Father José Burgos, Priest and Nationalist* (Manila, 1999); *Revolutionary Clergy* (Quezon City, 1981); and *Readings in Philippine Church History* (Quezon City, 1987) are materials used in courses on the history of Catholicism. His latest book is an anthology of essays that span 1979 to 2006 and have been revised. The revisions have been prompted by the publication of newer material and by Schumacher's re-examination of his conclusions and generalizations. In these essays, he presents a nuanced and well thought-out writing of history, avoiding simplistic generalizations and reflecting knowledge of the changes that have occurred over time and space.

The theme of "Growth and Decline" links the six chapters that trace the development of the Catholic Church in the Philippines: "Bishop Domingo de Salazar and the Manila Synod of 1582 Fight for Justice"; "The Golden Age of the Philippine Church, 1700–1768"; "The Early Filipino Clergy,: 1698–1762"; "Sycretism in Philippine Catholicism: Its Historical Causes"; "The Burgos Manifesto: The Authentic Text and Its Genuine Author"; and "A Hispanicized Clergy in an Americanized Country, 1910–1970".

Chapter 2 was specifically written for this collection, serving as a linchpin that binds the other five chapters together. Here, Schumacher re-examines previous periodizations of Philippine history, proposes a more nuanced frame, and sounds the theme of growth and decline. He disputes John Leddy Phelan, who had a positive opinion of initial evangelization and a pes-

simistic view of the period after 1630, because he drew mainly on sources pertaining to only the Tagalog-Kapampangan lowland region. The effective evangelization of other regions such as the Visayas and Mindanao came later; for example, the Recollects established themselves in eastern Mindanao in the 1620s, taking charge of the area because the Jesuits were undermanned.

Schumacher proposes the following three periods for the evolution of the Church in the Philippines: 1570–1650 (first evangelization), 1650–1700 (maturing Church), and 1700–1768 (full blossoming of the Church). The last he calls the "golden age," because, during this period, more and more Filipinos took active part in church life—shown by their spiritual practice, the emergence of religious life for men and women (the *beatas* and the *beaterios*), and the creation of the Filipino secular clergy. However, this blossoming came to an abrupt end with the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1768. A vacuum resulted. The religious were reshuffled, and secular priests were hastily ordained, with the outcome of a poor public perception of the Filipino clergy because of their lack of proper training.

The book shows the caliber of Schumacher's scholarly work, characterized by a critical reading of documentary sources as well as an examination of assumptions, conclusions, and generalizations of historians—including his own.

Ateneo de Manila University RENÉ B. JAVELLANA, S.J.

Missionaries and Their Medicine: A Christian Modernity for Tribal India. By David Hardiman. [Studies in Imperialism.] (New York: Manchester University Press, Palgrave. 2008. Pp. xviii, 261. $84.95. ISBN 978-0-719-07802-6.)

David Hardiman is a distinguished historian of South Asia, bringing to his study of medical missions broad knowledge of the social, religious, and political history of colonial and postcolonial western India. His study of medical missions conducted by the Anglican evangelical Church Missionary Society among the Bhil people of northern Gujarat is based on his own fieldwork as well as extensive research in the manuscript records and publications of the mission, government reports, and oral recollections by Bhil Christians. Studies of imperial medicine have focused on the bureaucracies of the colonial state rather than missionary clinics and hospitals, which in many parts of the world were far more important. Hardiman documents the ways in which missionary medicine was different from government medicine, despite a common commitment to the germ theory of disease, antiseptic surgery, and quinine. Unlike government doctors, though, missionary doctors simultaneously battled a belief in witchcraft and sorcery among Christian and non-Christian Bhils alike, and introduced their own supernatural dimension to medicine by promoting the healing power of prayer.

Hardiman stresses the inequalities of wealth and status that left multiracial Christian institutions stratified along racial lines, creating little "mini-empires" within a Christian world that was formally opposed to racial distinctions. In chapter after chapter Hardiman tells fascinating tales of encounters between missionaries and Bhils, relationships fraught with misunderstanding because of vast inequalities of power, wealth, and knowledge. He often neglects to give credit to the other side of the story, to the persistent attempts to overcome racial and professional divisions with sympathy, spiritual fellow-feeling, and ongoing (if often contentious) negotiations over good-faith attempts to foster a self-governing Christian church among the Bhils.

Hardiman is at his best when telling these micro-stories of religious and imperial encounter. He is less persuasive when invoking his chosen master narrative of modern history, which, according to him, is a universal path toward modernity. He recognizes that modernity can take both religious and secular forms, but explicitly asserts that in modern history a dialectical relationship between the religious and the secular "has never been, and perhaps never can be, transcended within the framework of modernity as we know it" (p. 6).

As a result, the efforts of missionaries among the Bhils are repeatedly measured against his yardstick of modernity in which an effort to "civilize" people triumphs over an effort to introduce them to a new religion. The dialectic between the secular and the religious in Hardiman's story becomes a unilinear process in which the synthesis is always a secular one. In an otherwise judicious and informative chapter on women working with women, Hardiman concludes with an astonishing argument unrelated to anything preceding it in the chapter. The failed struggle for "sisterhood" on the part of women missionaries is interpreted as a displaced struggle for class and gender status, not in Gujarat, but back home in Great Britain. Having reduced the work of female missionaries in the Bhil mission to a class and gender struggle at home, he loses sight of the dialectic between their civilizing mission and their Christianizing mission in India, and with the conflict between their entirely genuine egalitarian concern for Bhil women and their own elite professional status as trained missionaries.

In his conclusion, Hardiman observes that Anglican missionaries had succeeded in their mission because the Bhil Christian community today is a "civilized" one by their definition. It is certain that missionaries would reject this definition of success, which lies instead in the fact that Bhil Christian community is Christian, whether civilized or not. To understand that story, Hardiman needs to think about a better master narrative, one that allows for a common religious faith that in some circumstances survives the dialectic of the religious and the secular, and even transcends the boundaries of race, nation, and empire.

University of Iowa JEFFREY COX

BRIEF NOTICES

Burkey, Blaine, O.F.M. Cap. *Seelos: The Cumberland Years. The Life and Labors of Blessed Francis Xavier Seelos in Maryland's Allegheny Mountains, 1857–1865.* (New Orleans: The Redemptorists/Seelos Center. 2010. Pp. 92. $13.65 paperback. ISBN 978-0-972-71695-6.)

This small but scrupulously researched work offers a glimpse into the mind and heart of a Redemptorist immigrant priest during a critical period in U.S. history: the years just before and during the Civil War. The setting is Cumberland, a city in the border state of Maryland. The author's ancestors were parishioners of Blessed Francis Xavier Seelos, and a great-great uncle was Seelos's confrere in religious life. This personal connection wreaths the author's portrait of his subject.

Seelos's letters, whether he was writing to friends in his adopted country or to family back home in Bavaria, bring to life a charming, decent, passionate, and perfectly human young man. After one mission, Seelos complained that the schedule was punishing. After another, he lamented the damage done in the parish by previous pastors he deemed unworthy.

At various points in the narrative, we see a city teeming with soldiers and hear gunshots; we cringe as a confrère maligns Seelos; and we mourn as illness, war, and poverty fell the city's youth. Seelos writes little about these matters, but in letters to family he writes at length, with humor and exasperation, about bedbugs. Was he fixating on small, manageable problems during a period of unbearable stress?

At times Seelos's candor is disturbing, revealing the impact of the political and social climate. He calls abolitionists hypocrites and accuses them of conspiring to send freed slaves to a distant colony. A helpful footnote by the author explains the history behind such scorn. Dozens of photographs and illustrations with explanatory captions also help to illuminate the text. One unfortunate lacuna: The work lacks a table of contents.

This meticulously footnoted work is not for the general reader so much as for historians and devotees of Seelos. When placed within the context of this decade's particular storms, some letters take on fresh meaning. In a few pages the reader is transported to another time when priests were suspect, and new immigrants were despised by their fellow Americans. Into this hostile world stepped one brave-hearted immigrant priest. He laid down his life in joyful service to all, dying far too young. But his example lives on through the letters and testimony presented here. ALICIA VON STAMWITZ (*St. Louis, Missouri)*

Kanawada, Leo V., Jr. *The Holocaust Diaries*: Book I: *The Souls of the Just: Rome, Italy.* (Pp. xvi,393. $15.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-452-05704-0.) Book II: *The Righteous and the Just: Côte d'Azur, France.* (Pp. xiv, 299. $14.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-452-05719-4.) Book III: *A Homeland for the Just*: *Palestine.* (Pp. xxvi, 197. $14.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-452-05796-5.) Book IV: *Saviors of the Just: Romania*. (Pp. xxvi, 229. $14.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-452-05792-7.) Book V: *The Innocence of the Just: Hungary and Slovakia.* (Pp. xx, 707. $20.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-452-05784-2.) (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse. 2010.)

The author of a 1982 PhD dissertation on "Franklin D. Roosevelt's Diplomacy and American Catholics and Jews" has written these five historical novels as "a labor of love, realized after more than a decade of research, writing, and devotion" (I:393). He relates the story through fictionalized, first-person diary entries of some of the principal actors. In the first volume, for instance, these are Ernst Weizäcker (misspelled "Weizacher"), German ambassador to the Holy See 1943–45, and Henry Morgenthau Jr., Roosevelt's secretary of the treasury and the president's liaison to Rabbi Wise of New York. Book I is the only one to deal with the role of Pope Pius XII (although he is also mentioned in book IV). Kanawada portrays him as well informed about the progress of the Holocaust and working effectively with the anti-Nazi Weizäcker to save as many Jews as possible—a version of the story that, despite fictionalized details that strain credulity, corresponds roughly with the historical record. The principal value of these volumes would appear to be to introduce general readers to a portrayal of events strikingly different from those routinely disseminated by the mass media, driven by the quest for sensations and the desire to discredit persons in authority and the institutions they serve. JOHN JAY HUGHES (*Archdiocese of St. Louis*)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Vatican Exhibition in San Marino

In the State Museum of the Republic of San Marino, the Vatican Museums are presenting the exhibition "The Man, the Face, the Mystery." The works on display from the Vatican collections document how artists from antiquity until today have represented human facial features in an attempt to represent the soul. The medieval and modern sections feature many depictions of Christ and the saints. The last section of the exhibition is dedicated to the "Holy Face" of Jesus Christ and includes a copy of the "acheiropoieta" from the Lateran and of the "Veronica" from the Pontifical Sacristy, the painting *Sainte Face* of George Rouault, and works of several twentieth-century artists.

Ratzinger Prize

The Ratzinger Prize, founded in March of this year by the Joseph Ratzinger-Benedict XVI Vatican Foundation and funded in part by the royalties from Pope Benedict XVI's books and by private donations, was presented to three writers for excellence in theological scholarship. Manlio Simonetti, an eighty-five-year-old Italian layman who is an expert on ancient Christian literature and theology, was one of the first winners of this prize, valued at $70,000.

Libraries and Archives

The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana is in discussions with the Library of Congress and UNESCO to create the World Digital Library that aims to collect on a single site those rare or unique documents that tell the history of the world's cultures. The Vatican Library also is participating in a project to reconstitute virtually the ancient library of the monastery of Lorsch by allowing 142 manuscripts in its Palatini collection to be digitized. It is participating as well in the project of the Chinese National Committee for the Compilation of Qing History to digitize some 1300 items for a total of 100,000 folios that deal with Chinese history from the seventeenth to early-twentieth centuries and are preserved in the Vatican Library.

Daughters of Charity New Province of St. Louise USA Archives to Be Located in Emmitsburg, Maryland

Four North American provinces of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul merged on July 31, 2011, and formed the Province of St. Louise USA with administrative offices located in St. Louis, Missouri. The archival col-

lections of the former provinces (Albany, New York; Emmitsburg, Maryland; Evansville, Indiana; and St. Louis, Missouri) will be consolidated in a new 20,000-square-foot facility located within the former St. Joseph's Provincial House, in Emmitsburg. The new archives also will house records of the Province of St. Louise. The facility will include a state-of-the-art repository, exhibit areas, and a research and reading room. Part of a multiphase construction project now underway, the archives is expected to be ready for transfer of records in late summer 2012, with opening anticipated in 2013. The committee planning the new archives is chaired by Sister Margaret John Kelly, D.C.; members include archivists John Diefenderfer; Lois Martin; Sister Betty Ann McNeil, D.C.; and Carole Prietto. For more information, contact Sister McNeil, the archivist, at mcneilsrba@doc.org, or visit the Web site thedaughtersofcharity.org.

Conferences and Lectures

On October 6–8, 2011, a Maryknoll Centennial Symposium under the title "Church in Mission: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" will be held at the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago. It will explore new perspectives of faith from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For more information, contact Greg Darr at gdarr@maryknoll.org.

On October 12, 2011, a symposium will be held to evaluate the book of Paolo Prodi, *Il paradigma tridentino: Un'epoca della storia della Chiesa* [Storia, 42] (Brescia, 2010). The speakers include Prodi, Maria Teresa Fattori, Giuseppe Ruggeri, Fabio Milana, and Patrizio Foresta. For more information, visit the Web site www.fscire.it.

On March 8–10, 2012, the eighteenth biennial New College Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Studies will take place in Sarasota, Florida. The program committee invites 250-word abstracts of proposed twenty-minute papers on topics in European and Mediterranean history, literature, art, and religion from the fourth to the seventeenth centuries. Interdisciplinary work is particularly appropriate to the conference's broad historical and disciplinary scope. Planned sessions are welcome. The conference will be held on the campus of the New College of Florida, located on Sarasota Bay adjacent to the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. Information will be posted on the Web site http://faculty.ncf.edu/MedievalStudies. Inquiries and abstracts (email without attachments preferred) should be sent to Nova Myhill at the Division of Humanities, New College of Florida, 5800 Bay Shore Road, Sarasota, FL 34243, email nmyhill@ncf.edu.

On May 10–12, 2012, the XL Incontro di Studiosi dell'Antichità Cristiana will hold a conference on "Law and Religion in Late Antiquity" at the Augustinianum in Rome. It will study the evolving understanding of law (e.g., *lex christiana*, *lex Christi*, religious legislation, and imperial law that was not divorced from religion but even regulated it). Those wishing to participate in

the conference with a fifteen-minute presentation or a twenty-five-minute paper should send the title and an abstract by November 30, 2011, to Segretaria Incontri *Augustinianum*, Via Paolo VI 25, I-00193 Rome, Italy, email incontri@patristicum.org. Proposals will be evaluated at a meeting of the organizing committee in January 2012.

On May 10–13, 2012, the Working Group on "Re-Thinking Reform" will meet at the 47th International Congress of Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo, Michigan, cosponsored by EPISCOPUS (an interdisciplinary society fostering the study of the medieval episcopate and secular clergy) and the International Society of Medieval Canon Law. Maureen C. Miller (University of California, Berkeley) and William L. North (Carleton College) are organizing a working group to explore new ways to understand and interpret the eleventh-century reform movements and the investiture conflict. Two sessions and a roundtable will be held. One session will be dedicated to "Re-Thinking Reform: Bishops, Issues, Texts." Research on reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has, for some time now, expressed dissatisfaction with the standard narratives (Augustin Fliche, Gerd Tellenbach) of this period in ecclesiastical history. But new, broad interpretations have not yet emerged. This session invites papers that take a fresh look at a leading clerical figure, issue, or source. The second session will focus on "Re-Thinking Reform: Law and Change in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." Legal developments figure prominently in the "classic" narratives (Fliche, Paul Fournier, Tellenbach, and Harold J. Berman) of reform and the investiture conflict. Yet much recent work on canon law and canonical collections does not exactly fit these interpretative frameworks. A roundtable on "Re-Thinking Reform," cosponsored by EPISCOPUS and the working group, will feature participants from sessions 1 and 2 and offer a further opportunity to reflect critically on the papers of both sessions. It will discuss the advantages/disadvantages of the traditional law and change narrative and the advantages and disadvantages of the Gregorian reform narrative. The session looks to suggest how these reassessments of traditional narratives concerning reform and law can be extended at future congresses. For more information, contact Miller at mcmiller@berkeley.edu. Another session at the conference is dedicated to the theme "Ecclesiastical Hierarchies: Law and Custom" and is sponsored by the Stephan Kuttner Institute of Medieval Canon Law. This session will consist of three or four papers on topics about the customary practices of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the canon law about this power structure, and/or about how these customs often afforded ways to avoid the letter of these laws. For more information, contact Atria Larson at atria.larson@gmail.com.

On September 1–22, 2013, the conference "Das Konzil von Trient und die katholische Konfessionskultur" will be held in Freiburg im Breisgau to commemorate the 450th jubilee year of the closing of the Council of Trent (1563). It will be cosponsored by the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum e.V. and the Katholische Akademie der Erzdiözese Freiburg. For

more information, contact Peter Walter at corpus.catholicorum@theol .uni-freiburg.de.

Causes of Saints

On June 6, 2011, in Burgo de Osma, Spain, Cardinal Angelo Amato, prefect of the Congregation for Saints' Causes, presided over the beatification ceremonies for Juan de Palafox y Mendoza (1600–59), former bishop of Tlaxcala/Puebla de los Angeles (1639–53), administrator of the Archdiocese of Mexico and viceroy of New Spain (1642), and bishop of Osma (1653–59). A man of vast culture and profound spirituality, he was a reformer, tireless pastor, and protector of the indigenous peoples. At a public Mass in Zagreb, Croatia, on the same day, Pope Benedict XVI praised Palafox as an outstanding bishop.

Publications

In March 2010 the Institución «Fernando el Católico» in Zaragoza held the conference "Fábrica de Santos. España, siglos XVI–XVII." Four of the papers presented on that occasion have now been coordinated by Eliseo Serrano Martín and published in no. 85 (2010) of the institution's journal *Jerónimo Zurita: Revista de Historia*, as follows: Guillermo Fatás, "La santidad y sus antecedents. Santos antiguos y santos anómalos" (pp. 13–37); José Ignacio Gómez Zorraquino, "Los santos patronos y la identidad de las comunidades locales en la España de los siglos XVI y XVII" (pp. 39–74); Cécile Vincent-Cassy, "Los santos, la poesía y la patria. Fiestas de beatificación y de canonización en España en el primer tercio del siglo XVII" (pp. 75–93); and José Luis Bertrán Moya, "Culto y devoción en la Cataluña Barroca" (pp. 95–132). The same issue carries two other articles pertaining to the sixteenth century in Spain under the heading "Referencias": Enrique García Hernán, "El ambiente alumbrado y sus consecuencias en la Compañía de Jesús según Jerónimo Nadal" (pp. 193–205); and Fernando Javier Campese Gallego, "Rodrigo Álvarez, SJ (1523–1587). El successor del profeta" (pp. 207–28).

The Dallas Center for Thomas More Studies invited scholars to examine the saint's influence on William Shakespeare during its seminar and conference held in November 2010. Six papers from that gathering have been published in vol. 48, no. 183–84 (2011) of *Moreana*. Following an "Editorial" in English and in French by Marie-Claire Phélippeau (pp. 3–8) are the articles (all in English): Robert S. Miola, "Shakespeare and *The Book of Sir Thomas More*" (pp. 9–35); Gerard Wegemer, "England's Civil Wars: Young Thomas More's Assessment and Solutions" (pp. 37–71); John E. Alvis, "Thomas More and Shakespeare: A Proposal for Furthering an Inquiry" (pp. 73–101); Steven W. Smith, "The Politics of Imitation: Exploring Connections between Thomas More and William Shakespeare" (pp. 103–28); Joshua Avery, "From 'Obloquy' to 'So Great Trust': Broken Judgment in More's and Shakespeare's *Richard III*"

(pp. 129–43); and Andrew Moran, "'What were I best to say?' Hasty Curses and Morean Deliberation in *Richard III*" (pp. 145–61).

"Women Religious: Conflict and Dissent in Nineteenth-Century Communities" is the theme of the seven articles published in vol. 29, no. 1 (2011) of the *U.S. Catholic Historian*: Catherine O'Donnell, "Elizabeth Seton: Transatlantic Cooperation, Spiritual Struggle, and the Early Republican Church" (pp. 1–17); Mary Ellen Doyle, S.C.N., "'Contending Parties': Bishop John David and the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth" (pp. 19–31); Florence Deacon, O.S.F., "'What a Lie! Slander!' Franciscan Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Wisconsin" (pp. 33–57); Cecilia Murray, O.P., "The Least Qualified: A Leadership Crisis in the Newburgh Dominicans" (pp. 53–71); Joseph M. White, "Path to Sainthood and Episcopal Leadership: Mother Theodore Guérin and Célestin de la Hailandière in History and Memory" (pp. 73–94); Eileen Flanagan, "Poor Clare Life Incompatible with American Lifestyle, 1876–1889: Mother Maddalena Bentivoglio Challenges the Perception" (pp. 95–111); and Edward T. Brett, "Race Issues and Conflict in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Religious Life: The New Orleans Sisters of the Holy Family" (pp. 113–27).

The current issue of the *Passionist Heritage Newsletter* is now available in a free electronic version at http://www.cpprovince.org/archives/heritage/pdf/spring2011.pdf. Suggestions and correspondence related to the newsletter should be sent to Rob Carbonneau, C.P., Historian/Director, The Passionist Historical Archives, 526 Monastery Place, Union City, NJ 07087, email robcarb@cpprov.org.

Personals

Susan Eason, archivist of the Texas Catholic Archives, was awarded the Carlos E. Castañeda Award of the Texas Catholic Historical Society at its meeting on March 4, 2011, in recognition of her many valuable and dedicated services to the society. She has kept the society's records, edited its newsletter, hosted the meetings of its Executive Council, and served as its president.

Patrick Foley has been named to the Faculty Advisory Board of the John Paul II Institute of Lay Ministries for the Diocese of Fort Worth.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

General and Miscellaneous

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Andretta, Stefano, Stéphane Péquignot, Marie-Karine Schaub, Jean-Claude Waquet, and Christian Windler. *Paroles de Négociateurs.* [Collection de l'École Française de Rome—433.] (Rome: École Française de Rome. 2010. Pp. iv, 446. €42,00.) This volume contains eighteen papers that were presented at an international seminar held in Rome. Among them are "La nomination d'un cardinal de famille entre l'Empire et la papauté: les pratiques de négociations de Bartolomeo Bonatti, orateur de Ludovico Gonzaga (Rome, 1461)," by Isabella Lazzarini (pp. 51–69); "Switching Roles in Negotiation: Levels of Diplomatic Communication between Pope Paul V Borghese (1605–1621) and the Ambassadors of Philip III," by Hillard von Thiessen (pp. 151–72); "La difficile négociation de la neutralité: les entretiens d'Henri IV avec Piero Priuli, ambassadeur de Venise, et Maffeo Barberini, nonce en France, au début de l'Interdit vénitien (1606)," by Sylvio Hermann De Franceschi (pp. 173–91); "Le cardinal de Polignac face à Benoît XIII: négocier l'accommodement du cardinal de Noailles," by Albane Pialoux (pp. 271–94); and «Parlare fra i denti»: gli *entretiens diplomatiques* del cardinale Consalvi al Congresso di Vienna (1814–1815)," by Francesca Cantù (pp. 355–74).

Bodo, Murray. *Francis: The Journey and the Dream.* Fortieth anniv. ed. (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press. 2011. Pp. xxx, 258. $24.99 paperback.)

Busch, Eberhard. *The Barmen Theses Then and Now: The 2004 Warfield Lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary.* Translated and annotated by Darrell and Judith Guder. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2010. Pp. xii, 102. $16.00 paperback.)

Carlson, Keith Thor. *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identity and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2011. Pp. xx, 376. $32.95 paperback.) The author treats the work of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate among the Stó:lõ in chapter 7, "Identity in the Face of Missionaries and the Anti-Potlatch Laws" (pp. 181–208).

Carroll, Stuart. *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 346. $19.95 paperback.) First published in 2009 and reviewed by Frederic J. Baumgartner, *ante*, XCVII (2011), 142–44.

Chazkel, Amy. *Laws of Chance: Brazil's Clandestine Lottery and the Making of Urban Public Life.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. xx, 348. $89.95 clothbound; $24.95 paperback.)

Coolman, Boyd Taylor, and Dale M. Coulter (Eds.). *Trinity and Creation: A Selection of Works of Hugh, Richard and Adam of St Victor.* [Victorine Texts in Translation, 1.] (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press. 2011. Pp. 430. $39.95 paperback.)

Elisha, Omri. *Moral Ambition: Mobilization and Social Outreach in Evangelical Megachurches.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 264. $24.95 paperback, $60.00 clothbound.) "This book is about evangelical Protestants affiliated with megachurches and faith-based ministries in the city of Knoxville, Tennessee" (p. 1).

Evdokimov, Paul. *Orthodoxy.* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press. 2011. Pp. 376. $34.95 paperback.) Translated by Jeremy Hummerstone and updated for this edition by Callan Slipper from the 1979 edition published by Desclée de Brouwer.

Feiss, Hugh, O.S.B. (Ed.). *On Love: A Selection of Works of Hugh, Adam, Achard, Richard, and Godfrey of St Victor.* [Victorine Texts in Translation, 2.] (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers. 2011. Pp. 392. €60,00.)

Fiss, Karen. *Grand Illusion: The Third Reich, the Paris Exposition, and the Cultural Seduction of France.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 286. $99.00.)

Freeman, Charles. *A New History of Early Christianity.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2011. Pp. xxi, 378. $23.00 paperback.) Originally published in 2009.

Glancy, Jennifer A. *Corporal Knowledge: Early Christian Bodies.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 190. $45.00.)

Lachapelle, Sofie. *Investing the Supernatural: From Spiritism and Occultism to Psychical Research and Metapsychics in France, 1853–1931.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2011. Pp. x, 199. $50.00.)

Laurence, Patrick. *Le Monachisme Féminin Antique: Idéal Hiéronymien et Réalité Historique.* [Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et Documents, Fascicule 32.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2010. Pp. viii, 362. €70,00 paperback.) In this volume are collected thirteen articles published in various journals between 1996 and 2007. Their common theme is the treatment of the Christian women of antiquity in the writings of St. Jerome.

Lehfeldt, Werner, ed. *Studien zur Wissenschafts- und zur Religionsgeschichte*. [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge, Band 10, Sammelband 2.] (Berlin: De Gruyter. 2011. Pp. viii, 376.) The first of the four articles herein published is "Martin Luthers Reise nach Rom—neu datiert und neu gedeutet" by Hans Schneider (pp. 1–157).

Levy, Ian Christopher (Ed. and Trans.). *The Letter to the Galatians*. [The Bible in Medieval Tradition.] (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing. 2011. Pp. xii, 278. $34.00 paperback.) The editor has collected six commentaries on the Letter to the Galatians written by theologians between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries that have never before been available in English. In the individual introductions he has situated these texts in their historical and theological contexts.

Myers, William David. *Death and a Maiden: Infanticide and the Tragical History of Grethe Schmidt.* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 270. $35.00.)

Payton, James R., Jr. *Getting the Reformation Wrong: Correcting Some Misunderstandings.* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press Academic. 2010. Pp. 272. $23.00 paperback.) "This book is intended for readers from Christian backgrounds who recognize their roots in and look positively on the Reformation of the sixteenth century" (Preface, p. 13). In particular, it is written for use in Christian university or college upper-level courses on the Reformation, as well as for more introductory courses on the history of Western civilization or religion courses that deal with the Reformation. It could also be useful for church pastors in their preaching and teaching and for catechetical instructors.

Santiago, Mark. *The Jar of Severed Hands: Spanish Deportation of Apache Prisoners of War, 1770–1810.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 258. $29.95.)

Tagliacozzo, Eric, and Wen-Chin Chang (Eds.). *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities, and Networks in Southeast Asia.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 2011. Pp. xvi, 536. $99.95 clothbound; $27.95 paperback.) Jean DeBernardi has contributed an essay on "Moses's Rod: The Bible as a Commodity in Southeast Asia and China" (pp. 380–404).

Wells, Kevin. *Burst: A Story of God's Grace When Life Falls Apart.* (Cincinnati: Servant Books, an imprint of St. Anthony Messenger Press. 2011. Pp. xii, 146. $14.99 paperback.)

Wicks, Jared, S.J. (Ed. and Trans.). *Cajetan Responds: A Reader in Reformation Controversy.* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers. 2011. Pp. ii, 292. $32.00 paperback.) Originally published by The Catholic University of America Press in 1978 and reviewed by Nelson H. Minnich, *ante,* LXV (1979), 488–89.

Wintz, Jack, O.F.M. *Father Jack's Favorite Prayers.* (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press. 2011. Pp. xiv, 114. $12.99 paperback.)